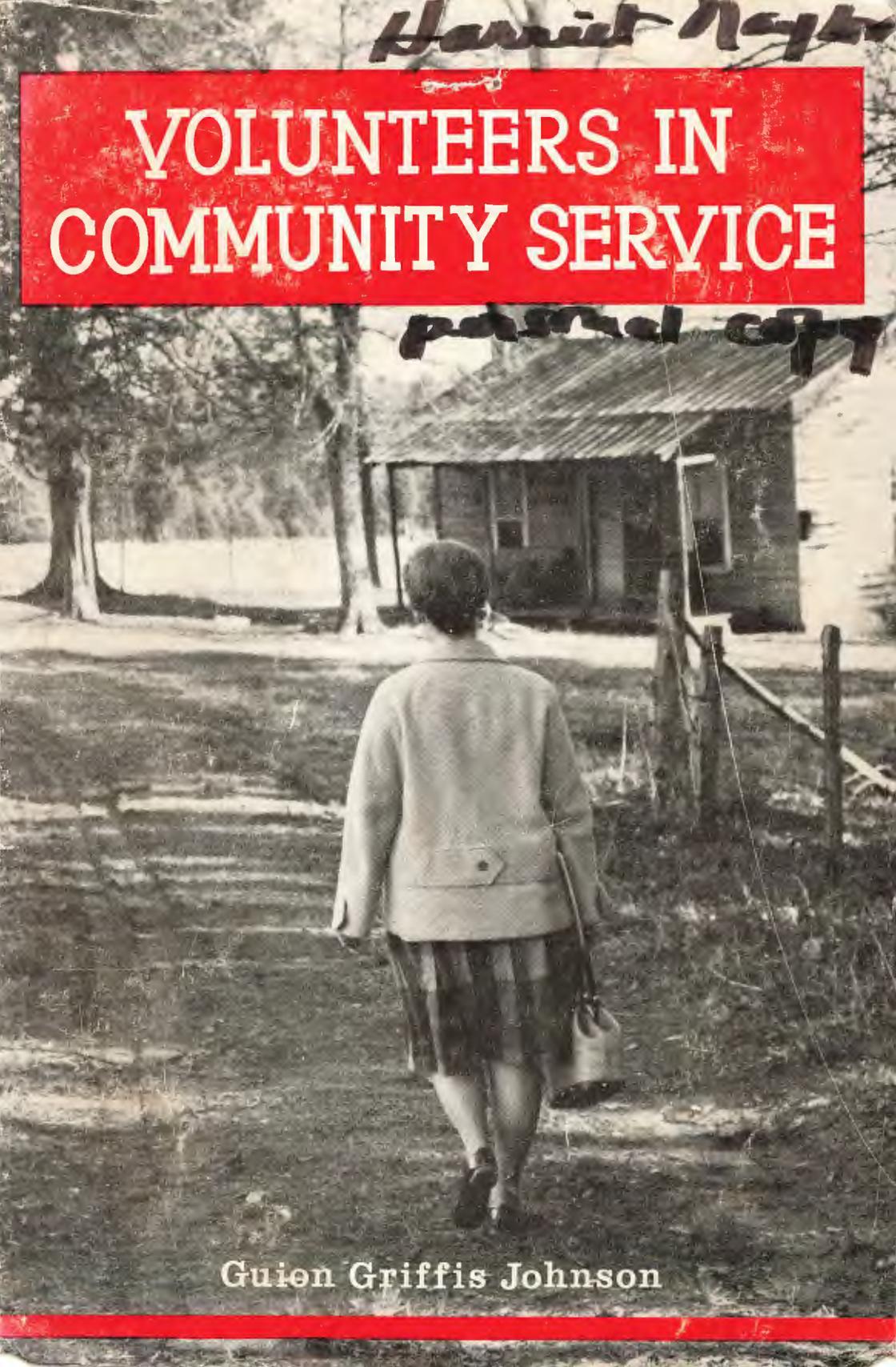


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VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

Palmer City



Guion Griffis Johnson

HAT NAYLOR

Volunteers in Community
Service

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General Texts

Volunteers in Community Service

By

Guion Griffis Johnson

THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 25
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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FOREWORD

This study of *Volunteers in Community Service* was made possible by a grant from the North Carolina Fund to the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations. The Council was set up in 1952 by ten statewide organizations of women. The membership has expanded to 37 with a combined membership of a half million. These organizations have local units in each of the 100 counties in the state and the chain of communication extends from the Appalachian Mountains on the west to the Atlantic on the east, from Virginia on the north to South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee on the south and west.

The Council of Women's Organizations under the direction of the President, Mrs. James M. Harper, Jr., and the Executive Committee obtained a small research staff and appointed an administrative committee. The staff obtained short-term consultative services from Yale University Computer Center.

The administrative committee chairman was Mrs. Phebe H. Emmons, Director of Professional Services and Student Programs of the North Carolina Education Association and President-elect of the Council. Other committee members were Miss Dorothea Burton, Executive Director of the Young Women's Christian Association, Durham; Mrs. Donald Hayman, President of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, University Methodist Church, Chapel Hill; Mrs. Kern Holoman, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service; Miss Pauline Newton, Professor Emeritus of English, North Carolina College; and Mrs. James A. Odom, Manager of the Wake County Chapter, the American Red Cross.

The committee met monthly to review the development of the project. Mr. William L. Flowers, Assistant Deputy Director of the North Carolina Fund, met with the committee as liaison for the Fund. The first draft of the project was completed in a period of eight months.

Many individuals and agencies, both voluntary and government,

in North Carolina, elsewhere in the nation and in Canada, cooperated with the staff in pinpointing the findings of this report. The staff is grateful for their help. Acknowledgement of their assistance has been indicated in the footnotes and the Appendix.

Mrs. Marion Curtis Moser served as research assistant and secretary during seven months of the project, and Mrs. Norma Scofield, Editorial Assistant in the Institute for Research in Social Science, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, performed the task of copy reading as the manuscript was prepared for publication. Both gave valuable assistance to the project.

The Council of Women's Organizations was ideally structured to pick up the heartbeat of the typical volunteer worker in North Carolina, to examine the work accomplished through voluntary association in the past, to see in the first place why citizens join together to accomplish a common goal, and to determine if unity in cooperation is more effective than action dictated by a strong leader.

The study wanted to find out whether voluntary work has been a continuous pattern in the history of North Carolina and, if so, whether it resembles the pattern followed elsewhere in the nation. Has the nature of volunteer work changed through the years? Why do people freely give their time for the development of a community-oriented program or for the relief of those in trouble? Do they receive something intangible from this gift of self which is perhaps more important than money in the bank, or do the values of American society reward selflessness in a way that can be computed in dollars and cents?

The study wanted to explore the motivation for volunteer activity, but it also wanted to find out exactly who are the volunteers. Do more women than men give their time as is true elsewhere in the nation? Can men make a special contribution which women cannot perform and has this contribution been overlooked? What about the young volunteer? Can volunteer work fill the gap in the life of the retired by giving them a renewed sense of need and worth? More specifically, do people from low-income groups do volunteer work? How effective is their work? Can they reach the poor more easily than middle-income volunteers? Are they excluded from prestigious voluntarism?

If all the funds for the antipoverty programs were suddenly cut off tomorrow, would the whole program collapse? Are there enough concerned and trained volunteers available to step in and fill the

vacuum so that at least a few of the goals might still be achieved; for instance, upgrading the education and job opportunities of the poor?

How do professional workers regard volunteers? Are volunteers a threat to them despite the fact that nowhere in the United States are there sufficient numbers of trained personnel to perform all the tasks now being done by volunteers? Will this shortage of professional workers prevail despite the ever increasing numbers being trained as teachers, social workers, community organization experts, group workers, doctors, nurses, clinical assistants? Will volunteers continue to fill the gap for years to come? Will professional workers give these volunteers only the routine work to perform, perhaps even exploit them? Or will professionals seize the opportunity of this free offer of time to encourage creative activity and, perhaps, even expand the opportunities of volunteer services?

Since the focus of the antipoverity programs is on the development of potentials of the poor, have the contributions of the volunteer been meshed with the needs of the poor? Or have these possible contributions been overlooked in an attempt to motivate the poor so that they might voice their own needs and help seek their own remedies? If this is true, is there a place for the traditional volunteer in work with the poor? Is it better for the middle-class, middle-income volunteer to continue with the work which has customarily engaged his time rather than trying to serve a segment of the population which he probably does not understand and which might reject his services in any case? Or would such a position continue to widen the breach between the already isolated income groups?

This raises the questions both of training the volunteer for whatever job he may perform and of the most productive techniques to be employed in training for and in actual performance of the volunteer job. Do all volunteers need to be trained for the work they are to do, or does the mere fact that they are giving of themselves qualify them to perform expertly? Do volunteers who work with the poor need a special kind of training? Do they actually know and understand the poor sufficiently to work with them sympathetically and creatively? Or is the volunteer's concept of poverty and charity inhibiting? What are the poor like, anyway?

Examples of effective volunteers and of effective programs with the poor give some of the answers to these questions. Interviews in depth with all economic and social classes of volunteers and professionals

who work with volunteers give further answers as did the return of more than 800 questionnaires directed both to volunteers and professionals. It was not possible, however, to uncover satisfactory answers to all of these searching questions within the limited time of this study.

Two-thirds of those queried said they were already working with the poor, but only a fifth were involved in antipoverty programs. Fifty-five per cent said they did not think the programs effective, but many would like to give their time to help make them so. A little more than half, however, did not want to become more involved. While there has been much agency competition for volunteers in the past, professionals said they thought the changing attitudes toward volunteers and the opening up of volunteer work to low-income groups who had been overlooked in the past would greatly expand the available supply of volunteers and bring about a new climate of opinion and unity among the state's human resources.

But agencies are often at a loss to know how to locate this potential pool of volunteers and the volunteers themselves are at a loss to know how to offer their time or where to go for training. A need, therefore, exists for some kind of coordinating agency both in the local communities and perhaps on the state level to bring together the volunteer and the job which needs to be done. Some respondents to the questionnaires thought a volunteer service bureau would be the best answer and others wanted to go beyond the boundaries of the traditional bureau and organize, especially in the local communities, adaptations to the American setting of the British Citizens Advice Centers which were set up during World War II as an answer to the emergencies of a population bombed out of house and community.

The position of those who want a more realistic approach to coordinating the work of volunteers with the work to be done coincides with some of the basic assumptions of this study. It has been assumed that volunteer work has been developed in this country as a result of the experiences of the settlers in creating a new nation and that democracy will continue to survive best if all citizens are brought within the benefits of working together cooperatively to achieve the common goal of a stable, dynamic society. But large segments of the population have gradually been excluded from the self-fulfillment which participation in community development brings. The task of involving those who have been denied can be as important as any ever

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undertaken in America. From this position, volunteer work becomes no longer a plaything of the rich and wellborn but a birthright of all citizens.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON

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Volunteers in Community
Service

1

THE VOLUNTEER IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Volunteer work is a basic value of the American system and has evolved from the unfolding experiences of life and labor in the United States.

* * *

Voluntarism must have the skills and influence of high-income groups coupled with those of less privileged citizens.

* * *

In the long run, the stakes are high, for such an expansion of volunteer activity bears the seeds of American democracy.

The American pattern of voluntary help, freely given without thought of recompense, has developed from the experiences of the people as they shaped a new nation.

The strands of thought which have been woven into the fabric of the American system have been taken from the tenets of the Judeo-Christian faith which had a profound influence on the colonization of the New World and from the political philosophy of the time which placed a strong emphasis upon the worth and dignity of the individual. Added to these basic concepts were the experiences of the settlers which demanded mutual assistance as a necessity for survival in a hostile environment.

It was a pattern of human conduct from the Old World, sharpened by necessity, into a close association of neighbors, friends, newcomers into a mode of behavior advantageous to all and to the building of a dynamic society.

An Outgrowth of the American Experience

The genus of American voluntary work took on a form peculiar to the conditions which shaped it. It departed from the almsgiving of medieval Europe where the wealthy and wellborn gave meagerly from their abundance to share with their less fortunate neighbors.

The American pattern became, ideally, a universal behavior for all citizens. The widow shared her mite. She gave from her scarcity that others might reap a richer harvest than she could ever hope to achieve. This spirit of giving from weakness to build strength has persisted in American society.

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in 1831, he remarked on the readiness with which Americans joined together to achieve a goal.

No sooner do you put foot upon the American soil than you are stunned by a kind of tumult; . . . a thousand simultaneous voices demand the immediate satisfaction of their social wants. Everything is in motion around you; here, the people of one quarter of a town are met to decide upon the building of a church; there, the election of a representative is going on; a little further, the delegates of a district are posting to the town in order to consult upon some local improvements; or, in another place, the laborers of a village quit their ploughs to deliberate upon the project of a road or a public school. . . .¹

De Tocqueville thought this a good trait in the American citizen, perhaps even the basis of maintaining freedom and equality.²

This tendency to join together in voluntary associations has formed many a benevolent society to care for the homeless, the sick, and the oppressed. It has built community facilities—public utilities, schools, health clinics—which have later been incorporated into the business of local, state, and federal government as a means of increasing the effectiveness and expansion of services. At the same time, the “citizens’ control,” the voice of the volunteer who represents the will of the people, is still watching over administration through appointive and elective boards which formulate the policies under which services become available to all.

In the course of American history, boards which were designed to represent all the people have sometimes been derelict in their representation. They have been self-serving and group-serving in federal administration, in the states, and down even in the little towns and villages where it is easier to know and, therefore, to serve the good of all instead of a privileged few.

But the American concept of the rights of all mankind to an

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *American Institutions and Their Influence*. With notes by John C. Spencer (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1851), p. 251. See also de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, (ed. and abr.), by Richard D. Heffner (New York: New American Library, 1956), p. 201.

2. Heffner, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

equal opportunity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has not tolerated for long the selfish enjoyment by a favored few of the blessings which have been produced by the work of many. Pressures for change have mounted as American government has grown more complex and the American economy more affluent.

Working men have joined voluntarily into pressure groups of their own to force the appointive and elective powers to give their representatives seats on the boards and in the legislative halls which regulate services. Farmers have joined together for the same purpose; so have business, industrial, professional, religious, and minority groups, each looking after the concerns of others like themselves, all clamoring for a share in the right to control.

The Growth of Voluntarism

However complex American society and the controls which regulate it have become, the heart of it is still the pulsating strength of the free individual. He can join with his neighbors in a voluntary undertaking to set up a social club, organize a community recreation program, build a church, elect a governor, name a President. He can make his determination felt throughout the nation if he is persuasive enough and has the time and the means to reach a wider audience.

As governments throughout the world have swung toward tighter controls over the individual and as they have assumed more and more of the functions of voluntary assistance in order to distribute better the blessings of an abundant society, voices in America again have been raised to reaffirm the important role of voluntary effort as a counterbalance to the might of big government. This process is now being called voluntarism.

In 1902 Charles Horton Cooley, sociologist at the University of Michigan, writing in *Human Nature and the Social Order*, drew upon the lessons of the American Revolution and the Civil War to describe the free individual and freedom itself as a continuing process:

Since freedom is not a fixed thing that can be grasped and held once for all, but a growth, any particular society, such as our own, always appears partly free and partly unfree. In so far as it favors, in every child, the development of his highest possibilities, it is free, but where it falls short of this it is not . . . Every social ill involves the enslavement of individuals.³

3. Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 400-401.

By implication, the only way to expand freedom was for individuals or private associations to work for this broadening concept. "A child born in a slum, brought up in a demoralized family, and put at some confining and mentally deadening work when ten or twelve years old" was not "free to be healthy, wise, and moral."⁴

Just 50 years later, another social scientist, Eduard C. Lindeman, speaking on "The Urgency of Citizen Participation," linked the concept of the free man working with others in volunteer efforts to preservation of a democratic society. Volunteers, he said, represent a great unofficial parliament. They demonstrate responsible citizenship. Their effort is complementary to government. They keep government sensitive to the needs of citizens and answerable to the people.⁵

In the first half of the 1960's the Ford Foundation financed several special projects which explored the possibility of stimulating low-income groups to take a hand in solving their own problems. The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime also pointed up the need for this approach, and in 1964 the Congress included in the Economic Opportunity Act the Community Action Program which placed emphasis upon involvement of indigenous leadership.

When the Committee on Volunteer Services of the National Social Welfare Assembly in 1964 reviewed the trend toward involvement of the poor in decision-making for their own welfare, committee members asked themselves at the close of their workshop, "What are we trying to do?" They concluded:

We are trying to make democracy a real, practical way of life for all people of this great country. As we give people a feeling that they are not alone, that somebody cares and that together we can effect change and solve problems the democratic process becomes meaningful. And as it becomes so peoples' self-image changes from "I don't count; I can't do anything" to "I do count and I am important and I can do something to make this a better place to live for me and my children."⁶

4. *Ibid.*

5. Eduard C. Lindeman, "The Urgency of Citizen Participation: An Address to Big Brothers of America, 1952."

6. "Exploring Inner Space: Report of the Committee on Volunteer Services, April 1964" (New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, 1964).

The Volunteer a Safeguard of Democracy

Since the days of the Great Depression when the federal government sought to alleviate the distress of the unfortunate through a variety of support programs, increasing emphasis has been placed upon citizen participation in national programs for social action. Two strands of thought have been uppermost in this trend: the organized initiative of people in the same community and the undergirding of their efforts through services provided by a higher level of government than local authority. The value of the volunteer which has always been recognized in a democratic society has in this way also been recognized by government and carried to new levels of effectiveness. It has been estimated that today at least 100 million Americans are members of organizations with national affiliations and perhaps millions of others are joined in local and state associations.⁷

Robert N. Hilker, First Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia and President of the Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council, heartily endorsed this union between citizen participation and social action supported by government in an address in 1965 to the Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America. He said:

We can no longer have a kind of volunteerism which is unrelated to government policy and action. We can no longer walk alone, nor can we behave as rivals and survive. We must travel the road together, as partners, with each influencing the other while in the process of making the journey. We need the government and the government needs us in making this long and arduous trip to a better society.⁸

He called attention to European observers of the American scene who found "popular participation in public life, in the broadest terms," to be lower in the United States than, "generally speaking, in countries that most resemble it in fundamental values." These observers found the poor to be especially inarticulate and uninvolved in public affairs, "with the result that they have been denied a fair deal."⁹

7. Nathan E. Cohen, *The Citizen Volunteer, His Responsibility, Role, and Opportunity in Modern Society* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. vii.

8. "Workshop Summary, The Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, 1965 Annual Forum, National Conference on Social Welfare" (New York: United Community Funds and Councils of America, 1965), p. 12.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Involvement of the Poor

Mr. Hilkert's conclusion was that just as democratic government must be broadly based and representative of all sectors of our communities if it is to survive, so too must voluntary effort be broadly based. If the American concept of government of, by, and for the people is to be maintained, "leadership, and followership," must come from across the entire community. "Volunteerism," he continued, "in the sense of citizen participation and involvement, cannot be limited to the traditional, the long-established, so-called 'power-structures' of the communities."¹⁰

Mrs. Leonard Wiener, Vice-President of the National Council of Jewish Women, also addressing the Volunteer Bureaus of America in 1965, carried the concept of participation a little further by applying it to the economically depressed:

. . . if we aren't our brothers' keeper, there won't be much worth keeping. A war on poverty is not an act of charity but a matter of enlightened self-interest. We must expand our democratic society in order to maintain it.¹¹

This involvement of the total community in problem-solving for their own welfare has been called the "new voluntarism." It points out that traditional volunteer work, like traditional government, has been largely *for* the people, not *of* and *by* the people. It has been both paternalistic and authoritarian. It was assumed even in the days of the Founding Fathers of this nation that the poor and uneducated could not be trusted to make sound judgments. In the early days of the republic, they were excluded from the electorate in all but a few states, and the right to manhood suffrage has been a struggle of the poor and illiterate for a share in government.

In the same spirit of well-intentioned paternalism, volunteer work was considered the privilege of the wealthy and wellborn who knew intuitively what was best for the poor. Many reform movements in this country, many charitable societies and voluntary organizations of all kinds have been dominated by the same basic concept.¹² They

10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

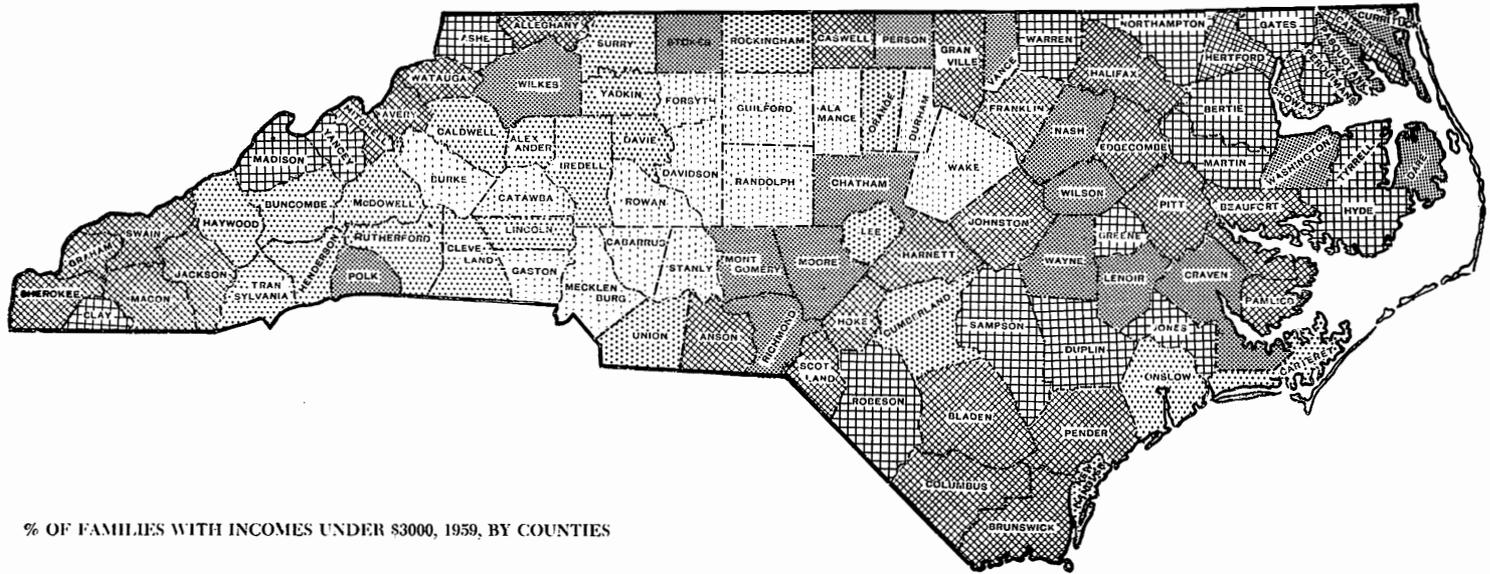
12. Cf. Robert H. Bremner, "Modern Attitudes Toward Charity and Relief," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (July 1959), pp. 377-382; Kathleen Woodroffe, *From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 82-87.



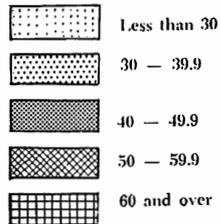
Photo for *The Chapel Hill Weekly*

Leaders meet to coordinate statewide programs of women's organizations.

NORTH CAROLINA



% OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES UNDER \$3000, 1959, BY COUNTIES



Map from Michael P. Brooks, *The Dimensions of Poverty in North Carolina*

Poverty extends throughout North Carolina from the mountains to the sea.

have been controlled by the articulate middle-income groups who have maintained their hold through self-perpetuating by-laws and nominating committees. But in a fluid society like the American where public school education has spread the skills which knowledge brings and where an open-ended economic system has permitted even the lower classes to rise, the old establishment is constantly changing. Demands for inclusion within the inner circles, even of voluntary work, have broadened the base of authority.

Many forces have been at work to bring a leveling spirit into the old aristocracy of voluntarism. Any reform movement which has brought improvement in the lot of the many has also influenced the right of the individual to give his time freely and without grudge to associations for the common good. The social history of this country has been a slow march toward the recognition of the worth of the individual, because, strangely enough, while the nation was founded on this concept, it was not a concept which was accepted and trusted by all. The manhood suffrage movement, the Bible Society movement, the public school movement, the woman suffrage movement, the rapidly developing economic and military power of the United States, the New Deal, World War II, the civil rights movement—all challenged the old aristocracy and authoritarianism. The paternalistic belief that those in positions of power know best and, therefore, have the right to perpetuate themselves in places of top leadership even in voluntary associations has come now to be questioned.

