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THE CITIZEN VOLUNTEER

His Responsibility, Role, and Opportunity in Modern Society

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

THE CITIZEN VOLUNTEER

FIRST EDITION
E-K

Library of Congress catalog card number: 60–9191

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Foreword

Mrs. Moise S. Cahn

THE National Council of Jewish Women celebrates its sixty-fifth anniversary by the publication of this book, *The Citizen Volunteer*. The term "citizen volunteer" is of recent vintage, but the activities it implies have been inherent in our citizen responsibilities since our democracy was founded. A citizen volunteer is one who assumes voluntarily and without pay his obligations of citizenship. In a world growing smaller and more interdependent, the citizen's opportunities for service may extend from his own neighborhood to the farthest ends of the world. The diversity and complexity of contemporary problems, and the fearful penalties if they remain unresolved, testify to the need for the services of the citizen. Social progress, whether it results from overcoming the forces of deterioration or from the successful development of new and dynamic ideas, depends in great measure on the citizen volunteer—the service volunteer who carries out specific assignments in an agency or institution; the policy making volunteer who participates in the formulation of policy and program on boards or committees; and the citizen who through social action works toward the furtherance of the democratic concepts of equality and freedom.

Most volunteer activities are stimulated by organizations, clubs, or societies, for the United States is a nation of "joiners." Today at least 100 million Americans are members of some kind of a national organization, not to mention the millions affiliated with state and local groups. Max Lerner describes succinctly the infinite variations in organizational goals when he writes, "There are the occupational and economic groups at one end of the spectrum, geared to self-interest, and the crusading and cultural ones at the other."

The multiplicity of organized groups in the United States is not a

recent phenomenon, but one that dates back to the early days of our history. Alexis De Tocqueville wrote in 1825, "As soon as several inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling that they wish to promote in the world, they look for mutual assistance. As soon as they have found each other out, they combine. From that moment on they are no longer isolated men . . ." De Tocqueville, too, recognized the values of uniting for social progress. He wrote, "If men are to remain civilized, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which equality or conditions is increased."

Americans have banded together into organizations for a variety of reasons but primarily because they are convinced of the wisdom of the maxim that strength derives from unity of purpose and effort. The combined efforts of the members of an organization result in greater accomplishment than the same number of individuals could achieve working or acting independently. In organizations the whole becomes greater than the sum of its individual parts. Particularly in recent years, growth in size of government, industry, labor unions, professional and business groups, makes the individual citizen feel small and ineffective. To make his voice heard, he joins an organization which reflects his point of view. He is no longer a lone voice, but a part of a chorus. He is reinforced by those of his fellow citizens who share his convictions.

The story of the National Council of Jewish Women, and its pioneer efforts over the greater part of a century, is a vital part of the history of the citizen volunteer movement. That citizens of a democracy, regardless of religion, race, national origin, or economic status, share together a responsibility for the welfare of their neighbors is inherent in the philosophy and stated in the purpose of the National Council of Jewish Women, "that through an integrated program of education, service, and social action, it provides essential services and stimulates and educates the individual and community toward their responsibility in advancing human welfare and the democratic way of life." As Jewish women, members of National Council serve their fellow Jews, at home as well as in an extensive overseas program. At the same time, they fulfill their citizen responsibility to the total community as citizen volunteers. Council translated into concrete action its conviction that no group in a democracy lives in isolation, that what affects one affects all, and that the rights and

liberties, the health and welfare of all members of a democratic society must be everyone's concern.

From Council's inception, the humanity of its citizen volunteers was manifested through "philanthropic endeavors," later called "community services." Projects were established in each local community in the area where the need was greatest, and in fields of welfare, health, and education, wherever the volunteer could make a meaningful contribution of her time and skills. Council has held to the policy of initiating community service projects, doing the spade work wherever people need help, but always with a willingness to hand over the project when another group, either voluntary or governmental, was better equipped to carry on the service on a continuing or long term basis. Community services began with the establishment of settlement houses, industrial homes for girls, work with the blind and the deaf, work in prisons and reformatories, and included throughout the years extensive services to the foreign born, and to the mentally ill, with particular emphasis in later years on services to the aging and to children with special needs.

As early as 1909, Council became aware of the many deep-rooted problems within our social structure that can only be eradicated by law. In that year, the first White House Conference on Children focused attention on the need for protective legislation to eliminate the brutal exploitation of children in industry. Child labor legislation was the first social action goal of National Council. A decade before women achieved the franchise, Council members initiated a program of study and action which included housing, civil service, rights of women, and as the years went on, the liberalization of immigration laws, marriage and divorce laws, and the protection of civil liberties, to mention only a few. Throughout the decades of Council's history it has expanded its social action program for laws that will give more people a chance for a better life.

Training the citizen volunteer, whether for service in a community project or for legislative action, has been inherent in Council's program since its inception. Volunteers learned the skills that enabled them to function with greater effectiveness, thereby making possible a more meaningful contribution to the causes they would support or the human beings they would assist. But training for many years has included more than leadership skills. National Council has been aware since its earliest days that a first and significant step in training

is the knowledge of the local community in order to understand the whole complex of community resources and needs, and to give to the citizen volunteer and the organization she serves an understanding of the significance of her contribution to the community as a whole.

Years of experience in training culminated, in 1957, in a nationwide project, "Community Leadership Training Program," with the subtitle, "The Volunteer in a Free Society." The purpose was "to deepen the awareness of American women for their role in the changing community," and its goals, "to prepare Council's membership to take more active and effective leadership roles in the local, national and international community." Recognizing the kaleidoscopic changes in community patterns, and the new and significant trends in community organization, the Council Section was provided an opportunity to evaluate its current Council program against the backdrop of the changing community in order to direct the program into more relevant and timely action based upon greater knowledge and understanding of the contemporary scene.

The training program began with a seminar for twenty women chosen by criteria based on potentialities rather than on past accomplishment. They met for two weeks in Greenwich Connecticut, where outstanding specialists discussed with them the changing health, welfare, and education needs in American communities, as well as the tools that can be utilized to effect progress. The findings of this national training program provided the basis for a work book subsequently used on a community level, first by forty demonstration sections, and then revised for the remainder of National Council's two hundred and forty sections. The twenty women trained as consultants in Greenwich, together with the field staff, assisted the membership of the local sections to set up similar training programs, utilizing the specialists in the local community in the fields of health, welfare, adult education, community organization, and related fields.

The findings of the local seminars provided an overall view of current resources, the needs and gaps in services, as well as the direction of trends in the local community. The boards of directors of the local sections used these findings as a measuring stick for an evaluation of on-going Council programs. All over the United States, in two hundred communities, Council sections were alerted through this study to the significance of change in their own communities. Some sections found that established projects continued to fill a vital unmet need; others added new programs; others discovered that while a

project continued to have validity, techniques and new insights could be utilized; others found that some projects could be better handled by an agency closer related in specific function. Sometimes there was evidence of overlapping and duplication. Sections established program priorities on the basis of local findings, after they had been studied in relation to the criteria for section projects—the ability to finance, to furnish woman power, and many others, but always including the approval of the overall planning agency in the community.

The results of this extensive study made of local communities will not become obsolete over the years, for the national organization has made plans to direct Council sections in what will be called a "Continuing Community Inventory," so that the findings at the time of the Community Leadership Training Seminar will continue to be revised and kept up to date over the years.

One additional and vital step was taken to complete the cycle of training—the establishment of a Presidents' Training Program. Recognizing that a study of the community and of the place of the local organization within the community pattern is only the first step, a second step was taken—the training of the individual member in order that greater satisfactions might accrue from more effective volunteer services. To achieve this end, each year National Council will sponsor a training program in a central location for Council's top leadership, its local presidents. Their training will include the specifics of their own responsibilities as presidents, the practical techniques for the Continuing Community Inventory, and at the same time, techniques and insights into the art of leadership. The local president will return to her community with a clearer conception of her own role as leader. Hopefully the training will provide her with more security on the job, help her to function more effectively, and to give her some additional status in the eyes of local membership. Out of her training will evolve an outline of a training leadership training course to set up in her own section, utilizing again the assistance of community specialists in the presentation of a local leadership training program for local members.

Community Leadership Training Program, which began with twenty women on a national level, will continue to train thousands of women on a local level—first through Community Leadership Training Program, then with a Continuing Community Inventory, then President's Training, and finally training for local leadership. National Council is convinced that this many-faceted program will raise

substantially the level of accomplishment and participation in the activities of the National Council of Jewish Women.

That out of our experiences as citizen volunteers flows a richer and more meaningful existence is well expressed in the following excerpt from some lines written for the National Council of Jewish Women:

> I am a people that finds its greatness among
> many peoples
> And mine is a heritage that yields nothing to
> time, to place,
> That tarnishes only from indifference and in-
> action.
> Therefore do I feel.
> Therefore will I learn.
> Therefore must I act.
> Nothing is wasted, my search and my work—
> For as I give of myself to those in the out-
> side world
> There is yet more of love and of wholeness
> within me
> To bring home each day on my return.

In its sixty-five years of existence, the National Council has been in the vanguard of those organizations responsible for the recruitment and training of citizen volunteers who have worked—and sometimes fought—to extend the frontiers of human welfare at home and abroad. It seems appropriate, therefore, that the National Council should sponsor the publication of a book dedicated to this concept. It is hoped that the citizen volunteer as well as the professional with whom he is associated will derive new insights and find renewed incentives in this book written by people distinguished in the fields related to citizen responsibilities.

Preface

VOLUNTEERS have always been an integral part of the American scene. Professionalization of the helping services and specialization have at times seemed to diminish their importance. In each period, however, voices have been raised to indicate that we were involved with changing patterns rather than elimination. For example, in social work Mary Richmond pointed out to a newly emerging profession that "the world is not a stage upon which we professional workers are to exercise our talent, while the volunteers do nothing but furnish the gate receipts and an open-mouthed admiration of our performances."[1] As she pointed out, "social work is a larger thing than that." In a more recent period, Eduard C. Lindeman spelled out the importance of the partnership if social change and prevention were to be accomplished.

We are now entering a period when professions are beginning to realize that our myriad social problems cannot be solved without the help of the citizen volunteer. Their contribution goes beyond mere supplementation of professional services to meet a real community need. The observation made by Mary Richmond early in the century holds true today. In commenting about the tendency of the professional to push the volunteer into the background, she stated, "But the issue will not down; the deeper it is buried, the more alive it becomes, and so we have also seen, during the last few years, in cities large and small, strong renewal of interest in the right utilization of this great social asset."[2] It is in this spirit that the writing of *The Citizen Volunteer* was undertaken. It is written primarily for the

[1] Joanna C. Colcord and Ruth Z. S. Mann, eds., *The Long View—Papers and Addresses by Mary E. Richmond* (N.Y., Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), p. 345.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

volunteer, but with the hope that the professional who is a key to the partnership may also find it helpful. Another goal is the student entering the helping professions. Perhaps *The Citizen Volunteer* can provide both information and attitudinal bracing as the student moves from lay attitudes to professional knowledge, attitudes, and skills.

In view of the continuing contributions of the National Council of Jewish Women to the "right utilization of this great social asset," it was natural that they turned to this type of project as a way of commemorating their sixty-fifth anniversary. Special thanks is due to Mrs. Frances Cahn, former executive director, and to Mrs. Moise S. Cahn, former president, for their interest and leadership in making this volume possible. I also wish to thank Mrs. Charles Hymes, the new president, and Miss Hannah Stein, the new executive director, for providing a continuity of cooperation.

The book is the product of all its collaborators, and does not represent a single point of view. They have been most cooperative and patient. My thanks to each and every one of them. My secretary, Mrs. Joyce Wightman, did much to make the production aspects of the work easier. I owe special gratitude to my wife and colleague, who read the entire manuscript and made many helpful editorial and content suggestions.

I am also indebted to the various publications from which articles have been selected, for permission to utilize their material.

N.E.C.

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I

WHAT CAN I DO?

The following article by Beulah Amidon appeared in the March 1949 issue of *The Survey*. The problem it presents and the answers it projects are as meaningful and timely today as they were ten years ago. It is a helpful guide "for any present day American who wants to use his leisure in the public service, but doesn't know where to begin."

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WHAT CAN I DO?[1]

Beulah Amidon

THIS article is really a search for answers for a groping fellow citizen. Its beginning was a letter to the editors of this magazine. The letter happened to have a Cincinnati postmark, but it might have been from any town or city:

As a *Survey* reader, I ask for this specific help. Please tell me how I as an individual can use my spare time in this prodigious task of solving or helping alleviate the innumerable social problems that arise each day in this country, in this city.

It is easy enough to say that anyone writing such a letter must be a confused and helpless individual. But aren't we all—you and I and the woman next door and the man at the luncheon club? Living in a difficult and perplexing present, confronting an uncertain future, most of us wish in a vague way that we could "do something about it." And yet how many of us have the energy, the faith in our own judgments, the patience and optimism to dedicate the leisure left over from immediate responsibilities to the service of our community, our nation, our world? How many of us even pick up a pen and ask help in finding where to begin, how to proceed? It is so much easier to sigh over the machinations of "the old gang" at the city hall, the children denied the educational opportunities that all young Americans should enjoy, the hunger in Vienna, the saber-rattling around the world—"Well, what can I do?"

"Nothing," the cynic would reply to anyone asking how he can help solve the problems of a country neither at war nor at peace, a

[1] Reprinted from *The Survey*, LXXXV, No. 3, (March 1949), pp. 133–138.

period of vast physical, economic, social, and political forces and tensions. But can we afford to let the cynic have the last word? The alternative to an effort to deal with these problems is to accept them as inescapable blows of fate. This is not the American attitude even toward Acts of God—as our elaborately organized disaster relief demonstrates so effectively when a hurricane flattens an Arkansas town, the New England rivers go on a rampage, the great snows of 1949 bury the western ranges.

Granted that the "innumerable social problems that arise each day in this country, in this city" do confront every man of good will with "a prodigious task," yet the individual is not helpless. It was out of that conviction that our correspondent wrote us and, agreeing with him, we sought and here present a composite answer to his challenge.

The starting place must be the realization that—as a committee of specialists associated with Community Chests and Councils encourages all volunteer workers in social agencies—"You can't do everything, but you can do something."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt begs this citizen to realize that "no one can solve all the social problems of the community or the world. Therefore, it is best to try to find one thing that is absorbingly interesting to work on and use all his abilities to make of it something which will benefit the community.

"For some people it will mean participation in cultural areas. To others, it will mean participation in some civic or philanthropic field; but if they really put what time they can into some one constructive piece of work, they are bound to accomplish something which will help solve the social problems of a community."

Dr. Ellen C. Potter, New Jersey's Deputy Commissioner for Welfare, former president of the National Conference of Social Work, counsels this seeker for a starting place.

"Let him not scatter his interests too widely, for then his influence will become too thin to be effective; but he needs constant awareness of all constructive activities related to his chosen field, and his choice of his field should be predicated upon his intellectual and emotional interests." Similarly, Arthur J. Altmeyer, head of the Social Security Administration, suggests that he "concentrate on one specific problem" rather than disperse his energy "over the broad social field." And Margaret S. Lewisohn, chairman of the board of trustees of the Public Education Association, comments:

"This is the age of specialization for the layman as well as for the

professional. The task before us is so overwhelming that the intelligent citizen today realizes that he must find one specific area of operation in which he as an individual can make an investment for his and his children's world."

"Yes," the letter writer probably will say at this point, "but that's just what I asked in the first place—how can I use my leisure to help solve the problems that beset us all?"

"Begin with yourself," say the advisers to whom we turned.

"If I had a bit of leisure and desire to spend it in an effort to help meet vexatious social problems that constantly plague us—both in our local community and in national affairs," writes Reginald A. Johnson of the National Urban League, "I would first take an inventory of myself to determine what my more useful and stronger characteristics may be that could be of value to others." And then he poses some pointed questions for this man to ask himself in determining his "most useful attributes": "Do I write or speak well? Am I good at collecting useful data? Do I work well on committees? Have I a particular knack in cultivating people? Am I good at individual contact work? Do I sell ideas well?"

Coming at it from another angle, Professor Benjamin H. Lyndon of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne State University writes: "Somewhere in the experience of each of us there have been life conditions which make us more effective in certain types of social action. There are enough problems and they are sufficiently varied to tap anyone's interest at some point. For your reader, would it be the problems of children or the aged or medical facilities or mental institutions or slum clearance or some other specific field? This choice must be his first step. Secondly, I suggest that he define clearly how much time he would be able to give consistently to effort in whichever direction he selects."

Mrs. Irwin Stewart, wife of the president of the University of West Virginia, and herself a tireless and effective volunteer worker for good causes, also urges him to begin with "an objective analysis" of himself. She goes on, "The excerpt from his letter indicates both good-will and intelligence. The first is a *sine qua non.* The second opens possibilities beyond (although possibly including) stamping and sealing envelopes. He is probably able to make a real contribution to his community. But he should ask himself if he will do his best work organizing, or planning, or writing, keeping accounts and records, dealing with people face to face, making speeches, or some

combination of these. How does his regular job fit in with his civic readiness? If he believes he is fitted for leadership, is he willing to work his way into it as he would expect to do in his business or profession?"

Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, also feels that this man must begin with "his available resources": "No one has as yet catalogued the responsibilities that face the citizen of the United States in the middle of the 20th century. They have grown in number and complexity, until they extend beyond the comprehension and capacity of any one individual. How then perform as a citizen? The answer is that almost every adult can find enough within his comprehension and capacity to absorb his available effort. Within the area of his competence he will need to inform himself, and then apply himself to those matters where perhaps citizen effort is most needed, or where because of his special interests he is able to work most vigorously and productively. But he must begin with a searching of his citizen soul, a consideration, field by field, of the things he feels competent to do."

In a letter penciled on a westbound plane, Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, offers some concrete suggestions: "Your inquirer should make up his mind what he wants to do in more specific terms. If he has money, there are a thousand good causes existing on a shoestring. If he is a church member, start a discussion class, a social problems class to get the pie out of the sky and the sweet-bye-and-bye. If he wants to be an agent in improving international relations, let his group (maybe in his own home or the church basement) follow up study by individual letters to men and women in other countries. Why not become a houser and concentrate on removing the slum evil? Social security is a hot question—why not master that and talk about it?

"If he does not know how to study and how to talk, let him equip himself by participating in adult education classes and that movement itself might give him a lifelong crusade, for we've not even plumbed the depths of social illiteracy.

"Maybe race relations is his meat; if so, he has to do more than talk. Then there's worrying your neighbors about politics—a chore, tedious and time consuming, until you get to know the individuals. Has your inquirer ever heard of trade unions and cooperatives? They need workers by the million. Let him fasten his seat-belt and get down to the jobs waiting on the ground."

Warren R. Austin, United States Representative to the United Nations, suggests possibilities in his own challenging field: "Whatever this man's qualifications, they can be worthily devoted to the cause of the United Nations and used to make a bridge between his local community and the world.

"For instance, if he is a farmer or a dealer in foods he could undertake to keep himself up to date on the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization. Then, working through his own grange, union, club, bureau, church or school group and the local press, he could share that information with his fellow citizens, thus helping to the success of any pioneering and constructive effort.

"If a doctor, he could do the same for the World Health Organization; if an educator, for the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or the International Refugee Organization; if a businessman or lawyer, for the International Trade Organization or the International Bank. He would then be immediately aware of the times when support or even criticism needs to be mobilized. Sometimes one word, or a letter to the editor, one speech at a club meeting, will bring the whole community to action on a project that might have gone unnoticed.

"The work of the UN is too vast and too varied for the commercial press to handle it completely, or even adequately. It requires the inspired and energetic support of individual citizens. An interested citizen who may well be overwhelmed by the mere bulk of material available, and by the size of the tasks remaining to be done, can tackle that portion nearest his own heart, and constitute himself student, analyst, critic, and publicist."

Other writers also suggest specific jobs. Thus, Dr. Ellen C. Potter: "From the vantage point of public welfare administration, the needs and services which loom large are the prevention of juvenile delinquency, or, to put it another way, the promotion of the maximum development of all the young people of your reader's town, that they may become self-dependent, community-minded citizens. Another major objective deals with chronic illness, its prevention, treatment, cure, rehabilitation or custodial care of those (young or old) who may be attacked."

Why not concentrate on the problems of "The aging population," suggests Mr. Altmeyer: "Not only income maintenance as we try to do under the Social Security Act, but also housing, adult education, recreation, and social contacts generally. This is a problem which

is receiving very little attention in most communities and it is becoming increasingly acute."

From George Field, executive secretary of Freedom House: join the local club of a political organization; help in the program of a local settlement house or community center; write letters on community problems to the editor of the local newspaper; join local, state, or national organizations in his field of interest; make his voice felt by keeping a close watch on what his local, state, and national representatives are up to, and through letters to them, let them know what he thinks they should do.

Professor Hubert M. Evans of Teachers College, Columbia University, writes ruefully that, "my own personal difficulty does not arise out of a lack of opportunity to do work on social problems, but rather in finding some time to do it." But if he had more time, these are some of the community enterprises that compel his interest: a consumer cooperative group, "committed to action not only in the fields of economics but in the field of education as well"; a neighborhood center; several local churches, "each of which supports action groups"; public schools with affiliated parent-teacher associations, to which "an intelligent citizen with leisure would be a godsend."

A plea that this man with time on his hands do something about "the forgotten *public* institutions" is made by Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania: "For a hundred people who are interested and actively working for the voluntary hospital or children's home there is one—or none—who has ever visited the county home, or the juvenile detention home, or the nearest mental hospital." She adds, "Public mental institutions fell into their present deplorable state chiefly, I am convinced, because of lack of citizen interest. One informed, devoted citizen, half-dead of tuberculosis (Dorothy Dix) carried on the battle to bring the mentally ill out of the almshouse. Now we need to bring them and keep them in the public consciousness—as hospital patients who must receive the most adequate care our society can offer."

"Yes," this letter writer is likely to object, "but what has any of this to do with affecting Kremlin action or preventing atomic war?" Richard K. Bennett of the American Friends Service Committee has a serene, farseeing Quaker answer: "The trees of liberty and world peace are native of all lands. But they thrive or die depending on the health of their roots. The roots are in our many communities. Diplomats may forestall war, and cries may come and go, but the war-

oriented mind can never be changed until peace comes to Main Street. Then a free and just society will spread and be copied throughout the world, and all who work now for the common good will have 'done something about it.' "

And it is on his own Main Street that most of these advisers urge our friend to begin.

Professor Lyndon feels that he should "discuss his thinking with some qualified individual in his own community who might help him get a clear perspective on the kind of social contribution for which he is best fitted."

In our reader's place, Reginald A. Johnson would "visit my local Community Chest and the Council of Social Agencies and volunteer to participate in their forthcoming financial campaign, and programs through which they would be making a study of human needs in the community. From such participation, I should hope to learn about the various groups, organizations, agencies, committees, and individuals in my community who are trying to make it a better place in which to live. I should then visit some of these agencies and meet with various committees, and out of these contacts, find areas that could utilize my interest and abilities."

Even more directly, George Field says, "An individual who wishes to help solve social problems that arise each day, should begin his work in his immediate neighborhood or community. There is too often a tendency to try to solve the problems of the universe while ignoring one's own backyard."

Mrs. Stewart feels that "a local field of interest has advantages for the beginner. It may be one of broad range—public health, housing, recreation, child welfare, education, social work, community planning. He would then be wise to choose several activities within the broad field. While he need not become active in more than one field at the outset, over-concentration on a single program or goal may turn him into a Johnny One-Note. I know from experience it doesn't take a community long to become bored with (and resistant to) both Johnny and his note. Specific projects are easy to find. This inquirer can get some ideas from articles in *The Survey* on activities in other communities. His home town newspaper will carry reports of many community deficiencies. He can attend meetings of the city council (or its equivalent), of parent-teacher and similar open groups. He can talk to his neighbors, including the teen-agers. In the last analysis, he has only to use his eyes and ears."

As the next step after his personal inventory, Ralph H. Blanchard, executive director of Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., suggests that this inquirer proceed to "an assessment of what the community has to offer its citizens. Talk with the people already at work on the community's health and welfare problems. Start with the central planning group—maybe a community welfare council, maybe an agency which has assumed the planning function. Seek out the agencies and civic groups working on services for children, youth, families, sick or disabled persons, prisoners, the aged, the mentally ill, or working on recreation, housing, health protection, transportation, medical care. The network of services is rather highly organized. The last two decades have shown that joint planning and federated financing pay dividends in efficiency, economy, and better service for people. Open yourself to understanding the ways things are being done, but remember that the independent thinking of concerned citizens is a priceless offering. Decide what you think the community needs most and where you have the most to give. Offer the skill, time, and interests you have. Remember that the best volunteers in community service are the ones who get a kick out of what they do."

When he is this far on his quest, this "concerned citizen" may feel the need for trained advice. This is what would be of most help, after his ground-clearing exploration of himself and his community, in the view of Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization in the Institute of Social Work, University of Michigan. He writes:

"This is a problem in 'avocational counseling' for a particular individual. The counselor should know health and welfare needs and resources in the community, have imagination and some skill or at least a 'feel' for avocational guidance. The head of the volunteer bureau or the executive of the community welfare council is probably the best bet, but it may have to be some other social worker or layman. The counselor should hold a careful interview, covering the seeker's age, religion, background, education, experience. What are his special 'concerns,' interests, and skills? How much time can he and will he give? Is he prepared to build up a real contribution over the years? Perhaps this man is all ready to be poured into a mold of conventional volunteer jobs in welfare agencies. Perhaps he ought to work on the policy-making level or on the preventive side, or in some civic organization. Maybe he ought to run for the city council; serve on the committee on race relations of the local church council;

work for a new playground; help develop an open forum or worker's education program; or ally himself with a militant 'social action' group."

Implicitly and explicitly, these answers indicate that unless this man is extraordinarily endowed with talent or wealth (or both), he will accomplish more as an active member of a group than as a lone wolf.

Professor Evans writes, "At the outset, I think it can be stated that an individual in our modern industrial society, as an individual, is relatively helpless. It follows then that for an individual to achieve greater effectiveness in his citizenship he must join with others. The agencies I have in mind are the varied groups or action-study groups interested in one or more of our many social problems. If, in your reader's community, there are no such groups suitable to the abilities and interests of a person with leisure, then he can take the initiative in forming one."

"Knowing how lost or frustrated a single individual can feel," Mr. Bennett says that "I would go into my community and seek out those like myself who 'want to help.' Together we could establish a group transcending racial, religious, cultural, or nationality barriers which would face the particular problems within our community and plan how best to tackle them. We might not try *everything* at once (or, for that matter, ever). But with a genuine desire for progress and a determination to become the best kind of neighbors and world citizens, we might make an impact on our community through a race relations program, for example, education for sounder economic and social order, better understanding between labor and management. Our local needs would determine the direction of our work."

In seeking a group that shares his interests and needs his help, this man is fortunate in living in one of the seventy-odd cities which has a Volunteer Bureau. If he feels he can function best through a political party, a church, a fraternal organization, a propaganda body, a labor union, he will not need this agency's help. But if his "concern" lies within a welfare field—juvenile delinquency, health, intercultural relations, penology, education, recreation—then the Volunteer Bureau is the place to which to turn. This is a sort of clearing house, where community agencies list their needs for volunteer help, and to which those with leisure to devote to the common welfare can go for counsel and direction.

He will be welcome there. He will find a trained person who is

ready to talk things over with him, to help him define his own interests and abilities, to discuss community needs and avenues of work. Out of a file of requests for help, the bureau executive will select what seems a likely possibility for this particular individual, and send him to a group which appears to need the talent and the amount of time he has. Perhaps the first guess will be wrong—that agency wants someone for three specific half-days a week, and the new recruit requires a more flexible schedule. Or it has only a single big, clattery office, while he needs a cubbyhole of his own in which to collect his thoughts and do his stint. He may have to go back to the bureau more than once. He may have to be game to try two or three short-time jobs, in the search for the type of program and work situation in which he can make his best contribution. But in the process, he is almost sure to make some interesting and rewarding discoveries.

For one thing, he will find out (if he does not already know) that he is not alone—his name is legion. There are some thirty million Americans who, for a variety of reasons, give unpaid help to religious, social, political, civic, service organizations. During the war, this number was swelled by more than eleven million volunteers who never before had offered their services but who, under the pressure of a national emergency, manned jobs as varied as those of canteen hostess, Selective Service clerk, hospital orderly, War Production Board "expediter," atomic physicist, torch singer for the USO.

In his personal inventory, his study of his own community, his conferences at the volunteer bureau, he probably will come to realize that different people have different motives in devoting their leisure to public service. In a symposium on citizen participation in community projects held in connection with the Vassar Summer Institute last July, 164 registrants gave their reasons for accepting responsibilities as volunteer workers. Those listed by more than 20 per cent were (in the order of their importance): "Desire to do something useful"; "need to have some interest outside home or job"; "you meet interesting people"; "prodded by a felt need for self or family"; "enjoy the prestige and importance"; "just can't say 'no' to a request." The man from Cincinnati will realize that the reasons why his fellow Americans are willing to devote their leisure to community service rather than to bridge, golf, cocktail parties, movies, travel, baseball, playing the piccolo, are many and various. He will be interested and enlightened in checking his own motives against the Vassar list.

Perhaps he will be surprised to find that many groups offer—even require—special training for their volunteer workers. This preparation ranges from the acquisition of special skills, such as the training for work with the Boy Scouts, or in hospitals and clinics, to discussions of philosophy and point of view in some of the religious and character-building agencies.

In other words, in most volunteer work with organized groups today, the emphasis is on quality as well as quantity. This was what Professor Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work probably had in mind when he said, "The health of a democratic society may be measured by the quality of services performed by its citizen volunteers." And a similar emphasis on the value of citizen participation was underscored in a letter from George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College:

"The human conscience is a social conscience. When it functions it says that I am my brother's keeper. But if one asks just how he is to be kept, problems arise. The individual can deal with another individual only as a neighbor. Fellow members of society can be dealt with solely through a group. The value of this group depends in the final analysis upon the strength and importance of its impact on society as a whole. I think, therefore, that one ought to choose the groups to which one belongs as one chooses a wife or a friend. It should be for keeps. Then one must work hard, think fast, and feel strongly in order to make the group serve the purpose for which it was established."

There is almost no agency which could not point out, with remorse, regret, and shame, the importance of choosing a group "for keeps" and for broad and continued support of its program. There is, for example, a town in which an effective school lunch committee suddenly awoke to the fact that the gains in weight made by children from an impoverished neighborhood during the school year were lost in the summer vacation, when no supplementary meal was provided. There was the recreation agency which was shocked by the traffic deaths of preschool children, who were excluded by their age from the neighborhood playgrounds. There was the successful "drive" for chest X-rays which failed of its purpose because there was no provision made for a "follow-up" of the cases of tuberculosis the drive discovered.

Mrs. Stewart suggests: "It's a good idea, of course, to begin with something that may be brought to a successful conclusion within a

reasonable time. Recently, a group of men in my town decided we needed another baseball field. In our mountains, that is a major project. Co-operation of the municipal recreation department, a newspaper columnist, several men's service clubs, and the radio station resulted in a successful campaign for funds and donation of equipment needed to level off the land and put it in shape. It was turned over to the city, and is being operated as part of our recreation program. A few years ago, another group decided we needed a place where teenagers could congregate, and a thriving youth center supported financially by the city and more than a dozen local organizations, and tactfully supervised, is now one of the prides of our town."

A somewhat unusual contribution to the welfare field is proposed by Clarence A. Dykstra, Provost of the University of California: "A sincere and sensitive person such as your correspondent appears to be, might attempt thoroughly to understand the objectives of the social welfare agencies of his community, and then help them re-think those goals in the light of current community needs. In other words, he might usefully help increase the social effectiveness of even those agencies which already may be the most constructive forces working for the welfare of the community. If he can make the salt saltier, he may accomplish more than if he assisted only in distributing more widely the salt already at hand."

Personal participation in efforts toward social betterment was emphasized by the Reverend David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, New York City, who wrote:

"Mrs. X lost her beautiful young daughter. The mother rose up from her mourning and determined to give the world something to take the place of the girl who never grew to womanhood. For the rest of her life she worked creatively with an organization which serves underprivileged women.

"Mr. Y's wife died, leaving him alone without children. In flight from his loneliness in his New York apartment he came in contact with an organization working among immigrants. Now he goes out and meets these new Americans as a friend, and helps them in their cultural, economic, and social adjustment to their new life.

"The formula underlying these and many other instances which I could give is that one way for any individual to help alleviate social problems is to cease to be an individual. He has to throw himself into some organized activity that most fully satisfies his intellectual, social,

emotional, and religious interests and needs. If he wants to know what organization that should be, let him consult his minister or some person experienced in social welfare. Sitting home and writing checks for good causes, however generously, is no substitute for the self-fulfillment which comes from personal service."

In the experience of Carey McWilliams, author of *A Mask for Privilege,* any person who asks such a question as our reader posed "is always of the type that wants or expects a simple prescription, like 'take up Vedanta' or 'join this or that organization.' "

This article offers no such easy formula. Rather, all these replies have suggested a rigorous and detailed analysis of the individual's own abilities, the needs of his community, the processes and responsibilities of group action.

If he follows the course these advisers collectively outline, he will find himself enrolled in the great army of Americans who work as volunteers in the service of their community, their country, their civilization. The value of this contribution was sketched by Professor Lindeman in a "fantasy" he wrote for the Volunteer Personnel Committee of the New York City YWCA. In his fantasy, all the volunteers went on strike—"all trustees of colleges, universities, and private schools; all members of local school boards; all directors of private institutions and agencies; all solicitors for community chests; all lay boards collaborating with public institutions and agencies; all committee members of private institutions and agencies; and that great host of citizens who serve multitudes of educational, welfare, health, and recreational organizations in one capacity or another."

Lord Moulton, in an address delivered before the Author's Club of London and later published in the *Atlantic Monthly,* once pointed out that we live under the discipline of three domains: the positive law, which prescribes rules of conduct and exacts penalties for disobedience; the realm of free choice, covered by no statutes; and the domain in which neither positive law nor free choice prevails, the land of "obedience to the unenforceable." And picking up Lord Moulton's phrase, Professor Lindeman concluded:

"I wish I knew how to induce volunteers to appreciate the significant role they play in furnishing vitality to the democratic enterprise. They are to democracy what circulation of the blood is to the organism. They keep democracy alive. They epitomize freedom and are to our society what the Bill of Rights is to the Constitution which governs us. The health of a democratic society may be measured in

terms of the quality of services rendered by citizens who act in 'obedience to the unenforceable.' "

The cooperative answer offers both encouragement and specific suggestions to the baffled man from Cincinnati, and perhaps to others in the same quandary. It shows him where and how he can begin, some of the community resources he can tap, the infinitely varied places which sorely need the good citizen with time to spare and a willingness to work and learn. It shows him, too, some of the larger values of the volunteers' contribution to the American enterprise today. Will he roll up his sleeves and go to work? Only he can answer that one. But if he does dedicate some time to community service, he will discover—perhaps to his surprise—that he is not only a giver but a receiver. For unselfish effort has its own rare fruits of satisfaction, growth, and understanding.

II

IS IT IMPORTANT?

Democracy as a way of life will continue to succeed only if its institutions can help develop "mature, wise and responsible citizens who can participate intelligently in a free society." Responsible citizenship is not learned in a vacuum or only in the political arena. It must be nourished through an everyday laboratory which is an integral part of the total fabric of our democratic society. The voluntary associations which emerge around our basic economic, political, social, educational, religious, health and welfare institutions, and stand between the individual and the more formal institutional structures, provide such a laboratory. They are not artificially created. They represent a genuine response to the individual's need for recognition, status, friendship, and growth; and to our democracy's need for channels of and by the people for influencing the direction of society.

There is a close relationship between the values underlying these voluntary associations and those of the use of volunteers in programs designed to help one's fellow men. When social agencies utilize volunteers, it is not merely to add manpower, but also to strengthen the sense of responsibility which we should all have for each other; for important to our democracy is a concern for responsibility as well as for rights. Democracy in many ways is like a marriage contract based on deep respect and feeling between human beings, where we promise a mutual concern for each other in health or in sickness, in good fortune or in misfortune, 'til totalitarianism do us part. The act of volunteering is perhaps less important than the "why" and "how" we do it. If we believe that the person in need is not an inferior person and by our very approach strengthen his belief in democracy's concern for the

dignity of the individual, then we have contributed much to the goals and values of the democratic way of life.

The voluntary association is also a channel through which the dignity of the individual, his rights and responsibilities can be expressed. It, like the individual, can be "self-centered" or "public-centered." As the voluntary association moves from narrow vested interest to a growing concern for the "common weal" it begins to fulfill the important function of helping to develop "mature, wise, and responsible citizens who will participate intelligently in a free society." It also provides a channel through which such citizens can be heard and their influence felt on matters pertaining to social policy.

2

VOLUNTARISM: A DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF AMERICA

Daniel Thursz

A DISCUSSION of the volunteer in American social work must begin with an appraisal of the setting in which it developed. When Lord Tweedsmuir, better known as Sir John Buchan, visited the United States at the beginning of this century, he attempted to record the qualities which he felt seem to flourish "more lustily" in the United States than elsewhere. Foremost among these qualities, he listed "the sincere and widespread friendliness of the people." He went on to explain this characteristic of the America he visited:

Americans are interested in the human race, and in each other. Deriving doubtless from the old frontier days, there is general helpfulness, which I have not found in the same degree elsewhere. A homesteader in Dakota will accompany a traveler for miles to set him on the right road. The neighbors will rally round one of their number in distress with the loyalty of a highland clan. This friendliness is not a self-conscious duty so much as an instinct. A squatter in a cabin will share his scanty provender and never dream that he is doing anything unusual. American hospitality, long as I have enjoyed it, still leaves me breathless. The lavishness with which a busy man will give up precious time to entertain a stranger to whom he is in no way bound, remains to me one of the wonders of the world.[1]

In recent years, there have been those who have expressed doubt

[1] Lord Tweedsmuir, "The American Character," in Alan Nevins, ed., *America through British Eyes* (N.Y., Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 497.

that the spirit of voluntarism is still a meaningful force in American society. These skeptics have pointed to several studies which indicate that the majority of Americans do not belong to voluntary associations. Others have remarked that the relatively low percentage of Americans participating in local and national elections is an additional sign of "mass apathy."

There is little doubt that large numbers of Americans are indeed not formally associated with voluntary organizations. The famed Yankee City study by Warner showed that only 41 per cent of the total population were members of even one association.[2] In another study conducted in Erie County, Ohio, a medium sized city with a surrounding rural area, a little less than 50 per cent of the population did not belong to any association.[3] Bernard Barber writes that in several studies of both urban and rural settings, it was discovered that approximately 30 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women had no organizational affiliation.[4]

Yet even a hasty examination of the daily press of the United States will bring forth much evidence that although many Americans are not "joiners," the spirit of voluntarism which has impressed visitors throughout the history of the United States still motivates unusual actions and unusual dedication on the part of countless citizens. This can be illustrated by a newspaper item which appeared late in 1958 in one of the dailies of a great American metropolis, one which could not be compared by any stretch of the imagination to the frontier town or even today's rural hamlets that dot the countryside.

Washington, D.C. has a complex of modern "bedroom communities" surrounding it, inhabited by white collar cosmopolitan population, primarily government employees.

The item appeared in the *Washington Evening Star* and relates to a helicopter crash in the Potomac River on a raining and cold December night. Ten persons, believed critically injured, were taken to a local hospital and an appeal for blood was broadcast by a radio station at about midnight.

Hundreds of would-be donors converged on the institution in answer to a

[2] Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward, eds., *Social Perspectives on Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1958), p. 231.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

radio appeal for blood. The response caused a traffic jam that took half a dozen policemen to straighten out.

Many parked their cars three blocks away and walked through the rain to offer their blood for the injured. One couple arrived carrying a baby, and a man who heard the broadcast on his car radio pulled up beside a police patrol car on the outskirts of Leesburg, Virginia, and asked to be escorted to the hospital.

Several donors appeared wearing their overcoats over pajamas. Hospital officials estimated, at one time, more than 200 persons were in the lobby or outside standing in the rain waiting to donate.[5]

This was not an unusual occurrence. It did not merit front page space and yet most observers of the American scene would borrow Harry Golden's title and say "Only in America."[6] Bradford Smith writes of the "ideal of service" as being a unique American phenomenon:

Vulnerable as Americans are to criticism on other points, even their critics have not denied them generosity and a concern to help those who have not been so richly blessed with material goods. . . . A disaster, whether at home or abroad, invariably brings forth a flood of voluntary contributions. The necessity for mutual aid in the first settlements and on the frontier may have passed, but the response is still there.[7]

It is this idea of service, a cultural trait attributed to Americans, which has nurtured the development of the voluntary social agencies and which has made "volunteering" an important aspect of the life of countless Americans.

Some will say that the roots of voluntarism go much deeper. This is, of course, true. Love for fellow human beings, developed from the word *caritas* charity, has been a dominant concept in many civilizations and is part of the doctrine of most religions. Yet within each era, there were differences in both motivation and focus. Both Christianity and Judaism share the clear, simple, and magnificent injunction: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." The Talmudic sages included in the massive compilation of Jewish civil and religious law first begun in 500 B.C. a statement of the ten principal deeds with which man

[5] *Washington Evening Star,* December 8, 1959, p. 22.

[6] Harry Golden, *Only in America* (Cleveland, The World Publishing Co., 1958).

[7] Bradford Smith, *Why We Behave Like Americans* (N.Y., Lippincott, 1957), p. 83.

can earn his reward for good living. Among the ten deeds were listed: the practice of charity, hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, providing dowries for poor brides, attending the dead to the grave, and acting as peacemaker.[8] In this simple statement is the origin of many distinct social agencies today ranging from the Travelers Aid to the various state and local conciliation services. One of the writers on the subject of early Christian charity indicates a similar trend in the Church:

> There developed a tendency in the practice of charity which emphasized Christ's reward to the charitable. . . . The Church taught that charity was necessary for salvation, and it was generally accepted that the poor were to be instrumental in gaining salvation for the charitable volunteer who unselfishly aided them.[9]

Religious Basis

It is to this religious concept of man's responsibility for his fellow man, plus the perils of pioneer existence, that some writers attribute the entire development of voluntarism in America. Bradford Smith indicates that the Pilgrims, when they left England for Holland in 1607, had already bound themselves in what they called "A Covenant with the Lord." They believed that a true church had to be a voluntary association of like-minded people. From the earliest days in the New World, these communities of immigrants ran their own local affairs.[10] Harold Laski, too, felt that the religious element in American tradition was an important dynamic and one which could easily be overlooked or mistaken:

> The churches must aid men in their struggle to be citizens; religion is of social value as a means of keeping order and stirring men to make the exertions that life requires. . . . It is in its encouragement of individual effort that religion found its place in the American tradition. And that power was intensified by the influence upon it of frontier conditions and frontier psychology.[11]

[8] Rabbi Sydney L. Markowitz, *What You Should Know About Jewish Religion, History, Ethics and Culture* (N.Y., The Citadel Press, 1955), p. 146.

[9] Mary Elizabeth Walsh, *Saints and Social Work: A Study of the Treatment of Poverty as Illustrated by the Lives of the Saints and Beati of the Last 100 Years* (Silver Spring, Md., Preservation of the Faith, 1937), p. 3.

[10] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[11] Harold J. Laski, *American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation* (N.Y., The Viking Press, 1948), p. 27.

There can be no doubt that during the first stage of our country's development, following their European tradition, the religious institutions assumed responsibility for charitable works and for the necessary organizational work to mobilize the community. Church societies were formed, composed entirely of fervent volunteer members who dispersed charity "in the best way they knew how" to those of the "right" religious faith. These sectarian societies had as a guiding principle "a biased interpretation of 'who is thy neighbor' before help was extended."[12]

To the present day, some of the great voluntary social agencies have continued to be church sponsored.

Political Basis

Other writers saw in the amazing ability of Americans to organize associations of all sorts, an expression of political freedom and a force which created a strengthened republic. "In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater multitude of objects than in America," states Alexis De Tocqueville in his classic *Democracy in America.* He then went on to explain the special importance of this process to democracy:

> The most natural privilege of man, next to the right of acting for himself, is that of combining his exertions with those of his fellow creatures and of acting in common with them. The right of association therefore appears to me almost inalienable in its nature as the right of personal liberty. No legislator can attack it without impairing the foundations of society.[13]

Max Lerner also expressed the view that the associative impulse in America serves a political as well as social role: "It is through these associations," he writes, "that Americans avoid the excesses both of state worship and of complete individualism."[14] Max Lerner recounts that following a visit to America in 1905, the famed German sociologist, Max Weber, spoke of "voluntary associations" as bridging the transition between the "closed hierarchical society of the Old World

[12] Joyce E. Pereira, "A History of Volunteers in Social Welfare in the United States," unpublished Master's thesis, National Catholic School of Social Service, Catholic University of America, 1947, p. 8.

[13] Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. Henry Reeve, rev. Francis Bowen, Phillip Bradley (N.Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), Vol. I, p. 191.

[14] Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (N.Y., Simon & Shuster, 1957), p. 635.

and the fragmented individualism of the New World."[15] According to Lerner, students of German society, looking back in the Nazi experience, thought that they could trace a connection between the lesser role of such voluntary groups in Germany and the rise of totalitarianism. "Their assumption was that when the associative impulse is balked," writes Max Lerner, "it may express itself in a more destructive way."[16] Bradford Smith, with less restraint, flatly declares: "It is this habit of voluntary association proliferated throughout the society which makes the nation invulnerable to dictatorship and which provides a kind of chain-mail defense against any tyrannical group."[17]

Psychological Basis

In an era which has been described as the "age of psychoanalysis," some observers of the American scene have attempted to give "deeper" interpretations of the voluntarism which has characterized America.

Geoffrey Gorer, in his book *The American People: A Study in National Character,* suggests that the existence of innumerable clubs and fraternal and patriotic associations and other activities is due to the fact that Americans have "inextricably confused two ideas: to be successful is to be loved; to be loved is to be successful." It is these feelings, he says, which make loneliness intolerable to well adjusted Americans and accounts for the numerous social features which are designed to obviate it.[18]

Max Lerner, in *America as a Civilization,* rejects this rather glib explanation for American voluntarism and the "associative impulses."

There are some who find various reasons for the fact that Americans are intensely active in organizations. Some say that the American propensity to join meets a need of the personality and mediates disturbances within that personality and that keeping busy in association work is one way of meeting, avoiding or channeling tensions within oneself. Yet, this seems a negative, a partial approach. Like other human beings, Americans don't

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 630.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 104.
[18] Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People: A Study in National Character* (N.Y., W. W. Norton & Co., 1948), p. 107.

do things just to avoid trouble or allay guilt. In a deeper and more affirmative sense, the joining impulse is part of the expansion of personality even while it may often help to create some of the insecurities it seeks to allay.[19]

Obviously, the extent of volunteer activity in the United States is also associated with the high standard of living, the relatively short work week, and the availability of leisure time. Those who comment on the low degree of voluntarism and associative impulse in other lands should remember that in many countries, the struggle to keep alive and to feed and nourish one's family is in itself a formidable dawn-to-dusk task which leaves little time or energy for associations and for community service.

Bernard Barber has studied the apparent conflict between the high value which the American society has atttributed to "voluntary participation" and the fact already mentioned that large numbers are unaffiliated and that even among the members of various organizations, there are two groups—an active minority and an inactive majority. He attributes this to the American social structure which "does more than segregate . . . other interests from family and job obligations. It defines them as being of less importance than family and job obligations."[20] He continues:

Because of the individual's culturally prescribed pre-occupation in the United States with obligations to his job and his "isolated conjugal family" there exists a socially structured pull-away from membership in even those voluntary associations relevant to his interests. Further, even when he is a member of an association, the individual's interest is so limited that it leads to minimal participation. This definitely limited interest can be illustreated by the attitudes of members of such voluntary associations as farmers, co-operatives and trade unions.[21]

It is important to recognize these factors in our social structure which limit the involvement of the full community in volunteer activities, and which create what sociologists have called "mass apathy." Barber stresses the view that this so-called "mass apathy" is not an alienation from the values of democracy. "A great danger of the utopian attitude," he writes, "is that sometimes, in its disappointment, it becomes disillusioned or cynical rejection of the values them-

[19] Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 637.
[20] Barber, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
[21] *Ibid.*

selves. A structural view of the whole of American society . . . can save us from this unwarranted pessimism."[22]

The significant fact, however, is that voluntarism as it exists today in America, accepting the limits described and despite the high percentage of non-involved individuals, is still a noteworthy achievement and a characteristic of the American setting.

Whatever the motivation or the historical source, there is bound to be agreement among social workers that voluntarism has brought untold benefits to the community as well as to the individuals involved. The values stressed by Bradford Smith in his study *Why We Behave like Americans* are real and are part of the philosophy of social work today:

> The individual who is organically related to his community through such group activities loses the sense of isolation and apartness and comes to think of himself as integrated into the whole society with which he has so many overlapping points of contact. "Service above self" is the Rotary slogan. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" says the church. It is simple philosophy, one John and his wife [typical Americans] can understand because they experience it, day by day, the community.
>
> Mutual, voluntary service is the means by which the active citizen realizes his position in society, satisfies his need for achievement and develops a sense of security and mutual respect.[23]

Our great voluntary social agencies bear testimony to the favorable climate which America offered to the philosophy of "Love thy neighbor" enunciated thousands of years earlier.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[23] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

3

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION THE BACKBONE OF DEMOCRACY

Nathan E. Cohen

ONE of the important ideas contained in the word democracy is government by the people. In the early history of the nation this was symbolized by the town meeting through which all citizens participated on a wide variety of issues pertaining to the life of the community. This was the period when America was primarily a rural society made up of many small towns and villages. These villages and towns were in the main economically self-sufficient and stable units. There did not exist the elaborate division of labor or the numerous associations that we see today. The pattern was more that of a large family structure with the guide lines for conduct and the values sharply defined. Through the family, the neighborhood, and the village there was an intimate sharing of common values.

