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Information on procedures for submitting articles may be obtained from: Chris Dolen, Editor-in-Chief, Office of Volunteer Programs, 26 Student Services Building, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Additional information about the publishing associations may be obtained from:

Association of Voluntary Action Scholars
S-211 Henderson Human Development Building
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University Park, PA 16802

Association for Administration of Volunteer Services
P.O. Box 4584
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Association of Volunteer Bureaus, Inc.
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Inquiries relating to subscriptions should be directed to the business office:

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Count Us In:

Public Broadcasting's Volunteer Amendment

By Phyllis S. Dennery

In November 1978, President Carter signed the landmark Public Telecommunications Financing Act. Passed in the waning hours of the 95th Congress, the Act signifies the greatest-ever federal commitment to the support of American public broadcasting. Over a three-year period (fiscal 1981-83), the Act authorizes a total appropriation of $600 million to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the nonprofit body which helps fund this country's 285 public television stations and more than 200 full-scale public radio facilities.

As is the case with every law making its way through the legislative process, the Telecommunications Act was the product of countless hours of deliberation, involving hundreds of players and a typical smattering of behind-the-scenes drama.

I was one of those players. In the 18 months which preceded Mr. Carter's approval of the Telecommunications Act, Capitol Hill was my surrogate place of residence. Legislative aides and lobbyists became surrogate neighbors. My vocal chords became my most precious resource. My feet became the objects of constant abuse. My rewards came in new-found knowledge and a sense of achievement, not at all in terms of material gain.

Dennery is a board member of the Los Angeles Television Authority and PBS, and recipient of a 1979 NCVA Volunteer Award.

I am a public broadcasting volunteer. In the 21 years I have worked on behalf of public TV and radio, I have never collected a paycheck. Nor have any of the tens of thousands of Americans who each year give their time in helping non-commercial broadcasting stay alive.

Through the efforts of volunteers, public stations across the country have been able to stretch meager budgets further than imaginable. Public broadcasting volunteers are involved in virtually every aspect of station operations – from the mundane but necessary stamp-licking and phone-answering, to the ringing of doorbells, to running cameras and occasionally performing on air. The benefits to the stations are obvious; for every post filled by a volunteer worker a professional is freed to work on the most pressing priorities.

With the passage of the Telecommunications Act, stations

will accrue a new, and equally significant, benefit from volunteerism — a benefit which, according to current estimates, will be worth no less than $20 million annually to the system.

That is the legacy of my 18 months on Capitol Hill: an amendment to the Telecommunications Act which will allow stations to count the time dedicated by volunteer workers as "gifts in kind" in order to generate additional federal funding.

An explanation is in order. The $600 million for CPB authorized by the Telecommunications Act is by no means automatic. Recognizing that public broadcasting, in order to be free of any specter of government interference in its day-to-day affairs, must itself account for the lion's share of its own revenues, Congress placed a major condition on the availability of federal funds to CPB. The Act stipulates that for each federal dollar appropriated, public broadcasting must come up with $2 from other sources.

Thus, to free up the $180 million authorized by the Act for FY 1981, public broadcasting will have to earn $360 million on its own. In the second year, when the federal authorization rises to $200 million, public broadcasting's matching share will be $400 million. An in FY 1983, with the authorization increasing to $220 million, public broadcasting's share would be a whopping $440 million. That's nearly as much as public broadcasting gathered <u>in total</u> last year, from the federal government and <u>all</u> other sources.

Clearly, public broadcasting has its work cut out for it. And when you examine the current state of affairs, it is evident that the medium is going to need all the help it can get in raising enough nonfederal revenue to generate all the available federal dollars.

Presently, public broadcasting's nonfederal income is a mixed bag, with money coming from many diverse sources. Most of these sources are necessarily limited. Foundation grants, for instance, are drying up in our inflation-ridden economy. Corporate underwriting, while on the increase, can never be allowed to predominate. State and local tax support is problematical. Colleges and universities have yet to commit their fair share. The biggest potential growth area is the contributions of individual viewers. And public broadcasting is already under attack for the frequency of its on-air fund raising appeals.

Volunteer energy is one commodity that is not in short supply, nor is there a limit on its potential volume. The new volunteer amendment, therefore, takes on added significance.

Essentially, it will work like this: CPB will set up a procedure by which each station can keep an accurate track on the amount of time contributed by each volunteer worker. Each volunteer activity will be assigned a uniform per-hour monetary value. (A system for determining this value is currently being prepared.) On a periodic basis, the stations will forward their records of volunteer time commitments to CPB, which will compute a national dollar total. As authorized by the amendment, public broadcasting will be able to attribute up to 5% of its nonfederal revenues to volunteer services in seeking the full 2:1 federal match.

How did all this come about? At the risk of sounding gratuitous, my personal role in the scenario was not insignificant. To my consternation, the volunteer provision of the Telecommunications Act is now popularly known as the "Dennery Amendment." That's like calling the Declaration of Independence the "Jefferson Paper." Many, both in and outside of public

broadcasting, played a part in enacting the amendment and all deserve a share of the credit.

The initiative, however, was a product of my household if not of my own creativity. The real author of the concept is my husband, Moise W. Dennery, a New Orleans attorney. For more than two decades, Moise has kept the home fires burning while I scurried about the country in pursuit of one public broadcasting cause or another. One morning in June 1977, Moise elected to express his sentiments about same at the breakfast table.

"You spend more time working for public broadcasting each week than I spend in my practice," he observed. "Why can't public broadcasting get some credit for all that time?" In other institutions, Moise noted, volunteer services are routinely counted as "gifts in kind" with a fixed dollar value for accounting purposes. Here, we had literally tens of thousands of public broadcasting volunteers working in an industry that is perpetually underfunded. And while public broadcasting was getting the benefits of their labor, the customary financial bonus was conspicuously absent.

That got me to wondering why. As it turned out, the then-current public broadcasting act, in which federal funds were dispensed under a 2.5:1 match, did not ignore volunteer credits; it <u>specifically disallowed</u> them.

This struck me as peculiar, given the fact that public broadcasting, by its very nature, is geared toward the individual. volunteerism in public broadcasting is more than a daytime diversion for homemakers with time on their hands. It's a way in which thousands of Americans — many of whom cannot personally afford a substantial contribution to their stations — can show their support.

My initial reaction to this concept was buttressed by some new revelations, courtesy of the staff of my friend and congresswoman, Lindy Boggs (D-La.). They learned that the prohibition against volunteer credits in public broadcasting was not only unusual, it was an exception to a clearly-defined precedent.

Title 45 of the Public Welfare Act states: "Volunteered service may be counted as matching or cost sharing if it is an integral and necessary part of the approved program." There was no doubt in my mind that public broadcasting volunteer services are "integral and necessary." Without them, many stations would have to cut back services dramatically. A few might not even exist.

Congresswoman Boggs' office reported that such federally-funded programs as Operation Head Start, the Community Services Administration and the United Planning Organization had been counting their volunteer services as "gifts in kind" for years. Indeed, back in 1975, there had even been a uniform dollar value of $4.75 per hour for these services.

What remained, then, was to rewrite the law.

As a trained volunteer, accustomed to working at the Board level, and with paid staff, I knew that the obstacles to achieving such a formidable objective were numerous. I knew the support I could count on would be more rhetorical than material. I knew I would have to do a lot of homework. I knew that the right people talking with the right people was of primary importance. I knew that I had to have my judgment checked regularly. But of the greatest significance, I knew that I would have to have two very strong legs to walk the halls of Congress.

One of the first steps resulted from a call from the office of Representative Albert Gore, Jr. (D—Tenn.), a member of the House Communications Subcommittee. Congressman Gore was interested. Indeed, he expressed a willingness to introduce a volunteer amendment to the Telecommunications Act then under construction. But having language on the Record carries no great meaning absent substantial political support.

Filling that void was largely my responsibility. In the next several months, my expeditions to Washington took me to almost every member of the Communications Subcommittees in both the House and Senate. A substantial aspect of the mobilizing effort involved eliciting support from the public station managers in each of the states and districts where Committee members resided. Politically, it was imperative to keep every manager informed whenever I was planning a visit to his representative. And having their endorsement in my pocket during that visit gave me instant credibility. Public broadcasting is highly regarded by most Committee members. The principal task centered not so much on selling the medium as in educating people on the Hill on how heavily public broadcasting does depend on volunteer services.

But at the same time, these representatives were dealing with a parent bill — the Public Telecommunications Act — which was growing more complex as the days wore one. Public broadcasting was the object of considerable scrutiny, as vested interests lined up to inject a particular concern into the legislative process. There were the EEO advocates; those who felt that public radio wasn't getting a fair shake; independent producers who wanted greater access to the national schedule; labor unions who expressed concern over the quantity of British productions on PBS. An then there were the public broadcasters themselves, whose principal battle was to seek adequate funding for a service that has been on a starvation diet since its inception. It was enough to confuse the most thorough thinkers, and I had to wait my turn in line.

But by January 1978, I had planted enough seeds in the proper places so that the volunteer issue was, if nothing else, a topic for discussion. In that month, it became something more, as the PBS Board of Directors, meeting in New Orleans, passed a resolution urging that "the reasonable value" of volunteer support be included against the federal match.

The following month, I journeyed to San Francisco where congressman Lionel Van Deerlin (D—Ca.), Chairman of the House Communications Subcommittee, was scheduled to address the annual meeting of National Public Radio. Catching Van Deerlin at his hotel prior to his scheduled remarks, I had my first real opportunity to seek his direct support face-to-face. Van Deerlin included the concept in his speech later that day.

By the spring, we had reached the stage where drafting formal language to an amendment was a priority. Representative Gore invited me to come to Washington to work with his staff in the drafting process. In the ensuing days, I again made the rounds to Committee members. While no amendment had been formally introduced by the time the Van Deerlin Subcommittee held its hearings on the Telecommunications Act, we had gained sufficient support in the Subcommittee to give us reason for optimism.

The Van Deerlin Subcommittee had scheduled its mark-up of the Telecommunications Act for May 15. Congressman Gore planned to introduce the amendment at that time. But 48 hours before the Subcommittee was

scheduled to meet, the bottom dropped out.

A communications breakdown had resulted in a letter from a prominent public broadcaster to each member of the House Subcommittee in opposition to the amendment. In the course of two days my support in the Subcommittee, which had numbered at least two-thirds of the membership, had almost completely eroded.

It was the worst day of my life. By failing to keep certain influential people in the industry apprised of my progress, I had come to the brink of destroying months of labor. But what was worse, I had to face up to the possibility that thousands of volunteers would be deprived of the satisfaction of knowing that their efforts on public broadcasting's behalf would have no long-term consequences. It was this greater deprivation that troubled me most deeply.

Returning to my hotel, I called my husband, urgently in need of counsel, if not sympathy. Moise listened carefully. And then he said the only thing that would have made sense at that time.

"What you're going to do, Phyllis, is start all over again."

So I made the rounds again, contacting every Subcommittee member, making myself visible to every staff assistant. After two scores of phone calls and miles of trudging down congressional corridors, I had convinced the majority of the Subcommittee of the importance of volunteer support.

Congressman Gore's proposed amendment passed the Subcommittee on May 15 — unanimously. The Telecommunications Act, with the "Dennery Amendment" intact, passed the full House in July.

The going was a bit tougher in the Senate. While I had contacted all the appropriate Committee members there, my emphasis was in the House. Consequently, the Senate version of the Telecommunications Act, which was passed in September 1978, contained no volunteer amendment.

When the Telecommunications Act went to the Senate floor, Senator J. Bennett Johnston (D—La.) proposed that a volunteer amendment be included. But Senator Ernest Hollings, Chairman of the Senate Communications Subcommittee, required more information.

Hollings, however, maintained an open mind on the question. He agreed that if we could come up with sufficient documentation he would support a volunteer amendment when House and Senate conferees met the following month to resolve conflicts in their respective versions of the parent Act.

CPB went to work in putting together a document that made a rational case for the volunteer amendment. Apparently, it was effective enough to satisfy Senator Hollings.

When the conferees met in October, Hollings put his support in the form of a question: "Ladies and gentlemen, don't you think we should go ahead and adopt a volunteer amendment so that that nice lady from New Orleans does not have to move to Washington to continue knocking on our doors?"

That was that. The conference report, with the "Dennery Amendment" intact, was adopted by the conferees and passed both houses within a few days.

And for the first time in more than a year, I was able to fully relax.