The new voluntarism—which is not new at all but a slow growth and ripening of the experiences of the past—stresses the importance of unity. As Mr. Hilkert puts it, the old establishment “must not abdicate,” but instead must “work effectively with, or rather within, the broadly-based new order.” He observes that “problems of integration are by no means limited to racial adaptations.” In the pressures of the moment, “we have almost forgotten that the ‘achievement of one-ness,’ the attainment of unity, is not solely related to the civil rights movement.”¹³

The crux of the new voluntarism is whether, as many have pointed out, we are as able to practice democracy as we are to talk about it. The Report of the North Carolina Governor’s Commission on the Status of Women in 1964 summarized its findings on “Women as

13. “Workshop Summary, The Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America,” *op. cit.*

Volunteers" with significant words couched in the philosophy of the new voluntarism:

Voluntary work for many years has been the prerogative of the upper classes. Lady Bountiful, who went about in flowing skirts and picture hat dispensing small favors to the poor, has given way to the earnest volunteer who strives "to meet an unmet need." All too often the persons being served, just as in the days of Lady Bountiful, are not themselves involved in the process. All organizations need a concerted drive to broaden the membership base, and agencies using large numbers of volunteers need to look beyond the upper classes for their personnel.

It is increasingly clear that significant change occurs only when volunteers help people to help themselves. If organizations will operate on the democratic assumption that all people, including those on the rim of poverty, can work and plan effectively if given the necessary facilitating forces, a broad step shall have been taken in North Carolina toward the motivation and increased purposefulness of all the state's human resources.¹⁴

The forces at work which made possible such a statement sprang from the sudden awareness of vast needs among the American people pointed up by the Great Depression of the thirties, united into a common concern for all citizens by the threat of World War II, and the sudden war weariness and return to "normalcy" which immediately followed.

Reservoirs of Volunteer Workers

The seeds had been sown, however, for the concept of total involvement of all the citizens. The philosophy of community organization and group work, for example, emphasized this point. Increasing numbers of volunteers are likely to come from five resources: youths, college students, the retired, the church, and low-income groups. Some economists would add a sixth group to this list: the underemployed whose numbers will increase rapidly as automation advances.

During World War II, professional workers began to ask more and more frequently, "Why not have committees on youth work actually composed of some youths themselves?"

From the ranks of our young human resources have come high school, even junior high school, students who have served not only their own interests in organizations of their own such as 4-H Clubs,

14. Report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, *The Many Lives of North Carolina Women* (Raleigh: North Carolina Commission on the Status of Women, 1964), p. 54.

Y-teens, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and other youth groups, but have supplied a reservoir of volunteers whose work has been of enormous benefit to their communities. Some large cities such as New York and Philadelphia have even established either through public or private funds a professionally staffed organization to work with "Volunteer Opportunities for Teenagers," as it is called in New York, or "Student Volunteer Program," as in Philadelphia.

College students have long done various types of volunteer work especially in the community setting of their universities. Their pioneer activities were at first chiefly in the field of religion but for 50 years or more they have been concerned with social welfare problems, youth-serving groups, and tutoring. Since World War II college students have shown a great increase in interest in the problems of society and have coupled this interest with a desire to do something about these problems. College students in North Carolina, for example, were the first to begin the sit-ins and have been in the vanguard of the civil rights movement.

A third source of volunteers, destined to become available in increasing numbers, comes from retired personnel. Before the development of an industrial society in America, a person retired from active work only by death which came to the average woman in her childbearing years and to a man in his forties or fifties.

Today, when compulsory retirement is now the practice in all except small business, agriculture, and certain low-income jobs and when the improvement in health facilities and medical science has increased the average life span for women to 72 and for men to 67, the number of senior citizens has vastly increased. Like Dr. Connie Guion, who was born in North Carolina but has spent all her professional life in the practice of medicine in New York City, they want to be engaged in work worth doing after retirement.

"When I can no longer practice medicine," she said recently, "you won't find me sitting in my garden or watching birds or sticking stamps in a book. A person who does nothing useful is lost . . . Hobbies to me are just like kids playing with blocks. Work is what keeps people young."

Another powerful force which is strengthening voluntarism is the increased activity of the church in social concerns. This is a multiple force including all faiths and all denominations. It cuts across both racial and denominational lines to become interracial and interfaith.

There is some evidence, also, that this new dimension to "loving thy neighbor as thyself," has brought back into membership some of those who had given up the church as a force for social action. With the church's emphasis upon the new mission to the community will come an additional impetus to voluntarism so that the probable result will be an ever increasing expansion in the numbers of those who are ready to serve others.

The fifth group comes from the poor themselves. Low-income groups are the largest untapped resource for volunteer work in the nation. They have the pattern of sharing but hard necessity reduces it to small dimensions. The work they do demands long hours with a high expenditure of physical strength. Their low pay forces them to scrounge for additional income to meet the needs of life. Those without jobs turn to public relief. Many a deserted family has a father who has absconded so that his children may go on the welfare rolls. The poor live out their lives in uncertainty and deprivation, yet this precarious existence develops a technique which enables the poor to establish instant communication with others of their group. When relieved of some of the pressures of existence, they are freed to serve their neighbors with common sense and skill. These are the indigent leaders who are coming to be recognized as an implementing force in the war on poverty.

As automation advances and more and more employees are displaced by machines, policy planners are pointing to the ranks of the unemployed and the underemployed as another vast reservoir of volunteers. Some current programs for retraining displaced laborers have already become obsolete before the training has been completed. "Would it not be more realistic for the government to adopt a policy of a guaranteed annual minimum income similar to that of other industrial countries of the world?" some industrialists and even members of the Congress are beginning to ask. Such a public policy should then, some think, be accompanied by a mass approach encouraging the unemployed and the underemployed to participate in volunteer public service.

John L. Perry, former Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce and now Director of Development of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, points to the high risk of educating an unemployed person for "obsolescence in his own lifetime . . . if he is 'educated' for a short-run job." He says further:

This is where one cannot escape a serious consideration of a Guaranteed Annual Income and all that it carries with it—such as the revision of the Protestant ethic . . . about the virtue of work for work's sake, a reorientation toward public service activities rather than employment for personal gain, a psychological adjustment to accommodate creative use of leisure time, and, of course, a virtual junking and replacement of the already obsolescent educational system.¹⁵

Basic Assumptions

In the light of these trends in volunteer activities throughout the country, this study of volunteers in North Carolina with special reference to work with low-income groups began its research and planning program with the following assumptions:

- The most powerful force undergirding voluntary activities in behalf of the underprivileged, the unfortunate, and the unloved in our society is the Judeo-Christian faith.

- The renewed concern of the American church for the social action of its members and for the rightness of implementing its teachings of universal love and forgiveness will increase the supply of volunteers for meaningful community betterment.

- Volunteer work benefits both the person or group served and the person or group giving the service.

- Voluntarism is a satisfying way of meeting human needs—the basic desire to feel needed and loved, the need to belong, the need for human companionship, and the need to be engaged in activity that is worth doing.

- The values of voluntarism are taught in the family, in the church, in the school, and in the character building agencies in the community.

- Many citizens in North Carolina are denied the benefits of learning these values because their low-income and underprivileged social status build for them a life style which makes it difficult to meet human needs in this way.

- The impulse to meet these human needs through voluntary service has been a luxury reserved for middle-income groups.

- Involvement of low-income groups in voluntary work for their own betterment will not come as the result of laissez faire or quiet persuasion by middle-income volunteers.

15. "Technology and the Ghettoes," *Center Diary*, 16 (January-February 1967), p. 29.

- Middle-income volunteers, however, can build bridges of understanding between the community as a whole and the needs of the poor, and serve as catalysts to develop indigenous leadership.
- A highly motivated indigenous leader is an effective volunteer for involvement of low-income groups in self-improvement.
- North Carolina does not yet possess a large reservoir of trained volunteers prepared for work with the poor.
- Interpretation of the goals, training, and supervision are prerequisites for the expansion of volunteer activities.
- This important task can be performed most effectively by agencies whose purposes are oriented toward the accomplishment of these goals both on the state and community levels.

2

DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUNTEER WORK

The occupations of men and the means of their livelihood influence their participation in voluntary associations.

* * *

Voluntary organizations have prepared the way for almost every important political, economic, and social reform that has taken place not only in North Carolina but elsewhere in the nation.

* * *

Within the last 20 years, the trends have been toward the integration of organizational memberships and the coordination of voluntary efforts.

The work of volunteers and the development of voluntary organizations followed the same general pattern in North Carolina as elsewhere in the nation. Local differences depended upon the geographic location of the community and its resulting population structure and wealth.

“North Carolina has never been a social and economic unit,”¹ wrote R. D. W. Connor in 1929, then Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, later to become the first Director of the National Archives of the United States. He thought it was the geography of the state which produced these difficulties and formed the “basis of the east and west sectionalism which runs through the entire history of North Carolina.”²

The state has a long coastline without a single major harbor, and, in Colonial days, most settlers landed first in the harbors of other colonies before slowly making their way into North Carolina. Virginians sometimes derisively spoke of these settlers as the riffraff from other colonies.

1. R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1929), I, 164.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 17.

The major rivers which were the chief means of transportation in Colonial days rise in Virginia, flow in a southeasterly direction through North Carolina, and empty into South Carolina. The result was that North Carolina produce flowed into the markets of other colonies where traders claimed their toll of the income.

The coastal plain ends abruptly as it approaches the center of the state and slants in a southeasterly direction as it encounters a low rocky ridge which forms the eastern boundary of the Piedmont plateau. The Piedmont is a relatively narrow band of heavy red clay soil which runs in the same southeasterly direction as the coastal plain. To the west it erupts into low foothills and soon rises to some of the highest ridges of the Appalachian range.

The western section of the state was isolated both from the coastal plain and the Piedmont plateau, and it was not until the twentieth century that good roads began to open up communications among all sections of the state. Until the last few decades, the Piedmont has been considered a part of Western North Carolina, and it has been only since World War I that it has emerged as the center of industry.

"The products of the soil determine the occupations of men and the means by which they earn a living influence their political opinions,"³ wrote Professor Collier Cobb of the University of North Carolina in the *Raleigh News and Observer* of 1896 in attempting to explain the conservatism and lack of economic growth in the state. The occupations of men and the means of their livelihood have also been found to influence the extent to which they participate in voluntary associations.

Voluntary Associations in Colonial Days

Social distinctions were written into law in the early Colonial period with the gentry at the top of the ladder, the yeomen or farmers next, then the white indentured servants, the "free people of color," and finally the slaves. Except for those whose color set them apart from the rest, the social structure was constantly changing. There were never many large landowners in North Carolina. Indentured servants could always rise to a higher status, and, until the development of industry, there was never any great concentration of wealth in the region.

3. "Geology of North Carolina; Its Influence on Our Political History," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C., July 2, 1896).

North Carolina was one of the last of the 13 colonies to be settled and often reckoned as one of the poorest. In the decades after the American Revolution, the state was frequently called the Rip Van Winkle of the nation.

In Colonial North Carolina, the safety of the scattered settlements, even life itself, depended upon mutual assistance. Colonists banded together for their military protection and economic survival, and not infrequently sent joint petitions to the Colonial legislature for the settlement of common grievances.

In these early days, social and economic affairs, personal and public matters, family concerns and government regulations were all closely related. If one crafty trader cheated an Indian village, the entire white settlement might suffer a raid. The colonist literally knew the meaning of the Biblical injunction to be his neighbor's keeper.

The settlers joined together in building a house for a newcomer, in helping one another at planting and harvest times, in building a church. As the young colony developed, these occasions became times of fun and recreation. Corn huskings, molasses grindings, house raisings were social events in which all hands joined. To this day these customs still persist in some rural and isolated areas of the state.

Some of the settlers had participated in organizing religious groups and various "compacts" of voluntary assemblies in the homeland. This practice they brought with them to the New World.

Britain had poor laws⁴ before the seventeenth century, and the colonists knew that care of the poor was the combined duty of church

4. The monastic orders in medieval England inaugurated the systematic care of the poor. They maintained a system of social relief, conducted hospitals for the sick and mentally ill, and gave alms to vagrants. When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, he also destroyed the poor system and Britain was plagued with a vast problem of destitution until the codification of the Poor Law Acts of 1601 under Elizabeth I. These laws created overseers of the poor, local taxes for the poor, and houses for the sick and elderly. Through the centuries these laws were enlarged from time to time but "the poor law taint" prevailed. While the poor laws relieved destitution and provided some help for the chronically ill, the stigma of pauperism was degrading to those served.

The National Assistance Act of 1948 abolished the poor law system by providing medical care for all citizens regardless of income and revised the unemployment insurance and retirement pension schemes on the assumption that all Britons have a right to expect their basic health and welfare needs to be met by government funds. For a discussion of the relief and poor law systems of Europe, see Louis Gottschalk and Donald Lach, *The Transformation of Modern Europe* (2 vols.; Chicago: Scott, 1954).

and government. In North Carolina as elsewhere in the New World, wardens of the poor were appointed or elected and their duties laid out. A system of apprenticeships patterned after European practice was set up to provide for the education of "the worthy poor" in a trade or craft, but the idea of education of all people as a duty of government was a concept which required more than 200 years to develop.⁵ Masters of apprentices and guardians of orphans were required by law to give their wards "rudiments of learning," but a liberal education was reserved for the wealthy. The importance of education to the poor and, therefore, to the development of the colony was recognized, and as early as 1710 John Bennett of Currituck left a legacy for the education of the poor. A few other wealthy colonists were to follow his example.⁶

The only benevolent association which might be said to have had membership throughout the colony prior to the American Revolution was the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order, often referred to as "the most important social institution" in the colony. The readiness of the settlers, however, to join together to better themselves was dramatically illustrated in the War of the Regulation (1770-1771), centered in Hillsborough, when leaders in this "western" area violently protested against the taxes imposed upon them "by the East."

The Rise of Reform Movements

When peace came after the Revolution, the new state experienced a burst of social and religious activities. At least 15 private academies with their supporting boards were chartered in a five-year period, and, with the Anglican Church no longer the established order, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches drew citizens together in numerous voluntary religious groups.

From about 1810 almost every rural as well as urban church in North Carolina had its official board composed entirely of males and its female benevolent society. The men attended strictly to the major affairs of the church—the discipline of members, the regulation of orthodoxy, and the administration of finances. But the church turned to the women of the congregation if a poor family needed clothing, the church a new carpet, the preacher a parsonage, or the slaves

5. Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), chap. 9.

6. Connor, *op. cit.*, I, 179.

instruction in English "sufficient to enable them to read the Bible." More than 150 years later, religious work in North Carolina still claims a majority of the total number of volunteers in the state.

As early as 1818 the State Agricultural Society, led by wealthy planters and political leaders, was organized and state funds were appropriated for the organization of local branches. Whenever a county agricultural society was formed it was permitted to draw from the public treasury a sum equal to what the society had voluntarily raised, one of the first examples of the matching of local and state funds for the general welfare.⁷

Groups of men in almost every town in North Carolina also organized literary societies, debating clubs, lyceum societies, and library associations which maintained reading rooms open to subscribers and "respectable strangers." These organizations were largely for the benefit of their own members and, while they undoubtedly provided a form of education which would otherwise have been denied, even the women in their families were invited to only one public meeting during the year.⁸

It was left to the women to organize charitable societies to care for the sick and the poor. The first was the New Bern Female Charitable Society in 1812, to be followed the next year by the Fayetteville Female Orphan Asylum Society.⁹

This was the period, too, when the organization of reform movements developed. The movement for court reform, relaxation of the punitive criminal code, custodial care of the mentally ill as well as the temperance movement and the Bible Society all found advocates among the literate classes. Before the Nat Turner insurrection, it was even possible to find anti-slavery advocates in North Carolina, although there was no evidence of membership in anti-slavery societies as there was in the American Colonization Society.

The shock of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods dampened the organized concerns of voluntary groups, but by 1880 voluntary associations were again underway. Professional, business, and social welfare organizations appeared rapidly and the reform movements of the antebellum period gathered new strength. Women banded together in Mutual Aid Societies, joined the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and slowly began to support the North Carolina

7. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 167-168.

Suffrage League, which after the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, merged into the first effort to establish the League of Women Voters of North Carolina.

Rapid Increase Since 1900

In 1902 twenty-nine statewide voluntary organizations were listed in the *North Carolina Year Book*. By 1925 the number had grown to 77. Almost every city and small town in the state also had its Chamber of Commerce, several civic luncheon groups for men, book clubs, women's clubs, and patriotic, fraternal, and religious organizations. The 1965-1966 edition of the annual *Directory of North Carolina Organizations* lists 193 statewide organizations, but the enumeration is by no means complete.

The organization of local women's clubs into a state unit came in 1902 with the creation of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs.¹⁰ The Federation in turn gave birth to other important organizations of women such as the Garden Clubs of North Carolina and the State Legislative Council, in which men's groups also participate. The Federation also assisted in creating the North Carolina Federation of Home Demonstration Clubs, later called the Organization of Home Demonstration Clubs and now the Extension Homemakers' Association.

In the meantime, numerous other educational, cultural, and patriotic groups were being organized. For example, as early as 1907 university-educated women in Raleigh banded together in what was later to become a branch of the American Association of University Women. The State Literary and Historical Association was organized soon after the turn of the century and the custom of holding "Culture Week" in Raleigh in early December became a celebrated occasion in which related groups such as the Art, Poetry, and Folklore societies joined. Most of these organizations have been limited traditionally to white members, but nonwhites were also at work setting up their own groups.

Development of Negro Organizations

Organizations composed entirely of Negroes date back to the days of slavery. The movement began first in religious organizations, and

10. Sallie Southall Cotten, *History of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs* (Raleigh, Edwards, 1925).

in North Carolina came as a result of the withdrawal from the white religious denominations following the Civil War. The church has, in fact, been the most important institutional development among Negroes and has been the training ground for leadership. Almost every significant voluntary association involving Negroes is either blessed by the church or stimulated to activity by church leaders. In Asheville, for example, when Negro parents became alarmed about the rise of delinquency among Negro youths in 1963, Negro public school teachers and church officers united to employ the structure of the local churches to inform parents and organize a Community Council for Character Development to take action against these incipient Negro gangs.¹¹

Every church has its woman's society and circle meetings. Home missionaries are also chosen from the membership and are charged with the responsibility of friendly visiting and care of the sick, elderly, and neglected.

In the cities, the sororities are active. They are composed chiefly of the educated Negro upper classes who assume responsibility for small groups of low-income children for whom they provide cultural enrichment. In one North Carolina city of more than 100,000 population, a Negro woman leader estimates that no less than 50 organized groups of Negro women carry on active programs of charitable, educational, and legislative work.

In 1909, only seven years after the creation of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs¹² was organized under the leadership of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Director of Palmer Institute near Greensboro. In much the same way as its white counterpart has worked for the establishment of Samarcan School for delinquent white girls and has continued to support the institution, the Negro Federation has worked for the establishment of the Girls' Training School at Dobbs Farm in Kinston.

The Federation has also organized and promoted summer camp programs for Negro children, day care centers, and college scholar-

11. Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, "Report of the Committee on Voluntary Organizations and Expanded Services," mimeo, pp. 54-55.

12. North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, "Fiftieth Anniversary Convention, May 14, 15, 16, 1959; Wilson, N.C.," *The Federation Journal*, 15 (Fall 1959).

ships. The similarity of the programs in the two Federations points to the common interests of all North Carolina women.

There is, indeed, a counterpart organization for almost every segregated agency in the state, both for men and for women. Several years ago, when John R. Larkins, Consultant for Special Services for the State Board of Public Welfare, compiled a list of local voluntary organizations composed predominantly or entirely of nonwhites, he found 83 civic, improvement, better-citizen, and development groups working together "to improve the social, economic, and political conditions of Negroes and promote harmonious race relations."¹³ Such an organization was in existence in all except 12 of the state's 100 counties. These 12 counties were located either in the coastal plain where the economic and educational level of Negroes is the lowest in the state or in the mountain counties where the Negro population is negligible.

Since 1917 North Carolina has had local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Winston-Salem has the only unit of the Urban League. With the beginning of demonstrations for civil rights initiated by Negro and white college students in Greensboro in 1960, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee have had both Negro and white members in North Carolina composed largely of teenagers and college students.

Organizations for Racial Goodwill

Just as these civil rights organizations have been interracial in membership with a preponderance of Negro members so was the composition of the North Carolina Interracial Commission, the earliest organization in the state for interracial understanding. It developed following World War I with the encouragement of a regional organization with headquarters in Atlanta which had been created with funds from the Young Men's Christian Association and various religious denominations. In North Carolina the Governor of the state regularly issued invitations to whites and Negroes, men and women, to assemble at the Capitol for a yearly discussion of how to achieve tolerance.

This voluntary association was a counter movement to the Ku Klux Klan which since Reconstruction days has operated to maintain

13. "Civic Organizations in North Carolina—by Counties," (Raleigh), mimeo.

white supremacy. For almost 100 years the Klan has undergone periods of activity and quiescence which have usually been keyed to the rise and fall of public acceptance of the Negro as a participating citizen in the affairs of the state. The White Citizens Council, which is another white-supremacy agency, has also found some support in a few urban areas.

North Carolina was among the first of the southern states to organize a counter movement to the Klan. From the beginning, it was presided over by state leaders in church, education, and government. During World War II, the old Interracial Commissions of the South were replaced by Human Relations Councils under the guidance of the Southern Regional Council which had been organized jointly by southern Negroes and whites in an attempt to prevent a repetition of the race riots which had terrified some of the largest cities of the South following World War I.¹⁴ The North Carolina Human Relations Council now has headquarters in Greensboro.

In 1963 during Governor Terry Sanford's administration, which came during the height of the civil rights demonstrations, the Good Neighbor Council was created as an auxiliary arm of state government in an attempt to enlarge economic opportunities for Negroes and promote racial goodwill. The Council has a board of volunteer leaders appointed by the Governor.

The period since World War II not only has seen the greatest increase in voluntary associations in the state, but also has seen trends toward (1) racial integration of memberships, and (2) coordination of voluntary efforts.

The Movement Toward Integration of Memberships

Integration of membership has been almost as difficult to achieve in men's and women's organizations as among white and Negro associations. The pioneering movement to combine the efforts of both men and women in voluntary associations was led by such groups as the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the North Carolina Education Association.

Some churches permitted women on their official boards before World War II, but it has been chiefly within the last decade that the barrier against women in policy-making positions has fallen. The pat-

14. Guy B. Johnson, "A Footnote to History," Annual Meeting North Carolina Council on Human Relations, 1965, pp. 4-5.

tern still prevails of a voluntary organization composed entirely of men with a companion organization of women known as the auxiliary. In most organizations which do combine both men and women in membership, it is traditional for a man to be president and a woman secretary. There have been notable exceptions to this tradition.

In this same period, the barriers against Negro and white memberships have also been coming down. The Young Women's Christian Association was a pioneer in the movement to start a dialogue between the boards of the white and Negro branches of the Association, and this dialogue has led to integration of membership and branch officers. Other leaders have been the American Association of University Women, United Church Women, the League of Women Voters, and recently the Extension Homemakers' Association.

In 1964 the Committee on Voluntary Organizations of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women polled 150 statewide organizations listed in the annual *Directory of North Carolina Organizations* to determine what they considered to be their major achievements, their total membership, and the nature of their membership structure. Sixty-nine replied indicating that they have a total combined membership of 2,558,522 working in 20,053 local units. Their membership structure by race and sex is indicated in Table 1.¹⁵

TABLE 1
MEMBERSHIP STRUCTURE OF N. C. ORGANIZATIONS

<i>Type of Membership</i>	<i>Number of Organizations</i>
All women	45
Men and women	24
All white	30
White and nonwhite	32
All nonwhite	7

The greatest number of organizations replying were composed entirely of women (45), but it is also significant that 24 organizations combine both men and women and that an even greater number (32) combine both whites and Negroes. A little more than half (37) of the 69 organizations are still segregated racially.