The impact of industrialization and the growing urbanization brought a marked change to this highly undifferentiated form of community living. The family began to release its normal economic, educational, religious, and police functions to newly created institutions in the community. The village and the town expanded into large urban communities where the town hall form of participation was no longer feasible. Another traditional grouping such as the neighborhood began to lose its characteristics of proximity and direct personal relations and was replaced by numerous special interest groups in all walks of life. A highly undifferentiated and localized society gave way to a highly specialized and geographically mobile one.

The changing patterns of community living brought new needs

and demanded new institutions for meeting them. A basic thread in the development of these institutions was to provide the channels through which the citizen could continue to participate in the common concerns of the community and the nation. The numerous voluntary associations which emerged in the economic, political, educational, religious, health and welfare spheres provide in varying degrees the opportunity for individuals to protect their interests, fight for their rights, and discharge their social responsibilities. Voluntary associations vary greatly in their interests, and in the extent to which their concern is a narrow vested interest or the broader public interest. Grace Coyle[1] describes four functions performed by voluntary associations which are essential characteristics of a democratic society. First, they provide opportunities for social contacts; secondly, they are channels for cultural expression or consummatory interests; thirdly, they provide a decentralization of the forces of power and counteract a monopoly of political power as in a totalitarian state; and, fourthly, they provide a basis for the promotion of the general welfare.

We see around us the numerous voluntary groups which have been organized to meet the special interests of people today. These include social and recreational, intellectual, professional, economic, religious, political, civic, specialized services, and the like. These groups exist in the towns with a population of under 10,000 as well as in the cities. For example, a study of a town of 6,000 identified more than seventy-five such groups. In the urban areas, the groups are so numerous that it has been necessary to develop centralized organizations to achieve better coordination and planning.

In order to understand the changes which have taken place in our nation over the years it may be helpful to review the dominant characteristics of American life. American society can be characterized by its deep concern for individualism, democracy, and humanitarianism. America in its early history was known as the land of the "rugged individualist." The individual was regarded as the fountainhead of progress. Through his imagination, hard work, and self-reliance, society as a whole was benefited. "Rugged individualism" also reflected the view that the least amount of government was the best kind of government, and that the individual's rights had to be protected against the intrusion of the state.

[1] Grace L. Coyle, *Group Experience and Democratic Values* (N.Y., The Woman's Press, 1947), pp. 12–17.

Democracy reflected the nation's confidence in the average man, in his ability to govern himself and to take on responsibilities delegated by the society as a whole. Even in the earliest period there was recognition that freedom could not be unrestricted. The essence of the democratic approach was man's opportunity to participate in the rules of the game by which choices were to be made. The restriction or expansion of his freedom was not to be determined arbitrarily by an authoritative source but rather by majority decisions of all the people involved. The emphasis was on decisions that favored the common good rather than that of any special segment of the society.

Humanitarianism, a common impulse to do for others and a sympathy for the underdog or the unfortunate, has always been present in the American scene even with its highly diversified ethnic, cultural, economic, and social structure. Numerous examples of mutual self-help can be found from the early beginnings of American life. It is out of this humanitarian faith that the programs of social reform and social welfare have emerged on the American scene.

With the changes wrought by industrialization and urbanization and with the growing interdependence of modern day society these three basic characteristics have undergone new meaning and interpretation. The concept of "rugged individualism" can no longer be seen within the context of a pioneer society where an individual's freedom could be satisfied in the extreme by establishing new communities or retreating to a self-contained farm. Today there is greater possibility that the freedom of one man or one group may be at the expense of another individual's or group's freedom. Individualism, to have meaning in today's society, cannot be abstracted from democracy as a way of life. "Rugged individualism" in a period where the access to opportunity is no longer as equal or as readily available as was true before the frontiers were closed, can become privilege. Individualism as an integral part of democracy is one which recognizes the potentialities of man regardless of race, creed, or origin of birth, and which approaches man in terms of his potentialities, that is, not only in terms of what he is but also what he can become if dealt with justly and if given equal opportunity.

Humanitarianism has also undergone change. In the early periods it could be expressed as charity and as the concern of those who had for those who have not. The expansion of democracy has brought with it a conception of rights. Our social welfare programs are democracy's way of handling people in need, people who are entitled

to their share of the common good. With the Great Depression of the thirties it became evident that our humanitarian faith could no longer be handled through private channels and that government had to play an expanded role in helping to meet the health and welfare needs of the people. This has brought conflict for those who have held strongly to the view that the least amount of government is the best kind of government, and who fear the government programs must end with an intrusion on the freedom of the individual.

There is growing fear that these changes may destroy the democratic way of life. Many of the developments, however, have represented a growing fulfillment of the egalitarian value in American democracy. We cannot reverse the calendar and shift back to a rural society again. We cannot have our technological advances and a "frontier-day" conception of democracy at the same time. The challenge of the period is how to proceed with technological advances and urbanization without bringing about the depersonalization of the individual and his importance in the democratic scheme of things. Walt Whitman expressed this view in his poem "For the People and By the People."

> It is not the earth, it is not America who is so great,
> It is I who am great or to be great, it is You or they,
> or any one,
>
> It is to walk rapidly through civilizations, government, theories,
> Through poems, pageants, shows, to form individuals.
> Underneath all, individuals, I swear nothing is good to me
> now that ignores individuals . . .

There is a tendency to forget that the phenomenon of voluntary groups is deeply rooted in American life and that individualism has always been surrounded in varying degrees by what Robert C. Angell[2] refers to as "group individualism." As society has become more complicated it has become necessary to see the interdependence of the dominant characteristics of individualism, democracy, and humanitarianism. In a sense what we have seen is the growing democratization of individualism and humanitarianism. We have learned that an individual with a sense of independence is more adequate than a dependent personality; but that independence in the

[2] Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society* (N.Y., McGraw-Hill, 1941), p. 3.

extreme without a sense of interdependence does not meet the requirements of present day society. In other words, concern merely for our rights without a corresponding concern for social responsibility results in a fragmented citizen if viewed against the needs of a democratic society. "Rugged individualism" has been giving way to "rugged associationism," which need not mean a loss of individualism providing the individual maintains the voluntary choice of his associations, and has something to say about the rules of the game within the association by which decisions are made. The shift from charity to rights is also an expression of the dignity and worth of the individual and a recognition of the growing interdependence of society.

The problem is not in the multiplication of the great variety of associations and in the trend toward "rugged associationism," but rather in how they operate. The emergence of voluntary associations has not necessarily meant an intensification of participation at a level reflecting the importance of government by the people. In the town referred to above, for example, even though seventy-five organizations were identified, only one-third to one-half of the adults in the community were found to belong to any organized groups except the churches. Furthermore, as voluntary associations have developed and have taken on paid staff, or where a small group has retained them, there is frequently a tendency toward apathy on the part of the membership of these associations. With bigness has come the loss of a sense of meaningful participation, a loss of the feeling of being valued as an individual, and a decrease in the opportunity for all individuals concerned in willingly participating in the determinations of the goals and policies of the association.

The problem becomes more acute when we realize that government by the people is not learned merely in the political arena, and that to be effective it must pervade all segments of our experiences dealing with education for effective living. Since many of the voluntary associations have become an important substitute and supplement for the primary group experiences which have been the "building block" of democratic societies, what happens within these associations helps to determine the extent to which our democratic muscles can be strengthened. As emphasized by Eduard C. Lindeman, "self-government is learned in the daily round of life, in family circles, play groups, staff meetings, conferences, neighborhood and community

meetings and, indeed at every juncture of experience which brings one human being into relationship with another."[3]

There is no question that the change from an undifferentiated, simple communal life to a highly differentiated, specialized society characterized by bigness has resulted in a fragmentation and vested interest which in the extreme can be inimical to American democracy. The real danger, however, is emerging not from bigness or from the growing role of government, but from a growing tendency to withdraw from "social consciousness" and to become more involved with one's own private life. As pointed out by Max Lerner[4] "the great casualty of our time is the individual and his inner style and personality. . . . There is a recoil from what used to be called the 'social-consciousness generation,' a recoil from our earlier worries about society and social problems. The swing today is toward private emotions and private concerns." What has emerged is an ideology that places priority upon the individual and his rights while underplaying concern for society.

The challenge today is to recapture, within our present framework, the sense of meaningful participation, the feeling of worth as an individual, and a sense of responsibility for the goal and policies which affect our lives. If democracy is to survive, individuals must be helped to accept responsibility and ways devised which will stimulate voluntary cooperation in all types of endeavors under both private and public auspices.

One important channel for accomplishing this goal is through the proper expansion of the role of the volunteer in American life. Eduard C. Lindeman[5] in a paper titled "Why Do They Do It?" asked:

Why is this feature of American life so important? And why should this sense of its importance have arisen at this particular moment of history? Perhaps I can clarify my answer to these questions by quoting Mahatma Gandhi: "I look upon the increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying

[3] Eduard C. Lindeman, "The Voice of the Concurring People," in *University of Kansas City Review,* XVIII, No. 2 (Winter 1951), p. 129.

[4] Max Lerner, "The Meaning of Group Experience in the Current Scene," in *Social Welfare Forum,* N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1955, p. 85.

[5] Eduard C. Lindeman, *Motivations of Volunteers in Community Service, Why Do They Do It?* (N.Y., Advisory Committee on Citizenship Participation, Community Chests & Councils of America, Inc., 1949).

individuality which lies at the root of all progress. Those of us who strive to live both sensitively and realistically in this age know full well that the powers and functions of the modern state will continue to expand." There may be a future time when such expansion might be accomplished without doing damage to the personality but that time has certainly not yet arrived. Consequently, it is the responsibility of genuine believers in democracy to cling to the conception of individual worth which is the chief value distinction between democracy and totalitarianism.

"The act of volunteering," Lindeman goes on, "is an assertion of individual worth. The person who of his own free will decides to work on behalf of the good of his community is in effect saying: 'I have gifts and talents which are needed. I am a person who accepts a responsibility, not because it is imposed upon me, but rather because I wish to be useful. My right to be thus used is a symbol of my personal dignity and worth.' "

Expansion of the role of the volunteer involves more than the question of numbers. A large number of people who are merely task-involved without an understanding of the purpose and values of the program and without an opportunity to participate in the determinating of goals and policies will not meet the need for maintaining our basic democratic fabric. The volunteer experience should provide, along with the feeling of being valued as an individual, a chance for meaningful participation and an intensification of a sense of social responsibility.

The accomplishment of this objective is dependent not on the efforts of the volunteer alone but perhaps even more on the attitudes of the associations through which they function. As indicated above the multiplicity of interests and of groups is not new on the American scene. One of the basic changes is in the increase of formal organizational structure, with all of its paraphernalia of professional leadership, regulations, and bureaucracy. There is a tendency in all such developments involving lay and professional partnerships to set up an either/or situation and to end up by throwing out the baby with the wash. William James saw this problem and its danger when he stated:

Most human institutions, by the purely technical and professional manner in which they come to be administered, end by becoming obstacles to the very purposes which their founders had in view. Notoriously the great reforms in many at least of the professions and institutions have been first

advocated, or at least have been greatly aided, by laymen rather than by the official keepers of the seal. And there is reason arising from the very nature of a professional and technical institution why it should easily get out of touch with human life. For the scientific and the technical is necessarily the objective, the impersonal, the intellectual, as distinguished from the subjective, the personal, the individual, the emotional. It gives us as Professor Royce phrases it, the world of description, not the world of appreciation.[6]

This conflict tends to emerge more around the helping professions which represent a significant sphere of volunteer interest. These are the professions with a sense of dedication about helping people in trouble. This sense of dedication reflects the very motivation which draws many volunteers into the activities. With both the professional and the volunteer having this important concern in common, it becomes difficult for the volunteer to see the added importance of training. The professional on the other hand, constantly on the alert to prove that training and experience result in an important difference of approach, tends to relegate the volunteer to insignificant tasks and to overlook the important contribution which this group can make. What becomes lost is the need of the partnership for the achievement of the larger democratic values. As stated by Eduard C. Lindeman:[7]

All professions functioning under democratic conditions would remain closer to democratic ideals and practices if they made proper use of citizen participation . . . in other words when science is called upon to serve a democratic people by means of technical skills, the carrier of these skills cannot continue to operate as authoritarians. They too must become democratized. But the process does not end here: the agencies and institutions which employ skilled personnel must also be brought within the pattern of democracy. This democratizing process can become effective only when technicians march forward to their task with citizens at their side.

Our efforts fall short when we view our agencies and associations merely as housing units for a professional or volunteer staff. These are social agencies which reflect the way in which a democracy orders

[6] William James, quoted in James H. Tufts, *Education and Training for Social Work* (N.Y., Russell Sage Foundation), p. 30.

[7] Eduard C. Lindeman, "Democracy and Social Work," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1948* (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 85.

itself to meet the needs of people and the society. As a social agency there is a responsibility *qua* agency that must be discharged which goes beyond the provision of services. Because of the narrow view there is at times a tendency to view the main responsibility of volunteers as that of providing funds for additional staff. It is almost as if we were saying that the addition of staff alone will solve the complex social problems of the day. If prevention is our intent, the volunteers must have a role which goes far beyond this: they must be encouraged to become interpreters and "doers" not only for fund raising but also for the health of the social institutions which affect the lives of people. In this scheme of things social agencies must take on a sense of social responsibility that goes beyond just providing staff. The partnership must be sealed with a common concern for goals and principles.

The question of genuine citizen participation cannot be relegated only to the private field. With the expanded role of public sponsored services citizen interest and participation are essential. George Davidson[8] points out that "too much of the planning and development of our public social services and of their detailed administration is left today to the administrator and the bureaucrat." Some efforts have been made to maintain a link between the citizen and the public welfare services through citizen boards and advisory committees. We have, however, merely scratched the surface. The contribution of funds through community chests and taxation for health, welfare, recreational and educational services should represent but the beginning of citizen interest and responsibility.

We have been exploring both the voluntary association and the volunteer. They are not always one and the same. Mr. Jones, for example, belongs to a stamp club which is a voluntary association. This provides him with an opportunity to pursue his special hobby and to enjoy social contacts with others of the same interest. Up to this point he is following a self-interest. The local community center learns of Mr. Jones's hobby and expertness in stamp collecting and feels that this would be a good activity for some of their members. They ask Mr. Jones if he would give leadership to such a group. At this point Mr. Jones has become a volunteer and has moved from self-interest to the helping of others. The center has many other activities and also has a purpose and social goals. Some of the activities of the center may involve a concern for the conditions in the neighborhood

[8] George F. Davidson, in James E. Russell, ed., *National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services* (N.Y., Doubleday, 1955), p. 168.

which affect the life of their members. Mr. Jones may view himself merely as a leader of a stamp club or as a more integral part of the center concerned with its goals of social change as well as service. Mr. Jones may also belong to other voluntary associations at the same time. He may have membership in a veterans organization, a men's club of the church, a political organization, and so forth. These organizations may call upon him to take on certain responsibilities as a member of the association. He may be the chairman of a committee or a member of the board. He will be volunteering his time but his function will be that of a member discharging his responsibilities to an organization which he has chosen to join.

One could continue to expand the pattern into greater complexity. For example, one of the associations of which Mr. Jones is a member may have an activity program for the wives or children of members and may want him to organize a stamp club as one of the activities. Or he might also be asked to serve on the board of the center at the same time that he is leading a hobby group.

It should be evident that there are different levels of volunteers. Mr. Jones as leader of the stamp club in the Center is a "service" volunteer responsible to staff in carrying out a program of the agency. As a chairman of a committee or as a member of the board of an organization or agency he is a "policy" volunteer. He will also have other channels as a citizen through which he can effect the programs of these agencies. Their budgets may be dependent on a community chest or taxes, and he will be called upon to give his financial support and, in the case of tax supported programs, his opinion on legislative bills which authorize the expenditures. Although his role is different in these three types of volunteer responsibility, they are interrelated. If as a "service" volunteer he understands the larger purposes and goals of the agency he is in a much better position to carry out his roles as a "policy" volunteer and as a citizen.

The important link between the phenomenon of the voluntary association and the volunteer and between the different levels of volunteer is the sense of social responsibility and citizen participation. It is the expression of a "social consciousness" which goes beyond meeting the desires, drives, or wishes of the individual to a concern for society and social problems. Thus, the member of the voluntary association who merely belongs but takes on no responsibility and is willing to leave policy decisions to a handful of members on top, has surrendered his democratic rights and responsibilities. This may reflect the stance

he takes in the larger political scene, mainly, one of indifference and apathy. In the same vein, the volunteer who becomes merely task-involved without an understanding of the purposes of the agency providing the service; or the agency which utilizes the volunteer on this limited basis, is helping to create the climate of "mine is not to question why . . ."

In our ever growing and complicated society the great variety of voluntary associations can serve important ends only if they are clear about their role in relation to the needs of a democratic society. They are not therapeutic islands of escape; they are not an antidote for the trying demands of the democratic process; and they are not something apart from the everyday responsibility of the citizen toward the social issues faced by the nation. They provide the linkage between the individual and the society in a way which prevents us from operating as a mass society. They provide the source through which the individual can become more knowledgeable and socially responsible. They provide the channels through which the sharply contrasting viewpoints and interests of individuals can be sufficiently amplified to be heard by the various levels of government. They provide the opportunity for flexing our democratic muscles which can become atrophied if used only at times of elections. This is the stance which the volunteer should bring to his efforts in working with people. This is the stance which agencies, public or private, utilizing volunteers should encourage and help develop. Task involvement is not enough either to satisfy the needs of the individual who is volunteering, or the needs of the democratic society of which he is a part.

4

THE CITIZEN VOLUNTEER IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Violet M. Sieder

VOLUNTARISM and the citizen volunteer are as indigenous to the American way of life as democracy. Since democracy in the United States is based on the Judaic-Christian ethic of the rights and responsibilities of the individual for the society of which he is a part, this becomes a truism. Trace the history of any health or welfare institution in the United States and its origin will be found in the devoted efforts of dedicated citizens who are working without pay. The present agency may be quite different from the original service from which it emerged, but the changes affecting its development over the years undoubtedly have the imprint of succeeding generations of volunteers. The basic values in our society have both shaped and been shaped by the experience of volunteers and paid staff in their mutual efforts to conquer such problems as illness, poverty, and crime. The right of individuals and groups to self-determination has been found necessary to the fulfillment of their democratic obligations for improving the society of which they are a part.

Although this is a primary concept of the democratic ideal, this right and obligation has been exercised by different segments of the population at different periods of history, and in varying degrees in different types of institutions and agencies. Social work, as a professional practice, is founded on the philosophy of individual dignity and self-determination for people served. It is more recently giving emphasis to providing channels and methods for broader community participation in policy matters and program activities.

Since the nation was founded by people optimistically seeking to

better their living and working conditions, change is valued as both necessary and desirable. Unlike some other societies which are heavily bound by tradition, the United States places a premium on adapting and improving all types of services in line with changing or growing needs. It is, therefore, imperative that its citizens engage actively in developing and reacting to the services offered by their public and voluntary welfare institutions, rather than to delegate this function entirely to "experts" or to a paid bureaucracy.

As essential as volunteer service is conceded to be, its effectiveness in practice is determined by the conditions established in each institution and agency for classifying and assigning appropriate volunteer roles. That professional workers and volunteers each have essential, unique but interdependent roles to fulfill in the social agency is an accepted tenet of social work based in a rich heritage of practice. How to achieve a genuine partnership in which volunteers and professionals each play a significant role, mutually understood and respected, poses a challenge for all persons engaged in welfare enterprises. Our purpose here is to review the experience of the past to give perspective to present practice and to point directions for the future.

The question of "appropriate role" is often knotty and frequently controversial. The specifics of tasks and functions of volunteers differ between fields of service as well as between agencies in the same field. As we shall see later, the philosophy, historical development, and stage of professionalization explain differences between the numbers and use of volunteers in recreation and informal education agencies; family and child welfare agencies; and hospitals and health agencies. There are some roles which volunteers have traditionally played in all types of agencies, however. These might be categorized roughly as: (1) identifiers of needs and problems requiring services; (2) creators and directors of service agencies to meet recognized needs; (3) contributors of knowledge, skill, and interest on behalf of others, and (4) interpreters and salesmen of welfare programs. Volunteers may perform these functions individually, as did some of the heralded pioneers of social reform; more usual in recent years is the provision of structures within the community and its welfare organizations for channelling the energies of individuals and groups who share common concerns for people.

Volunteers are usually classified into two broad categories: either as "administrative volunteers" responsible as members of boards and committees for policy making and the financial support of the organi-

zation; or as "service volunteers" with responsibility for some aspect of the operating program, with or without a direct relationship to the clientele of the organization. Some volunteers serve in both administrative and service categories; and some agencies at various stages in their history have not differentiated these volunteer roles. Volunteer service has flourished through the years because it has met needs of the agency, the community, and individual volunteers.

The modern agency usually owes its birth, its growth, its scope, and its ability to meet changing demands of the community upon it, to its volunteers. Without the vision, ingenuity, conviction, dedication, and salesmanship of its board, its committees, its individual leaders, and its service volunteers, an agency is doomed to paralysis if not regression. The quality of its program will depend upon the successful amalgam and interaction of the lay leadership and the paid staff; the best professional skill is indeed circumscribed without the active partnership of the volunteer.

A community is characterized by the quality and scope of its education, health, and welfare institutions. When these are understood, used, supported, and shaped by the citizens, a democratic society is in good health. When responsibility for its institutional life is delegated entirely to employed officials, whether under public or voluntary auspices, a precious part of our heritage is lost, and services fail to make their full impact upon the community.

For the individual giving service, volunteer work brings several satisfactions: first, a sense of personal worth gained from playing a significant part in meeting the needs of people beyond the intimacy of the family or a personal circle of friends; second, a feeling of identification with the community through directly contributing to and shaping an agency's program, and seeing the agency's role in broader perspective; and third, the important by-product of personal intellectual and emotional development gained through volunteer training and new experience.

Although there is a compelling truth in these generalizations, one speculates as to why the numbers and personal characteristics of volunteers has varied so drastically from one period of history to another, and between one field of service and another in the same period of history. In general, it can be said that the age, sex, income level, social status, and organizational affiliation of volunteers at given times in history were directly related to social, economic, and political conditions and to such exigencies as war, depression, prosperity, or periods of heavy immigration and population mobility.

Central to any examination of the changing role of the volunteer is the complementary and changing function of the paid staff member. Although this differs between fields, it is safe to say that there has been a significant reversal of roles in most fields. In the early days the volunteers employed staff to undertake routine activities, reserving the "treatment function" to themselves. Today the professions of social work, nursing, recreation, and allied fields are re-examining their functions to factor out those activities not requiring expert knowledge gained through specialized training and are employing paid aides or seeking volunteer help for these tasks. Where treatment begins and ends is a moot question, with modern practice conceding that this function can be a shared one if sufficient controls are established. In fact, a partnership approach can even enhance treatment in many situations.

In order to better understand the present and to project the future roles of volunteers in the various fields of social welfare, we need to examine their past contributions to an evolving and increasingly complex and important network of institutions. The broad outlines of historical development of social services will show movement from independent and fortuitous activity on behalf of helpless members of the community to the institutionalization and professionalization of services in which the volunteer becomes a supervised and defined part of an organized approach to meeting human needs.

In the Colonial period the natural hazards to living made necessary a code which placed emphasis on industriousness and thrift and which equated poverty and moral weakness with sin. We can trace our attitudes toward the rights and responsibilities of individuals in a democracy to these early days when a premium was placed upon independence and self-help, and when success was attributed to hard work, thrift, and shrewdness, while failure was an individual fault for which society was not responsible. Individual problems were handled in Puritan times by the clergy and in Colonial times through discussion at the town meeting for those with "legal settlement."

The overseer of the poor was introduced after the English pattern in the early 1700's to handle the indentured immigrants so as to protect the town against the poor and destitute. The employable youth and adults were auctioned to farmers and other poor were sent to almshouses.

It was not until after the Revolution and the coming of the industrial revolution that social work institutions were created to correct "social evils." In the period from 1820 to 1860 the population was

swollen by four million immigrants and a high birth rate. The population began to shift from rural areas to cities in response to industrial growth and increasing demands for labor. Women, children, and immigrants provided a source of new workers which changed patterns in the home and created social problems for the community. These problems, in turn, awakened the moral conscience of the country and resulted in efforts to reform both the individual and the society of which he was a part.

The reformers, the volunteers of their day, belonged to the new social class of industrialists and bankers most of whom were influenced by their religious Protestant background and laissez-faire economic theory to undertake "good works" on behalf of the "shameful poor." It is not surprising, then, that the wealthy men who organized and served as friendly visitors for the Association for the Improvement of the Poor in New York City in 1843 placed emphasis on moralizing and teaching the individual, even though this period followed a severe depression. Emphasis was placed on the "wise giving" of charity so as to prevent "sliding into pauperism." This was achieved by influencing morals through religious principle, teaching the virtue of industriousness, and setting a good example through superior character. As this responsibility became burdensome, paid agents were employed to do the routine fact finding and to handle relief payments, since the giving of money was considered secondary to the influencing of behavior. The prestige role was carried by the wealthy, educated, hard working upper class male volunteer. To be "idle rich" was as reprehensible as to be poor, for laziness was the sin.

The Charity Organization Society was introduced in Buffalo following another severe depression in 1873, to examine and coordinate the giving of charity. Agencies grew out of the personal interests of wealthy individuals, inspired by local concerns or by growing national movements. Loring Brace had initiated the Children's Aid Society in 1853 to place "vagrant boys and girls" with families in rural districts. Y.M.C.A.'s were organized in this same period to care for rural youth coming to the city by providing a home away from home under good moral influence. The young men in these associations undertook volunteer activities as part of their Protestant evangelical mission. Homes for unmarried mothers were established by various religious groups. The Independent Order of B'nai B'rith was organized in 1843 as a mutual aid society for German Jews. Most Jewish benev-

olent societies prior to 1850 were related to synagogues, and gave help to immigrants, transients, and the local poor in the congregation. At about this same time, in 1845, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was founded in the United States as an association of Catholic laymen who volunteered their services "to promote the spiritual welfare of members through works of charity, material and spiritual." This it accomplished by giving personal service through home visits to give advice, encouragement, and financial aid to the poor and the sick.

The Civil War further developed the institutionalization of charity as people were encouraged to support agencies rather than to give personal charity. This period has great significance for women volunteers, for as men were unavailable for war relief tasks, women were emancipated for charitable work and they took over the hitherto male friendly visitor and other roles.

Public agencies in this same period also claimed the attention of the volunteers as the more progressive states in the 1860's established welfare boards, and local departments recruited visiting committees to stir the indifference of church members to terrible conditions in institutions for the poor. However, public aid was generally neglected as private charities flourished. Although concern was felt over children held in poor houses, the horror of these institutions was justified as a deterrent to poverty out of dread to be sent there.

When the Charity Organization Society of New York City was organized in 1882, there were 194 private agencies giving relief on an uncoordinated basis. To assure care for the "worthy poor" the society's volunteers carried out investigations of applicants, established a central registration system to avoid duplication, and encouraged inter-agency cooperation. The city was divided into districts, each with an advisory committee. Paid agents investigated the need for aid, the district committee determined the course of treatment, and the volunteer gave the treatment. It was theorized that the friendly visitor could influence the poor family by virtue of his superior class. The friendly visitors of the Charity Organization Societies of this period offered a combination of detective and moral influence whose objective was to overcome weakness of character, intellect, or body necessary to establish individual independence. During the eighties and nineties paid workers replaced the volunteers because not enough able and willing wealthy ladies and gentlemen were able to give time.

This system changed as Mary Richmond of Philadelphia and Zilpha Smith of Boston distinguished between pauperism and poverty, and recognized that poverty had multiple causes. Poverty was recognized as a social as well as an individual problem. Social investigation was undertaken to determine how, not whether, to give treatment. Social work was born as a profession at the turn of the century when emphasis was placed on the "helping process." The paid workers, as trained observers, gathered data pointing to poverty as an abnormal condition requiring fundamental changes in income, housing, employment practices, health conditions, education, and recreation. As a result of this more scientific approach, it became clear that increased giving by the wealthy was not enough to solve the problem.

The emphasis on social justice became the core of the settlement house movement, initiated in 1880 in the United States by Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago. The pioneer workers were young people from middle- and upper-class families who escaped sheltered homes to experience the reciprocal advantage of associating with people from different economic and social backgrounds. The program centered in clubs and groups, although the settlements pioneered any needed activity not carried on by others. Activities ranged from playgrounds and kindergartens to baths and social reform. Slum dwellers were neighbors to be liked and respected. Then, as now, settlement philosophy was to help people to work together to meet their own needs. Emphasis was upon social reforms rather than individual improvement. Although settlement houses have continued through the years to depend on large numbers of volunteers, they, like other welfare agencies, began to employ staff for administering the program.

This growing group of paid workers in charitable organizations began early in the twentieth century to develop a profession of social work. There followed years of self-conscious preoccupation with defining a philosophy and developing methods and techniques. In the struggle for recognition and status, the paid worker often felt threatened by the volunteer who until recently had carried the responsibility. Agencies, too, sought status through the employment of trained personnel.

At this crucial period in the history of volunteers, two women's organizations, The National Council of Jewish Women and the Association of Junior Leagues of America, were born, both of which

have made significant the role of the trained volunteer and at the same time enhanced the value of the trained paid worker. This they did through active participation, as formally organized groups of volunteers, in the philanthropic enterprises of the community, often creating and demonstrating needed but nonexistent services. Since "lady bountifuls" were being relegated to the administrative volunteer responsibilities of board and committee work involving policy making, financing, and interpretation of services, the ladies sometimes organized and operated their own charities, in which they could directly serve people in need. Young women in both organizations were being trained for community leadership by gaining first hand knowledge and experience in social service, recognizing that they would later carry important responsibilities as board members.

Founded in 1893 by Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon of Chicago, the National Council of Jewish Women has as its purpose religious education and philanthropy. From the first, Council recognized and emphasized the importance of "scientific" training for social service of both volunteer and paid personnel. Although scholarship programs have been developed for the training of professional social workers, volunteers have always carried important roles. In 1894 a junior section was established (since discontinued) "to give young women an experience in democratic institutions" and became one of the first youth organizations in the United States. Council early established a policy of undertaking programs not offered by other organizations, and then turning over a demonstrated service to other public or voluntary groups better equipped to handle them on a broader basis. Thus Council sections in a number of cities pioneered neighborhood centers, day nurseries, free dispensaries, and work with prisoners.

The Association of Junior Leagues of America was founded some years later, in 1921, with emphasis on volunteer service to community agencies and education for citizenship. It was an exclusive membership organization for young ladies in the socially and economically prestigeful families to whom the community looked for support and leadership for health and welfare programs. Social service on a volunteer basis was a condition of membership, and although the organization offered the attractions of social functions and social status, it served as a vehicle for exposing sheltered young women to social problems and for training them in methods for dealing with such situations. Many outstanding leaders of international, national, and local agencies owe their start to this important volunteer organization.

With the great improvement in economic conditions in the early 1900's, social reformers saw in abundance an opportunity to alleviate inadequate living standards through a redistribution of wealth. As the concern of people from all classes of society turned to the effect of low wages, child labor, and poor working conditions on breeding poverty, new sources of citizen participation joined the ranks of social reform. Thus the working man expressed himself through labor unions, which together with religious groups, consumers leagues, federations of women's clubs and other organizations joined forces with settlement houses and charities aid societies to promote child labor legislation in spite of opposition from the National Association of Manufacturers. The National Child Labor Committee, and its promotion of the United States Children's Bureau established in the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1912, was a direct result of citizen volunteer efforts directed at prevention of social ills.

Public opinion was mobilized through the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1909, the first of a series of decennial conferences held on problems of children ever since. Concern for infant deaths and births, children's education, living, working, and health conditions now become a federal government responsibility. Thus the accepted democratic value of the importance of human life over money making and goods was reaffirmed.

Volunteers found new opportunities for service in the recreation-informal education agencies organized for boys and girls early in the twentieth century. Boys Clubs (1906), Boy Scouts (1910), Camp Fire Girls (1910), Girl Scouts (1912), Pathfinders of America (1914), the National Jewish Welfare Board (1917) all depended, as did the settlements, YMCA and YWCA before them, on citizen volunteers. Most of these agencies were dedicated to an ideology which guided the nature of their program activities and the selection and training of their volunteers. It is significant that these organizations, which built strong membership and volunteer identification, prospered and grew. Citizen involvement made for general understanding, acceptance, and support of programs dedicated to citizenship, homemaking, and other widely held middle-class American values.

Although there was a growing consciousness of the need for training, volunteers and paid staff were exposed to the same institutes given by the new schools of social work and social science depart-

ments of universities. It was not until Mary Richmond's book *Social Diagnosis* was published in 1917 that social work, particularly case work, began to identify itself as a profession. In this same year, the National Social Workers Exchange was established to bring together opportunities in the field of social work and available paid and volunteer workers. This organization was the forerunner of both the social work professional associations and the volunteer bureaus of later days. In fact, the responsibilities of the Exchange for standard setting and professional concerns were taken over by the newly created American Association of Social Workers in 1921, while the Joint Vocational Service in 1922 carried the counseling and placement service.

As Nathan Cohen observes, "Mixed motives were undoubtedly involved in the striving for professional status in this period. For some it represented social status, for others it represented a way of drawing a line between the volunteer and the paid worker, and for a small group, conscious of the emergence of a unique methodology, it represented the recognition of a 'functionally specific technical competence.' "[1]

As groups of citizens organized agencies to meet the many specific needs which their interest and awareness dictated, the community was bewildered by the complexity of the pattern of services and annoyed by the many demands for contributions to good causes. Not only were there agencies dedicated to family and child welfare, recreation and informal education, health and hospitals, mental health, and prison reform, but these in turn were under the auspices of various religious groups, nonsectarian bodies, and public departments. To "bring order out of chaos" and to protect the giver's dollar there were important developments in the field of social planning which created new roles for the volunteer.

From the organization of the first council of social agencies in Pittsburgh in 1908 and the first federated fund raising and planning body in Cleveland in 1913, the concepts of coordination and integration of services, joint planning by agencies for new services, and federated efforts at voluntary fund raising and distribution of the welfare dollar gained impetus. The board members of agencies and other influential citizen leaders became heavily involved in these new movements. The fund raising bodies attracted the top business and industrial leaders who were the backbone of the so-called "givers' revolt." Their wives,

[1] Nathan E. Cohen, *Social Work in the American Tradition* (N.Y., Henry Holt-Dryden Press, 1958), p. 138.

professional leaders from medicine, law, education, clergy, and other liberals were more strongly drawn to the cause of social planning. As the primary responsibility for fund raising shifted from the agency board to the community chest or fund, the membership of agency boards became more of a broad cross section of the community. Agencies now were responsible for their services to a broader community of givers, and the control of wealthy individuals and families of "pet charities" gave way to rotating board members who had to be more sensitive to public reaction.

This field of community organization came into prominence as it was called upon to mobilize community support for the social services necessary to the prosecution of World War I. In 1918, the second year of our participation in the war, two national organizations were born: the American Association for Community Organization, the forerunner of the United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc., and the United War Activities Fund. The latter brought together seven national agencies to establish a joint national budget, and to assign quotas to be raised by local war chests. This movement substantially increased amounts raised and the numbers of contributors, and expanded the twenty pre-war chests to 300 war chests. Thus for the first time national board members and business leaders engaged in a national planning effort affecting local community services on a coordinated basis.

The National Travelers Aid Association, Inc. was born in 1917, to meet the needs of people uprooted by war. Its work, carried out primarily by volunteers serving in railroad and bus stations, and more recently in airports, aided people moving within or coming to the United States. This agency played a significant role in World War II when the demands of war industries necessitated tremendous mobility on the part of large numbers of families.

World War I witnessed another major development in the expansion of volunteer service under the American National Red Cross, organized first in 1881. Charged with serving as liaison between the men in service and their families at home, the Home Service Bureau was developed to carry out this responsibility in more than 3,000 communities. Volunteers who were local chapter chairmen and their assistants were given training and performed services for a group of clients new to social agencies, since the problem was not necessarily economic need. Although some of the professional service was con-

tracted by the Red Cross with local family and public agencies, much of the work was carried on by local volunteers.

The prosperous years between World War I and the depression of the thirties was characterized by increasing professional self-awareness, and attention to agency standards of service. In the traditional family and child welfare agencies, volunteers were being excluded from direct contact with the "client" and were relegated to clerical tasks or to service on boards and committees. Agencies strove toward professionalization of staff and high standards of service as a more important goal than the extension of services. Public agencies, the source of general relief, were directed by public officials often with the guidance of citizens boards, commissions, or committees. Volunteers served as institution visitors and as program assistants under both public and voluntary auspice.

The disastrous depression years of the thirties served to consolidate the experience of volunteers and to set and raise standards of volunteer work. Principally responsible for clarifying the role of the volunteer were such national organizations as the Association of Junior Leagues of America, The National Council of Jewish Women, The Family Welfare Association of America (now the Family Service Association of America), and the National League for Public Health Nursing (now incorporated in the National League for Nursing, Inc.). Specific opportunities for volunteers in the health and welfare field were defined, and principles and techniques for recruiting, training, and supervising were worked out. The National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work, organized in 1933 as an independent group but with relationship to the National Conference of Social Work, brought together social workers and volunteers to stimulate and improve volunteer service. This was accomplished locally through the organization of volunteer bureaus, most of which formed a part of or were affiliated with the local council of social agencies. The volunteer bureau's function was to counsel and refer potential volunteers to the various health, recreation, and welfare agencies, both public and voluntary.

The depression days brought an important realignment of the responsibilities of public and voluntary agencies. Out of the pressures on time and funds came the principle that mass needs, be they relief or recreation, should be met by public agencies administering public funds. Voluntary agencies were to offer the intensive, specialized

service needed by specific groups of individuals, and/or to demonstrate and initiate new services. This principle inevitably affected the opportunities for volunteer service. Since the public relief-giving agencies were employing large numbers of persons as investigators and clerical workers who otherwise would become clients, they offered little room for direct service volunteers.

Another factor affecting volunteer work in agencies at this time was the inclusion of social workers in trade unions. In the public field, the American Federation of Government Employees, organized in 1932, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, organized in 1936, both affiliates of the AFL, had social work members from government agencies. In 1937, several national unions with significant numbers of social work members were organized which merged in 1946 to form the United Public Workers of America, affiliated with the CIO. The United Office and Professional Workers, through its National Social Service Division, coordinated the efforts of locals of the Social Service Employees Union serving social workers in the voluntary field. One concern of these unions was to protect employment opportunities for social workers and other paid personnel against replacement by volunteers. Social welfare had now become "big business" with thousands of workers in the ranks. Volunteers continued to serve the recreation and informal education agencies, the hospitals and health agencies, and through church and civic groups to man such auxiliary services as clothing collections.

The advances made in defining the role of the volunteer in the depression years were tested and further refined during World War II. With the creation of the Office of Civilian Defense, the independent Committee on Volunteers in Social Work was disbanded. By December of 1943, the OCD estimated there were 4,300 civilian defense volunteer offices with responsibility for manning the protective services and community war services. Under the latter category came most services in the social welfare field which were called upon to expand or to extend services to meet the needs of youth, women, old folks, and handicapped workers pressed into wartime employment. Disruption of home life placed heavy demands on day care, recreation, counseling, and other services for which volunteers were in urgent demand. Small communities previously without social work established services staffed largely by volunteers to meet pressing needs.

The United Service Organizations (USO),[2] made up of six

[2] Made up of National Jewish Welfare Board, National Catholic Community

national agencies, was created to meet war-born needs of the armed forces and workers in defense industries. Through its local Councils, the USO gave leadership to organizing volunteer service.

Wartime records show that eleven million volunteers served in a variety of volunteer capacities in many types of welfare agencies. More important, they demonstrated the values of broadening the base of citizen participation from volunteers drawn in the prewar years from the upper and middle classes to men, women, and children from all walks of life, regardless of race, creed, color, or economic status. Teenagers, retired people, members of organized labor, civic organizations, professional groups, all joined as volunteers and continue to serve. Some agencies, too, got their first exposure to volunteers during wartime personnel shortages, and have since continued or expanded opportunities for volunteer service.

Anticipating the termination of the OCD, the Association of Junior Leagues of America, and Community Chests and Councils of America in 1944 jointly sponsored a study of postwar possibilities for local centralized services bureaus. The problem of maintaining the contributions of volunteers in peacetime, when they were no longer motivated by meeting the wartime crisis with patriotic service, was a central concern. It clearly called for national leadership, and the Advisory Committee on Volunteer Service, established by Community Chests and Councils in 1944, assumed this responsibility. This became, in 1945, the Advisory Committee on Citizen Participation, jointly sponsored by the National Social Welfare Assembly.

It was responsible for organizing, in 1951, an Association of Volunteer Bureaus which holds annual workshops and institutes, and works on common problems. Out of these deliberations has come a shift in emphasis for volunteer bureaus from recruiting, interviewing, and referring volunteers to agencies, to consultation with agency staff and volunteer committees on principles, methods, and procedures best calculated to achieve a mutually rewarding experience for the volunteer and the agency. The agency continues to have the ultimate responsibility for selecting the individual volunteer, and for his training and supervision. The bureaus, however, have been able to advise agencies, on the basis of wide experience with many agencies, on both suitable activities, agency structure, and potential sources for recruitment. Volunteer bureaus have also consulted with civic organizations,

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Service, National Travellers Aid Association, Salvation Army, National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.

labor unions, church groups, student groups, and other clubs in developing group volunteer projects. These include such diverse activities as planning parties or other entertainment for institutions and hospitals, making clothes, repairing toys, giving blood, clerical tasks, and public interpretation of agency programs. The exposure of large membership groups to the work of social agencies has done much to gain support and understanding for health and welfare work. These membership organizations have served as an important channel for recruitment of volunteers with special interests or skills, as for instance, a garden club to work with mental patients in growing flowers, an advertising women's club to help plan a foster home recruitment program, college students to paint and repair settlement house club rooms. In fact, it is the rare civic or citizen organization today which does not have an identification with one or more welfare projects in the international, national, and local communities of which they are a part.

In addition to direct service in agencies, increasing numbers of volunteers with special knowledge and skill have served on agency study and project committees. Their work is reflected in changes in agency policy and program in line with their findings and recommendations. Frequently such committees draw upon members of professions other than social work, such as lawyers, doctors, clergy, city planners, educators, psychologists, nurses, and engineers.

Outstanding local volunteer leaders are drafted to serve on national agency boards and committees. Persons with local planning experience in community welfare councils, community funds, and federations are frequently called upon to serve national planning agencies as volunteers. Professional social workers also serve as volunteers in agencies for whom they are not employed, particularly their local council or fund. Needless to say, many social workers carry volunteer responsibilities in the National Association of Social Workers and its local chapters. They also work for Leagues of Women Voters, parent-teacher associations, boards of education and other related civic activities.

The post-World War II period brought new problems as well as the need for many adjustments. As was anticipated, this was a period of letdown for many volunteers. The end of crisis brought a release of tension and a sense of fatigue, and large numbers of volunteers deserted the agencies which had come to depend upon them. Some women turned their volunteer-gained knowledge and experience to

gainful employment when patriotism no longer dictated a personal sacrifice of time.

The war-created problems of delinquency, need for day care, planning for refugees, and adjustments of new Americans did not disappear. In fact, the post-war period soon became the Cold War period. The Federal Civil Defense Administration, set up by executive order of the President, was officially established by the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950. Responsibility for civil defense was placed in the several states with the federal government providing coordination and guidance. Although FCDA set up a Volunteer Enrollment and Utilization Division in its Training and Education Office, which became a part of the Volunteer Manpower Office in 1951, this office was abolished in 1953. There has since been no counterpart to the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office of the old OCD. Rather, manpower needs of defense are expected to be met through existing governmental agencies, private industry, and health and welfare agencies except for those services for which there is no peacetime counterpart. Under this plan, volunteer bureaus worked cooperatively with the civil defense organization by recruiting and training volunteers for existing agencies which offered services keyed to the civil defense program.

The Cold War also brought a decentralization of industry, creating numerous new communities in former small towns or rural areas. These communities, made up primarily of young families, lacked the basic services of public health, hospitals, and education—to say nothing of recreation and family counseling. A new national organization, the United Community Defense Services, made up of fifteen national agencies,[3] moved into the breach in 1950. New patterns of service were created by local leaders with the help of experts from national voluntary agencies and federal departments. Volunteer leaders had to be recruited even before paid staff was employed to guide their efforts. The tradition of citizen participation was put to severe tests, as persons with leadership experience in former home towns, and others new to volunteer work, went to work on community problems. The cooperation of organized labor, industry, public officials, and health and welfare agencies facilitated the process by submerging special interests to the common good.

Rapid changes were occurring in the life of big cities which drastically affected old patterns of volunteer service. Growing suburban

[3] Reginald Robinson, *Serving the Small Community, The Story of the United Community Defense Services* (N.Y., Association Press, 1959).

areas drained off many city volunteers from the middle and upper income groups who busied themselves with interests in their new communities. Big cities, left with a population of the old, the very rich, and the poor, and large percentages of migrant Negro, rural white, and Puerto Ricans, were presented with new and extremely difficult problems of volunteer staffing. Although board members who worked in the city and lived in the suburbs continued to be willing to serve on an administrative and policy level, many experienced service volunteers were lost to the city agencies. New methods of recruiting, training, and assigning jobs had to be developed to reach the employed worker, the union member, the retired person, and the large corps of college and high school students. A large reserve of potential volunteers still exists among housewives with leisure, but this field remains uncultivated in most instances.

Without the experienced volunteers in the more economically privileged classes to work for and with people served by the agencies, these institutions, particularly the recreation and informal education agencies, have rediscovered the strengths in helping people to help themselves. Through block organizations and neighborhood and area councils, the citizen was put to work at identifying and solving his own problems through fact finding studies, planning, and social action. Tackling such problems as playgrounds, law enforcement, housing, intergroup tensions, and adult education, these local organizations more recently have been fostered and worked with by voluntary and public agencies which are promoting urban renewal. Once again, the role of the volunteer and the role of the professional are being defined, but this time in relation to community organization and city planning. The citizen volunteer leader works as decision maker and spokesman with public officials, legislative bodies, and public and voluntary appropriating bodies on behalf of his community. The professional offers expert knowledge on substantive matters and on methods of study and action. The strength of neighborhood planning rests on opportunities for joint action with similar organizations in other parts of the city and metropolitan areas through associations of neighborhood councils, and backing and support from community-wide coordinating and planning bodies. Central community welfare councils in more than fifty cities in the United States are offering community organization staff service to neighborhood and area planning councils.

In spite of this rich heritage of experience, the essentiality of volun-

teers has only begun to be realized. Thanks to automation and improved methods of production, more goods are available for more people, although the working day and working week have been shortened. As August Hecksher, Director of the Twentieth Century Fund, notes in his 1956 annual report: "Two decades hence the five day work week is almost certain to have been reduced to four. Vacations have been lengthened, and meanwhile at both ends of the life span—youth and age—the period uncommitted to a regular occupation has been extended." This increased leisure time offers new opportunities to engage in cultural and civic activities; but these, in turn, call for expanded programs and leadership to meet the new demands upon them.

To complicate matters, health and welfare agencies are caught in a period of staff shortages as the small crop of depression babies reaches employment age and must be shared by all the professions, as well as by business and industry. The number of people to serve is greater than ever, thanks to the increased birth rate of the war years and increasing longevity made possible through scientific and medical knowledge.

This dilemma has been recognized by national agencies which are beginning to plan individually and collectively to meet it. The first line of defense is a reassessment of how the volunteer is being used in relation to professional staff and paid aides. The basic question is, where can the volunteer carry more and where should he carry less responsibility for agency programs? A few current developments are cited to illustrate this trend.

The Education-Recreation Conference of the National Social Welfare Assembly appointed a committee to study the problem of staff shortages. A first stage of this exploration resulted in the publication, in May 1958, of "Leaders and Leisure"[4] followed by an all-day workshop in January of 1959 of representatives of national agency boards, staffs, and volunteers. This study showed that for four national recreation-educational agencies, the number of full time paid staff increased from 11,297 in 1950 to 12,843 in 1956. However, in this same period part time paid workers increased from 59,983 in 1950 to 77,625 in 1956; and most dramatic of all, the number of volunteers increased from 86,459 in 1950 to 164,998 in 1956. In terms of percentages of personnel, full time paid leaders decreased

[4] Florence Zimmerman, "Leaders and Leisure," an analysis of National Education Recreation Agency Direct Service Leadership, May 1958.

from 7 per cent to 5 per cent, part time leaders from 37 per cent to 30 per cent, while the number of volunteers increased from 56 per cent to 65 per cent. Two of these four agencies reported a decrease in actual numbers of full time paid leaders from 1950 to 1956. In 1956, six national recreation agencies reported that their positions for paid staff were 20 per cent vacant. Although most of these agencies had carefully delineated job descriptions and personnel policies for paid staff, little had been done to define or guide volunteer work in spite of its growing importance. The Assembly's Education-Recreation Conference is now charged with responsibility for further study and development of plans to meet this problem of staff shortages. This is to include an examination of the changing function of volunteers.