Nearly two years have elapsed since I made the commitment to

tell the story of public broadcasting volunteerism in Washington. There had been time to reflect, and time to re-evaluate my actions. I know I have grown. I know, ultimately, that good will result from the work. It was exciting to realize that a citizen with an idea can succeed in having that idea made law if the idea is just. But, truthfully, I have experienced feelings of selfishness as well.

Where, I have asked myself, are the personal rewards? Where is the emotional slap on the back, the feeling of pride that comes from knowing that personal sacrifice is recognized and applauded? In my months of amateur lobbying, there were too many other concerns to contemplate such comparatively trivial matters. But now that it was over, I was conscious that volunteers like myself need recognition — just like anyone else.

Then in April 1979, the National Center for voluntary Action notified me that it had selected me as one of the recipients of its Activist Award for "unique contributions...to improving the quality of life in the community." And it was...nice.

Nice, but not euphoric. Welcome, but not all-encompassing. It was, I recognized, anticlimactic.

For 21 years, I had made public broadcasting a non-official career. I had never sought recognition. Formally, I had rarely received any. Now I had, and I suddenly understood that personal acclaim is not the glory that I — or the thousands of volunteers like me — take away from the experience. It is, instead, the inner satisfaction that comes from knowing that what you do with your life is going to benefit others, and benefit society.

That feeling, I have learned, is its own reward.

In Search Of Volunt - - - ism

by Jon Van Til, Ph.D.

The present paper, submitted to the Journal, VOLUNTEER Administration, was originally given as a keynote address to a conference on the Roles of Colleges and Universities in VOLUNTEERISM. I noted then that in attendance at the conference, as now among the readership of this Journal, are those who consider themselves as members of the VOLUNTEER Community, and who ponder the problems raised in Women, Work, and VOLUNTEERING, The Effective Management of VOLUNTEER Programs, and VOLUNTEERS Today.[1]

I also noted that in preparing the paper, I, a board member of the Alliance for VOLUNTEERISM, benefited from an active dialogue with the President of the National Information Center on VOLUNTEERISM.[2] In that Alliance role, I had also collaborated with members of the Association of VOLUNTEER Bureaus, the Association for Administration of VOLUNTEER Services, and VOLUNTEERS in Technical Assistance.

I went on to note that among those at the conference were some who had attended the Lilly Conference on VOLUNTARISM and some who had read chapters on "Democracy and VOLUNTARISM."[3] And, I observed that among the audience were those who had attended to the leadership of the National Center for VOLUNTARY ACTION and the policy research of the Association of VOLUNTARY ACTION Scholars. And we know that those scholars tell us that a rather large shelf in many libraries is needed to contain works on VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.[4]

What are these types of human activity the names we, say, profess? Are they all the same - volunteering, voluntary action, and voluntary association - volunteerism and voluntarism? Or, are there subtle differences in these terms and how we use them that divide us in purpose and act, and influence how we are perceived by others? Are some attracted to us in one name, and repelled when we present another? These are questions I recommend we consider in a conceptual plunge into the word-world of Volunt...ism, in the hopes that we may clarify broader aspects of the roles we ourselves and our institutions may play in this field.

Van Til is a Visiting Fellow at the University of Colorado at Boulder, and President of AVAS.

This paper aims toward the development of concepts that will be at once uniform and evocative, and may help us both describe and analyze the work in which we are engaged. Growing as it does from an ongoing dialogue with Ivan Scheier, it quite naturally begins where Ivan and I were, and that reflects our own disciplines, experiences, and preferences.

Ivan, a psychologist, began with a model of individual action in a variety of situational contexts, and then moved to extend his model to fully include those collective processes. I, a sociologist, started with a model of social institutions and their contribution to democratic structure, and then sought to draw out implications for individual action and participation.

Let's start from the individual side, with that form of action most closely related to this journal's title: VOLUNTEERING. We may begin by identifying VOLUNTEERING as a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain, nor mandated or coerced by others. Thus, in the broadest sense, VOLUNTEERING is any uncoerced helping activity which is engaged in not primarily for financial gain, or by coercion or mandate. It is thereby different in definition from work, slavery, or conscription. It differs from employment in that it is not primarily motivated by pecuniary gain, although much paid work includes VOLUNTEERING: it differs from conscription in that it is unpaid and uncoerced; and it differs from slavery in that it is not coerced.

VOLUNTEERING may be extended beyond the purely individual, and may also take the form of a group activity. Thus, the informal, spontaneous individual act of the motorist aiding an accident victim, and the formal participation of a volunteer meeting with a parolee as part of an organized program, are both acts of VOLUNTEERING. Actually, there are two dimensions involved here, one of individual to group activity, the second of structured to unstructured activity. As depicted in Figure 1, then, the contexts of VOLUNTEERING involve a range of activities which are all uncoerced, not primarily aimed at financial profit, and which are all oriented toward helping others, and possibly also oneself, as we shall later see.

VOLUNTEERING, as defined here, is similar to, but somewhat less broad in definition than VOLUNTARY ACTION, as defined by David Horton Smith, Richard Reddy, and Burt Baldwin. The latter write:

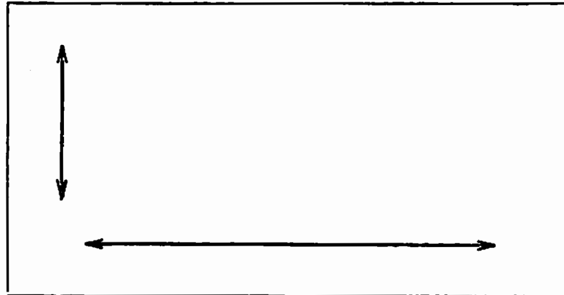
> "Individual voluntary action is that which gives personal meaning to life. It is that which one freely chooses to do either for enjoyment in the short term and/or from commitment to some longer-term goal that is not merely a manifestation of bio-social man, socio-political man, or economic man" (1972:163).

By this definition, individual VOLUNTARY ACTION may include an extra-marital affair, a chess game, or the composition of a book of verse - in short, everything that feels good or meaningful and is not biologically compelled, politically coerced, or paid.

Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin go on to note that a more limited conception of VOLUNTARY ACTION may be desirable:

> "Voluntary action directed at the long-range betterment of society and the general welfare may be the "best" kind of voluntary action in the eyes of most people." "But", they

Figure 1. Contexts of VOLUNTEERING. VOLUNTEERING is helping activity, uncoerced and not primarily aimed toward financial gain:



add, "there are many other important kinds of voluntary action phenomena, even if not clearly aimed at the general welfare - for example, riots, wildcat strikes, fraternity hazing, shoplifting for "kicks", "bingo parties", "social drinking", and perhaps even watching TV" (1972:167).

With ruthless logic, Smith and his associates bring us to the precipice of a real dilemma. As founders of the Association of VOLUNTARY ACTION Scholars, they recognize that a world of behavior, seemly and unseemly, public and private, is encompassed by the term VOLUNTARY ACTION. But, from the perspective of a leader of, say, the National Center for VOLUNTARY ACTION, it is doubtful that actions such as "bingo parties" will generate enthusiasm and it is nearly certain that opposition will greet shoplifting, rioting, and extramarital affairs, even in the light of recent disclosures regarding private life in Washington.

Resolution of the dilemma may be achieved in several ways. First, the concept of VOLUNTARY ACTION may be defined in the narrower way, removing those actions not directed at long-range betterment and the general welfare. Or, the concept can be recognized to be broadly descriptive (or positive) in nature, and not referred to in normative (value-charged, ideological) ways. When speaking of VOLUNTARY ACTION as a good thing, a term with a clear ideological content could be used. Later, I shall suggest that FREEDOM might be as good a word as any for this value.

I think both resolutions should be essayed. If a narrower form of VOLUNTARY ACTION were identified as VOLUNTEERING (that form of VOLUNTARY ACTION aimed toward helping), and if the ideological celebration of VOLUNTARY ACTION were clearly named as FREEDOM, considerable clarity in the terms would be introduced. And the usage seems conventional. Thus, it appears awkward to speak of an individual "volunteering" to drink with the boys at the corner pub, or "volunteering" to spend an evening glued to the tube, while these are clearly forms of "voluntary action" we celebrate as among the joys of freedom.

Some thorny issues remain in defining VOLUNTEERING as that form of VOLUNTARY ACTION that involves helping: helping whom?

Figure 2. The location of VOLUNTEERING (V) in the sphere of VOLUNTARY ACTION (uncoerced, not oriented to financial gain).

May be structured

Unstructured

May be aimed Predominantly towards

Self-Helping---------------Other-Helping

and how? Smith and his colleagues sought to get around the issue by identifying as the "'best' kind of voluntary action in the eyes of most people" that "directed at the long-range betterment of society and the general welfare." And Herta Loeser gives a central place to "the free giving of one's time and talents for work deemed socially or politically beneficial" (1974:1). Scheier takes a third view, preferring to leave the concept "helping" as a central one, and urging individuals to adapt its meaning as they choose.

I tend to lean to Loeser's and Scheier's positions for a starting point. By focusing on the volunteer's act as involving free giving for work "deemed beneficial", Loeser removes from the volunteer the rather ponderous responsibility of determining that an act is aimed at the "long-range betterment" of society: clearly, much may be of value in the short run of things as well. And, even more importantly, her definition also leaves room for the important recognition that VOLUNTEERING may be very much in the self-interest of the volunteer him/herself. Some forms of VOLUNTEERING begin from an explicit basis of self-help,[5] and almost all forms may contribute to individual goals of career exploration and development, sociability, and other forms of personal enhancement.

I think we can now see rather clearly the distinction between VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ACTION: VOLUNTARY ACTION is uncoerced, and not primarily aimed toward financial gain; it may be individual or group action. VOLUNTEERING is that form of voluntary action involving helping activities deemed beneficial.

Both VOLUNTARY ACTION and VOLUNTEERING may include actions that are self- and other-helping. Both may include actions that are structured and unstructured. The distribution of these actions, however, finds that a heavier presence of other-helping activities characterizes VOLUNTEERING. This pattern may be depicted as in Figure 2.

Now let us fold in a third concept - VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION. This concept refers to forms of behavior that are organized, and are directed at influencing broader structures of collective action and social purpose. A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION is a structured group whose members have united, by this conception, for the purpose of advancing an interest or achieving some social purpose. Theirs is a clear aim toward a chosen form of "social betterment", to use the concept of Smith and his colleagues. Such an association is directed in its aims beyond the immediate enjoyment of fellowship and consummatory group activity; it links the group in some direct way to the larger society.

Thus, groups like neighborhood associations seeking to restrain crime or to encourage the cleaning of streets are VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS by this identification; so are church-based organizations that seek to provide for school prayer, and civic organizations that seek to improve a city's economic climate; and so are groups of volunteers who hope to reduce family abuse by means of direct service and legislative advocacy. Such organizations are voluntary in a dual sense: much of their human resources are contributed by members as volunteers; and they are non-governmental, non-profit, and non-consummatory -and thus clearly located in the "voluntary sector" of society.

The voluntary sector is invested with a special role in the theory of democratic pluralism, which many scholars have claimed provides a base for the healthy development of political and social democracy.[6] This sector is seen to provide a range of mini-laboratories for democratic action and structure, each of which provides opportunities for individual participation and the expression of a variety of social interests and needs. Eva Schindler-Rainman and Ronald Lippitt explain this function clearly:

> "In a pluralistic and fragmented democratic social system, made up of many types of individuals and groups, a major requirement is that the system establish procedures to provide for full communication, or orderly confrontation and conflict resolution, and for the coordination and blending of the energies and interests of the disparate subgroups" (1975:6).

Schematically, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS inhabit that part of the world of VOLUNTARY ACTION that is more highly structured, and ranges from self-helping to other-helping (with a somewhat heavier representation of groups aimed at achieving their own self-interest). While paid staffers are common in this realm, the vast majority of participants are themselves volunteers. Mapping the place of the VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION in the sector, we see considerable overlap with VOLUNTEERING.

Figures 2 and 3 here show the areas of VOLUNTARY ACTION in which VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION are most commonly found. And Figure 4 shows the area of greatest overlap, which lies in the structured sector of VOLUNTARY ACTION midway between the extreme points of self- and other-helping. It is in this area of overlap, which I shall call for now VOLUNT...ISM, that some of the most exciting forms of VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ACTION are found, and some that have the highest probability of creating positive social change. But I have now lapsed into the language of the normative, and infer an ideological preference. And there is more conceptual work to be done before I can use that language as precisely as I would want.