Coordination of Voluntary Efforts

The first effort to unite organizations with common interests came with the organization of the State Legislative Council in 1920. Today

15. Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, "Report of the Committee on Voluntary Organizations and Expanded Services," p. 12.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

The poor may be a family of neglected children whose mother works in domestic service for less than \$30 a week.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Upgrading the skills of low-income families is a goal of antipoverty programs to help the poor help themselves.

the Council has 19 members and claims an impressive list of social legislation passed as a result of the combined efforts of both men's and women's organizations. Later, the United Forces for Education, under the leadership of the North Carolina Educational Association, brought some of these same organizations into a combined effort to agree upon support of educational measures.

Another significant effort to combine the influence of many organizations "to work and plan together to achieve common goals," was the creation of the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations in 1952.¹⁶ Beginning with an affiliated membership of ten statewide women's organizations, or organizations composed predominantly of women, the Council has now grown to 37 with a total membership of a half million. It publishes an annual *Directory of North Carolina Organizations*, conducts an annual Leadership Training Workshop at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, an annual Fall Forum on important domestic issues, maintains a statewide Leadership Roster from whose numbers the Council regularly makes recommendations for important appointive positions on boards at all levels of government, and serves as a clearinghouse for program goals and for meeting dates of workshops, conferences, and conventions of statewide groups.

Many groups hold training sessions for their own members, but the Council Leadership Training Workshop is the only one in the state set up to serve all voluntary workers. It has been attended by white, Indian, and Negro women, but so far by only a few men. Today women who have attended these workshops are going out to give leadership to local and statewide groups throughout North Carolina.

A significant coordinating effort of the religious forces in the state came with the establishment of the North Carolina Council of Churches in which most of the Protestant denominations have united except the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, although a few local Baptist churches are members of the Council.

Following World War II, the women's religious organizations with denominational affiliation in the North Carolina Council of Churches united to form the Department of United Church Women. Today ten denominational groups are affiliated with United Church Women. The

16. *Annual Directory of North Carolina Organizations, 1962-1963*, "A Decade of Growth" (Chapel Hill: N. C. Council of Women's Organizations, 1962), pp. 19-23.

organization not only has led the way among women's groups in bringing Negro women into participating membership, but it has made forthright statements concerning renunciation of "the pattern of racial segregation both in the churches and in society as a violation of the Gospel of Love and Human Brotherhood."

In 1950 about 12 women's statewide organizations began an effort to coordinate their activities in international relations with the creation of the North Carolina Conference on World Affairs. The Conference extended membership in 1959 to men's groups and became a council on world affairs.

Achievements of Voluntary Organizations

The activities of these hundreds of voluntary organizations which function in North Carolina are aimed at the betterment of their members and improvement of the general welfare of the state. They are concerned with education, church-related programs, community service, health services, patriotism, the creative arts, professional interests, and public affairs.

The achievements of voluntary organizations include almost the entire range of social, educational, charitable, judicial, and political reforms of the last 50 years. They include the creation of the State Library Commission, the Commission on Archives and History, the State Department of Public Welfare, and the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina.

Voluntary organizations have worked for prison reform relating to probation and parole, replacement of county chain gangs with county prison camps, abolition of flogging, rehabilitation of prisoners, the separation of the prison system from the public works and highway system, domestic relations courts, and a juvenile court system.

The good roads movement was sponsored by a voluntary organization set up to educate the citizens of the state to the importance of improving transportation as a means of bringing produce to market. Both men's and women's civic organizations joined in support of the movement and saw the establishment and expansion of the public works and highway system.

The North Carolina Conference for Social Service and the State Legislative Council, joined by other voluntary groups, have promoted and achieved legislation for the protection of children in industry; expansion of the public school term from six, to eight, and finally to

nine months and the addition of the twelfth grade; the minimum wage; the program for public assistance to the needy, dependent children, the aged, and the blind; and protection for children against abuses in their adoption.

These organizations claim responsibility also for having a large share in making possible the secret ballot, the use of voting machines, the passage of recent court reform measures, legislative redistricting, a program of pay-as-you-go to accumulate capital funds for school building programs, increased appropriations for higher education, and the added emphasis recently placed on upgrading the public school system.

Millions for Private Social Welfare

While most of the largest cities in the state have at one time or another undertaken to organize the community resources to meet the needs of the area, the number of community councils now functioning in North Carolina is small. There are, however, 64 communities affiliated with Carolinas United Community Services which raise private funds for benevolent, recreational, health, and educational needs in their communities. These local agencies observe the policies of Carolinas United which is affiliated with United Community Funds and Councils of America. A committee from a local United Fund reviews the budget requests of the locally approved agencies, sees that the requests meet standards for operation and outlay, allocates the agency's share of available community funds, raises the United budget in a campaign conducted by volunteers, and later apportions the funds received.

Not all the social welfare agencies operating within the local communities are included in the United Fund, notably some of the health agencies such as the Tuberculosis Association, the Heart Association, the American Cancer Society, and the League for Crippled Children and Adults. A specialist in fund raising is usually employed in the state office of these organizations who assists the local communities to organize their campaigns and recruit their volunteers for fund raising. Their campaigns are conducted at some time other than the fall campaign of the United Fund.

The increasing demands upon the private resources of the citizens of the state by all kinds of organizations for a myriad of purposes led

the General Assembly in 1939¹⁷ to authorize the State Board of Public Welfare to screen all applicants seeking to raise funds in North Carolina and to grant a license for this purpose. Exempt from the effects of this law are those organizations which solicit funds only from their members.

The funds raised every year from industry, businesses large and small, and from private citizens may be counted in the millions. For example, the budget for statewide organizations coming within the jurisdiction of Carolinas United was set for 1966-1967 at more than a half million.¹⁸ The total funds raised for use in the local communities amounted to about ten million.

The expansion of private fund raising for community service in five-year periods beginning in 1951 is an indication of the increasing sensitivity of North Carolinians to the needs of social welfare (Table 2).¹⁹

TABLE 2
SUMS RAISED BY LOCAL UNITED FUNDS IN N. C.

Year	Number of Campaigns	Amount Raised
1951	31	\$ 2,435,269
1956	60	6,248,558
1961	72	7,872,894
1965	75	10,028,425

Additional millions are also raised by the local churches to carry on their administrative, benevolent, educational, recreational, and missionary activities. The funds for benevolence alone raised by one of the largest denominations in the state for 1965 was more than two million dollars.²⁰

Coordination of Volunteer Services

Most private voluntary organizations in the state observe a pattern of communication running from the local unit through the district level to the state organization. Some even divide their lines of organizational communications into zones and subdistricts before reaching the district level. The result is a great proliferation of meetings which the conscientious volunteer cannot possibly fulfill without neglect to business, professional, or family concerns.

17. *N. C. General Statutes*, Sec. 108-86. This statute was rewritten in 1947.

18. Carolinas United Community Services, letter dated August 10, 1966.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *The Methodist Story*, 10 (February 1966), p. 35.

Since every newly organized group in the state and community wishes to enlist the membership of "the leaders," there is much duplication of officeholding, both on the state and local levels, and the same "top leadership" may be found frequently to dominate the most popular voluntary agencies. Such a process not only makes for competition for volunteers, but also tends to concentrate in the hands of a few the authority to make decisions and shape policy within the agencies which have been set up to serve large segments, if not all, the population.

In view of the enormous and conflicting demands upon the volunteer, the Report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women recommended in 1964 that a statewide Volunteers Bureau be organized to set up guidelines and stimulate the organization of local volunteer bureaus to serve as coordinator of volunteer resources and community needs. "The training and use of volunteers could then be purposeful, the offer of service meaningful, and the rewards both to the community and the individual volunteer genuinely significant."

Several volunteer bureaus are now in process of being organized. The Greensboro Bureau, which is one of several volunteer coordinating agencies in the state, operates under the direction of the Greensboro Community Council. It has a director and an advisory board. The Council publishes an annual "Directory of Community Services" for the use of "all persons in the community as a ready reference to specific services" available in voluntary and tax-supported resources.

Two other agencies, the American Red Cross and the Young Women's Christian Association, also frequently supply volunteers upon request. American Red Cross places emphasis upon work with military-related personnel and their families and upon supplying volunteers as hospital aides. The YWCA provides a variety of volunteer activities to its members in an attempt to meet the total family situation, but it will also give volunteer assistance in a variety of community situations such as tutoring, aid to senior citizens, and emergency transportation.

With the creation of the North Carolina Fund which by 1965 had assisted eleven local community action programs to organize in areas ranging from the mountains to the sea, additional emphasis was placed on community organization and mobilization of volunteers. The emphasis of these programs has been in work with low-income groups and the majority of volunteers have come from those living in

the neighborhoods being served. These neighborhoods are designated "target areas." Staff in the community action programs have sought out leaders in low-income groups to encourage others like themselves to join in seeking solutions to their common problems.

This is not the first time that community organization principles have been applied to American slums, but it is the first time a concerted effort has been made to apply these techniques to the shanty towns, the "tin tops," and the "Potter's Fields" of North Carolina's rural and urban poverty areas. A few local community programs under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Fund began with at least one staff member designated as a volunteer coordinator; a few have added volunteer coordinators later; and a few are now in process of funding programs for volunteers at all economic and social levels.

Since the establishment of the North Carolina Fund and the beginning of the antipoverty program under the Office of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, some aspect of the war on poverty has been set up in all except five of North Carolina's 100 counties.

Before the success of community efforts in North Carolina can be appraised it is important to take a look at poverty in the state and examine the available volunteer resources.

3

THE FACE OF POVERTY

"They just let me go to school when it rained so hard we couldn't work on the farm. I never had no chance to learn readin' and writin'. When you don't know readin' and writin' it's hard to take care of yourself. You have to let other people in on your business."—Indigenous leader in a Piedmont Target Area.

* * *

"They don't care here at the housing project whether you get ahead or not. All they want is for you not to make over \$3,000 a year. They made Sally, here, stop taking in wash because she was making some money at it—and her five children a-starving and her husband sick."—Resident of a Public Housing apartment.

* * *

"It's the wonderfulest thing ever happened to me. I didn't know they was people who cared about people like me till I met these ladies teaching in the night school."—Member of a Basic Education Class.

These are the voices of poverty. They are myriad—one fifth of our nation¹ and, on the same basis of comparison, one half the population of North Carolina.² When regional differences in cost of living are taken into account, the North Carolina Fund has estimated that a more exact estimate of the extent of poverty in the state might be calculated at 37 per cent.

The poor are those Americans whose basic needs are greater than their means of satisfying them. They are the victims of failures in our government and social structure—from seasonal unemployment to upheaval in production methods, from family desertion to illegitimacy,

1. *Poverty and Deprivation in the United States: The Plight of Two-Fifths of a Nation* (Washington, D.C.: Conference on Economic Progress, April 1962). See also "Poverty in America," *Monthly Labor Review*, 87 (March 1964), pp. 285-291.

2. Michael P. Brooks, *The Dimensions of Poverty in North Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: The North Carolina Fund, 1964), Monograph No. 1, p. 3.

from racial discrimination to violence and death. In addition, these Americans must bear the burden of our scorn.

The average middle-class citizen sees the poor as being in poverty because of a foolish unwillingness to be otherwise.

"They are lazy, shiftless, irresponsible," said the wife of a successful professional man recently. "They are poor because it is their own fault."³

The poor may be a family of children whose mother works in domestic service six and a half days a week for \$26. The poor may be a family in which the sudden illness of the breadwinner has brought disaster. The poor may be a person in extreme old age, living alone, abandoned on the outskirts of one of our Piedmont cities. Or the poor may, in fact, be children scavenging in garbage pails.

"You go into a house and there are the rats, the dirty children. The father's drunk, maybe. It can be rather shocking to an idealist," said a community leader in an Eastern North Carolina City.

. . . It is a world apart, whose inhabitants are isolated from the mainstream of American life and alienated from its values. It is a world where Americans are literally concerned with day-to-day survival . . . where a minor illness is a major tragedy, where pride and privacy must be sacrificed to get help, where honesty can become a luxury and ambition a myth.⁴

Goals of the Antipoverty Program

The Council of Economic Advisers in submitting a report for the President to make to the Congress in 1964 recommended a multiple approach in a war on poverty. The Council also pointed out that "there is no precise way to measure the number of families who do not have the resources to provide minimum satisfaction of their own particular needs," and agreed as the basis of measurement upon a "concept of average need for an average or representative family."⁵ Various research has provided support for using, as a boundary, a family whose annual money income from all sources was \$3,000.⁶

3. Interview No. 8, August 2, 1966. See Robert E. Lane, "The Lower Classes Deserve No Better Than They Get" in *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 71-72, 330-331.

4. *Economic Report of the President, 1964*, Council of Economic Advisers (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 56-57.

5. *Monthly Labor Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

6. *Ibid.* Before taxes and expressed in 1962 prices.



Photo by courtesy of American National Red Cross

Volunteers achieve self-fulfillment by giving their services without thought of personal gain.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Many volunteers in North Carolina are engaged in educational activities. Here a speech therapist instructs a small boy.

The President, therefore, recommended to the Congress a strategy against poverty in which various departments of government would participate—The Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and a newly created auxiliary to the Office of the President to be called the Office of Economic Opportunity. The program was designed with 12 objectives:⁷

- *Maintaining high employment.* A labor market in which the demand for workers is high in comparison to the supply would be a strong deterrent to poverty.

- *Accelerating economic growth.* Improvement of living standards is keyed to economic growth, and economic growth depends upon the development of science and technology, accumulation of capital, and upgrading the skills of our human resources.

- *Fighting discrimination.* The ethnic group in our population which is the object of the sharpest discrimination has a rate of poverty twice as high as that for the nation as a whole. The nation is deprived of the talents and training of the nonwhite population because of this discrimination in employment and thereby pays a high cost for its prejudice. More important than this, however, is the fact that discrimination is a denial of basic human rights.

- *Improving regional economies.* Some regions of the nation are more prosperous than others. This happens when their natural resources are depleted or when changes in technology or demands for their products operate against them. The Area Redevelopment Administration of the Federal Government will help restore such regions by attempting to establish a viable economy suitable to their physical and human resources. Of all regions in the nation, the South has the lowest economic base.

- *Rehabilitating urban and rural communities.* Slum clearance accompanied by the provision of better housing for low-income groups and improved community facilities and services will change the physical environment of the poor for the better.

Depressed rural areas also need help. The Rural Area Development program will be of assistance in raising income and employment opportunities of farm communities. This program has especial significance for North Carolina which has the highest percentage of rural population in the nation.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-291.

- *Improving labor markets.* Strengthening the Federal-State Employment Service through giving better guidance and counseling; development of a system of early warning of labor displacement when automation brings rapid change; assistance in worker relocation through the recent amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act and through the Trade Expansion Act; increased benefits under unemployment insurance—all these provisions will help workers to maintain or increase their wages.

- *Expanding educational opportunities.* Many young people have inadequate education today because their communities either lack the resources to develop good schools or they spend most of their resources on schools in the higher income areas. Educational opportunities must be available to rich and poor alike if the poor are ever to be able to pull themselves up into a higher income bracket. The President's program against poverty will specifically aim, therefore, to strengthen the educational services to children of the poor.

- *Enlarging job opportunities for youth.* The President proposed a Youth Employment Act to expand on-the-job training and public service employment programs and specifically the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps.

- *Improving the nation's health.* Poor health, malnutrition, and chronic disabilities are aspects of poverty. Passage of the program to provide hospital insurance for the aged under the Social Security system was the first step in the President's health program. Expansion of mental health services and legislation to increase the number of doctors and dentists had already been passed as a step in this direction.

- *Promoting adult education and training.* Automation has made obsolete the skills of many workers and further advances in technology will make it impossible for many adults to earn a living—without new skills and training. The Manpower Training and Development Act and the training programs under the Area Redevelopment Act have already been passed to grapple with these problems, but these programs must be expanded and others developed to place more emphasis on help for those with the greatest deficiencies.

- *Assisting the aged and disabled.* Improvement of social insurance benefits, expansion of health-related costs, more attention to housing for the needs of the aged are all necessary steps to prevent the inroads of poverty.

- *Coordinating the attack on poverty.* Individual programs to

remove poverty from the face of the nation can become so embedded in the machinery of operation that poor individuals and poor families can be lost in the bureaucracy. "Programs," said the President's report, "must be sufficiently coordinated that, whatever else they individually accomplish, they act together to lift the economic and social status of America's poor." This attack on poverty must be adapted to the needs of the community. To this end, funds would be made available to state and local governments and private organizations, and their efforts would be channeled through the appropriate Federal agencies.

Many of the proposals made by the President were converted into legislation in the months which followed, and a nationwide attack on poverty through action, research, and demonstration was underway. These new programs were the most far-reaching approach the Congress had ever taken to aid citizens at the bottom of the economic ladder. They were designed to reach the basic unit of society—the family—at all stages of the life cycle. The needs of children, youth, adults in their working years, and the aged would be met through programs in education, health, housing, welfare, and agriculture. The Office of Economic Opportunity⁸ was created to channel much of the assistance in this crash program. It was designed to stretch down through the states into every county in the nation.

Poverty programs have been in operation for years, but a multiple approach to solutions has come only recently.

In 1963, a year before the federal antipoverty program was underway, Governor Terry Sanford established the North Carolina Fund with grants from several philanthropic foundations. Soon afterward, 51 North Carolina communities organized their leadership, planned local programs, and asked the Fund to help finance them. Although sufficient resources were not available to assist all who requested it, eleven programs were established, and North Carolina was thus able to begin its own war on poverty in advance of most other states.

"The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the North Carolina

8. Separate staff within OEO operate a Job Corps, a Community Action Program (CAP), a program for Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA), and special programs for migrant workers. See also *A Nation Aroused, First Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965). The Report shows work in the following additional areas: Project Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, College Work-Study, Work Experience, Adult Basic Education, Small Business Loans, Rural Loans, Upward Bound, and Programs for the Elderly.

Fund share two major objectives," wrote George H. Esser, Jr., Director of the Fund in 1965, "(1) mobilization of all resources available to the community—public and private, local and national and (2) involvement of the poor themselves in planning and implementing the attack on poverty."⁹

In order to give as much assistance as possible in community organization to those counties without a funded program, the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare applied for and received from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a grant for training and support of Community Service Consultants to coordinate local antipoverty efforts.¹⁰ Fourteen Consultants are now at work in various counties in the state.

*The Profile of Poverty in North Carolina*¹¹

When the same basis is used for estimating the poor in North Carolina as was followed by the Conference on Economic Progress, not only were one half the families in North Carolina found to be living in poverty but nearly three-fourths (72.8%) in conditions of deprivation.¹² This estimate compares with approximately 40 per cent for the nation's population as a whole.

The median income for families in North Carolina in 1959 was \$3,956, just under the \$4,000 established as the poverty line by the Conference on Economic Progress. If \$3,000 is accepted as the base line for hard-core poverty in North Carolina, 46 of the state's 100 counties fall within this description. Five counties—Clay, Greene, Hyde, Tyrrell, and Warren—had median family incomes of less than \$2,000. With few exceptions the counties with the lowest family in-

9. "Perspective," *Blueprint for Opportunity*, 1 (Durham, N.C.: The North Carolina Fund, April 1965). The programs funded are: Choanoke Area Development Association, Charlotte Area Fund, Craven Operation Progress, Experiment in Self-Reliance, Macon Program for Progress, Nash-Edgecombe Economic Development, Operation Breakthrough, Opportunity Corporation, Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Tri-County Community Action, WAMY Community Action. For a summary report of the programs in these counties see *Blueprint for Opportunity*, 2 (March 1966), pp. 10-11.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 6. In July 1966 the following counties had Community Service Consultants: Ashe, Bladen, Carteret, Caswell, Chatham, Clay, Cleveland, Harnett, Pitt, Polk, Wake, Wayne, Wilkes, and Union.

11. The source of data presented in this section is from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, North Carolina* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961).

12. Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

come are either in the extreme western or in the eastern portions of the state.

A person's education is usually a safe guide to his earning power. The same is true of a state's population. If the median education rate is low, so also is the state's median income. In 1960 the median number of school years completed by North Carolina's population aged 25 years and over was a little less than ten years (8.9). This places North Carolina in a tie with Arkansas and Mississippi for forty-fourth place among the 50 states. The other states with a lower rank are all within the boundaries of the Old South.

Only five counties in North Carolina—Cumberland, Mecklenburg, Onslow, Orange, and Wake—have a median education rate higher than the national median of 10.6 years. All five of these counties have special inducements such as a concentration of industrial, military, educational, or government facilities which attract trained personnel.

If a person has less than five years of schooling, he is called functionally illiterate by educators. As might be expected, counties ranking low in income also rank high in illiteracy. About one out of every 16 adults over 25 years old in the state's population is functionally illiterate.

Employment is also an index of prosperity. In 1962 the rate of unemployment in the state as a whole was 5.9 per cent, not far from the national rate. In general, the Piedmont had the highest level of employment and the western, northeastern, and southeastern sections the lowest. Warren County with its almost exclusive emphasis on agriculture had the lowest unemployment rate of any county except Stokes, three per cent. Mechanization of agriculture has been slow in reaching Warren and farm labor is still in sufficient demand to take up any slack in the labor force. In Stokes, with its low population and high rate of industrialization, labor demands are also high. The largest numbers of unemployed persons in the state in 1962 were in the cities of the Piedmont and in such southeastern counties as Robeson where there is a relatively high population density in an agricultural county where mechanization is underway.

Underemployment is also a measure of poverty. In 1959 almost a third of North Carolina's labor force worked less than 40 weeks. Underemployment was lowest in the northern and central Piedmont in a tier of counties stretching from Buncombe to Alamance and highest in the far western and southeastern counties. In three of the

five counties with median family incomes of less than \$2,000 a year—Greene, Hyde, and Tyrrell—half or more of all who worked in 1959 did so for less than 40 weeks.

In 1959 only seven per cent of all North Carolina families had incomes of \$10,000 or more. Only a third of all workers were engaged in white-collar jobs of professional, managerial, clerical, and sales positions. The counties with high proportions employed in agriculture also had high proportions of low-income families as well.

Housing is also a gauge of poverty. In 33 counties in the state, over 60 per cent of the houses were dilapidated or lacking in adequate plumbing facilities. Some of these counties were in the west but the majority were in the eastern half of the state. By the definition of overcrowding used by the 1960 Census of Housing, 207,234 housing units in North Carolina were overcrowded. Mecklenburg County had more than 10,000 overcrowded units, but Hoke County had the highest rate (31.9%). The lowest rates were in the Piedmont, a few coastal counties, and a few resort counties in the mountains.

Overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions of the poor contribute to their pattern of ill health. They suffer from chronic diseases and malnutrition, and have a higher rate of mental illness than those in high-income levels. Due to the excellent work of the State Board of Health both the tuberculosis rate and the incidence of venereal diseases have no positive correlation with low-income counties. In fact, two low-income counties, Pender and Dare, were the only two counties reporting no tuberculosis in 1961. Two of the highest income counties—Mecklenburg and Durham—also had the highest rates of venereal diseases, and six of the low-income counties, four in the west and two in the extreme east, reported no incidence of venereal diseases.

The most glaring discrepancies in health between low- and high-income families show up in the comparisons between maternal mortality and the infant death rate of whites and Negroes. The median income of families is more than twice as high for whites as for Negroes. Yet the Negro maternal death rate is more than five and a half times higher than for whites, and the infant death rate shows almost as high a difference.

The number of cases on the public welfare rolls is no measure of poverty. Many factors other than lack of family income influence a county's willingness to grant public assistance. In general it may be

stated that the rates of cases per population density tend to be highest in the mountain counties. Forty-two counties in the state had less than 25 cases per 10,000 population.

Two additional facets of poverty have yet to be explored, the place of residence and the racial composition. In 1900 the state's rural population was 90 per cent, but in each succeeding decade it has declined. Even today 60.4 per cent is still listed as rural, but, significantly, only 17.7 per cent is rural farm while 42.7 per cent is rural nonfarm, those who live in small towns of less than 2,500 population and those who live in the country and work in town.

Place of residence strongly influences the amount of family income. The predominantly agricultural counties have a high percentage of low-income families. For example, urban families in 1959 had a median income of \$4,843, almost \$2,000 above the poverty level. Rural nonfarm families had a median income of \$3,828, almost \$1,000 above this level, but rural farm families fell below the poverty level with a median income of \$2,247.

Even more significant than place of residence in determining family income is its racial composition. If a person is a Lumbee Indian living in Robeson or adjacent counties, a Cherokee living on the reservation in Western North Carolina, or a Negro wherever the place of residence, he is more than twice as likely to live in poverty. In 1960 a little more than one-fourth (25.4 %) the population of North Carolina was nonwhite, about 1.2 million persons.