The family welfare field, with its emphasis on professional case work service, has traditionally used few volunteers. When the Family Service Association of America held an overflow session on direct service volunteers at its 1959 Biennial Conference, it became apparent that the tide had turned. Experience was cited by agency directors to show that volunteers do indeed have a unique and important contribution to make to the treatment process, and that they can free the professional worker from tasks auxiliary to the core of his practice. The problem of staff shortages proved to be an important consideration here, too.

In the health field, the National League for Nursing, Inc. has activated a Committee on Community Participation with responsibility for stimulating greater participation by citizens and civic organizations in advancing the standards and coverage of nursing care in local communities.

The American Public Welfare Association has developed a manual on organization and work with boards in public agencies and has endorsed the value of citizen participation on public agency boards and as service volunteers. A growing corps of friendly visitors to Old Age Assistance recipients, and the chronically ill, offer a much needed service to lonely people.

The Council on Social Work Education has held two workshops on the responsibility of schools of social work for preparation of students to work with volunteers; one in Los Angeles in 1945,[5] and a second in Philadelphia in 1959.[6] Reports from various schools indicate

[5] Proceedings available through Council on Social Work Education.

[6] Proceedings available through United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc.

awareness of the importance of such training, but there is unevenness in coverage between fields and between schools. Community organization and group work courses contain more specific content, while case workers get little exposure. Attention in some schools is being focused on exposure of students to work with boards, committees, and direct service volunteers in their field work experience. There seems to be a general need for specific teaching materials and curriculum planning, to cover professional philosophy and attitudes toward volunteers as well as methods for working with them.

Summary

The volunteer in health, recreation-informal education, and welfare agencies has been playing a changing role, but at each stage it has been essential. The activities of volunteers have been dictated by social, economic, and political considerations of the times, but a constant factor has been the motivation of citizens to change the lot of their fellow men for the better. From the Colonial period, when individual charity was directly administered, to the institutionalization of welfare with paid staff and structured programs, the volunteer has maintained his responsibility of stewardship.

At first an upper-class male activity, later the prerogative of society matrons, volunteers now represent a cross section of society. Motivated first by a desire to save souls from the degradation of poverty, volunteers learned the causes of social evils and promoted reforms. Then came the period of self-fulfillment and perfection of skills through training. Once again the volunteer is deriving satisfaction from identification with the community, and is playing a greater part in public social policy.

The individual volunteer long tended to identify directly with a favored agency. The volunteer bureau widened opportunities for matching skills with needed service. More recently, organizations such as service clubs, women's clubs, church organizations, labor unions, and professional associations have enlisted their members in group projects or individual service.

The scope of welfare activities in which volunteers engage has completed a cycle: starting with reform programs embodying relief, housing, sanitation, and employment practices; moving through a period which narrowed welfare activities to those engaged in by the growing social work and health profession and practiced primarily in family and child welfare, recreation and informal education, and

health agencies; and now expanded to services which include preventive health services, urban renewal, chronic illness and rehabilitation, international social welfare, and community planning.

Today's welfare planning was preceded by sociological studies of communities, such as the Pittsburgh study in 1909, and a preoccupation under charity organization societies with "neating-up" welfare services through integration and coordination. Today's volunteer must plan with the help of social science projective tools and the knowledge of social workers about social problems and their solutions for the design and development of new programs for the future. Faced with such tremendous problems as mental illness, chronic illness, juvenile delinquency, and growing numbers of aging and children, community planning has acquired a high priority on the volunteer's time. It no longer can be considered an adjunct to agency administration, but is, rather, an important function requiring the combined skills of many professions and interests, and projected to national and international dimensions as well as to the local community.

The volunteer shares with the paid staff the dilemma of trying to perfect quality by controlling numbers served; and, on the other hand, trying to reach the vast numbers of persons needing assistance. This problem is further complicated by existing and potential staff shortages in the years ahead. A reassessment of the professional's job in relation to his specific skills must be made in relation both to employment of paid aides, and the enlistment of volunteers. The time has come for concentrated attention upon perfecting methods for selecting, supervising, and generally integrating volunteers into our health and welfare agency programs as an essential part of the service. Only then can the welfare organizations of this country hope to tap the tremendous potential reserve of manpower available and necessary to meet the growing needs. In the face of international crisis and the battle for minds, this reorientation of social values becomes an imperative of our times.

III

WHY DO I VOLUNTEER?

What moves people to volunteer is a complex question. The humanitarian feeling, however, has been ever present on the American scene even if its motivation has never been clear. At times it has been based on a strong religious motif; at times on the fear that "there but for the grace of God go I"; at times on a seeking for recognition and status; at times on a searching for greater meaning in life; and at times on a rational quality of its importance to our democratic society. At most times, no doubt, it represents a combination of these factors. Dr. Jules V. Coleman states that to know more about the specific, we will need more knowledge on "how people feel about themselves, how they feel towards other people (especially as their interpersonal relations affect their self-feelings) and how they envision their social role."[1] In general, we can state that people volunteer in order "to achieve the satisfaction of group participation and mean thereby that they need to feel part of the larger purposes and meanings of group life, to achieve satisfaction of dependency, affection, status, and creative realization."[2]

There may be some individuals whose needs are so intense that they are seeking personal help more than the giving of help to others. The professionally trained workers can be of great assistance to them. The majority of volunteers, however, can find a balance between obtaining the satisfactions which all human beings need and contributing to the helping of others through individual, group, and social reform activities. The term "rebels

[1] Jules V. Coleman, M.D., "Motivations of the Volunteer in the Health and Welfare Fields," *Mental Hygiene,* XLI, No. 2 (April, 1957), p. 218.
[2] *Ibid.*

without a cause" is often used to describe our adolescents. The same dynamics, however, are present in the adult. Our drives to meet life's pressures can become ends in themselves and intensify a self-centeredness, or they can be harnessed to socially acceptable goals of change, and further a social-centeredness which can both help the individual and the society of which he is a citizen.

One cannot fully separate the question of why people volunteer from that of why they should. In recent years there has been a healthy shift away from looking at needs purely in individual terms. The individual is an integral part of society and the working out of his needs must be seen in relation to other individuals and to the institutions through which they function. Society, furthermore, also has needs, that is, needs of its individuals if the goals and values attributed to it are to be maintained and strengthened. Voluntary activities and volunteering can provide a social climate in which the individual's needs can be met in a way which is important both to him and the society of which he is a part.

5

THIS WE BELIEVE

Anonymous

SOME people take part in community work by conscious desire, some by family tradition, some by chance association. The reasons for getting started may be obscure and show no planned intention, but the reasons for continuing, once involved, become increasingly clear the longer one participates. The satisfactions are of many different kinds and the feelings of achievement real and rewarding.

The sharing of an endeavor brings satisfaction to most people far beyond the satisfaction of working or playing alone, as evidenced by amateurs joining together in dramatic groups, team play in many sports, choral singing or barbershop harmony. In addition to the satisfaction of the sharing itself, community welfare work brings the warm reward of seeing how people of widely varying backgrounds, some deeply steeped in the philosophy of their own group, can work together harmoniously, with respect for one another's point of view, and arrive at decisions and programs which are basically sound yet leave room for the operation of individual philosophies. Our community gives ample proof that preserving the cultural aspects of nationality backgrounds does not interfere with the basic work of agencies.

A quality of rare exhilaration pervades a meeting where people are putting forth their best abilities and talents for completely selfless purposes; for example, a committee trying to plan services for emotionally disturbed children; or even without the emotional warmth of such human and humane problems, a committee working to devise a measurement for determining relative need for leisure time services

in different areas of a city so that community money will be spent wisely and effectively.

Also in community work, the satisfaction of being part of joint effort with other civic-minded people brings associations and friendships which enrich one's life, a contact with people of high ideals and unselfish devotion to the improvement of the community and its citizens. Friendships of this type, based on shared interest, have a depth and quality not always found in usual social relationships.

Once involved in community welfare work, one can rarely withdraw, partly because the pressures of need demand one's continuing attention and partly because one's interest becomes too deep and abiding. One becomes increasingly proficient in fields totally unrelated to one's major vocation. These added fields of expertness, more or less, are an enrichment to life's satisfactions.

All of these are rewards and satisfactions which we as a married couple feel individually. In addition, as a couple we have derived much from our interest in social welfare as a shared "hobby." We speak a common language, and from our joint interest we have been able to stimulate one another's thinking and help one another in solving problems in the separate fields of our endeavors. A businessman brings the techniques and points of view of his vocation. A housewife may be able to add the greater warmth and humanity which are supposed to be part of a woman's thinking.

We have had the added value of a difference of approach through our different backgrounds of religious faith. This has helped each of us to a broader understanding and to more universally applicable solutions and plans. Staying within a single group, people tend to lose perspective, to be divided in attitudes and approach. We trust that having overcome this separation for ourselves, we have been able to pass along to some degree our enlarged frame of reference as we work with others.

Our interests in different agency fields have led each of us to an understanding of the other's field, and from that to a comprehension of the similar principles underlying much of social work. Clearer and more objective thinking about basic factors should result in sounder conclusions. We can only hope we achieve that!

We cannot leave unmentioned the tremendous satisfaction of our relationships with social workers. As a group they are gifted, self-effacing, and inspired. They are the dedicated missionaries of our time to the needful areas of our city.

Each of us started with agency experience as both volunteer and board member. From that we moved on to the broader community planning area and to fund raising. Our independent participation sometimes results in joint participation, which is additional fun—for example, we were appointed at the same time from different sources to serve on the board of trustees of the local Community Chest. Also our agency experiences and resulting realization of agency needs have made possible our spreading the knowledge of those needs to persons primarily involved in fund raising. Thus we have had the opportunity to help raise the standards of fund raising in order to maintain high standards of agency performance and service.

We have our moments of envy of those whose lives have fewer pressures, who can spend more time in sociability and the "pursuit of pleasure." But the envy is soon lessened by a thrilling experience such as the closing dinner of the Community Chest campaign when thousands of people of all ages and interests and backgrounds rally to a fine community effort with all their hearts and souls and minds.

We cherish as a couple our gratifying discussions of problems totally unrelated to ourselves and our little lives. We hope never to see the day when we will be unrelated to affairs beyond ourselves, when our thoughts are not occupied by a scope of activity far wider than our own lives.

As a couple without children, we could live quite involved in ourselves. But as humankind, all people have some latent desire to leave "footprints on the sands of time." Without progeny we have chosen to push ahead in a small way the ideals of mankind as expressed in social service. We do not want our lives to consist only of working to feed and clothe ourselves and to provide a few sensory pleasures and then nothing. This we believe.

6

WHY WOMEN VOLUNTEER IN THE HOSPITAL[1]

Mark Berke

WHY does a woman become a volunteer in a hospital, and why does she remain a volunteer? I am confining the discussion to women because they are the backbone of our present volunteer programs, despite the appearance of men in certain hospitals, particularly in the entertainment programs at military and state institutions.

It is a part of woman's heritage to be of help, to be the "ministering angel" to whom men turn when in need of solace, and to be a mother. In contributing her special tact and feminine approach to hospital care, our volunteer is fulfilling her inner need to be of service and to feel wanted, and her related need for identification with some group or activity which is following a similar course. In so doing, she may also be identifying with an admired friend who is doing volunteer work, with a well known person in the community who donates time to the hospital, or with the image of some kindly person in her past life whose security and generosity of spirit made a deep impression on her.

Most of you have heard about the days of lady bountiful (an early volunteer) who, dressed in her finest raiment, had her coachman whisk her to the other side of the railroad tracks where she bestowed baskets of provisions on the shivering inhabitants of ramshackle houses. Lady bountiful, however, is no longer acceptable to society, and charity in that personalized way has become so unfashionable that the generous may even feel guilty about giving a few cents to a

[1] Excerpted from Mark Berke, "Why Do Volunteers Volunteer?" in *Hospitals*, XXXII, No. 16 (August 16, 1958), p. 32.

street beggar. Today we are urged to give once for everybody and everything, and to rely on a community-wide organization to disburse the proceeds for us. Nevertheless, the spirit of sharing with someone and of being helpful to those less fortunate has not disappeared—whether this spirit springs from kindness, unselfishness, boredom, unhappiness, or love.

The exchange of sentiment and sympathy among human beings, which is becoming outmoded in our mechanized, institutionalized society, has found its expression in the hospital volunteer program. Lady bountiful appears in modern dress, a yellow or gray or cherry-red uniform, proffering extra services, or exchanging kind words, or demonstrating interest in and warmth toward the patient. Perhaps this partially explains why the volunteer chooses the hospital instead of the sewing club or the bazaar or social event. She has found a way of extending her help to the have-nots, within the confines of the organized patterns of life today.

A report from Ernest Dichter, Ph.D., director of the Institute for Motivational Research, may give us another clue to the reasons why women do hospital volunteer work. The hospitalized adult, Mr. Dichter claims, is more like a child than an adult during his hospital stay, often casting the doctor in the role of father and the nurse in the role of mother. The hospital, Mr. Dichter counsels, would do well to treat the patient as the child he fancies himself to be. Women volunteers seem to have sensed this fact a long time ago, and to have projected to the hospital their interpretation of the woman's role in the home. In effect, work in a hospital setting provides some women with a substitute for motherhood.

It is a fact that mothers of young children do not tend to do volunteer work, whereas mothers of school-age children do. For the woman who has several children, it is reasonable to suppose that as her children grow up, the volunteer job in the hospital will assume greater importance, enabling her to express feelings no longer quite appropriate for her home. For women who have no children, on the other hand, the hospital is an ideal stage on which to play out feelings that are blocked from expression in the home. When we consider the importance of the volunteer job to these women, and the ease with which they can assume hospital obligations in terms of time and home responsibilities, it is not surprising that hospitals find such volunteers steady prospects.

There are other ways in which women express their need for sub-

stitute motherhood, and these may be in services other than those involving patient care. Some of our most loyal and conscientious volunteers are those who work in the coffee shop, serving the medical staff. These women have a wholesome contempt for the doctors who come storming in during meal times, and they relate to the doctors as they do to their own children, or as they would if they had any. The main objective of these volunteers is to feed the kids fast, get them out of the dining room into the yard where they can play, and clean up the mess they have left behind. They lightheartedly accept all complaints and criticisms from physicians, as they would from their own families.

There are some straws in the wind that indicate why volunteers work in the hospital. The trend toward husbands assuming activities that have in the past been regarded as purely feminine—as for example cooking, or taking care of the children—makes some women feel insecure. Their accepted role in life is changing, and they need some other outlet for their creative talents. This development has been analyzed recently in *The Hidden Persuaders,* a study of motivation as it affects the consumer, by Vance Packard, where it is pointed out that the emphasis on the quick-aid, bakes-itself aspect of some of the new food products is backfiring. The book concludes that women want to express their creative natures through the products of the kitchen, that they want to fuss with the cake and present it to the family as their own achievement, and that the use of instant foods tends to frustrate them in their creativeness. If this trend in advertising persists, it may well be that the prepared mixes will sit on the grocer's shelves while the women for whom they are manufactured work in the nation's hospitals.

7

WHY DO THEY DO IT?[1]

Eduard C. Lindeman

IN CONNECTION with a Symposium on Motivations of Volunteers held in the Summer of 1949 at Vassar under the leadership of Eduard C. Lindeman, the following questions were used with 621 volunteers registered in volunteer bureaus in fifteen communities:

1. What do you actually do as a volunteer?
2. What do you like to do?
3. What do you dislike to do?
4. Why do you think most volunteers do what they do?
5. Why do you do what you do as a volunteer?
6. How would you characterize the people who do volunteer work?
7. What kind of a person do you think you are?
8. Under what circumstances do you do your best work?
9. What positions of leadership did you occupy during your high school and college days?
10. Do you make friends easily?
11. Do you ever feel inadequate or inferior?
12. In what agency or agencies do you serve as a volunteer?
13. With which agencies would you prefer to serve as a volunteer?
14. Have you ever taken any training in group discussion, group participation or group leadership?
15. What experiences have you had in connection with group discussion, group participation, or group leadership?

[1] Excerpted from Eduard C. Lindeman, *Motivations of Volunteers in Community Service, Why Do They Do It?* (N.Y., Advisory Committee on Citizenship Participation, Community Chests & Councils of America, Inc., 1949).

16. Do you consider yourself to be a happy person?
17. What makes you most happy?
18. Where do you find your friends?
19. What, in your opinion, is the greatest need of the American home?

The main directions which these responses took were as follows:

1. Volunteers are chiefly engaged in soliciting funds for their organizations, transmitting telephone messages, and acting as chairmen of committees or boards.
2. They like most to attend meetings, serve as chairmen, and lead group discussions.
3. They dislike most to ask for money, preside at large gatherings, and make speeches.
4. They believe that other volunteers engage in voluntary service because they wish to be useful, need to do something outside the home, and because "they can't say no."
5. They believe that they engage in voluntary work because they desire to be useful, need to do something outside the home, and like to meet interesting people.
6. Other volunteers known to them seem to be persons who are efficient workers, have energy and drive, and are warmhearted and sympathetic.
7. Some seem to enjoy working in groups, others work best alone, many were leaders in high school and college, most make friends easily, and most are humble persons but do not feel inferior.
8. Most volunteers have worked with war agencies, Red Cross, churches, welfare agencies, and community groups.
9. Most would like to work in social service agencies, churches, and the Red Cross.
10. Fifty-eight per cent had enjoyed some training in group discussion and forty per cent had received no such training.
11. Regardless of training most volunteers do some work in relation to groups.
12. These volunteers considered themselves to be moderately happy.
13. They found their happiness primarily in friendships, in their families and with their children.
14. They have friendships among persons of different religions and of differing political affiliations.

15. They believe that the greatest needs of American families are a loving and accepting attitude by parents toward their children and more firmness and discipline.

8

A SOCIOLOGIST LOOKS AT MOTIVATION

David L. Sills

Introduction

SINCE sociologists are concerned with understanding the behavior of men as members of social groups, the title which the editor has given to this section, "Why Do I Do It?", might for present purposes be restated to read "Why Do They Do It?" In this form, the question becomes not only more sociological, but also infinitely more complicated. The difficulty of providing scientifically acceptable "reasons" for human behavior remains, but the use of the pronoun "they" requires that an attempt be made to arrive at an answer which applies to volunteers in general. However, complexity can be viewed as a challenge, rather than a source of discouragement, and this chapter will attempt to add to our understanding of the citizen volunteer by describing a number of ways in which the difficult question "why?" can be answered.

The complexity of the question "why?" is vividly illustrated by the tale told in an American cowboy ballad, "I've Got No Use for the Women," which tells as much about the logic of motivational analysis as it does about life in the Old West.

The protagonist of the ballad begins with a complaint against women:

> I've got no use for the women,
> A true one may seldom be found;
> They use a man for his money,
> When it's gone they turn him down.

His complaint, it develops, is based upon the fate of a pal, an honest young cowpuncher, who turned into a hard-shooting gunman "on account of a girl named Lu." Because of Lu, his friend "fell in with evil companions, the kind that are better off dead," and "when a gambler insulted her picture he filled him full of lead."

The story ends with the death of the murderer at the end of a long chase. As his friend falls to the ground, the protagonist "couldn't help think of that woman," for

> If she'd been the pal that she should have
> He might have been raising a son,
> Instead of out there on the prairie
> To die by the ranger's gun.

The logic underlying this story may have been sufficient to satisfy a few generations of cowboy balladeers, but it falls apart under careful scrutiny. Why was this murder committed? Because women in general are evil? Because the friend fell upon evil ways? Because he was betrayed by Lu? Because of the influence of evil companions? Because he defended Lu's honor when the gambler insulted her picture? A careful analysis of the text leaves the problem unsolved. Stated differently, it would be difficult to make recommendations for lowering the crime rate on the basis of this formulation of facts, or even on the basis of similar facts concerning hundreds of murders.

Confusion over the question "why?" is not confined to cowboy ballads. Consider, for example, a recent newspaper article by Donald I. Rogers.[1] Titled "Why People Really Buy Stocks," this article reports on the views of a broker friend of the author. Before presenting his friend's views, however, Mr. Rogers reviews a number of other explanations. The mutual fund industry, he reports, says that "primary reasons for the purchases include future retirement income, a higher return on savings, protection against inflation, and education funds for the youngsters." New York Stock Exchange statisticians, on the other hand, approach the problem by categorizing the stockholding public by age, income, education, sex, geographical location, and occupation, reporting for example that "thirty per cent of college grads own stock," and implying that there is something about going to college which is related to buying stocks.

Mr. Rogers, however, reports that his friend "tries to dig beneath these statistics and find out why persons *really* buy stocks." The

[1] *New York Herald Tribune,* June 12, 1959.

major "reason" he offers turns out to be a subconscious one. "Many people," he argues, "inwardly want to lose money on the stock market. . . . A lot of people suffer from a guilt feeling, something that often stems from childhood. By losing money in stocks, people assuage this guilt complex."

For present purposes, we can disregard the problem of the relative validity of these reasons, and note only that different answers have been obtained because different questions were asked. The mutual fund industry inquired into the *goals* of investors, and in effect asked the question "Why do people invest in stocks rather than in real estate, savings bonds, or savings accounts?" The New York Stock Exchange inquired into the *characteristics* of investors, and asked in effect how investors as a group differ from noninvestors. Mr. Rogers' friend, on the other hand, inquired into the subconscious *motivations* of investors, and left unanswered the question of why people select buying stocks as a way to relieve their guilt feelings. It is a basic postulate of all scientific inquiry that the manner in which we pose our questions will determine the answers we obtain.

This book is of course chiefly about volunteers serving in what have been called medial organizations. Its various chapters discuss how volunteers have contributed to health and welfare activities, how they assist in mental hospitals, provide welfare services to people in need, work with youth groups and with the aged, and raise funds to support these and similar activities. Most of its readers are probably actively involved in these activities, either as volunteer workers or as professionals whose organizations use volunteers. In the conviction that a glimpse at how sociologists undertake to learn how people "decide to join" would contribute to their understanding of the motivations of volunteers, this chapter has been prepared.

Recruitment Into Voluntary Associations

The term "voluntary" when applied to associations is inherently ambiguous, since it refers both to participation which requires merely the *consent* of the individual and to participation which stems from personal *choice* and initiative. In short, there is a distinction between joining and being asked to join which must be considered.

The ambiguity can be reduced considerably by noting that different patterns of recruitment characterize different types of associations. Although it is possible to classify voluntary associations in a number of ways, a system most useful for present purposes is one based upon

the functions which the association performs. Sherwood Fox, for example, makes a distinction between *majoral, minoral,* and *medial* organizations. *Majoral associations* are those which serve the interests of the major institutions of society. Business, professional, scientific, educational, labor, and agricultural associations are all in this category. *Minoral associations,* on the other hand, are those which serve the interests of significant minorities of the population: women's clubs, fraternal groups, hobby clubs, and associations formed to protect the rights of various ethnic minorities in the population are all examples. Finally, *medial associations* mediate between major segments of the population. Social welfare organizations, which mediate between the community and the underprivileged population, veterans' groups, which mediate between veterans and the government, and voluntary health associations, which mediate both between research scientists and the public, and between individuals suffering from a disease or disorder and the medical profession, are examples of medial associations.[2]

These three broad types of associations differ markedly in the ways in which their members are recruited. Membership in majoral associations is for the most part merely an adjunct to the performance of an occupation. For this reason, active recruitment is either unnecessary or is limited to making the existence of certain facilities known to the occupational group. The recruitment of doctors into the American Medical Association, scientists into a professional society, farmers into a grange or marketing cooperative, and skilled workers into a trade union is generally of this character. Most eligible people join majoral associations either because they are compelled to or because it is a matter of self-interest, of establishing and maintaining good relationships with their occupational colleagues.

Membership in minoral associations, on the other hand, is more likely to be a matter of individual initiative. The purest case is perhaps that of the hobby group, whose members join and drop out as the intensity of their interest dictates. Most minoral associations conform closely to the image of a voluntary association as one in which membership is based upon "true" volunteering.

Membership in medial associations, particularly health and welfare associations, comes about for the most part as a result of active recruitment by the organization. A study of the volunteer members of

[2] Sherwood D. Fox, "Voluntary Associations and Social Structure," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1953, pp. 59–68.

the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, for example, found that fully 90 per cent joined after receiving a specific invitation; only 10 per cent joined on their own initiative.[3] Although this proportion undoubtedly varies a great deal from organization to organization—some voluntary health associations, for example, draw their members largely from victims of one disorder and their families, who are more likely to volunteer on their own—all of the available evidence suggests that most health and welfare associations actively recruit most of their members.

The fact that people only infrequently ask to join a health or welfare association does not mean that individual motivations are irrelevant. Far from it, since each invitation must be accepted. Rather, it introduces the notion of "motivation to accept" as a companion notion to "motivation to join." The implications of this distinction are discussed below.

The Analysis of Reasons

There are a number of ways in which an understanding of the reasons underlying participation in voluntary associations can be achieved, each useful in its own way. Most removed from the motivations of individuals are the characteristics of American society which give rise to voluntary associations. An analysis of what *kinds* of people join comes closer to individual motivations, as do explanations of why more people *don't* join. Finally, and closest to the motivations of individuals, testimony can be obtained directly from people who join.

American society and voluntary associations. The characteristic of American society which most accounts for the proliferation of associations is its extreme differentiation. Americans differ in their values, their occupations, and their avocations. Regional differences are marked. Age, sex, race, ethnic origin, religion, and income level provide further bases for differentiation. Since these differences both reflect and encourage a multiplicity of interests, it is not surprising that most sociologists have cited differentiation as a major reason for the existence of voluntary associations. Herbert Goldhamer, for example, says that "the more differentiated the members of a community are, the more associations they tend to have,"[4] and he supports

[3] David L. Sills, *The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 102–03.

[4] Herbert Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in Paul

his claim by citing a variety of ways in which American society is nonhomogeneous. Differentiation in terms of occupation, place of residence, and way of life, according to Sherwood Fox, is responsible for the growth of voluntary associations in America.[5] Robin Williams notes that "the multiplication of associations is an outgrowth of cultural diversity and occupational differentiation."[6] And Arnold Rose observes that "the existence of a significant number of groups in the community seems to require that the population be somewhat heterogeneous in background and interests and that no one institution like the church or state be successful in dominating the entire life of most individuals."[7] The general line of reasoning underlying assertions such as these is as follows: since American society is differentiated, people seek association with others like themselves; since differeutiation is so extensive, and organizations tend to attract people of similar backgrounds, large numbers of associations exist.

Characteristics of members. Our knowledge about the membership of voluntary associations comes from two sources. First, there have been a few studies of individual organizations which describe the membership composition. Since the membership, nature, and purposes of associations vary so widely, these studies cannot tell much about membership characteristics in general. Furthermore, uuless information is available concerning eligible nonmembers, these studies cannot tell us a great deal about the distinguishing characteristics of people who belong.

Second, a large number of surveys of both the national and various local populations have obtained information from individuals about their membership in voluntary associations. These studies are of considerable interest, since they make it possible to contrast members with nonmembers. Let us briefly review the major findings of one of these surveys.

The most basic finding of this research is that joining voluntary associations is far from universal. It is impossible to state the precise proportion of the population which belongs, since different surveys have made use of different definitions of what constitutes a voluntary

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K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., eds., *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 507.

[5] Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[6] Robin M. Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (N.Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 471.

[7] Arnold Marshall Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 54.

association. Trade unions in particular pose an interesting problem: legally defined they are voluntary associations, but since belonging to a union is a requirement for many jobs, they are often excluded from discussions of membership in voluntary associations.

The evidence from a 1955 nationwide survey in which memberships in trade unions were excluded shows that only 36 per cent of the adult population were found to belong to voluntary associations; of these, more than half belonged to only one.[8]

Membership in voluntary associations is not only far from widespread; it is also closely correlated with various indices of social status. This 1955 study, for example, found that membership is twice as frequent among people with family incomes of at least $7,500 than it is among those with incomes of less than $2,000; three times as frequent among college graduates as among those who didn't complete grammar school; and twice as frequent among professional and white collar workers as among laborers and skilled workers.[9]

The phenomenon of nonparticipation. Mass apathy is the explanation for membership nonparticipation most frequently advanced by those who have approached the problem from an "activist" position. "Apathy is everywhere," they seem to say, "because people are apathetic." Since this formulation confuses the diagnosis with the disorder, it can contribute little to the present discussion. But it does call attention to the fact that some characteristics of individual members do contribute to the phenomenon. Participants in voluntary associations, in other words, are influenced by the social structure to which they belong, as well as by the structural characteristics of the associations themselves. For example, many people do not belong to voluntary associations, but practically everyone "belongs" to either a job or a family. According to Barber, the major characteristic of American society which is responsible for the growth of voluntary associations —the segregation of "a large number of specific interests from kinship and occupational ties, with which they are usually fused in other societies,"—is also responsible for the phenomenon of the inactive majority, since "American social structure does more than segregate these other interests from family and job obligations. *It defines them*

[8] This survey was carried out by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago; data are from Table 1 in Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review,* XXIII, No. 3 (1958), p. 287.

[9] Data from Table 3, Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.,* p. 289.

as being of less importance. . . ."[10] It is only the unusual person who is motivated to participate actively in the affairs of an association. He may find his occupation unsatisfying, or his feelings of family obligation may be minimal; more likely, he may have unusual resources of energy and talent. In any event, the nature of our social structure is such that only a relatively few people are able to escape the demands of job and family.

Reason analysis. The explanations for participation and nonparticipation reviewed above provide clues for understanding the motivations of individuals but, since they are based upon observations made of aggregates of individuals, they do not provide a satisfactory explanation for individual behavior. What is needed is a series of studies reporting the testimony of members themselves. Actually, very little research of this kind has been undertaken, but something can be learned from a review of what evidence does exist, and particularly from an analysis of the logical procedures which must be followed in gathering information of this kind.

The evidence presented is from a study of the volunteer membership of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.[11] There are a number of reasons for this choice. First, it is the only study known to the writer which has carefully analyzed the process through which new members join. Second, the National Foundation, in terms of its goals and activities, is quite typical of the volunteer organizations with which this book is concerned. Third, since the writer and his colleagues carried out this study, it is the situation with which he is most familiar.

Reason analysis is one procedure used by sociologists in their attempts to study the "cause-and-effects" aspects of human behavior.[12] It differs from other procedures in that instead of directly establishing statistical tendencies—e.g., better educated people are more likely than less educated people to join voluntary associations—it requires the initial determination, in the case of each individual studied, of

[10] Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Alvin W. Gouldner, ed., *Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action* (N.Y., Harper, 1950), p. 486.

[11] Sills, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–115.

[12] The methodology of reason analysis described below has been developed by a number of sociologists at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, under the general direction of Paul F. Lazarsfeld. The present formulation follows closely the discussion in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, eds., *The Language of Social Research: A Reader in Methodology of Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 387–391.

what reasons led to his behavior. After these reasons are ascertained, statistical procedures are used to form generalizations about groups of individuals, but the essential element in reason analysis is that each individual is initially considered separately.

Reason analysis is selected as an appropriate research procedure when information is available concerning a number of individuals who have all carried out a specific act. They may have chosen to attend a particular movie, vote in an election, commit a crime, or change their place of residence. In the case of the National Foundation study, interviews were held with 234 volunteers who had all joined at one time or another. The research question was: Why did they join?

Selecting comparable individuals

The first step in reason analysis is to divide the individuals under study in such a way as to include in each group individuals whose actions are comparable. The basis for this division varies from study to study. If bank robbers are being studied, for example, it would obviously make sense to make a distinction between professional bank robbers and people who have robbed a bank for the first time. In the case of a professional bank robber, two lines of inquiry could be followed: why he became a professional, and why he happened to select a particular bank. In the case of the first offender, the relevant questions would be why he decided to steal money rather than earn or borrow it, why he decided to rob a bank rather than a drug store, and finally, why he selected this particular bank. The decision to concentrate upon one or another of these questions would be determined by the goals of the study.

In the case of the National Foundation volunteers, a careful reading of the verbatim interviews revealed that the important distinction was the one between volunteers who joined because of some prior experience with polio and those who joined as part of a pattern of participation in community organizations. The former group were in the minority: in spite of the fact that the local program of the National Foundation at the time of the study (1954) was entirely concerned with infantile paralysis, only 18 per cent of the volunteers studied joined the organization as a result of personal experiences with the disease. Of these, a clear majority (88 per cent) had had polio themselves, or a member of their immediate family had had the disease. The remaining 12 per cent of this group had come into direct contact with polio through their experiences as public health officials,

physical therapists, or similar occupations. These volunteers were given the name "polio veterans."

Developing an accounting scheme. It is commonly said that people carry out acts for more than one reason; if we reflect for a moment about a recent action of our own we will probably reach the same conclusion. What reasons should be taken into consideration? This again will vary a great deal from study to study, but it is possible to exclude a number of categories of reasons from any study. Reasons growing out of early childhood experiences, for example, can be studied with a great expenditure of time by psychiatrists, but are clearly beyond the scope of social research. In any particular study, it is necessary to select categories of reasons which are both relevant to the investigation and accessible to research.

The reasons selected for study form the components of what is called an *accounting scheme.* The nature of this scheme will vary from study to study, but there will always be a distinction between *inside factors,* such as motivations, and *outside factors,* such as influences. Arthur Kornhauser and Paul Lazarsfeld have made this distinction in these terms:

> One proceeds in his analysis of any bit of action by analyzing those motives and mechanisms that appear significant, and also by studying the outside conditions which appear most clearly related to those inner dispositions. Explanations are found by working back and forth between individual dispositions and external influences. The behavior of the moment is always governed by both.[13]

In the case of the National Foundation volunteers studied, the distinction between "inside" and "outside" factors was made in the following way. The first "inside" factors taken into account were the prior experiences of the volunteers, described above. Prior experiences were considered to be "inside" factors because they had become part of the personality of the individual volunteer prior to his joining.

The second "inside" factors considered were the goals of the volunteers—what future state of affairs they hoped to achieve through joining the Foundation (or accepting an invitation to join). These were found to group into two categories: *self-oriented* goals (to fulfill a sense of obligation to the community; to fulfill obligations to others incurred on the job; and to advance their status in the com-

[13] Arthur Kornhauser and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Analysis of Consumer Actions," in Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg, eds., *op. cit.,* p. 396.

munity) and *other-oriented* goals (to help others less fortunate than themselves and to assist in eliminating the threat of polio).

The third category of "inside" factors considered were the images held of the Foundation. It was found that most volunteers had a rather vague image of what kind of an organization the Foundation was at the time they joined, and that these images were of two sharply contrasting types. Some volunteers viewed the Foundation primarily as an organization having *purposes,* which they expressed by remarks concerning either the goals or the program of the organization. Other volunteers, on the other hand, viewed the organization primarily as an organization of *people,* expressed by remarks concerning individual members whom they knew, local organizations which sponsored or supported the March of Dimes, or the public reputation of the Foundation.

The immediate events which preceded joining the Foundation were classified as "outside" factors. These events, which in studies of this type are often called "trigger" events (or impulses to act), were in most cases specific invitations to join. Some volunteers were asked to join by a friend; others by a stranger in the community; others by an organizational or occupational colleague; and others were not asked at all, but volunteered on their own initiative.

These four sets of factors—prior experiences, goals, images of the Foundation, and the "trigger" events which precipitated the decision—constitute the elements of the accounting scheme used in this study. Chart 1 presents a summary of the entire scheme.

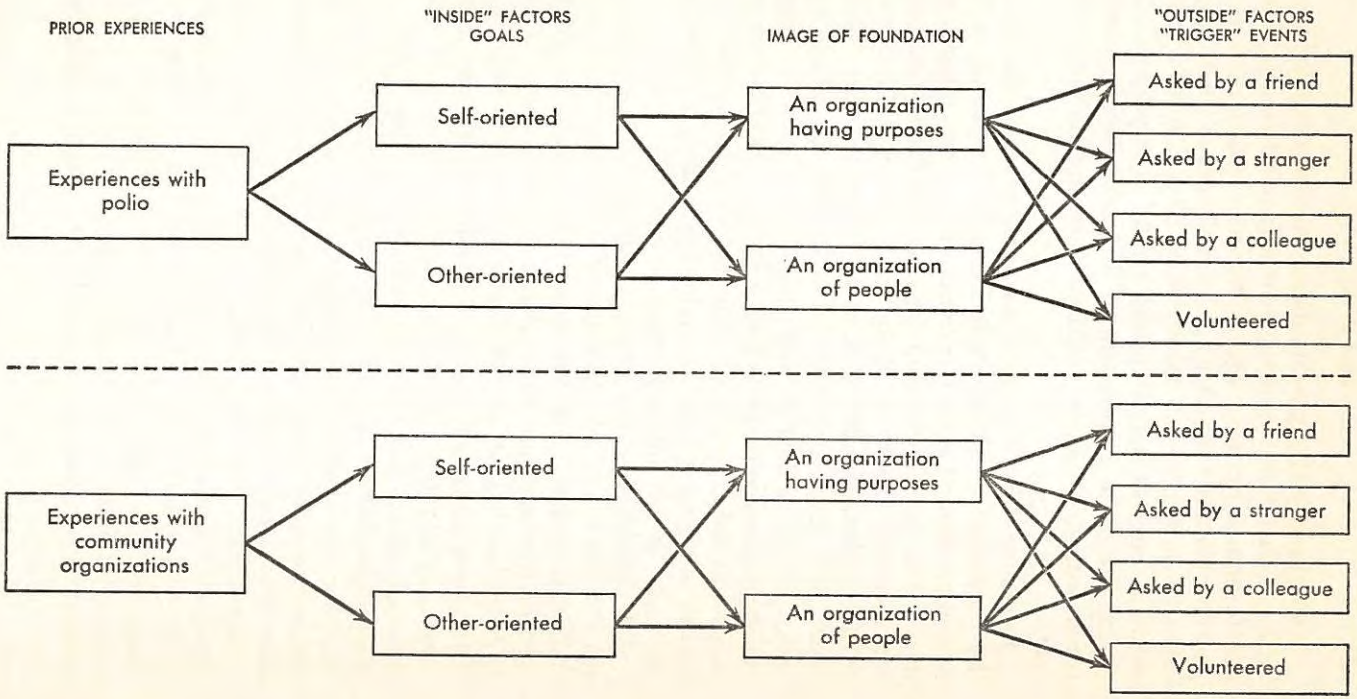
Chart 1 may be read in two ways. If it is looked at from the point of view of the survey analyst, it becomes a protocol or set of directives for classifying the reasons given by volunteers for joining. From the point of view of the volunteers, on the other hand, it is a schematization of the various "routes" to becoming a volunteer. By following the arrows the reader will learn that there are 32 possible "routes." Accordingly, one answer to the question of why people join the Foundation is that there are 32 possible ways. How these may be reduced in number without doing too much violation to individual variation is discussed below.

Selecting among possible reasons. Once the previous steps have been followed, and proper questioning has been done in order to secure the necessary information for all components of the accounting scheme, the next step is the crucial one of making a *causal assessment* within each set of factors

CHART 1

JOINING THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION

An Accounting Scheme



The logic underlying a causal assessment may be vividly illustrated by the distinction between a jealous wife murdering her husband and a wife murdering her husband because she is jealous. Stated more generally, in order for an act to be attributed to a reason, it is necessary to demonstrate not merely that the reason was present in the situation, but that it also "played a role." The purpose of making a causal assessment is precisely to find out whether or not a given reason may accurately be described as having been influential in this way.

It is often difficult to make causal assessments, since in most cases the testimony of the respondent must be relied upon, and many people are somewhat unclear concerning their own reasons for acting in a certain way. In the study of National Foundation volunteers, it was relatively easy to decide on the basis of the interview materials what the most significant prior experiences of the volunteers had been; what image they had had of the Foundation prior to joining which influenced their decision; and what the relevant "trigger" event had been. Decisions concerning personal goals, however, were more difficult to make. Since goals come very close to the heart of the problem of studying reasons for joining voluntary associations, a brief discussion of this difficulty seems appropriate.

One difficulty in making a causal assessment of goals stemmed from the fact that the actual experience of being a volunteer often leads to such radical changes in attitudes toward the activity that volunteers were often vague during the interviews about what goals they initially had had in mind, or were unable to draw a clear distinction between their initial goals in *becoming* a volunteer and their current goals in *remaining* a volunteer. Another difficulty arose from the fact that some volunteers were *unwilling* to recall their initial goals, and found it easier to give an "expected" answer than an answer which a more objective appraisal of the situation might invoke. For this reason, volunteers often found it easier to impute certain motives to others than to accuse themselves of such behavior.

Confronted with these difficulties, it was often necessary to go beyond a literal interpretation of the interview transcript itself, a procedure which was easier in this research than would otherwise be the case, since the analysts who made the assessments had actually conducted the interviews themselves. In most cases, a volunteer's own estimate of his goals was assumed to be correct. In other cases, it was

necessary to make use of statements made prior to or following the formal interview, or to take into account what one volunteer said about another, or to deduce that when a volunteer was imputing goals to others he was actually talking about himself.

Combining cases to form statistical tables. The procedures outlined above are appropriate for analyzing the reasons for action for each individual studied. In social research, however, it is generally not the actions of individuals which are the topic of inquiry, but rather group tendencies and differences between various groups. It is thus necessary to use the data gathered by the above procedures to construct statistical tables.

The statistical procedures used in reason analysis vary according to the purposes of the study and the nature of the data available. Sometimes an inquiry is focused upon influences, and it is desired to know, for example, whether a campaign speech or a neighbor's opinion was more influential in bringing about a decision to vote for a particular candidate. In other cases, it is possible to verify the causal assessments made by statistical procedures. In attempting to understand why people join voluntary associations, however, a useful procedure is to ascertain what types of decisions are made, and then determine the frequency of the different types. A review of the procedures followed in the study of Foundation volunteers will illustrate this procedure.

After the initial distinction between "polio veterans" and other volunteers was made, the two groups were compared on the basis of their goals in joining the Foundation. Table 1 presents the results of this comparison.

As Table 1 indicates, most volunteers were guided by "self-oriented" goals. But an important minority was classified as having had "other-oriented" goals. Because of the characteristically humanitarian statements made by these volunteers in explaining their joining the Foundation, volunteers classified as having "other-oriented" goals—*unless they had previously been designated as "polio veterans"* —were called "humanitarians."

By taking into consideration two types of reasons—prior experiences and personal goals—it was thus possible to delineate two types of volunteers. Table 2 compares these two types both with each other and with other volunteers according to the image held of the Foundation at the time of joining.

TABLE 1 PERSONAL GOALS OF VOLUNTEERS

Goals	*Polio veterans*	*Other volunteers*	*All volunteers*
Self-oriented			
Fulfill obligations to the community	60%	33%	38%
Fulfill job obligations	9	26	23
Advance personal status	5	26	22
Other-oriented			
Help others	12	8	9
Eliminate polio	14	7	8
Totals	100%	100%	100%
Total cases	42	192	234

TABLE 2 INITIAL IMAGE OF THE FOUNDATION

Image	*Polio veterans*	*Humanitarians*	*Other volunteers*	*All volunteers*
Purposes				
An organization with goals	80%	61%	35%	46%
An organization with a program	14	14	6	8
People				
Individual members	4	14	41	31
Sponsoring organizations	—	—	16	13
Public reputation	2	11	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	42	28	164	234

Striking differences emerge in Table 2. An overwhelming majority of "polio veterans," and a large majority of "humanitarians," initially viewed the Foundation as an organization having purposes—which is compatible with what has previously been learned about these two groups. In the case of most "polio veterans," their prior experiences with polio gave them direct familiarity with the Foundation's program; in the case of most "humanitarians," the Foundation was viewed as an instrument through which they could achieve their "other-oriented" goals. The remaining volunteers, however, are more evenly divided between those who viewed the Foundation as an organization having purposes and those who saw it as an organization of people. It thus became necessary to develop two more types.

The term "good citizen" was selected to designate those remaining volunteers who held the "purposes" image and the term "joiners" to designate those who held the "people" image. Table 3 shows the distribution of all four types of volunteers and summarizes the procedures used—in terms of the elements in the accounting scheme—to delineate each type.

Table 3 provides one answer to the question of what motivates people to become Foundation volunteers (and the same procedures would provide a similar answer to the question of motivation for any voluntary activity). The three "inside" factors used to develop this typology of volunteers are in essence different types of motivations. Prior experiences are internalized and predispose people toward certain kinds of new experiences; personal goals imply a readiness to act in pursuit of the goals; and images of the organization (provided they are favorable) furnish a rationale for action. Since all three of these factors represent different aspects of the term "motivation," and since all three have been taken into account in developing the typology, the statistical result may be taken as an indication of the relative frequency of various types of volunteers.

What is this statistical result? Briefly, as Table 3 shows, it is that nearly half (42 per cent) of the volunteers are "joiners," people who joined for reasons that are irrelevant to the purposes of the organization. Another 28 per cent are "good citizens," people with "self-oriented" goals but who nevertheless were attracted by the purposes of the Foundation. "Polio veterans" are the third most frequent type of volunteer; for them the purpose of the organization was the overriding consideration in their decision. Finally, only 12 per cent were classified as "humanitarians," who conform most closely to the

TABLE 3 TYPES OF VOLUNTEERS

Type	*Criteria*	
Polio Veterans	All volunteers for whom prior experiences with polio were decisive in their decision to join	18%
Humanitarians	All other volunteers who were motivated by "other-oriented" goals	12
Good Citizens	All other volunteers who were motivated by "self-oriented" goals *and* whose initial image was one of an organization having "purposes"	28
Joiners	All other volunteers who were motivated by "self-oriented" goals and whose initial image was one of an organization of "people"	42
		100%
	Total cases	234

stereotype of the volunteer in a health or welfare organization. Some implications of this are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Trigger events. The typology developed above is based upon "inside" factors or motivations, and does not take into account the specific events which must be included among reasons for joining. Although the delineation of four types of recruits has shed considerable light on the problem of why volunteers joined the Foundation, one more category of reasons must be considered: the specific events which led to their becoming members.

The most frequent "trigger" event was the occasion of being asked to join by a friend: 52 per cent of all volunteers joined the Foundation in response to an invitation extended by someone whom they

knew personally. Another 20 per cent were asked to join by some other member of the community; 18 per cent were asked to join by an organizational or occupational colleague; and 10 per cent volunteered on their own initiative. "Polio veterans" are more likely than other volunteers to have volunteered on their own initiative; "humanitarians" and "joiners" are more likely to have been asked by an organizational or occupational colleague; and "good citizens" are more likely to have been approached by a community member whom they may not have known personally. These intertype variations reflect, of course, characteristic differences in the types of experiences which preceded membership in the Foundation. Of more significance than these differences, however, is the fact that in the case of 90 per cent of the volunteers some "trigger" event was a necessary component of their joining the Foundation.

Volunteering. Although "volunteering" has been classified above as a "trigger" event, it is more accurately described as a residual category which includes all volunteers who said that no one had asked them to join the Foundation, but who joined on their own initiative. Accordingly, it was necessary to inquire of these volunteers what circumstances had led them to take this initiative; that is, what "trigger" event had taken place.

A total of twenty-four of the volunteers interviewed joined without receiving a specific invitation. In the case of ten of these twenty-four "true" volunteers it was the circumstance of having had polio in their family which triggered their decision—nine of these ten volunteers had received financial aid from the Foundation, and sought to repay by participating as a volunteer.

Five other volunteers belonged to organizations which assumed responsibility for some phase of the March of Dimes; they heard about the project, became interested, and volunteered. A polio epidemic was the trigger event which tripped off the decision of three volunteers; in every case they initially volunteered to serve as a polio emergency volunteer in their local hospital. Finally, a number of chance events served to activate the predisposition of others. One man was told by his wife that the March of Dimes needed some help, so he telephoned the chairman and offered his services. Another volunteer, a young lawyer who had been stricken with polio during World War II, was spurred into the decision by the March of Dimes campaign itself; the campaign publicity reminded him of his sense of obligation, and he volunteered. One volunteer became a polio emer-

gency volunteer when she substituted one day for her sister who could not visit the hospital. One woman resigned from her job as the secretary of the Foundation's state representative, and then became a volunteer; another was lunching with friends and heard them discussing the need for assistance; and a wife "naturally helped out" when her husband was asked to be campaign director. In every case, then, some crucial event took place which activated the decision.

It cannot of course be concluded from this discussion of "trigger" events that individuals become volunteers "because" they are asked, or "because" some event took place which led them to volunteer their services, since many invitations and other opportunities to join are bypassed. It is impossible to document this assertion with the data available, since all of the volunteers interviewed in this research had (by definition) *not* refused this invitation. However, comments such as the following statement by a March of Dimes chairman indicate that invitations, although they may be necessary conditions for membership, cannot be viewed as sufficient conditions:

(*Are you active in other community organizations?*) No, I don't aim to volunteer. I say "no" as often as I can. Yes, the Red Cross as Chairman, and also our Military Fund. I am Co-Chairman—I believe it was for the USO. I turned the Cancer down. I don't think I've ever been asked for Heart. I've been getting three requests in a row—Red Cross, Polio, and Cancer.