Figure 3. The location of VOLUNTARY association (A) in the world of VOLUNTARY ACTION.

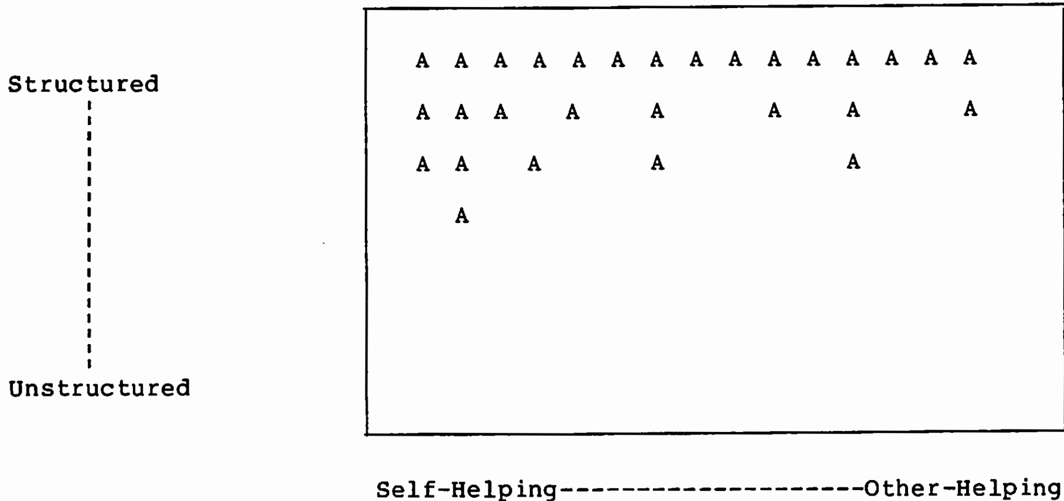
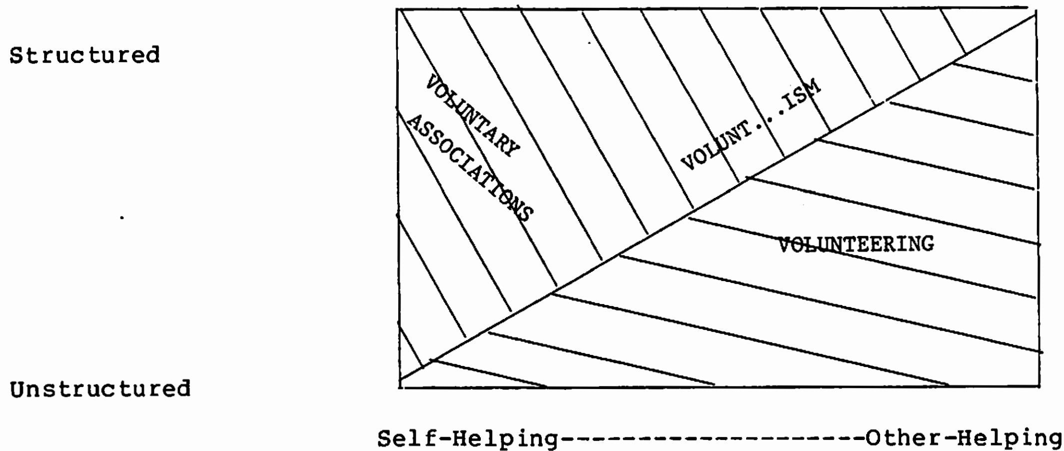


Figure 4. The areas of greatest presence of VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION, and their area of most likely overlap, within the total field of VOLUNTARY ACTION.



So I want now to introduce the distinction between normative and positive concepts. Normative concepts are those which lend support, moral or ideological, to a phenomenon. Positive concepts are empirical: they simply identify and define the phenomenon. I want to suggest that VOLUNTARY ACTION, VOLUNTEERING, and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION are positive concepts, each of which may be matched with a normative concept that supports and defends it. FREEDOM, VOLUNTEERISM, and VOLUNTARISM may be presented as the normative counterparts, respectively.

Table I presents one way of viewing dimensions of positive-normative on the one hand, and on the other, the types of

Table 1. The word-world of "VOLUNT...ISM".

The Action Is	The Concept Is	
	Positive	Normative
Freely-willed (outside of bio-social, legal-political, and economic contexts)	VOLUNTARY ACTION	INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
Freely-willed (as above) and aimed toward helping	VOLUNTEERING	VOLUNTEERISM
Freely willed (as above) and aimed toward social betterment by association	VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION	VOLUNTARISM

individual action I have been discussing. Here, the distinction is drawn between three forms of individual action. We end up, then, with six types of action identified:

First, we find VOLUNTARY ACTION a descriptive (positive) concept meaning "freely-willed" behavior in certain contexts. As a normative concept, this is the "INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM" celebrated in our Declaration of Independence, the freedom to live our lives as we will - including the freedom to drink, watch television, write poetry, and join with others in association.

Secondly, we find VOLUNTEERING, narrowed from the definition of VOLUNTARY ACTION to exclude those freely-willed activities not aimed toward helping. As a descriptive concept, VOLUNTEERING requires that the individual attach a meaning to his/her act beyond his/her own life and gratification. The normative system or ideology that supports such action is VOLUNTEERISM.

Thirdly, we come to VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION, freely-willed action aimed toward an identified form of social betterment, but also lodged in an associational (organizational, group, agency) setting. Normatively, such voluntary action may be seen to be supported by the ideology of VOLUNTARISM.[7]

The specification of meanings for VOLUNTEERISM and VOLUNTARISM is perhaps the most controversial aspect of this paper. Typically the words are used synonomously,[8] and often even interchangeably at random, by leaders in the field as well as by lay persons. Perhaps the greatest clarity in their use as different concepts is found in the thinking of Harry Hogan, the former Deputy Secretary for Policy Planning at ACTION, who spoke of volunteerism when referring to volunteer-using and supporting agencies, and of voluntarism when referring to the non-profit sector as a whole, including the full range of voluntary social welfare organizations.[9] The present usage is closely linked to his, but seeks to focus on the different bases of volunteering and voluntary association, motivated action on the one hand and organized purpose on the other. Therefore, the present scheme can identify an area of overlap between volunteering and voluntary association, and between

volunteerism and voluntarism. Rather than suggesting that the two worlds are different, the present scheme suggests that in a large part they are identical, or at least mutually enhancing.

One test of the pudding presented here, then, is the demonstration that there is something special about the type of voluntary action that blends volunteering and voluntary association. If the scheme is to be as useful as I believe it ought to be, there should be expected a unique contribution from that overlapping form of voluntary action.

Perhaps it would be useful to spend a few moments considering what we want from volunteering and voluntary action. Three criteria come immediately to my mind: a good blend of service and advocacy; an appropriate mix of conservation and change; and the enhancement of democracy.[10] Let's look at each in turn.

The first is the criterion that specifies the range of actions we value. Voluntary action involves many activities, including some that are primarily oriented to the provision of services, and others primarily oriented to the advocacy of social change and social policy. I believe that an adequate concept should include room for both service and advocacy. Indeed, Ivan Scheier and I have come to believe that service and advocacy are better seen as facets of the same caring process, rather than polar opposites, as ordinarily conceptualized.

The second criterion involves change and conservation. Again, the world of voluntary action is vast, and appropriately involves room for acts that hold fast that which is good, and seek to create what needs to be built. Both change (and often radical change) and conservation are required in the good society, and in my view, voluntary activity can play a critical role in both the definition of what needs to be changed and what conserved, as well as in the enhancement of appropriate change and conservation.

Finally, an important criterion is the enhancement of democracy. At the heart of the concepts we are discussing is the protection and development of individual self-expression, opportunity, association, and collective articulation of needs and interests. As no democratic society can rest on a base of apathy and inequality, so no adequate form of voluntary action can be content to accept limits of privatism and prevailing power.

Now, how do our proposed concepts stand up under examination in terms of these criteria? VOLUNTARY ACTION clearly meets the first two, but stumbles on the third. Some freely-willed acts clearly do not further democratic ends, such as participation in the KKK or other freedom-denying organizations, and others are grandly neutral to such ends, such as drinking, adultering, and spectating.

VOLUNTEERING, on the other hand, has been challenged on all three fronts. The term (and particularly its ideological mate, VOLUNTEERISM) has been widely criticized as biased toward service rather than advocacy, conservatism rather than change, and as not productive of democracy.

Thus, in 1971 the NOW Task Force on Volunteerism cautioned women about the costs of "traditional service-oriented volunteering", defined as the extension of conventional roles (e.g., conservative) not able to address the "massive and severe social ills" of our time (e.g., not productive of democracy). "Political or change-oriented volunteering", on the other hand, was viewed positively in its focus "on changing the larger social, political, or economic system" (National

Organization of Women Task Force on Volunteerism, 1975:73).

The NOW position was strongly criticized by Ellen Sulzberger Straus, who noted that the decision to engage in service or advocacy must be left to the individual - no organization ought "to be the final judge of what a woman can or cannot do with her life, either during or after working hours." Straus coupled her defense of VOLUNTARY ACTION with the example that service oriented VOLUNTEERING in draft-counseling might be more valuable than politically-oriented VOLUNTEERING with CREEP. She also noted that "citizen participation on a broader scale is essential to our efforts to refind ourselves as a nation", a ringing defense of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION and VOLUNTARISM (Straus, 1975:75).

Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, and more recently also President of the Alliance for Volunteerism, set a more pragmatic tone in her criticism of the NOW position:

> "While you work to open the doors, you have to salvage the talents, interests, and spirits of people so that they will be ready to walk through these doors" (quoted in Manser and Cass, 1976:59).

That VOLUNTEERISM contributes to democratic structure and enhances social change was also argued by the Association of Junior Leagues in a 1974 interview: their spokesperson noted that volunteers can

> "experiment, demonstrate and innovate, monitor the public sector objectively and impartially, and initiate those services unmet by government programs" (quoted in Ann Ogden, 1974:10).

The innovation and monitoring functions of VOLUNTEERING are often best advanced by advocacy VOLUNTEERISM, though not exclusively. As Scheier envisioned it in his 1976 address to the Jubilee of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus:

> "advocacy volunteering does not have to input to or terminate in a legislator's office; it can open up new paths for positive impact in a free society. Nor is voluntary action any longer to be seen as merely one side-effect of freeness in a society; rather let us take the responsibility for seeing that it is a cause of it. We shall "plead the cause of freedom", more than that, we can activate freedom in assisting advocacy volunteering (1976:4-5)."

Translating Straus, Height, the Junior League spokesperson, and Scheier into the argument of this paper, I suggest that a pluralistic VOLUNT...ISM, seen to include an active blending of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION and VOLUNTEERING, will provide for the enhancement of democratic structures, the creation of needed change, and the protection of institutions and programs of established value.

Such VOLUNT...ISM is uniquely capable of avoiding the pitfalls that have met so many organizations that have sought to focus entirely on VOLUNTEERING or entirely on being a VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION. Major among those pitfalls are service or advocacy exclusivity, ideological ignorance, and elite domination.

Service or advocacy exclusivity is dangerous in that it inhibits the mutual stimulation that can exist between the two legitimate and useful forms of voluntary association and volunteering, and damages the productivity of both the service and the advocacy volunteer. Separation of service and

advocacy cuts the service volunteer off from a full discussion and appreciation of the ends toward which his/her service acts as a means, and removes the advocacy volunteer from a firm rootedness in the context of concrete human problems and situations. Both need the other to temper and inform and strengthen their mission.

Ideological ignorance is closely related. The service volunteer must be aware of the larger consequences of his/her work - as the NOW position makes clear - and as the four critics cited above agree. As Scheier put it:

> "some kinds of unpaid service could be considered undesirable. We just don't talk about them much, but you should be able to identify a few examples with a little thought. The point is, the acceptable-unacceptable dimension runs through both service and advocacy volunteering. The decision as to when the activity is acceptable enough for us to work with it is essentially the same for both" (1976:3).

One way to facilitate the judgment of the value of one's work is to be in a position to line up what it means in terms of larger ends, like democracy, opportunity, and equality. This is the very heart of the skill of the advocacy volunteer. And, as Mannheim (1949) has suggested, avoiding the relationship between one's acts and ideological meanings is itself an ideological act.