The nonwhite population is largest in the Piedmont but there are also concentrations in the coastal plain counties. In fact, nonwhites outnumber whites in eleven eastern counties. A strong correlation exists between poverty and the presence of a large concentration of nonwhites in these agricultural counties. In the mountain counties, however, the poor are predominantly white.

The disparity between incomes of white and nonwhite families is clearly indicated in Table 3.¹³

For more than 100 years, North Carolina has been faced with the problem of losing its young and productive adults to more prosperous areas of the nation. This migration of the population in the highest income-producing age bracket continues to this day. Left

13. *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, op. cit.* For a comparison of family income by race and place of residence as well as by other selected characteristics for all families in the United States for 1947 and 1962, see *Monthly Labor Review, op. cit.*, Table 3, p. 289.

VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

TABLE 3
 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN N. C. BY RACE AND
 PLACE OF RESIDENCE, 1960

	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural Nonfarm</i>	<i>Rural Farm</i>
White	\$5,565	\$4,310	\$2,796
Nonwhite	2,599	1,817	1,213

behind are disproportionate numbers of the young. The median age of the population in 1960 was 25½, more than four years younger than the national median.¹⁴ This age pattern can be accounted for chiefly by migration from the state of those between the ages of 20 and 44 who are in their most productive years and best able to provide for the very young and the old.

The average wage earner, therefore, must support a larger number of persons than his counterpart in the nation as a whole and the state itself is required to make large expenditures for education.¹⁵ It is interesting to explore the effect also upon family income and to determine the place of residence of families with the largest number of children. Michael P. Brooks found in his outline of poverty for the North Carolina Fund that

. . . those counties in which workers tended to have the most dependents were, more often than not, the counties in which family incomes were lowest. This probably reflects several factors, including the relative scarcity of jobs in the counties so indicated, the tendency (though on the decline) for low-income families to have more children than their middle-class counterparts, a similar tendency among rural families as compared with urban, and perhaps even (in some cases) the hindering effect of an excessively large family on one who tries . . . to move up economically.¹⁶

If the popular assumption is correct that crime and illegitimacy accompany poverty, it would be logical to expect that North Carolina would also have a high rate of juvenile delinquency and illegitimacy correlated with the low-income, high birth-rate counties. No such strong correlation can be discovered in North Carolina, but one day in a recorder's court in almost any community in the state indicates that the majority of those coming before the judge are from the ranks of the poor.¹⁷

14. *North Carolina: An Economic Profile* (Richmond, Va.: Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

16. Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

17. The object of legal aid plans now being considered in several parts of the

Undoubtedly the ease with which middle-class offenders can employ legal assistance to defend them before the courts and the financial resources available to those in high-income brackets to conceal illegitimacy influence the statistics of antisocial behavior to the disadvantage of the poor. In this connection, however, it is interesting to point out that five of the low-income counties in the state—Alexander, Dare, Hyde, Jones, and Pender—had no juvenile court cases in 1959-1960. The urban counties of the Piedmont with their comparatively low percentage of poor families have the highest juvenile delinquency rates. The number of cases in Mecklenburg was the highest in the state. While many other forces are also involved, the implication seems clear that urbanization is also a contributing factor of antisocial behavior.

Illegitimacy has a somewhat different pattern.¹⁸ The dominant pattern in the state, held by 28 of North Carolina's 100 counties, was an illegitimacy rate of from five to ten per 100 live births in 1961. The low-income counties in the mountains have the lowest rate and the low-income counties of the east the highest.

These are the Poor

In attempting to uncover poverty in North Carolina, to determine the needs of the poor, and to interpret these needs, it is important to understand that the poor cannot be lumped together in one large group and described as if all had the same characteristics. Yet this is exactly what most investigators of the life style of the poor have done. Studies show that most of the poor—that is the urban poor of the North and West, the favorite target for research—do have a relatively homogeneous social-economic background.¹⁹ They seem to share a

state supported in part by funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity is to give legal assistance to certain categories of the poor who otherwise might be denied help, especially in civil cases. See "Legal Aid Plan Slated for Initiation," *Durham Morning Herald* (Durham, N.C., August 8, 1966).

18. See North Carolina Conference for Social Service, "The Problem of Births out of Wedlock" (Raleigh, April 1959), mimeo.

19. For a brief summary of numerous studies, see Lola M. Ireland (ed.), *Low-Income Life Styles* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration), No. 14; *Growing Up Poor* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, 1966), No. 13; Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 26-30.

common set of life conditions,²⁰ and live in close proximity, in more or less restricted neighborhoods, but here the similarities probably end.²¹

Most studies of the poor fail to point out that many different social-economic patterns exist even in urban areas. Among the most obvious categories are the poor who are regularly employed, the poor who are underemployed, the poor who have been uprooted recently by migration, the poor who have become recently unemployed, and the poor who have experienced a generation or two of unemployment. An empirical study of these varying economic-deprivation patterns might also show different patterns of life conditions.

This study places chief emphasis upon the use of volunteers in work with the poor, and has made no attempt to examine the impact of economic deprivation upon low-income family patterns in North Carolina. The findings of Michael P. Brooks in his examination of census data did uncover a few differences. The findings have been reinforced by more than 100 interviews in depth made for the purposes of this study. Some of the data from these interviews coincide with the findings of a number of studies made of low-income groups elsewhere in the nation which describe characteristics of the poor as lack of group ties, hostility toward their own kind, and a minimum of cultural regulations. But the interviews show also that some low-income groups do not have these characteristics and vary widely from other low-income groups in the state. Excerpts from a few interviews will illustrate these points.

. . . "Most poor people don't consider themselves poor. They have something and you have something. The something they have is important to them, and the only thing important that you have and they don't is money."²² So spoke a professional worker in a federally supported antipoverty program in one of North Carolina's largest cities.

20. Irelan, *op. cit.*, p. 83: "Among the traits or values that are said to dispose the poor to behavior different from the middle and upper classes are: an attitude of fatalism; a preference for immediate gratification of impulses; a low level of aspiration and low need to achieve; an unclear view of the higher social structure; a concrete style of thinking; and over-concern with security."

21. Orville R. Gurslin and Jack L. Roach, "Some Problems in Training the Unemployed," *Social Problems*, 12 (Summer 1964), pp. 86-98, reviews the chief empirical studies in this field. See also Roach and Gurslin, "The Lower Class, Status Frustration and Social Disorganization," *Social Forces*, 43 (May 1965), pp. 501-510.

22. Interview No. 3, June 27, 1966.

They have a feeling they have "been gone down upon," but they have pride and they want to show the world "they are as good as you. The poor in this neighborhood and elsewhere, at least in this part of North Carolina, have a twisted sense of values from a middle-class point of view." The professional worker continued:

It is more important to them to put on a show of fine things than it is to feed and clothe themselves and their children. This is a part of the something they have that you don't. You don't drive around in a big shiny automobile the way they do, big and shiny although it may fall apart around the next corner because it was just a piece of junk when they bought it *because it was big and shiny*. You don't buy big, expensive toys for your children.

All of us seek status. This is the way the poor seek it because for the most part other means of achieving it are denied them. They're trying to prove something: that they are as good as you are and can get for themselves the things they want, even better than the things you have for yourself. I have to be careful what I drive and what I wear because they will be trying to outdo me.

They boast about being good to their children, yet they let them run wild all over the neighborhood without any supervision even when the children are still very small. In a way it is hard to fault them because there is no provision for child care and the mothers do work hard in low-paid jobs.

They do love their children, I think, but the children are also a great burden. Parents have no sense of discipline. The stick is the answer. They have to beat their children because this is the only way they get things done. They also use a mean, threatening tone in speaking to their children when reproving them. Fear is the basis of their discipline because this is all they know. The parents are afraid of what's out yonder so they think they must make their children afraid of them to get obedience, and yet they don't really care about obedience except in special situations.

They raise their voices angrily and shout, "I'm going to *kill* you." This does not really frighten the children. The children know their parents will not carry through on their threats. They have lied to them so many times, they know this is a lie, too. Parents set the example of lying, cheating, being irresponsible, never making good on a promise.

For the most part, low-income people have quick, loud tempers. They are easily angered and express it with noise. They are afraid that, if they don't stand up to every challenge, they will be broken down. Their pride and their false sense of being able to control their own fate is all they have left, and they don't want to lose it.

So they buy expensive toys for their children at Christmas even though the children are ragged and the house they are living in has holes in the floor large enough to fall through. There is a woman liv-

ing in this neighborhood who has five or six illegitimate children who boasts about how good she is to them. All are dirty and half starved, but she takes turns giving each one \$5 a week to spend as it likes.

Once I had the opportunity when she was bragging about giving her children \$5, to say to her, "Sweetheart, what are you trying to prove? Don't you understand that they don't know how to spend the money in the way that is best? Why don't you take this money and add it to the groceries so the children will be better fed, or save it to buy them some decent clothes once in a while?" But I couldn't get through to her and just made her mad.

These people also think they are moral no matter how many illegitimate children they have. The last child that comes is always the last one they expect to have. There is a house not far from here where 29 are living in three or four rooms—a mother, four or five of her daughters, and a house full of illegitimate children—but they don't really consider themselves a bad family. The daughters give their favors sometimes just to get something to eat, and along comes another baby.

In counseling, I have to be quiet, indirect, and talk around the point. I have to convince the person I'm talking to that I am not the Big I. They are on guard and saying to themselves, "Here is somebody going to ram something down my throat." And they are afraid to ask questions for fear they will be exposed.

I have often wondered if all this doesn't come from the conditioning their ancestors had in slavery. The master beat the slaves to make them do the work they wanted, so the parents beat their children as the only way they know to get discipline. They are evasive and secretive because this is the way they had to be during slavery, and parents have handed down this pattern of behavior to their children.²³

This professional staff member, who was himself nonwhite and had spent all his professional life working with low-income groups, also called attention to the high incidence of neurotic and even psychotic behavior among them.²⁴ "There is a girl living in this neighborhood," he said, "who goes around with four fingers in her mouth all the time, but I can't make the mother see that this is a symptom of the child's needing emotional help."

Interviewers for this study found a high rate of physical disabilities among the poor.²⁵ "Many of the children in this Day Care Center,"

23. *Ibid.*

24. Cf. *Growing Up Poor*, *op. cit.*, p. 39: "Total life experiences and poor physical health factors relate in a variety of ways to the highest rates of mental illness for those chronically below the poverty line. Genetic factors may also play a role." See also Jerome Myers and Bertram Roberts, *Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959).

25. Cf. Irelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-65.

said a professional teacher in a Piedmont city, "come to us without having been toilet trained although the children are from three to five years old. This is true for the white children, all of whom are on welfare, as well as for Negroes, and many of them have some kind of physical disability." They may be covered with a skin disease such as impetigo. They may have a cast over one eye; a kidney infection; mental retardation; deafness, sometimes congenital but also sometimes caused by neglect when the child had an ear infection.

Children of ethnic groups carry also the burden of being different. Partly because the differences are visible, partly because of historical determinants, partly because they have traditionally been placed and kept at the bottom of the economic ladder, many members of ethnic groups have come to accept as true the popular assumption of difference.²⁶

Years ago when a professor was testing for musical talent he found a Negro youth who could not concentrate and finish the test. The boy dejectedly gave up saying, "Everybody knows a Negro ain't got no sense." Patient testing showed that he actually had a rare talent. The research of Kenneth and Mamie Clark which used a wide assortment of techniques in various segregated southern and northern nursery and school settings bears out the same general implications. A small Negro boy who participated in a similar study in Lynchburg, Virginia, hung his head and hesitated when asked if he were white or colored. Then he murmured, "I guess I'se kinda colored."²⁷

Are poor whites different from poor Negroes?²⁸ Some professional workers think they are, others think not. Most social scientists who have made careful studies of the subject report that socio-economic class differences tend to be greater than racial differences. In the Appalachian region where there is the largest concentration of low-income white families in the state, there are also low rates of anti-social behavior, but when there is migration to the cities the crime

26. Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964), chap. 1.

27. J. K. Morland, "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children in Lynchburg, Virginia," *Social Forces*, 37 (December 1958), pp. 132-137.

28. *Growing Up Poor*, *op. cit.*, p. 73: "Insofar as studies have been done concerning differences between Negroes and whites, findings indicate apparent differences largely disappear when data are carefully analyzed in terms of strictly comparable socio-economic levels. Thus studies reporting racial differences may be reporting class differences to a considerable extent." For a North Carolina study, see Edith B. Back, "Public Welfare, Volunteers, and the War on Poverty," (Durham, N.C.: The North Carolina Fund, 1966), mimeo, pp. 57-59.

rate, especially illegitimacy, seems to increase. A white woman from a mountain county showed strong feelings of family responsibility and scorn for her delinquent white neighbors. "I hold my head up and try to be somebody," she said, "but they's not all round here that do. They's women with no husbands and a lot of children running around, and things go on there at night."²⁹

Characteristics of Low-Income Whites

Like the professionals who work with the nonwhite poor, professionals working with low-income whites think the most obvious characteristic is their pride. One told of an incident in the Appalachian region when an old woman broke her arm but would not have it set by a doctor for three weeks because she did not want it done free. When she was able to make an arrangement to exchange her garden vegetables for the doctor's service she was willing to have the arm set. "We like to pay our way," said a younger woman whose family had accumulated debts due to the severe illness of a child.

A former North Carolina Volunteer³⁰ who had previously worked among the poor in Kentucky said that poverty there was "the worst in the world." After having seen conditions in Kentucky, work with the poor in the North Carolina mountains "looked like a breeze to me." She said:

The poverty-stricken weren't like I expected even though I had seen it in Kentucky. I expected a laziness or a blasé attitude. They aren't lazy; they just can't find employment because of their isolation. They are caught up in their environment. They are very proud.

One afternoon a week I had a recreational program for young children up to ten years old. I never knew children who'd never had a story read to them. You should try telling a story about a tugboat to children who don't know what a boat is.

One night a week we had a library program for teenagers. The teenagers were shy and very modest.

Two other Volunteers in our program tried to do something about a woman who lived with a man who was not her husband. She rebelled and had another baby. The Volunteers felt they had failed because they didn't manage to convert her to middle-class ways.

Frankly, I don't consider the problems of the Appalachian poor to be very much greater than ours. They don't either, because they don't

29. Interview No. 1, June 28, 1966.

30. During the summers of 1964 and 1965, the North Carolina Fund conducted a program carried on by college students similar to the Peace Corps services in overseas programs.

realize the difference. The main causes are economic. Isolation has kept them back, especially in their views. I found work with them disheartening, but not disgusting. We all need to learn that they have pride.³¹

A young teenage white woman living with her husband and baby in an Eastern North Carolina city on an income which placed them within the ranks of economic deprivation did not consider herself poor. Although she and her husband were both drop-outs, she thought most poverty was caused by lack of education. During the interview for this study, she got up many times to check on her four-month-old baby, a robust 21-pounder. She said:

It don't seem like there are as many poor white people as there are colored. My aunt and uncle had a colored family with seven kids working for them. The kids worked in the summer. They made enough to last all winter, but spent it too quick. They don't have enough sense to save. There's never any trouble with educated Negroes, though.

A lot of people are poor because they can't help it. Many have so many children and the men drink so much. We give away stuff in church to members of our congregation at Christmas, but you have to be real careful. Most poor have a houseful of children and a sorry old man.

I think most people do understand the problems of the poor. It could happen to anyone. All you need is a bunch of bad breaks, and then you just don't know what to do about it.³²

Among hard-core poor whites, especially in the urban areas, the same evidences of lying, cheating, stealing seem to be as prevalent as among the nonwhite poor.³³ The incidence of physical disabilities is also high.

The common characteristics of the poor, regardless of their ethnic composition, have been established by numerous studies. The chief traits seem to be social-psychological handicaps; thought patterns which stress immediate rather than long-range goals (cognitive restric-

31. Interview No. 14, July 18, 1966. Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People, Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 28-57, lists the characteristics of low-income groups in Appalachia as individualism, traditionalism, fatalism, action-seeking, person orientation, and domination of a fear psychology. "Life is episodic. During the routines he cannot escape, he usually just exists, waiting for the next episode of action that will provide the real meat of life" (p. 41).

32. Interview No. 13, July 18, 1966.

33. Irelan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

tions); limited ability to play their roles in life such as mother, father, breadwinner; apathy; and a general state of mental fatigue.³⁴

Is There a Culture of Poverty?

Within the last decade much has been written about a "culture of poverty,"³⁵ in an attempt, perhaps, both to describe the characteristics of the poor and to indicate the causes of poverty. The poor are poor, it is argued, because they are born into the culture of poverty and are, therefore, powerless to emerge from it without enabling forces.

The concept of a culture of poverty is particularly popular with those planning work with the poor and developing programs to motivate them to help themselves. The assumption is that they do not have a willingness on their own to do anything about their situation because of a fatalistic attitude that it will be impossible. Such a position is dangerously close to the middle-class attitude that the poor are poor because it is their own fault.

Elizabeth Wickenden, Technical Consultant on Public Social Policy for the National Social Welfare Assembly, cautioned early in 1964 against the current usage of the term "culture of poverty" because "it suggests that something other than absence of money distinguishes the poor as a *group* from the rest of us." She said: "It is true that poverty is discouraging, debilitating, and cuts people off from the mainstream of American life. But there is a danger in suggesting that these qualities are intrinsic to the poor themselves rather than the end-product of remediable social ills."³⁶

34. Gurslin and Roach, "Some Problems in Training the Unemployed," *op. cit.*

35. See, for example, Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963); Marshall B. Clinard (ed.), *Anomie and Deviant Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964); Robert L. Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964).

36. "Notes on Poverty: Cause and Cure" (New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, 1964), mimeo. Miss Wickenden says there are six major groupings of poor people in the country today: "1. Those who are not able to work because they are too old, disabled, too young (and deprived of normal parental support) or tied down by social responsibility. . . . 2. Those who are able and qualified for work but can't find it. . . . 3. Those who are under-employed, under-paid, or disadvantaged in market exchange (as with some farmers). . . . 4. Those who are not equipped to fill available jobs, either because they are under-educated or their old skills have become obsolete. . . . 5. Those who are living in a locality or area where the former means of livelihood has ceased to exist or to afford tolerable living standards. . . . 6. Those whose social and personal problems have brought them to a point of self-defeating discouragement. . . ."

This emphasis upon understanding the behavior of the poor through a more careful examination of their economic deprivation was the subject of a paper by two sociologists from the University of Connecticut, Jack L. Roach and Orville R. Gursslin,³⁷ at the 1965 annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society. They point out that almost no objective study has been made of the causes of poverty and that most of those today who are talking about a culture of poverty confuse description of the poor with causes of poverty. This confusion has led to a chicken-and-egg type of thinking which is based on the assumption that an inevitable circle exists of poverty breeding on poverty. Such a conclusion does not give a firm basis for determining the causes of poverty. They suggest that the cause of poverty probably begins with economic deprivation which in turn leads to social deprivation. A combination of economic and social deprivation can lead to psychological deprivation. When the final stage is reached, hard-core poverty is probably the result.

If these sociologists are correct, and there are professional workers in North Carolina directing programs for the poor who agree, then higher incomes which will pull the poor above the poverty line would probably go a long way toward solving the problems of poverty. A guaranteed family income or some form of negative income tax, as it is also being called, has recently been proposed by a study committee of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The plan has met with some approval in North Carolina.³⁸ Canada adopted a family income supplement following World War II and most of the other industrial nations of the world also have family-support programs.

But lack of money is not always an absolute criterion of poverty as the Economic Advisory Council recognized in formulating the President's antipoverty program. There may be other facets to poverty, and honest differences of opinion exist as to whether upgrading the ability of the poor to earn above the poverty line will in fact alleviate all the problems.

The problem of removing or alleviating the physical disabilities of the poor is already underway through government programs. The

37. Jack L. Roach and Orville R. Gursslin, "An Evaluation of the Concept, 'Culture of Poverty,'" *Social Forces*, 45 (March 1967), pp. 383-391.

38. "Challenge to Old Views on Work," *Durham Morning Herald* (Durham, N.C., July 3, 1966); *Twin City Sentinel* (Winston-Salem, N.C., August 8, 18, 22, 1966).

large sums now being made available to the states by the federal government for education will in a generation or two have a powerful effect on upgrading the poor, but something more is still needed.

Society is constantly punishing the poor because they do not conform to the norms generally accepted by the American value system.³⁹ How can they know what this system is, despite their bombardment by the mass media, unless they have actual communication with bearers of these values?

It is possible that the unfulfilled need which all expert observers of poverty know has not yet been met is the human need for acceptance and a sense of belonging. A warm, person-to-person contact can enhance the feeling of personal dignity. It is the traditional role of the volunteer to serve another understandingly without any greater personal reward than the knowledge that the service has been helpful. A careful exploration of the work now being done by volunteers in North Carolina may possibly bring a partial answer to the discovery of an additional ingredient for some of the solutions of the problems of poverty.

39. Back, *op. cit.*, chap. 2.

4

A PROFILE OF VOLUNTEERS

The typical volunteer is a middle-aged married woman living with her husband and school-age children on an annual income of \$8,000 or more.

* * *

One fifth of the volunteers included in this report live either in poverty or in economic deprivation.

* * *

More than half the volunteers do not think the antipoverty program is effective, but eight out of ten would be glad to work with low-income groups in the experimental programs now being carried out to develop leadership among the poor.

The spirit of volunteer service has always prevailed in North Carolina. Those who have united to work for the common good have usually associated with others from their own economic and ethnic levels, even from their own age and sex levels.

The trend to cut across these levels in voluntary associations has been underway since the days just prior to World War I. World War II speeded up the process. Is this momentum being sustained, and is it carrying the citizens of this state into firmer alliances so that all may be willing to work together in harmony?

What do traditional volunteers think of the antipoverty program? What has been their role, if any, in these programs? Were they doing any work for the poor before the antipoverty program was underway? If so, what kind of work were they doing? Would they like to become more involved in work with the poor? What do they think of the term "paid volunteer" which is now being used to describe some of the low-paid workers who are employed in on-the-job training programs and in community action efforts to develop leadership among the poor? Would they be willing to work as a volunteer with these low-income groups?

Have they had training for the volunteer work they are now doing? If not, would they like to get training before launching a program of help among the underprivileged? Do they think their customary techniques will be effective in working with the poor?

Why do they volunteer their time? Are they impelled by a sense of citizenship responsibility and religious ethic to spend a part of their leisure in service to others? Or is it good advertising for the family business—whether it be politics, agriculture, or industry—to be associated with good works so that one's name frequently appears in the mass media as a community leader?

How the Questionnaires Were Distributed

In the attempt to answer some of these questions, this study formulated two questionnaires, one for volunteers and another for the professional who supervises volunteers, and distributed them throughout the state. Ideally, questionnaires would have been sent to a random sample of volunteers—men, women, teenagers, college students, the retired—in North Carolina, but there is no listing of volunteers and no other simple means of identifying them in order to construct such a sample. In 1964 a query of 150 voluntary organizations revealed a total of more than two and a half million members, but these membership lists are not available for general use and if they were they might have carried few low-income volunteers.

This study, therefore, is based upon the returns from questionnaires from many parts of the state obtained through the services of volunteers who distributed the questionnaires according to a given formula. Key volunteers chosen because of their knowledge of the area of the state in which they lived were asked to distribute the questionnaires either by mail or by hand as evenly as possible among men and women; whites and nonwhites; high-, middle-, and low-income groups; youth, college students, young adults, middle-aged, and retired. All respondents were instructed to mail the questionnaire unsigned directly to the project office within five days after receiving it. The number of questionnaires distributed was 1,750, and by the cut-off date, 525 questionnaires had been returned.

The profile of volunteers working in North Carolina is based upon the returns from these questionnaires, but it should be pointed out that these characteristics are valid only for those returning the questionnaires. Volunteers from Eastern North Carolina returned 114

questionnaires (22.3% of the total); from the Piedmont, 279 (54.5%); and from Western North Carolina 119 (23.2%).

Profile of the Typical Volunteer

An analysis¹ of these returns shows the average volunteer in North Carolina to be a married woman (84% were women), 40 years old or older, living in the Piedmont on a middle income of \$8,000 or more. She gives as much as 29 hours or less a month and works in only one or two volunteer jobs. She is unemployed and does all her own housework. She has been doing volunteer work most of her adult life.