Why did this volunteer, as well as other volunteers, not decline to join the Foundation when the opportunity presented itself? In large part, this question has been answered by the previous description of the four types of recruits. But part of the question remains unanswered, and must remain so, since many volunteers are unclear in their own minds as to the exact nature of the relationship between what Kornhauser and Lazarsfeld call "factors in the individual and factors in the situation."[14] As a result of their own uncertainty as to their "real" reasons for joining, many volunteers relieved themselves of responsibility, and reported that they were "talked into it." One volunteer confided that he had been "sucked into it," and another, using a colloquial expression more common in his part of the country, claimed that "they 'hornswoggled' me into it." But as the discussion in this chapter has demonstrated, statements such as these cannot

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

be accepted as completely satisfactory motivations for joining the Foundation.

Implications

The research procedures described in this chapter were not developed to find answers to practical questions, but rather to achieve some understanding of how voluntary associations function and what role they play in our society. Consequently, it may be useful to attempt to spell out some of the implications of the research results for people whose job it is to recruit and utilize volunteers, or for people who are volunteers themselves and want to achieve greater understanding of this activity.

A word of caution should be provided. Sociologists have only recently turned their attention to voluntary associations, and most studies report on the activities of only one association or one type of association. There is available in the sociological literature nothing comparable to the amount of funded knowledge about volunteers which exists in the minds of thousands of people who have worked for many years in this field. This is particularly true of health and welfare associations. The contribution of sociology at this stage, accordingly, is not so much to provide definite answers to practical questions as it is to suggest new and perhaps imaginative ways of viewing problems which are in themselves quite familiar.

In addition to the scattered nature of the findings in this area, the scope of this chapter imposes serious limitations upon the drawing of implications. Only selected aspects of motivation have been considered. Specifically, this chapter has been largely concerned with the various factors which must be considered in examining why volunteers become members of voluntary associations. Very little has been said about the motivations for continuing membership. This is a very important distinction since there is some evidence that the satisfactions derived from participation are of a totally different order than the motivations for joining in the first place. Since the satisfactions of membership vary so widely from activity to activity, it seemed best in assembling materials for this chapter to concentrate upon the most universal activity of all: joining an association.

A somewhat pessimistic view of voluntary activity has been presented in these pages. Yet there is abundant evidence that Americans join voluntary associations in large numbers when a clear need for

some action exists. Voluntary associations are, after all, a major means of achieving culturally approved goals when institutionalized means are lacking. American history is filled with such examples. When British control became unbearable, thousands of colonists joined voluntary associations which eventually became an independent government; when slavery became an unbearable burden on the conscience of many, abolitionist societies were formed; and when workers demanded more rewards from the economy, the labor movement attracted hundreds of thousands of employees. And it is safe to say that if American cities are ever bombed, disaster relief and civilian defense organizations will have more volunteers than they can use.

But when can a need be said to exist? Political oppression and physical destruction are one thing—visible, almost universally threatening, disruptive of culturally approved modes of living. But what of the needs of people suffering from alcoholism, of mothers who have too many children, or of people suffering from mental illness? Will these needs in themselves attract many thousands of people to voluntary associations? The obvious answer is that they will not: the needs are hidden, or they are not viewed as threatening, or they are regarded as inevitable, or perhaps even as the result of human stupidity or error or natural cussedness. Particularly in the case of mental illness are the needs hidden, since families still are reluctant to admit that a member is mentally ill. However, these needs of minorities for attention, for care, for advice, can be publicized; they can be converted into powerful forces for motivating people to act. But only rarely can they be relied upon to attract enough people to keep an organization alive and growing. Other strategies are required.

Many strategies exist. Anyone who has ever recruited volunteers is familiar with many. Only rarely, however, are they articulated, since they seem in some way to violate the very principle of free and voluntary association itself. But it can be argued that they do not; that they violate this principle no more than descriptions of our physical anatomy violate our status as free human beings with individual personalites.

The over-arching principle of these strategies that they make use of relationships between people which were established for other purposes than that of recruiting people into voluntary associations. The fundamental reason for this situation, as far as voluntary health and welfare associations are concerned, is that our society has developed other institutionalized methods of dealing with health and welfare

problems. The family is responsible for providing its members with food, clothing, and shelter, and for carrying out the rudiments of preventive medicine; national and local governments are responsible for the maintenance of public health standards and practices as well as for providing welfare services to individuals whose families cannot care for them; and the medical and social work professions are responsible for the care of ill or neglected individuals. From the point of view of the individual, this allocation of responsibility means that, although concerned in a general way with the health and welfare of his community, his primary obligation is to himself and his family. From the point of view of a health and welfare association, this allocation of responsibility means that there is no specific mechanism it can utilize in order to obtain members. Unlike a church, a health and welfare association cannot depend upon natural reproduction or religious conversion as a source of new members; unlike a military organization, it has no such coercive mechanism as conscription legislation; unlike a government bureaucracy, a business firm, or a professional or trade association, it cannot depend upon the occupational structure for recruits; unlike fraternal or social organizations, it does not have recreational facilities to offer as an inducement; and unlike automobile clubs or veterans' groups—to cite only a few examples of other types of voluntary associations—it cannot obtain new members from any clearly defined segment of the population.

In spite of these difficulties, a number of possible strategies exist. Kinship loyalties, which so often keep people away from voluntary associations, can also be used to draw them in. Obvious examples are the recruitment of parents into PTA's, the recruitment of housewives into various ladies' auxiliaries, and—in voluntary health associations—the recruitment of families of victims of the disease. What must be guarded against in this instance is the tendency for such people to constitute a majority of the association, and thus to inhibit community-wide representation.

Second, job obligations can be utilized. If a superintendent of schools is the volunteer chairman of an organization, his capacity for enlisting volunteers from the school system is almost unlimited. But this is too easy: the trick is to select people who will be able to draw upon a wide variety of people, rather than simply one occupational group.

Third, friendship obligations are important. Providing that the core group is not all drawn from one friendship circle, this strategy

can result in a large and active membership of representative volunteers, people who have two good reasons for remaining active: their interest in the association and their loyalty to their friends.

Fourth, the membership of other voluntary associations can be drawn upon. American communities are filled with associations—women's clubs, Lions' Clubs, American Legion Posts—which are constantly seeking projects and programs, and there is no reason why voluntary and welfare associations cannot serve their own ends by meeting these needs.

Finally, the needs of people for status in the community and for public recognition can be drawn upon. Listen to what a young lawyer in a southern city said about how he became a March of Dimes volunteer:

> Professional and business men must look after their own interests, and it would be ridiculous not to recognize this. Insurance men, for example, are certainly interested in publicity, yet it would be unfair to say they are not also interested in the cause. It works both ways. . . . For example, I took it for advertisement purposes. Here in Fabric Town, they have used every new lawyer for drives. It's well known that we work every new lawyer to death in the town, because it is good business. . . . Whether the National Foundation admits it or not they will always need and find more young lawyers . . . who have not made their name.

So much for strategies used in recruiting volunteers. How can volunteer interest and enthusiasm be maintained? This is a complicated topic, and it is important to guard against oversimplification. The structure of an organization, its prestige in the community, the nature of its goals—all of these organizational factors are important. Equally important is the intrinsic nature of the activities which the organization carries out. But it should also be noted that the personal satisfactions which volunteers derive from participation often are related to the satisfactions derived from kinship ties, from earning a living, from having friends, from belonging to voluntary associations, and from achieving status in the community. The more a voluntary association can link its program to those satisfactions, the more satisfactions its volunteers will obtain.

In conclusion, it should be stated once more that the strategies outlined briefly here are by no means a violation of the principles of free association or of human dignity. Rather, they simply point up the close inter-relatedness of the institutions of society. Voluntary associa-

tions are not alone in depending upon such strategies: citizen armies, churches, and government itself must also rely upon relationships established for other purposes to achieve their ends. The important point, it would seem, is that the ends be worthy of these strategies, and that the strategies be employed not in a spirit of exploitation or manipulation, but as an expression of our values and our concern for our fellow men.

IV

WHERE CAN I SERVE?

The articles in this section deal with volunteer services in such programs as the physically ill, the mentally ill, youth services, services for the aged, individual services, fund raising, and intergroup relations. Also included is an article which points up the volunteer opportunities on the national scene, both in service organizations and in adult membership associations whose major purpose and program is one of service.

All of these articles are prototypes of myriad volunteer opportunities and could be multiplied many times if space permitted. For example, in the area of services to individuals, to the Big Brother functions could be added such others as Big Sisters, Intake Interviewers, Case Aides, Escorts, and Friendly Visitors. These volunteer opportunities will vary with the function of the agency. A study of volunteers in selected case work programs identified the following three major foci of volunteer jobs depending on the individual agency: "These are (a) to provide certain services to clients as prescribed by agency functions; (b) to supplement the work of casework staff; (c) to enrich the program by providing service beyond the agencies' usual scope."[1]

In the area of volunteer opportunities through membership in voluntary associations whose major function and program is one of service, there are numerous organizations on both a national and local level. They vary in their emphasis from the financial support of community projects, to sponsorship of specific projects, to providing volunteers for existing community endeavors, to social action on measures pertaining to health, education, and

[1] *Volunteers in Selected Casework Programs,* Division on Family and Adults, Welfare and Health Council of New York City, 1957, p. 7.

social welfare. Some are involved in a combination of these activities.

Another prototype which might have been included is the growing development of volunteer education for youth. As pointed out by Ruth Lucas in her article on the volunteer bureau,[2] the junior volunteer was discovered during World War I when it was found that he worked well in civil defense and in certain hospital opportunities. The types of volunteer opportunities for this age group have expanded. Along with the contribution made by the junior volunteer is an important opportunity for citizenship education for an age group frequently referred to as "rebels without a cause." Rebellion is a healthy characteristic in a democracy if it does not become an end in itself, but is rather harnessed to socially desirable goals of change. We have learned through the sad experience of the past several decades of a great depression and a major war that this is an age group of which we have too many in times of peace and too few during periods of war. If, in the terms of William James, we are seeking the moral equivalent of war to develop a greater sense of unity and identification with social goals, the volunteer experience for this age group provides one such important channel.

[2] See page 213.

9

VOLUNTEERS IN (ILLINOIS) MENTAL HOSPITALS[1]

Agnes A. Sharp

IT IS well to remember that there are four kinds of volunteers in mental hospitals.

1. Those who come for a specific affair, be it a dance, an entertainment, or to play games. Frequently, they come in groups for such activities. Such groups may gather materials (clothes, books, gifts, special equipment) to be given to the hospitals. These volunteers have no regular hospital assignments as individuals.

2. The "expert" volunteer who gives a special service in one thing: here would be the musician, the artist, the teacher who teaches a special subject. This volunteer comes independently, does his task, and would not be interested in the training program for volunteer services.

3. The services volunteer who, after training, is assigned to a regular part of an activity program. This volunteer becomes a part of the hospital team in such departments or places as occupational, recreational, industrial, music, or library therapies, the commissary, clerical departments in the hospital, etc. This volunteer has a definite, regular service project under the direction of the head of the department and the supervisor of volunteers. These volunteers trained for individualized services to patients enrich the lives of the patients by making the good things already established in the therapy departments available to more and more patients.

4. Those organizations which sponsor one or more wards in our state hospitals who are trained and who have a regular year-long

[1] Excerpted from pamphlet published by the State of Illinois, May 15, 1955.

program for the patients in these wards. These organizations have groups of members who carry out the planned activities with the ward patients.

Why Volunteers?

It would be good to ask, "What can volunteers do in our state mental hospitals that paid staff cannot do?" It would be equally good to ask the state hospital superintendents, "If you could have all the trained and experienced staff in all parts of your hospital that you think essential, would you still want volunteers?"

As a matter of fact, these questions have been asked several of our Illinois state hospital superintendents. Their answers match those of other superintendents of state psychiatric hospitals across the country: "There are specific things which only volunteers can do." Quite aside from the fact that we may not, in this generation, be able to secure enough staff to meet the demands of today's accelerated psychiatric programs, the consensus is that even with a full complement of paid personnel, volunteers will have an increasingly large part in the overall psychiatric hospital programs.

It is accepted that staff alone never could do what staff and volunteers can do together, supplementing each other while working on the common problems for a greater understanding of mental health and mental disease, both in the hospitals and in the communities surrounding the hospitals.

In the last several years, mental hospitals and the public have been modernizing their concepts of basic care and treatment of the mentally ill away from asylum philosophies, away from isolation and mere custodial care. Modern psychiatry and all the modern adjunctive services in the hospitals are putting their emphasis on getting as many of the patients as possible well and out of the hospitals.

Most of the patients in our state hospitals are up and around; they are not bedridden. There are many normal, interesting, and health-bringing activities in which they can participate for most of their waking hours when leadership, guidance, and companionship are provided. The great number of articles about mental breakdown and recovery published in widely read American magazines and newspapers in the last few years have stressed the beneficial results to patients when they are no longer left alone to "sit out" the day but are given attention in a variety of therapeutic activities programs that

are fun to do and give them new outlets and much pleasure for the remainder of their lives.

True, the staff services have been—and are—inadequate to meet the demands of psychiatric treatment based on today's philosophy, focused on recovery. These inadequacies in numbers of trained and experienced personnel are being studied. Plans for developing new groups of specifically trained hospital staff have been implemented and activated. Nurse technicians, psychiatric aides, occupation-recreation aides, and other groups are being recruited and trained to work together in the staff teams of the hospitals. Soon their influence will be felt to a greater degree in the hospitals and their communities. More and more patients will be given their help in getting well. Over the years, the plans call for an increasing number of these paid workers to be trained and inducted into hospital services.

As an essential part of the new treatment approach, volunteers, working in a small way now but of increasing value, are at the very center and heart of the Illinois Mental Health Program. In the hospitals, the plan is to bring to all patients the complete services and activities they need, not only for their speedier recovery but for their comfort and pleasant living as long as they must stay in the hospital.

"Sick people get well more quickly when they are surrounded by congenial people. And that means congenial doctors and staff too."[2] The volunteers are selected and trained because they are congenial people who learn to know the hospital but are not professional or paid staff members. They become essential contributors with the staff to the planned medical and therapeutic care through their graciousness and courtesies to patients and families.

Volunteers can help expedite visits to patients by family and friends on visiting days. By contributing additional pairs of hands in recreation and occupation, music, and library therapies, they make it possible for more patients to have access to the healing attributes of these services. For instance, in one of our [Illinois] state hospitals, two volunteers, who arrive at 8 A.M. to help prepare equipment and supplies for the day in the occupational therapy department, have, by their work with that staff, made it possible for an extra hour to be added to the time given to patients by all the workers in that service.

Outings are possible for more patients through volunteer escort

[2] Mary Jones, "Breakdown and Recovery," *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1952.

services added to the minimum number of paid staff needed to make the affairs successful. Instruction classes of all sorts: typing, knitting, sewing, flower arrangement, music, sports and games of all kinds can be extended to more and more patients as volunteers contribute their talents and time. Friendly visiting, letter writing, reading aloud, conversations in foreign languages with non-English-speaking patients can be extended to our "back wards" and lonely patients.

Here, it is well to remember that some of our state hospital patients have been there a long time with little or no touch with the outside world. They will not have that touch unless more volunteers join the program and bring it to them.

A sense of humor, a pleasant unhurried manner, a generous act, a breath and view of the normal, outside world are some of the things volunteers help to put into the state hospital program. In and of themselves these things have additional treatment, health-bringing values that the state hospital could not pay for nor secure in any other way.

The reward to these active, devoted, responsible volunteers for the time, effort, and friendship given in a warm, generous, undemanding fashion, will be the greater happiness and greater recovery rate among our sick citizens. Volunteers ask only the right to serve in a truly essential and useful manner. They are serious about their part in the psychiatric hospital teams. Volunteers will be proportionately as useful and interested in the hospital programs as the staff members are interested in the volunteers, and no more.

Finally, volunteers can come back at the end of each period from the hospital into the community and make the hospital an interwoven part of their home neighborhood and city. These volunteers are the eyes and ears, the hearts and minds, of the public in our [Illinois] state hospitals. They, even better than relatives of patients and hospital staff members, can make known the needs and requirements of the 48,000 patients who reside therein.

Volunteers are part time workers who never undertake any of the specific duties of paid personnel. Good volunteers, recruited in the hospital community and surrounding areas, especially chosen and trained for this state hospital work, are faithful, loyal, regular, and dependable. They come as representative members of the various organizations and clubs: civic, social, honorary, business and professional, and church. They act as a bridge between the hospital and the community. Travel on this bridge is in both directions—to and from

the hospital. Through the volunteers already working in Illinois mental hospitals in this individualized volunteer services program, the travel of recovered patients from the hospital back home to useful and happy lives will increase in numbers. The Volunteer Services Program is hospital and community centered. In each place the program rests on the interests and efforts of hospital personnel and community leaders.

State Hospital Volunteers

What subject matter and information is given in training courses for volunteers in state mental hospitals? What does one learn in class and in the various volunteer services in the hospital in which one has a part? What facts does one find out that every citizen and taxpayer should know? How do volunteers, as community members, feel about their state mental hospital?

Volunteers discover that a big hospital is a big business. Patients and employees have varied and numerous needs. These needs, many of them, are met in and by the community. The hospital payroll in the community is an economic factor there, and employees are community members and customers. Because these big hospitals belong to their communities, the community citizenry is responsible, in large measure, for the success of its hospital. The community which takes an active interest in its hospital's standards and progress has a better than average hospital.

Volunteers are asked to think of some of the many necessary ways of hospital-community intercommunication that must take place daily. Deliveries of all sorts and kinds are made to the hospital. Workmen come to provide many sorts of services. Telephone calls, mail, telegrams, go in and out on the widest variety of subjects. New patients arrive with some relative; recovered patients go forth with some member of the family. Visitors come to see individual patients. Scientific visitors come to learn about our state hospital system, and frequently to instruct our staff and paid personnel in other methods of patient care. Medical and professional consultants come and go. A shift of workers arrives three times each day to relieve the group which has completed its hours and is ready to go to homes in all parts of the community. Ministers come to see their parishioners who are patients, and to hold religious services in the hospital. Shifts of volunteers recruited in the community come on regular schedules to contribute their time to supplement the paid personnel in providing

varieties of plus activities for the patients. Gifts of all sorts arrive, from the community groups, to be distributed among patients. Newspapers and radio stations call for news and material from the hospital-city within the community. The hospital doors swish from early to late as they revolve to allow this lifeline intercommunication.

Volunteers enjoy learning their way around in the extensive buildings and grounds and through the various departments of the adjunctive therapies. Much more important, however, is the fact that they learn to know the staff, the employees, and the patients. The daily routines, the patient needs, the hospital problems, the social life of the hospital come to be understood very rapidly. Citizen volunteers grasp the total situation amazingly well and have a fresh approach to the hospital and a new slant on the seemingly dull and discouraging "unsolvable problems."

What are some of the things these volunteers have already done for patients in our [Illinois] state hospitals where volunteers are functioning? I suppose the most dramatic thing that happens to any volunteer is her first visit to a ward where 150 patients, more or less, live and work to recover mental health. It is a jarring experience, but one which always challenges the rich imagination and practical sympathy of the volunteer. One of the first things that strikes the volunteer is the fact that these patients, with proper escort, could enjoy going out of doors into the grounds of the hospital. Most of the patients could be out of doors, but they need help in getting ready to go out, and companionship on their walks. Two or three volunteers, working with and under the direction of the attendant in charge, see the value of helping to escort and are glad to make it possible for all the patients to get out into the fresh air with some regularity. With interested companions the patients gain much from going out of doors in groups.

Volunteers find that the majority of state hospital patients are ambulatory; they are up and about their wards. They find that there is not much for these groups of patients to do, and that the hours, the days, and the weeks stretch out endlessly. In some wards there has been little or no reading matter. Volunteers proposed that a book and magazine mobile would deliver pleasure and healthful hours to these patients. Book carts have been donated and regular trips with magazines and books are made through the wards. Volunteers help patients choose their reading matter and encourage them to enjoy the books. The pleasure and recovery of the patient take precedence over the

value of the book. To keep the supplies of books and magazines up to the demands, drives for reading material have been carried out successfully.

Volunteers were not prepared for the tremendous impression their coming made on the lives of patients they served. These sick folk expressed both great pleasure and real puzzlement over the fact that unpaid people would come voluntarily to ease their lives and to help them to a more rapid recovery. Many of these patients had had few or no visitors in months and years. They felt forgotten and isolated. The fact that volunteers would come to visit them, to think up services and activities for their benefit, gave them a great sense of recognition. Their interest in themselves and the world around them built up to the visits of the volunteers. They belonged again.

Volunteers found wards filled with old men or women, depressed and regressed patients who had no interests and nothing to do but sit in their chairs all day. They were noncommunicative and often disheveled and untidy. Their plight challenged the volunteers, and they brought a new slant to an old and somewhat dreary problem. In one such ward of old men, three women volunteers asked permission to bring occupational therapy materials in their attempt to "reach" these patients. They started with clay for modeling, and suggested the idea to the men, who remained stolid; not one left his chair. They thought playing with clay was silly and child stuff. The volunteers returned the same day the next week with the same equipment. Finally one man moulded a pig and it was much admired by the volunteers. Then one by one the other men tried, and after a few short weeks they had all modeled ash trays, animals, and the like. Comparing the objects modeled, and with clay in their hands, working, these old men began to talk again and carry on conversations. Now, in this ward, these three volunteers are awaited and welcomed by those regressed men, now slicked up for company, who for months and years had had nothing brought to them to stir them from their withdrawn attitude and their chairs.

Women patients were found to have little opportunity to do any purely feminine activities. These same women were given pretty blouses and other delicate items by their loved ones. These dainties, volunteers found, often were lost or faded in the laundry. These citizens provided one, and later another, electric washing machine and irons for two cottages. There are, they found, healing and relaxation in tasks that are not only familiar, energy consuming, but

relaxing and satisfying. These women are doing their own small personal laundries now.

In the year gone by, groups of volunteers have been recruited, screened, trained, and inducted into service several times in each hospital. That part of the program continues with regularity. Each new group and each class learns more and more about the hospital as earlier volunteers help in their training. The many and varied types of volunteer service on a volunteer-to-patient basis, with small groups of patients who show special interests in music or art or ceramics or weaving, the whole ward activities and parties, the group recreation programs—all are too numerous to list and evaluate. Volunteers have taken advantage of every opportunity and every activity that seemed to bring them in close touch with patients and their needs. It has been found that there are scores of ways to get through to the patients. It has been demonstrated that the patients need this warm, generous interest of the citizens if they are to profit to the full from their hospital sojourn. Volunteers have proved an immeasurable aid in returning patients to mental health.

Since fine work by volunteers has been done in hospital wards, cottages and departments which are leaders, as well as the dramatic contacts and results in more isolated and "back wards," the hospital staffs and volunteer groups are convinced that this program is essential to the state mental hospital growth. No longer is the use of volunteers an emergency plan or a method of meeting shortages of trained personnel. Volunteer plans, programs, and activities will change and modify with the years, but the concept of on-going community responsibility for its state mental hospital and in-hospital citizen volunteers has been accepted. As a matter of demonstrated fact, it takes a good and ever improving hospital to attract and hold trained volunteers. The hundreds of community volunteers trained in Illinois state psychiatric hospitals last year will grow to the thousands. As one community after another, through its trained volunteers, learns increasingly about the nature and treatment of mental disease, the prevention of mental diseases will become their concern. The community mental health program will then embrace positive, preventive, applied educative methods. Some of the old, apparently unsolvable problems of the state mental hospital will be solved.

10

VOLUNTEERS SERVE THE PATIENTS' LIBRARY[1]

Adrea W. Keyes

SUSAN W. checked her library cart carefully to be sure she had a wide selection of books and magazines for the orthopedic patients on the fourth floor nursing unit. She had selected books from the shelves of the patients' library until she had a wide choice of fiction, adventure, romance, detective stories, mysteries, and short stories. She had recent magazines on homes and hunting—even pulp magazines and the comics.

This was Sue's first venture alone on the nursing unit, and she wanted to do everything just as the volunteer services director and the librarian had taught her during her short but complete orientation course the previous week. She had browsed through her selections so she would be more familiar with books she had not read herself. She had thumbed through the westerns and the comics. She would really have preferred not to include them; they did not interest her in the least. But she remembered her training. After all, these magazines were for the patients—all the patients—many of whom were too ill to be interested in reading serious or educational material.

If the fourteen-year-old girl with her arms and legs severely burned from an auto accident could hold a lightweight comic book, perhaps she could forget her pain for a few minutes at a time.

Now Sue was almost ready. She reviewed the orientation booklets given her by the volunteer service director about nursing unit procedures and patient requests and was confident she remembered the

[1] Excerpted from *Hospitals*, XXIX, No. 10 (October 1955), pp. 97–100.

instructions. She checked to make sure she had the "patient referral slips" in the pocket of her cherry-red smock.

At the last minute, the librarian handed her a very precious book for Mr. G., who was interested in reading about the Middle Ages. The librarian had finally found it in one of the local libraries. Oh yes, there was the photography book for Mr. B.—what a courageous man! He would have to change his whole life when he left the hospital, train himself for a new vocation, everything. Sue decided to see him first. She was sure he'd give her some bit of philosophy to pass on to a less courageous patient. One last check of the cart—then, off to the elevator!

Sue's afternoon was a gratifying experience for her. She visited sixty-one people, distributed twenty-two books and sixteen magazines and picked up twelve books and numerous magazines for return to the library. She left one referral in the chaplain's office, from a man who wanted to have personal prayer and meditation, and two in the volunteer office—one for the hospitality service volunteer, from a lady who needed a new hairnet; and the other for the hospital school, asking them to send a recreation volunteer to play checkers with a teenager.

Knowing that the referrals would be taken care of the same afternoon, Sue returned to the library, completed her circulation data sheet, straightened up her cart, and sorted some magazines for the librarian. She was satisfied. She had followed all the rules and procedures and, most of all, she had been of service to many patients.

Volunteers in the Library

Sue is a student volunteer at the University Hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan, assigned to the library cart. She was chosen to help for three hours a week in our library because she has what we feel are the best requirements, namely, a personal background of and a liking for reading, together with an appreciation of the satisfaction others gain from reading, as well as "the physical stamina to push the library cart." She was trained by the volunteer services director and the hospital's paid librarian, who is responsible for supervision of the library service.

This service, as is true of all volunteer services in the hospital, does not supplant medical or nursing care; rather, it helps to direct the patients' thoughts to interests other than themselves. At least temporarily, it does its share in relieving their pain and suffering. Thus,

volunteers on the library cart service can do much more for the hospialized than augment the weekly bedside routine circulation of books and magazines by the hospital librarian. They can bring a continuing personal contact with the outside world and an exchange of mutual interests, extremely satisfying to both.

The Training Program

Training for such a service need not be long or tedious. Here at the University Hospital, would-be volunteers, including those interested in library service, are interviewed, screened and, if accepted, given regular hospital registration numbers. The library volunteers then are given the general orientation training they so vitally need on hospital policies and nursing unit procedures in one hour. This is the first step. They then master the special library training course and file away hints on the patient approach and the importance of understanding patients' problems and worries in another two hours. With these three hours of initial training, they are ready to accompany the librarian or an experienced volunteer on their first assignment. From then on, they will assume full responsibility for the library cart service on their nursing unit with the exception of special cases, which they discuss with the librarian.

Library instructions. Following the general orientation and before our volunteers are sent to the nursing units, they are given specific training in departmental procedures by the librarian, so as to familiarize themselves thoroughly with its unique organization, the available reading material, and the importance of keeping accurate daily records on the circulation of books and magazines. This is the second phase.

Like Sue, they are then instructed on how to arrange the book cart and how to choose a wide variety of material to satisfy reading habits of the hospitalized. Finally, they review the special techniques of patient approach, with emphasis on how to stimulate the patient's interest in reading. Equal emphasis is also placed on how to contact and encourage those patients who for some reason are unable to read.

Routine daily procedures. From this basic orientation and library instruction, the volunteers are expected to familiarize themselves with the routine daily procedures outlined on the last page of the library orientation leaflet:

1. Sign in on the volunteer time sheet in the library, in uniform.
2. Consult with the librarian about your assignment.

3. Arrange the library cart attractively. Carry a wide variety of books and magazines with which you have acquainted yourself.

4. Take the card file box; also clip daily circulation data sheet to library cart.

5. Before going on any nursing unit, check with the "nurse in charge" to see if there are any patients you should not approach.

6. When contacting patients, stress that this is a free service.

7. Check for books and magazines given out previously. Discourage "hoarding" by encouraging their prompt return.

8. Note opportunities for additional service to be filled when possible.

9. Consult with the librarian before fulfilling any requests by the staff for patient library services, other than your assigned daily schedule.

10. When you return to the library, list any request you have not been able to fill and give this to the librarian.

11. Consult with the librarian about substitute reading choices.

12. Fill out daily circulation data sheet and turn in to librarian (who tabulates complete daily and monthly reports).

13. Assist in returning books and magazines from cart to shelves.

14. Channel any requests of patients for other volunteer services as outlined under patient requests and referrals.

15. Sign out on the volunteer time sheet in library.

16. Leave volunteer referral slips regarding these patient requests on the spindle on the desk in the volunteer office.

Need for Volunteers

Under the master plan developed through cooperation of the librarian, the director of the hospital school, and our volunteer services group, ten volunteers, each giving three hours per week, are needed to help in providing twice-a-week bedside service for our 1,000-plus patients. When the scheduled cart service is increased to three a week or more, each extra day's schedule on the nursing units will increase the weekly need to five volunteers.

It would be extremely difficult to set up any general yardstick to measure the number of volunteers needed for library cart service in hospitals, since they vary in number of beds, arrangement of floors, percentage of private and ward patients, daily census, etc. Even weather plays an important role in patients' moods and their daily acceptance of such services.

Statistics at our hospital indicate that a volunteer can contact about thirty patients during each hour of service, or approximately 100 in her three-hour assignment. At least two-thirds of this number of patients will usually avail themselves of books and magazines.

Attitudes. The volunteers are thoroughly impressed with their responsibilities and duties during orientation. They are instructed to respect the patient's reading preferences, never criticizing their choices, respecting their moods, and realizing that though they may not care to read, they appreciate the visit and the opportunity it affords. Volunteers are asked to be alert to patients' needs and to notify the volunteer services director of requests they feel they cannot handle themselves. It is also the duty of the volunteers to follow all nursing unit procedures, library policies, and circulation techniques. They are trained to remember that as volunteers they are the representatives of all volunteer services to patients, even though their assignment is the library. They are trained to see that any requests made to them for other services are referred through proper channels.

Values of the Service

The University Hospital has found the value of such a service to be extensive, since it provides a friendly and pleasant association for the patients outside their medical program. The hospital staff feels that reading contributes to the patient's adjustment to illness and hospital routine, relieves the monotony of convalescence, and prevents boredom. The patients are stimulated to broaden their reading programs and are assisted in developing new interests and hobbies. It also contributes to making patients feel that the hospital is a friendly place and greatly interested in their personal well-being.

11

VOLUNTEERS IN BIG BROTHER WORK

Goesta Wollin and Ephrain H. Royfe

THE most important element in Big Brother work is the one man-one boy concept of a therapeutic friendship between a volunteer and a boy who is in difficulty because he has no adequate male figure to help him. The influence of the character and personality of one man (the volunteer big brother) is utilized for the development of one boy (the little brother) under the direction of a professional staff.

It is the volunteers who make a Big Brother service a going concern. Supporting each volunteer big brother is the professional staff worker who is trained in Big Brother work and has knowledge concerning the facilities in his community which can assist the little brother and his family to realize their maximum potential.

The personality of the volunteer, when he is accepted as a big brother, is carefully matched with the needs and interests of the boy whom he agrees to see on the average of once a week. The interest of a big brother provides opportunity and climate for wholesome growth. By the precept and example set by big brothers in planning, working, and playing together with little brothers, thousands of boys begin to acquire the habits of living that lead to mature and productive adulthood, and many warm and lasting friendships also are created.

Once a month, and more often when needed, the big brother discusses with the professional staff member how things are going with him and his little brother. Now and then the big brothers have group discussion-meetings which enable them to learn from one another,

and from their professional advisors, something about the dynamics of personality growth and human relationships. Big Brother work is based on the concept that boys need the stabilizing and helpful influence of a mature and responsible man.

The defined goals of Big Brother work are:

1. To help reduce juvenile delinquency by providing individual guidance in sound character development for boys who lack wholesome adult male companionship, and who reflect such deprivation in behavior pointing towards delinquency.

2. To help boys with problems, and who lack the influence of a mature and responsible man, to reach their highest physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual development.

In the attempt to reach these goals, an organized Big Brother service conducts and maintains:

1. Social studies by trained social work personnel to select the boys that need big brothers and matches each boy with a big brother selected on the basis of his potential for best meeting the individual needs of the boy.

2. Counseling to parents and guardians, as may be appropriate and helpful to the boy's relationship with his family.

3. Avenues of referral to related social, psychological, psychiatric, vocational, and health services to assist boys in their adjustments. Some Big Brother organizations maintain their own units of such related services; others arrange to procure these services elsewhere.

4. Working relationships through the professional staff, with workers of other agencies interested in the boy's welfare.

The "heart" of a Big Brother program lies in the effective relationships of the big brother to his little brother. It is not enough to simply state that a certain number of men are assigned to a certain number of boys. Rather, it is the relative intensities of their various relationships and experiences that point up their effectiveness. Another way of stating it would be to ask the question: "How involved is the big brother in his little brother's total life?" Involvement implies not only frequency of contacts, but the kindness, good judgment, tenacity, sincerity of feeling, and the objective projection of himself into his little brother's mental and physical world. He must, to be successful, take into consideration his young friend's needs and attempt to relate them to his personal potential. Sometimes the big brother is dealing with emotions, at other times with attitudes, and still others with a boy's natural "growing pains."

The volunteer is the "hub" of the Big Brother program and deserves the accolades of all. He deserves them not only because of his efforts in helping a little brother, but also because in the doing he gives generously of himself and of his time. Other specific motivations vary with individuals, altruism is one shared with all big brothers. It is their common denominator.

There is great satisfaction for a big brother in helping a boy solve his problems and in guiding him away from trouble and a wasted life onto the path of good citizenship. "Big Brothering" is a joyous adventure in friendship. It is fun for a man to attend sporting events with a boy, to share an interest in hobbies, in the theatre, and other forms of recreational events. Attending religious services with his little brother also offers an opportunity for an enriched experience.

Who is a Little Brother?

The little brother is a boy between eight and seventeen who lacks a father or adequate male figure in his life. He may be in difficulty with the law; he may be socially maladjusted; he may be fatherless, or just an unhappy, unfortunate boy in need of male influence and companionship.

The minimum age of eight for a little brother has been set as the lowest level on which a boy can maintain an effective relationship with a big brother. This minimum age refers more pointedly to the emotional maturity and mental level than to strict consideration of the boy's birth date. It has been found that generally a boy over seventeen cannot use and benefit effectively from the friendship and guidance of a volunteer big brother.

Since Big Brother agencies cannot, in the predictable future, serve all boys who merely lack wholesome adult male influence, service must be limited, at least to cases in which a problem has manifested itself, and in which the absence of the male influence is seen as a contributing cause to the problem. Generally, a little brother is a boy who is beginning to show anti-social behavior patterns. Usually stemming from a breakdown in his home, this behavior may take the form of serious delinquency, school failure, family conflict, gang activity, or self-destructive personality conflicts. Such a boy needs intensive guidance and—if referred early enough—can usually, with Big Brother help, be redirected into normal, wholesome behavior patterns.

The professional workers in a Big Brother agency select and match

the boys and the men and supervise their relationship. Assignments of little brothers and big brothers are made on the basis of compatibility. Consideration is always given to cultural, religious, racial, and social factors. Common interests of the boy and the man provide a meeting ground in their initial contacts.

The little brother is often suspicious of the big brother at the outset, for this is probably the first time in his life that someone has expressed a genuine interest in him. But slowly, as their relationship grows, he comes to realize that all adults are not to be suspected. Along the way the big brother will probably be tested by the boy to ascertain if this professed friendship is a genuine thing. Confidence in himself, in adults in general, and in his future slowly becomes a reality. The word "slowly" should be emphasized. It must be remembered that his behavior patterns and disturbance have been gradually growing from his first days.

The little brother at last comes to realize that someone cares for him without reservations. He may never be able to show the big brother that he is grateful, but sometimes he drops his guard and reacts in a grateful manner.

"Hard-to-reach, acting-out" adolescents are being assigned to a specialized "pioneering" Big Brother service program in New York City. Service to them developed because an increasing number of aggressive "acting-out" adolescents were so disturbed that the courts found it necessary to refer them for specialized assistance. Experience has shown that these youngsters can be reached and brought into treatment if the traditional application of the big brother is reversed —if the primary relationship on an intensive basis is with the caseworker and the secondary supportive role is that of a big brother.

Who is a Big Brother?

In understanding who a big brother is, it is helpful to understand first who he is not. He is not a substitute probation officer, a substitute pastor, physician, psychiatrist, or social worker. A big brother does not come into a boy's life to moralize or lecture. He comes to fill a void in the boy's life, an emotional vacuum which needs filling.

In affirmative terms, the big brothers are mature, stable, personable men of good character who are willing to take time to help unfortunate youngsters along the road to good citizenship without assuming any legal or financial responsibilities. Big brothers provide the affection, security, sympathy, understanding, and guidance so

necessary and important to a young boy. By offering a troubled youngster the assurance that someone cares, that the future is not necessarily dark or hopeless, a big brother becomes the fundamental source for new hope and faith in a young boy.

Although age is not the determining factor for selecting big brothers, most fall within the age range of twenty-five to fifty. It has been found, however, that older men also make excellent big brothers.

When a man volunteers as a big brother, he is screened by the membership committee of a Big Brother agency and its professional social work staff, and when accepted, he is made familiar with the procedures, methods and techniques developed over many years.

He is assigned to a boy whose interests match his own and whose needs can best be met through his friendship. With the counsel of a professional staff worker always at hand, he builds a close and meaningful friendship with the boy and "sticks" with him as long as he is needed. This may last for several years; the only remuneration is the satisfaction of helping a little brother find a useful and happy way of life.

There are many times when the big brother is not able to cope with the complex problems of a disturbed youngster. Being a layman, he then draws upon the professional staff worker's competence. He is helped to recognize that all boys have hostility and that quite often this hostility is projected on him as the nearest available individual. He comes to understand that the boy is an easy prey to temptation and, therefore, may again become involved in difficulty. Thus, it is easy to see that a big brother's most valuable asset is patience. Patience combined with hope and trust, kindled with kindness, produces the type of big brother of which we are so proud.

The most important factor to emphasize about a big brother is that he is a man of average human endowments and not a superman; a man who, conceding his human frailties, is stirred to the knowledge that he is wanted, that his human potentials are needed, and that they can begin to be realized in his friendship with a boy.

Preparing the Volunteer for His Assignment

The preparation of a volunteer for an assignment involves the realization that because the little brother has not a suitable father or other adult male within the circle of his family or environment who can assist him with his normal growth and development, he is suffer-

ing from emotional deprivations and can be considered to be disturbed. Working with this emotional disability, a volunteer must be alerted to the fact that his boy may be demanding of him at first and unable to outwardly respond to the friendship bestowed upon him.

Dr. William C. Menninger, speaking to an assembly of Big Brothers in 1956, stated: ". . . we must think of friendship in a therapeutic way (a term which I, as a physician, use). It is a very special kind of friendship. It has as its aim, first, on your part to supply the affection,—understandingly, patiently, enduringly, and unsolicitedly—that you have to give and it's your initiative to give. If it doesn't start with you, then it doesn't start; it doesn't happen. I think its second purpose certainly is to help the beloved one learn how to love. . . . I think we know now for sure that the little baby has to learn how to love. He learns because he has the good fortune of having parents that love him. As a Big Brother, in a sense, while we may call ourselves Big Brothers, really, as we all recognize, you are a father substitute—who is going to teach this youngster, who has never learned how to love, how to love. The end result is to help him become a social being, capable of forming satisfying personal relationships with other people because he learned how through you. He learned how to love and that, in a broad sense, is how he is going to relate himself to so many other people as a result."[1]

In preparing the volunteer for the first meeting with his little brother, he is told that it is usually best for him to take the initiative in making appointments with the boy and to sustain the relationship during the first six months. Many agencies insist that during these crucial beginning months the big brother should meet with his little brother at least once a week.

Generally, big brothers confer with the professional staff immediately after the first few contacts. Consultations then diminish to once a month basis, and after a suitable period may be replaced in part by written monthly reports.

In supervising a big brother, attention is focused upon what the organization is trying to accomplish with the individual boy. For example: in working with a boy who enjoys talking about himself, the volunteer is made sensitive to the fact that he should encourage the boy when he begins to expand about his own achievements. This supervising relationship is dynamic in that the man who at first

[1] William C. Menninger, M.D., "The Therapy of Friendship," *Proceedings, Eighth Annual Meeting,* Big Brothers of America, May 1956, pp. 30–42.

established a comfortable relationship with a boy of eleven may find that when this boy reaches the age of fifteen, he may have changed his concepts and thinking, and the big brother may be faced with new challenges. The overall importance of consistently reassuring the volunteer that his efforts are important continues unabated on the part of the caseworker.

In addition to individual supervision, the volunteer in many of our agencies is enrolled in group or orientation courses, case seminars, and other group discussions. These meetings afford him an excellent opportunity to exchange his views and feelings and are designed to impart further understanding of how to relate to the personality of individuals in an informal setting. What is perhaps most important is the fact that he is afforded the opportunity of observing other volunteers struggling with similar problems. Through this experience the big brother becomes impressed by the fact that through perseverance success can be achieved.

The Volunteer and the Client

While the volunteer is being prepared to assume his role, work continues with the young client who has been referred to the agency from a variety of sources. During the early years, Big Brother agencies confined their work largely to boys referred by the Children's Court. Later, the emphasis shifted to boys referred by school authorities, social agencies, clergy, and parents who recognized the need for friendship and guidance from a big brother. The program has never been confined solely to helping a boy after he has committed anti-social behavior. The volume of preventive and corrective work has increased considerably over the years until today about 80 per cent of the boys referred to Big Brother agencies for guidance have never appeared in Juvenile Court.

Generally, the Big Brother agencies will accept any responsible referral—one made with the knowledge and consent of the boy's mother or other responsible relative. The pattern of the intake process varies from agency to agency, e.g., in the rural Pee Dee Area of South Carolina, it consists of four interviews with the boy and at least one with his mother to help determine if he needs and will use the service.[2] In Los Angeles, a Big Brother agency makes an assign-

[2] Charles W. Fleming, "Utilizing the Volunteer as a Helping Person in a Casework Agency, *Journal of Social Work Process*, Vol. 9, 1958, p. 43.

ment after three interviews: one interview with the boy; one with either parent or guardian, and one with the referring agency.

In those few instances where the father is physically present in the home, he is always seen during the intake process. While unquestionably the assignment of a big brother is threatening to a father, the caseworker reassures him regarding the positives the boy will gain through a big brother assignment. Efforts are made to secure the service of a volunteer who will be dissimilar to the father in age and other characteristics in order to minimize rivalry between the father and the big brother. In addition, both the big brother and the caseworker attempt to strengthen this relationship between the father and son, and the volunteer is always prepared to withdraw when the father is able to assume a meaningful role. Hence, the volunteer in assuming his responsibility is assured that the way has been cleared for him to play his part uninhibited by the resentment of noncooperative parents.

The caseworker's role with the mother is, in the overwhelming majority of cases, more extensive than with the father. From the outset, the volunteer is alerted to the fact that the mother's problems affect the boy's adjustment. However, in these latter cases, the social worker acts as the buffer and relieves the volunteer of the responsibility of relating to her. Often, to facilitate this process, the volunteer will meet in a neutral setting away from the boy's home.

Immediately after a referral is completed, the mother is contacted by the caseworker and a thorough exploration of the family situation, and any other problems which may affect the little brother, is made. In some agencies, intensive casework is undertaken with the mother to assist her in developing a more satisfactory home life for her child. In agencies with a more limited focus or staff, these problems are referred to Family Service agencies. Hence, a simultaneous process of reinforcing the family life of the boy takes place while the big brother concentrates on building up his ego.

When the caseworker feels confident that the volunteer and boy can form a positive relationship and have some common interests, the matching process is begun. Here the volunteer plays a role in the selection of his little brother. He has the choice of selecting or rejecting an assignment. This opportunity is afforded him during an interview in which the boy's history is outlined.

In some agencies, after the big brother accepts an assignment, the

caseworker obtains the mother's approval of a specific volunteer. This is especially important in smaller communities where there may be an unknown personal history between the volunteer and the client's family.

When these preliminaries have been effected, the boy is then prepared for assignment and told about his big brother. If he seems interested in his prospective big brother they are introduced in the agency office. During this initial interview, the big brother makes plans with his boy to meet him, and the caseworker schedules an appointment for them shortly after their first get-together. Even though the big brother now carries the primary responsibility for helping the boy, the caseworker continues to lend support to the relationship by seeing the boy on a regular basis. The intensity of this latter relationship varies according to the varying shades of philosophy existing within the agencies.

The Jewish Big Brother Association of Cleveland, Ohio, serves primarily the residents of a treatment center, Bellefaire. Here, Big Brother work becomes part of an overall treatment plan for youngsters, supplementing other therapeutic programs of the institution. In assessing the values of a volunteer for a child residing in an institution, the following benefits can be stated in addition to what has previously been mentioned: the volunteer serves as a bridge by which the boy gains access to and knowledge of the outside community. In contrast to his experience with school teachers, caseworkers, cottage parents, etc., the child does not have to share the volunteer with other children, and visits to the volunteer's home give the child a chance to acquire a realistic concept of pleasant, secure family life.

We are often asked if little brothers become perplexed in differentiating the functions between the social worker and the volunteer. It has been our experience that the boys do not confuse these roles. The caseworker is utilized traditionally to assist the boy with his feelings about his relationship with the volunteer, and to help in the event that problems develop with which the big brother may be unable to cope.

The caseworkers often have felt that the more time they devote in assisting a volunteer to understand himself and the boy, the better the relationship will develop. This process gives the big brother support and recognition which he may not otherwise receive at first from the boy he is befriending. The volunteer who comes to the

agency to talk with his staff worker feels he is a member of an organization which has been successful in helping boys similar to the little brother with whom he is working. Billy's story illustrates the way a Big Brother program helps.

Billy's mother went to the school one day to learn how she might help her son improve his grades. The teacher said that Billy was quite capable of doing the work required of him. However, in school Billy withdrew from the other children, was unhappy, and only occasionally worked up to capacity. He was generally resentful of authority and adults, and sought out as companions other boys who had personal problems and were in difficulty with the authorities. The mother explained that Billy's father had deserted the family. The boy had never really understood this. She said that other boys teased Billy about having no father and this led to fights and other destructive behavior. She feared that for protective purposes her son was seeking the companionship of boys who belonged to gangs.

The teacher explained the work being done by the Big Brother Association for boys without fathers. The following week the mother visited the local office. She told the caseworker her problem. She described Billy's situation and actions, and explained, too, that her small salary would not permit her to enroll the boy in any expensive programs. The caseworker said that there was no cost for the Big Brother services—the only requirement was that her son must be capable of benefiting from the program. To determine whether or not he could profit from the program it would be necessary to talk with Billy.

When Billy spoke with the caseworker he started by talking about his dog, a stray pup he had rescued from abuse by other youngsters. After much persuasion, his mother agreed to let him keep it. Billy said the dog was his friend and would come to him whenever he called. He said he and his dog were very much alike. He revealed, after persuasion, that he felt he was not loved or wanted at home. While he knew his mother worked hard and sacrificed a great deal for him, he could not understand why, if she really loved him, she did not take him hunting as other boys' fathers took them.

The caseworker talked about this while seeking to build up the mother's position, strengthen family ties, and help Billy to understand the different roles mothers and fathers play in rearing their children. He told him about other fatherless boys who found wonderful friends who took them to ball games, on hunting and fishing trips, and to the movies. He carefully

pointed out that these men could not take a father's place in the heart of a boy. They did, however, take a personal interest in boys similar to that of an uncle or an older brother. After a few more meetings, the caseworker knew Billy fairly well—his problems, attitudes, likes, and dislikes. It was decided that he could use and was ready for a Big Brother. As the caseworker checked over the list of approved but unassigned Big Brothers, Billy and a man named Edward Brown appeared to be well matched.

Mr. Brown had filed an application to become a Big Brother after he had read an article in the local newspaper about the organization's work. He had been carefully screened by a committee of laymen as well as by the caseworker and his references checked to see if he was the kind of man who could really help a boy. He had been told frankly that this would not be an easy task, that there was risk of failure because not every boy would respond to this kind of help. It had been explained to Mr. Brown that he would not assume any legal or financial responsibilities for the boy, who would continue to live in his own home. If Mr. Brown wished, he could spend five to ten dollars per year taking the boy to ball games or buying him a small Christmas gift. It was explained that a boy's trust must be won, not bought. Mr. Brown would be expected to see his Little Brother at least once a week, and more often if possible. The caseworker talked separately with Billy and Edward Brown about the assignment before they met in the Big Brother office.