The activist within the voluntary association must also avoid the pitfall of ideological ignorance. As Trudy Heller and I have noted, the activist may come to value conflict over ideas more highly than the actual achievement of his/her ends of social change:

> Conflict often becomes an end in itself to the advocate, and other means of conflict resolution that are less dramatic - such as compromise and the search for consensus - are often eschewed in the drift toward the final showdown. Few ask if the coming confrontation is necessary, for to ask the question is to admit to a less than total dedication to the cause of the group (1976:7).

Thinkers and doers need each other, I suggest.

The third pitfall is that of elite domination, which in the volunteer world simply means that leaders and volunteers should come from all walks of life. It is particularly important that this area be broad so that the ancient stigma of charity as a means of social control by the wealthy and powerful over the poor and weak be fully eliminated.

In the world of voluntary associations, this pitfall is most powerfully seen as the "iron law of oligarchy", the tendency of such associations to fall into the control of a few, powerful leaders. This form of domination may be tempered by a broad infusion of volunteer participation, useful in restraining autonomy of leaders and discouraging the abuse of power.

Goals of advocacy reform and enhancement of democracy are frequently presented with great eloquency by leaders in the voluntary sector, as Paul Sherry's lucid statement demonstrates: the role of the voluntary sector is

> "to continually shape and reshape the vision of a more just social order, to propose programs which might lead to the manifestation of that vision, to argue for them with other

contenders in the public arena and to press for adoption and implementation" (quoted in Manser and Cass, 1976:129).

More recently, Susan Greene has reminded us that

> "without groups of people voluntarily banding together over principles and philosophy, our country would not have been born. Without concerned people voluntarily addressing political, social, and economic inequities, women would not have the vote, nor would orphanages, settlement houses, hospitals, fire departments, and museums have been established. The Abolition Movement was a voluntary movement. The Civil Rights Movement was born in the private sector. From the voluntary sector comes the initiative, experimentation, implementation, and proof of a concept's worth. It is then at this point that the governmental sector, and sometimes the corporate or profit-making sector, can begin to support the proven service, concept, or principle and voluntarism moves on to find other methods, in a million different areas, to improve our civilized society" (1977:2).

Our task is thus to surmount, in design and implementation, the familiar pitfall of immobilization. It is my hope that by blending both service and advocacy, and by keeping all members close to both meaning and action, the excesses of exclusivity, ideological ignorance, and elite domination can be significantly reduced. The resultant organization might well emerge as both democratic and effective, both relevant to change and rooted in the meeting of real human needs.

Thus, for the work of volunteer administrator, it is my assertion that their role should be one that fosters with particular fervor those forms of voluntary action that enhance consciousness of the relations between ends and means, enlarges upon the structure of democratic society, and calls clearly for change or conservation as required by the first two demands. Only a VOLUNTEERISM linked closely to the work of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS will use most productively our earnest and well-intentioned energies; only a VOLUNTARISM drawing profoundly upon the contributing of VOLUNTEER participants will generate pressure for citizen change that contribute to the building of a foundation upon which the daily acts of millions of Americans will indeed consist of the making of new bricks for our yet unfinished mansion of democracy.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The titles of books by Herta Loeser, Marlene Wilson, and Harriet Naylor, respectively.

[2]Ivan Scheier.

[3]Chapter 3 of Schindler-Rainman and Lippitt (1975).

[4]Readers interested in pursuing reviews and consideration of this literature are referred to the Journal of Voluntary Action Research.

[5]Particularly notable here are the Self-Help and Helping System (SHAH) developed at the National Information Center on Volunteerism under Scheier's leadership, and the prominence of "self-help groups" in American life. The latter phenomenon has recently been probed in special issues of the Journal of Applied Behavioral science (Vol. 12, No. 3, 1976) and Social Policy (September-

October 1976). Smith has noted, as Manser and Cass paraphrase him, that voluntary organizations may be divided into those "whose objectives are primarily "self-serving" in terms of the affairs and interests of the members, and those primarily "other-serving" in the sense that their primary goal involves improvement of some aspect of the larger community or society" (Manser and Cass, 1976:41).

[6]This tradition, derived politically from Madison and sociologically from Durkheim and de Tocqueville, is reviewed briefly in Van Til (1973) and more extensively in McLoughlin and Van Til (1976).

[7]Other dimensions may be added to this scheme. Following Smith, Baldwin, and Reddy (1972), we can add a dimension of "system levels", identifying individual acts, roles, informal groups, and community levels of action for each positive concept.

[8]Consider the nearly identical definitions given of "voluntarism" by Manser and Cass and "volunteering" by Loeser. The former definition is: "those activities of individuals and agencies arising out of a spontaneous, private (as contrasted with governmental) effort to promite or advance some aspect of the common good, as this good is perceived by the persons participating in it" (1976:14). The latter, as indicated above is: "the free giving of one's time and talents for work deemed socially or politically beneficial" (1974:1).

[9]For a lucid discussion of voluntary organizations in social welfare, see Levin (1971). Hogan's distinctions became clear to me during our joint service on the board of the Alliance for Volunteerism. Susan Green, Executive Director of the Alliance for Volunteerism, draws a similar distinction in her speech "To Promote Voluntarism" (1977:1).

[10]These criteria may usefully be compared with Manser and Cass' list of six "critical objectives" for the voluntary sector, which involve "enfranchisement and participatory democracy, program review, increased commitment to advocacy and social reform, increased numbers of volunteers, public accountability, and collaboration" (1976:247-248).

[11]These issues have recently been addressed by DeMott (1978), with whom I tend to agree in large part - although I also agree with Kenn Allen (1978) that DeMott's argument would have benefitted from a more precise distinction between "voluntarism" and volunteerism". I consider the DeMott argument in greater detail in two forthcoming articles, "The Politics of Volunteerism" and a review of the DeMott piece in Citizen Participation and Voluntary Action Abstracts.

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The Researcher As A Volunteer Advocate:

Crisis Counseling For Elderly Victims Of Violent Crimes

by Norma Feinberg, Ph.D.

The extent of the trauma suffered by elderly victims of violent crime is not known since there have been few attempts to examine the effects of the crime from victim reports following the incident. Much of what we now know stems from victimization surveys, Uniform Crime Reports, and a number of independent studies in various large cities in the nation.

Although there is agreement that older victims have special needs that are not very generally met, the difference in definitions and alternative interpretations in the findings has not made it clear to program planners and policy makers alike what appropriations to make with the limited resources available to them.

A significant number of elderly persons, living in high crime areas in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, now receive advocacy services and crisis intervention from the Allegheny Center for Victims of Violent Crime (CVVC). CVVC is a non-profit, community service organization that operates seven days a week and provides 24-hour advocacy services for victims of sexual assault for all age groups and for elderly victims of burglary, robbery, rape, and assault. They provide essential information on health care and health care systems and make referrals when necessary. When the victim pursues prosecution, additional support is given by the physical presence of the advocate during every phase of contact with law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

The CVVC encourages the use of volunteers who are trained by professionals for general advocacy work, public speaking, and community organization planning. This occurs in four to five hour sessions for period of six weeks.

This author/researcher joined a training class for new volunteers, concentrating on contemporary problems of the urban elderly and crisis intervention techniques especially suited for this population as well as for younger sexual assault victims.

Volunteerism as a means of personal growth and of gaining experience and contacts to lead to meaningful future careers attracted women of various backgrounds to the training sessions. The trainees were

Feinberg is a faculty member of Marywood College School of Social Work.

females ranging in age from 18 to 58. Among them were college students; a lawyer who felt a need to know more about the victim perspective; a few housewives who had completed their education at an earlier age and wished to revitalize their careers; those without formal education but equipped with years of volunteer experience; and the author, preparing to implement a study on the impact of violent crime on elderly victims.

THE TRAINING

Session I

Following introductions to the recruits and staff, the executive director delivered a brief explanation of the services of CVVC, the roots of its existence, and the various systems with which the volunteers would come in contact. A trained staff person (victim specialist) presented material on sexual assault and evidence gathering following the incident. Also emphasized were the importance of establishing relationships with victims and what to expect when entering the medical system.

Session II

Faculty persons from the School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, lectured on the theories of aging; stereotypes concerning this population; intergenerational studies and contemporary problems of this older group. A Geriatric specialist from Western Psychiatric Institute spoke on senility and the importance of recognizing symptoms relating to impaired mental functioning; how to interview elderly victims, their fears and biological losses.

The Assistant Director of CVVC addressed such issues as the advocate's role; rights of victims; interaction with the police; the legal system and procedures for prosecution.

Session III

A faculty person from the University of Pittsburgh's School of Social Work (also a member of the CVVC's Board) lectured on the relationship of stressful events and crises; coping mechanisms; elderly victims and their losses; reactions to crisis and defense mechanisms. Another Board member commented on the importance of significant others and supportive systems. A Geriatric specialist spoke about her experiences in dealing with the elderly and discussed assessment and awareness of the elderly client's needs.

Sessions IV and V

Assertiveness versus Aggressiveness training was given by a psychologist who was a CVVC Board member. Role playing procedures were used to add realism to situations such as: elderly victim of robbery who does not wish to notify her son fearing she will lose her independence; sexual assault victim who is reluctant to discuss incident with husband; sexual assault victim who is apprehensive about testifying against the defendant; elderly victim of sexual assault and her responses. After the role play was completed, the interaction was discussed and critiqued by the group and by the trainer.

The volunteer training sessions terminated with questions from the trainees concerning their involvement with the CVVC and how these sessions would be of benefit to them. The assistant director explained that involvement would be individual. Each volunteer would be assigned to an advocate and would receive in-service training. She would accompany the advocate when receiving crisis calls from victims or the police. The volunteer would be exposed to the process involved at hospitals, preliminary hearings, court trials, and home visits. She could, if that was

her interest, attend staff meetings to assist in planning and implementation of programs for preventive education, continuing education, and training.

THE CVVC

If one has never been exposed to a crisis intervention facility, it takes some adjusting to acclimate to the methods of operation. The telephone rings continually and advocates scurry to meet with a victim or dash off to a preliminary hearing or a court trial. Sometimes they are back at their desks in moments because the event has been delayed or postponed; sometimes they are gone for hours, giving support to a victim throughout the entire legal process. Fortunately, the buildings that house the courtrooms and other legal facilities are close by so that the advocates can schedule short visits back to the office to take emergency calls or have a replacement sent back to the courtroom if they are detained. The advocates pause to share information or offer advice as they move in and out of the Center, revealing a high degree of "esprit de corps."

Due to this hectic pace, it takes time and patience to become seasoned in this activity. The new volunteers, entering this chaotic setting, seemed bewildered and somewhat discouraged. A few "volunteer veterans" succumbed to this unstructured system and were assigned to advocates for further training. Many of the new recruits, with conflicting schedules of their own to meet, resisted and chose not to become further involved with the Center.

As a trained volunteer and a gerontologist specialist, the researcher accompanied the advocates on their various rounds. It was particularly revealing to have the opportunity to share these experiences with the advocate. Their expertise in matters concerning legal proceedings was reassurance enough to support these witnesses through a very trying time.

The victims were met at the entrance to the building where proceedings were to be held and, thereafter, escorted to the District Attorney's office, witness room, courtroom, and the like. Transportation was provided for those unable to use public transportation. Some days were spent in sitting in the courtroom with the victim during the trial, some were spent just sitting and waiting in the witness room for information concerning the trials. Advocates identified the various actors involved and the roles they played during the proceedings.

A Preliminary Hearing

The hearing was scheduled for 1 o'clock and Mr. A, an 86-year-old victim or robbery, waited patiently to be called before the magistrate. He had been provided transportation for the event and had been met by the advocate at the door. The advocate sat with the victim during the two-hour waiting period, explained to him what the procedure would be, and gave him reassurance that she would escort him wherever he had to go. The advocate was concerned because the other witnesses had not arrived and the hearing might not go well if Mr. A became overly fatigued. This was the second time that Mr. A had appeared for a scheduled hearing. At three o'clock he was to learn that the hearing was postponed again until the following week. Mr. A appeared weary but not perturbed by the course of the events that day and

promised that he would come back the following week to testify. Due to his failing health, he was unable to return, but fortunately, other witnesses did appear when the hearing was rescheduled for the third time. The advocate calls Mr. A weekly to inquire about his health and to inform him of the progress concerning the case.