The nature of her volunteer work has changed within the last ten years, and she is now engaged in some kind of work with the poor. She cannot quite make up her mind whether she would like to become more involved in work with the poor, but, as one woman from Eastern North Carolina put it, "I probably would if asked."

She does not think, however, that the poverty program is being carried out effectively (55% said, "No"). She would not like to change the nature of the volunteer work she is now doing (86% said, "No"). The work to which she gives most of her time is likely to be church-related and it involves direct services to people.

The Middle-Income, Middle-Aged Volunteer

The popular assumption is that the person most likely to have time for volunteer work is a married woman living with her husband whose children are old enough to be so far along in school that they no longer need a large portion of her time. The findings of this study tend to confirm this assumption. Table 4 shows the age distribution of the respondents.

Although a serious attempt was made to include youth in this

TABLE 4
AGE OF VOLUNTEERS

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per cent of Total</i>
29 or less	74	14.1
30-39	110	21.0
40-49	142	27.0
50 or over	199	37.9
Total	525	100.0

1. Data analysis for this study was made by the Yale University Computer Center under the direction of Dr. Edward S. Johnson.

study—those in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the “Y” clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Demolay, Candy Strippers, and various teenage church groups—the response from youth was disappointing. Teenagers are less accustomed to filling out questionnaires than their elders and the fact that the questionnaires were distributed in the summer when many were away from home, made them less accessible as respondents than their parents. The time of distribution also meant that many college students who regularly perform volunteer work were likewise unavailable as respondents.

Sixty-five per cent of the 525 persons included in the study were more than 40 years old, and 38 per cent were 50 years or over. When the Agricultural and Extension Education Division of the University of Wisconsin² made a study of potential volunteer leadership for youth groups several years ago, 71 per cent of the 532 adults queried fell in the age group of 40 or over. The study also found that more women than men were willing to volunteer as youth leaders and that 85 per cent of those expressing interest in serving were married.³

The family status of those queried for the study of volunteers in North Carolina is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5
FAMILY STATUS

<i>Status</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per cent of Total</i>
Single	76	14.6
Married, without school-age children	149	28.6
Married, with school-age children	238	45.7
Widowed, without school-age children	43	8.3
Widowed, with school-age children	15	2.8
Total	521	100.0

Seventy-four per cent of the respondents were married and almost half (45.7%) had school-age children. Only eleven per cent were widowed and about 15 per cent were single, indicating a definite association between marital status and volunteer work, a similarity found in the Wisconsin study. Eighty-four per cent of the respondents for this study were women and 16 per cent were men.

Although respondents were asked not to sign their names to the

2. Patrick G. Boyle and Mohammad A. Douglas, “Who Will Serve as Youth Leaders?” *Journal of Cooperative Extension*, 2 (Winter 1964), pp. 211-212.

3. Women exceed men among the Vista personnel with 61 per cent women and 39 per cent men. More than two-thirds (67%) come within the age group between 20-24 years old. Only 14 per cent are 50 and over. See *Vista Volunteer*, 2 (August 1966), p. 19.

questionnaire, and there was no other means of identifying them, 44 did not fill in the question on family income. Most of those leaving the question blank were teenagers who apparently did not know the family income. Of the 481 who did answer the question, roughly 41 per cent had incomes of \$12,000 or more and 27 per cent had incomes of \$15,000 or more. Exactly one-fifth of the respondents reported an income of less than \$4,999 which would place them, if married, in the category of those economically deprived, according to the definition of the Conference on Economic Progress.⁴ These findings seem to reinforce the general assumption that most volunteers come from middle-income groups.

Volunteers included in this study when classified by income level fall into five groups as shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6
FAMILY INCOME OF VOLUNTEERS

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per cent of Total</i>
\$ 4,999 or less	96	20.0
\$ 5,000 - \$ 7,999	84	17.5
\$ 8,000 - \$11,999	104	21.6
\$12,000 - \$14,999	69	14.3
\$15,000 or more	128	26.6
Total	481	100.0

The lowest income reported was that of a widow more than 50 years old, living in Eastern North Carolina on \$750 a year. Several wrote on their questionnaires, "I have only Social Security." A few replied, "We make less than \$2,000. I work in the field but I take time to volunteer." The North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service Study of 1957 made of 41,500 white Home Demonstration women showed that 55 per cent of these rural women doing volunteer work had incomes of less than \$2,500.

Of those in the high-income brackets who do volunteer work, almost a fifth have a maid for a day or more a week. Some wrote "full time," and they were usually the ones who also listed a large number of volunteer jobs. This was not invariably the case, however. Some who had no domestic help whatever, many with school-age children, also listed four or five different volunteer jobs. Half of those responding to the questionnaire reported no domestic help.

While 58 per cent doing volunteer work were unemployed, well

4. *Poverty and Deprivation in the United States, op. cit.*

over a fourth (29.4%) were employed full-time. One in 12 was employed part-time.

Most respondents had been doing volunteer work from ten to 19 years, but eight said they had done volunteer work for more than 50 years, and half had been volunteering for more than 20 years.

Two-Thirds Work With the Poor

The last ten years have brought changes in the nature of the volunteer work being performed by almost two-thirds of the respondents. Eighty-six per cent are apparently satisfied with the work they are doing because they said they would not like to change. About two-thirds reported doing some kind of work with the poor, but only 43 per cent of the projects they listed seemed to involve direct work with the poor.⁵ A little more than half (50.9%), however, did not want to become more involved with the poor. The most frequent complaints against the antipoverty programs were "salaries too high," "money not reaching the right people," "goals too indefinite," "must be bad from all I read in the newspapers."

Those who approved of the program—45 per cent did approve—wrote:

... As effective as any new and far-reaching program could be.
 ... I favor the program, and am sure it is carried out effectively in some places. However, administrators should be more carefully selected, more *qualified* personnel used, better planning with the community in mind, and effective use of volunteers at all levels.
 ... I think the potential is great, but the administration, both federally and locally, is poor . . . As an educational process demonstrating the needs of the poor and thus preparing the way for a guaranteed minimum income—the basic answer to poverty—it is probably effective.
 ... I approve the program, although I may not understand just what the plans are. There must be *guided* help (by capable people) for the poor to learn to help themselves.

Almost three-fourths of the respondents said they had received no training for the work they did with the poor, but most of them (91%) thought training was necessary. The majority thought that such training as they needed could be obtained without too much difficulty and

5. See Chapter 6, p. 84. It is likely that the projects listed did actually involve work with the poor, but the respondents did not state the relationship clearly and, therefore, the projects were scored otherwise. Tutoring, for example, might have been with low-income students, but it was not scored as work with the poor unless specifically indicated.

only a few listed training desired which was not available to them—training to become a practical nurse, training in social work, and similar professional skills.

“I think I can get any information needed on any project I might enter,” was a reply not infrequently encountered.

Others wrote:

... For a truly interested volunteer, on-the-job training is often all that is needed.

... Extension agents could furnish training in methods. Other agencies should do the training for volunteers working with low-income people.

... Volunteers should be psychologically trained for the purpose and function of their service, with in-service training given to sustain this preliminary training.

... Training is crucial. It is possible to do more harm than good if understanding isn't there.

... Volunteers need training in basic skills such as human relations, group work, techniques of community organization, how to make a speech, etc. They also need on-the-job training and supervision.

One out of four, however, thought training unnecessary. “The volunteer would then lose the human touch,” one replied. Others wrote, “Anybody with a college education can take hold of a job and get it done.”

Closely related to the question on training was the one asking whether the same techniques in working with middle-income groups are effective in work with the poor. Fifty-seven per cent thought the same techniques could not be used. Some of the explanations given for this opinion reveal the attitude of volunteers about work with the poor and about the nature of poverty.

“Of course, their economic status is different, and quite a few low-income families have inferior attitudes toward life and are not socially acceptable people,” wrote a young woman from Eastern North Carolina who identified herself as president of a Negro Woman's Club. Others wrote:

... We have to work with each on his level or capacity.

... In working with the poor, more patience, understanding, and a slower pace are needed, as a rule.

... Different techniques have to be employed based on the fact that the two groups are so different. The low-income group is distinguished by its many “lacks.” First of all, money and the worldly goods and services it can purchase. Education and culture (whatever that

is) are lacking or limited. The area where the low-income group or person lives, the place he works, the kind of work he does, and his lack of tenure or job security make differences. Because of these "lacks" (and many others equally or more important) the low-income group has different mental attitudes, different opinions, different worries and concerns than the middle-income group and is less well equipped to plan, evaluate, communicate, and act.

Some did not understand the term "paid volunteer"⁶ used in the questionnaire and stoutly insisted that there is no such thing. ("When you are paid in any way, you cease to be a volunteer.") More than three-fourths of the respondents, however, said they approved of paid volunteers from low-income groups working with others in their group. Such approval would sanction the many experimental programs now being carried on by the antipoverty program in an attempt to find employment and develop leadership among low-income groups. An even larger number of respondents (81%) said they would be willing to work in the same program with a paid volunteer, implying an inclination to become involved with antipoverty programs.

An interesting question thus arises as to whether those who disapprove of the antipoverty program, yet are willing to work with a paid volunteer, would supply a pool of potential volunteers for work in antipoverty programs. Although they say they do not want to become more involved in work with the poor and do not want to change the nature of their volunteer work, the correlations of these variables indicate that these respondents would, in fact, answer an appeal for volunteer service.

The Volunteer's Attitude Toward the Professional

The attitudes of volunteers toward professional workers and toward involvement in program development are also relevant. More than two-thirds of the volunteers thought there are types of work for which volunteers should be replaced by professionals. "Volunteers can demonstrate the need for a program, even initiate it, but when the pioneering stage is over, they should yield their work to professionals to give continuity and depth to the program," said an elderly volunteer. A teenager, doing volunteer work in a hospital, wrote, probably in all seriousness, "All dangerous work should be done by professionals."

6. For an evaluation of the "paid volunteer" see Mrs. Clunet Sawtelle, "The Effect of Payment on the Volunteer Principle," 1965 Workshop Summary, The Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, pp. 1-4.

In developing a program, most volunteers want to be involved in the delineation of goals (58.5%), but they don't want to be bothered with the details of structuring the program (58.3%). Neither do they want a voice in choosing the key volunteer personnel to assist in carrying out the program (59.2%), or in the allocation of specific responsibilities (52.8%). Nevertheless, almost three-fourths object to carrying out only the tasks assigned by professional staff, and they think they should have a voice in step-by-step evaluation of the program while it is underway (56.2%). An even larger percentage (65%) think they should participate in the evaluation of the effectiveness of the program and its accomplishments.

These attitudes may in part account for the disapproval of the anti-poverty programs by more than one half the volunteers included in this study. Only a few local community leaders have played a role in the clarification and statement of goals of the local antipoverty programs, and in evaluating the effectiveness of the program and its accomplishments. At the same time, public information has not been fully utilized to bring firsthand knowledge of the programs to the community, and some of the programs have had a bad press.⁷ With the mass media stressing the failures rather than the successes of the war on poverty, and with the traditional pool of volunteers largely bypassed in the programs, few bridges of understanding have been built between the goals of the antipoverty programs and the community.

The questionnaires show little hostility on the part of volunteers to professional staff members but they do indicate a strong desire to develop a better understanding between the volunteer and the professional. Six out of ten volunteers think a better understanding is needed.

"Most professionals don't know how to use volunteers effectively," wrote a woman who worked as a professional until her marriage, and, when her children were out of diapers, volunteered her services in the area of her skill. "Professionals feel threatened by volunteers. They complain that too much staff time is used in supervising them, for-

7. See for example, *Durham Morning Herald* (Durham, N.C., July 14, 1966), p. 1A; "Employing People with Police Records," *ibid.* (July 17, 1966), p. 4D; *ibid.* (August 15, 1966), p. 8A; *ibid.* (August 17, 1966), p. 1B; *ibid.* (August 19, 1966), p. 1C; *Sun-Journal* (New Bern, N.C., May 6, 1966), p. 9; *Winston-Salem Journal* (February 21, 1966), p. 8; *ibid.* (February 26; April 19, 1966); *Journal and Sentinel* (Winston-Salem, N.C., February 20, 1966), pp. 1A, 12A.

getting that staff can be increased tenfold or more if volunteers are properly trained and supervised."

Another professionally trained volunteer thought that medical doctors were especially prone to consider volunteers, even those who were graduate nurses, as "fifth wheels." She had observed that they cannot seem to find the place for volunteers in a clinic program and do not give them enough specific work to do with the result that volunteers become bored and quit.

Still another wrote, "There is a need to provide structure that will encourage volunteers and professionals to work and learn together."

Some agencies in the state obviously have found such a structure. Four out of ten volunteers think professionals are already working well with volunteers. "Professionals and volunteers in our agency," wrote a respondent, "sit in on planning meetings or on information sessions where the latest research is presented so that volunteers will be better informed."

But there are volunteers who accept the judgment of the professional without question. Perhaps the majority of the four out of ten who think a good understanding exists fall in this category, judging from the comments they made on their questionnaires. "I have never found a lack of understanding," a volunteer wrote. "Having always found it necessary and best to rely on the advice of professionals, the problem does not arise."

Half the volunteers replying thought, however, as did the middle-income married woman from the Piedmont, that agencies "should plan work so as to utilize the time volunteered effectively, give more consideration to the volunteer, and provide favorable working conditions."

Among the services which an agency could provide a volunteer to make it possible for her to give her time more easily were such suggestions as transportation, including bus fare or payment of mileage sufficient to cover gasoline; lunch when the work coincides with mealtime; and even nursery or day care services for the children of volunteers. Such accommodations would greatly increase the supply of volunteers who are already eager and willing to work but who for financial reasons cannot afford "the luxury" of volunteering.

These lower middle-income volunteers see no reason why agencies should not provide minimum services for them when these services

plus a small money wage are being given "paid volunteers." As indicated earlier, they approve of paid volunteers for the most part and agree that in this way "new careers for the poor"⁸ are being opened up. They would be glad to work with paid volunteers, but they also would be willing to expand their own volunteer services if they could do so without too much expense to their families.

The strong feeling of a need for better understanding between volunteers and professionals is inconsistent with the high praise which volunteers in this study have for professionals. Only six out of 100 volunteers think professionals are careless and casual about their work; 25 out of 100 think they are not dependable; 44 out of 100 think they do not show initiative and inventiveness in their work; ten out of 100 think they don't allow the volunteer to show any initiative; and 13 out of 100 think they want the volunteer to do all the busy work. But these negative attitudes are few in comparison to the total number of volunteers queried.

The one point on which there was near unanimity was that professionals do not think volunteers do the work merely to gain prestige. In other words, they assume that the professional knows the volunteer works because of a high motivation for service and not from any cynical reason such as prestige or because it is good advertising for the family business.

Other points on which 90 per cent or more of the volunteers were in agreement were that the professional takes his work seriously, wants to share the challenging work with the volunteer, and gives the volunteer praise. They are not as unanimous on three other points, however. While a majority thought the professional performed better than the volunteer, sought a meaningful relation with volunteers, and were genuinely supportive, more than a third did not think so. Perhaps the more critical volunteers had in mind such a professional as the one who wrote, "Volunteers should be aware that they are volunteers and do not have staff privileges."

Although a little more than half the volunteers who replied to the questionnaire came from the Piedmont, as was to be expected because of the concentration of population in this section of the state, the dif-

8. See Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor, The Non-professional in Human Services* (New York: [Free Press] The Macmillian Company, 1965), pp. 253-260, for a description of some jobs which paid volunteers, or non-professionals, might perform.

ferences in the responses from the three geographical areas were negligible, indicating that volunteers wherever they live in North Carolina tend to have about the same attitudes. A closer examination of what they say are the reasons for their doing volunteer work will give a better picture of volunteers in North Carolina.

5

WHY THEY VOLUNTEER

"I work hard during the day and have to slide over things at home to do this volunteer work at night, but somebody has to head up the council. It's the only way we can learn to be first class citizens."—President of a Neighborhood Council.

* * *

"I love people. I want to do anything that brings me in contact with them so I can find out what makes them tick."—College student in the Piedmont.

* * *

"The volunteer serves his own needs as well as the needs of others. Every well-adjusted individual has a basic need to help others. He also has a normal drive for status-felt recognition which volunteer work fulfills. It is important to him to meet the expectations of others and his obligations to them."—Professor in Eastern North Carolina.

The reasons for doing volunteer work are perhaps as complex as the human personality. When de Tocqueville viewed the American scene more than a hundred years ago and tried to determine why Americans, unlike Europeans, were inclined to join together in voluntary efforts, he concluded that it was due to the absence of a strong, hereditary upper class.

Humanitarian reforms in Europe were introduced through the leadership of some nobleman with sufficient power and prestige to affect change. Power resided with wealth and high social status, de Tocqueville pointed out; but not so in America. Here large numbers of ordinary citizens banded together to gain power through the strength of numbers. Their reasons for giving their time and energy, he thought, must surely be to achieve power.

Volunteer Work Meets Emotional Needs

Numerous studies have been made to determine the answer to the question which seemed quite clear to de Tocqueville. The conclusions

have usually been that the American gives his services for numerous reasons, all perfectly logical to himself. Although the individual may be hard put to come up with an answer when suddenly confronted with the question as to why he volunteers, most social scientists find certain basic principles at the root of his motivation.

Voluntarism not only coincides with the value system of Judeo-Christian ethics, but it also meets basic human emotional needs. Every individual—certainly every individual in a democratic society such as in the United States—yearns for recognition, acceptance, and association. In a work-oriented society, he also wants work that he deems worth doing. He needs to be accepted as a worthwhile individual in his own right, and the fact that he gives his energies freely without thought of payment indicates clearly that his human dignity merits recognition. Thus by volunteering he is demonstrating his humanity.

Once his humanity has been recognized by others, his next human need is for acceptance. Voluntary work functions as a ready-made device for achieving acceptance quickly. By giving one's time unstintingly and in good spirit, acceptance usually comes automatically. A third human need, the need for association, is also met. He works with and for others, develops a sense of belonging which is important for self-fulfillment, and thereby becomes a happier individual with a feeling of self-fulfillment because his basic emotional needs are being met.

To deny an individual the opportunity to offer his services voluntarily would seem, therefore, to be frustrating his efforts to meet his human needs; and, therefore, potentially dangerous. Large segments of American society are, nevertheless, so denied either because their way of life leaves them no leisure to spend as they choose or because they are deemed unacceptable as volunteers. They are screened out of the pool of potential volunteers by their lack of education, their racial origin, their place of residence, their inaccessibility to the customary places of voluntary work. It is one of the purposes of this study to determine how these individuals, so denied, may be brought within the benefits of voluntary association.

Americans who have lived and worked in nations around the world think the drive for voluntary association is a universal trait. For example, Professor H. Harry Giles of the School of Education, New York University, found men and women and teenagers joining



Photo by courtesy of the Department of Volunteer Services,
Forsyth Memorial Hospital, Winston-Salem, N.C.

A Registered Nurse gives wheelchair instruction to volunteers being trained as
Admitting Office Escort Volunteers.



Photo by courtesy of the Department of Volunteer Services,
Forsyth Memorial Hospital, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Volunteers become competent auxiliary personnel when trained and supervised
by a volunteer-oriented professional worker.

together voluntarily to build a road in a mountain village in Puerto Rico. He discovered wives of Greek shipowners organizing to rehabilitate crippled children and a doctor in India who performed thousands of cataract operations free of charge. Others have seen the work of market women in Nigeria who have united to form a child welfare group, and concerned citizens of Freetown, Sierra Leone, who have organized a school for young girls who have failed their Junior Certificate examinations. A world traveler would likely find some form of voluntary work wherever he went because cooperation is basic to survival, even in the animal world. In the world of man it is conducive to emotional maturity.

Professor Giles has pointed out 15 principal factors affecting motivation for voluntary association which he thinks are universal.¹ They are identified with the need to participate with others in outlining goals, aims, and values; in bringing problems into focus; and in exploring the possibilities for group action.

Others have come to somewhat the same conclusions. Professor Kenneth D. Benne of Boston University, in replying to the question of what keeps volunteers working, said, "Interest in their community, of course, and a sense of responsibility for it,"² but these reasons are not sufficient to keep the volunteer at it month after month, year after year, unless he also finds satisfaction in the work.

Research Explores Motivation of Volunteers

Several empirical studies have been made to examine the motivation of volunteers. Social scientists differ on whether motivation based on emotional needs plays a controlling part. David L. Sills³ studied

1. "Motivation of Volunteers," in *Volunteers Can Make the Difference* (New York: Committee of Correspondence, 1964), pp. 15-19. These 15 basic principles are: (1) participation, (2) faith, (3) belief in the plan of action, (4) recognition of the problem, (5) being critical of life, (6) attacking the root problem, (7) to identify personally, (8) to be wanted, (9) seeing a range of possibilities, (10) rewards and recognition, (11) trust and responsibility, (12) to have power, (13) to associate with positive action, (14) to enhance self-respect, (15) to grow and belong. Cf. Eduard C. Lindeman, "Why Do They Do It," in Cohen, *The Citizen Volunteer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69.

2. "Who Volunteers and Why," in *Working With Volunteers*, Leadership Pamphlet, 10 (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1956), pp. 5-12.

3. David L. Sills, *The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 83, 102-103, 110. See also his "A Sociologist Looks at Motivation," in Cohen, *The Citizen Volunteer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-93.

the March of Dimes volunteers and concluded that motivation rooted in humanitarianism was open to question. External influences must be taken into consideration as well as motives. Both sociologists and anthropologists are inclined to think that human action is based on "the total make-up of the person at the moment" in combination with "the total situation in which he finds himself."⁴

Clyde Kluckhohn, a Harvard anthropologist, came to the conclusion in his well-known work, *Mirror for Man*,⁵ that joining a voluntary organization and working within its framework is a form of protection against America's excessively fluid social structure. The individual is thus seeking to find a measure of emotional security in a primary group when he gives his time to volunteer efforts. Robin Williams,⁶ sociologist from Cornell University, also concludes that the weakening of the primary ties of family, neighborhood, church, and small labor groups in American society has led individuals to turn to voluntary associations for intimate group interaction.

Sherwood Fox⁷ who examined the relationship between voluntary associations and the social structure of American society found that differentiation in terms of occupation, place of residence, and way of life is responsible for the development of voluntary associations. He also characterized associations in terms of the functions which they perform and concluded that individuals were attracted to organizations which functioned in a way to meet their personal needs.

Several unpublished doctoral dissertations on voluntarism have been summarized by Ethel Miller Adams of Temple University in her study of the motivation of volunteers. In 1943 Herbert Goldhamer⁸ found in his study in Chicago that satisfying human relationships, a sense of solidarity, and personal security which comes from participa-

4. Arthur Kornhauser and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Analysis of Consumer Action," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (ed.), *The Language of Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 391.

5. Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), p. 250. See also Lawrence K. Frank, "What Influences People to Join Organizations?" *Adult Leadership* (February 1958), p. 196.

6. Robin M. Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 470-471.

7. Sherwood D. Fox, "Voluntary Associations and Social Structure," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1953.

8. Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943. See also his "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951).

tion in group activities were more important to volunteers than the specific nature of the activity.

A study which Bernard Barber⁹ made for a doctorate at Harvard University in 1949 uncovered mass apathy toward voluntary association. He concluded that only the atypical volunteer is motivated to work actively in the programs of a voluntary association. Eight years later another Harvard study made by Gordon Godbey¹⁰ reaffirmed Goldhamer's Chicago findings. The human satisfaction which comes from voluntary work he found to be the chief motivation for volunteering. He also pointed out that the structure of American society is advantageous to voluntary activity. The economic and technological developments in the United States provide a favorable climate for volunteering: the strong American economy with its short working hours, laborsaving devices in the home, and the generally high income of the average citizen.

Dr. Adams¹¹ herself made a study of 362 persons who are volunteers in five social work agencies. She asked them the question, "Why did you become a volunteer worker for this agency?" The responses which she received fell into three main categories related to (1) personal needs or considerations, (2) humanitarian considerations or desires to fulfill the role of citizen, and (3) the benefits which were received by the volunteer from the type of activity conducted by the agency.