On their outings into the country Big Brother Brown came to know Billy. Both liked to hike, fish, and hunt. As they did these things together, Ed Brown's friendliness and genuine interest enabled Billy to "open up." Billy told his Big Brother of his disappointments—how the children at school seemed to shun and despise him, and that the only way that he could obtain a friend was by allowing an older boy to bully him. He also spoke about missing his father and the terrible feeling of loss and disappointment he had when his father left. When the volunteer learned that his young friend wanted to be a pilot, he realized that the boy was mechanically inclined and he invited him to help on some projects in his small home workshop. Sure enough, Billy was very handy with tools and Ed Brown enjoyed having him around. He had sometimes wondered if he would have time to be a Big Brother. Now, however, he found that Billy could join in with his activities.

The sessions in the workshop were valuable occasions for him to get across to Billy some of his philosophy of life. He neither preached nor talked down to him. He simply talked as a friend. He helped Billy see that

the reason he had few friends at school was that he carried a chip on his shoulder . . . that he expected the children not to like him and, because of this behavior he was not generally liked. Billy's original suspicion of his Big Brother was overcome when Ed Brown praised his work in the workshop and recognized his good qualities. Billy found that he enjoyed just being himself and when he tried this at school he was surprised to find his schoolmates accepted him as a friend. He no longer needed to seek out insecure boys as companions.

As Ed Brown and Billy worked and played together, they continued to see the caseworker once a month. The caseworker helped the volunteer and his young friend to understand each other more fully. At regular intervals the caseworker saw Billy's mother to report the progress Billy was making as well as to discuss their family problems. Once, when Billy became involved in difficulty at school, the caseworker got together with the principal, the Big Brother, and the mother and together they found the proper solution.

Ed Brown often invited the boy to his home, and his wife came to know and to like Billy. This was important because in a sense she had to share her husband with the Little Brother. If she had not realized how valuable for Billy her sharing of her husband's time was, she might have resented it. She watched Billy maturing and enjoyed her husband's pleasure of accomplishment.

As a Big Brother, Edward Brown gave a boy with problems a chance to know wholesome living, joy in life, more freedom, and means for self-expression. Billy improved in his school work and developed greater stability and an increased feeling of security. He was able to feel more comfortable in adults' company, and take supervision and direction from his teachers. He sought out and made friends with a healthier group of children.

The relationship between Billy and his Big Brother continued on a supervised basis for three years, until Billy was thirteen. At this point the Big Brother agency felt that the Little Brother had made an adequate adjustment and the case was officially terminated. However, although the agency no longer carried the responsibility for the supervision of Billy and his Big Brother, the two continued to remain close friends and visited with one another frequently. It has been our experience that the friendship formed through a Big Brother relationship often continues for many years. Recently, the agency reported that Edward Brown had reapplied for a new Little Brother assignment.

The Volunteer in the Community

In addition to the invaluable function that the volunteer performs by directly assisting a young client, he serves in many other ways. There are few volunteers in social welfare today who have as close a working experience and knowledge of an agency as a big brother volunteer. The interpretation to the community of these facts by a big brother who has good social standing is invaluable to the growth and development of his agency.

In addition to this first hand knowledge about his own role, volunteers are able to gain a greater appreciation of the work of other social and governmental agencies which affect the welfare of youth. Many big brothers visit the courts, schools, and social agencies of their communities for the first time when they become big brother volunteers. In helping their little brother, they observe the efforts that social agencies are making to enrich the life and the future of their little brother. Along with this increased knowledge of the social agency structure in a community, many of the volunteers gain insight into the causes of behavior, as it affects their little brothers as well as themselves. Through years of interrelationship with an individual who is socially and emotionally maladjusted, the big brother, with the aid of professional supervision, gains a greater insight into what makes a human tick, and what has caused his little brother to be the way he is.

Similarly, if a big brother is to do an effective job, he must do some soul searching about his own behavior, and his own expectations as to how he may be able to change the personality of another individual. After completing an assignment, many big brothers have often remarked how much they have gained from the relationship, not only in personal satisfaction in having helped an individual, or even perhaps salvaging a life, but also in gaining a deeper understanding of how they were relating to other people, their families and co-workers. It is for this reason that some of the larger corporations ask their employees to volunteer as big brothers so that they may not only help boys in trouble, but may gain a greater sensitivity in relating to others.

The following voices what one big brother achieved from his experiences: "Big Brother work is a two-way street because it helps develop in man a wise, kindly, optimistic attitude about life, about words, about voicing them, and also about that seldom thought of virtue of communication in silence—just being with a boy in a tramp

through the woods or being with a boy in a church service. It helps a Big Brother to move, to persuade, to change, to achieve, to do things with human life. To do things with a boy who some day will be either an asset to his community or a dejected piece of human wreckage."

There is a growing realization among big brothers that unless constructive methods are evolved to salvage children with problems in their early years, relatively little can be done afterward to aid in their rehabilitation. More and more we are recognizing that distressed youngsters who are full of confusion cannot possibly be assisted by the punitive approach of some social institutions. An indifferent society which waits for pathology to assert itself before it acts, and then acts with vengeance, is wasteful of its resources.

Too often, the history of social welfare in America reveals we have tended to dismiss and forget our problems. Mental hospitals and penal institutions were not built in the rural country for the beneficial air, but because it was to perpetuate the philosophy of "out of sight out of mind." The Big Brother Movement seeks to reverse this process. It keeps and brings the boy back to the community where he must be helped to survive both physically and psychologically.

One of the major functions of Big Brother volunteers is this responsibility to interpret the needs of youth to their communities. This is an enormous task. Unless the public understands and does something constructive about it, we will continue to be faced with the bleak fact that each year new records are being chalked up of social maladjustment among the nation's youth.

The problems of youth in the United States have almost reached epidemic proportions, sparing no city, town, or rural community. Therefore, the need for expanded Big Brother work is greater than ever.

Most important in all work with youth is that the outlook must be toward the demanding job ahead, confident but never complacent; thoughtful and deliberate, but never static; building upon the work of the past but always alive to the challenge of the future.

It is the spirit of America that citizens become inspired by and accept a great challenge. To guide boys toward wholesome physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual development through Big Brother work offers such a challenge.

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VOLUNTEERS IN THE YOUTH SERVING AGENCY

William H. Brueckner

So You Want to Help Youth

THEN you know of the need for such help. This need is described every day and in many ways. Round tables and symposiums on radio and television abound with discussions of the "state of our youth." Our magazines and journals bring, in fiction and in fact, stories of the trials and tribulations of children and young people, and analyses of their meaning for our culture and its future. And our press bristles often enough with reports of juvenile failure and crime.

You could not help thinking about all this. You wondered what could be done. And you felt that you could help. And you wondered how large this youth problem was and whether you could really dare to get near it.

We think we should tell you that there is no doubt about the fact that there is a youth problem of the kind described in press notices and in discussions about juvenile delinquency, and no doubt about changes of attitudes on the part of children and young people toward adults, adult opinions, and adult institutions. On the other hand, your interest in services to youth does by no means need to be confined to problem situations of this sort. There is a much larger opportunity for service in those needs of children and young people that are eternal, needs existing in all children. And such needs never lead to much publicity; their consideration on first sight seems less dramatic, less exciting. At the same time, we believe that such normal need of normal children and young people is of much greater importance.

Since you have decided to be a partner in the care for youth, let us try to explain what the present thinking of youth serving agencies is.

When you observe a child or a young person in the course of his growth over the years, and when you not only react in terms of liking or disliking, believing or doubting, approving or disapproving, you can see that he wishes to grow into adulthood, that he is impatient and, at the same time, that he needs protection. All of us grew up in a jagged upward curve, darting away, stopping in our tracks once in a while to gather up love, protection, consolation, guidance, rest, before we tried once more to depart as fast as we possibly could. You also remember that in older days, with much less of a technological civilization than we have now, the speed and the safety of that process of growing up were indeed better protected whether the children liked it or not.

Times have changed. Most of our youth does not live any longer in small communities where children can be "watched over" naturally, patiently, and effectively. We do not even stay in any one place too long. The mobility of the population has increased enormously. This makes such loving and caring observation of children and youth more difficult.

In a simpler civilization than ours, the learning about social relationships, the knowing how to handle them in the interest of everybody, was easier to come by. The social groups within which children grew up were larger than they can be now; they were more than just a small family, their habits and customs; their aims and their means, their norms and rules, were certainly much firmer. Adult groups within such a society, including leaders, teachers, parents, elders, could count on a fair amount of effect in their effort of conveying their sense of values to youth.

Much of such protection still exists. Where it does exist, it is very often offered by just one remaining carrier of such function, the small constellation of the natural family of a human being.

Therefore, the responsibility of the modern parent has become a much larger and a much more complex responsibility than the one of earlier days. Many families in the present urban community are literally alone with this responsibility. And it is not surprising that good parents as well as less capable ones experience tragic failures and cruel difficulties unless new devices are established by which the personal, and with it, the social, capacity of children and young people will be evoked and practiced.

The number of failures that occur is certainly not as large as some improper dramatization of youth problems now seems to suggest. Sometimes, a condition of sensation and excitement is created; we hear of alarm, emergency, and disaster. And there are some people who go as far as predicting, without notable or noticeable experience or competence, that the relationship between old and young will soon collapse because all youth is in a state of "dangerous rebellion." The nature of such failures and their number, although growing, does not warrant such prediction.

On the other hand, and much more importantly, you will realize that all children, all young people, now have an exceedingly difficult time. Whether they are strong or weak as personalities, highly intelligent or not, heavily or poorly endowed with the blessings of what we call background, they very often have to face the loneliness that occurs in their hours of independence. In earlier days, the adolescent youth could depart from father and mother and walk into another large range of relationships within the community of which he was a part. We all know of many children who at such times have only themselves and their immediate friends. It is quite difficult for children to remain sane and sound at such times, unless the community takes steps either to recover, or to create new instruments by which dangers can be averted and positive supports can be furnished to assist the young and his family.

Fortunately, the modern community has furnished such instruments.

The emergence of public and private youth services evidences the deep concern of the American community for its youth. At the same time, neither volume nor content seems to keep up with the growing need: within the next ten years, the number of young people between the ages of ten and seventeen will rise by 48 per cent, by almost one-half of their present number. The need for services and for your help as a volunteer will grow accordingly.

As all of us do when we venture a step into something new, even if it is not entirely unknown, you cannot fail to think about yourself and to wonder what your reasons are for making the choice of serving in a youth serving agency.

We are not talking here about the large number of motivations you may have for entering such an activity for exchanging some of your leisure time for an experience that can bring great satisfaction to you.

There are some special reasons for choosing a youth service. It

could be that you are young, or young at heart. You probably are just that. It could be that you know a lot about childhood and the sometimes wonderful and sometimes painful times of growing up, of gaining new understandings, and of the great wonder that is in all children in their often undamaged creativeness and faith. You may want to know more about that, especially in today's complicated and sometimes threatening world. It could be simply that you like to teach, that you like the idea of guiding, that you enjoy leadership roles, and that you look for an opportunity to try to learn more about these things. And it could be that you are just plain fatherly or motherly, or older brother- and sisterly, or even plain sentimental about anything that is small and not quite strong yet, like something that grows and for that reason needs care.

We shall talk with you when we meet you first to discover with you what you are like and what you would like to do.When it will be our privilege to get to know you, you will find us to be ready to care for your motivations, for the reasons for your choices, and for the returns you have a right to expect.

And you will find us ready to work with you on the one essential aim that brought us together: to begin a period of active citizenship, in the belief in, the respect for, and the assistance to, our youth.

You Get Acquainted with the Youth Serving Agency

There are many places now, although there should be more of them, where children and teenagers can get together during their leisure time and find recreational and educational opportunity and meet friends and strangers coming from the neighborhood, even from larger community districts.

Some of them are financed by taxes and operated under public authority. Local governments, through recreation departments, boards of education, and other governmental units, carry the responsibility of developing such facilities and of equipping them with a program of services. Volunteer services are welcome in practically all of these public undertakings.

And there is widespread voluntary activity on the part of the citizenry; large efforts are being made to help youth by providing leisure time programs under private sponsorship. Many religious organizations have signified and realized the concern for youth by the operation of social centers, such as the YMHA's, the YWHA's, and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and others

under the sponsorship of denominational groups. Jewish Community Centers fall into that category.

Then of course there are boys clubs, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls. And finally, there comes probably the most independent and oldest form of American concern for city neighborhood youth, the social settlements and neighborhood houses.

There is a great and noble history of voluntary service and effort behind many of these institutions. And when we enter some of them today, a feeling of admiration and reverence can come to us when we learn and sometimes actually feel that many of these institutions are the fruits of an admirable and sometimes gruelling effort of pioneering on the social frontiers of our time.

You, in the desire of becoming a part of the present day effort of working with youth, will meet someone representing such an agency who will tell you about the past and present of his organization. He will show you that you and the volunteers who were the founders of his institution are quite comparable people, in motivation and readiness for service. And strong emphasis will be placed upon the fact that you and they have created and do sustain a voluntary service, a private agency.

At the same time, you will learn in the course of few conversations that such institutions are by now not so private any more in the sense of complete independence and autonomy with a claim comparable to that made by a man who insists on doing as he pleases. Practically all these agencies have found their way into federations of agencies of their own kind, and especially into a position of interdependence with all major community services. This is mainly expressed by the fact that the community network of social services, of which a community center is a part, has become a technical and financial necessity. Planning for social services and financing of these services have become tasks which cannot be effectively solved without a cooperative arrangement. This then is why you will see at the entrance door a red feather or a similar symbol indicating that the agency belongs to something that is bigger than itself, for the purpose of greater strength and better service to the community as a whole.

In one way or another, at the beginning of your contact or later, you will hear about the aims of the institution. There are old and venerable charters, some of them reaching far back to the beginning of social work in this country. And there will be statements in print,

or spoken ones, which will interpret such charter statements and their present meaning. You will hear of high aims. Some of the greatest concepts of human thought and spirit will appear: freedom, justice, love and brotherhood, democracy, and religion.

Quite soon you will see that there is one common motive, a common denominator in the work toward the aims of such a program: the belief that none of these great things can be learned in any other way than by living them. You will experience what you yourself may already feel strongly, namely that in the service to children and young people, whatever they are like, wherever they come from, there is no place for one-sidedness of approach, no place for unilateral benevolence and charity. Instead, there is the belief in the reciprocity of all human relations and a feeling that staff members of such an agency and volunteers alike must approach human need and the designing of help to meet such need with the kind of respect that is both a large responsibility and also a great privilege.

While you are walking toward our community center, you will have or receive a feeling for the neighborhood where it is located.

For all we know, you may already live there: in that case, you may want to think of an experience many residents of a neighborhood or community district have had as soon as they began to engage in volunteer work in "their own" community center. However much you know about this neighborhood and its people, your knowledge of them, of their ways, of their need, will increase; your sensitivity for their joy and their grief, their opportunities, and their problems will be sharpened; if you happen to be "new around here," if you come from the outside, you will see the differences between you and them, first in the obvious sense and then very soon in regard to the many things that do not meet the eye.

Whatever you see and feel then, whether the experience of such differences will fascinate you and stimulate you into joyful excitement of learning or whether it depresses you because of the fact that you may see some of the possible causes for human distress and a need to be met by the community center, or whether you, for a moment or longer, have the pain of doubting your readiness for the job you will be doing, all of this feeling and seeing is good, normal, and helpful indeed to you and to your coming effort. We can think of no better conversation between a new volunteer and the person who will meet him first in the youth serving agency than to simply talk about these

things. This will help you in the process of finding your place in the group of people who will work together; the person to whom you talk will know a great deal about the feeling you have as a new volunteer.

And now you are there. Depending upon the time of the day, it may be very quiet because children and older youngsters are at school. But when school is out, during the day and at night, there may be lively and sometimes noisy commotion. There may be carefreeness and sometimes carelessness of children who move about, paying no attention to you whatsoever.

Or there can be curiosity and the instances of awkward, possibly even slightly naughty, tacit or verbal checking into the possible reasons for your presence.

The power of such atmosphere can be remarkably strong. The place does not feel like a home and it does not feel like a school. It has a climate and a mood of its own. It often feels as if it belonged to the children and young people who are there. For good reason, it is called a "community center."

Some of these centers are small in size and may not contain more than a few rooms where people need to talk, play, think together, have fun in one way or another, or make decisions important to them.

Other places are large and you will be impressed by the size and versatility of their design and equipment. In such places, you may find all or most of the things youth is interested in: a nursery school, a day-care center for working mothers, play school and play groups for young school age children, game rooms, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a children's theatre, arts and crafts shops, and club rooms for those who have found their way into the forms of an organized companionship.

Whether the place is large or small, whether it is most generously developed, or whether there is not much more than just floor space and tables and chairs, we beg you to consider that these things, as important as they are, are only technical instruments, tools in the hands of the group of people to which you begin to belong.

And before you know it, the staff will talk with you. In such an interview, both of you will seek out the ways by which your contribution of service can be made.

Perhaps not all things of importance will be said, because this cannot be. And less than that can be fully understood in the course of

such a first interview. But you will receive an idea of the design, the purpose, and the way of working of this youth serving agency; both of you, the professional staff member and the volunteer, will come out with a plan for the near future.

This process of exploration will require time, time for you to be oriented to the institution, and to the relationships you have now begun, relationships to professional personnel, to other volunteers and to the "clients," the children and the young people you will be with. And there are many ways by which we can help you to become comfortable during this period of probing and thinking.

Some of our community centers hold more or less extensive training sessions; in some cities, such volunteer training sessions are often provided by volunteer bureaus, welfare councils, and federations of certain types of agencies.

With or without such special training sessions, we shall propose to you ways by which we can help you to do a good job, and ways by which you can help us do the same. This process is called supervision. Whenever we use this word, we mean and we understand this process of supervision to be the method by which personnel, professional as well as voluntary, learn more, know more, and do better in giving services to children and young people. Into this process come many things you need to know about: rules and regulations, policies about equipment, time schedules, and how you can without much fuss satisfy some of the desires expressed by the children of the group you are serving. Into the same process goes the need for your learning how to help a group or to help individual members, even possibly their families, in a time of distress.

There is and there must be mutuality and a sense of equality in this relationship between supervisor and volunteer worker. At the same time, you will be glad to have someone assigned to you for the purpose of giving you the assistance you need. Such a person, a staff member, is the "professional" and you are, in most instances, the "lay person."

Some of you may wonder why it should be necessary to even speak of the difference between the lay leader and the professional person when we talk about voluntary service.

We find it quite natural that you feel this way: after all, you are a volunteer, you are equipped with life experience, with certain skills you can use and convey to others, and you bring a willingness to serve

our community center which gives enough indication that you are in many ways ready to help. How could supervision, and how could the presence of a professional person improve upon these qualities?

Furthermore, while you in the beginning stages of your involvement are observing staff members of our center you may wonder what it takes to be a professional worker in such an agency, and whether this should include more than you, a willing volunteer, are bringing with you. After all, you see very often the professional staff members play and sing, chat and jest with children and teenagers and it seems quite reasonable to wonder.

There are two answers to your question:

One of them, of only technical importance, lies in the mere fact that the professional staff member of the agency, who may be also your supervisor, occupies all his working time and holds the job of administering a smaller or larger part of the total agency machinery. He may meet some groups each week himself; he may give orientation, training and supervision to other staff members and volunteers; he may be involved in planning for services, in the budgeting of the funds needed to perform the services, in the hiring of personnel, in the creation of a sector of the program that takes place in our community center. Thus, he knows more than you possibly can and want to know about all the things that are going on, or should be going on.

The second answer, much more important than the first one, and also the answer which can explain the difference between what is lay and what is professional, lies in the fact that this staff member has gone through processes of education, of training for the function he is performing, that he has experience in the practice of the learning he received during the years of his training, and that he has required "skill"—a "way of working" with people which makes his performance more deliberate, in spite of its easiness, and surer, safer than a lay person can do it. All this can become clearer when we discuss the methods of work used in modern youth serving agencies.

There are certainly many more ways than just one by which youth serving agencies can achieve their aims.

Many of these methods have to do with the need of human beings for recreation. And although many children and young people do quite well in having fun, relaxation, and the exercise of physical energy "all by themselves" or without much help, it will be obvious to you that the application of training, experience, and skill in recreational activity will lead to a much larger and safer yield of such

efforts as the practice of music and dancing, the playing of many games, and the engagement in creative activity such as arts and crafts, writing and drama.

While we are talking about recreation and education, you are already aware of the need to conclude that training and experience are important contributors to professional function. And we would not hesitate to call the trained and experienced staff member who serves youth as a teacher of skills, as a coach of a game or play, as an instructor conveying useful information, a professional person. And it may be such a person who will be assigned to be your partner in this relationship of volunteer and supervisor, or lay and professional worker.

However, as soon as we begin to understand that the function of many agencies is to help, and sometimes to heal, children and young people in sustaining ways, supportively, for the sake of the soundness and sanity of their personality, the knowledge of subject matter to be taught, of skills to be conveyed, becomes a secondary matter. The more important ingredient in the approaches of a youth worker will then be his understanding of human beings.

And, increasingly, you will find that your supervisor will be a representative of a profession which applies knowledge, experience, and skill based upon understanding of human beings as individual personalities, and—with it—as persons in social relationships. Persons prepared for such practice are social workers; in youth serving agencies, and in some other types of institutions, they will be prepared for a specialization of social work, called social group work.

Such a worker is prepared to understand the behavior and the problems of individuals, to understand what occurs among groups of individuals, and to use his understanding and his own relationship to the group and its members. Such conscious use of his learning, experiences, and skill enables him, together with the effort of meeting actual recreational and educational interest, to help and sometimes to heal children and young people in a better and surer way than was possible in earlier days in the history of agencies when they did not or could not rely on any other devices than those of recreation and the teaching of skills.

Since you probably are one of the thousands of volunteers who are lay persons in the terms of this discussion—there are a few volunteers who actually practice a profession when they serve youth in a voluntary role—you will be glad to be able to count on the professional

competence of your supervisor. He is expected to know what can possibly be known about our center, about its purpose and working methods, and—most important—about children and young people.

You, the voluntary citizen who comes to us with readiness to help us with all you have and are, will play another role: you are experienced in other important things, educated for other functions—jobs and avocations, roles of mother and father, sister and brother in family life, casual or serious study of matters of interest to you, or for professions not requiring highly developed knowledge and skill in working with people. We shall need you and use your help. We shall be grateful for any or all of this; we shall try as best we can to use it as a desirable and often necessary accompaniment of our approaches to children and young people in need.

You may be interested to know that this way of confronting the qualities and responsibilities of the lay volunteer with those of the professional youth worker has its origin in the broad stream of the history of voluntarism, of the ideology and of the practice of all humanitarian impulses of individuals and groups, and—indeed—of personal initiative and private enterprise. We shall not want to impede the freedom of actions, including the actions of helping others; but we have, for good reason, left the historic epoch of good willed but often ill-equipped and all too free-wheeling way of serving youth. We owe this not to a change of heart in regard to the concept of democracy; we owe it to fast increasing scientific theory and research—especially in the fields of psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology—and their applications in our practice. And, equally important, there is now a readiness for the practice of the belief that people who want to help other people can get together, to enter, voluntarily and democratically, into joint planning for, joint designing of, services to youth, and to agree upon ways of helping which make sense before the forum of the best that is known. Here, all of us, lay leaders and professionals, are volunteers in one of the most important efforts that possibly could be made on behalf of the youth of our time and of our future.

Jobs to Be Done

Before we look at the very large number of possibilities, we would like you to understand them in the light of some of the questions and answers which will occur.

There are many things which children can come by and do come by in most communities whether we—the youth serving agencies—exist or not: there are home and school, there may be public playgrounds and recreation centers, there is temple or church and their own youth services, and there may be others in this business of helping. There may be even a plan, and there should be one, whereby the large labor to be done has been or will be so divided that the end effect will be good.

So you see that we shall not and cannot endeavor to meet "all the need" that exists, and you will soon get to know what the scope of our program is, what we must do, and what we must forego. This should not deter you or us from learning where need is unmet and neglected; from telling us when and where you are moved by such experience; but there is a plan which shows to you and to us where the priorities are and what we can and will do about them.

When you ponder the volunteer assignments which do occur and which we mention here, you may wonder which of them can be called reasonable voluntary activity, and which ones should rather be given to hired personnel and properly paid for.

For a long time, this was considered to be a question of the financial means available; youth services—and services to others—were often enough exposed to the weather of good or bad fund raising years, and therefore your question had to be answered in a dilatory way. We are better off now, and here is our present feeling about it:

The planning and the administration of a youth service program, the supervision and training of staff and volunteers, and direct services to youth—when they require professional skills—should be uninterrupted functions and in the hands of paid personnel. Continuously needed administrative assistance, such as secretarial, clerical, purchasing, and bookkeeping, should likewise be the function of paid staff. Maintenance of physical equipment and facilities should be a continuous process and not a voluntary and unpaid activity.

We do not want you to think that all the volunteer jobs mentioned here are being done in our community center all the time. We are merely talking about examples, opportunities, needs which exist and with which we had experience. No community center could ever manage to have and to use too many volunteers; we would like to have all of you, but we cannot have all of you without failing you.

The high and noble aims we were talking about, and the near

goals such as helping a child in great difficulty to take the first steps away from it, cannot be achieved in casual relationship. This is true in working with individuals or with groups of individuals.

Our center supervisor may invite you to be the "leader" of a small group. It may be a club of boys or girls. And if you like that, and if their age range is the one that is right for you, and if they already have experience in forming a club, you can do that once you know our center's policies and practices, and once we have you properly prepared and introduced to this group. From then on, everybody is helping you: the supervisor, other staff members who know the children, and the children themselves. And soon, you will discover that neither we nor the children would want you to be the "leader"; you will find that the children want and need to take care of their own system of leadership; and you will be much more than a leader—namely, a helper to the important process of growing up.

When groups of this kind are more difficult, less well able to organize or to hold together, or stronger in their will to differ and to dissent from "the rest of the world," you may not want to or be able to serve without special help. A professional worker may be assigned, and you may become an assistant in certain tasks which you can perform.

It is quite certain that there are lay volunteers who can be of great help to groups of children and young people—even to groups of near-delinquent and delinquent children. But it is just as certain that such volunteer work without close and highly skilled supervision brings with it large risks. We do know of much needed and effective help which is being given to such groups by volunteers; these volunteers are not the workers assigned to these groups; they are assistants, playing parent roles, "representing the adult community" at dances, outings, meetings involving the need for more than the attention of the worker assigned.

And then there are large opportunities for volunteers for service in groups which are not primarily engaged in the business of personal association, groups of individuals who like to learn something, do something that interests them, and who do it in company with others without the need of choosing the company: these are classes and similar forms of activities such as crafts and arts, music and dance, games and sports, groups where professionals and volunteers can share the labor. And whatever you know well will be useful to convey to children and young people, although most of it will be derived from your

avocations, hobbies, and leisure interests rather than from your work experience.

It has never been really true when volunteer applicants told us that they knew "little or nothing." We found that they could remember and still practice things they had done, things useful in work with youth. And we found something even better: they could learn, and enjoy this learning with youth. And it is here when we should repeat that the important thing in work with youth is not proficiency in technical skills (however desirable they may be), but the attitudes in being and working with them. Cooking fudge with children can be done fast; if you, the volunteer, are an expert in that art, why not cook it for them, and let it go at that; or you could teach them how to do it, and that would be better; but you might go all the way in using such a program tool by helping to talk about it, plan for it, discussing with them the alternatives, probing into cost, encouraging inquiry, and then come to a result that has engaged all the children in the group.

Services to individuals in youth serving agencies are of very special importance. Professional and voluntary workers with groups find very often that one of the members needs special attention, and that such need may be met by a volunteer. Such need may be quite temporary, or it may exist over longer periods of time. Volunteers can help in such tasks as escorting, reading, or language interpreting whenever such services do not exist elsewhere. There are tutoring jobs and sometimes home visiting jobs to be done which might never be done without your help.

And we do know of many volunteers who have a fine way of representing all we are and do when they "hold the door" as receptionists, and as hosts and hostesses on a job that has large meaning at the gateway to the services of our center.

There are volunteer opportunities in our responsibility for more than the program of services within our own four walls. They are of great importance and should be of special interest to volunteers living in the district of our center location; there is no reason why a volunteer coming "from the outside" could not make valuable contributions: community councils, neighborhood committees, inter-agency arrangements and necessities, provide many occasions for volunteer assistance, not as leaders or functionaries, but as persons who can contribute skills and knowledge which may not be available in the district or neighborhood.

And, finally, there are administrative functions—things that need

to be done to hold the agency machinery together, to sustain, to promote, and to interpret it. There is always an unmet need for desk workers who help out at periods of pressure or for special purposes. Our center has a volunteer who for sixteen years has come every Thursday to pick up cash received by the credit union (a voluntary membership group of the center) and to take it to the bank. And there is one who, for years, can be called when a good looking poster is needed; she is a commercial artist who enjoys this contribution. We remember a professional statistician who enjoyed for a good number of years doing our statistical reporting; he never failed to ask us in his monthly reports about the meaning and reasons for the changes in trend; in this manner, he helped us to make good use of a process many of us do not like very well.

And we know of a large number of volunteers who banded together for the purpose of making a survey of conservation needs in our community under skilled supervision.

There are lay persons who have large competence in matters of financing, fund raising, public relations, and in such areas as maintenance and maintenance problems. Advisory roles on the part of such persons are very important volunteer functions.

Whatever you will do, your willingness to help will make us promise to establish a clear, helpful, and honest working relationship with you. Without this, your effort cannot bring to you the sense of achievement you must derive.

In turn, we hope for your commitment to our aims and purposes, and to an order of things—in regard to time and other technical necessities—an order possible for a citizen who wants to give of himself to others.

There is one last, and not the least, way by which youth serving agencies are helped by volunteers and volunteer groups; a way that brings citizens and citizen leaders closer to the purposes and ways of working of a youth program than any other. This is the way of creating, of maintaining and sustaining, of managing and controlling, the agency—the function of the board of directors.

Here, volunteers become trustees of a charter of beliefs, of a declaration of the will to serve youth, of a plan for the design of the instrument by which the service will be performed. And they become the policy makers, the true managers of the service. They will be the fund raisers. And they are the employers of professional and voluntary staff of the service.

Many volunteers of direct service to youth groups or any other function in our agencies found their work to be the training ground and the provocation for participation in such important directive function. Others started the other way around, and entered program services after having taken board responsibility.

And now it looks as if the circle of possible activities for the citizen volunteer in youth services were closed. It began with an understanding of need, it led to a helping job, and then, possibly, to participation in the direction of a youth service. But, indeed, the circle is not yet closed.

Values and Rewards

Your participation in the service to youth brings with it not only an increasing knowledge of what we do, and how we do it; it will gain you a close-up view of children and young people during their leisure time, under circumstances often denied to schools and similar institutions. This view will enrich you with new learning. And, as is true with all learning, this experience will bring you to concerns and conclusions not expected when you came to us. And your attention to other efforts on behalf of youth will be sharpened by experience and competence; you will look at schools, at educational methods, at youth problems, at parents and parental thought, with clearer eyes. And your role as a citizen will therefore be enhanced and strengthened and you will be able to act with greater confidence as a voter for or against anything that has bearing upon the world into which our youth will grow.

And you will help us, the youth workers, by your mere presence as observers, by your need for asking us to assist you in your assignment, by your probing into the validity of our understanding of youth, and with the interpretation of youth need and youth agencies to your friends in the community. And for all we know, you may even be moved to use the basic prerogatives of democratic citizenship and try to change us, and possibly succeed.

These are great values that lie in your participation in our effort. And therefore, it cannot be said that only a few significant functions could be carried out by volunteers in our services. The truth is that we need you, that you want to help, and that we therefore can and must work together.

These values are rewards in themselves. Even in the most primitive and sometimes selfish forms of human philanthropy, the givers

learned this a long time ago; in the end, they were impelled to see the "goodness of giving" in the growth of reason and strength of all citizens.

Beyond that, in the realm of the personal, there are other important things which will return to you after you gave your effort: not only knowledge and skill, not only a better understanding of our children, but also the simple and deeply satisfying feeling of having been useful to the children you came to know.

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VOLUNTEERS IN PROGRAMS FOR THE OLDER CITIZEN

Louis Lowy

The Aged in Our Society Today

HARDLY a day goes by today without some reference to the "problems of the aging." Many euphemistic terms have been explored to describe the aging. We speak of "senior citizens," of "golden agers," of "people in their later maturity." No matter how we refer to them, they are people in a more advanced age bracket, people who have passed their sixtieth birthday. When we speak of older people, we usually associate a certain chronological age with them, although we really do not know when a person becomes old. Old for what? Which part of the person becomes old? What may seem old to a very young person may not be old in the eyes of a middle-aged person. But regardless of all these relative and vague definitions of old age, it is a matter of record that the later years in life have become of considerable interest and concern to many people in our population, in fact to our society as a whole.

What are the reasons for this interest and concern? There are many, of course. One of the most significant, perhaps, is the fact that the number of people reaching "the later years" or "old age" has increased, and that we anticipate an even higher ratio of older people in proportion to our total population in the next decade. The latest United States Census speaks of fifteen million people who have reached the age of sixty-five and over and the number is expected to reach well over 21 million by 1970. And mind you, these figures include only people who have reached their sixty-fifth birthday. The determination of age sixty-five is rather arbitrary and is not based on

any scientific evidence. As a matter of fact every day we accumulate more and more knowledge which indicates that a chronological age differentiation has little if any validity.

Depending upon background, attitude, and experience, many people regard "aging" either as a deplorable decline of one's life, as an inevitable twilight period in life, or as a period of life's fulfillment, as a time when life's wisdom and maturity have a chance to come to full fruition. Rarely, if ever, is anyone neutral about old age, any more than anyone is neutral about youth. Both life periods elicit feelings and release emotions. It is for these reasons (and probably others as well) that some consider aging as a problem, others as a challenge, others again as a normal stage in the whole life process. The idea of a "biblical age" has been with us as long as the Bible itself; it expresses our longing for increasing our life span on this earth, despite our trepidations and fears about life, despite the frustrations and difficulties which we so often face in our day to day existence. Medical research has indefatigably looked for opportunities to lengthen our lives. A long life has generally been considered a blessing. And so we are caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, we seem closer to the fulfillment of our dreams and aspirations; on the other, we speak of the "problem of the aged."

Like any period in life, the later years present their own unique constellation of problems. But like any other period in life, they also present their rewards. Youth, for example, is not an unmixed blessing. Ask any teenager during one of his or her blue moods. Our romantic notions about youth have often tended to give us a distorted picture. And our depressed notions about old age have tended to give us an equally distorted view about this period in life. In our society we have come to regard older people, and the process of growing old, with a good deal of discomfort, very often even with outright horror and at best with mixed feelings. Our society has always been youth-oriented. We have worshipped youth and what it symbolizes. The evidence is plentiful. Look at our literary themes, our theatrical productions, our movie and TV programs. The majority of these themes deal with young people. Our future orientation can be better understood when we look back at our American heritage. Ours has been a pioneer philosophy in theory and in practice. Pioneering and youth are closely linked. We are a relatively young nation and our population has been a relatively young one. All of a sudden we face a longer life span, we have more older people in our midst; the older people have the same rights as the younger people, they exercise their

rights as citizens and vote and will increasingly make their influence felt in this country.

Our attitudes about older people have been formed throughout our history and we apparently have become prisoners of our biases. Now we are confronted with a dilemma: at one point we long to grow older, to live to a ripe old age; at another point we dread to face up to the concomitant problems of a prolonged life, namely the period of old age.

What are some of these problems?

There are a number of areas which are of particular concern to older people since their lives are most directly affected: 1) income and, related to this, employment and retirement; 2) housing arrangements; 3) health; 4) social relationships.

Naturally everybody is affected by any one of these areas; one does not have to be old to be concerned with health, with social relationships, etc. It is the degree of concern which matters here. With the advent of old age these concerns take on a new significance. Compulsory retirement affects income, social relationships, and status. In our society productivity is valued highly. A person who is forced to give up his life's work and who is no longer "productive" does not feel as respected as before. And the loss of respect and recognition by his friends and colleagues and by his children may lead to the loss of self-respect.

Illness at age sixty takes on a different meaning than illness at age thirty. The children of older people have become heads of households themselves. The bonds between the older and the younger generation have become loosened, and loneliness is often the daily companion of the older person. These examples merely illustrate the way in which some problems affect our aging population more than the younger age groups. On the other hand, we must realize that if we can solve many of these problems (which are largely conditioned by society, by attitudes, and by societal structure) then old age can really become a dream to be looked forward to, cherished, and enjoyed, and our aging population can make a tremendous contribution to the welfare of the society as a whole.

Social welfare services, both governmental and voluntary, have recognized the special and unique needs of older people and have devised and instituted measures and services to alleviate some of these problems and to anticipate future problems which can be solved before they arise.

The provisions of the Social Security Act and its amendments are

perhaps the outstanding example of a comprehensive program under governmental auspices to deal with a number of social problems. As we know, it has a great deal of meaning to the older person. But there also are a great many programs under voluntary auspices which have been making a great impact upon the lives of older people. Within the past decade we have seen a rapid development of services for the aged under public and voluntary auspices, and in the future we shall witness a steady continuation of this trend.

Types of Community Programs for the Aged

Which types of programs and services for the aged do we have? Let me just list a few.

1. *Care-at-home programs.* These include such services as home nursing for bedridden or home-bound persons, and homemaker services as distinquished from medical programs.

2. *Friendly visiting.* A friendly visitor often helps an older perton to remain related with the "outside world." Since loneliness is often the greatest scourge of old age, the friendly visitor may do the greatest service to an elderly person who for a number of reasons may not be able to leave his home or who does not want to re-establish contact with people on the outside.

3. *Recreational and educational services.* Of all services for the aged, recreational-educational services have received the greatest amount of attention and emphasis. They have grown under a variety of auspices and have become classified under a variety of names such as "Golden-Age Clubs," "Senior Citizens Groups," "Day Centers for Older Adults," etc. Municipal and state authorities have established such programs; many agencies have assumed responsibilities for them, such as settlement houses, community centers, church organizations, women's and men's organizations, public libraries, and a host of other groupings.

4. *Services in institutions.* These include programs in nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, hospitals, etc. The list is growing so that we may expect new services on a variety of levels.

Volunteers in Programs for the Aged

In all these programs, regardless of auspices and regardless of size, we find volunteers who work diligently and with a great deal of conviction and personal devotion. Like other volunteers, those who work with older people perform a vital and essential job. Without their help none of these programs could be as effective as they are, nor

could they perform even a fraction of the services which they are called upon to do.

In many instances it is only the volunteer who performs the essential jobs since there is no employed staff member available. In other instances, and in increasing number, the employed staff members work together with the volunteers to do the type of job which the service demands and which the needs dictate.

Whatever the setting, volunteers do different types of jobs varying with needs and demands and with their own skills. But not always are these jobs matched with the skill which a volunteer has to offer. On the other hand, a particular skill which a volunteer possesses may not always be needed. For example, a volunteer may be a fine piano player, but the agency needs someone who helps out with "friendly visiting." Within the many varieties of services and sponsoring agencies, there are thousands of jobs which are filled by volunteers and which may or may not be happily matched. This, however, presents a challenge to those who administer these programs; more about this later.

We all know that everyone has his own motivations for doing a particular job. Without personal motivations, without personal needs and drives, we would not have any volunteers in any program. It is important to recognize that these needs are natural and that all of us need outlets for them.

At the same time everybody who works with people has to be alert that these needs and drives do not overshadow the job to be done; the focus must be on the people for whom the services are provided. Therefore it is necessary that a system of "checks and balances" is available. Such a system must take into account that volunteers (as well as other people) do have their own drives and motivations which have to be reconciled with the needs of the people with whom the volunteer works. The professional staff in a social agency fulfills this function and helps volunteers maintain the essential perspective and balance.

Let me briefly describe a volunteer program in a day center for older adults. This may serve as a useful illustration which can demonstrate the role and functions of volunteers in a program for the aged.

Volunteers in a Day-Center Program for Older Adults

A council of social agencies in a middle-sized eastern community became concerned with an increasing number of elderly people who seemed to be at a loss what to do with themselves during their

"leisure hours." In this connection, "leisure hours" meant the full day, since most of these people were retired and lived on the benefits provided by the Old Age Insurance and/or Old Age Assistance Program under the Social Security Act. Some of these elderly citizens had approached the community council to offer them some facilities for card-playing or for other recreational purposes.

The council called together an appropriate committee which decided to ask one of its constituent recreational agencies to look into the possibility of doing something about this request. The board of the agency accepted the request and charged its professional staff (they were all trained in social work) to set up the necessary machinery to implement such a program. The staff proceeded immediately and invited a number of people from the community to form an advisory committee to get this program going. It was here that volunteers were brought into the picture.

This advisory committee was representative of people concerned with and interested in older adults. It consisted of doctors dealing with aged patients, a public health nurse, a private nurse, a social worker in public welfare, a member of the city's recreation commission, several private citizens (including some who had elderly parents) and, of course, a number of older adults.

The members of this committee deliberated thoughtfully, and after some time arrived at recommendations which eventually were translated into action by the board of directors of the agency. During the deliberations and discussions, the committee members, i.e., the "volunteers," learned a good deal about the aged in this particular community. They learned what the aged considered an important need and what the community needed to do about its aging citizens. This initial learning process proved very valuable and led to a better understanding of the total problem. Finally the committee was able to outline a possible five-day-a-week program for older adults. Both the committee and the staff recognized that in order to conduct such a program the agency needed a sizable group of volunteer workers. They were convinced that a program which might involve from 300 to 600 people must have a corps of volunteers available to assume a wide range of responsibilities which at that point had only been vaguely perceived.

Two steps were considered of immediate importance: volunteers had to be recruited and, once recruited, they had to be oriented and trained.

Recruitment of Volunteers

Before anyone could be recruited, the objectives of the volunteer program had to be spelled out. The interim goals were stated as follows: to provide companionship to older adults; to help in carrying out essential tasks, such as clerical services, transportation assistance, hostessing, and teaching; to be of general assistance to the staff in fulfilling the various functions which would become more defined as time went on.

A pamphlet was designed and circulated among organizations, church groups, and individuals in the community. This pamphlet described the purposes of the program for older adults and listed the expectations which the agency had at that time; it also listed the qualifications which were expected from the volunteers. These qualifications included: to be available on a regular basis, to be willing to participate in an orientation program and in further training as the program developed; to be a sympathetic listener with patience. It was stressed that to be a volunteer in this program was considered a privilege and that standards for service were high.

A substantial number of people volunteered. The preponderance of them were women; they were from all walks of life. Their ages varied, although the majority of them had school-age children. Many of them had elderly parents who would be eligible to join the day care program.

Each volunteer was interviewed by an agency staff member. The interview offered an opportunity to get somewhat acquainted and to learn from each other as much as was possible under the circumstances. Most volunteers had some negative feelings about working with older people; very often these feelings were hidden; others expressed stereotyped notions about the aged. All this was to be expected. It was important to give the volunteers a chance to express these feelings as soon as they were willing to do so. The interview also helped many volunteers to get better acquainted with the agency staff members. In the past many had had only casual contact with them. But most significant of all, both realized they were about to engage in a most stimulating, challenging project; both had embarked on a partnership which held a great deal of promise, but which was also fraught with many potential frustrations and setbacks. Both were willing to try and now was the time to assess each other's skills and competency in order to see what kind of contribution each could make.

The next task consisted of finding out what types of jobs were needed and to attempt to match these jobs with the skills of each volunteer. Certain jobs could be anticipated without delay—volunteers were needed to handle clerical duties (sending out announcements, invitations, keeping attendance, etc.) and to serve refreshments. Others were just beginning to emerge as the program got underway. Many volunteers wanted specific jobs and drew on their previous experiences as volunteers in hospitals, with the Red Cross, in youth serving agencies, etc. This program, however, was new and untried not only in this particular community, but in many parts of the country. Therefore, it was not always possible to lay out specific jobs, though it was desirable from the standpoint of the volunteer. We all want to know what is expected from us; we can perform with greater comfort and security. Since the "specifics" had to wait, a heavy burden was placed upon the volunteers and also upon the staff. A spirit of adventure and pioneering had to compensate for the lack of definition. That is why the orientation program assumed a great significance.

The Orientation Program

The orientation program was not designed to impart specific skills or to provide a multitude of detailed information about older people. It was rather designed to set the stage and to create a "climate" for volunteers and staff members which was conducive to success in this exciting new experience.

Approximately thirty volunteers had been recruited. They formed a small committee of five to join the staff members of the agency in planning a two-day orientation program. This program consisted of: a) a general introductory lecture (with a discussion period) conducted by a professional social worker who had had experience in operating a day center for older adults in a different community; b) a number of "workshop" groups which reviewed psychological, sociological, and anthropological material about the aging; c) discussions around the plans of the new program, including use of physical facilities, availability of community resources, the role and function of the agency staff, and the expectations of the volunteers. Stress was placed on presenting a realistic picture and the give-and-take in the small groups helped to develop a feeling of friendliness and an atmosphere of good feeling and adventure. Volunteers and staff workers got to know each other much better. The agency staff mem-

bers were able to interpret their functions in the following manner: the staff was responsible for working with the lay advisory committee, and had overall responsibility for the operation and function of the program.

Background and training have equipped the professional staff to understand something about the complexities of personalities of people, regardless of age and background; they have also learned to understand something about group relationships and how the various interaction patterns within groups can help or hinder individual personalities. They have also learned to use appropriate skills to help people either as individuals or in groups. Regardless of personal motivations and values, the professionally trained social worker is committed to assist people and to utilize his knowledge and skills in the most effective way toward these ends.

At the same time, the volunteers (many of whom did not have the benefit of training in social work) assisted the staff worker and helped him in turn to carry out the necessary jobs. That is why the relationship between volunteers and staff had to be a close one, and why a regular schedule of conferences between the two was initiated. Both learned from each other; both gave to each other what they had to offer.

The Role of the Volunteer

After the completion of the orientation program, the day center for older adults got into full swing. Within a year, over four hundred people over sixty years of age availed themselves of the facilities and program. Some came daily, some twice a week, some just occasionally. Without describing in detail the successes and failures, the frustrations and excitements of the total program, let me merely indicate here the various types of functions which the volunteers fulfilled and which became crucial to the success of the whole operation.

Some volunteers served as clerical assistants. It was their job to fill out membership cards, to collect membership dues, to draw up and send out notices for meetings, to keep minutes of meetings, and to attend to many details which were so essential in the day-to-day operation. They also staffed an information desk and served as "information givers" to many who came to inquire about the services provided.

Quite a number of volunteers taught classes in English, in painting, in ceramics, in sewing and knitting; they helped arrange art ex-

hibits from time to time to afford an opportunity to display the many fine products which were produced by people who had never dreamed of doing such things when they were young and certainly not when they had reached old age.

They helped out in canasta and pinochle games; they were "fourth hands" at bridge games when needed; they helped organize dancing and choral groups and served as teachers for them; they were instrumental in organizing discussion groups and even bowling leagues; they spearheaded charitable drives which the members of the day center embraced with a good deal of gusto. They chauffeured sick people and assisted the physically handicapped; they chauffeured center members who visited the sick and handicapped; in short, the volunteers were available when needed with an open heart and a ready hand.

They were available as waitresses and decoration committee members for the monthly birthday parties; they joined the dancing and the singing wholeheartedly and they shared the joys of many grandparents and even great-grandparents, as well as the inevitable frustrations, the conflicts and fears; they shared the sorrow and grief of the members when some of them departed forever. The volunteers had very quickly become an indispensable part of the total program.

Every week the professional staff and the volunteers reviewed carefully which responsibilities of the volunteers should be turned over to the aged themselves. At which point was Mr. X. ready to assume leadership of the choral group? When should Mrs. K. take minutes of the meetings? Which committee of older adults should prepare the birthday party decorations? Should a member of the older adult group act as toastmaster, or should a volunteer continue to do so for a while longer?

One of the objectives of the day center was to make its members more self-sufficient and more independent in consonance with their capacities and capabilities. It was vital to give them opportunities to be on their own whenever possible; this would help to restore the self-respect which many of them had lost.

As time went on, the various duties, assignments, and responsibilities of each volunteer underwent considerable modifications in accord with the changing needs of the people served. The professional worker and the volunteer evaluated the program continuously.

Relationships between professional staff workers and volunteers

were not without strain and stresses. There were signs of hostility, of chagrin, of apprehension. Some of these feelings got resolved earlier, others lingered on, and some were never fully resolved. The regular meetings with the professional staff members proved extremely helpful and provided an outlet for the airing of these feelings.

Volunteers' Organization

Toward the end of the first year, the volunteers began to feel a desire for "organization." There was nothing unusual about it. As a matter of fact, many staff and board members in the agency had anticipated this. The volunteers felt that a great deal of time was demanded from them and therefore a schedule should be worked out which could be maintained by themselves. They also wanted more support from each other and "strength through organization" provided an additional morale booster. Also their desire for a more formalized training program had increased appreciably since the day center had opened, and they expected that they would be able to benefit from further training.

They elected a chairman who acted as liaison person with the professional staff. (This did not obviate the regular conferences held on an individual basis between staff worker and volunteer.) The chairman also became a member of the agency advisory committee and eventually was elected to the agency board of directors.