A Court Trial

Ms. H was a 75-year-old victim of rape who lives alone and has never been married. She was in good health and her appearance denied her years. She had just retired from her job and was accustomed to moving about freely within the city. Usually, she traveled by bus during the day and by cab at night. Upon returning home late one evening, she unlocked her apartment door and a large hand clamped down upon her mouth. She was pulled inside and immediately her mouth and eyes were covered with adhesive tape bandages. She felt that her life was in danger and did not resist the attacker, but methodically tried to remember every word he said for future recall. She also had partial vision from under one side of the eye covering and when the rapist bent down to pick up a fallen lamp, she saw his hand and the color of his skin. She could also describe some articles of clothing he wore.

Following the incident, the police were called and she was taken to the hospital emergency room. Evidence was gathered and tests were properly administered. Detectives called upon her to identify photographs and to hear the details of the incident. She cooperated fully with them and through their efforts and her determination, the offender was apprehended.

It was her first appearance in court, as a witness, and the trial proceeded with the usual delays. Mrs. H was anxious about confronting her assailant, but with the constant support and encouragement from the advocate, she testified confidently and unhaltingly, refusing to be intimidated or confused by the public defender.

The trial lasted for two days and the courtroom was filled to capacity. A large number of the spectators were older persons who are in attendance daily and especially make a point of coming to a trial when older persons are involved.

The defendant was found guilty and sentenced. Mrs. H was concerned that he might be out of prison in a short time and would seek her out to retaliate. After living at the same residence for 25 years, she must now move to be liberated from fear.

A HOME VISIT

Following notification from the police that an elderly woman had been robbed and assaulted, the CVVC advocate telephoned the victim and scheduled a home visit. The researcher and the advocate met with Ms. G in her daughter's home where she was recuperating, following the incident.

Ms. G is 74 years old and lives alone in an identified high-crime neighborhood. Her only activities, outside of her home, are her monthly trips to the bank to cash her social security check and her visits to the grocery store. The incident occurred when Ms. G was walking home from the bank

after cashing her check. It was a cool, spring day, so she walked with her money clutched in her hand with her hands in her pockets. Her assailant came from behind her and reached into her pocket to retrieve her money. In the scuffle, she was thrown to the ground and fell forward on her face. As a result of the incident, she was badly bruised, had a dislocated shoulder, and her left arm was injured.

Ms. G was sharing a room with her 5-year-old granddaughter while recuperating from her injuries. She was greatly concerned with her future living arrangements. Even though her daughter had asked her to remain with her permanently, Ms. G felt that she wanted to go back to her home. She was worried about replacing her winter coat which was damaged beyond repair. Her injuries caused her distress because she needed assistance with every movement. She sat patiently, waiting in the upstairs bedroom, until time was found to attend to her, lonely for her friends and neighbors from home.

Because of his method of approach, Ms. G was not able to identify the assailant other than describe that he was a young, black male. The CVVC advocate's role in this instance, and in many others to follow, was that of giving comfort and support through this trying time. Telephone contacts were made with Ms. G weekly to inquire about her recovery and living arrangements, to offer advice, and to convey to her that someone really cared about her and would assist her, if necessary. A volunteer advocate replaced her torn coat through neighborhood solicitation.

PUBLIC FORUMS

Each month, public forums were held for senior citizens in the identified high-crime areas to develop community awareness toward crime prevention. Existing service groups, such as Adult Services and Community Centers, joined the CVVC in organizing the agenda. Law enforcement agencies particpated in the programs and gave advice to the audience on crime prevention. Survey forms were prepared in advance and victims of crime were asked to call the CVVC if they needed assistance. It was found that older victims were very willing, indeed, to discuss their experiences and were anxious to find out what could be done to protect them from future assaults.

WORKSHOPS AND PLANNING CONFERENCES

The researcher attended special legislative seminars, aging awareness workshops, and National Association of Neighborhood Conferences to consummate the above activities. The rising crime rates and their effect on the older population were discussed during each of these sessions. Other issues discussed were housing, utility costs, medical care, discrimination, as well as developing legislation and lobbying for the benefit of older persons.

CONCLUSIONS

It was thought that more was gained from these field experiences than anticipated. Approaching the problem of crime and the elderly, using this broader framework, provided the context from which the follow-up study derived meaning, giving the researcher perceptivity not likely found in more controlled, sterile types of studies. It provided the evidence of the existence of the vulnerability of the aged in relation to crime

and their special needs following the incident.

More important, from the observations made from these field experiences, three categories of victims can be identified. The first category includes those victims who cannot identify the offender and require minimal assistance from the Center's advocates. The second are those victims who are able to identify the offender and are willing to follow through with the prosecution. Usually, these victims appear to be coping well with the aftermath of victimization by utilizing their own personal survival resources. The presence of the advocate and her familiarity with the proceedings seemed to alleviate any anxiety that they may have felt during involvement with law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

The third category of victims were those whose priority of needs had been unanticipated. They were well known to police and social service agencies alike because of their social or mental problems. These disabilities increase their vulnerability to crime.

> Ms. G lives alone, is physically active and financially independent. Her emotional stability is questionable and loud noice and disturbances bother her. She regularly contacts the police to report criminal acts perpetrated against her and harrassment by neighborhood children. Simultaneously, her neighbors report her because of her inappropriate behavior. Recently, these actions resulted in charges made by both parties and hearings were scheduled at juvenile court and the magistrate's office. After a five-hour waiting period at juvenile court, the hearing was suspended because of Ms. G's peculiar, out of order, remarks. Charges were dropped against the children with a stern warning after the advocates informed the judge that Ms. G was scheduled for a psychiatric evaluation. At the magistrate's office the following week, Ms. G was scarcely recognized because of the bruises about her face, neck, and head. She had been assaulted again and it was not clear who the perpetrator was. The magistrate postponed the hearing until her evaluation has been completed. The situation has resulted in a stalemate because Ms. G refuses to go to the clinic for evaluation. The only solution now available, for her own safety according to the magistrate, is to have Ms. G arrested and sent to jail unless she consents to the evaluation.

Although Ms. G and other elderly victims with similar problems are a small percentage of the entire caseload of victims seen at the Center, they clearly require the most intensive involvement. The type of intervention required for all three categories ranges from minimal contact such as a home visit or telephone call, to establishing linkages with appropriate mental health agencies and remaining by the victim's side throughout the evaluation procedures to help de-traumatize the situation for these elderly victims.

Although not in the original study plan, these field experiences have also emphasized the need to look at the Center's efforts in supplementing the personal resources of the elderly individual, enabling him/her to deal effectively with the crisis of victimization.

Identification of persons too disassociated to be left alone and linkage to proper services are necessary to avoid repeated vicimizations. Without this type of intervention and the understanding of the relationship between physical and emotional states as it applies to the elderly, it can be expected that some of these same victims will recurrently enter the CVVC system.

In the study that followed, it was found that the cumulative effects of the physical, emotional, behavioral, and economic consequences of victimization produced increased fears, anxieties, and feelings of psychological turmoil for these victims. It was also disclosed that nineteen of these victims had been victimized previously. A few had been assaulted as many as five times before this present victimization. Although victims strove to reduce their vulnerability by reducing their visibility, some remained captive in their homes, imprisoned there by their lack of economic resources; resistance to move out of their homes of many years; lack of motivation to do anything to disturb their previous life patterns; or the feeling that one area in this city is just as crime-ridden as another where elderly people have housing.

Although the victims were found to be a generally more isolated group compared to other urban aged groups, it appeared that the victimization tended to mobilize those within the victims' own social milieu to respond to the event by attempting to find resolutions to the immediate confronting crisis.

It was found that the assistance they received from family and social networks was of short duration, either because the elderly victims wanted very much to regain their independence, or because of their genuine altruistic concern for their family's welfare and happiness. Even so, involvement of natural helpers provided a foundation for the victim to muster his own resources. By clinging tenaciously to their independence, they persevered by their own internal organization and sense of autonomy.

The special needs of some of the victims were not met when these natural support systems were not available. The advocacy services provided by the Allegheny Center for Victims of Violent Crime were extremely helpful in handling the difficulties following criminal victimization and for identifying the victims' existing social, physical, and emotional problems. Even victims who had adequate support systems, through family and social networks, sought assistance from formal support systems (CVVC) to help them adjust to the trauma of victimization. This occurred because of the manner in which these networks responded to the event or because of the victims' own concerns in dealing with law enforcement or the criminal justice system.

Testimonies from the victims in this study have emphasized the importance for this program to continue; however, less obvious, but equally pressing needs of the great majority of victims demand societal intervention.

In conclusion, it is recommended that further research on elderly victims be continued with self reports from victims so that the crime statistics be more reflective of the often severe crime prevention needs of the elderly.

The Relationship Of Service-Learning Experiences To Career Decision Making

by Jane S. Smith, Mary I. Edens and Christina A. Dolen

In America today, individuals are born with the right to make two major choices in their lives: 1) whether or not they will marry, and, if so, whom; and 2) what they will do for a living. Psychologists agree that children go through a series of overlapping stages of emotional, intellectual, physical, and value development. Career development theorists present differing viewpoints, however, on how the "what I want to be when I grow up" decision is finally made. For some individuals, the decision seems to be an easy one. They are aware of their abilities and interests, and understand ways in which their aptitudes mesh with opportunities in the world of work. Other people need the assistance of guidance counselors who can provide occupational information and personal insights. Once this information is obtained, the opportunity to test the "fit" of possible career choices, through volunteer or service-learning experiences, can be of invaluable assistance in the overall career decision making process.

Smith is the director, Edens and Dolen are the assistant directors of the Service-Learning Center at Michigan State University.

Although theories of career development overlap and intertwine in many ways, they may be categorized into four groups: trait-factor, sociological, self-concept, and personality approaches.[1] The trait factor theory is the oldest approach. This model portends that matching the individual's abilities with vocational opportunities will solve the problem of vocational choice. Significant contributors to this theory have been Parsons (1909), Hull (1928), and Kitson (1925) with the vocational testing movement growing from this point of view. Examples of psychological tests are Strong Vocational Interest Bank, Kuder Preference Record, Differential Aptitude Test, and Guildford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey.[2] The sociological model of career choice suggests that circumstances beyond the control of the individual contribute to the choice he makes. This theory also contends that the most important function of the individual is to develop environmental coping techniques. Leaders of this approach are Caplow (1954), Hollingshead (1949), Miller and Form (1951), and Harmony (1954).[3]

The personality approach theorists such as Holland (1959), Roe (1957), Small

(1953), and Schaeffer (1953) analyze the personality characteristics of people in different vocations and the personality factors involved in career choice and satisfaction.[4] The self-concept theory grows out of the early work of Buehler (1933) and involves research of Super (1957) and Ginzberg (1951). A more complete knowledge of this theory should provide a better understanding of the important role which experience can play in the developmental process of career choice.[5]

Eli Ginzberg, in his book Occupational Choice, discounts the accident theory of career choice stating:

> ...In explaining their occupational choices as accidents, most people seem to mean that they were affected by something beyond thier control — an unplanned exposure to a powerful stimulus. But the point which this theory overlooks is that in the life of every individual there are countless such occurrences only a few of which so stimulate the individual that he responds in a manner which has important consequences. The other exposures pass unnoticed and never merge from the background of events in the individual's life.[6]

His criticisms of the emotional force or impulse theory state that not only can a person find expression for specific interests in a large number of different occupations, but also that there are remarkable differences in the emotional make-up among members of the same occupation. His theory stemmed from the belief that career choice is a developmental process which can be delineated only as a result of understanding how internal and external forces in a person's life act and react on each other. His basic assumption is that an individual never reaches the ultimate decision at a single moment in time, but rather makes a series of decisions over a period of many years. He believes that this is an irreversible process, characterized by a series of compromises the individual makes between his wishes and his possibilities. As an example, when a person majors in engineering in college, his chances of selecting law as a career are minimized. The way in which an individual reaches occupational decisions as he matures hinges on the individual's understanding of what he likes and dislikes, of what he does well and what he does badly, and what values are meaningful to him. Individuals also become increasingly aware of their environment, developing new ways of analyzing those aspects which have a direct bearing on him or her. Ginzberg believes that the process of occupational decision making could be divided into three periods: fantasy, tentative, and realistic.[8] The first period (fantasy) occurs between six and eleven years of age and may carry over into early adolescence; the second (tentative) coincides with early and late adolescence; the third (realistic) occurs in early adulthood.