The responses refute the stereotyped belief that volunteers are "do-gooders" or Lady Bountifuls who are impelled by a spirit of *noblesse oblige*. The largest number of responses fell in the category of benefits received by the volunteer from the type of activity conducted by the agency and the next highest number of responses was related to the personal needs or considerations of the volunteers. Dr. Adams concluded that volunteers, at least in these five agencies, give their time for the purpose of "receiving." The implication is clear that the moti-

9. Bernard Barber, "Mass Apathy and Voluntary Social Participation in the United States," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949. See also his "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), *Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

10. Gordon Clay Godbey, "The Volunteer in Adult Education," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1957.

11. Ethel Miller Adams, "Motivation: A Changing Picture of the Volunteer," in the Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, Workshop Summary, 1965, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-26.

vation to "give service to others" is weak in comparison to that of the benefit which the volunteer will receive and the returns to the society of which he is a part.

Women are Urged to Consider Their Own Needs

In this connection it is interesting to find that the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study in 1964 advised the educated woman in Greater Boston in its publication, *The Next Steps, A Guide to Part-Time Opportunities*¹² to appraise volunteer activities realistically in terms of her own goals. "Each woman has a distinctive set of objectives and conditions under which she can work. These vary with her personal desires and experiences, and with the stages of her life and of her family." The volunteer should examine both the advantages and disadvantages of each volunteer job available and accept the work which best meets her own personal needs.

This advice coincides with behavior which many volunteers are already exhibiting. When Daniel Thurz queried 1,014 volunteer advisers of B'nai B'rith Youth Organizations in 1960, he found that 46 per cent gave as their explanation for assuming the responsibility a reason based upon a self-oriented motivation.¹³ Twenty-five per cent gave reasons based upon the goals and activities of the organization and only 15.5 per cent gave altruistic reasons.

Two years earlier than the study of B'nai B'rith Youth advisers, Martin Danzig¹⁴ presented a doctoral dissertation to the School of Human Relations of New York University on "The Motivation of the Volunteer" based on depth interviews with 51 officers and lay leaders of six agencies in a small urban community. He attempted to probe the "second and third level of human consciousness" to understand the motivation of volunteers in community work. His study indicates that status needs and economic drives are dominant considerations for the volunteers whom he studied.

12. Martha S. White (ed.), *The Next Step, A Guide to Part-Time Opportunities in Greater Boston for the Educated Woman* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, 1964), p. 71.

13. Daniel Thurz, *Volunteer Group Advisors in a National Social Work Agency* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960), p. 164.

14. Martin Danzig, "Motivation of the Volunteer," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Human Relations, New York University, 1958, quoted in Thurz, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

The Reasons North Carolinians Volunteer

To determine the motivation of North Carolina volunteers, this research project on the use of volunteers in work with the poor designed a question on reasons for doing volunteer work in the instrument constructed to obtain a profile of volunteers. Seven of the eleven reasons listed were self-oriented, two were program-or-activity-oriented, and two were humanitarian-oriented. The respondents were asked to list the reasons as important or not very important and they were given no opportunity to state other reasons, although some did add comments.

Table 7 shows how those who checked this question ranked the reasons listed. Not all of the 525 volunteers who returned the questionnaire checked every reason listed, and a few left the question blank.

TABLE 7
REASONS FOR DOING VOLUNTEER WORK

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Per Cent Ranking Important</i>	<i>Per Cent Ranking Unimportant</i>
I enjoy being with people	89.1	10.9
I like to get out of the house	23.8	76.2
I like to be helpful	96.4	3.6
The work is extremely interesting	85.1	14.9
It is very important that the work be done	94.3	5.7
It is important to my family that I do volunteer work	14.6	85.4
My close friends do volunteer work	15.1	84.9
I feel it is my duty to do volunteer work	72.3	27.7
My relationship with those I serve is very rewarding	92.4	7.6
I like to feel needed	71.9	28.1
Volunteer work gives me prestige	11.9	88.5

North Carolina volunteers ranked very high the two reasons which were related to the program or activity of the volunteer work in which they are engaged. "The work is extremely interesting" was scored as important by 96 per cent of the respondents and "It is very important that the work be done" was scored in the same way by 94 per cent. The humanitarian-oriented question, "I like to be helpful," was also scored important by 96 per cent, but the other question so oriented, "It is my duty," was ranked important by only 72 per cent.

The self-related questions received a mixed response. Only three of the seven questions were ranked important, and four, unimportant. The three important reasons were "I enjoy being with people" (89%), "My relationship with those I serve is very rewarding" (92%), and "I like to feel needed" (72%). "I like to get out of the house" was

important to only 24 per cent of the volunteers. Even less important were the reasons which might be associated with status seeking, "It is important to my family" and "My close friends do volunteer work," both of which were ranked important by only 15 per cent, and "Volunteer work gives me prestige" which received the lowest rate (12%) of all the questions ranked as important.

When the important reasons given for doing volunteer work are compared with the type of work performed and with the age, sex, and income of the volunteer, further insight is gained into motivation. Those engaged in advisory or administrative volunteer work responded most frequently to the self-oriented reasons of a rewarding relationship (93%) and to enjoyment of association with people (91%). Only slightly less important to this type of volunteer is the fact that the work is interesting (86%). Humanitarian reasons are weaker but still ranked important by two-thirds or more of those doing administrative work.

While there is very little difference in the reasons for doing volunteer work between those engaged in administration and those giving direct services, the differences are revealing and give some clues to those recruiting volunteers. Those engaged in direct services are more inclined to want to get out of the house, to participate in volunteer work because their friends do, to consider it important to their families, and to want to feel needed than do the volunteers who are administrators. The service workers are slightly less impelled to volunteer from a sense of duty or to do the work because it is interesting and they enjoy being with people. There is only one per cent difference in favor of administrators in ranking a rewarding relationship as important.

Youth Seeks Companionship

The self-related reasons are ranked highest by volunteers who are young, 29 years old or younger. They become less important, although still highly significant, to those between 30 and 49 years old, and again very important to those 50 or older, although not quite as important as to the youngest age group. These reasons are also slightly more important to those who live in Western North Carolina than elsewhere in the state, although the regional rankings are so close that the differences are insignificant.

It seems clear that those in the youngest age group who are still,

perhaps, unmarried and training for or beginning their careers would consider human-relationship needs as reasons for volunteering more important than those in their middle years who have married, started their families, and are in the midst of building their careers. Those in the aging group who rank these needs only slightly less important than the young are in much the same position. Their careers have developed; they are approaching retirement; their family responsibilities are less; and many are widowed. The need for companionship outside the home is again important.

Women value these companionship-participation-association needs more highly than men, although more than three-fourths of the men also ranked these reasons as very important. Ten per cent more women than men ranked as very important the need to feel needed, a difference which coincides with the traditional nurturing role of women. A fourth of the women gave as an important reason for volunteer work the fact that they like to get out of the house, while only 18 per cent of the men listed this as important. Women more frequently than men gave as a crucial reason the fact that it is important to the family, although neither women nor men thought this reason to be of great significance, 16 per cent for women and ten per cent for men.

Significantly, more men than women listed prestige as important for doing volunteer work. Of the men, those under 29 with a family income ranging between poverty and economic deprivation ranked prestige higher than any other category of volunteer. More than a fifth of the young men ranked prestige as an important reason but only a tenth thought it was important to their families. Almost a third of these young men also listed as important the fact that their friends do volunteer work, a reason listed as unimportant by those 50 years old or older and also by those doing administrative work.

More men than women listed the humanitarian-related reasons of duty as important, and the largest number listing this reason as important fall in the low-income brackets. The type of work which the volunteer performs has very little effect upon the humanitarian-related reason. Only three per cent more doing administrative work gave duty as a reason than did those engaged in direct service to people.

A further analysis of differences according to family income has implications for this study of volunteer work with the poor. The

highest rate of agreement on reasons for volunteering is to be found among those in the income bracket next above the level of economic deprivation, those making between \$5,000-\$7,999. Ninety-nine per cent in this bracket marked love for people as being very important. Only five per cent less, or 94 per cent, in this bracket also listed as very important a rewarding relationship with those with whom they work. This same income group listed prestige as less important than any of the other income levels in the study. It was more important to this income group to get out of the house than to those in the other four income levels listed, and they found the work they did to be extremely interesting.

Why High-Income Groups Volunteer

Since the highest number of respondents in any one income bracket falls within the income rank of \$15,000 or more, their reasons for volunteering may be significant for this study. Ninety-six per cent in this category ranked a rewarding relationship with those served as being important. Love of people and interesting work were each ranked important by 82 per cent. Seventy-six per cent feel it is their duty to volunteer and 64 per cent volunteer because they like to feel needed. Less than a fourth volunteer because they like to get out of the house and only a tenth because it gives them prestige. What their friends do influences less than a tenth and only 16 out of 100 think it is important to their family for them to give their time to volunteer work.

The three reasons on which more than 90 per cent of all volunteers agreed as being the basis for their work were: "I like to be helpful," "It is very important that the work be done," and "My relationship with those I serve is very rewarding." On a fourth reason, "I enjoy being with people," 89 per cent of all volunteers were in agreement. In other words, they recognized that volunteer work was also meeting some of their own basic needs—the need for companionship, the need to be loved, the need for work to do that is worth doing, and the need for participation. Like the volunteers studied elsewhere in the North and Midwest, those in North Carolina were overwhelmingly motivated by the desire to receive as well as to give.

More than a fourth, however, failed to recognize that volunteer work also meets another basic need, "the need to feel needed." The

majority of volunteers did recognize this goal, and sometimes wrote, "Doesn't everybody know he needs to feel needed?"

Four reasons listed on the questionnaire were thought to be unimportant by more than three-fourths of all volunteers: "It is important to my family," "My close friends do volunteer work," "Volunteer work gives me prestige," and "I like to get out of the house."

Do Volunteers Want to Work With the Poor?

If 88 out of 100 volunteers queried by this study have little regard for the prestige value of volunteer work, the fact that they do not consider the antipoverty program to be effective, and, therefore, of low prestige value, would apparently not deter them from working in these programs if asked to do so. Even if their close friends were not working in antipoverty programs, they might still be inclined to give their time because their friends have little influence on their own reasons for volunteering.

Almost the same percentage as those who claim their friends do not influence their volunteer work also say that it is not important to their families. From this it is easy to conclude that their families would also have little influence on the nature of their volunteer work. In one of the interviews for this study, however, a young woman who was doing a skilled job in a neighborhood center reported that she was giving up the work because her husband disapproved.

The reasons listed by the respondents as being most important for doing volunteer work are the same reasons given for launching the antipoverty program—it will be helpful, it is important that the work be done, it is the duty of the nation, the results will be rewarding. Two additional incentives which rank high with the respondents are also associated with the rewards of the antipoverty program—the work is extremely interesting and it gives the participant a sense of feeling needed.

At least one participant in a community action program in North Carolina declared to an interviewer that her work as a subprofessional in a neighborhood center had given her a new purpose in life. "When my husband died, I felt as if my world had come to an end," she said. "But since I have been working here I find the need so great and appreciation so high, I now have a reason for existence."¹⁵

From the 45 out of 100 volunteers in this study who approve the

15. Interview No. 5, June 27, 1966.

antipoverty program will come volunteers from all over North Carolina who will be willing to participate in helping to achieve its goals. It is not unreasonable to think that others because of the high rate of their duty-bound motivation will also be willing to participate once they have seen for themselves some of the accomplishments of a specific project.

For example, 96 per cent of those approving the antipoverty program listed as an important reason for their volunteer work the fact that they consider the relationship with those they serve to be rewarding, and the greatest number of those disapproving the program also checked this reason more frequently than any other listed. Those approving and disapproving the antipoverty program were also in close agreement that their volunteer work is very interesting.

The greatest disparity between the two groups is in the friend-motivated category. Nine per cent more of those approving the antipoverty program than disapproving it are influenced by friends who do volunteer work. A fourth of those approving the program also like to do volunteer work because they want to get out of the house while only 17 per cent disapproving listed this reason as important. But the similarities in motivation for volunteering are more pronounced than the differences, and these similarities coincide with those given by all North Carolina volunteers as reasons for their volunteer work.

These stated motivations for serving others through the free gift of their time and services may come into better perspective when compared against the background of the number of hours volunteers give to their work, the work they do, the work they would like to do, and their suggestions for expanded services.

6

THE WORK THEY DO

"Many women who have been busy in their own organizations want to help in the antipoverty work, yet they don't want to leave their own organizations to do so."—Piedmont housewife.

* * *

"I have worked with families in rural communities—going into their homes and teaching canning and homemaking skills. If we could just be paid mileage, more of us could afford to do this kind of work."—President of a Home Demonstration Club.

* * *

"I have never worked in an office, answering phones, writing letters, that kind of volunteer work. Basically, what I have done is make door-to-door contact, for memberships, for funds, for discussion of a needed community project, to persuade people to come out to a meeting where they might learn something for the benefit of their families or their neighbors."—Member of the General Assembly.

In a small state such as North Carolina with a population about the size of one of the great metropolitan areas in the nation such as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles; a population still dominantly small-town and rural, still closely identified with church and family, the mass apathy which Bernard Barber¹ found in his study of voluntary associations exists less acutely than in urban areas. But it does exist.

As the North Carolina economy moves further away from agriculture and closer to industrialization and more and more of the population becomes oriented to town and city, the greater difficulty organizational leaders are beginning to encounter in recruiting personnel who will participate actively in the affairs of voluntary associations. "Glad to help, but don't make me chairman," is a frequent response.²

1. Bernard Barber in Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), *Studies in Leadership*, *op. cit.*

2. Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, "Report of the Committee on Voluntary Organizations," *op. cit.*, p. 30.

No attempt has been made in this study to determine the proportion of the population in the state which is affiliated with voluntary organizations or the proportion engaged in volunteer work. In 1955 a nationwide survey excluding memberships in trade unions, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, found that only 36 per cent of the adult population belonged to voluntary associations.³ This study also found that people with family incomes of \$7,500 or more were twice as likely to join a voluntary association as those with family incomes of \$2,000 or less. The study also found that membership is three times as great among college graduates as among those who did not complete grammar school and twice as great among professional and white-collar workers as among laborers and skilled workers.

The findings of the study of volunteers in North Carolina do not follow the general patterns of the 1955 nationwide survey, but it should be pointed out that the North Carolina study has made no attempt to duplicate the procedures of the earlier research. A deliberate attempt was made to obtain a response to the questionnaires for this study of North Carolina volunteers from all income levels in the population from the lowest to the highest, from day laborers who are functionally illiterate to college graduates.⁴

The largest single response came from volunteers with a family income of \$15,000 or more, 27 per cent of the total of 525 who replied. The lowest response came from volunteers with a family income of \$12,000-\$14,999 (14%) and the next lowest from those with incomes between \$5,000-\$7,999 (17.5%). Volunteers with family incomes of less than \$5,000, which would place them within the category of economic deprivation, made up exactly a fifth of the respondents and those with incomes between \$8,000-\$11,999 made up a little more than a fifth of the total (21.6%).

3. This survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. See Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence From National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (June 1958), pp. 284-294. See especially the summary of major findings, p. 294. Prior to this survey, Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December 1946), pp. 686-698, and Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February 1956), pp. 13-18, had found that membership in a large number of voluntary associations is not characteristic of American urban dwellers nor is membership a universal pattern throughout the population. See also *supra*, p. 67; *infra*, p. 227.

4. Chapter 4, Table 6.

The fact that 1,750 questionnaires were distributed and only 525 were returned would seem to indicate that no pressure was placed upon individuals to respond. The difference in the response between the lowest and the highest family income groups was only 6.6 per cent, while the difference between the highest income group and that next below it was a spread of 12.3 per cent.

Since Negroes in general fall within the low-income brackets in the state, it would appear to be a safe assumption that most of the Negro respondents fall within the family income category of \$5,000 or less. Negroes tend to join what Sherwood Fox calls minor associations, those which serve the interests of significant minorities of the population such as clubs for the elderly, hobby clubs, and associations formed to protect the rights of various ethnic groups.⁵ This North Carolina study found a marked tendency for the Negro population to join voluntary organizations. For example, in one of the counties with the lowest family income in the Piedmont, no less than eleven Negro Betterment Associations are functioning, and at least 50 Negro clubs are at work in one of the largest cities in the state.

Another reason for the good response of low-income respondents to the questionnaire is undoubtedly the result of the antipoverty programs. Leadership is being stimulated at this income level as never before in the history of the state.

While the high response from the lowest income group is relatively easy to explain, it is difficult to account for the relatively low response from the income groups ranging from \$5,000-\$7,999 and from \$12,000-\$14,999. If the findings from the 1955 nationwide survey were applicable to North Carolina, the response from these groups should have been higher than from the low-income level.

The Hours They Spend

Volunteers literally give millions of work hours daily to hospitals, clinics, youth-serving agencies, recreational, cultural, and religious organizations in this nation. Even if agencies would like to replace them with paid workers, they would not be able to do so because of the scarcity of trained personnel. The need for professional staff in all categories of the service agencies from health through group work to community organization continues to outdistance the supply. The gap has been and probably will continue to be taken up by the volunteer for many years to come.

5. Sherwood Fox in Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Ten years ago Florence Zimmerman made a survey for the National Social Welfare Assembly which found that in 1956 professionals made up only five per cent of the total direct leadership staff of group work agencies while part-time paid leaders had decreased since 1950 from 37 per cent to 30 per cent and volunteer leaders had increased from 56 per cent to 65 per cent.⁶ Daniel Thurz surveyed the use of volunteers in ten nationally coordinated agencies for his study of 1960 and found at least 2,194,260 volunteer group leaders at work.⁷

This study of the use of volunteers in work with the poor in North Carolina asked the respondents to estimate the number of hours they spend monthly in volunteer work. The hours they reported range from four to 204. Some replied, "I don't have time to work in any organization, but I give at least an hour a week to friendly visiting of the sick and elderly," while others wrote, "I work harder at my volunteer work than I do in my business."

The average number of hours spent a month by all 525 respondents was 30, making a total of 15,750 hours a month given by these volunteers. At the federal matching rate of \$1.50 an hour for funding certain components in a community action program, these hours would represent an annual contribution of about a half million dollars.

The average volunteer in the low-income group worked only two hours less than the average for the entire group. The poor give an average of 28 hours a month. In this low-income group, 26 respondents indicated that they spend among them a total of 878 hours every month in volunteer work, or an average of 34 hours, four hours more than the average for the total group of 525 volunteers.

It is interesting to compare the number of hours of volunteer work contributed according to the age of the respondents (Table 8).

The chief significance of this table is to indicate that more than half of the volunteers in this study who are in the youngest age group

TABLE 8
NUMBER OF VOLUNTEER HOURS PER MONTH BY AGE GROUP

Age	0-20 Hours	20-40 Hours	40-100 Hours	100+ Hours
29 or less	54 per cent	28 per cent	13 per cent	4 per cent
30-39	49	34	14	3
40-49	46	32	16	6
50 or over	54	24	15	7

6. Florence Zimmerman, *Leaders and Leisure* (New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, 1958), p. 52.

7. Thurz, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

of 29 or less do not give as much as an hour a day to volunteer work; nevertheless 46 per cent do give more; some more than 100 hours a month. A few more of the youths give excessively longer hours than do those in the 30-39 age group, while it is the older citizen, the retired or those soon to be retired, who gives the longest period of work.

Ten of the 26 respondents who reported their income to be less than \$2,000 a year spend a total of 375 hours a month as volunteers in the antipoverty programs and three of them give from 90 to 160 hours a month to the work. One is secretary of a Neighborhood Youth Corps, two are homemaker aides. All three fall in the category of paid volunteers.

When the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women made a study of 80 women volunteers in 1964, it was found that three out of four of the women replying gave from 50 to 60 hours a month to volunteer work. The number of hours a month they put into their work ranged from three to 100. One of the women who gave 100 hours was at the registration desk of the Blood Bank for her Red Cross chapter and another was president of an active statewide organization.⁸

In the current study those who give more than 100 hours a month are presidents of men's civic clubs, presidents or program directors of statewide organizations, school aides, hospital aides, or community council leaders.

Number of Projects in Which Volunteers Work

A little more than half the respondents reported that they were involved in only one or two projects, and the mean average for the 525 respondents was 2.2 projects. While there has undoubtedly been a tendency within the last ten years for women volunteers, especially, to become more selective in their work, the study is inclined to assume that the volunteers queried actually engage in more work than they have reported. A similar study of a smaller number of predominantly middle-class women volunteers in 1964 for the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women found that the average woman in the group worked in from three to four projects.

The assumption that the respondents to the current survey do more work than reported is supported by the interviews in which respondents at first disclaimed doing much volunteer work and as the

8. "Report of Committee on Voluntary Organizations," *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

interview continued recalled more and more projects in which they were involved. Other respondents who delivered their questionnaires by hand would sometimes say, "I didn't list all the work I do because there wasn't room on the questionnaire," or "because I thought the study would not be interested in it," or "because it did not have anything to do with the poor." A young married couple deeply involved in religious and cultural projects in Eastern North Carolina, for example, returned the questionnaires unanswered and sent a note saying, "Since we do not work at all with the poor, we do not think our experiences would apply to this study."

Table 9 shows the number of volunteer jobs reported on the questionnaires.

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF VOLUNTEER JOBS PERFORMED

<i>Number Jobs</i>	<i>Number Reporting</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
0	2	0.2
1	178	33.9
2	120	22.9
3	97	18.5
4	94	17.9
5	25	4.8
6	4	0.8
7	2	0.4
8	2	0.4
9	1	0.2
Total	525	100.0

A little less than a third of those reporting replied that they work in from three to five jobs, but some who listed only one task indicated they spend long hours at it. At least one man reported as much as 200 hours a month in one voluntary job, more than a 40-hour week, and yet he carried on his business as well.

A young housewife in Eastern North Carolina is an example of the volunteer who spends long hours in community work and is involved in at least ten different projects. She has a family income of between \$12,000-\$15,000, school-age children, and a part-time maid. She reported 204 hours of volunteer work a month, saying, "My family has always led in community work. I would be ashamed not to do all I possibly can."

She is chairman of a special fund raising project in the local hospital and works regularly in the hospital coffee shop. She also helps

out with the Bloodmobile for Red Cross. She was an organizer of the Suicide Prevention Center and does administrative work to see that it functions smoothly. This special task is part of her work as a board member of the county Mental Health Association and she uses her skills as an artist to make posters to explain the work of the Association and the Center. She applies her artistic talents to the local Art Center and has set up a Gallery Shop there to which she gives the equivalent of an hour a day. She helps plan for art classes and lines up both faculty and pupils.

She does not neglect work with low-income groups. She has seen the need for a place where good, clean, used clothes might be available at a low cost, and, with others in the community, has organized a thrift shop and has assumed the responsibility of supplying from 18 to 24 volunteers a week to supervise the sales.

She would also feel guilty if she did not take responsibility for church work. She is a member of the official board and lends her administrative talents to help with the large fund raising projects which the church undertakes to maintain its special charities and mission projects.

A Negro professional man, approaching middle-age with an income between \$5,000-\$8,000, has four volunteer jobs and gives 30 hours a month to volunteer work despite the demands of his profession. Most of his volunteer time is taken up with the development of the educational services of a statewide organization. He is on the executive committee of another statewide organization which functions in the area of human relations and is an officer of two local human relations groups, one with a predominantly Negro membership and the other interracial.

A young housewife in the Piedmont with a high income, school-age children, and a full-time maid, is typical of the volunteer who wishes to be selective and gives volunteer work a minimum amount of time. She does church work for five hours a month and gives another five hours to a prestige organization which emphasizes recreation for children, a task which benefits her own brood.

The age of the volunteer seems to have some definite bearing upon the number of jobs in which the volunteer becomes involved as, indeed, it seems to have upon the number of hours of time given to the work. Table 10 shows the number of jobs performed by age grouping.

VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

TABLE 10
NUMBER OF VOLUNTEER JOBS BY AGE GROUPING

<i>Age</i>	<i>1 Job</i>	<i>2-3 Jobs</i>	<i>4 or More Jobs</i>
29 or less	54 per cent	32 per cent	14 per cent
30-39	24	52	24
40-49	25	40	35
50 or more	38	40	22

The age group from 40 to 49 is clearly more inclined to assume numerous responsibilities than volunteers 29 or less or those in their thirties. Since more women than men are in this survey, it seems evident that women who are 40 or older are in a better position to assume volunteer responsibilities than teenagers or college students or even those with small children. This is a time also when women are looking for new interests to fill the gap in their lives made by the weakening of the demands which their children make of them. Numerous studies have been made which indicate that this period in a mother's life can become traumatic unless she can find other strong interests to consume her time and energies. Volunteer work can meet this need, and the evidence from this study seems to show that North Carolina women are responding to these opportunities.