The volunteer group met once a month to conduct business. These meetings dealt with administrative matters, such as scheduling of time, substitute arrangements in case of absences, recruitment of new volunteers, etc. They also set up a social committee and an educational committee which was charged with arranging a more intensive training course on work with the aging and a series of field trips to other agencies conducting similar type programs.

The training course was conducted by the professional staff workers in the agency with the assistance of experts on gerontology. It proved most helpful to all participants. It ran for a period of eight weeks, one evening per week. The volunteers' own experience in working with older people helped them gain a better perspective of the material presented. They were able to utilize the theoretical knowledge and to relate it to their own experience. In addition, they found it useful to talk freely in a group setting about their feelings

about old age and about the older people themselves. The mutual exchange produced changes in thinking and feeling. At the end of the course a careful evaluation took place.

Very soon afterwards they went to visit day centers in other communities. These trips were enjoyed not only as social diversions, but as comparative learning experiences. It gave them pride and satisfaction to talk about their accomplishments "back home." It also gave them perspective and made them reflect about the work of others; it illuminated the failures and shortcomings of the "home" program as well as the difficulties and pitfalls of other programs.

The volunteers and the staff learned very soon that working with older people involves more than providing recreational and/or educational services. To be sure the program filled many recreational needs; it provided some substitute for the "working day" of the younger, employed person. Leisure had become more than leisure. The program did something about loneliness. But the elderly did not leave their many other problems at home, problems which have often been identified as "problems of the aged." Their income worries, their health concerns, their family relationship problems—all these and more were brought into the center; they were forgotten for a while, to be sure, but they were not completely pushed out of consciousness. By and by the volunteers had to become knowledgeable about community resources, so that they could refer the aged to the appropriate agencies. They had to familiarize themselves where the social security office was located, where the nearest out-patient clinic was, or which family agency would be able to assist a person with a problem of family relationships.

And so the volunteers and the staff learned that no matter how dramatic the changes seemed to be on the surface, many of the older adults carried around quite a burden of multiple problems which no amount of goodwill alone could relieve. But the work done at the day care center was an opening wedge, an avenue for many.

Since the need for success is ever present in human beings, the services at the center could lead to an overdose of self-satisfaction. The trips to other centers, the discussions among the volunteers themselves, conferences with the staff workers, all helped create a balance and a sense of perspective.

Many volunteers attended local and statewide conferences on "the aging"; they often accompanied elected representative members of the day center to these meetings.

Responses of Members to Volunteers

How did the members of the day center react toward the volunteers? We might classify their reactions into six categories: 1) a feeling of hostility and suspicion; 2) apparent indifference to the volunteer's presence; 3) general acceptance of the volunteer; 4) a feeling that all members (i.e. the aged) were "volunteers" anyway, so there is really hardly any difference, except one of age; 5) complete acceptance, to the point of identification with the volunteer; (6) a feeling that the volunteers represented "their own children." This latter feeling was more common than any other and had a deeper psychological meaning. The older people reacted to the younger volunteers very often in the same way they would react toward their own children. Sometimes they showered them with love and affection, at other times they vented their hostility against them and became aggressive and resentful. At times an air of gratefulness, even submissiveness permeated the program; at other times the air became charged with tension and emotional outbursts descended upon everyone.

It was not always easy for the volunteers to take these fluctuations in feelings. It was frequently hard for them to accept these people despite their erratic behavior. In these instances the professional worker had to lend a great deal of support to the volunteer and to help her understand the basis for these feeling tones.

Quite naturally some volunteers dropped out and new ones took their places. The reasons for the dropouts varied; some had assumed different commitments, others had home responsibilities, others moved away from the communities, and some did not want to work with older people any longer. But in general the dropout rate was extremely small. As a matter of fact, the continuity of volunteers was astounding to the staff workers, to the agency board, and to the older adults themselves. They often commented about the faithfulness of the "young volunteers."

The agency gave the volunteers recognition and bestowed upon them the honors which they richly deserved. For example, at annual meetings or at other appropriate occasions the volunteer corps was cited and award-certificates were given to them.

And Vice Versa

Many an older person relearned to relate to younger people. The varieties of temperaments and backgrounds which the volunteers

brought with them made the daily contact exciting. Quite a few older people began to trust again the younger generation; many an older person experienced that not all younger people were "against him." He saw that younger people cared and accepted him for his own self. Many an older person gained a new feeling of self-worth, and his attitude towards the younger ones who did not understand him did undergo some modification. Evidence for this began to show up as time went on and the sincere appreciation which the older generation showed for the younger one could be felt all along. The outpouring of this appreciation was genuine and the volunteers considered this perhaps the greatest reward for their hard and conscientious work.

Wider Horizons

It is worthy of note that many volunteers in this program assumed additional or new positions in the community. Their first hand knowledge about the aging made them not only an invaluable resource about the problem of the aging; they also became very active in statewide and even nationwide efforts to do something about the elderly citizenry.

In addition to this, however, they also became active leaders in other community-wide efforts, e.g., in adult education projects, in fund raising drives for community chests, or in similar causes.

They had gained a better understanding of the role of volunteers *vis à vis* professional social workers and were able to utilize this understanding in interpreting the various services performed by social workers and volunteers.

This group was not unique. I have merely used this experience as an illustration to show how volunteers in a recreational program for the aging have assumed a vital role. What can we learn from this example?

Some Conclusions

It is difficult to draw definite conclusions from such an experience. Nevertheless let me attempt to pull together a few generalizations which may prove good starting points for further discussions:

1. Volunteers in a program for the aging have a significant part to play. They are partners in an enterprise of considerable proportions and they fulfill a function which is essential both for the program and for a better understanding of the total "problem of the aging population."

2. The role of the volunteer is a varied one. Volunteers fill a number of positions. Some of them are clearly identified, others evolve during the course of time. Each volunteer has to meet some minimum qualifications, such as being sympathetic, being a patient listener. But each role is vital in its own right. No role is more important than any other one. The total mosaic of roles makes it possible to conduct a program for the aging.

3. Each volunteer program needs a well developed orientation and training program. This program must include some factual material about the aged, their needs and aspirations, their status in our society. Most important of all, the training program should provide opportunities for a release of feelings which younger volunteers have about the elderly. Therefore it is imperative that such a training course be conducted by properly qualified personnel.

4. As in everything we do, we have our own motivations and our own needs which come into play. A healthy recognition of this is essential. Volunteers have to be helped to guard against an excessive gratification of their needs, since this might lead to a desire to make the elderly dependent. Consequently they would be treated like children, and children they are decidedly not. At the same time, volunteers need to get a sense of genuine accomplishment, of worthwhileness and a feeling of enjoyment. Frustrations will occur; a sign of accomplishment will go far to balance the scales.

5. It is most important that volunteers are reliable and "steady." Not only is this desirable for administrative reasons; it is vital for the emotional well-being of the aged person. Irregularity in attendance tends to be interpreted as rejection: "She does not like us any more."

6. Most volunteers tend to be women. Without going into the possible reasons for this, we should be aware that in the minds of many older adults, women have become identified as "*the* volunteers." What may follow from this in the future is an interesting point for speculation. (The present proportion of female to male members in centers for older adults is four to one.)

7. While specific job descriptions for volunteers are most helpful, it takes time to evolve the kinds of jobs which are most needed and which can be filled. At the same time we have seen that certain jobs will eventually be taken over by the older adults themselves and therefore the jobs will always vary. It should be kept in mind, however, that "just being busy" will not keep a volunteer too long in any program.

8. Volunteers are the best public relations people any agency has. They tell their story to others. In order to tell this story best, volunteers should be well informed about the total operation of the program. They should also be oriented how to tell their story and what kind of interpretation is indicated in order to achieve the maximum good for the people involved.

9. In order to deal with the multiple problems which the aging in our society face we need an informed electorate. Volunteers in programs for the aging can and should become leaders in their communities. They can be most influential as voters, as campaigners, as spokesmen on boards, on committees, in community institutions in which they are members. They can become a vital source of action on behalf of the aging. Their responsibility goes beyond their immediate jobs as volunteers in one aspect of a recreational program or in a program of friendly visitors.

10. The partnership between the professional worker and the volunteer is crucial. The respective functions and contributions of each should be clarified, recognized, and appropriately acknowledged.

Volunteer efforts in our society are a cornerstone of our democratic tradition. Millions of hours are being given by millions of people to millions of people. The new frontier in social service is the aging population. It will demand our utmost ingenuity and imagination to meet this challenge. All volunteers can make a most significant contribution to provide a better life for aged people. The young volunteer of today will become the aged volunteer of tomorrow and in this sense we help develop services for ourselves and our children. Let us meet this challenge and make it an opportunity.

14

THE VOLUNTEER AND FUND RAISING

Gerald S. Soroker

VOLUNTARY fund raising in the United States today is a multibillion dollar business. It is complex, efficiently organized, and strictly American in its origin and philosophy. It has a growing professional staff with highly developed skills. It uses the best in accounting methods and machines. The annual operating budgets of countless agencies are met through voluntary philanthropic sources. Additional millions of dollars are spent for capital structures of all kinds—hospitals, old age institutions, children's institutions, YMCA's, and community centers. A veritable army of social workers is employed to service these various agencies and institutions, *and* the base of it all—its principal underpinning, and absolutely essential—is the volunteer fund raiser.

Volunteers created American philanthropy and volunteers sustain it today. The great network of social services supported by the church, the Community Chest, and other organizations and agencies would not have been created nor would it have remained vital long if it were not for the devotion of thousands of individuals who cajole, browbeat, entreat, and somehow obtain money from friends, relatives, and strangers to support these philanthropic causes.

Why is the volunteer so essential for fund raising today?

With a growing number of agencies who have professional fund-raising personnel, some trained in social work, others from allied fields, many individuals ask, "Why can't we leave the raising of money to these professionals? They are paid to do the job, they have the time to do the job, they know the needs, they are more articulate."

So goes the refrain. "Why bother with complicated organizational structures of colonels, captains, chain of command, teams, geographic section—let the professional do the solicitation. That is what he is there for. Fund raising is time consuming and difficult."

Philanthropy could not be more poorly served than by this philosophy. The sources of philanthropy would begin to dry up. Givers would soon resent solicitation by professional staff. Questions would be raised such as, "Why should I donate money to this individual for this particular agency? This fellow has a vested interest. How do I know if it is for a good cause? Maybe it was for a good cause years ago, but now I don't know. I am not sure that this individual is acting in good faith. How do I know that the money that he solicits actually gets to the agency for which he is soliciting?"

It is true that there is developing a professional group of individuals in the fund-raising field. Many of our philanthropic fund-raising agencies are staffed by personnel recruited originally from the various fields of social work. In addition, private fund-raising organizations have entered the picture. Many of the latter have developed excellent reputations. What all of these individuals and organizations have discovered is that without the volunteer no campaign of any size is likely to be successful. Those fund-raising organizations which attempt to employ individuals for direct solicitation of prospects soon discover that such solicitation meets with a poor response from the community.

In the early days of philanthropy when agencies were small and before the professionalization of the field of social work, it was a volunteer in conjunction with others who recognized the need, who raised the money for the need, and who serviced the need. As an agency developed in its understanding of the complicated nature of the problems with which it was dealing, and with the subsequent development of professional social workers, the volunteer lost one part of his job, namely the direct service of the need. Much has been written about the displacement of the volunteer by the trained social worker in the area of service—with a growing realization that perhaps this displacement has gone too far and that there are areas of need that the volunteer can still fill.

The volunteer in fund raising has had no such displacement—to the contrary, in 1956 according to the *1957 Social Work Yearbook*,[1]

[1] *1957 Social Work Year Book* (N.Y., National Association of Social Workers, 1957), p. 175.

3,000,000 volunteer solicitors were active in 1,939 community fund campaigns. When we add to this staggering figure the thousands of additional voluntary solicitors active in sectarian philanthropic drives, then one can see that in fund raising the volunteeer is pre-eminent—and he should be. Reference has been made to the thousands of agencies supported by campaigns. In community funds alone, contributions were received in 1956 from 26,000,000 individuals and companies. Why do these individuals contribute these staggering sums year in and year out? Many of them—most of them—have little idea as to who gets the money and why it is needed. There is a vague notion that it goes for a good cause and frequently no other understanding. One basic reason why people give is because of faith—faith that is generated by confidence in the volunteer. Frequently the volunteer is someone that they know or someone of whom they have heard. Their gift is predicated on the fact that such a person would not be soliciting for an unworthy cause and most often they are correct in this assumption.

This is not to condone the fact that many people give to charitable causes without taking the trouble to find out all about it. Nevertheless, this is the way many people give. And without the volunteer to generate confidence, the wells would soon dry up. A major consideration that induces contributions is that the volunteer is unpaid and takes time out of a busy life to solicit for a cause. Without volunteers to help instill some understanding on the part of the giver, the desire to contribute will inevitably begin to diminish and agencies will soon lose the support they so desperately need in order to continue their fine work.

Volunteers in fund raising serve several important purposes in addition to the most fundamental one of obtaining the funds. Volunteers are in the front line of communication between the agencies and the people they serve. They bring to a large number of people the message of the agency or agencies for which they are soliciting; certainly to many more than the agency itself can come into contact with. This helps to bring the agency closer to the group of individuals it desires to serve. In these days of very specialized agencies and service, frequently individuals in the community only find out about an agency or even learn that it exists when a volunteer solicitor requests a donation.

In addition to spreading information about an agency, the volunteer serves another very important purpose. The surest way to discover

how people feel about the agencies and organizations in a community is to ask them for financial support. The results will be amazing. Most of our social work agencies today are much further removed from the community than they were years ago. This is because the services of the agency are now rendered by professionally trained staff. This has tended to make the lay board, which originally was in direct contact with the clients being served, more distant from them. The removal from the client population and from the general community occasionally tends to isolate and even insulate agencies from community thinking. Agencies will blithely go along with a particular policy for years, only to discover suddenly that they are out of step—that the directions they have been taking are not the directions in which the community desires them to go, or that the clientele they are attempting to serve does not want the type of service they are offering.

Volunteers can help bridge this separation. How often a volunteer fund raiser hears such words as "I will never contribute to your fund." "Agency X treated me shabbily when I tried to adopt a child"; or "Hospital Z didn't admit me quickly enough"; or "I saw two people die because the home for the aged didn't admit them"; or "I will not contribute a cent until Agency Y stops serving my neighbor, who brags that he has hidden money from them."

Frequently the individual being solicited is not even the aggrieved party—but rather it is a relative or friend or friend of a friend or even a feeling. The misconceptions that can arise in a community are of many kinds. Admittedly, many people look for excuses for not giving. Nevertheless, these attitudes if allowed to remain undisturbed can become damaging to an agency. It can even poison the attitudes of a whole neighborhood.

The individual who would not give because the family agency was reputed to be giving housekeeping service to a wealthy individual is an excellent case in point. This individual did not contribute to a campaign during its regular course. After the campaign closed a volunteer called on him. He received the following story: "I will not contribute to the campaign. Last year I complained about a situation which was never taken care of. There is a neighbor who lives down the street who has been receiving housekeeping assistance from the family agency. He brags about the fact that he has lots of money which he turned over to a nephew in order to make it appear he has no money. This then made him eligible for housekeeping service. All of the neigh-

bors are up in arms about this. Why should he receive assistance? I will not contribute until something is done about it."

The matter was referred back to the campaign headquarters and specifically to the professional in charge of the campaign. An inquiry was made of the family agency, which said that this individual was no longer receiving assistance from the family agency; that there had been a housekeeper in the home some time ago on a part time basis but it had been discontinued; that the individual was now receiving aid to the blind, which is a county sponsored program.

This information was given to the volunteer who had made the initial contact. Upon giving this information to the prospect, the volunteer immediately received a contribution which was larger than the contribution made the previous year. The contributor stated that he had been unaware of the fact that this individual was blind and that he had obtained the information from another person. He was glad to know that the family agency knew so much about the case. He wasn't really sure that the party had any money.

This is an example of an individual who had a complaint without having all the facts. Taking the time to make the inquiry made all the difference between the loss of a contributor and the development of a more satisfied contributor who would tend to think kindly of the organization in years to come.

Thus the volunteer makes a real contribution when he uncovers a real or fancied grievance. Prompt reporting of the incident, and even more important, following through to make sure that the complainant gets an answer is bound to make the individual involved feel that he was important enough to have his point of view acted upon. While this does not always make such an individual a contributor immediately, it is likely to soften his attitude sufficiently so that he may become a contributor in future years or at least stop spreading adverse propaganda about the agency in question.

Even more fundamental, as an agency receives such reactions, and if they occur in any great number, there may be a tendency on the part of the agency to re-evaluate certain aspects of its program to see if it is keeping pace with community needs.

If we have established the primacy of the volunteer as the foundation of fund raising, then the next area we might explore is "Who is the fund raiser." Often we hear the comments, "I'm a poor fund raiser. I just can't ask people for money. I am not the fund-raising

type. I am not aggressive enough. I want to volunteer but not in fund raising. I would rather do some other kind of volunteer work." This is an attitude that finds increasing acceptance and has negative and far-reaching implications. Let's examine these implications. What is wrong with such a compartmentalization as "fund-raising type," "planning type," etc.? Isn't this an era of specialization? Why fit a round peg into a square hole?

Over the long haul, such a division may defeat the very purposes for which voluntary agencies are set up. In the early days of our volunteer agencies, because the volunteer was fund raiser, caseworker, and bookkeeper, he or she was intimately acquainted with the agency's operations. When the volunteer set out to raise the funds, there was a devotion and understanding of the need which could not help but impress the potential contributor. As agencies grew and as many of them gave up their individual fund-raising activities to federations and chests in order to provide a more orderly approach to fund raising, this dichotomy—for individuals to be either fund raisers or planners—has grown sharper. This artificial division between them may eventually result in a lessened understanding of the needs of our volunteer agencies—first of all on the part of the individual helping to raise the money, and finally by the contributor himself.

The plea that is being made here is for the integrated volunteer. It is fallacious to assume, "I just am a poor money raiser." Any individual who has an understanding of the need and a devotion to a cause will find that there are certain individuals who will respond to him in a more adequate manner than if these same individuals were approached by a supersalesman with little understanding of the product he is selling.

If an individual is a member of a board or a committee or interested in an agency, then all the more reason that he should help raise money for the cause. Such an individual should be in the forefront of any fund-raising campaign, first as a contributor and then as a worker. Who better than this person is able to interpret the financial needs of a particular agency?

It is dangerous to entrust the entire destiny of our volunteer agencies to "the fund raisers." In any given year and in any given campaign supersalesmen shoot to the front. They are affable, powerful, and have many friends. They are dynamic in their approach. They achieve spectacular success. They are essential. We need them. Nevertheless the next year some of these individuals are nowhere to be

seen. They are tired. They have lost interest. Not only have they disappeared, but frequently they leave behind them dissatisfied contributors who may have objected to their highpowered approach.

Many campaigns include workers who have no understanding of the need or of the agencies for which they are soliciting. These same individuals will solicit contributions from persons who themselves start off with little understanding of what they are being solicited for. The combination is frequently ghastly because we have people soliciting money and people giving money with neither group having much awareness of what it is all about. It is all the more important therefore that the individuals who have an understanding of the need be in the forefront of our campaigns year in and year out. They are actually the bulwark of our fund-raising efforts. Without such an outstanding group, our body politic would soon tire of contributing annually to a group of individuals who have little knowledge of the needs for which they are campaigning.

Thus we have two groups. Individual agency board members who are able to interpret the work of their agency and who are reluctant to volunteer for fund raising on behalf of the agency for varying reasons, and the individual who volunteers for fund raising but who has little idea as to the cause for which he is campaigning. Moreover, many such volunteers feel that any education to accomplish such ends is superfluous.

How often have we heard workers say, "I will work in the campaign but I can't come to any meetings—just mail me the cards"; or "I know the story, get others to come who don't know it."

Such an attitude results in diminished solicitation returns and lessened satisfactions to the volunteer. It is essential that the volunteer attend those meetings designed to increase his understanding of the campaign. Even the best and most experienced workers find that meetings tend to stimulate and refresh them and make them better campaigners. How much more important is it therefore for the uninitiated volunteer to attend briefing meetings and to meet other campaigners. The information presented at such meetings and the enthusiasm generated cannot fail to be helpful in an individual's solicitation efforts.

There is something about campaign meetings that enables individuals to rededicate themselves to the job. New approaches to the campaign are discussed; there is an opportunity for the volunteer to express his own point of view; and inevitably the volunteer leaves the

meeting more knowledgeable than when he came and better able to interpret the needs of the campaign.

It is the integrated volunteer, knowledgeable about needs and determined to obtain financial support for the needs, upon whom the continued growth and development of our volunteer services lie.

We have talked at length about the need for volunteers in fund raising as basic to the endurance of the voluntary agencies we so deeply cherish and which are so indigenous to the American way of life. We have mentioned the role of the fund-raising volunteer in bringing the message of the agency to the widest number of people and conversely the opportunity for the volunteer to bring back to the agency the attitudes of supporters of the agency. We have emphasized the need for volunteers who are knowledgeable about agencies and services. All of this profits the agencies and services in the community and is inherently good for the community welfare.

What about the volunteer himself? Are there any benefits that accrue to him? Yes, there are many. In the first instance, a volunteer fund raiser will have the opportunity of meeting a widely diversified group of people drawn to fund raising because of the desire to be helpful, many of whom one would never meet in one's ordinary pursuits. The volunteer fund raiser, as do volunteers in other areas, discovers that people by working together for the common good can submerge, and even begin to appreciate, differences in opinion.

In addition to the opportunity to broaden one's outlook on life by meeting different people with different points of view, there are other real satisfactions that accrue to the volunteer in fund raising. There is the satisfaction that comes to everyone in doing an important job. There is that feeling of excitement that prevails more in fund raising perhaps than in any other phase of volunteer work. The hustle and bustle of the volunteers. The ringing of phones. The search for new prospects. The surprisingly large donation from an unexpected quarter. The thrill of making a successful solicitation. The air of expectancy at a report meeting as the chairman prepares to announce a closing figure. All of these are stimuli which give a flair to fund raising.

Let us examine a typical campaign to see just how it operates in relationship to the volunteer.

A typical campaign might have an overall general chairman or co-chairmen, a special gifts chairman or co-chairmen, a small group of seasoned campaigners who, together with the campaign officers, be-

come the executive committee of the campaign, a group of chairmen of trade and professional divisions, such as attorneys, bankers and brokers, builders, etc., a women's division, a metropolitan division, a youth division, and possibly an employees' division. In addition there may be a group of forty to fifty experienced campaigners who, together with the division chairmen and executive committee, would constitute an overall campaign cabinet. This campaign cabinet would be responsible for the operation of the campaign in all its phases. The number and type of divisions in any campaign will depend on various factors, including the amount of money to be raised and the number of people to be seen.

Each major unit is further broken down depending upon the number of prospects to be covered. For example, the trade divisions will each have a large enough number of workers to insure that, with each of them covering eight to ten cards, the prospects will be covered. The women's division is generally broken down on a geographic basis with section heads, captains, and workers to assure the same degree of coverage. Similarly, a metropolitan division would be organized on a geographic basis for male prospects who are not covered by the trades. The youth division will have an age range perhaps from eighteen to twenty-five and also organized on a geographic basis. The employees' division will be set up with a key worker in each of the major places of employment.

Further explanation may be necessary for the phrase "special gifts." This is an area of the campaign where individuals are solicited who are potentially large contributors. Groups of workers are recruited by the special gifts chairman who would be most likely able to obtain such large gifts.

There are innumerable ways, therefore, in which an individual can solicit in a campaign. He can solicit door-to-door in a woman's division or metropolitan division in an area relatively close to his home and among his neighbors; he can be a worker in a trade division and solicit contributions from his business acquaintances or colleagues; he can solicit special gifts perhaps from his friends or acquaintances at a country club; he can solicit gifts from organizations.

In addition to the various methods by which a campaign is organized, there are a couple of others that need mention. Occasionally campaigns have a section titled "new prospects." This division includes individuals who, for one reason or another, have not contributed in past years or are new to the community. Special volunteers

are recruited for the specific job of acquainting such individuals with the community and its agencies. This requires considerable time and involves a group of solicitors able to discuss the community and its agencies in detail. It is a very rewarding aspect of volunteer fund raising.

There is another area that is being increasingly used of late—the telephone solicitor. Telephone solicitation is usually frowned upon, and with good reason. An individual asked by telephone to give a contribution to a cause about which he knows nothing, should well be wary of such solicitations, particularly if he does not know the individual to whom he is speaking. On the other hand, this is not necessarily true where a contributor has been a contributor to the cause in past years. It has been discovered that an individual who is articulate and knowledgeable about the community can do a better job of solicitation over the telephone and cover many more cards than a poor solicitor who calls upon his prospects personally.

Obviously such a device has to be used with caution. Nevertheless, this is another area where the volunteer can be extremely useful. This has the advantage of being less time consuming and generally is done under the direction of the campaign headquarters itself. Properly done it has many merits.

The base of the whole campaign is the individual solicitor, and most people in the campaign are involved in solicitation in one form or another. There are other areas, however, in any campaign that need the expert help of the volunteer.

Campaigns have two main phases. One, the recruitment of workers, and the other the solicitation of prospects. It is vitally important for every campaign to have individuals heading the various subdivisions who are widely known and respected in their particular area of endeavor. Thus a woman who is active in the neighborhood becomes first choice to be head of recruitment for any particular neighborhood. It is axiomatic that when a campaign is able to involve the most respected and professional leaders in a community, it is considerably along the road to success. Individuals are chosen to head sections of the campaign who have shown previous interest in the campaign and a real degree of success in solicitation. In fund raising the volunteer never starts at the top. Campaigns which have to depend on the inexperienced volunteer as the head of an important unit frequently will discover that there is resentment by those who had been working

in the ranks, and more often they will discover that individuals will not respect nor respond to a volunteer who has no "talking privileges."

What are these "talking privileges"? Most often they are that the individual has been active in the campaign, knows the needs, and himself makes an adequate contribution for his means. A volunteer who can get others to respond, first in giving and then in working, becomes a volunteer who eventually leads a campaign effort. Thus there are many areas where the volunteer can be involved. Most of the time it depends on the degree to which the volunteer himself wishes to be involved. Campaigns are notorious in one respect. Show them a willing volunteer and they will give him more than he can do. A volunteer can cover just a few cards or a volunteer can become an important cog of the campaign echelon, helping to recruit workers and helping to set general campaign policy.

What else is there for a volunteer to do in fund raising? Before campaigns were as well organized and as greatly professionalized in their campaign management as they are today, campaigns enlisted volunteers in several areas, mainly in the form of clerical work. This included posting of records, uncovering new prospects, doing research in business directories for change of address, and the like. Today much of this work is done by paid clerical staff. Many large campaigns still use volunteers, generally women, to do some of the clerical work that piles up during a widespread campaign. There is one area that volunteers still handle in large measure in any campaign; this is in the organization and operation of a speakers' bureau. It is essential to develop a corps of volunteers who will transmit the message of the campaign to the hundreds of organizations in the community.

There are other areas in a campaign where the volunteer is involved, depending upon the size of the effort. In a campaign large enough to have the services of a professional public relations person, it will be a committee of volunteers who will decide on the nature and type of the campaign publicity, leaving the actual production process to the professional. In a smaller campaign without such professional help it will be the volunteer who will not only plan but actually execute the publicity.

In some respects, therefore, it can be said that the role of the volunteer in fund raising has diminished from what it used to be. Let me

hasten to say that this has been in the area of auxiliary service and this lessening of the use of the volunteer in these areas has tended to free him for the more basic job of solicitation.

Thus far, there has been mention of professional fund raisers and campaigns that are professionally managed. Just what is the relationship of the professional in the fund-raising organization to the volunteer? Does the professional make all the policy and does the volunteer just solicit the money? Far from it. The professional in fund raising, similar to the executive in most fields of social work, is the enabler. He is the individual who brings all the information to bear upon a problem so that the lay individual, whose responsibility it is to run the campaign, may be able to make the best possible judgment.

Every campaign has a group of individuals who control its destiny. These are all volunteers and are appointed by the general chairman of the campaign who himself is appointed by a lay group responsible for the organization of the campaign. It is the chairman and his cabinet who bring the best of their thinking to bear on what a campaign goal should be. They are the ones who are closest to the economic picture, and from their own experience as fund raisers and contributors will have the best possible information on how much money can be raised on any given project.

Once a goal has been established it is the volunteer leadership who make all basic decisions. These include the way the campaign is to be organized, the amount and nature of publicity, the type of event or events that are to be held, and the actual recruitment of workers. Within each subdivision each group makes its own decisions, always within the overall framework of the campaign. Thus that group responsible for geographic solicitation will decide, with the help of the overall chairman, on how to conduct their campaign.

Now, what is the role of the professional in all of this? He brings the experience of countless campaigns to the attention of its leadership. He is extremely helpful in the area of recruitment, assessing the strong points of possible division leadership. He brings a year in and year out knowledge to bear upon these problems which is greater than that of leadership which is recruited from campaign to campaign and frequently lacks continuity. Some large campaigns will have several professionals, each attached to a specific division. These will function in much the same way as an overall campaign director.

Frequently there is misunderstanding by the volunteer as to the specific role of the professional campaigner. In many instances he

cannot understand why the professional does not do the actual solicitation. However, if there is one area in which the professional should be competent, it is in the area of organization. It is his job to see to it that all the parts of the campaign mesh; that decisions made by one group do not adversely affect the decisions made by another; that there are harmony and intermingling of all the parts of the whole; that the campaign stays on its proper course during the entire campaign period.

The volunteer may become impatient with the professional campaigner who constantly urges him either to complete his solicitation or to call so-and-so to complete his. The first reaction is, "Well, why don't you call him yourself?" It may be only a small matter, but the fact is that a volunteer is more successful calling another volunteer than the professional. The individual who is lagging will not necessarily respond to a professional, but will to another volunteer layman.

Another area in which the professional is expert is in the matter of technique. There are very few new techniques in fund raising. Techniques are used for a few years and then discarded, to be replaced by techniques that had been helpful years ago and which, upon being revised, are helpful again.

Volunteers will, on occasion, look for "a gimmick." They search for the easy answer to fund raising, whether it is a raffle or a special thought which they are convinced will raise the money. Too often confidence is placed in a mailing or in a lot of publicity. Experience has shown the professional that such dependence is not warranted, that the only real way to raise money in any large amounts is through a carefully organized campaign with basic dependence upon the volunteer solicitor in a face-to-face relationship with his prospect. There are no effective gimmicks. Moreover, what works in one community may not work in another because of tradition and temperament. The professional may be looked upon with disfavor because of his discouraging attitude toward spectacular fund-raising devices. Over the long run, however, most communities discover that the ideas of the public relations man can be used only sparingly in the field of solicitation. Communities begin to understand that support of their services depends upon a solid job of involvement year in and year out, both in the giving and working end.

The relationship between the volunteer and the professional is critical in any campaign organization. Mutual respect for each other's

point of view and area of competence will go a long way toward making a campaign more palatable and less arduous. The professional by his knowledge of his community and the methods of community organization, by his experience in fund raising, by his having at his fingertips the information necessary for his leadership to make decisions, by his knowledge of how other communities organize their campaigns, by his skills in organizing the clerical and record-keeping part of the campaign, and by his knowledge of people, can free the volunteer for the basic job of deciding upon the scope of the campaign, the type of campaign to be conducted, and the actual job of solicitation.

In this brief dissertation on the volunteer in fund raising a few basic points have been made.

That the volunteer is the foundation of most successful fund-raising efforts.

That the volunteer also serves by extending to a large group of individuals the message of the agencies in the community.

That the volunteer serves as a check-point for the agencies by determining community attitudes.

That practically everyone can help in some way to raise funds.

That any tendency to develop a "fund-raising type" may result in lessened understanding and eventual deterioration of our private agencies.

That the volunteer needs to inform himself fully about the needs of the campaign as a prerequisite for successful solicitation.

That in addition to serving the community there are benefits that also accrue to the volunteer.

That there are different levels at which a volunteer can be active in fund raising.

And finally, that the volunteer is not only paramount from the point of view of solicitation, but is also the one who, with the aid of the professional, sets basic campaign policy.

15

THE VOLUNTEER IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

John B. Turner

I wish I knew how to induce volunteers to appreciate the significant role they play in furnishing vitality to the democratic enterprise. They are to democracy what circulation of the blood is to the organism. They keep democracy alive.—E. C. LINDEMAN

"MAN has never been in greater need of good will and understanding. The application of good will is required in all human endeavor from the situation provided by one lonely newly arrived Puerto Rican in New York City to the two most powerful nations on earth." This statement, by an attorney who organized a speaker's bureau in the interest of better intergroup relations, and who has given over four hundred lectures, was made as he talked about his reasons for volunteering time, energy, know-how, and money to help various organizations combat cultural conflict and misunderstanding.

The active and responsible involvement of laymen is essential to the development and maintenance of better human relations. That the persistence of prejudice and discrimination in many parts of the world and new occurrences of it in others threatens the security, peace, and progress of all mankind is a fact increasingly known to thinking people everywhere. Acts of human oppression, bigotry, discrimination, and intolerance, whether occurring in one's native community or thousands of miles away, are urgently suggesting the need to activate a higher level of lay participation in the job of improving relationships between minority and majority groups.

The area of concern which we have described as intergroup relations is used here to embrace what is variously called "intercultural relations," "community relations," "human relations," and "race

relations." Intergroup relations is more of an umbrella term which refers to the quality of relationships between minority and majority groups when the determining factor of minority or majority status is race, religion, or national origin.

Use of the terms "layman" or "volunteer" in connection with intergroup relations is a twentieth century phenomenon in the sense of denoting a role or function different from that of the paid staff worker. Efforts to nourish the rights and lot of the underdog, the disfranchised, and the underprivileged with respect to racial, religious, and nationality status were originally initiated and supported largely by the layman. It is only after the turn of the century that we see the emergence of the paid professional, first in voluntary associations and more recently in governmental agencies.

For the purpose of this discussion the volunteer is the person who works with agencies and institutional programs in the area of intergroup relations without financial remuneration. In particular, we are concerned with those laymen whose activities may be described as supporting the provision of opportunities for increasing understanding between groups, the prevention and resolution of intergroup tensions of a negative nature, and the initiation and establishment of public and private policy and practices which will lead to better intergroup relations.

The reader might well ask if our introductory appraisal of the state of man's social relationships doesn't suggest that a more pressing demand is the need for an increased supply of professional workers skilled in the practices of intergroup relations. Is there really a need for volunteers in community relations? If such need exists, is it based upon a shortage of paid manpower or is it based upon a function unique to the volunteer? What are some of the activities which volunteers perform or could perform in intergroup relations work? What should the volunteer bring with him to the job in the way of qualifications and motivation? What can be learned by the volunteer on the job? What does the volunteer gain from his expenditure of time, energy and money? Intergroup relations, involving as it does the interaction of human beings in behalf of themselves and others, is a socially dynamic, constantly changing, and expanding area of work. The answers to these questions are not always known and, where presently known, may not remain the same. It is imperative, therefore, that a continuing examination be made of the contributions of laymen to the task of improving intergroup relations.

Why are Volunteers Needed?

Intergroup relations like other social movements was born of lay parentage, and like other social movements, in spite of the evolution of professional leaders, it has continued to need volunteer help due to the manpower requirements alone. With the growth of many social movements and the corresponding development of professional staffs, the function and roles of volunteers have undergone alterations. Indeed, in some areas the volunteer has all but been eliminated while in others the difference in the roles of the volunteer and the professional cannot always be clearly differentiated. It is doubtful that an increased supply of professionals could ever provide enough willing hands to do the minimum essential work of intergroup relations organizations.

The manpower requirement, however, is not the most cogent explanation of the need for volunteers in intergroup relations. Unlike some areas of community work in which volunteers engage, intergroup relations is a concern that touches each individual directly. It can not be compartmentalized or pushed into any segment of one's life except abstractly. One is at all times a member of a minority or a majority group. The scope of intergroup relation service is as wide as the boundaries of a community. It also is intertwined with the external relationships of communities; it therefore requires the broadest possible base of action. It cannot be relegated to a particular set of grounds or buildings. It cannot be walled off in one geographical section of town. It cannot be limited to any one age, sex, or other physical grouping of the population. Unlike medical service or casework service, the masses of the public cannot claim that these ills only indirectly concern them, cannot content themselves with dealing with "somebody else's" problem. Intergroup relations is everybody's problem.

Perhaps the most obvious and most damaging symptom of undesirable intergroup relations is discriminatory behavior. It is therefore encouraging that recent experiments and studies have strongly supported the thesis that a change in social behavior (discrimination) is more easily accomplished than a change in attitude (prejudice). There is a strong body of empirical as well as experimental evidence that individuals use other individuals and groups as reference points for determining how they should behave in social situations. These influential individuals may possess any number of attributes, such as

higher status, more prestige, physical location, friendship, authority over one's job, and the like, which put them in a unique position from which to influence others. If this is true, it will be clear that in a given situation in which a discriminatory act is committed, only a relatively small number of people will have the potential for altering the behavior of the discriminator. The imperative of having such persons of influence not only firmly on the side of democratic intergroup relations, but skilled in how to bring such relations about, cannot be ignored. What we now see more clearly than before is that these influentials are needed and may be found in every aspect of human association. The need for lay leadership is thus an expanding one, full of dynamic possibilities for meeting the motivational needs of the mature individual.

It is vital, then, to any program of intergroup relations that persons of potential influence working, living, or playing wherever discriminatory acts may occur be strategically involved as lay leaders in that program. Volunteers are needed in every professional, occupational, or business group, in every institution, public or private, in every neighborhood, from every social and economic stratum, in every social, civic, or service group. This is the urgency of the need for volunteers in intergroup relations.

In most communities organizational outlets are increasingly available to laymen who are desirous of joining the task of improving intergroup relations. Since World War II the number of organizations with a primary interest in intergroup relations has steadily multiplied so that today there are more than 900 organizations, public and private, serving the intergroup relations field. There are two major groups of organizations which present opportunities to the layman for service. These are (1) organizations whose avowed purpose is to oppose prejudice and discrimination, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Community Relations Boards under governmental sponsorship, the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, the Congress of Racial Equality, Committees on Dispersal for Democracy, and many others; (2) organizations to whom intergroup relations is a secondary interest, such as settlement houses, schools, Jewish community centers, the League of Women Voters, churches, labor unions, YWCA and area or district councils.

Many organizational efforts focus around specific problem areas, such as employment, education, camping opportunities for children, civil rights, and intercultural adjustment of newcomers, while others

may seek to treat all of the problems of a particular minority group. It is within these settings primarily that the volunteer in intergroup relations functions.

What is the Job of the Volunteer?

Most organizations in order to stay alive require two types of activities: 1) those which focus directly upon meeting stated organizational goals and objectives, and 2) those secondary but necessary activities which keep the organization operating and free to pursue its major objectives. Needless to say there is a place for lay leadership in both types, although our major concern here will be with what the volunteer can do in the direct accomplishment of organizational goals.

The role of board and committee personnel has become well established in the field of intergroup relations. However, a new and vital lay leadership role is emerging in intergroup agencies and organizations. As indicated in the previous discussion, volunteers in intergroup relations serve as members of boards, committees, and special project groups of organizations having a primary interest in problems of majority-minority relations. Secondly, opportunity to improve intergroup relations is available for members of boards and committees of other organizations like civic, educational, and charitable associations where, in the process of determining policy and planning courses of action, care can be taken to see that such policy and action do not impede but actively promote the betterment of intergroup relations. There is an additional lay leadership role emerging which when used in conjunction with the other two make a strong team for the championing of democratic rights. Here the citizen in his role as worker or neighbor, as the opportunity presents itself, works to bring about intergroup relations goals of fair play for everyone. Its most obvious distinction is that in contrast to board and committee assignments, the new role is of shorter duration and usually concerns a specific task around a particular problem situation. The following is a case in point.

The Hillcrest committee on Fair Employment had tried for nearly six weeks to secure a conference with Mr. Sans, General Manager of Tri-Way, one of the largest industrial plants in Hillcrest. The chairman of the committee phoned Mr. Sans' office on several occasions but upon explaining his reason for calling had never been successful in making an appointment.

One morning as the staff sat discussing their inability to make contact with Tri-Way, no one noticed that the mailman had entered with the morning mail. Hesitating to interrupt, he listened to the discussion. Afterward, he spoke to the executive saying he was sure he could get the appointment for the committee since he chatted briefly with Mr. Sans every morning when leaving mail at his downtown office, and they had become quite friendly. After some discussion, he was allowed to make the call which later resulted in a conference with Mr. Sans by the chairman of the Fair Employment committee.

Another illustration is found in the case of Mrs. Barrow. When it became known to the Mayor's Committee on Intergroup Relations that a Negro family planned to move into an upper-middle-class suburb where previously no Negro had ever lived and which was not adjacent to any area in which Negroes lived, it was apparent that efforts would have to be made which would assure "fair play" for this family. The support of public officials from the mayor to school principals and policemen would be needed, but just as critical was the need for indigenous leadership within the immediate neighborhood. As one person wrote, "the crucial work in the neighborhood itself might be described, in basketball terms, as a 'man to man' as opposed to a zone defense."

One of the most effective volunteers recruited was a person not then associated with any organization having as its prime purpose the improvement of intergroup relations. Mrs. Barrow, we will call her, was a longtime resident of the area, a former active member of PTA, and then active with a wide variety of civic and service clubs. Over her usual morning coffee chats with her neighbors, other supporters were recruited; persons who might have given overt and violent expression to their prejudice were effectively neutralized. Where rumors were circulated that trouble was brewing among parents of children who were attending classes with children in the Negro family, Mrs. Barrow quickly phoned the principal of the school whom she knew personally to check on factual basis of the rumor. Finding none, this information was quickly passed along through informal channels within the neighborhood.

Mrs. Barrow, without having formal volunteer status, quickly became an extension of the mayor's committee accomplishing tasks that staff persons would have much more difficulty undertaking. In reality it takes volunteers in each of these three service channels, working sometimes in happenstance, as the foregoing illustrations seem to

suggest, but increasingly working in a planned, coordinated, and purposeful way.

Whether one is active as a member of a council on human relations, on the board of the county women's voters league, or a neighborhood settlement house, or whether one is a mailman or a Mrs. Barrow, there are a number of core tasks which must be engaged in to some extent by the more effective lay leader. These tasks are at the heart of the job that the volunteer does. Included are such things as 1) knowing the facts, 2) helping to determine readiness for community change, 3) interpreting consequences of prejudice and discrimination to others, 4) initiating and supporting legislative action, 5) destroying rumors, 6) identifying other key persons who should be asked to help, and 7) giving financial support to intergroup agencies.

Get the facts may sound axiomatic but is nevertheless an absolute requirement for the establishment of sound policy. The layman in intergroup relations needs to be well informed as a basis for his own decision making and as a basis for working with other decision makers. Frequently the volunteer's own status and place in the communication network equips him to have immediate and personal awareness of the current temperature of intergroup relations. In some situations volunteers will help plan and execute self-surveys, in other situations they will determine the needs for more factual data and work with experts to conduct a formal study. Whether through informal sampling of opinion, the self-survey, or the more technical full-blown study, one of the major tasks of the volunteer is to secure a sufficient amount of appropriate information upon which policy may be set and action taken to implement that policy.

The assessment of community feeling (reaction and readiness for change) is a second major job for which lay leadership carries substantial responsibility. In the absence of more scientific indicators of community readiness for change, the best alternative is a representative sample of the leadership of the community not only in terms of knowledge of community feelings but also in terms of knowledge of probable community behavior. Wherever possible, the observations of one person about community readiness to change will have to be checked against the observations of others and weighed against the experience of other communities. This is one of the most difficult assignments which may be undertaken by the volunteer. It is also a point where professional intergroup relations staff can be especially useful.

A third key task of the volunteer involves interpretation of the consequences of discriminatory acts as well as the consequences of nondiscriminatory acts to the supporter of discrimination and to the many leaders and members of the general public who become "middle of the roaders" on issues like intergroup relations. We do not mean to suggest the "soapbox" technique here. Effective interpretation often occurs with no fanfare or publicity. Circumstances may dictate that it occur formally in the conference room or informally through various other channels. A good job of interpretation will seldom be based upon emotionalism alone, but will more often rest upon facts.

When an interpretation of consequences to certain key leaders fails to bring about understanding and positive movement towards intergroup goals, it may be necessary to use the legislative resources of our communities to develop public policy which recognizes the effects of discriminatory acts and seeks to prevent these harmful consequences by law. The present state of intergroup relations throughout the world would indicate that in most communities the volunteer would have opportunity to help develop and support legislative action on at least one of the three levels of government—local, state, or national.

A fifth opportunity for volunteer work presents itself in the task of running down rumors. Whenever an overt situation occurs that symbolizes the crumbling of another wall of discrimination, rumors are likely to be prevalent. A major technique for containing such situations and for preventing their erupting into an incident of open and uncontrollable intergroup tension is the idea of "rumor demolition." Here it is necessary to know what stories are being passed around and by whom. One must also know what the actual facts are and find some appropriate way of sharing these facts with the persons who are most directly concerned including key leaders.

Throughout this discussion, we have referred to "key leaders." As the term suggests, we have reference to those people who by virtue of their roles, status, and power are in the position to figuratively unlock the door which serves as a barrier to the attainment of the objectives of intergroup relations. In neighborhoods, institutions like the church and public schools, occupational groups, industry, labor, government, social circles, and in every walk of life, these key leaders exist, forming a network of influence in each community. These are the persons who provide a point of reference for most of us as we

make certain daily decisions which affect our common life. It follows that any program of intergroup relations would seek to have the active support of appropriate persons in this network of leaders. However, the identity of most such persons is seldom apparent to the outsider, and even when persons are known, it is infrequent that they can be successfully contacted by strangers. A sixth and important assignment for volunteers, then, is the identification of key leadership and the development of their active involvement in improving majority-minority relations.

The provision of support and encouragement to related programs in intergroup relations constitutes another opportunity for the volunteer to make a contribution in this area. There are many ways by which support may be given. Again, one of the most valuable methods is by sharing information and know-how. Support to other organizations may also be shown through attendance at meetings, helping to locate new leaders, and contributing financially. The value of such aid cannot be overestimated.

The foregoing discussion is by no means exhaustive of the opportunities for volunteer service which are available in most communities. It will be apparent that the particular approach taken by an organization in improving intergroup relations will serve to more specifically delineate the jobs that can be done by lay leadership. For example, if an organization's major focus is upon intercultural education as opposed to direct efforts to combat discrimination, there will be opportunities for the volunteer to provide direct leadership to youth club groups, to lead discussion groups, to write and direct plays which illustrate the brotherhood of man, to supervise work projects which foster understanding of common problems across cultural lines, and many other such tasks.

A word should be said about that important traditional assignment of volunteers everywhere—fund raising. There can be little doubt that strong organization in intergroup relations, capable of not only "putting out fires" but able to plan and execute effective programs of prevention, require an adequate financial base. Most agencies, whether private or public, operate with a one- or two-person staff and virtually no budget for program and research. During the next few years serious attention must be given by lay leadership to this question of financing if current program and organizations are to prove their worth. The discussion of financing suggests the need for some joint exploration of crucial needs in the intergroup area by lay leader-

ship and a joint effort to give more consideration to those needs within the local community having the greater priority.

A basic thought underlying our discussion thus far has been the idea that the volunteer and the professional worker represent a necessary team approach to the solution of problems of an intergroup nature. In general, because of the small size of most staffs, the professional worker is often called upon to have many more skills and abilities than we might normally find in one person. The overall expectation of what the professional worker should do probably is best described as an amalgam of several subroles, such as expert in causes and solutions of intergroup problems, negotiator, consultant, administrator, fund raiser, educator, public relations expert, community organizer, and researcher. It is appropriate to include here only some brief description of the professional worker's role, especially in relation to those tasks at which the volunteer also works.

The professional worker should be prepared to help with the definition of the problem in such a way as to make clear the needs for additional facts and study. He should be skilled in collecting data of various kinds and in organizing them so that their meaning may be brought to bear as quickly as possible on the intergroup problem.

With respect to assessing community readiness to change, the staff should help the volunteer to achieve a more objective interpretation and an understanding of his personal observations and impressions of what the intergroup situation is like. The professional worker should be resourceful in the dynamics of social change and skilled in the techniques of stimulating groups and communities to alter undemocratic ways of behaving towards other groups.

The identification of individuals and groups who need to understand the meaning and consequences of prejudice and discrimination is a primary concern of staff. It is of particular importance that the professional worker takes responsibility to know the timeliness of such contacts, and works with the volunteer to enable him to carry out the most effective job of interpretation and communication. This also requires of the professional worker some ability to help the worker to understand the limitations as well as objectives of the application of this particular technique to intergroup problems. It is obvious that professional staff of necessity will do a fair share of interpretation to groups and individuals themselves. In view of our earlier discussion of influentials, however, the need will always exist for lay leadership to help in this area.

Organizations may differ tremendously in the extent to which they are concerned with legislative efforts. Such efforts may vary from the opposition or endorsement of a pending bill to the initiation, planning, and full promotion of a legislative campaign. Intergroup relations staffs need a wide range of skills which are helpful to boards, councils, and committees interested in seeing public policy compatible with their interest in intergroup relations established or changed through the legislative process. The professional worker has the responsibility to keep lay leadership informed as to the status and implications of current or proposed legislation on local, state, and national levels. He should also be able to help lay leadership recognize the need for and formulate the substance of a legislative proposal and to assist the leadership in consulting legislators and other community leaders in the interest thereof.