Ginzberg and his associates characterize the fantasy period as one in which the child's choices are arbitrary and lack reality.[9] A recent Associated Press article bears this out. Not one of the twenty-six Vicksburg, Michigan high school seniors who were asked "what they wanted to be when they grew up" in 3rd grade (their answers were tape recorded) had the same choice nine years later. Such selections as "policeman" had changed to "chemist" while that of "veterinarian" had become "broadcaster."[10]

Ginzberg subdivided the tentative period into four stages: interest, value, capacity, and transition.

Children first become aware of what they like to do, and then cognizant of the things they do more skillfully than others. In time they realize that some activities have more intrinsic or extrinsic value than others. The realistic period begins with the exploration state in which the young adult integrates his/her likes and dislikes with other capabilities in relation to his/her values. Only then does the young adult begin to implement the tentative choices. It is at this point of job entry or early college years that feedback of vocational behavior is particularly important. The results of this feedback lead to the crystalization phase and eventually to the specification stage.[12] It is in this exploration stage that world of work experiences, whether paid or volunteer, will be of the greatest value.

Ginzberg's statement of the problem which college freshmen face is as follows:

...The deliberateness and concern with which college freshmen groups are exploring the various aspects of their choice arises out of several facts. Many are still undecided between strong interests; others have real doubts whether they possess the capacities to succeed in the field of their special interest, and almost all are conscious of their limited knowledge of the world of work.

...They wanted to learn more about the external world, and instead of acquiring an insight into the reality of the marketplace, they are immersed in academic subjects which are related tenuously, if at all, to specific vocations...College, instead of answering his questions, had added to them.[15]

In 1972, Ginzberg made three conceptual changes in his original theory: 1) He modified his assertion that career decision making was done in adolescence or early adulthood and stated that it was a life-span phenomenon; 2) He toned down his notion of irreversibility; and 3) He changed the concept of compromise to that of optimization.[16]

In conceptualizing his theory of career development, Donald Super was influenced by the self-concept theory illustrated in the writings of Carl Rogers, H.D. Carter, and E.S. Bordin, who theorized that behavior is a reflection of an individual's attempt to implement his self-descriptive and self-evaluative thought.[17] Charlotte Buehler's writings in developmental psychology, which suggested that life consisted of a series of distinct stages, also influenced Super's work.[18] Although he had been conducting research in the area of career development for many years, it was his criticisms of Ginzberg's work which finally led Super to formulate his first formal theoretical statement at the American Psychological Association in 1953. His book The Psychology of Careers was published in 1957. Super's theory states that a person strives to implement his self-concept through his choice of occupation. Work allows a person to achieve self actualization and makes it possible for one to play a role appropriate to that self-concept.[19] Super's self concept of vocation development consisted of 12 propositions. His revised proposal included the processes of:

1. Formation - beginning in infancy as exploration and establishment of an identity separate from others. It continues throughout life.

2. Translation - occurring in any of three ways. The person may identify with an individual involved in a given

occupation. He may gain experience through a role in which he is cast, perhaps by chance. Thirdly, he may be aware that he has certain attributes which are important to a certain field of work.

3. Implementation - coming upon departure from the classroom and entrance into a vocation or upon entrance into professional training.[21]

In 1963, Super identified five activities involved in the process which he called vocational devleopmental tasks. Crystalization requires a person to conceptualize ideas about work appropriate for himself and develop occupational and self-concepts which will help him make tentative educational decisions. Specification requires the individual to narrow a career decision and begin to implement it. Implementation requires the individual to complete training and enter relevant employment.[22]

Super notes the value of experience in the exploratory stage as follows:

> ...It provides youth with an opportunity to develop mature work habits...to mix with adults...try out adult roles and test the reality of his self-concept...If part-time or vacation work experience has some bearing on the student's vocational aspirations and plans, it also provides him with the opportunity to test his aptitudes. interests, and skills to find out whether or not he likes that kind of work...He learns about some of the kinds of situations in which that type of work is carried on, some of the kinds of people, equipment, activities and problems associated with that type of work.[23]

He also mentions the value of the opportunity to make contacts with a variety of adults who earn their living in a variety of ways.

Super's Transition Model incorporates the importance of experience into the career development of students. It is the translation phase which matches the student's values, abilities and interests with professionals in the field. Students often make academic choices and ultimately career choices based upon incomplete knowledge of what a person can do with a given set of skills. Thus, his or her choices are often based upon the likes and dislikes of academic ease or difficulty, rather than with the reality of the world of work.

At Michigan State University, the Office of Volunteer Programs (soon to be re-named the Service-Learning Center) provides this translation phase in the career development of students. During the 1977-78 academic year, 2,544 students from 136 different departments in 15 colleges were involved in community volunteer placements with one to three term commitments. A survey returned by 41% of these volunteers indicated that 70.2% had volunteered to gain career experience, while 15.8% were motivated by a desire for job contacts. For 63.1% of the students, the experience had an effect on career plans with 17.6% actually changing or considering changing their previous career decision.[24]

These community placements provide experiences for students in areas such as government, business, consumerism, health, mental health, corrections, education, special education, recreation, aging, and communications. While contributing many hours of service to the community, students have opportunity for personal growth and development, and an increased awareness of the world of work.

The opportunities also provide a feedback mechanism for the student in which s/he can help to find what Ginzberg calls the optimal fit between career preparation and the goals and realities of the world of work.

In rating the importance of the volunteer experience in relation to career awareness and/or preparation, MSU volunteers indicated the following opinions:

Gained support from others for career decisions	57.1% positive
Gained broader knowledge of careers and job requirements	69.8% positive
Gained first hand exposure to work environment and personnel in particular field	79.8% positive
Became realistically aware of how individual educational experience is serving as preparation for work opportunities . .	68.8% positive
Became aware of fit between job requirements and personal values and skills . .	78.2% positive

Students can test their skills with reality on the job, learn from professionals in the field, and develop attitudes based on realistic goals and experiences. Volunteer experiences help students broaden their awareness of job possibilities within their major field and select courses which would be useful to their career. Students become better able to translate their interests with a possible career fit based upon increased knowledge of occupations. The more experience which students gain, the smaller will be the gap in expectations. Thus, the expectations are realistic and the translation phase is based on the individual's experiences, attitudes and role models.

Richard Graham of Brookings Institute describes a good volunteer experience as manageable confrontation with novel responsibility, with the added proviso that experience earns esteem.[25] He states that development of self requires these manageable confrontations to provide opportunities for changing roles and changing structure of responsibilities. Thus, moving from carrying out orders, to participating in their formulation, to looking out for others will provide this change in role and responsibility which will help to foster true development.[26] Most part-time jobs available to college students include such tasks as working in fast food establishments, filing, or dorm maintenance. These positions require an entirely different level of responsibility than would volunteer positions tutoring children, helping mental health patients, or researching environmental concerns.[27]

College service-learning placements provide these manageable confrontations which help the student translate interest in possible career areas into knowledge of the fit between this occupation and self. Employers are looking for students with experience as well as sound academic preparation. Students involved in service-learning opportunities have both. By translating these college experiences into the world of work, students at Michigan State University and at many other institutions of higher education throughout the country are assisted in making one of life's most important decisions while increasing their marketability.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Osipow, Samuel H., Theories of Career Development (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973), p. 9.

[2]Ibid., p. 10.

[3]Ibid.,

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ginzberg, Eli, Occupational Choice: An Approach to a Theory (New York: 1963), p. 19.

[7]Ibid., p. 24.

[8]Ibid., p. 60.

[9]Osipow, p. 84.

[10]"Nine Year Gap Changes Goals for 26 Students," The State Journal, Thursday, May 24, 1979, p. B-2.

[11]Osipow, p. 84.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ginzberg, p. 101.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., p. 105.

[16]Osipow, p. 91.

[17]Osipow, p. 131.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Harkness, Charles, A., Career Counseling: Dreams and Reality, Springfield, Ill.: 1976, p. 27.

[20]Ibid., p. 28.

[21]Osipow, p. 139.

[22]Super, Donald A., The Psychology of Careers, New York: 1957, p. 89.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Smith, Jane, 1977-78 Annual Report: Office of Volunteer Programs, Michigan State University, East Lansing: 1978.

[25]Graham, Richard A., "Voluntary Action and Experimental Education," Journal of Voluntary Action Research, 1974, p. 190.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

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Those who wish to submit manuscripts are encouraged to do so according to the following guidelines.

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2) Footnotes should appear at the end of the manuscript followed by references listed in alphabetical order.

3) Manuscripts should be typed doubled-spaced on 8½" x 11" paper.

4) Unpublished manuscripts will be returned to the authors with comments and criticism. Published manuscripts will not be returned to the authors.

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We look forward to hearing from you.

Choices At The Crossroads:
Israeli Youth Choose Work

by Dr. Irma Newmark

A survey of 1,037 teenagers' choices of voluntary tasks. Survey taken at "Teen-town" — Tell Aviv Fairgrounds, Israel, August 7 through 27th, 1978.

Johnny:	I'm going to be an airplane builder when I grow up.
Jimmy:	When I grow up, I'll be a Mommy.
Johnny:	No, you can't be a Mommy. You have to be a Daddy.
Jimmy:	No, I'm going to be a Mommy.
Johnny:	No, you're not a girl, you can't be a Mommy.
Jimmy:	Yes I can.

Identity is basically learned. It is a product of the individual's life experience, and countless conversations and teachings like the one between Jimmy and Johnny that go on throughout our lives.[1]

In interaction with our environment, social and physical, we use our genetic-given capacities to learn cultural level behavior. An individual's identity is practically a structure of behavioral rules learned throughout life both in and out of school. A large part of this learning is to assume a sex-role identity.

Newmark is a sociologist and researcher in the Dept. of Pedodontics, Hadassah Hospital, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

The meaning of being either male or female helps make many of our motivations towards actions intelligible.[2]

In a study by Terman and Miles on Sex and Personality, a paper and pencil questionnaire test was given on 910 items. Most of the test was associational word matching. The purpose of the test was to show if and how the males and females react differently to words.

It was discovered that in word association females tend to choose words indicating a "kind and sympathetic" social orientation. Males chose words describing outdoor phenomena, activity and adventure, science, machinery, politics, business.

These choices were verified by the Rorschach ink blot test.

Females once more chose words which related to indoor and domestic activity. The key masculine quality shown was an outwardly directed tendency to self-assertiveness. The main

feminine traits indicated tender feelings – they tended to prefer "ministrative" occupations, while men chose external adventure.

These associational thoughts also exist as conscious ideals of masculinity and feminity by which behavior is judged by society. Men and women's thoughts reflect the division of labor between the sexes. Women work inside a domicile, tender and nurturing. Men work outside a domicile self-assertively.[3]

This, however, is largely social patterning. In different cultures, males and females learn to choose other tasks and identify them as "good".

> "one instance would be women in a wide area of Africa, for as one ethnographer put it, the typical woman there thinks of herself as a cultivator and trader, as well as wife and mother. Traditionally, the role of cultivating the land and marketing its produce has been a female one. Women have developed an ability and an interest in moving freely outside the home. They have also played a very strong political role..."[3a]

If we look clearly, modern task choices of todays males and females are found still to relate to the stereotype that the sexes must freely choose those tasks that denote inside/nurturing for female, and outside/aggressive for males.

Saying that the sexes must choose tasks freely in society we seem to be advocating a contradiction in terms. However, it is a rather accurate description of the way males and females work in our developed societies today.

We are taught which tasks are "right" for us to do.

Choice of one's tasks, whether voluntary or paid, relates to the social definition of one's "place" in Society. A social location as male or female, lower or upper class. age, level of education, etc., are all points in a map of Society which will place a person in an appropriate task range.

We make seemingly free choices of work – especially voluntary work. However, these "free choices" relate strongly to what we are told we are: A male often chooses outside work that requires self-assertiveness, or a female chooses inside work that requires her to be "minister" to someone or something.

We would like to start exploring these concepts in this paper.

THE TEENTOWN FAIR SURVEY

In the Fairgrounds outside of Tel Aviv, where there are both permanent and temporary exhibitations, and where Israelis from all over the country come for leisuretime activities, teenagers held a youth fair.

During this fair (August 7 though 27, 1978), the Israel Voluntary Services held Teenage Informational Events to further educate youths about volunteer activities in Israel. There were films, panel discussions, radio broadcasts, etc.

Outside of the exhibition building tables were set up and manned by volunteers, who registered teens interested in doing volunteer work in their respective communities.