While almost two-thirds of those 50 or older are engaged in more than two projects, about a fourth are as active as volunteers in their forties. They are slightly less inclined to take on numerous volunteer jobs than those in their thirties and forties, but much more inclined to do so than youth.

An 80-year-old woman in the Piedmont who is atypical for her age group has always led a busy life, and still participates in six projects. She is a committee chairman in three different statewide organizations, an active member of the woman's club in her community, a member of the official board of her church, and member of a local government board.

The type of work to which these volunteers give their time bears further analysis. The 525 volunteers responding to the questionnaire have listed 1,155 projects in which they are engaged, a mean of 2.2 projects per volunteer. Table 11 shows the area of work involved in the projects, the percentage of volunteers engaged in this type work, and the percentage of the projects which fall within the various categories of work.

Unlike the women surveyed for the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in 1964 who reported doing civic work more

TABLE 11
TYPES OF VOLUNTEER WORK PERFORMED

<i>Work</i>	<i>Number Jobs Listed</i>	<i>Percentage of Volunteers Listing</i>	<i>Percentage This Type Work in 1,155 Projects Listed</i>
Church	174	33.1	15.1
Education	128	24.4	11.1
Civic	123	23.4	10.7
Youth centered	120	22.8	10.4
Health	110	20.9	9.6
Poverty, gov't. supported	101	19.2	8.8
Fund raising	82	15.6	7.1
Hospital auxiliary	73	13.9	6.3
Poverty, privately supported	57	10.9	5.0
Tutoring	32	6.1	2.8
Personal services	24	4.6	2.1
County Dept. Public Welfare	22	4.2	1.9
Arts	21	4.0	1.8
Rehabilitation	16	3.0	1.4
Professional	14	2.7	1.2
Political	12	2.3	1.0
International	11	2.1	1.0
Senior citizens	10	1.9	.9
Interracial	9	1.7	.8
Patriotic	7	1.3	.6

frequently than any other, the respondents for this study of volunteers placed church work first.⁹ Had a larger sample of women volunteers been queried in 1964, a preference for church work might also have been indicated because this has been the traditional type of volunteer activity to which North Carolina women have given their time. Slightly more than a third of the respondents listed church-related projects in the current study, and these projects were 15 per cent of the total of 1,155 projects listed.

Four other types of work—educational, civic, youth-centered, and health-related—engaged a fifth or more of all respondents and constituted more than a half of all volunteer projects listed. When all projects relating to education are added together, they make a total of 206, or 39 per cent of the total, and this number outranks by six per cent the number of church-related projects listed by the respondents. When the number of those doing hospital auxiliary work is added to the number of health-related projects, this total also outranks the number of church-related projects.

9. It should be pointed out that these comparisons in rank of participation are not valid statistically. The 1964 study was of women volunteers only, and only 80 of the 150 queried responded. The current study of volunteers includes 525 volunteers, both men and women, from all age levels and economic segments of the population.

Slightly less than a fifth of the volunteers are doing volunteer work in a federally supported antipoverty program, and only eleven out of 100 say they are working in privately supported programs for the poor. But when those working as volunteers in county Departments of Public Welfare are added to the federally supported programs, the number of volunteers increases to almost a fourth of the total. The number of volunteers in privately supported welfare programs increases to almost a fifth of the total when those working in auxiliary programs are added to the original listing. A little less than a half of all volunteers, or 43 per cent, report projects involving some kind of work specifically designed for the poor other than that which is church-related.

Table 12 shows how the 525 volunteers included in this study spend their time when their work is classified into eight general types of activities.

TABLE 12
VOLUNTEER WORK CLASSIFIED BY GENERAL TYPES

<i>Work</i>	<i>Number Jobs Listed</i>	<i>Percentage of Volunteers Listing</i>	<i>Percentage This Type Work in 1,155 Projects Listed</i>
Education	206	39.2	17.9
Health	183	34.8	15.9
Church	174	31.1	15.1
Civic	161	30.7	14.0
Poverty, gov't. supported	123	23.4	10.7
Youth centered	120	22.8	10.4
Poverty, privately supported	102	19.4	8.9
Fund raising	82	15.6	7.1

It is obvious that these categories of volunteer work were drawn arbitrarily and that much overlapping of function exists. With an increasing interest of the church in programs involving social action, some church-related work might easily be classified in any category except government supported antipoverty programs, and even here there is some overlapping because many church groups have assumed responsibility for recruiting volunteers in Head Start, for instance. When a project was clearly listed as being related predominantly to church work, it was so classified; otherwise it was placed in the most logical category.

According to this reclassification of types of volunteer work, church-related activities drop to third place and education rises to first place to be followed by health-related programs. Civic work is

now in fourth place. This is the type of work performed by men's and women's civic clubs, community councils, good government and human relations councils, groups engaged in political education, and the work of patriotic organizations. The federally supported anti-poverty programs rank fifth and in sixth rank are the youth-centered programs such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the character building programs of the YWCA and YMCA. Privately supported programs for the poor are in seventh place and fund raising which supports the various privately sponsored welfare programs is in last place with only seven per cent of the projects listed and only 15.6 per cent of volunteers giving this type of work as a form of activity.

When the work listed by the 525 respondents to this study is further classified as to the type of skill involved, it is found that more than two-thirds are engaged in direct services to people, slightly less than a fifth are doing administrative work, and that very few, only four per cent, are engaged in consultation. Table 13 gives the details for this classification.

TABLE 13
VOLUNTEER WORK CLASSIFIED BY FUNCTION

<i>Function</i>	<i>Number Engaged</i>	<i>Per Cent Engaged</i>
Service	340	65
Administrative	100	19
Consultative	21	4
Unknown	64	12
Total	525	100

Respondents who listed their work as "church" or "PTA," for example, were scored as "function unknown." The role played in volunteer activity had to be clearly stated to be scored in a specific category. When a respondent listed several activities including his function in each, the dominant function or role played determined the category into which he was placed.

Although 42 per cent of the volunteers replying to this questionnaire were employed, almost 30 per cent of whom were employed full-time, only 21 of the 525 said they served as consultants. Many more than 21 indicated that they were professionally trained doctors, lawyers, professors, public school teachers, social workers, business executives. From these ranks came many playing an administrative role in volunteer work, although those identifying themselves only as housewives also ranked high in administrative work.

By far the largest number of volunteers responding worked directly with the persons they served. This seeming preference for contact with people was borne out in the interviews made for the study. When asked to respond to the question, "What kind of volunteer work do you prefer of the three general types: administrative, consultative, or service?" the reply in nine interviews out of ten was "Service. I want to work with people." A professional man might reply, "I'll do anything that is needed—all three types—but I prefer something that brings me into contact with the people to be helped."

When the role the volunteer plays in the work performed was compared with his reasons for doing volunteer work it was found that 91 per cent of those doing administrative and consultative work gave as their chief reason, "I enjoy people." This percentage compared with 88 out of 100 engaged in service work stating this as their chief reason. Another people-oriented reason, "the relationships are rewarding," was also slightly higher for those doing administrative and consultative work than for those giving direct services. The administrators likewise rated "the work is interesting" slightly higher than did those giving services. On the other hand, those engaged in service work rated higher their desire to feel needed, the wish to get out of the house, the fact that it is important to their families, and that their friends do volunteer work.

The Work They Would Like to Do

While 80 per cent of the volunteers queried did not want to change the nature of their volunteer work, two-thirds pointed out expanded services which they thought volunteers should perform. The same question was asked professional workers who supervise volunteers. Only 137 of the 525 volunteers returning the questionnaires responded to the question on expanded services, but 182 of the 263 professionals who returned the questionnaires gave suggestions. A comparison of the suggestions made by both groups gives some indication of the role conception of volunteer work by the professionals who supervise volunteers and by the volunteers themselves. This comparison is indicated in Table 14.

The expanded efforts which volunteers themselves would most like to see developed are homemaker services, but professionals who supervise volunteers think this is one of the least needed areas of service. Volunteers would like to help with consumer education of

TABLE 14
SUGGESTIONS FOR EXPANDED SERVICES OF VOLUNTEERS

<i>Suggestions</i>	<i>Number Volunteers Making Suggestion</i>	<i>Number Professionals Making Suggestion</i>
Homemaker services	22	3
Educational services	21	18
Youth-centered services	20	17
Antipoverty programs	15	24
Senior citizen programs	13	9
Programs sponsored by private welfare	11	2
Volunteer Service Bureaus and Advice Centers	9	5
Recruitment and training of volunteers	8	16
Special services to individuals	5	26
Human relations services	3	0
Community organization services	3	4
More involvement in policy and administration	13	19
More assistance with office routine	2	13
Recreation	1	5
Public relations	1	16
Health-related programs	0	5
Pioneering services	0	9

low-income groups, show them how to buy and make their resources go as far as possible; help with making out a budget; go into their homes and show them how to prepare and preserve food; organize groups to teach child care and training through learning by doing; bring them information on family planning. Volunteers would also like to organize homemaker services for the sick, the needy, and the retarded and they would like to set up a baby-sitting service for the parents of retarded children so that the parents could have a break once in a while from the strain of child care.

Volunteers also ranked as important for expansion the services now being given to education and youth-centered programs. Since more than a fifth of these volunteers are already involved in youth programs, it is clear that they consider emphasis upon youth to be a crucial area for service. The educational service which they are most desirous of expanding is that of teacher aides. They would also like to expand tutorial services, give assistance to teachers working with the retarded, and interpret the need for education to low-income groups. At least one volunteer would like to see a program of adult volunteer services begun for students in the colleges and universities. Volunteers also want an expansion of volunteer services in libraries. Some of them think volunteers might well be trained to keep school libraries open during the summer months.

Supervisors of volunteers also thought expansion of educational

services to be important. They listed it fourth in rank of areas needing to be expanded. More professionals than volunteers would like to see an expansion of teacher aides. They also want tutorial services expanded and want volunteers to work with the families of those being tutored to interpret the problems of the child to the parents and build up better communication between school and home.

Both volunteers and professionals would like to see greater use made of volunteers in the antipoverty programs. Professionals placed this need second in rank importance and volunteers placed it fourth. Volunteers want more representation on Community Action boards and a greater voice in deciding how the Community Action funds shall be spent. They would like to see volunteers "replace high paid workers" and would like to become more involved in the work of the neighborhood centers in target areas. They want to do more direct work with the poor in a flexible program which would permit innovation and creativity. They would like especially to see the poor have better legal aid services.

Professionals who supervise volunteers have almost the same objectives for the use of volunteers in the antipoverty programs. The greatest single need they see is for a greater use of the traditional volunteer as aides. They think the volunteer can furnish ego models for low-income groups, provide social experiences which will be valuable, help to identify indigenous leaders, and also help in the development of these leaders. They would like for traditional volunteers to be involved in helping identify the needs of the poor, in working with migrants, and with those living in rural and urban renewal areas. They also think that this type of volunteer could go a long way in helping to decentralize the antipoverty programs.

The area in which professionals thought volunteer services might most profitably be expanded was that in face-to-face services to individuals, while volunteers themselves ranked this area in ninth place. The two most frequently mentioned areas of specific service noted by professionals were friendly visiting and transportation although these two services were mentioned only once each by volunteers. Both professionals and volunteers would like to see someone "adopt" a family or an individual and maintain a continuing contact until a better adjustment to social conditions had been achieved. Professionals also think the Big Brother and Big Sister programs are fruitful and want them expanded.

Volunteers themselves apparently do not realize the significance of their own ability to build bridges between the services needed and the community, but professionals think this is one of the most important contributions volunteers can make. They listed this service in sixth place among the needed areas of expansion and tied it in rank with the need for better recruitment and training of volunteers. Professionals would like not only to see a greater involvement of volunteers from all economic brackets, but would like especially for more men to be willing to give their services. Both professionals and volunteers think training is important, and the professionals think more skilled volunteers should be given responsibility for training programs instead of depending upon professionals.

More volunteers than professionals mentioned the need for volunteer service bureaus, but both agreed upon the importance and both pointed out that advice centers where low-income groups could go to find out about the rights to which they are legally entitled should be set up.

Fund raising which ranked eighth in the areas of service being given by volunteers answering this questionnaire was not mentioned by even one volunteer as a need for expanded services and by only one professional. Health-related programs which also consume the energies of numerous volunteers was not mentioned in the category of expanded services which volunteers enumerated, but was listed by five professionals. Three volunteers mentioned the need for improving human relations in the state, to "bring the two sides to an understanding" and "to eliminate hate," but this area went unnoticed by professionals.

Professionals paid tribute to the pioneering work which volunteers do: discovering unmet needs, demonstrating that work can be done with productive results, and often laying the groundwork for a new service. Volunteers themselves completely overlooked this important role and did not once point it out, although this has perhaps been the major contribution volunteers have made to the development of human resources in North Carolina.¹⁰

Who Will Volunteer for Expanded Services?

It seems evident that the volunteers who responded to this study are far more concerned with rendering services than with involvement

10. *Supra*, pp. 26-27.

in policy-making and administration, and that professionals are now coming to the position that it is good for volunteers to have a larger role in policy-making. But professionals would also like to use more volunteers in routine office work. They ranked this service as eighth in the list of expanded services which they thought volunteers might give. Volunteers themselves, while listing policy-making low in their rank for expansion of needed services, also listed even lower the desire to give more assistance with office routine.

"Volunteers are becoming more selective these days," wrote one respondent. "They want to do the work which is most interesting to themselves, the one that fits best their own needs." A 60-year-old woman who was interviewed for the study shed some light on the changing needs of volunteers. "When I was younger," she said, "I wanted to be involved in program development and policy-making, but now I enjoy routine work most. I don't want responsibility now, and I find busy work relaxing."¹¹ From the retired age group and from youth will probably come the volunteers who will meet the needs of professionals for more help with office routine. From those in between these age groups will come the pioneers and policy-makers.

The professionals who were queried for the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women spoke of the scarcity of volunteers and of agency competition for volunteer services, but professionals now supervising volunteers find the situation to have changed. "The availability of volunteers has risen markedly," wrote a professional from Eastern North Carolina who regularly uses from 100 to 300 volunteers in her agency. "The climate for volunteering is much better today, and enables more grass roots community development."

A professional working in the Piedmont with from 50 to 100 volunteers agreed, "There are plenty of people willing to do volunteer work today." From Western North Carolina a professional using from 40 to 50 volunteers was of the same opinion, "I believe there are enough interested women to *give* their time for school and youth and welfare work."

The pastor of a church in Eastern North Carolina wrote, however, that it is more difficult to find leaders in church work than it was ten years ago. If the findings of this study are valid for other parts of the state, pastors elsewhere are also having difficulty in filling volunteer

11. Interview No. 42, June 27, 1966.

responsibilities in their churches. Instead of working in the church, volunteers are tending to become more involved in educational, health-related, civic, and youth-centered programs.

A Home Agent working in a county where 70 per cent of the families have an income of less than \$3,000 wrote, "We are using volunteers more and more as the number of Planned Programs to assist families in helping themselves increases." A Home Agent supervisor of professionals who work with volunteers further explained this development in the Extension Homemakers' program:

More emphasis is being given the low-income family. There is a more careful selection of volunteers and they serve in leadership roles with intangibles as well as in teaching skills; i.e., citizenship, the study of the U. N.

There is less "service orientation" and greater belief in total community improvement dependent upon the contribution of each individual and family attaining a level of achievement commensurate with their resources and abilities.

From the point of view of such an agency, every citizen in the state is a potential volunteer. The problem lies in recruitment and placement. A 19-year-old volunteer serving an agency in the Piedmont recognized this vast potential for the development of volunteer service when she wrote, "The services a volunteer may render in the future will expand in direct ratio to the need. The possibilities are unlimited."

A professional, still thinking in terms of the traditional middle-class volunteer, wrote, "It is a more difficult task to recruit and arrange to train volunteers than it was ten years ago." Still another professional pointed out the importance in all volunteer work of a "clear understanding of the role of the volunteer and her relation to the professional worker."

Before exploring this important relationship, a close look at the professional who supervises volunteers is in order to determine the role of the professional in volunteer work. The significance which agencies place on the qualities and skills of the professional employed in North Carolina will play a part in the analysis of this role.

7

SUPERVISORS OF VOLUNTEERS

More women than men are employed as professional workers in agencies using volunteers.

★ ★ ★

Every president of a voluntary agency and every committee chairman is a supervisor of volunteers whether he realizes it or not.

★ ★ ★

"Volunteers keep professionals on their toes. This means that they actually are supervising the supervisors! They have the broad picture and can add purpose, zip, and accomplishment that a limited paid staff cannot provide."—Director of a United Fund in the Piedmont.

To add another dimension to this study of volunteer services it was necessary to determine the profile of supervisors of volunteers. Do those who work day in and day out with volunteers think their services are valuable to the agency or does the supervision of their work take such a toll of staff time that it is not worth the expense and effort involved?

Is the typical supervisor a man or woman? What is the supervisor's family situation, and what kind of salary does he make? If the supervisor is a woman must she go home after a busy day working with volunteers to cope with school-age children and put the evening meal on the table? If so, her own life may be so full of busy details that her patience with volunteers might be short. Where are most of the agencies employing supervisors located—in Eastern North Carolina, the Piedmont, or in Western North Carolina? Does the regional location of the agency make any difference in the attitude of the supervisor toward the volunteer? In other words, are sectional differences in the state reflected in agency policy?

How long have the supervisors been working as professionals, and how many years of their professional lives have they spent in North

Carolina? Does length of residence in the state make any difference in their attitudes? How many volunteers are they accustomed to use in their organizations?

Has the nature of their use of volunteer services changed within the last ten years? How many work with the poor? What do they think are the most valuable things volunteers do? Would they like to expand their use of volunteers? Or would they like to replace volunteers with paid workers?

Do they think volunteers work well with subprofessionals? Can volunteers who have been accustomed to working with middle-income groups work with low-income groups, or does it require a special kind of training to give the volunteer an understanding of the problems of the poor?

To what extent should volunteers be trained for the job and how should the training be given?

To what extent should volunteers be involved in the program or project to which they are giving their time? Should the agency using volunteers provide a few services to make it easier for the volunteer to give time, or would the supervisor rather forego voluntary work than invest funds for this purpose?

To determine the answers to these and related questions, the study sent a simple questionnaire to professional staff members in hospitals, Red Cross, YWCA, YMCA, all the federally funded community action programs in the state, youth-serving agencies, the agricultural extension services, the Community Service Consultants of the Department of Public Welfare, a random sample of county Departments of Public Welfare, executives of United Fund and community councils, those working in mental health agencies, selected public school systems known to use volunteers, selected health clinics, and executives of the Salvation Army.

Most of the questionnaires were mailed from the project office with a simple handwritten note inclosed, but the same volunteers who distributed the questionnaires designed for volunteers also distributed some of the questionnaires to supervisors. A few agencies asked to make the distribution to their own supervisors. From a total of 1,000 questionnaires distributed 263 questionnaires had been returned by the cut-off date.

A random sample of supervisors was impossible to structure because, as in the case of volunteers, there was no simple way to set up

such a sample. It should be stressed, therefore, that the profile of supervisors of volunteers outlined in this study is true only for those replying to the questionnaire. The characteristics of those supervisors, however, give further insight into volunteer work.

The Typical Supervisor of Volunteers

The typical supervisor of volunteers, as determined by the 263 questionnaires returned, is a woman 40 years old or over working in an agency in the Piedmont on a salary of \$8,000 or more. She is married with school-age children, and if she has domestic help it is for less than ten hours a week. She has been working as a professional for 19 years or less, and is more likely to have been working for ten years or less than for a longer period. Forty-seven per cent had been working less than ten years. She is likely to have spent all, or most of this time, in North Carolina (48%).

While the discrepancy between the number of men who volunteer and the number of women was 16 to 100, the number of women supervisors is 55 in 100; or 45 out of every 100 are men. When a supervisor is a man, his salary tends to be higher than that of the woman supervisor.

Table 15 shows the age distribution of supervisors.

TABLE 15
AGE OF SUPERVISORS

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
29 or under	34	12.9
30-39	57	21.7
40-49	86	32.7
50 or over	86	32.7
Total	263	100.00

While the typical supervisor is middle-aged with family responsibilities, 13 per cent of supervisors are 29 or under and 18 per cent are single. A little more than a fifth (21.7%) are in their thirties. A third are in their forties and another third are 50 years old or older. Only eight per cent of professionals working with volunteers were either widowed or divorced, and this number includes both men and women.

The family status of supervisors is shown in Table 16.

Three-fourths of the supervisors are married and now living with their spouses, and 82 out of 100 supervisors have been married at some time. Apparently, the unmarried professional staff member who

TABLE 16
FAMILY STATUS OF SUPERVISORS

<i>Family Status</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Single	48	18.3
Married, without school-age children	63	24.0
Married, with school-age children	131	49.8
Widowed or divorced, without school-age children	14	5.3
Widowed or divorced, with school-age children	7	2.7
Total	263	100.0

devotes all her energies to her work is rapidly being replaced by professionals who are married and have family responsibilities. It was once assumed that married women with young children would not attempt to carry on a professional career, but that assumption seems no longer valid.

More than three-fourths of the supervisors who replied to this questionnaire are employed full-time and their salaries compare favorably with those of professional workers in other fields. It is possible that married respondents also included in their statements on family income the salaries of their spouses. Even so, the economic level of professionals who work with volunteers is in the upper brackets of family income in North Carolina. The employment status of supervisors is indicated in Table 17.

TABLE 17
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF SUPERVISORS

<i>Employment</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Full-time	207	81.2
Part-time	16	6.3
Volunteer supervisor	32	12.5
Total	255	100.0

Thousands of men and women serve as volunteer supervisors of other volunteers in the numerous organizations which operate completely on a voluntary basis. In the more than 20,000¹ local units of voluntary organizations operating in North Carolina, the president of each one functions as a voluntary supervisor² of the work of its members. But like the district president of a well-known men's civic club, they do not think of themselves in this way, and when approached

1. Chapter 2, p. 24.

2. For a study of volunteer supervisors of other volunteers, see Thurz, *Volunteer Group Advisors in a National Social Work Agency*, *op. cit.*

with a questionnaire usually chose to fill out the questionnaire on volunteers rather than the one designed for supervisors. Accordingly, only a small number (32 or 12.5%) who function in this capacity are reflected in this study.

An even smaller number (16 or 6.3%) of part-time supervisors are also included. In the preliminary stages of a pioneer or experimental program, it has in the past been customary to employ a professional staff member for part-time, and as the program has developed to increase the employment to full-time. While this practice still prevails in the state, very few part-time supervisors responded to this questionnaire. For the most part, therefore, the supervisors whose profiles are reflected in the study come from well-established programs.

Supervisors Are Well Paid

The fact that the majority of supervisors of volunteers included in this survey come from well-established agencies accounts, no doubt in part, for their high family income. This income is indicated in five categories in Table 18.