The professional worker is charged with the job of having and keeping the *big view* of the organization's operation. The board and other lay personnel will expect him to be alert to the necessity of defining and redefining goals and objectives within the range of the organization's resources. A key function of the professional worker is to help lay leadership be aware of the need and opportunity to work cooperatively with other organizations towards mutual goals. In the final analysis the volunteer looks towards the effective and efficient use of his time, interest, and support as his major compensation. The professional worker's role includes the responsibility of helping to bring this about. At the heart of the professional's responsibility are the recruitment and cultivation of leaders. Few of us, if any, possess initially or come to have all of the qualifications and skills at once which have been ascribed here to the volunteer. To the extent that the professional staff person provides opportunities for the volunteer to actively participate and expand in leadership capacity will he make lasting contribution to the resolution of intergroup problems.

Qualifications for Service

Much has been written which helps to explain the various reasons which lead people to offer voluntarily their time and service to help some cause. Albeit these reasons are complex and multiple, the truly valuable lay leader in intergroup relations has as a dominant motivation his concern over the incongruence between American ideology and day to day living. He will seek to bring about a truer alignment of his social relationships with men, with the goals and values of

America and a democratic state. He will be discontented with any violations of the American ideals of fair play, equal opportunity, and the rights and dignity of the individual. Whatever else he may bring to participation in intergroup relations organization and program, this quest for the fulfillment of a democracy is essential.

High on the list of personal qualifications is maturity. The greatest asset of the lay leader in intergroup relations will be his capacity to build, sustain, and use effectively interpersonal relations. When the heat of deliberation and action is over, lay leadership must still retain the respect of those who participated in the process or else lose its usefulness. The value placed upon volunteer participation in intergroup relations is generally different in the majority group from the value assigned such activity in minority groups. In the majority group, lower value and prestige is more frequently given to volunteer participation in intergroup relations than to other volunteer activity, such as with hospitals, youth service organizations, and the like. Here the potential volunteer must be willing to accept the lower prestige value of his work with the intergroup agency. In the minority group usually a premium is attached to volunteer activity in intergroup relations. Here the individual must guard against any exploitive use of prestige and status which are gained as a result of his activity with intergroup relations organizations.

Much of the work which is done in this field requires that no publicity be given to the activity. Individuals must be able to meet their needs for recognition through other outlets. In contrast to the requirements of many volunteer opportunities, a successful intergroup relations program demands that its lay leadership be community-minded. This leadership must be able to comprehend the long term values to be gained from community life more closely identified with democratic values. Lay leaders must have the ability to inspire and retain the confidence of both minority and majority groups. Improving intergroup relations is not the special province of either the majority or the minority member.

When experienced and effective volunteers are asked about the qualifications of their jobs, they are in common agreement about one thing: the volunteer in intergroup relations should not have a reputation as an "odd ball." Persons so tagged are already limited in their value to the organization. This is not to say that the lay leader should not have the courage of his convictions. Without this important quality few intergroup goals can be achieved. Closely related to this

qualification is the sensitive matter of whether the volunteer can be the object of sanctions invoked against his taking a stand on crucial issues. The potential of an effective volunteer is better where the possibility of such sanctions being invoked is held to a minimum. Finally, the requirements of an effective lay leader are such that reasonable time must be available to carry out specific assignments.

These personal qualifications for intergroup relations volunteers have been discussed in terms of the ideal. It is recognized that the more experienced volunteer and the professional will have to assist many people to move from one level to a higher level of leadership proficiency.

Aside from these more personal qualifications, the effective volunteer will need to have a background of knowledge which encompasses such subject matter as history of the religious and ethnic groups with whom the organization is working, the social and psychological dynamics of prejudice and discrimination, methods of altering prejudice, reducing tension, and removing discrimination. Much of this information and understanding can be acquired through the process of working in the organization. Additional opportunities are to be found in the many short term workshops sponsored by various organizations. In most states, one or more colleges or universities will offer a more intensive workshop which covers this material.

The volunteer should also know the history of the organization that he works with. He should understand why and how it was organized and its relationship if any to a national parent or affiliate group. It is also essential that the effective volunteer have an understanding of the present services as provided by the agency, its current objectives, and its mode of operation.

It is particularly advisable that the volunteer have some awareness of the various resources and organizations offering services and program in the field of intergroup relations. On the local front, experience is rapidly showing that seldom if ever does one organization have command of sufficient resources, lay and professional personnel, to cope with the really serious problems of intergroup relations. Increasingly organizations with an interest in this field must achieve a high level of coordination, joint planning, and use of pooled financial resources.

It should be noted again that while many organizations have as their major purpose combating prejudice and discrimination, some of them vary greatly in their approach to the problem. Two extremes in

approach may be described as education versus action. The effective volunteer should avoid the error of viewing these two as alternatives and should see them as complementary methods of achieving objectives in the intergroup relations field. In this connection it is essential that the volunteer understand the more subjective aspects of prejudice which tend to remove these attitudes beyond the reach of direct efforts to change them. On the other hand, discrimination, as overt behavior, is subject to more orderly control. No principle of American government is more fundamental than that of equality of all citizens before the law.

The volunteer in intergroup relations is far more than an extra frill to a basic service. He is a necessary member of the team wherever the goal is to improve man's treatment of man. It is this uncomplicated fact that makes so important the recruitment and training of persons to provide lay leadership in intergroup relations. The consequences of intergroup relations tinged with inequality are such as to involve a loss to all mankind. The involvement of mankind in efforts to prevent this loss is a first and fundamental step in the preservation of a democracy.

16

THE VOLUNTEER IN THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY

Sanford Solender

SERVICE in the "national community" can be a significant and satisfying experience for volunteers. Too often, "volunteering" is thought of mainly as local activity. However, the enlarging scope of national organizational work affords broad opportunities for volunteers seeking new dimensions for community service.

Volunteers are an integral and essential element in the life of national organizations. Voluntarily formed groups, whether national or local, are unique expressions of the finest democratic impulses in a free society. The contribution of volunteers to these groups represents in its best form the discharge of the social obligation which free people assume for each other.

Organizations are created by people to further shared aspirations and goals. National bodies give fullest meaning to their purposes when they are rooted in the constituency from which they spring. Fine volunteer participation is a barometer of the relatedness of these organizations to their people, the means by which the groups assure to themselves a solid community foundation, and the channel for effective local involvement in their affairs.

The work of most national organizations is carried on by a combination of both volunteer and professional workers. The former determine policy and share in the programmatic and administrative aspects of the organizations. The professional workers are responsible primarily for rendering and administering the organizations' services

and aiding volunteers to discharge their functions effectively. Volunteer and professional people form a close working partnership in carrying out the work of national organizations.

The pages which follow describe the opportunities for volunteers in the national community, and answer the principal questions of volunteers considering this field of service to their fellow men.

1. *What is the "national community" in which the volunteer can serve?* The "national community" includes the organizations and social agencies which operate nationally and regionally to serve individuals, groups, and communities. Scores of such organizations fill a variety of functions in American life. Some are concerned with religious or denominational groups, and others are nonsectarian, cutting across religious lines. There are organizations to meet the needs of given racial or national groups, or to further particular ideologies, causes, or viewpoints. Some serve either men or women, and others encompass both sexes. Many work with specific age groups, especially youth, and others cover persons of every age. There are national organizations which provide direct services and others which coordinate the work of local groups. The local affiliates for some are organizations and for others are individual members.

Organizations in the "national community" can be grouped according to their program or service. Some are social welfare organizations providing direct services to individuals, such as the United Hias Service (which works with Jewish immigrants) or the National Urban League (which serves the Negro). Another type of national organization associates people in behalf of a cause or a program. Typical of this group are the National Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, American Association for the United Nations, American Jewish Committee, and the National Consumers League.

A third category is the association of local organizations or agencies which represents these constituents and is their national service body. Illustrative of this type are the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts of America, the Camp Fire Girls, the Legal Aid Society, the National Recreation Association, the Boys' Clubs of America, and the National Probation and Parole Association.

Finally, there are organizations with several of these functions, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the National Jewish Welfare Board. They are national associations and service bodies for the YMCA's,

YWCA's, and Jewish Community Centers, and also serve directly men and women in the Armed Forces (as separate organizations and jointly through the United Service Organizations—USO).

The activities of these and many similar groups enrich the American community and offer rewarding opportunities for volunteer service. They advance the welfare of people individually, in groups, and in communities. They are rooted in the local community, maintain and fortify these roots through two-way communication, and rely upon local financial and service support. Each has a lay structure through which local representation is provided.

Most organizations have permanent professional staffs who carry on their programs together with volunteer lay workers. Each has a national headquarters' office, regional subdivisions, and frequently offices in various parts of the country. Invariably, national organizations have local affiliates or chapters, and many have international affiliations which link their local groups and national interests to those with common concerns in other nations. National organizations likewise relate their affiliates and their fields of concern to the federal government.

While every organization conducts its unique programs, many similar activities are carried on by all. Each holds annual, biennial, or triennial conferences and meetings on a national, regional, or subregional level, and conducts inter-community programs. All issue publications and rely heavily upon the printed word to communicate their ideas and work.

2. *What forms of service can volunteers render in the "national community"?* There are many opportunities for volunteer service in the "national community." Volunteers aid national organizations in their programs, their administration, and their policy making.

Volunteer Service in Programming

The contribution of volunteers to national organization programs is substantial. Frequently they help render direct services to individuals. There are countless examples of such volunteer activity. In the Camp Fire Girls of America, volunteers supervise regional meetings of the Horizon Clubs for older girls. In the United Hias Service they work with new arrivals during customs inspection and immigration processing. While these proceedings are occurring, they care for children of newly arrived families, escort new arrivals to hotels, and serve as their interpreters. Volunteers have helped in temporary

kindergartens for refugee children. In the National Council of Jewish Women, they take special overseas assignments in Israel and elsewhere. Volunteers act as the organization's United Nations representatives, participating in the UN's work, and securing background material for the Council's use. The YWCA World Fellowship Service Project is carried on through substantial volunteer effort.

Volunteers help provide services to affiliated local agencies. Illustrations of this are found in the Girl Scouts of America's use of volunteers for camp visits to observe and evaluate camping programs. Volunteers serve the National Urban League as negotiators in conflict situations, and make special contacts to help resolve problems. They assist also in encouraging adoption agencies to serve Negro children. National volunteers provide consultation and advisory services to local groups. This is reflected in the use of volunteers for consultative visits to camps by the Boy Scouts of America, the advisory contacts maintained with local servicemen's project groups by the volunteer leaders of the National Jewish Welfare Board's Women's Organizations' Division, and the local chapter counsel given by Hadassah volunteers.

Volunteers with specialized skill act as consultants to national staffs, committees, and boards. In the Boys' Clubs of America, for example, a psychiatrist volunteers as advisor to the national Guidance Committee. A member of the editorial board of a prominent magazine works with the Cultural Committee, and service club members assist with national career projects.

Volunteers aid national organizations in conducting special studies and experiments. They help with pilot projects and research, frequently assisting in the formulation of survey findings and recommendations. Volunteers are active in social action and legislative activities of national organizations, taking on such assignments as presenting the organization's testimony to congressional or other legislative committees. They aid in developing program materials for local use, assist in preparing articles for the organization's magazine, and help devise material for its pamphlets and other publications. Often they serve on the editorial board of the organization's periodical. Volunteers help plan and execute new programs. In one organization they developed a service for migratory workers. In another, the chairman of a new project committee travelled the country to explain the project and encourage participation in it.

Volunteer Service in Organizational Administration

Volunteers help in the administration of national organizations, taking on such tasks as encouraging the establishment of new branches or programs. The Camp Fire Girls have "volunteer organizers" who initiate activities in new territories. Volunteers aid in forming regional sections of national organizations, work with these bodies on such matters as territorial realignments, provide liaison between national and regional groups, and correspond with local chapters to advise them in their work. They serve on committees to select recipients of scholarships, of national and international assignments, and of other types of recognition. Examples of this can be found in many national organizations. In the Girl Scouts of America a committee of volunteers awards study grants to staff, and in the National Jewish Welfare Board, national and regional volunteer committees choose the persons to receive scholarships and fellowships for professional social work education.

Volunteers sometimes set up national volunteer service programs and serve as trainers of volunteer and even professional workers. Volunteers frequently are recruiters of professional staff and volunteers. The Camp Fire Girls names "national volunteer recruiters" who seek recruits on college campuses for professional service in the organization. Volunteers aid in decorating and furnishing organizational headquarters, serve as committee recorders, maintain service records, and act as receptionists and hostesses at organizational functions. They assist in supervising national organization libraries, and, as in the YWCA, share in producing visual aids.

National organizations rely heavily upon volunteers in connection with their meetings, conferences, conventions, and seminars. Volunteers assist in planning and carrying out these meetings, assuming such functions as speakers, group leaders, resource people, and recorders. Frequently they represent national organizations in regular or special capacities on coordinating bodies such as the National Social Welfare Assembly; in joint activities with other national organizations; and in governmental and international bodies, such as the White House Conference on Children and Youth and UN committees. They discharge these functions by serving on committees, attending meetings and conferences, and acting as spokesmen for their organizations at home or overseas.

Volunteers have important functions in interpreting the national organizations. The very involvement of volunteers in the organizations helps to validate their work locally, and enables the volunteers to increase local understanding and support for the organizations. Volunteers contribute to better appreciation of the organizations through correspondence, speech writing, preparing interpretive material, and producing exhibits. Often they conduct women's divisions or auxiliaries for the benefit of the organizations, as for example, the Urban League Guild.

Volunteers render indispensable service in securing organizational financial support. In such bodies as the United Jewish Appeal, fund raising is the primary function and volunteers work actively in this program. In others, volunteers aid in the financing of organizations through representing them before fund-giving bodies, such as local community chests, United Funds, or Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; sponsoring national fund raising appeals; soliciting gifts from contributors; and arranging fund raising dinners, theatre parties, and similar events. Volunteers seek gifts from special sources, such as foundations, to finance particular projects, serve as administrators of foundations interested in the work of particular national bodies, and supervise the investment of organizational funds. Often they carry on correspondence in connection with fund raising and handle collection follow-up.

Volunteer Service in Policy Making

Policy making is the most familiar aspect of volunteer service in national organizations. Volunteers formulate policies, define objectives and priorities, approve budgetary and fiscal operations, and oversee the application of policy. They help set directions for program, share in long and short term planning, and conduct evaluations and appraisals of organizational work. They assume important tasks with respect to the professional personnel, designating the executive director, establishing personnel practices, carrying on negotiations with staff, and dealing with grievances which may arise. Volunteers do this work through holding elective or appointive offices, or serving on policy making bodies within organizations, such as national councils, boards of directors, executive committees, *ad hoc* and standing committees (budget, field service, personnel, social action, etc.), departmental committees, and regional bodies.

How These Services Are Rendered

These services are carried on in various places and in differing ways. Much of the work is done at organizational headquarters, frequently located in New York, though sometimes in other cities. Considerable activity is conducted in regional and occasionally in state offices. National committees sometimes are established with membership in a given part of the country, enabling members to participate fully in the work. Volunteer services are given in the city in which conventions or conferences are held, or in communities requiring service, to which volunteers travel.

The frequency of such service varies widely. Many Hadassah volunteers are in the office daily. In most instances, volunteers serve less frequently, for example, quarterly, monthly, biweekly, or weekly. Volunteer assignments in national organizations vary from a few hours to several days' service each time the work is done, depending on the assignment. Where the service is related to a periodic or annual meeting, several days may be involved. Volunteers may assume one-time assignments, though more frequently their tasks are for a longer period (from one to four or more years). Volunteer service in national organizations generally is performed as part of a team of volunteers, rather than being done by a single individual.

3. *How do national and local volunteer service differ?* There are interesting differences between local volunteer service and that which is rendered nationally. National service enables volunteers to be involved in programs having a wider scope and dealing with larger and broader concerns than those which are commonly encountered locally. Because of the nature of national programs, volunteers frequently work with the lay and professional persons with wide and significant experience. National volunteer service offers the interesting challenge of developing adequate means of communication between people and groups, notwithstanding distances and the need to harmonize broad country-wide programs with many types of situations. On the other hand national service may involve less direct contact with local clients, groups, or communities than is the case locally. Because of distance, it is necessary frequently for the volunteer to travel in order to render national services. For this reason, national volunteer work often involves periodic responsibility, in contrast with sustained day by day or week by week local volunteer work.

4. *What qualities in the volunteer will make for satisfaction and success in serving nationally?* In national volunteer work, as in other forms of social endeavor, appropriate qualities, abilities, and experience can enhance greatly the success of the volunteer. Volunteers in national as well as local programs need a sound social outlook, including a warm concern for people and communities, a feeling of social obligation to their fellow man, and a sense of social dedication about their service. National volunteers function best when they have acceptance, respect, and esteem in their local communities, and reflect the outlook and concerns of their own community, geographical area, industry, or special field of interest.

Good personal health is important, and volunteers are most effective when their way of work is marked by regularity, reliability, flexibility, independence, resourcefulness, enthusiasm, creativity, and the ability to accept suggestions and criticisms.

Among the traits most useful to volunteers is the capacity to work effectively with other people. This includes capability in relationships with those of diverse interests and backgrounds, sensitivity to the opinions and feelings of others, skill in teamwork, leadership ability, and the capacity for constructive partnership with professional workers. Communication skills are important in national volunteer work. The worker is helped greatly by the ability to use the spoken word in small groups such as committee meetings, and in large groups, particularly in speech making. Often, knowledge of languages other than English may be valuable. For some assignments, writing skill is important. In all instances, the ability to adapt one's communication to different groups is essential.

There are many national volunteer opportunities for persons who are expert in fields such as public relations, camping, psychiatry, research, teaching, library work, music, and other arts. These talents can be applied variously in national organization work.

The work of national volunteers is enriched by adequate background and experience. Especially valuable is local experience in the national organization's field. Volunteers frequently make their best contribution nationally when they have assumed progressively higher levels of local responsibility, and have grown in their understanding and capacity to the point where national service is their logical next step. Local experience with the national organization's services and programs can aid greatly in preparing a person for national work.

Similarly, previous regional activity and serving as the local representative to a national meeting or conference add to the volunteer's preparation for national service. Sound local volunteer experience is an invaluable seedbed for national volunteer service.

5. *How does a person become a volunteer in the national community?* Local volunteers unfamiliar with the national scene may look upon the national community as remote and distant. They may feel this to be the case especially where they have had a minimum of contact with national organizations. It is appropriate, therefore, to inquire, "How do volunteers learn of opportunities for national service and how do they become involved in such activity?"

The sources of information about national volunteer opportunities are varied. Bulletins and publications of national organizations and regional and national meetings are primary outlets. Contacts with regional or national staff members and other officials are an effective line of communication concerning volunteer opportunities, and are a key source used by national organizations to obtain recommendations of prospective volunteers. Fellow local leaders who have worked in national programs can provide a first hand account of the possibilities and satisfactions in such service. Often the direct contact of local volunteers with the benefits of a national program to their local organization stimulates the idea of national volunteer service and opens access to such work. Reports about national organizations in the press, magazines, and on TV or radio likewise are useful windows to national volunteer opportunities.

The direct involvement of the volunteer in a national assignment can be brought about in various ways. Local delegates to a national meeting, or representatives to a national body, are persons to whom national organizations logically turn for volunteer service. Contacts by the professional staff of local chapters or affiliates with the national and regional staff of organizations are channels through which volunteers are suggested for national assignments and drawn into service. Leaders who accept local assignments for national organizations learn about national service opportunities through this contact, and membership on regional and national committees opens doors to broader fields of national service.

6. *What assistance do national organizations provide volunteers?* Prospective national volunteers may expect valuable encouragement and assistance in carrying out their assignments. Volunteer participa-

tion is so essential to national organizations that they provide substantial aid to volunteers to enable them to function with maximum benefit to the organization and fullest personal satisfaction.

Staff members usually are the point of first contact for new volunteers. They aid volunteers to adjust to the organization, introduce them to their task, and define the assignment so the volunteer will understand what is expected of him. Staff members give constant counsel and advice to volunteers. Where committee or board service is involved, the staff facilitates the volunteer's work in many ways, such as in preparation for meetings and follow-up on actions taken. Staff members keep in touch with volunteers by mail, phone, and personal contact, aiding them to carry out their assignments successfully and to progress to greater responsibility in the organization.

There are a few national organizations in which volunteers assume primary responsibility both for the program and for guidance to other volunteers. The National Association for Mental Health refers to itself as a "volunteer-centered" rather than a "staff-centered" organization, working through citizen action instead of providing professional staff service. Hadassah states that its volunteers "actually operate the organization" with staff services aiding them to do so. In most organizations, however, the work is conducted through the joint effort of staff and volunteers.

Many national organizations provide orientation and training for volunteers, which responsible volunteers seek, desire, and warmly accept. Such activities are both informal and formal, and are conducted on an individual and a group basis. Informal orientation and training start with the background experiences which prepare volunteers for national assignments, such as previous regional experience and attendance at national conventions. Staff consultations with volunteers in the early stages of their work contribute to this objective. As volunteers observe and experience the organizational work first hand and confer with key lay people more complete orientation is achieved.

While many organizations concentrate on informal orientation and training, others use formal means. Sometimes these are under the auspices of a given organization, and at other times they are conducted jointly by several organizations. In some instances monthly meetings of volunteers keep them apprised of agency developments, provide them with background information, and help them to understand the organization's continuing work. Training courses for volun-

teers often are scheduled before or during conventions, and volunteer seminars throughout the year cover particular phases of the work.

Printed aids are provided to volunteers, including kits of materials about organizations which they are serving and manuals containing pertinent information. Pamphlets and reports provide volunteers with organizational philosophy, purposes and program, and trace the organization's history, progress, problems, and trends. Volunteers often are supplied specific written definitions of their assignment and of the responsibilities they are asked to assume.

The help which experienced volunteers provide new volunteers is essential in the training process. The national president of an organization often acts as trainer for the national board, and committee chairmen play this role for new committee members. Previous committee chairmen render an indispensable function in aiding new chairmen to take over their duties. Illustrative of the way in which volunteers perform these functions is the practice of the Girl Scouts of America in making a special assignment to a board member to take charge of national volunteer development.

National organizations engage in other practices to further the effectiveness of volunteers. In some instances there is a special staff assignment for work with volunteers (for example, the National Association for Mental Health has a "volunteer services" department). Many organizations have a systematic plan for recruiting of volunteers to insure effective interpretation of volunteer opportunities and the securing of well qualified persons.

National organizations employ special measures to assure the best utilization of volunteers. Often they maintain inventories of available volunteer personnel which indicate the talents of each person. These help to make certain that the rich reservoir of volunteer service is used advantageously. Some organizations have a carefully formulated approach to volunteer development, such as is the case with the Girl Scouts of America who have a "personnel development plan" to further the progress of both volunteer and employed personnel. There are organizations which pay travel expenses when the volunteer would otherwise not be able to accept the assignment. Finally, many organizations encourage volunteers through various forms of recognition, as for example, the Boy Scouts of America's Silver Antelope award given by its national council "for distinguished service to boyhood on a region-wide level."

7. *What are the obligations of volunteers in national organizations?* In national as in local organizations, persons accepting volunteer assignments function with greatest effectiveness when they are certain about the obligations they have assumed. Since continuity of service is a prerequisite to positive results, readiness to serve on a sustained basis is essential nationally, where the frequency with which volunteers perform their functions often is not as great as in the local community. Thus, national volunteers should be prepared to carry on assignments for a reasonable period of time. National volunteer assignments are no different than others in that they will be best accomplished if those who accept them are regular and responsible. Successful volunteers familiarize themselves with the background and nature of the task through such means as reading and discussion. They take part in orientation and training programs and seek and use advice. Conscientious volunteers further the two-way communication between the national and local community, are ready constantly to receive and transmit to national organizations constructive criticisms and ideas for their improvement, and feel responsible for making helpful suggestions that can advance the effectiveness of the organizations.

8. *What benefits do volunteers contribute to national organizations?* Volunteer participation in national organization work is a vital form of community service which offers volunteers significant opportunities to discharge their civic responsibilities. But there also are substantial practical benefits to national organizations from volunteer service. Volunteers can contribute fresh vigor and a new outlook which prevent national organizations from freezing in established ways. They stimulate organizations to appraise and evaluate their operations so as to insure their being attuned to new and present needs. Volunteers bring a quality of inspiration to the work of organizations, generated by their energy, conviction, dedication, and enthusiasm. They can provide perspective to staff and others associated with an agency who may be so deeply involved in its affairs that they cannot view the organization in its broadest context. The layman's viewpoint contributed by volunteers is an important balance to the professional insights of staff. For national bodies, which are several degrees removed from the direct impact of people and communities upon their work, the influence of local volunteers on the national program is profound.

From a practical viewpoint it is inconceivable that national or-

ganizations could function adequately without the service of volunteers. The capacity of national bodies to achieve their purposes depends upon effective volunteer participation at all levels. The sensitive determination of national policies by local leaders is a *sine qua non* for national effectiveness. The practical programmatic and administrative help of volunteers augments the resources of organizations and the volume of their service, with substantial benefits to their programs. Volunteers render invaluable service as they advise about the way services can be improved, counsel in solving special problems, and suggest new ideas and projects.

The activity of volunteers often releases time of professional staffs for other organizational work and broader program areas. Frequently volunteers contribute expert service, supplementing that of the professional staff. Volunteers who travel throughout the world on a personal or business basis render indispensable service to organizations. No function is more important to national bodies than the liaison with local communities provided by volunteers. They keep national organizations informed about changing local needs and are a vital link between national groups and local communities. Volunteers broaden the scope of citizen involvement in organizational work, and those who possess a background of national work often move into wider fields of citizen leadership.

9. *What are the values of national service to the volunteer's home community?* The benefits of national volunteer service are not restricted to the national level; the local community is enriched substantially by the involvement of volunteers in national work. The volunteers' increased knowledge about the resources which national organizations can offer the local community, their better understanding of how to use these resources, and their greater confidence in the national body, enable the local group to best avail itself of national services.

The experience provided local leaders participating in national affairs furthers their development and makes their local leadership more effective. National responsibilities help local volunteers to obtain a broader perspective on local problems, which they are able to view in light of the experience of other communities. Their association with lay and professional leaders from other communities, as well as with national staff, deepens their understandings. They gain wider knowledge of problem solving and their leadership capabilities are enriched through national training and experience. National service

by local volunteers likewise enables the local organization to more effectively and directly influence the national body, and facilitates involvement of other local leaders in national affairs. The sound participation of volunteers in national organizations sets a standard for local communities which can induce the best use of volunteers locally.

10. *What satisfactions can volunteers derive from national service?* Volunteers contemplating national service can anticipate a stimulating and gratifying experience which is a natural sequence and complement to local volunteer service.

Volunteers in the national community can achieve from their work a new sense of social usefulness and of community service. Through this experience, they gain the satisfaction of making a community contribution on a larger canvas than is available to them locally. They attain broader personal horizons and deeper understanding of national problems, and are initiated into the fascination of dealing with large, overall concerns in new agency situations. They derive the very special gratification of establishing new, rewarding friendships throughout the nation, and discover that the enduring personal associations developed while serving a national body are among the lasting benefits of such activity.

National volunteers gain a unique sense of achievement from the larger use of their personal talents and skills. They are privileged to know that their leadership locally has been enriched by new dimensions of human service. They are exhilarated by the feeling of personal growth in their progression from local, to regional, to national, and even to international service. Volunteers serving in national organizations with religious or other special goals gain the particular satisfactions that accompany such service.

But all national volunteers may anticipate the profound rewards which emerge from discharging their citizenship functions on a wider plane. This is in truth the highest type of fulfillment of the obligations of members of a free democratic community.

The author is indebted to the following national organizations which supplied information for use in this chapter:

American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; B'nai B'rith, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, N.J.; Boys' Clubs of America, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; Camp Fire Girls, Inc., 16 East 48th Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 345

East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Girl Scouts of the United States of America, 830 Third Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.; Hadassah, 65 East 52nd Street, New York 22, N.Y.; National Association for Mental Health, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N.Y.; National Catholic Community Service, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.; National Council of the Churches of Christ, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 1 West 47th Street, New York 6, N.Y.; National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 226 West 47th Street, New York 36, N.Y.; National Jewish Welfare Board, 145 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N.Y.; National Legal Aid Association, American Bar Center, Chicago 37, Ill.; National Probation and Parole Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.; National Recreation Association, 8 West 8th Street, New York 11, N.Y.; National Urban League, Inc., 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, N.Y.; United Hias Service, 425 Lafayette Street, New York 3, N.Y.; Young Men's Christian Association, 291 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.; Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

V

HOW CAN I BECOME A VOLUNTEER?

Previous articles, especially those in Section IV, suggest ways of becoming a volunteer. In the small and in some intermediate sized communities there may not be a centralized bureau. In such communities, agencies and organizations can be contacted directly. Depending on the developments in the community, information can be obtained from such agencies as the local community chest, family welfare, youth service (e.g. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, The Boys' Club, YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Youth Organization, Jewish Center), public welfare, the hospital, the schools, and the churches. Information about membership organizations which have a service program can be found through newspaper articles on their activities and through members of these groups.

Suggestions for volunteer opportunities, and ways of becoming a volunteer in the national community, are covered in the article on the National Community by Sanford Solender.[1] In the larger communities, central volunteer bureaus have emerged with a special program for bridging the interests of the volunteer and the needs of the agencies. The article which follows describes the purpose and the program of these bureaus.

[1] See p. 185.

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THE CITIES WITH VOLUNTEER BUREAUS

Ruth T. Lucas and Helen O. Studley

IN CLEVELAND, as in ninety other metropolitan communities,[1] the best way to find an interesting volunteer job is to apply to the local volunteer bureau. Our Volunteer Bureau is one of the central services of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. All volunteer bureaus are clearing houses for volunteer effort in their communities, places where agencies may apply for volunteer help and where citizens wishing to contribute their time and skills to their community may find the opportunity most suited to them.

But, you say, I am a member of a service organization—the Council of Jewish Women, the Junior League, Altrusa, Rotary, Kiwanis, or another—why should I need a volunteer bureau? My organization specializes in encouraging me to contribute my services and in educating me to become a better volunteer.

Very fine, but does your organization restrict its (and thus your) services to one field in which you would possibly be active without urging, such as church or neighborhood groups, or to which your talents do not lend themselves? Is all the organization's work with crippled children, when you are better equipped to teach Spanish to adults? Or does your organization sponsor a daytime project which you can never visit because your free time is in the evening? Or is the work of your group restricted to one point of view while you long to broaden your horizons?

Most metropolitan communities provide an interesting opportunity to travel sociologically. We may lose sight of this as we follow our

[1] See Appendix.

beaten paths to market, to town, to shop, or to the theater. Our social lives are pretty well stabilized. Are we not amazed when a detour or chance errand takes a new way to town to see all the new housing, new stores, a park where a slum was, a factory where there had been a playground? Here we pass an area full of a new group of people who are busily improving (or sometimes, alas, destroying) their new neighborhood.

Despite the rapid spread of urban communities into suburbia, it is still the central city which produces the income, the reason for staying nearby. Its cultural agencies and great institutions are suburbia's too. It is the motivating force of the area. The problems of the central city are suburbia's as well, and all must work together toward their solution. Fortunately, that New England (or Judeo-Christian) spirit of community participation has survived.

Formation of Volunteer Bureaus and Their Function

A generation ago leaders in the metropolitan communities recognized the difficulties of bringing the talents of all citizens to bear on the problems of the city as a whole because of lack of communication. Individual service clubs could be contacted but this was unwieldy and neglected the non-joiners. The same people were used over and over. A clearing house of opportunities and talents was needed and the first volunteer bureaus were founded. In many communities the Junior League furnished the initial support for the bureaus. It was recognized that to be truly effective the bureau should be a part of the council of social agencies in the community or at least have a close working relationship with it. Thus the bureau becomes an integral part of the community planning process of the council of social agencies. The purpose of the bureaus was to accept requests for volunteers from the health and welfare agencies and to find volunteers to fill those jobs among men and women from all walks of life.

In accepting requests from the agencies, it was soon found that interpretation was needed. Agencies needed to know which jobs could or should be performed by volunteers. The essential characteristics of volunteer workers needed explanation, so that jobs assigned to volunteers would be feasible for part time workers and of sufficient importance or interest to hold them. Many agencies needed help in introducing volunteer programs to their staffs. Volunteers are worthless in an agency unless the staff is aware of the usefulness of volun-

teers and their limitations, and unless the staff is ready to work with them. Staff must recognize that volunteers will not be held by made-up jobs, nor will they be entranced to relieve staff for more coffee breaks. Staff time must be available for volunteer training and supervision. Staff must recognize that the volunteer's assignment is necessarily of second importance in the volunteer's life. The bureaus found that this interpretation is never finished, never static; it must be a constant part of the bureau program.

A few years ago, for example, Cleveland's municipal infirmary was metamorphosed into a modern hospital for chronic diseases. The large group of faithful volunteers, whose efforts undoubtedly had helped promote this change, would be needed in the hospital but on an entirely new basis. Standards for volunteers in a hospital must necessarily be stricter than for those in a custodial institution. How could such a change be brought about? Would the volunteers change or would all of them quit? The Volunteer Bureau thought a change could be made, and encouraged the agency to make it a complete and abrupt one. Every volunteer was asked to participate in a required training course for the new duties. They responded almost 100 per cent and loved it. They took great pride in the new duties and in their new uniforms, in a new and positive approach to the patients in the hospital. The staff participated in the training program and has been kept informed of the values as well as the limitations of volunteer service.

Not all changes are so abrupt. The bureau seeks to keep abreast of such needs, encouraging the agencies to expand or change and develop their volunteer programs as the agency focus changes and as new skills are found among volunteers.

As the number of volunteers in large agencies grew, the volunteer program began to consume too much executive time. Volunteers were too valuable to be dispensed with, and volunteer bureaus suggested the appointment of directors of volunteers as a solution. The function of a volunteer director is to interview and place the volunteer in the job best suited to her capabilities; usually the actual supervision of the volunteer is assumed by the staff member to whom she is assigned. The director serves as a liaison between the agency and the bureau and is responsible for listing requests with the bureau for volunteers. She also is responsible for evaluating with the staff of the agency the type of opportunities which are offered to volunteers. The volunteer

bureau keeps in constant touch with these directors, promoting good standards of volunteer work and supervision through regular meetings or special institutes.

In considering with agencies the training needed by volunteers it was found that on-the-job training for individuals was the most effective plan for most of the assignments. However, certain groups of agencies need volunteers with similar backgrounds of skills and philosophy. Agencies working with handicapped adults, for example, need volunteers with craft skills and some training in teaching these skills to the handicapped. Day nursery volunteers could be more effective with an introduction to the purpose of the nursery program and to the characteristics and psychology of this age child. Volunteers who wish to visit older persons could best learn of the pitfalls which yawn for the unwary or too sympathetic visitor in a general orientation session before their introduction to a client.

To satisfy these needs, volunteer bureaus agreed to join with the agencies concerned in sponsoring training courses. The bureau assumes the responsibility for recruiting and screening the volunteers to take the training and assists in planning the content. The agencies as a rule furnish the teaching and the opportunities for the trainees to see how their skills would be used through field trips during the course. One such course in Cleveland is the Occupational Therapy Course, which has recently completed its thirty-sixth session and whose volunteers are used in fourteen agencies. We also sponsor Friendly Visiting and Crafts for Homebound Crippled Children Courses with the appropriate agencies. Courses in music and dramatic therapy for mental institutions have been offered and may be repeated. Bureaus in other cities conduct regular board member institutes and mass orientation courses for all volunteers. In some cities the orientation course to community needs is co-sponsored by the volunteer bureau and one or more civic organizations and open to the public. The deciding factor in planning and offering these public overall orientation courses is usually how many organizations give courses for their own members.

The recruiting campaign, through which the bureau finds volunteers to take training courses, brings us at last to the main focus of all the planning—the volunteer. Some volunteers just wander into the bureau, having heard glowing accounts from a friend of the rewards of volunteering, of the joys of individual importance in a regular assignment, of the stimulus of association with a new group of persons, of new skills learned and old prejudices reeducated.

Such was an ex-teacher in Chicago. In the early months of her retirement she found herself to be definitely a non-joiner; meetings and kaffee klatches left her unimpressed. Not knowing of the volunteer bureau she spent frustrating days going to agencies which had nothing for her either because of her age or her dislike of being in the crowded areas of the city after dark. Finally the Red Cross referred her to the volunteer bureau where Mrs. Evelyn Byron, the director, was able to suit her at once. A large hospital needed someone of just her abilities and has kept her busy ever since.

All methods of recruitment are tried to keep up the flow of volunteers to the bureaus. Each of the training courses is the occasion for stories in newspapers accompanied whenever possible by appealing pictures, spot announcements and interviews on radio and television, and appeals in club and commercial bulletins. Some volunteer bureaus make use of boxes in newspapers telling of the volunteer job of the week. Other bureaus are allowed to place cards calling attention to the need for volunteers on tables in popular restaurants. This must be a continuous campaign, for however much publicity there may be, at least once a month a would be volunteer comes to the bureau saying, "Why don't you advertise? I never knew there was such a place as this and I have wanted to volunteer a long time."

Relationships with Civic Organizations

In order to keep in touch with all sources of volunteer power and to know what projects are being carried out, bureaus need to establish and cultivate relations with as many service groups as possible. Many bureaus were founded by local branches of the Junior League of America whose main purpose is to promote high quality volunteer work among its members. At least one was founded by the Council of Jewish Women with its similar purpose. Though the founding body may relinquish its financial support of the bureau, a close working relationship is maintained. Representation on advisory boards of volunteer bureaus from these two organizations as well as such others as Rotary, Kiwanis, Altrusa, and Zonta, is helpful to keep each of them informed of community projects being carried on by the others and of volunteer needs known to the bureau.

In San Francisco, the volunteer bureau and the Council of Jewish Women worked together on a project to produce large print textbooks for the use of handicapped children in the public schools. This proved so successful that it became the purpose of an independent

agency supported by the Council. In Los Angeles, it is felt that broad representation from civic organizations on bureau committees strengthens the bureau in its effort to mobilize the citizens in effective volunteer service, in coordinating the work of all organizations and agencies to further good and extended volunteer service.

Representatives of forty-three men's and women's civic organizations serve on the advisory committee of Cleveland's Volunteer Bureau, a larger number than for other bureaus. We find them invaluable in keeping us aware of the trends in group interest in community projects, for advice on our own plans, and for help on special projects and even in their own special fields. For example, Forest City Women's Auxiliary asked the Central Volunteer Bureau to help in its conversion to a volunteer association a year before the hospital opened. This is an inter-racial hospital and the Negro women active in the auxiliary realized that their group had not yet learned to be good volunteers. The group called upon the committee of directors of volunteers in hospitals for help. Members were of service in different ways, from complete surveys of their snack bar operations to discussion of manuals for volunteers, and encouragement in setting strict standards and holding to them.

The staff of the bureau set up a series of educational sessions for the Forest City Auxiliary, in which the realities of volunteer work were stressed. There was a frank discussion of the necessity to offer only that time which the individual could conscientiously spare from her home or business activities, whether on a regular or temporary basis. It was noted by all that the hospital staff must be able to depend on the volunteer once assigned, or the assignment would be worthless and the reputation of the whole group as well as that of volunteers in general would suffer.

Central Volunteer Bureau staff did the initial interviews for all volunteers when the hospital was ready for them, again stressing the need for regularity and dependability. We found that the basic truths of volunteering had been accepted and such a good screening had been done by the committee of the auxiliary that few applicants had to be turned down. The aim was to deglamorize the volunteer job and promote its realism. The group accepted this point of view and the Forest City Hospital volunteer program has been operating successfully for several years.

Our representative from the Fortnightly Club worked very hard to recruit volunteers for the music therapy training course. Whenever a

social work conference is held in Cleveland, excellent monitors for the many meetings are found through our representatives from the Council of Jewish Women and the Junior League. The Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsors an annual art show and we have found interested hostesses through our representative from the Junior Council of the Art Museum. When the USO was reactivated in 1950, the Cleveland Volunteer Bureau contacted not only the groups represented on the advisory committee, but every group in the community for donations toward establishing the lounge, staffing it with hostesses and stocking it with ten dozen cookies a day. As the USO is still operated on a completely volunteer basis, the need for recruitment is a constantly recurring one.

Selection and Interviewing

Volunteers recruited through such a wide variety of media need skilled help to discover that one assignment which best suits them. The volunteer bureau has the contacts to know the opportunities available. It employs skilled interviewers who know how to discover the desires and aptitudes of the applicant and how to firmly reject those who would not be suitable in any specific field. Fortunately, this need not be a total rejection as other opportunities abound if the applicant can be tactfully guided into more suitable fields of work. A personal knowledge of the agencies, their location, program, and staff, is a requirement for the interviewer. In some bureaus, volunteer interviewers are used with careful supervision by professional staff.

The screening interview is one of the bureau's greatest contributions to the volunteer, the agencies, and the community. Because of its connections with the agencies of the community welfare council and with civic groups, the bureau is able to offer interesting placement to almost all volunteers. Those who answer the appealing publicity stories for work with babies or the handicapped, but who may not be suited for such work, can still be placed in interesting and constructive jobs. There was a nearly totally deaf man who was ruled out as a craft teacher, but has been invaluable in reading and condensing, for the Center on Alcoholism, the flood of new material published on alcoholism. A woman who was skilled in crafts applied for the Occupational Therapy Course. Although she did not want to work with adults, she was glad to sign up for a course in teaching crafts to crippled children.

In interviewing, the bureau staff must always remember its obli-

gation to the agency. Each agency's prime function is a particular kind of service to a special group of clients and each aspect of its program must have this aim, including the volunteer program. Each volunteer must be screened not only by the volunteer bureau but by the agency as well to discover his suitability and value in the agency's work for its clients. This is why the bureau "refers" rather than "places" volunteers. This is also why the bureau stresses the fact that all volunteers must be directly responsible to the director of volunteers in the agency, and why all their service, as groups as well as individuals, must be cleared through her and continue under her direction for the duration of their service.

In one hospital, volunteers of long standing were found to be comforting their patient friends with little gifts of choice foods, a friendly and praiseworthy thing to do from a layman's point of view, but quite reprehensible in the eyes of staff as they tried to measure diets accurately. Similar cases turned up in other agencies. Those directors of volunteers who had good rapport with the volunteers could cope with the problem at once. The others, which had admitted volunteers controlled by an outside group, had no end of trouble persuading the rebels to desist.

Group Projects

Many groups seek to enrich their programs and contribute to their community by service projects of various kinds. Volunteer bureaus have found that supplying information to help in the choice of these projects is a natural extension of their community planning role. Bureau staff will speak at meetings on opportunities for group participation. Larger groups are encouraged to appoint representatives to work with bureau staff on planning and executing projects. The bureau maintains lists of needs of agencies which vary from a single financial contribution of any size to continuing participation on a yearly basis. The bureau stands ready to assist in presenting the project to the group and in developing the project chosen.

In Cleveland, Beta Sigma Phi, a business women's sorority, has long had a representative on the bureau's advisory committee. Each year the bureau prepares a list of projects to be submitted by the welfare chairman of the sorority to the twenty-five chapters. Community service chairmen of the chapters may choose their year's projects from this list; many of them confer further with the bureau to tailor the projects more directly to their chapter's needs. One chapter

chose to take over the publication of a newsletter for the polio ward at Metropolitan General Hospital, others chose to give concentrated time for assembling material during one of the health drives. These business women have been invaluable as evening and weekend hostesses for Home and Flower or Hobby Shows.

National organizations, in setting up a pattern of community participation for their locals, sometimes suggest general service projects which are not workable in specific communities. The Girl Scout *Manual,* for instance, suggests individual hospital volunteer work for fourteen-year-olds. The majority of hospitals in Cleveland have found that a girl of this age is too young for such service to be beneficial either to her or to the agency, and have set a minimum age for volunteers at sixteen. The volunteer bureau and the staff of the local Girl Scout Council worked together to change and adapt these requirements to the Cleveland needs so that the girls would not be frustrated by such discrepancies but would find other avenues of service open to them.

Although the larger service organizations have their own directors of volunteer activities, volunteer bureaus have helped them to set up and operate their community service programs by assisting in planning orientation courses, training interviewers and staff. The bureau keeps the organization aware of volunteer service standards and refers appropriate volunteer opportunities to it.

This last, "appropriate volunteer opportunities," is particularly helpful in that such screening of opportunities promotes good public relations for the group. For instance, the bureau would see to it that a group of business women who had no daytime volunteer hours was not asked to staff a gift shop in a museum on a daily basis. Again, any group would be urged to canvass its members for volunteer interest before agreeing to accept sole responsibility for the canteen in a hospital, especially if the group wished to attach its name to the job. It would be far easier to recruit additional volunteers for the canteen if it were not labeled as the exclusive project of one organization. And where would the club prestige be if enough workers were not forthcoming? Many agencies, especially public agencies, must take care to include a variety of civic organizations in their program as the clients they serve come from all cultural groups and their support comes from all taxpayers. It would be shortsighted for these agencies to agree to restrict their volunteers to those from one group no matter how large or how willing.

Civic organizations working alone may find themselves duplicating the work of other groups or performing jobs not really needed or valuable in their community. It is frequently hard for the individual agency to turn down the offers of group assistance, even if that kind of help is not needed, for fear of incurring the ill will of the group. The volunteer bureau can eliminate this embarrassment for both the group and the agency by redirecting the group's efforts to an area of real need.

Effective Group Projects

Group projects can be valuable to the group and to the agency when each has the chance to be selective. The group needs a project which calls upon the skills and interest of the greatest number of its members. It is a pity if the insistence on all members' participation in the group project is so strong that skills of individuals are wasted. For example, the group which sponsors a canteen may be using as a hostess in that canteen the only volunteer time of a skilled craft teacher. This volunteer could be of far greater value to the community working at her highest skill than in a job which requires no training. It is hoped that groups will be flexible enough to permit their members to choose work for which they are best suited.

The agency needs to be able to select only those groups whose members can be congenial to its clients and whose skills are of timely value. For instance, a group offered to set up a dramatics program for an agency in the spring. The agency would have welcomed such an offer in the pre-Christmas season but found no interest among its clients in dramatics in the spring.

By being in touch with all health and welfare fields (over two hundred agencies in Cleveland) the volunteer bureau can best help adapt projects to group and agency needs. Each year many groups of students have help in planning weekends of real physical labor at agencies, during which they have the opportunity to learn about the purpose of the agency and the clients whom it serves. In the planning stage, this help is spread around so that the students see and learn of many agencies; no one agency gets more than its share of help; and no agency is called upon for more than its share of supervision and hospitality.

Consultation goes far toward eliminating duplication. One of our agencies asked for special pictures to be used in teaching deaf children to speak. Several groups known to be skilled in art were called

upon and the need filled. However, other groups heard of this interesting request and soon the pictures piled up. The volunteer bureau was able to channel the excess to schools for retarded children and to find new opportunities for the artists.

The Junior Volunteer

As world population changes, so does the supply of volunteers. The junior volunteer was discovered during World War I when all available adult volunteers were hard at work. The teen years have always been known as a time of self-giving, of missionary zeal. However, up to this time most agencies had steered clear of using members of this group as volunteers, feeling there would be too many problems. It was discovered in wartime that young people worked well in civil defense and in certain hospital opportunities. Wherever good planning and screening preceded their placement and good supervision followed, success could be expected. Volunteer bureaus encouraged all their cooperating agencies to search out jobs suitable for junior volunteers, young people aged sixteen years and over. These jobs should have limited responsibility and expert supervision. Today with the ranks of adult volunteers depleted by working women, the low birthrate of the depression years, and involvement in suburban living, junior volunteers are the mainstays of many agencies. Their free time after school is exactly when their help is needed in group work agencies and in many cases the eight- to ten-year-old group responds better to the teener than to an adult. Work here, as in nurseries and hospitals, is interesting to teeners and offers them a sampling of careers they might otherwise miss. All these agencies have found juniors invaluable in their summer programs.

Many volunteer bureaus now have staff time devoted exclusively to junior volunteer programs and find it their most rapidly growing department. Special publicity is spread through newspapers, radio and television, and school papers. This part of the task is eased because all these media find the teens a group of special interest and all have pages or programs beamed directly to them. The volunteer bureaus seek ways to relate the possibilities of fruitful volunteer experience to some part of the school curriculum. Skilled interviewers go from the bureau to the schools to promote interest in volunteering and to interview and screen applicants. Many young people come directly to the bureau for referral in answer to the publicity.

The volunteer bureau works much more closely with the agency

following the placement of junior volunteers than they do in the case of adults. Adults, once successfully placed, are divorced from the bureau, transferring the loyalty to the agency. They may, of course, return to the bureau for a new referral if they wish. But juniors are a different matter. The bureau feels a deep responsibility that these young people should have a good experience in their introduction to community service and that the agency program does not suffer because of their immaturity, inexperience, or overenthusiasm. Great stress is laid on regularity and dependability on the job, and the students are urged to assess the time available for volunteering realistically. Skills already learned, as well as possibilities of career exploration, are considered.