A survey of volunteer tasks was filled out by 1,037 teenagers. The respondents lived mainly around the Tel Aviv area. However, there was a representative proportion from Beersheva, throughout the country to Haifa.

Table I. Totals - Task Preferences - Male and Female

Task	Males	Females	Total, Males/Females
Civil Guard	176	37	213
Hospital	78	258	336
Teenagers & Children*	84	155	239*
Aliyah	46	93	139
Quality of Life	13	21	34
Other	48	28	76
Totals	445	592	1,037

*Note: The figure for "Teenagers & Children" was high, as it appears as second choice for both males and females — possibly denoting interest in peer activity, as well as female interest in work with children.

Table Ia. Task Preferences, In Order of Choice

Choices	Males	Females
First	Civil Guard	Hospitals
Second	Teens & Children	Teens & Children
Third	Hospital	Aliyah
Fourth	Other	Civil Guard
Fifth	Aliyah	Other
Sixth	Quality of Life	Quality of Life

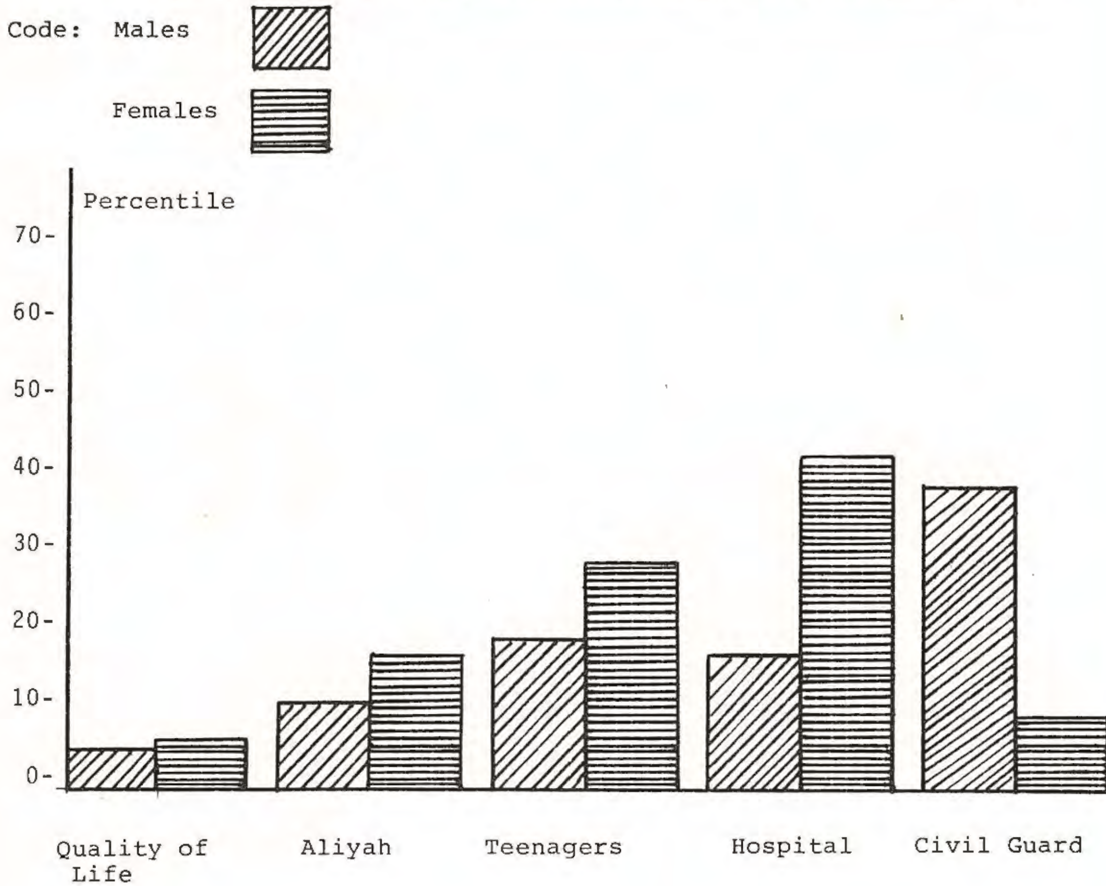
The purpose of the survey (aside from helping the Israel Voluntary Services Volunteer Bureau to utilize the youths) was to gauge task interest in voluntary work. The ages of the youths ranged from 13 to 18 years of age, and although few in number, there were some answers from youths as young as 12 and as old as 27.

Of major interest to the Israel Voluntary Services was the Task Preference Scale that emerged from the survey (see Tables I and Ia).

We know that the teenager is concerned not only with helping Society, but is motivated towards taking on roles that will be performed as adults in everyday life, for playing adult roles is a reward in itself for the healthy teen.

Since results showed that the major portion of males opted for Civil Guard volunteer work, and the major portion of females opted for Hospital work, we then asked ourselves questions about both motivation and reward involved in work of this kind for youths (see Graphs II and IIa).

Graphs II and IIa. Task Preference Scale - Males and Females



MOTIVATION AND REWARD - A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

The motivation to do volunteer work for all people, including teenagers, includes the motivation to receive a "reward" for one's efforts. Effort and reward are part of the reciprocal relationship between person and society.

What, for example, are the motivations which keep a person involved in work? Usually, at the end of each month, one receives a token reward (money) which is convertible into food, clothing, and housing. Even if inherited income makes it possible for one to acquire all needs without working for them, one would usually take on an occupation.

For we eat to work, as much as we work to eat.

There is motivation to be useful to Society. Being useful produces the respect of others and also respect of self.

An important work reward sought by the adolescent is to develop a relationship with adult life. The young person finds that he can solve many of his problems and be rewarded most readily by imitating the actions of others. At first, he imitates his parents and later, his choice of models is greatly extended. This role selection and choice of role model relates to the person's ultimate localization on the social map of his/her community.[4]

The young adult seeks both to express him/herself and to be instrumental in the work of the community with other adults or peers.

In the Teentown survey, the major choice of Civil Guard work for males and Hospital work for females indicates associational thoughts of the sex-role function of males and females in our Society.

The boys and girls want the work of male and female adults. They want to do it well, and receive recognition for this work. Recognition as a competent Civil Guard or Hospital worker would indicate that the adolescent is well on his/her way to becoming an accepted man or woman.

> "In Western civilisation at the present time, sex is an organising principle of social structure, and...plays a great part in determining social roles...So it is not surprising to find that...a great deal of anxiety in Western culture has its roots in the demands made by gender roles. Psychiatrists tell us that a great deal of our security as adults comes from staying within the boundaries of these roles... For...a confident belief in one's own masculinity or feminity is a fundamental part of human identity."[5]

Within work roles, there is differentiation by sex. Most women in all industrial countries are concentrated in industries which relate to domestic life or nurturing. Textile and clothing manufacturing, food processing, secretarial role (usually aide to a male), nurse, teacher, etc.

Textbooks depict female roles and activities as focused in the home or inside – like inside schools, libraries, or hospitals, and it is the male who ventures forth into the world outside.

Adolescence represents the transition from <u>learning</u> adult gender roles to <u>performing</u> them, and thus this is the "crossroads" age. At the crossroads age, there is much opportunity in Israel to do volunteer work. Volunteers are able to choose from areas of Civil Guard to Aliyah to Medical to Educational work.

However, teens will narrow these choices themselves, eliminating many non sex-related task choices, and choosing a more limited range of voluntary sex-related tasks.

There is an elegant rationale in the major choice of Civil Guard for males and Hospital work for females. These tasks exactly fit the sex-role model of man and woman. Hospital work is nurturing, inside work with vulnerable people. It is ministering work, and as such, is a training ground for the proscribed adult role of woman.

Civil Guard is outside work, adventuresome, protective, and potentially aggressive. As such, it is a training ground for the proscribed role of <u>man</u>. The rewards for the work are wrapped tightly in the motivation to <u>do</u> the work. They are inseparable. They are: to be accepted by oneself and others as Man or Woman.

We believe that our Youthtown Fair study might lead us to say to our youth:

> "Kol Kavod - All honor to you - you shall be the men and women of the future. Can we also consider sharing each others' roles - and thereby sharing our burdens and joys? Let us volunteer to begin..."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Skolnick, Arlene S., and Jerome H. Skolnick, Family in Transition (Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1971), p. 228.

[2] Gordon, Chad and Kenneth J. Gergen, The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I (John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1968), p. 21.

[3] Oakley, Ann, Sex, Gender, and Society (Maurice Temple Smith, Ltd., Great Britain, 1972), p. 57.

[4] Fuller, John L., Motivation (Random House, N.Y., 1962) p. 104, 105.

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Development Of Citizen Advocacy As A Volunteer Role In A Residential Facility For Mentally Retarded

by Thomas A. Bishop

The first public residential facility for the mentally retarded was founded in 1848 with a goal of "teaching and training" mentally retarded people (Howe, 1848) for useful work and contributions to society. Quoting from Dr. Howe's report "...it would be demonstrated that no idiot need be confined or restrained by force; that the young can be trained for industry order and self-respect;..." (Kanner, 1964, pp. 41-42). This right to training was assumed to be a duty and responsibility of society (c.f., Wolfensberger, 1975). One hundred twenty-five years later, recent court decisions[1] and accreditations organizations[2] are agreed that residential facilities built and maintained after 1925 function to segregate the retarded rather than train them (Wolfensberger, 1975). This isolation and segregation has resulted in a form of cruel and unusual punishment; in fact, in the state of Pennsylvania a Federal District court ruled that the very existence of the institution violates Federal and State law.[3] Therefore, a system to insure that clients' needs and rights are met should become a part of each residential facility.

Bishop is the director of Volunteer Services and Community Relations at Eastern Oregon Hospital and Training Center.

RIGHTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED CITIZENS

It is clear that within institutions many rights are habitually violated (Robinson and Robinson, 1976). A number of human and legal rights that are being systematically denied or abridged have been identified (Wald, 1976; President's Committee on Mental Retardation, 1976). In the following contrasts between current conditions and those ethically and/or legally required, we will illustrate actions performed by an individual we shall call the citizen advocate.

Privacy and Dignity

In institutions, in order to produce the least amount of work for the staff and to maintain the most conventional codes of behavior, rules and routines dominate the day. Residents are "herded" in groups. Sleeping, waking, toileting, bathing, and eating are strictly regimented. In many institutions conformity is the chief lesson taught (Braginsky and Braginsky, 1971). In the United States, 40 percent of residents are housed in rooms containing more than 30 persons

(Baumeister, 1970). A survey of England's institutions found 60% of the residents were housed in dormitories where no personal possessions at all were displayed (Morris, 1969). That figure is probably indicative of U.S. institutions as well. Conditions such as this render an individual completely devoid of privacy or a sense of personal identity.

Consider, in contrast, an environment catering to the individual. Residents have private or semi-private rooms. These rooms are equipped with dressers where each resident has his own comb, toothbrush, clothes, and other personal possessions. Bathing is done in individual showers; there are partitions between toilets. Citizen advocates have effected this type of change in conditions by enlightening their public officials about conditions they encounter in large public facilities. Their testimony has been most valuable in public hearings and in class action litigation filed on behalf of institutionalized citizenry.

Personal Rights

The most basic rights of men and women are the freedom to love, marry, and procreate. The institutionalized resident is segregated from the opposite sex. Consequences of enforced segregation include open masturbation, homosexuality, and often, aggression.

Some residents may neither be capable or desirous of loving, sexual relationships. But, consider this alternative for those appropriate. Residents are provided with honest and explicit sexual education and the citizen advocate provides assistance by being a role model as well as providing informal guidance about dating, marriage and children.

Civil and Commercial Rights

Civil and commercial rights are the right to vote, to contract, to work, to sue, to serve on a jury, etc. These rights are consistently denied mentally retarded citizens, especially those who are institutionalized. A citizen commands respect when he wields political power through his vote; economic power by his ability to hold a job, spend the money he earns, and contract to buy or sell goods and services; and the power to demand these rights in court. When a person cannot do (or is not permitted to do) any of these things, chances are they will be seen as a liability, someone to whom little attention need be paid.

The citizen advocate can intervene in these situations by seeing to it that systems within the institution allow for the exercising of these rights by the clients they serve. They may serve clients incapable of personally exercising these rights by assuring that someone with the person's best interest in mind assumes these legal rights for them, such as a parent or guardian.

Habilitation

To this point we have talked about poor environmental conditions within institutions as well as the denial of personal and civil rights of persons cared for within this setting. Emerging from these basic personal and civil rights is the right to active treatment training, or habilitation programs. According to Kenneth D. Gaver, "active habilitation requires a written individualized plan:

1. based on a comprehensive assessment of the individual's social, psychological, health and vocational capacities and libilities;

2. based on the goals of individual's adaptive capability and the ability to live independently;

3. based upon objectives related to these goals;

4. comprised of defined services and activities or programs related to the objectives;

5. specific as to the responsibilities for the conduct of such services or activities;

6. specific as to the means to measure the progress or outcome;

7. clear as to periodic review and revision of the plan."[4]

However, Gaver admits that most institutions cannot meet the requirements for an individualized plan for habilitation. Instead of serving, as Howe invisioned, as a "training center" most institutions provide what is known as custodial care. These custodial programs provide the bare necessities to sustain life, i.e. meals, a reasonably safe place to stay, and very minimal supervision. It was this situation Hungerford had in mind when he states "...in an institution there is always tomorrow so that he who starts out a student ends up, by default, an inmate."[5] Custodial programs are characterized by unrelieved deprivation; there are no programs; nothing to feel, to see, to touch, or to do.

The more appropriate, as well as legally required, situation is that in which the institution functions congruent to its originator's intentions and Gaver's outline; a short-term training center where an individual is given the assistance he needs to function in the community.

The citizen advocate can individually provide much needed stimulation for his resident in a custodial institution, while advocating collectively with other advocates for a return to the "training center" and community services model.

ADVOCACY IN MENTAL RETARDATION FACILITIES

As cited in the above situations, there is a clear need for a way to ensure services are delivered to mentally retarded people in a consistant, humane, and high quality manner. Advocacy has been a recent way to meet this goal and is defined as a person or group acting on behalf of another person or group in order to protect the rights of the latter. Historically, three approaches have emerged: In-house advocates, regulatory agencies or certifying groups, and courts. Each of these approaches had advantages, but ultimately has failed because if its disadvantages.

In-House Advocates

Administrators of residential facilities have appointed or hired staff as advocates for the population they serve. Such agency personnel can easily identify problems specific to their institution. These individuals can only address very minor issues, however. An in-house advocate can only operate within the parameters of his institution's administrative structure. As such, he deals with only those problems he's "allowed" to address by his superiors. In order to be effective he must exceed delegated authority and seek assistance from outside the facility. Persons in this situation are often alienated from the facility's staff, dismissed, or forced to resign.

Regulatory Agencies and Certifying Groups

An advantage of regulatory agencies is they are examining the institution with positions outside of the institution's administrative structure. Another advantage are the

detailed standards which relate directly to clients' rights.

The disadvantages are that surveys by these agencies rarely occur (visits are announced in advance) more frequently than every 6 months. They are unable to address problems or issues on a daily basis. Also, the standards are stated so broadly as to be subject to interpretation (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1978) and make compliance difficult to enforce.

Courts

The legal system has effected significant changes in the quality and quantity of care within some residential facilities. Three landmark decisions (Wyatt vs. Hardin, New York State Association for Retarded Citizens vs. Carey, Halderman and the United States vs. Pennhurst State School and Hospital) have established or reaffirmed the rights of mentally retarded people to treatment, protection from cruel and unusual punishment in the form of institutionalization without treatment, and to community services. The legal system has the advantage of being able to establish policy and overrule a facility or state.

There are several disadvantages of relying upon the legal system as an advocate. First, the time between the identification of the problem and its resolution is often long. The cases cited above have been in the courts 5 to 7 years and are still under jurisdiction of the courts. It does not seem desirable that the problems in-house advocates encounter daily should be handled by courts over years of time.

A second disadvantage is the expenses incurred in the litigation process. Such legal proceedings are quite expensive.

Thirdly, each decision made by the courts affects only those facilities for which it was filed. Facilities not the target of such a suit have not followed court decisions enacted at other institutions.

CITIZEN ADVOCACY

If the in-house advocates, certifying agencies and group, and the courts are ultimately ineffective at protecting the rights of our institutionalized citizens, what options have we available?

What I propose is Citizen Advocacy, defined by Dr. Wolf Wolfensberger as "a mature, competent citizen volunteer representing, as if they were his own, the interest of another citizen who is impaired in his instrumental competency, or has major expressive needs that are unmet and that are likely to remain unmet without special intervention." Citizen advocates work one-to-one with the mentally retarded person and function in three roles, 1) friend, 2) informal counselor or teacher, 3) spokesperson for their individual's rights.

Friend

The metally retarded living in our institutions are isolated by the geographic location and size of the facility. Eastern Oregon Hospital and Training Center in Pendleton, Oregon, for example, indicates 81% of its mentally retarded population is from counties on the opposite side of the state. Data generated by this facility indicates at least one-third of the residents have not had contact with anyone outside the facility (i.e., friend, family member, clergyman, etc.) in the past 12 months. Of the 356 residents they serve, there are 70 for whom they have no knowledge of the existence of relatives or guardians.

In addition to geographic isolation, residents are isolated by the stigmas that often accompany such individuals

and the agencies providing services for them.

The citizen advocate fills this void by being a caring, personal friend to the resident. The citizen advocate provides the much needed social intervention for his "friend" and involves him in normal community experiences such as shopping, going out to dinner or a movie, seeing a play, etc.; whatever they, as friends, enjoy doing together. This provides for the resident an increased sense of "self worth" and a knowledge that someone really cares.

Informal Counselor or Teacher

As we have stated earlier, most institutions provide only custodial programs. Even in those where educational programs are provided, these programs do not span the length of a day. The number of interactions in training situations or otherwise is sharply below what is needed. A 1971 study revealed that children are called into dialogue with adults only three minutes per week on the average ward (Giles, 1971).

Whether the institution is custodial or educational in philosophy and operation the citizen advocate can be most valuable by providing informal training and guidance; something the limited staff of the institution simply cannot provide.

The citizen advocate provides his friend with assistance and guidance in important areas of his life, irregardless of his functioning level. For a resident about to leave the institution for an independent living situation in the community, this might include money management, finding an apartment, or looking for a job. For the more severely retarded resident this might be assistance with learning to tie a shoe, distinguish colors, or learning basic self-help skills. In any case, the citizen advocate addresses the personal education needs of his friend on an informal basis.

An example of this type of intervention is that of a 31 year old resident who has spent most of his life in government institutions. He was never taught the alphabet, how to count, or handle money. Since his relationship with his citizen advocate, his life has changed completely. He has learned skills which are in demand; earns and spends his own money, has a girlfriend, and is looking forward to returning to the community (Smiley and Craik, 1972). Such success stories are not uncommon. The informal help of a citizen advocate can facilitate many a resident's return to a productive role in the community.

Spokesperson For Their Friends Rights

The institutions are, at times, in violation of residents rights in many fashions. The citizen advocate's third role, therefore, is speaking for the rights of his "friend". The need may be as subtle as a lack of appropriate clothing for his friend or as complex as the agency not providing a much needed service such as a speech therapy program.

In this role the advocate can work with institution staff to effect these changes but has the freedom and responsibility to pursue matters outside the service delivery system. As stated by the Office of Volunteer Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare "This may mean expressing needs of persons in such a way as to persuade service professionals to make themselves available and tailor their service to those needs. This may mean persuading budget makers and decision makers at local, state, and even national legislative levels that services are needed and deserve budgetary support."[6]

The staff of residential facilities has a tendency to present or accentuate the positive when interpreting their services to the public. However, to enlist volunteers as advocates, the volunteers must understand the problems, needs, and frustrations of the staff and residents. By risking such trust in volunteers, they take on staff goals and can work towards changes outside of the administrative bureaucracy of the facility.

IMPLEMENTATION

Administrative Structure

The coordinator(s) of the Citizen Advocacy Program, whether paid or volunteer, should be responsible to an agency or organization outside of the facility. An advocacy oriented, non-profit, organization such as a local association for Retarded Citizens would be most ideal. Citizen Advocacy Programs are operating in some locations in cooperation with Big Brother-Big Sister, Community Action Programs, Mental Health Associations, etc. The coordinator(s) should work with the facility's administrative staff to develop procedures for referrals, confidentiality matching residents with advocates, off-campus activities, etc. The facility's social services staff most often make referrals, assist with the matching process, and provide the coordinator and advocate with information about the resident's background and current program.

Training and Support

The coordinator(s) must provide the citizen advocate volunteer with orientation and training. The training program should include, 1) introductory information on mental retardation/developmental disabilities, 2) orientation to the facility and the state's service delivery system, 3) information on the history of services provided the mentally retarded and current trends, 4) the resident's rights policy or statement of the facility, 5) policies and procedures, i.e., how to "sign out" a resident for the day, auto insurance requirements, confidentiality, etc., and 6) guidelines for suggested activities.

A useful tool in institutions with a Quality Assurance System (Calvert, Favell, Risley, Dalke, Grove, and Crowley, Note #7) is the checklist. This is a monitoring device which is used to evaluate the environment and programs of the institution. If the facility does not have a Q.A.S., checklists are sometimes available from the local Association for Retarded Citizens.

The coordinator(s) provide on-going support to the trained citizen advocate by assisting him and his friend with any problems they may encounter. The advocates should meet together regularly as a support group to share successes and frustrations as well as to receive (in-service) information provided by the coordinator.

Finally, the citizen advocate needs to be made aware of who to contact at the local, state, and even national level should the institutional bureaucracy remain unresponsive to identified needs of residents.

Available Resources

The National Association for Retarded Citizens[8] is a valuable resource for those interested in the development of a Citizen Advocacy Program. Two films are available on Citizen Advocacy from National Association for Retarded Citizens (N.A.R.C.); Justice and the Art of Gentle Outrage and Something Shared. These films are loaned at no charge or may be purchased from Southwest Film Labs, P.O. Box 21328, Dallas, Texas 75211.

V.I.S.T.A. (Volunteers in Service to America), an ACTION

program, has provided positions to assist with Citizen Advocacy Programs in several states. Application should be made through each state's ACTION office.

The National Institute on Mental Retardation[9] publishes "Your Citizen Advocacy Program." This manual for staff and volunteers provides information on recruitment, pairing, training, board-staff training, etc. Available from the same source is "Orientation Manual of Mental Retardation, Part 1". This book has proven most valuable in the training of volunteers to work with the mentally retarded.

CONCLUSION

Mental Retardation facilities have long used the volunteer to provide support services. Citizen advocates, however, are at all times a volunteer to the specific person rather than the agency. It establishes a relationship between two people that dignifies both. This relationship interferes with the function of the institution only when the institution fails to do its duty.

In a larger sense, Citizen Advocacy provides an avenue for an increased awareness of the deficits of current service systems. Institutions for the mentally retarded are only what the public have allowed them to become or demanded them to be.

FOOTNOTES

[1]E.g., Wyatt vs. Hardin, New York Association for Retarded Citizens vs. Carey.

[2]ICF/MR (Department of Health, Education and Welfare Standards and Quality Bureau, 1978), AC/MR-DD standards (Accreditation Council for Services for Mentally Retarded and other Developmentally Disabled Persons, 1978).

[3]Halderman vs. Pennhurst State School and Hospital.

[4]Gaver, K.D., Reaction comment to Halpern, C.R., principal paper on the right to habilitation. In the Presidents Committee on Mental Retardation (Ed.). The Mentally Retarded Citizen and the Law, New York: Free Press, 1976.

[5]Hungerford, R.H. Comment on institutionalization in Christmas in Purgatory: a Photographic Essay on Mental Retardation. (Blatt and Kaplan, Ed.) Syracuse, New York: Human Policy Press, 1974.

[6]Office of Volunteer Development; Policy background description; the Volunteer as Advocate.

[7]Calvert, T.L., Favel, J.E., Risley, T.R., Dalke, B., Grove, D., and Crowley, R. Blue Mountain Training Model; A System for Delivering Services to Clients in Mental Retardation Facilities. Paper presented to Region I American Association on Mental Deficiency Conference, October 1978. (For information contact: Terry L. Calbert, P.O. Box A, Pendleton, Oregon 97801).

[8]National Association for Retarded Citizens, 2709 Ave. E. East, P.O. Box 6109, Arlington, Texas 76001.

[9]National Institute on Mental Retardation, Kinsmen NIMR Building, York University Campus, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, (Toronto), Ontario, Canada M3J 1P3.

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