Volunteer Recognition

Recognition of the contribution of all volunteers is another of the major concerns of a volunteer bureau. It is known that the most effective recognition for volunteer work is the immediate appreciation of the agency and response of the client to the work done. This is the most important part of the volunteer's reward. However, it is good for those responsible for the operation of the agency, the executive and the board of trustees, who may never come into personal contact with the volunteer, to realize his contribution both in time and skill and in his interpretation of the agency to the community. Therefore the bureau urges the agency to adopt some formal method of recognition. The bureau can furnish national certificates of recognition from United Community Funds and Councils. Many agencies have developed their own pins and badges.

General meetings of volunteers to present certificates of recognition or pins are good for all volunteers, giving them a feeling of being a part of a whole, and a better picture of the work of the agency. This is particularly true of those volunteers whose jobs are quite isolated, such as friendly visitors, or those who teach crafts to homebound crippled children. The award meeting may be their one chance each year to revisit the agency for which they volunteer and will afford them an opportunity to recharge their enthusiasm in comparing notes with their fellow volunteers.

Bureaus also work with schools and agencies on the best ways of rewarding or recognizing the constructive efforts of junior volunteers. In the schools where volunteering is an integral part of the program, a Recognition Day is held in honor of volunteeer work completed, a

day when the volunteer receives as much attention as the athlete! Many bureaus have an annual party for junior volunteers as well as encouraging agencies to recognize their efforts suitably.

Recently the Chicago Bureau, and now Cleveland's, participated in an elaborate Volunteer of the Year program whose purpose is to honor all service volunteers of the community through the selection of the outstanding few. The large amount of publicity attendant upon the selection of volunteers representing various fields of work fulfills another purpose by keeping the work of the agencies before the public.

Volunteer bureaus have come far since their beginnings as clearing houses for volunteers offering their skills and time and for agencies' needs, and are established as important adjuncts of social welfare planning. Most bureaus find more and more of their time taken up with community planning rather than with recruiting. Staff time goes into planning with agencies on new or current volunteer programs, on standards of volunteer work and supervision, and with groups on their participation in community affairs.

However, volunteers are and will always be needed in all the fields of social work and with all age groups from infants through golden-agers. If you live in or near one of the urban centers and want a challenging volunteer assignment, the best way to start is to make an appointment at your local volunteer bureau.

VI

LOOKING AHEAD

Society is going through a period of rapid change. We are moving through a new industrial revolution in an atmosphere that reflects the strains of an uncertain international situation. Courageous and creative planning is necessary if the resulting social problems are to be prevented or minimized, if the health, education, and welfare of our nation are to remain paramount. There is a sizable job ahead both to understand the changes which are taking place and to participate in determining their direction. There is also the task of dealing with the myriad unmet needs that now exist and those that will grow out of the increasing pace of this new industrial revolution. In the next challenging decades the volunteer can contribute much on the citizen policy making and service levels.

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THE VOLUNTEER AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Nathan E. Cohen

THE philosophy of the voluntary association and the role of the volunteer as developed in previous chapters emphasizes the volunteer's importance in furthering the democratic way of life. Volunteers serve as a connecting link between the personal and impersonal worlds within which most people live. "The personal world revolves about the individual's life, his family, and his friends. It is an immediate world and part of his consciousness. It is a local world, centering usually in his town or neighborhood. It is a world of sentiment and feeling, the individual being attached to it by emotional ties. . . . The impersonal world clearly has a tremendous impact on all the private worlds. One aspect of their relationship concerns a kind of continuous conflict. The motif of the external world is change, while the motif of the local world is stability and resistance to change. Intellectual understanding is necessary if the external world is to be meaningful, while such understanding is not as essential in the personal world—except perhaps in connection with the earnings of a livelihood."[1] The voluntary associations frequently have emerged in response to the changing external world and its impact on the personal world of the individual, family, and friends. They can help immeasurably in bringing about essential and orderly social change or serve as channels for maintaining the status quo. They can help strengthen the individual's ties to the world as it has been, or help broaden his perceptions about the world as it might be.

[1] Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson, *Roots of Political Behavior: Introduction to Government and Politics* (N.Y., American Book Co., 1949), p. 155.

Social change is dependent on individual as well as social institutional change. The individual, to be able to cope with a changing democratic society in which an important characteristic is its multigroup nature, must learn to be a team man as well as an individual. Part of the maturing of the individual is in learning to appreciate the value to society in being able to forego one's self-centered drives for the broader purposes and aims of the group. The development of a social consciousness involves the experience in practical democracy which group undertakings can provide. The very act of volunteering can be an expression of identification with broader purposes and aims. The experience, however, can be different for the "service volunteer" and the "policy volunteer."

The "service volunteer" may give time to a program within the context of "task" rather than "ego-involvement." To be ego-involving, the project must have meaning for the individual beyond just the act of doing certain things. There must be at least an intellectual understanding of the purposes and aims of the project so that doing is within the larger context of achieving the stated social goals. The service volunteer who remains only task-involved may be escaping into association work because of the feeling of hopelessness in coping with life in general. In the face of the growing bigness and complexity of society, unable to take responsibility on social issues, the volunteer may see the act of doing something within an organization with a social purpose as the way of discharging one's role as a responsible citizen. If the volunteer, however, even within this smaller segment of the society, cannot or is not helped to identify with the broader aims and goals of the organization or agency, the experience as a volunteer is again contributing to an approach where the individual has no control of the events around him and where the initiative and responsibility of social policy are left to others.

The problem is more sharply focused when one analyzes the programs in which volunteers are utilized. A large segment of the volunteer force provides its services to programs for the disadvantaged individuals in our society. This includes the poor, the sick, the uneducated, the unskilled workers, the immigrants of many nationalities, and racial minority groups. These are the very people who—despite the large number of groups representing the varied interests in our society—are, relatively speaking, without their own representative organizations. They need others to champion their cause, their fight for a share of the democratic way of life.

Educationally it should not be difficult to move from an interest in helping these disadvantaged people through specific services to an understanding of the larger environmental problems involved. For example, in working with economically disadvantaged children, it should become evident that to break the cycle of these families in trouble it is necessary to compensate for the inadequate resources provided by the family to their children. This means good schooling, adequate provisions for health and recreation, and nutrition services. Some of these programs are costly and may necessitate state and federal funds to supplement those of the local community.

Many volunteers are now working with the older citizens. Golden age clubs have become an integral part of community services. Leisure activities, however, are only one facet in the total program essential to meeting the needs of the older person in modern society. There is the matter of economic security, adequate health resources, and adequate housing which must be taken into account. The older citizen receiving public assistance as against social insurance approaches life with a great loss of dignity. The type of housing may determine the extent to which he can remain self-sufficient and ambulatory. Age brings an increase in illness and a corresponding increase in anxiety if adequate medical care is not available. To meet these growing needs the resources of government are necessary. The volunteer working with these individuals can be helped to understand the importance of these additional resources and the fact that their attainment depends on a legislative program on the local, state, and federal levels.

Unfortunately, the agencies themselves do not always see the relationship of social policy and services. This dichotomy is deeply rooted in the historical development of social services in the nation. In the early years, the prevailing theory was that our society as conceived was perfect and provided the necessary opportunities for all who would seek them. Opportunity and success were for the asking. Any able-bodied individual who failed to achieve success needed punishment and moral preachments. Reform of the individual was the order of the day. As the problems became more intense and more extensive, better methods of organizing charity and better ways of helping the individual to change his way of life were sought. The pervading philosophy was to accept a simple, highly individualistic morality with little reference to environmental causes or to social responsibility.

With the impact of the industrial revolution and urbanization, the nation began to experience a series of recessions and depressions,

creating great human suffering. It was no longer possible to think only in terms of individual inadequacy. One had to look for the conditions that were creating the problem and avoid confusing symptom with cause. Under such circumstances they were reluctant to place the blame for failure and dependency on the individual alone. Reform of the environment through political and legislative means as well as reform of the individual had to be taken into account.

The reluctance to see the relationship between a program of services and broader social policy measures is at times attributed to the negative attitude of lay leadership in the community toward social change. The volunteer who has first hand contact with the social problems is in an excellent position to serve as an interpreter. If adequately informed, he can help clarify the issues, remove some of the prejudices, and increase the total understanding of the community.

The policy volunteers, those serving on committees and boards, are a step closer to the responsibility of achieving the broader aims and goals of the association. If these policy workers have come through the ranks, beginning as service volunteers, they will be in a better position to understand the purpose and program of the association. Frequently, however, these steps are skipped and individuals are placed in important positions for status or economic reasons. If these individuals receive no orientation or understanding of the goals of the association, they may be more prone to seek policy decisions which are in line with their own personal philosophy.

I recall a study of a settlement house where the question of the role of the agency in social action was being discussed. A test issue was a low cost federal housing project which was being considered for the area served by the settlement house. One of the new members of the board, who had little previous contact with the agency, and was in the real estate business, was violently opposed to public housing. He stated that he would resign if the board took action in favor of the project. When it was pointed out to him that one of the stated functions of the agency was social action, and that one of the areas approved by previous board decision was public housing, he was shocked. He indicated that this type of information was never shared with him, and that the approach in recruiting his affiliation was helping deprived people through direct services. Furthermore, little had been said to him about how the board functioned in relation to such issues. When questioned whether he would have joined the board if

he had known more about the total program in advance, he stated that he probably would have but that he would have had a better understanding of his role as a member of the board. Through the discussions he had formulated for himself the method of operation, namely, that he could express his personal opinions in the meetings, and that he could even try to have the functioning of the agency modified, but that others also had a right to their views. If decisions went against him, it was not a question of resigning—any more than he would think of giving up his American citizenship because his party had lost the election.

Voluntary associations vary in their purpose and, therefore, in their role in social change. A large number of these associations are concerned primarily with services to people. Examples of this category are the numerous social welfare agencies. Through experience, however, they have come to realize in varying degrees that social action may be an integral part of a program to help people in trouble, especially when the problem is effected largely by external conditions. As John Hill states the case: "When in recognition of such circumstances (problems due to external conditions beyond the ability of the agency or the client to modify) the social worker turns to the forces of community or government, he is still striving for the same objectives as he was formerly seeking through individual action. . . . Social action is not restricted to problems which will not yield to individual treatment. . . . There are many problems which could be handled more effectively, efficiently and economically within a mass or preventive way than through the slower and more expensive one-by-one method."[2]

In these associations which have several functions, people may affiliate or volunteer their services for different reasons. In such cases the overall purpose of the association and the relationship of the various segments to the whole may not be clear. Several years ago I took part in a survey of an organization that has a threefold program—local community services, overseas projects, and a program of education and social action. The study revealed that the majority of members were interested in community services, a small group were mainly concerned with the overseas program, and about a fourth of the members were interested in education and social action. Only a small number were interested in all three aspects of the program. One

[2] John G. Hill, "Social Action," in *Social Work Year Book* (N.Y., American Association of Social Workers, 1951), p. 456.

of the problems in this type of situation is that the assumption is made that all of the members are interested and committed to the total program. This is especially true in the area of social action which necessitates the backing of a majority of the membership if the organization is to be able to go beyond the stage of a study of issues to a political action program. If members feel that they are being committed to a program which goes beyond their reason for joining the organization, conflict is likely to result over policies and goals. In such associations, education is essential to help the members understand the overall goals and the relationship of the various parts to them. It is also necessary to provide the type of structure through which policy decisions on social action reflect an opportunity for full participation of all members, and not only those committed to this aspect of the program. Freedom of action may seem cumbersome at times, but in the long run more members will be exposed to an educational process which will help them to understand the issues and to express their views in the many other circles in which they are involved.

There are other voluntary associations which are organized primarily for purposes of social change. Examples of this would be such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Citizen Committee for Children, the National Child Labor Committee, and the National Consumers League. In such associations the members are clear as to the primary purpose. There may be difference of views as to how to achieve the purpose, that is differences as to method, but agreement on goals is more definite than in the multi-functional associations.

Between these multi-functional and single-purpose associations are organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Foreign Policy Association. Their broad purpose is to create a sense of responsibility for government in as many American citizens as possible through continuing study of vital issues. For example, the League does not endorse or oppose candidates for public office, but studies their views and qualifications and makes this information known to the public. In the area of legislation, after full study of an issue, they will discuss the decisions which they have arrived at with the legislators and attempt to influence their thinking on the nature of the legislation. Their great strength is in the educational process and in the method of approaching a problem. They are not as free as the single-purpose associations committed to a particular area of social

change, or even at times as the multi-functional associations where the area for action is clear to the membership, in pressing for specific legislation.

These various types of voluntary associations can provide channels not only for volunteer services but also for individuals to have their views aired and their voices heard. The democratic process is a complicated one. In a democracy there is no centralized authoritarian power. The power resides in the people, but for the individual person to be effective he must find a variety of channels through which his views can be tested and expressed to those who have the power of making policy. Thus, on the American scene an individual may belong to a variety of associations because of some particular area of interest even though these groups may have sharply contrasting viewpoints on matters of social change. Mrs. X, for example, may belong to the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion, the health and welfare council, the women's auxiliary of the church, and the League of Women Voters. These varied groups can provide an important educational process for individuals and a good experience in citizenship responsibility if their involvement goes beyond the level of tasks to that of understanding and participating in the formulation of goals and purposes of the association. The more that the views which associations emerge with represent the give and take between the different viewpoints and the integration of these differences, the greater the probability of progress in terms of government by the people. If the membership, however, is not involved, the views expressed to government can become those of an active few and thus undermine the validity of this complicated process.

If the experience in the association is a constructive one, the individual will learn "to make social aims personally attractive and will learn to appreciate the values of submerging ego-drives for the broader purposes and aims of the whole group."[3] As the individual grows in knowledge and understanding, he may also learn to evaluate the conflict in views in the various associations to which he belongs and be able to see these associations within a new priority arrangement as related to his own philosophy and convictions. There is much growth and change in views of individuals which can emerge from these constructive experiences which have a bearing on social change in general. In a society made up of a proliferation of groups, many of which have special interests, strength out of diversity can come only

[3] Snyder and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

through an educational process which helps the members of these groups see the importance of the broader public interest rather than just the narrow special interest. Richness out of difference can come only if there is sufficient concern for the fabric as a whole, out of which difference is possible.

It may be difficult to obtain agreement on substantive matters or even goals for the public interest. An important underpinning, however, is the means of obtaining the objectives. It is in the voluntary association, the everyday expression of the democratic way of life, that the democratic rules of the game can become internalized by the individual citizen. How much stronger the democratic process would be if through our large number of voluntary group experiences the following principles could be learned:

1. ". . . that good human experience cannot emanate from a relationship in which one person commands and the other obeys, from situations in which one person or one group chooses the ends and thereupon uses others as the means,"[4]

2. That diversity is an essential part of the democratic process, and that "Democracy recognizes that richness and progress ensue from a process which permits individuals to express themselves, rather than forcing them to submerge their differences to a uniformity characteristic of totalitarian movements."[5]

3. That modern society is interdependent and it should be recognized, therefore, that the welfare of any individual, group, or community is inextricably woven with the welfare of the whole. This would mean that all individuals, groups, or communities, therefore, must be concerned with the development of material, human, and social resources to meet all the needs of all the people rather than the vested interest of any individual, any particular group or community.

America is passing through a crucial period of history. Her newly found role in world leadership demands that she be as clear about what she is for as what she is against. The seeking of common aims, however, cannot be at the expense of the multiplicity of different interest groups which have always been prominent in the pattern of

[4] Eduard C. Lindeman, "Functional Democracy in Human Relations," in Lloyd Allen Cook, ed., *Toward Better Human Relations* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952), p. 33.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

American political life. To do away with this pattern can result in the centralization of authority and the emergence of a totalitarian form of government. On the other hand, we must find ways of making the pattern work in a modern day society if we are to fulfill our responsibilities of leadership in a changing world. We have come to realize that although independence in the individual is a more mature development than dependence, independence without a sense of interdependence can also mean immaturity in our modern complicated society. In the same way, narrow special group interest without a sense of the public interest can retard progress toward a mature society.

It is in the voluntary associations which utilize volunteers that an important contribution to this problem can be made. Many of these voluntary associations in health, education, and social welfare have already taken a step away from narrow vested interest in that their programs are aimed at helping others. They have moved in the public interest. Furthermore, they deal in the main with the consequences of our way of life. They see all the blemishes in our system and the impact of our failures on human beings. What better laboratory is there for the citizen who is interested in the democratic way of life? What better way is there to help those of narrow special interest move toward greater public interest? The experience can have its greatest meaning not only in effecting the knowledge and attitudes of the individual volunteers but in the volunteers' desire to effect the knowledge and attitudes of others in the community. If this newfound knowledge and understanding can find its way into the numerous other groups with which the volunteer comes in contact, then a genuine contribution will be made in helping vested interest groups move toward a broader public interest.

The need for a better understanding of the broad public interest looms large today. We are rebounding from the impact of the "McCarthy era" when our basic values of individual dignity and liberty were almost snowed under. The test of our resiliency, however, is still before us, both in the way we handle the racial issue and our role of world leadership. There is a danger in our growing tendency to rely on a form of public relations which might best be characterized as "frictionless interpersonal relations." Vital issues involve an element of conflict which cannot be avoided if they are to be understood and dealt with through citizen action.

Part of our problem is the difficulty in perceiving the issues of the day. C. Wright Mills[6] describes four ways of reacting to changing situations. If the values are clear and we see no threat to them, the reaction is a feeling of well being. If the values are clear and we perceive a threat, the reaction is a feeling of crisis. If, however, the values are unclear and we see no threat, the reaction is a feeling of indifference or apathy. If the situation is one of both unclear values and no sense of something being wrong, the reaction is a feeling of anxiety. It is his contention that, unlike the thirties when both the values and the threat were clear, we are living in a period characterized by unclear values and a feeling of indifference, apathy, and anxiety.

The reason for this state of mind may well be that the changes which are taking place are not following the usual recognizable patterns. True the "McCarthy period" is over, but we are not free of a climate of conformity. We are not at war, but we are not at peace. We are not in a depression, but our economic stance is not a healthy one. We are not in the space age, but we are no longer completely in the earth age. The changes with which we are confronted are of a crisis nature, but the threat is not being fully perceived because we do not fully understand the changes and are not too knowledgeable about the methods essential for dealing with them.

If ever there was a time to seek ways of greater participation in our democratic way of life, that time is now. If ever there was a challenge to the efficacy of our voluntary structure with its potential as a training ground for citizenship in a democracy, this is it. It should be possible to train volunteers to be skillful in services to individuals and groups, and also to be able to speak with knowledge and understanding of the wider social issues involved and with authority on possible courses of action and development for society as a whole. This will not happen by itself, but will be dependent both on the volunteer and the voluntary associations through which they express themselves, and give of themselves to the broader public interest.

[6] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (N.Y., Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 11–13.

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WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Charles N. Lebeaux

WE CANNOT really predict things far ahead in human affairs. And that is perhaps fortunate, for otherwise life would be "more waiting than living." But we may project into the future trends now apparent, and suggest what the social repercussions will be. And even with the task so modestly defined, we must keep our fingers crossed. For, though the automobile was well established in America forty years ago, who could foresee suburbia in the new wheel ruts running out of town, or what an ambulatory bedroom would do to the mores of lovemaking. And how could the demographers, who on the basis of several decades of hard census data on declining birth rates had predicted a United States population peak of 160–170 million, guess that ecomonic boom would soon fertilize a baby crop of 40 million a decade?

So we shall speak only of implications for volunteer work inherent in social trends now evident.

Wherever industrialization—basically, the use of high energy technology—takes hold, it becomes the motor for extensive social change. The precise form that change will take is determined by the values existent in the society. The combination of industrialism and our western culture has issued in a social order characterized by specialization pervading all areas of life, a factory system of production, large scale organization (bureaucracy) in church, school, and social agency, as well as in business and government, a bewildering speed-up in social and residential mobility, the separation of "work" from the home and its elevation to predominance over all other aspects of life, political and social dominance of the "middle classes," urbanism, and an accent on the "nuclear" family. In new forms—auto-

mation, the use of nuclear energy—the industrial revolution continues, doubtless inducing further changes which we cannot yet perceive.

From the fundamental reorganization in society stem changes of more immediate impact on our daily lives, developments which often become defined as social problems: the turmoil of central cities disgorging old populations on a "flight to the suburbs" and absorbing masses of socially and economically depressed migrants into a "deteriorating urban center," boom and bust towns clustered round factories in the cornfields, women caught between conflicting roles in and outside of the family, the aged without useful social role, the forty-year-young involuntary retiree, the welfare state, and so on.

How are such changes likely to affect the short run future of volunteer work? Let us look at the question from two angles: What will happen to the supply of volunteers? What will happen to the demand for volunteer services?

The Supply of Volunteers

A changing class structure. Almost certainly our social class system is evolving in a way which has already created, and will continue to create, a bigger proportion of people who have the perspective and attitudes needed for volunteer work. Giving help to others within the immediate circle of family, friends, church, union—"mutual aid"—marks all types of in-group and small community relations; it is found in all walks of life, as the early Charity Organization Society workers found when they studied the life of the London poor. But volunteering—philanthropy, "giving," civic responsibility—is a different thing, and it has not traditionally been part of the working class style of life, or of the rural mentality. Volunteering requires a vision of the great society, a sense of interdependence and of responsibility that goes beyond class, a knowledge that one's stake is in the existing social order. Volunteering has an aristocratic lineage—the Roman's *res publica,* the medieval lord's *noblesse oblige,* the public sense of the rich founders of American philanthropy. Middle-class values in America have embraced this tradition wholeheartedly.

And everyday there are more and more middle-class people in America. Fifty years ago we pictured our social class structure like a pyramid; the bottom two-thirds were "laboring classes" and there were but narrow bands of higher class folk. Today the class structure

must be envisioned as a pot-bellied barrel, two-thirds of it middle-income groups. The masses who used to be called the "independent poor"—hard-working, thrifty, but poverty-stricken—have ridden up the economic ladder. And not only to a higher plane of material living, although the shiny car, the washer-dryer-refrigerator package, the ranch home, come first.

Achievement of higher material status is accompanied by acceptance of underlying values—status-striving, planning for the future, education for the children—and by pressure to conform to the folkways of the residential area. Ignorance and apathy no longer confront appeals to serve as den mother, march for dimes, coach the little leaguers, give to the Torch Drive and UJA. These customs have to be learned, of course, and it is interesting to speculate what cultural backgrounds conduce to swiftest learning of the new mores of civic responsibility. It may be that the spirit of volunteering comes easiest to the more recent immigrants from middle and eastern Europe, who carry over to the wider community a service-impulse nurtured in the protective and social societies formed on first arrival. Where the parents formed Landschaften, the children form PTA's, give benefits for the City of Hope, push the cause of mental health. Patterns generated by the need for in-group survival are transmuted into allegiance to the broader community—from mutual aid to the citizen volunteer. The strong civic sense which has been observed to characterize Jews may derive as much from this historical circumstance as from their rapid and thorough achievement of middle-class status.

Who has leisure time? By definition, the citizen volunteer works for no pay; the supply of volunteer service thus depends in large part on the amount and uses made of leisure time. We cannot review here the entire history of shortened work days and weeks, the growth of vacations, the speed of communications, the maze of labor-saving devices about the home. All add up to release of time from the business of earning a living and running a house, a great reservoir of free time from which can flow an expanding stream of volunteer community service.

Why then the unabated barrage of "lack of time" and "pressure of work" responses meeting those who seek to recruit volunteers? How much of the increased leisure is really available for community service? Consider such facts as the following: many of the best prospects for volunteer work do *not* have a reduced work burden; prac-

tically all of us spend more time getting to and from our jobs; all of us are exposed to a society which entices us to spend our time in personal, rather than community, pursuits.

While there is no question about the increase in gross leisure time, the more crucial fact for volunteering is that there has been a *redistribution* of leisure among the classes in our society. Those who before had little—the laboring group—now have much more. Over the past half-century the clockpuncher's work week has gone from sixty to fifty to forty hours as the standard, and further reduction in office and factory seems certain. The employees of the city of Detroit, for example, are all on a thirty-five-hour week; under the threat of technological unemployment from automation, the unions are pushing harder than ever for shorter hours; in another twenty-thirty years we may be down to a thirty-hour week.

But for those who before had most leisure—middle-class occupational groups—there may now be less, and less control of what they have. Doctors, lawyers, higher civil servants, businessmen, the self-employed in general, now put in longer hours than the workingman; the job goes home at night with them, and into the weekend. Moreover, as the entire occupational structure gets upgraded—fewer mechanical, assembly line jobs, more responsible, self-supervising tasks —what will happen to our vaunted increase in leisure time? Take the case of a young man I know: high-school educated, he worked until recently as deliveryman for a linen supply company, 8 to 4, five days a week. A hard, conscientious worker, he was promoted to supervisor of delivery operations. Now he leaves home at 7 in the morning and gets back at 7:30 at night, six days a week. The employer does not specify these hours; but the job-role does, and he cannot escape his responsibilities.

The availability of top level people, needed to give force and prestige to volunteer welfare effort, is also affected by the shift to large scale organization in all parts of the social structure. In the past, heavy responsibility for voluntary social service was assumed by those who were their own masters in industry and commerce. But "masters of industry and commerce" are a disappearing species. Such people now occupy middle and head positions in the great bureaucracies of government and industry. And they are no longer so free to please themselves about what portion of their time they will devote to the job and what portion to community affairs.

"Pressure of the job" may thus be a better excuse for declining to

serve than most of us have been willing to accept. But it is not only the shifting nature of work itself which threatens to gobble up a big part of the new leisure. Just getting to work has become a major job in modern America. From the suburbs where more and more of us live it takes perhaps two hours (three in bad weather) to get to and from our desks in the city center. What shall we expect by way of volunteer service from the traffic-beaten man trailing home at 6:30 P.M.? Industry moves to the suburbs too, but workplaces and residential areas locate in notably uncoordinated sectors of the metropolitan fringe. The heavy crisscross of lateral traffic which develops over great distances can hope for no help from fast mass transit which, to the extent it exists, runs out radially from the center. "Historically speaking, much of the time gained in the shortening of the individual's workday has already been spent in increased travel time, and this seems likely to continue in the future."[1]

Work organization and the motive to serve. Two trends in the way work gets organized in our society bear watching because of their influence on the desire of potential volunteer leaders. First, it appears that there may be something about the nature of modern professionalism, or perhaps about the nature of life in a welfare-oriented society, which detracts from the motivation to give volunteer service in the traditional way. Although the desire to render public service remains, increasingly it finds outlet in one's professional preoccupations. And as more of what were voluntary service programs become tax supported and officially administered, the citizen volunteer finds himself a paid, professional giver or administrator of welfare services, in everything from public health to unemployment insurance, and he tends to withdraw from the volunteer role. Roger Wilson illustrates this process with an example from the British scene, where, because welfare-statism is more advanced, the problem appears to be more acute. A manufacturer who died in 1914 had been a member of parliament, a magistrate, chairman of a school board, an active worker and campaigner in many voluntary social programs. Of his five children—two industrialists, two professionals, one married to a clergyman—all gave much time to volunteer community work. Of *their* ten children, however, none are in industry or commerce, all are in professional or

[1] Leo F. Schnore, "The Journey to Work in 1975," Donald J. Bogue, ed., *Applications of Demography: The Population Situation in the U.S. in 1975*, Studies in Population Distribution No. 13 (Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems and Population Research and Training Center of Univ. of Chicago, 1957).

administrative posts, and they give very little of the voluntary social service that was a major feature in the lives of their parents and grandfather. "Their instincts for public service find an outlet in full-time government and professional employment. . . ."[2]

Second, two rather conflicting developments affect the availability of high level business management people as leaders in volunteer work. On the one hand the aspiring young business executive comes to realize that there is a "philanthropic career" which parallels the business career; to make one's mark in the latter requires some prominence in the former. The result is high level talent available for service on agency and chest boards. On the other hand there is evidence that the business elite which manages the local plants of national multiplant corporations tends to withdraw from involvement in local welfare efforts. Schulze found a marked withdrawal of "economic dominants"—automotive plant managers—from the socio-political life of a Detroit satellite city.[3] The reasons are that the resident managers are oriented toward headquarters in Detroit or elsewhere, they do not identify with the community, and the public relations-conscious parent corporation will be chary of meddling in local affairs. Such dearth of local business leadership is particularly marked in a city like Windsor, Ontario, whose major industries are controlled not only outside the city, but outside of the country as well.

The role of women. Women are a special case in volunteer work. They do the bulk of direct service volunteering—leading scout troops, hospital visiting, house to house fund raising—have carried the main burden of middle-range organization work, and increasingly appear in top policy making posts. The swelling of the middle classes, the increase in leisure, hold as much, or more so, for women as for men in promoting time and inclination for volunteer work. But the life cycle of the female has been altered more drastically by other kinds of shifts—in marriage, in child bearing and rearing practices, in longevity. Earlier marriage combined with smaller families has yielded a situation today where the average American mother has had her *last* child at the age of twenty-six, sees him off to school at thirty-two, and, having completed the biological functions in which all earlier generations of women spent their lives, has four decades of

[2] Roger Wilson, "Notes on the Future of Voluntary Social Work," in Lord E. M. Beveridge and A. F. Wells, eds., *The Evidence for Voluntary Action* (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1949), p. 268.

[3] Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominance and Public Leadership," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1956, p. 359.

adult life still ahead.[4] It is no wonder that the volunteer ranks are female.

But there are signs that society is swiftly creating other modes of consumption for the free time thus gained, and volunteer service faces a stiff competition for its fair share. The most striking trend, of course, is the movement of women into paid employment. In 1955, 46 per cent of all women fourteen years or older worked at some time during the year. This figure is bound to increase; the 28 million working in 1955 will rise to around 35 million by 1965. And the move outside the home holds for the married and those with children as well as the single. But, significantly, only about a third of working women are employed full time. Thus the pattern for female employment that seems to be emerging is part or full time work for a short period before marriage (median age twenty), withdrawal to child rearing functions between twenty and thirty-five, then return to the full time workforce.

The pressures on women to move wholly into the world of paid employment are so great that Erwin D. Canham in an opening address to a conference on "Work in the Lives of Married Women" is led to ask:

> How are we going to staff our voluntary agencies if the women who would normally give time and energy to them are drained off into paid employment? What is going to happen to the volunteer activities which constitute such an extremely useful and important element in our performance of our social responsibilities if women are, for the most part, in paid employment? Possibly this might force the agencies into hiring and paying the erstwhile volunteers and putting a heavier bite on the contributing public. On the surface this may appear to solve the problem, but I'm not sure that it would. The pattern of volunteer work is very old and deep-seated in our social experience, and maybe it is not so good simply to permit it to vanish.[5]

The move to the suburbs seems to take married women out of the labor force; but this may reflect only the higher economic status of suburban as compared to urban dwellers, and the fact that the movers are younger, still tied down with children. What the eventual picture

[4] Esther Lloyd-Jones, "Education for Reentry into the Labor Force," in National Manpower Council, *Work in the Lives of Married Women* (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 29.

[5] Erwin D. Canham, "Womanpower in Today's World," in National Manpower Council, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

will be here is not yet clear. Nor is it clear how suburban life will affect the motive to serve of middle-class women, and their menfolk too. Does removal from the physical scene of social disorganization in the city weaken the consciousness of need? We know that the major adjustmental agencies, dealing with crime, delinquency, disease, family breakup, are city-centered. Will it be out of sight, out of mind? Will housework take on new charm now that domestic help—a disappearing class anyway in a full-employment industrial economy—cannot find transportation into furthest suburbia? Is there any real revolt against the new role of chauffeur—to dance class, music class, day camp, swimming class, scout meetings? Does family togetherness and do-it-yourself around the half-acre lot suggest withdrawal into personal concerns? It is interesting that the kind of volunteer work in which suburbanites get heavily involved—PTA, scouting and camping, neighborhood associations—are essentially child- and home-centered, extensions of a narrow family interest. Will the "instinct for public service" be surfeit here?

These are but questions; we have no real facts to go on. But as I look out the window at my suburban neighbors, I know that two women have driven off to full time jobs, another, who works part time, is driving her daughter off to the weekly music lesson, and a fourth mows grimly away at an endless lawn. How many are citizen volunteers?

Specific group sources of supply. We can see but dimly how the great winds of social change will affect volunteer potentials in the round. Meanwhile there are many specific groups whose promise for volunteer work we are just beginning to perceive.

College students are a largely untapped resource. It is not only that their numbers grow apace—1½ million ten years ago, 3 million today, 6 million in ten years. More important is the fact that college youth are filled with a great flood of yearning to be of service to mankind, a humanitarianism which finds few channels for outlet on the campus. If the habit of community service can be established young, moreover, it will be the pattern of the lifetime. And there are models—too few as yet—for the cultivation of this resource. University of California (Berkeley) students give steady, fruitful Big Brother service to local boys in trouble with the law. This program is no flash in the pan. It has been going on for over a decade, over 100 boys have been helped, recidivist rates are remarkably low. Substantial gains for students, delinquents, community have been noted.

Getting the project started took hard, detailed, cooperative organization work by the Police Department, the YMCA, the fraternity council. But it paid off.[6]

It would seem too that the students' mentors could be better used; university faculty numbers are also increasing rapidly. Private agencies have traditionally, and with good reason, sought wealthy, high-status people for the policy making posts on board and committee. But federated fund raising has reduced the need for the wealthy patron; and the advancing complexity, technicism, and research-orientation of social service call for qualities of research competence, technical knowledge, and analytic thinking among those who set policy. Our faculties are presumably a reservoir of such people. Professors are used now, of course, but mostly to "give talks," sometimes for consultation. Should there not be, in urban centers at least, several college professors on every agency board?

A third major volunteer source consists of those affected, directly or indirectly, by the problem at which service is aimed. Hardly a month passes that does not see the formation of a new Parents of Retarded Children Association, an Offenders Anonymous, A Recover Inc., A Myasthenia Gravis Foundation. These groups, some patterned after the now classic Alcoholics Anonymous, are often semi-mutual-aid in nature, but are capable of picking up and carrying a large share of the volunteer work load in the functions they perform. Not only do they have the insight to help themselves and their problem colleagues in a way that few outsiders can; they can also put a marvelous energy into the social action needed to expand and operate community services in the area of their interest. It was a recovered mental patient, Clifford Beers, who started the Mental Hygiene movement. Further, those who have suffered and recovered from pathology can become very effective direct service volunteers in the traditional pattern. In Detroit, Michigan, an "ex-con" becomes a most fruitful worker with young delinquents.[7] A parents' program for blind children, starting as a method to share the emotional burden, ends by giving the community an outstanding set of services for the blind.[8] And have we considered how useful the ex-mental patient might be

[6] William J. Davis, "The Berkeley Big Brother Project," in Alfred de Grazia, ed., *Grass Roots Private Welfare* (N.Y., New York University Press, 1957), pp. 41–44.

[7] Milton J. Huber, "Youth Anonymous," in Alfred de Grazia, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 45–49.

[8] Virginia Banerjee, "A Parents' Program for Blind Children," in Alfred de Grazia, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 108–111.

in helping the expanding stream of convalescent leave cases, drug-steadied but still terribly insecure and unattached, reknit a raveled social life? There are many such sources of volunteers.

The Demand for Volunteers

Two kinds of social change directly affect the demand, or need, for volunteers: new welfare problems calling for service, and shifts in the way service is organized.

New problems. The generation that comes after us, like Sunday morning quarterbacks, will look back and wonder why we didn't do something about the social problems now germinating in our society. The answer is, we do not know what the really new problems are; they are as yet subliminal and undefined. What we can speak of are recently emerged problems not yet faced up to, and old problems that call for new approaches.

Among "new" problems, that of central-city deterioration in metropolitan areas is illustrative of the kind of thing that has not yet engaged volunteer attention at an effective level. Industrial and population mobility have left central cities with a host of social problems that will not be solved by faster expressways. Slums spread faster than redevelopment; racial and ethnic groups clash as neighborhoods change overnight. Worried white householders on the edge of spreading Negro districts shrink from near impossible decisions: Can I afford to sell, can I afford not to? What's happening to the schools —will the bond issue be voted down again? The newcomers seem to be nice people, keep up their property, but weren't two houses down the block broken into last week? The children seem to be getting rougher. What will my Negro friends think if I move? Where would we go anyway? Schools, hospitals, parks, swimming pools get crowded, grimy, run down; family life becomes insecure. The whole things gets terribly costly, in social as well as in economic terms.

The human wastage, or some of it, finds its way into social agencies, and the volunteer may know the problem from this angle. But that's playing an almost losing game. What is needed is grass-roots level work aimed at stabilizing urban neighborhoods, and high level planning for the entire metropolitan community. Government money and officials have gone to work on the problem, but government programs alone cannot do the job. Federal millions are going into "neighborhood conservation," but these programs will surely founder without a major lift from volunteer hands. Federal billions

for "urban renewal" will buy only restricted islands of shiny, downtown concrete. The power to plan of the municipal planning commission stops at the city limits. Here, then, is a "demand" for the volunteer's services: showing less-chance neighborhood people how to organize a neighborhood association and run a block club, and staying with them till it works; maybe reanimating the settlement house tradition; starting and serving on a metropolitan housing and planning council; devising approaches not yet thought of. Here is a real chance to exercise the ingenuity, flexibility, and imagination for which volunteer service stands.

There are many "old" problems that call for new approaches in a changing society. Take two: public assistance, and rehabilitation of the law offender. It is true that our social security programs run passably well; we have learned, or are learning, how to protect against the risks to income of death, disability, unemployment, old age. But our society is generating a massive new cause of financial dependency —family disorganization—and we have not discovered how properly to cope with it. The difficulty comes up most crucially in Aid to Dependent Children, a program now carrying nearly three million people, where the bulk of dependency derives not from death or illness of breadwinners, but from divorce, desertion, separation, and unmarried motherhood. The problem is not the money we give them; they have a right to that, and more. The problem is how to keep swelling numbers of people from living in a state of demoralized dependency. It is easy, and fairly common, for a relief family cycle to develop—grandma, ma, and sis, all graduates of the ADC. And the most stable families suffer indignity and erosion of initiative from the necessary-means test, humane as this may be. For most, there is no social insurance program under which they can conceivably fit. Recent promising experimentation by welfare administrators—group meetings of ADC mothers, family-centered "out-reaching" casework —have gained no real ground as yet. We need new ideas: could stable ADC grantees go off relief and onto a payroll as foster parents to some of the young unmarried mother grantees? Most of all we need local Public Assistance Societies, just like the Mental Health Societies, to bring the best voluntary brains of the community to bear upon the new unsolved problems of relief.

Let us use a case to illustrate the problem of the ex-law offender.[9]

[9] This account, including all quotations, is from Paul J. Vanderwood, "A One-

Leo Seligman, miraculously rescued to America from a Nazi concentration camp in the 1930's, by 1952 was owner of a successful supermarket, a solid citizen in Memphis, Tennessee. Out of his own terrible experience with suffering he could sympathize with a customer who he discovered was a parolee, struggling with impossible circumstances. Leo saved the man when he tried to hang himself, found him a place to live, gave him groceries, got him a job, accorded him the human dignity needed for self-respect. The man became "rehabilitated." Stirred by this case, Seligman delved into the way his community treated parolees and "was shocked at what he found; that a freedom-loving society had nailed a 'Not Wanted' sign on its door to parolees begging assistance." Wishing to give back to America the life it had given him, he began to help others.

Word spread in the prisons that "Leo Seligman's door was bolted to no one," and the parolees came in droves; the Tennessee State Parole Board now gives him the names of those to be released. He meets them at the prison gate—with bus fare, a packaged lunch, a job, clothes, an apartment in Memphis if this is what they need. He does not hesitate to call the president of a large firm: "I've a parolee you must put to work right now." His philosophy is simple: "To give the parolee another chance, and to boost that chance off to a healthy start." He does not play psychiatrist; he knows there are cases he cannot help; but he believed that most would respond to his "treatment" and they did. He does not play God, but he reunites the parolee with his Maker, by giving him "self-respect, rebirth, dedication, and desire."

Has he helped? Of the 786 parolees he has been in touch with, only nine have been recidivist, and four of these nine are now in mental hospitals.

Seligman hoped that his spirit would carry to the community, but he found that the citizenry had no time, no thoughts to spare for the ex-offender; there was only distrust and eventual brushoff; "every prison sentence was in reality for life." The system is still one in which a man is paroled into "a hostile environment with no home, no money, few clothes, no job, and only with the blatant order to 'rehabilitate or else.' "

Leo Seligman has lost his supermarket—rehabilitating over 700 men would cost something. Yet this does not bother him; he continues

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Citizen Stand for the Parolee," *Federal Probation,* XXIII, No. 1 (March 1959), pp. 23–26.

his work. But is there only one volunteer in a city the size of Memphis, and none in most cities, willing to take up this challenge? Should not every city have a strong Welcome Home Committee doing for all parolees what one man has done with a relative few? This is another "new" opportunity for the volunteer; there are many like it.

The organization of services. A changing society affects the demand for volunteers not only via the problems which call for service, but also by altering the channels, the organization, and the technology through which services are given in the health and welfare field. The major trends here are growth of scientific knowledge, specialization, professionalism, large scale organization, and the expansion of government in welfare. The initial effect of these developments has been to cut down the demand for volunteers in some fields of service by eliminating or preempting for specialist attention the jobs volunteers have traditionally performed; this is especially true of client-contact positions as contrasted with the promotion, policy making functions of the volunteer. In other fields new jobs are opened up.

The history of family service work illustrates the effect of the knowledge-specialization-professionalism complex. In the earlier family agency, the volunteer not only supplied the money and made the policy but also did the "casework" and provided case consultation. Today it is only in backward communities and agencies that a lay person, even a board member, will be allowed any important direct contact with the client. And for good reasons; helping people with their social-psychological problems has come to be recognized as an intricate business, requiring a grounding in human behavior theory, practice in the techniques of application, wide knowledge of community welfare resources. A caseworker cannot be an amateur any more than a surgeon can. Professionalization of the "helping" occupations adds impetus to this process: even in problem areas where there is no real treatment knowledge, and thus no technical competence, professionals will insist on control because the claim to technical competence is the heart of the profession's right to existence. What has happened in family service work is just as evident in the field of child adoption and foster care, and is developing in other fields.

Thus the volunteer as layman is squeezed out of the technical jobs, and most jobs get increasingly technical and specialized. In family service he functions mostly as policy maker, fund raiser, promoter—

community contact roles. These are important jobs, but relatively few in number, so that the constituency of the family agency is small, a fact which may explain the felt lack of community support for family service work. Even the policy making role of the volunteer becomes narrowed by advancing professionalism, as witness the comment of a family agency executive in 1956:

> . . . the Board of Directors makes policy decisions, both by authority of the by-laws and in the actual voting they do; yet actually in the present day family casework agency the staff has to "educate" the Board constantly and persistently and it certainly does choose the elements of education which lead toward the conclusions of which the staff approves. In other words, we tell them how to vote and they vote and we call that process "the Board sets the policies of the agency. . . ."[10]

This picture holds, however, only for decisions on technical practice and daily administration; in matters involving large money expenditure or major agency reorganization the board still takes its own counsel.

While direct service opportunities for volunteers get choked off by technical specialism in some areas, in others demand is created. Professionals in correction work cannot find enough big brothers and sisters to work with youth in trouble with the law. As was suggested above, advance in the technology of drug therapy is moving large numbers of mental patients into the community and creating a demand for volunteers to help in the process of social readjustment—providing services to social-recreational groups, organizing and running Halfway Houses. Pennsylvania's Fountain House, started, administered, and largely staffed by volunteers, is an example of what needs to be done.[11] Generally, in the adjustmental service field, it would appear that the nonprofessional can perform a most effective direct-service function at the point where the client needs a bridge back into the normal community. The volunteer role, precisely because of its nonprofessionalism, is oriented toward health rather than sickness, and it gives to the client an evidence of acceptance by the normal community that no caseworker, psychiatrist, or parole officer can supply.

[10] Quoted in Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (N.Y., Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), p. 273.

[11] Marcella I. Schmoeger, "Pennsylvania's Fountain House," in Alfred de Grazia, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 14–19.

In the leisure time activities field, the volunteer has retained a larger share of function at all levels. In addition to the fact that the direct-service work here is considered to be less technically demanding, economic reasons enter—there is no present and little future possibility of manning all the volunteer group leader positions with paid professionals. The cost, at $2.00 per hour, of just the volunteer troop leader services in Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts across the country would come to something between 300 and 400 million dollars. But the trend away from volunteers is noticeable even in this field. High standard community centers and settlement houses now routinely use paid, even if technically untrained, leaders for their groups. The new specialty of "group therapy" or "psychiatric group work" demands a training more intensive than is required in casework or group work alone. Ever expanding public recreation programs find few spots for the volunteer. The current movement to close down the many small Chest-supported community centers scattered around our cities and replace them with a large centralized agency employing roving neighborhood workers may make for efficiency and economy and "good planning," but it also knocks out of volunteer participation the little local people—doctors, grocerymen, drugstore proprietors—who served on the boards and committees of the little centers. Observing this same phenomenon in Britain, Wilson comments:

> . . . there is real danger that a society which thinks in terms of social planning may strike at the roots of spontaneous organized neighborliness . . . The well-equipped municipal Neighborhood Centre may be less civically creative and educative than three half-baked and struggling community associations, of which two die and only one lives.[12]

The conditions for voluntarism thus become exceedingly adverse when in the pursuit of efficiency our services grow rationalized, large scale, bureaucratic. Bureaucracy is simply shorthand for the necessary characteristics of any large organization: a hierarchical chain of command needed to integrate the diverse specialties, work roles assigned on the basis of technical qualifications strictly adhered to, duties routinized by the manual. A nurse describes how volunteers look to the bureaucracy: "Well, they just don't understand hospital routine for one thing, and you can't count on them. They just aren't reliable. When they try to help with actual aide work, you just get them trained and they are gone. Even though they are helpful, we nurses

[12] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

would rather double up on our duties when we are short-handed than depend on volunteers."[13] And from the volunteer's viewpoint the bureaucracy offers, when it can use him at all, only dull clerical busywork which provides no sense of satisfaction.

How can the volunteer—part time and irregular in his contribution, technically untrained, without specific organizational role, outside the chain of command—fit into this framework which pervades more and more of organized life? It is not easy but it is possible, if the volunteers try hard enough or if the bureaucracy feels the need for help. Veterans organizations surround and infiltrate the Veterans Administration with a web of volunteer activity. In the City of Hope Medical Center in Duarte, California, imaginative organizational work created a service exhilarating to the volunteers and invaluable to the hospital.[14] Faced with certain failure in a second try for urgently needed funds, Detroit school officials and professionals turned finally to volunteers, who succeeded magnificently in mobilizing community support. Thus ways may be devised to keep bureaucracies closer to the communities they serve, open to the spirit of the volunteer.

Sensitive to the needs of people, volunteers have usually pushed for expanded government welfare programs. It is ironical that their success poses a threat to their own existence for, although the direction of development is not inevitable, there are fundamental ways in which the "welfare state" undermines voluntarism.

We have already noted how the recruitment of social-minded people into government welfare administration may reduce the motivation for voluntary service. It is obvious also that as government takes over programs heretofore privately sponsored, opportunities for volunteer expression in a policy making role, as well as in direct services, disappear. Even the experimentation and demonstration function shifts to government auspices. Our experience in all this can again be seen in the British model:

> The traditional justification of voluntary social work has lain in its capacity to pioneer and in its flexibility; but it is doubtful whether either social pioneering or flexible social administration will be as dependent on voluntary organisations in the future. Major changes in the philosophy of government are already well established and are in process of being translated into

[13] Quoted in Mary Jean Shamlian, "Training Hospital Volunteers," in Alfred de Grazia, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 148–151.

[14] *Ibid.*

administrative forms. Experience during and since the war has shown that in certain conditions Government Departments can act with creative imagination on a vast scale. As more of the first-class ability of the country is recruited into national and local government service and into the service of public corporations, and as the conception of positive social responsibility takes a firmer place in our units of administration, whether public or private, the role of the voluntary social service organisation as the conceiver and executant of new developments, will diminish, though probably not disappear.[15]

We cannot object to the extension of governmental services; it is the only means to accomplish many welfare objectives. But the great virtue of voluntarism, that it spreads civic responsibility widely, is more than ever vital to a society that tends to apathy. Perhaps what is needed is a vast extension of citizen advisory bodies at all levels of government structure. We have recently gained a Citizens Advisory Council of the Federal Bureau of Public Assistance. Why not citizen councils for the County Bureau of Social Aid, the local Department of Health, the State Crippled Children's Commission, the Department of Parks and Recreation, the Juvenile Court? "With intelligent development of this kind of link between the independent part-time and the official administration, I do not think that the community has anything to fear from the development of public social administration."[16]

In sum, we cannot honestly say whether social trends now in process will make volunteers easier or harder to come by. More leisure, more education, more middle-class people—these should increase the supply. Women working, the commuter's journey, the inward pull of personal and family life work the other way. The balance is probably on the plus side. With respect to demand there are more than enough problems, new and old, calling for the volunteer's attention; but some of the strongest forces in urban-industrial society work toward erasing the roles and channels through which he may serve. In the end the biggest factor in the future of the volunteer citizen will be how much energy and imagination those who now care can put into making others care.

[15] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

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Appendix

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