TABLE 18
FAMILY INCOME OF SUPERVISORS

<i>Income</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
\$4,999 or less	23	9.1
\$5,000 - \$7,999	63	24.8
\$8,000 - \$11,999	76	29.9
\$12,000 - \$14,999	41	16.1
\$15,000 or more	51	20.1
Total	254	100.0

In view of the traditionally low salaries paid social welfare workers throughout most of this century, it is significant that less than ten per cent live, if married, at the level of economic deprivation, or on a salary of less than \$5,000. Equally significant is the fact that a fifth, or 20 per cent, have family incomes of \$15,000 or more, an income enjoyed by only seven per cent of all families in North Carolina. Such an income places professional staff members working with volunteers among the highest paid professionals in the state and gives an entirely new status to social welfare workers. It is equally significant that two-thirds of the professionals (66.1%) had incomes of \$8,000 or more which place them in a family income bracket higher than school teachers, for example. This regard for the professional skill and train-

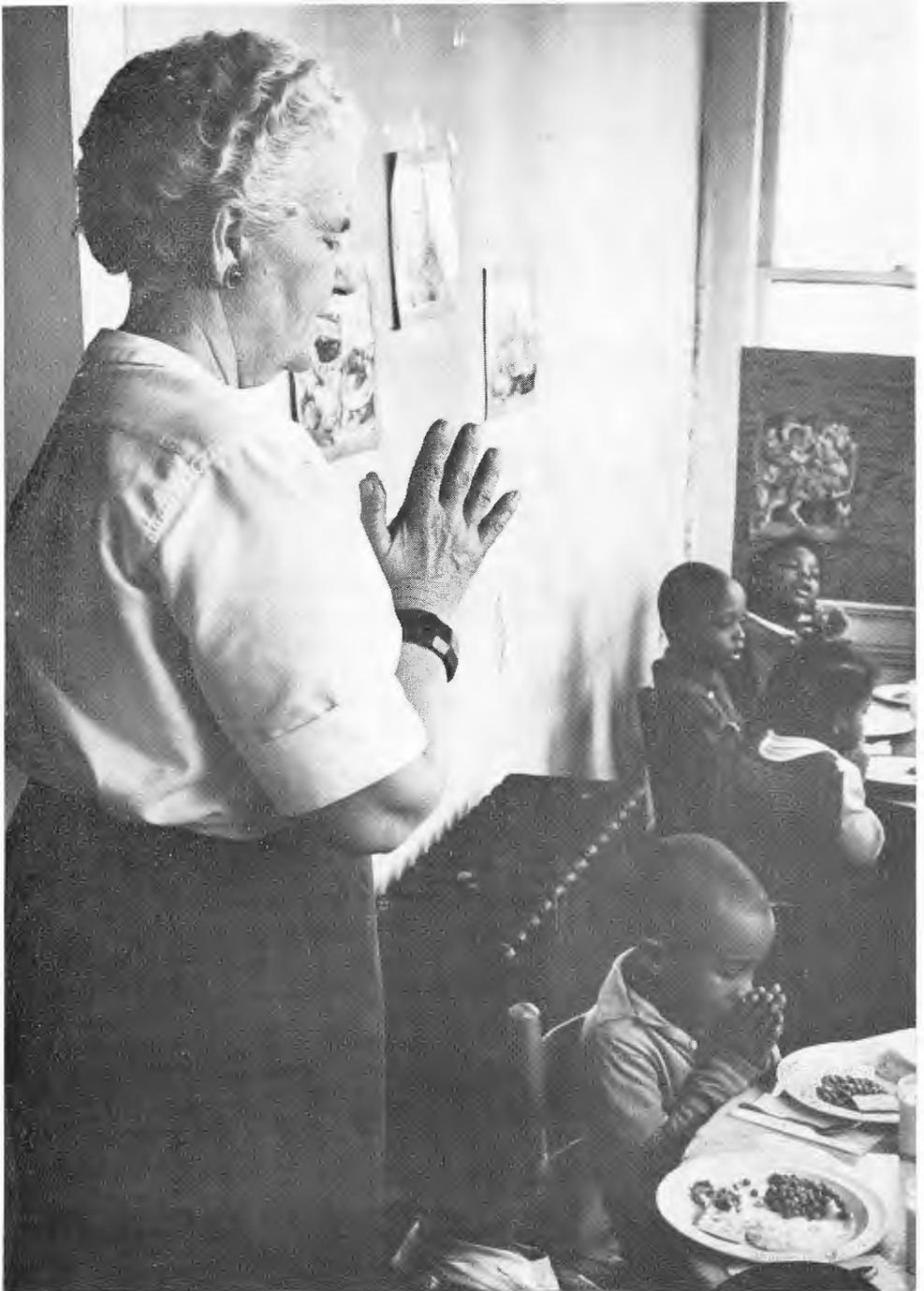


Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

A Vista volunteer gives gentle instruction to children in a Day Care Center in a target area.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

A school aide can relieve an over-worked teacher by taking children to the zoo for an enrichment program.

ing of social welfare workers seems to reflect a new concern for the importance of services to the human resources of the state.

Although they have high incomes, almost half the professionals have no domestic help to give a hand with family chores, and only 16 out of 100 have help for as much as 31 hours or more a month.

More than half these professionals work in agencies located in the Piedmont. Seventy-six, or 29 per cent, live in Eastern North Carolina, and 48, or 18 per cent, live in Western North Carolina. But, as in the case of volunteers, no significant differences can be found which are associated with the geographic area where they live.

Well over half, or 56 per cent, have worked as a professional from ten to 19 years, but only 37 per cent have worked in North Carolina for that length of time. Almost half of those replying have worked in North Carolina for less than ten years. Only three per cent have worked as long as 30 years or more, and of this number only five per cent have spent all their working years in North Carolina. The implication of this data is that a shortage exists in North Carolina of professionals trained in social work and the other helping services such as specialists in recreation, community organization, and group work in addition to the well-known shortage of doctors, dentists, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, nurses.³

Those responding to this study tend to use large numbers of volunteers. Only eleven per cent, for example, use four or less, while 58 per cent use more than 100. A fourth of all supervisors replying use 300 or more. These facts again coincide with the assumption that the professionals in this study come from well-established agencies which have been using volunteers for years—the hospitals, youth-serving agencies, United Fund directors, agricultural extension agents, the character building agencies, and the churches. Table 19 lists the number of volunteers used by the agencies within the past year.

The Changing Pattern of Volunteer Work

Almost two-thirds report that the nature of their use of volunteers has changed within the past ten years. A professional in a high-income

3. For the academic year of 1965-1966, the North Carolina Fund gave assistance to the School of Social Work, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for obtaining a faculty member to give instruction in community organization. The School of Social Work has now employed a professor in this area. In 1966 the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill received a grant from the federal government to initiate a Multi-Purpose Training Center.

VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

TABLE 19
NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS USED

<i>Number Volunteers Used</i>	<i>Number Professionals Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
4 or fewer	26	10.7
5 - 9	8	3.3
10 - 19	19	7.9
20 - 49	40	16.5
50 - 99	32	13.2
100 - 299	55	22.7
300 or more	62	25.6
Total	242	100.0

bracket working in a Piedmont agency employing 50 or more volunteers reports that the agency is now using fewer volunteers since it has reached a sound financial basis and no longer needs them to solicit funds. "Volunteers," she wrote, "are now given more responsibility."

A professional from an Eastern North Carolina agency which also uses 50 or more volunteers commented, "The type of people that were volunteers ten years ago no longer are volunteers. They are involved in too many other activities. There is a different group willing to volunteer." Perhaps "these different volunteers" are "the non-club people" whom another professional in a Piedmont agency is seeking. "I would like," she wrote, "to reach non-club people. Volunteers here limit their work pretty much to club work."

Another professional staff member in a Piedmont agency which uses large numbers of volunteers successfully has commented upon this pool of non-club people who are ready and willing to volunteer. "We find it necessary," she wrote, "to have day and evening training classes for volunteers, because we have business and career girls on our waiting list. We sometimes set ourselves up to judge *who* shall be volunteers and thus sometimes *exclude*." She continued:

Last fall, a working girl called to say she and two roommates, new to our city, all from separate small towns, wished to be hospital volunteers, evening hours. We had just concluded a series of training sessions and had none scheduled until January, but put their names on the list. They called several times, anxious to get busy, and one call came during one of the festivals our city traditionally holds in the fall. We can always use extra volunteers to help take care of lost children, so we agreed to let them help out on Saturday.

When I saw them I was startled. They were *very* made-up, had beehive hairdos, tight dresses, heavy eye make-up.

Well, I pondered, and finally came up with the feeling that these

small-town girls really believed this was the way city career girls dress. Later when they came to the training sessions, we bore down heavily on make-up, dress, behavior, associates, etc. The "Three" were enchanted with their opportunity to be volunteers and excited over an early assignment.

Months later, I was in the hospital and saw one of the girls. She still had an unswept hairdo. She had on only a modest amount of lipstick and face powder with no eye-goo, and she looked wholesome and lovely. She was a credit in every way to the uniform and the symbol under which she serves.

She told me she returns home some evenings so tired she feels she can't do another thing, but, when she gets her uniform on and starts for the hospital, she forgets she was tired. "It's just like you told us," she said, "we get more out of this than we put into it."

I said a silent prayer of gratitude to God for letting me see behind the exterior and understand what the exterior really meant!⁴

Another staff member replied that her agency ten years ago found that volunteers worked as individuals but that now a volunteer bureau has been set up and she is fortunately able to obtain volunteers through this professional coordinating agency.

A professional from Eastern North Carolina said she thinks more volunteer participation is expected now than ten years ago, and there is increased understanding of how to use volunteers effectively, but from another part of the coastal plain came the report of greater difficulty in finding volunteers than ten years ago. We now have "more working mothers and less concern with providing leadership" in community activities. "Everyone is now 'too busy' to volunteer," she complained.

Almost two-thirds (63%) of the professionals replying said they would not like to change the nature and extent of their use of volunteers, but 37 out of every 100 staff members said, indeed, they would like a change. Most of the changes involved more staff time to train volunteers in specialized services to increase the effectiveness of the agency's program. A county Department of Welfare reported it would like to find more volunteers who would be willing to give transportation to needy persons to medical clinics and still another county Department wished it were possible to find more who would be willing to act as the fiscal agents of the poor who are incompetent to receive their own assistance checks. Still another agency wanted "more and more volunteers."

4. Letter dated August 1, 1966.

Supervisors Who Work with the Poor

More than three-fourths (84%) of the professionals replying said their work involved the poor. Their views of the effectiveness of volunteer work should, therefore, reflect also their opinions as to the value of volunteer service in work with the poor, one of the major concerns of this study.

In contrast to volunteers replying to the same question about the applicability to the poor of the techniques which have been found effective in working with middle-income groups, more than two-thirds (68%) said the same techniques would apply. It will be recalled that 57 percent of volunteers thought that different techniques were required for successful work with the poor. A few replies from professional staff members as to why the same techniques will work with both groups indicates that the volunteer and the professional are closer in their thinking than the disparity in their replies indicates.

"The basic techniques in working with people are the same," wrote a professional from the Piedmont. "These are the techniques which are rooted in the attitude of the person giving the service—courtesy, freedom from arrogance, friendliness, patience. But work with the poor requires also a fundamental understanding of the problems and the needs of the poor, their frustrations and lack of money and power."

Another professional replied:

I would think techniques of warmth, kindness, and encouragement would work with any income group. However, teaching or instruction methods might have to be different due to educational limits of the poor. Since the standards and motives taken for granted in middle-income groups may not apply with low-income groups, it would seem essential that the instructor or supervisor understand the ways and ideas of the people with whom he would be working.

A professionally trained man working in the field of mental health also agreed that basic techniques for helping people are the same regardless of income level but the techniques must be translated in terms of educational level, customs, family patterns, and the like. "It is entirely possible for middle-class people" to work successfully with the poor, "if they possess the ability or are trained to translate their own value system into warmth and understanding for people who may not be adept in the same areas."

Volunteers who thought the same techniques *would not work*

probably had the same reasons for saying *no* as the professional for saying the opposite. For example, a volunteer who said the same techniques would not work wrote, "In working with the poor, more patience, understanding, and a slower pace are needed, as a rule." Another who was in the poverty bracket herself wrote, "No. Because the poor is more sensitive."

A professional who was one among the 37 per cent who said that different techniques were required explained his position in this way:

Generally, it appears to be a matter of middle-class values rather than income. Those possessing such values, despite their income, are easier to understand and work with. Where the values differ, you must adapt to the differences or attempt to change the values to those which the majority of society consider to be desirable, neither being an easy course of action.

Another said *no* emphatically. It is easy, for example, she pointed out, to get middle-income people to attend meetings, but extremely difficult to get poor people there.

The Home Demonstration agents have been trying to work with people in a Federal Housing development in our area, in order to assist them in better nutrition and preservation of foodstuffs. It is almost impossible to get the people to *attend* the free demonstrations. Home Demonstration club members have been asked to visit these people to encourage them to attend.

It seems obvious from these comments that both professionals and volunteers agree that different procedures must be employed when working with low-income and middle-income groups. They have about the same points in mind. One is thinking of basic principles; the other of practices. The professionals who say that the same techniques which apply in working with middle-income groups also apply in work with the poor are thinking of methods, or basic principles, of social work, community organization, and group work. Certainly these basic principles do not break down because of the economic level of the individual or group being served.

What does change is the strategy or even the tactics which must be employed to achieve success.⁵ All sorts of conditions will affect

5. See Nat Hentoff, "Six Ground Rules for Working with the Poor," *Council Woman*, Magazine of the National Council of Jewish Women (December 1965). The six ground rules are: "1. Scrap your stereotypes and treat poor people as individuals. They are, you know! 2. Respect the pride of the poor. It explains much of what they do. 3. Look behind the obvious before offering advice. 4.

strategy and tactics. For example, social workers learned long ago that it is not wise to drive in a flashy sports car to visit low-income clients and that high heels and expensive jewelry are out of place in community development work.

Most professionals think volunteers should be trained for the job and that training is especially essential in work with the poor. This is one of the reasons frequently given by county Departments of Public Welfare for not using volunteers.⁶ Most of the volunteers offering their services are untrained and the Departments do not have sufficient staff to undertake training. Some professionals who have worked in North Carolina many years and have been accustomed to using college trained, middle-income volunteers cannot conceive of working with low-income volunteers even when dealing with low-income clients. They insist that the volunteer must come to the agency already knowledgeable enough to be put to work at any assigned task. "Otherwise, they are of no use to us."⁷

Work Which Only Staff Should Perform

Professionals agreed with the conclusion of volunteers that in some types of work volunteers should be replaced by paid employees, but their reasons for reaching this conclusion were somewhat different. Fifty-six per cent of the professionals thought that some types of jobs now being done by volunteers should be turned over to staff.

A volunteer who is herself employed full-time at a high salary in work other than social welfare tended to "favor greater utilization of volunteers and more and better training of volunteers," rather than taking work away from volunteers and giving it to paid employees. But another volunteer, also employed full-time at a high salary in a university-related job, thought the role of volunteers was something other than to supply an agency with cheap services. She wrote:

In work where continuity of leadership is important, paid employees should replace volunteers. For example, no community council exists for more than three to five years without a paid execu-

Don't expect immediate gratitude. Suspicion dies hard! 5. Avoid jargon—social work jargon; psychology jargon; uplift jargon. 6. Don't try to 'con' the poor. Recognize that solutions to their problems are not easy—and require basic social changes."

6. Chapter 9, p. 129.

7. Reply received from an elderly professional on a questionnaire for the Committee on Voluntary Organizations and Expanded Services, Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1964.

tive whose day-in and day-out job is to see that the council functions.

When volunteers initiate a project and demonstrate its effectiveness, they should then turn over administration and development to paid workers. For example, the School for Retarded Children started by the Junior Woman's Club in Raleigh, the rehabilitation program and facility started by the Junior League of Winston-Salem which was later turned over to Goodwill Industries, and the museum programs for children started by the Junior League of Charlotte and the Junior League of Durham.

From the professionals who commented on this question came such replies as:

...Involved clerical work (typing reports, etc.) should be done by paid employees. Volunteers in many cases should be reimbursed for transportation expenses. Many paid employees are *overpaid* and too much is expected of the volunteer who is *underpaid* (and often exploited).

...Paid workers are needed in our agency to work with specific low-income families and to do follow-up work.

...In some areas where volunteers are used exclusively it would be well if a paid professional had the organizational responsibility for the volunteer service.

It is obvious from this examination of the data from the questionnaires answered by staff members that the professionals themselves differ, and that these differences are somewhat tied to age, income, and years of residence in North Carolina. The increasingly high value placed upon the services of professionally trained men and women who work in the social welfare agencies of the state is reflected in their rising income level, noticeable even since 1964 when a quick survey was made by the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

A closer look at the way professional supervisors evaluate volunteers will yield further insight into the potential contribution of volunteer services in community development.

8 SUPERVISORS APPRAISE VOLUNTEERS

"The woman volunteer is the keystone to practically all volunteer services in this community, for though many interested men provide leadership in many areas . . . the women actually do the work and carry the load."—Professional in a voluntary agency in the Piedmont.

* * *

"I hope the time will come when we can develop a 'corps' of volunteers. They certainly can make a contribution under guidance and supervision."—Director of a county Department of Public Welfare.

* * *

"The time contributed by volunteers is invaluable to the children in our Center, to the staff, and to the individuals themselves. We could not carry on our program without them."—Professional in a Center for Retarded Children.

When professionals evaluate the services of the volunteers with whom they work, they often have mixed feelings. "If all volunteers were just as dependable, as imaginative, as tireless as Mrs. X," said a professional worker in a voluntary agency in Western North Carolina, "there would be no need for paid employees." Then she lowered her voice and added as if confiding a secret, "But you know how it is working with volunteers. They don't always put their volunteer work first. If they get in a jam and something has to give, it is the volunteer work. And how can you run an agency with that kind of help!"

Need for Improved Understanding

Professionals responding to the questionnaire for this study were not as flattering in their estimate of the volunteer as the volunteer was in appraising the professional.¹ Both professionals and volunteers thought there was need for greater understanding between them.

1. Chapter 4, pp. 58-60.

A 50-year-old volunteer from Western North Carolina, president of the board of an agency using 100 volunteers or more, summarized the need in this way:

Professionals in agencies are expecting more and more of volunteers, while the staff members themselves are doing less and less. Staff members count the hours they put in and take much time off for personal reasons. They should realize volunteers have many responsibilities beside volunteer work and not place the burden of agency operation upon the board. They want the volunteers to take all the initiative and do most of the work. Most volunteers are a bit weary of this lack of efficiency of paid staff.

Seventy-six per cent of volunteers thought there was need for a better understanding between volunteers and professionals and a better delineation of the responsibilities of each, but an even greater percentage of professionals (78%) saw this need. A male professional from Eastern North Carolina who had used volunteers successfully thought that most agencies prefer not to be bothered with volunteers. He wrote:

Most agencies I have had contact with have no real commitment to the use of volunteers, and they are not prepared to integrate such functions into the agency routine. The attitude of the agency is reflected in the attitude of the professional and is soon resented by the volunteer.

Professionals in agencies supported in part or largely by government funds seemed less tolerant of volunteers than did professionals in agencies dependent upon volunteers for their fund raising activities and the implementation of their community service programs. A respondent from a large hospital in the Piedmont which is dependent upon government funds for a large portion of its support thought, however, that improved understanding between professionals and volunteers might be achieved if the agency would take the time to interpret both to the professional and the volunteer their areas of responsibility so that there would be no danger of misunderstandings. "Role clarification," she wrote on her questionnaire, "is completely necessary if the volunteer is to function successfully." She thought it important to let the volunteer know about agency policy, lines of authority, channels of communication, and to extend professional confidences which would not violate ethics in order for the volunteer to give more knowledgeable service. She continued:

There is a great need for rudimentary services that can be given by intelligent and educated volunteers. One illustration would be on pediatric wards of hospitals where children need more physical stimulation from people than the doctors and nurses have time to give. This kind of work would be quite a challenge to volunteers.

The volunteer would need to understand how helpful this kind of physical and loving contact would be for the child, and the professionals, both physicians and nurses, would need to understand that this service would expand professional care and actually promote the child's chance of recovery.

Need to Provide Structure

A male social worker from a public school in the Piedmont agreed with this position and thought that agencies had been neglectful in realizing the potential of volunteers. "There is need to provide structure that will encourage volunteers and professionals to work and learn together," he wrote. Professionals suggested numerous methods of working out such a structure:

... Joint planning meetings with volunteers and professionals where agency policy is discussed, new techniques explored, and the findings of the latest research in the field of the agency is analyzed and when desirable adapted to the agency's needs.

... Specific guidance for the volunteer in the form of job analysis.

... Change in the attitude of professionals from suspicion to genuine support and appreciation of the volunteer.

... An understanding by professionals that they are actually dependent on volunteers to interpret the work of the agency to the community, for without community understanding and support the agency is handicapped in its accomplishments. This goes for agencies supported by government funds as well as for those dependent upon private support.

... A more realistic and imaginative approach on the part of professionals to volunteer service. Volunteers can expand the staff of an agency tenfold if professionals will stop exploiting volunteers by giving them menial and dull tasks and, instead, educate and familiarize volunteers with the meaningful tasks and give them responsibility.

... A thorough knowledge on the part of the professional of the strengths and weaknesses of each volunteer: the time available for volunteer work, the willingness to accept responsibility, the health of the volunteer and the skills and education he has. The job must then be suitable for the volunteer.

... A better understanding of the philosophy of volunteer work than most professionals now have—a view of the volunteer as a resource person, the key to community planning; a knowledge that the work performed is for the agency and the people served by the agency and not a service for the comfort and relief of the professional.

... Development of human relations techniques to deal with the volunteer who oversteps and tries to boss. It is easy for volunteers to operate on their own rather than within the context of the existing agency, but this can be managed through proper training and supervision and is well worth all the staff time involved.

A middle-aged woman professional from a well-established agency in the Piedmont, drawing one of the top salaries in the state, summarized most of these suggestions when she wrote, "Professional workers may not have enough confidence in the ability and dependability of volunteers, but when volunteers fail, I think it is the fault of the professional—that he has failed to inspire them properly."

As this professional implied, the key to good volunteer work is training and supervision, but the professional also needs to be trained in the techniques of working with people.² As the volunteers themselves pointed out, professionals need to be trained how to use volunteers, and, with only a few dissenting voices, most professionals thought volunteers should be trained for the work to be done. A few, however, those chiefly involved in church-related work, thought a person who was willing "to give of himself" was qualified to begin volunteer activity. The opinion was almost unanimous, however, that training would eliminate most of the misunderstandings between professionals and volunteers and make the work more meaningful for both.

The questionnaires to which these supervisors of volunteers responded allowed no space for details on how to develop a better structure in which both supervisors and volunteers might work comfortably and to their mutual advantage. These details were filled in by interviews with supervisors.³ Because of the nature of the work performed by volunteers, hospitals, for example, have developed a detailed structure so that very little is left to chance in a program which is well organized and directed.

Most volunteer programs in hospitals employ a full-time volunteer coordinator who is a trained professional, usually a woman because

2. Chapter 11.

3. See, for example, Interview No. 24, August 5, 1966.

more women than men volunteer for hospital work.⁴ Before the hospital sets up the program, it makes sure the hospital administration approves of the use of volunteers and accepts the procedures to be followed. From the beginning, it is recognized that the volunteer coordinator will have full responsibility for administration of volunteer work within the framework of hospital policies but that the supervision of on-the-job work will be an important part of this procedure. It is the responsibility of the coordinator to make sure the volunteer also understands and respects the dual role of coordinator and supervisor.

The goals, limitations, lines of authority with respect to volunteer tasks assigned, and coordinating procedures are all well laid out. The volunteer is interviewed, and screened for proper placement before being assigned to a specific responsibility. Evaluation of volunteer work in which both coordinator, supervisor, and volunteer have a part is a continuing process so that the program may be both flexible and effective.

The hospital has taken another important step to give status both to the volunteer department and to the work performed by the volunteer by making the department a functional one which reports directly to the administration. The American Hospital Association in suggesting guidelines for the organization of a volunteer department advises the local hospital administration to "be prepared to provide adequate space, budget and recognition so that this department (or service) shall have status comparable to other departments (or services) of the hospital."⁵ This is a procedure which brings dignity both to the volunteer and the work performed, reduces confusion to a minimum, and undergirds the entire program.

Some agencies supplying volunteers, for example, the Junior Leagues of America⁶ and Volunteer Service Bureaus of America⁷ have also worked out competent guidelines of procedure which support both the professional working with volunteers and the volunteers who perform the work.

4. See Kathryn B. Farran, "Department of Volunteer Services Procedure Manual, Forsyth Memorial Hospital" (Winston-Salem, N.C., 1966), mimeo.

5. *The Volunteer in the Hospital* (Chicago: The American Hospital Association, 1959), p. 5.

6. See *The Junior League Handbook of Information* (New York: The Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc., 1965); Ann DeSandis and Jane Sutherland, *Project Manual* (New York: The Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc., 1963); Interview No. 23, July 27, 1966.

7. See Chapter 14.

Need of Services for Volunteers

Fifty-eight per cent of the professionals replying to the questionnaire for this study thought the agency should provide services for the volunteers, but only a little more than half of the volunteers thought these services necessary. Since more than half the respondents who were volunteers were in the middle-age, middle-income brackets, it may be presumed that the majority of volunteers either did not need these services or could easily provide them for themselves.

Professionals who thought it important for the agency to provide services were usually thinking of the lower-income volunteers whose leadership they thought should be encouraged. Most volunteers of this type do not have transportation, or, if they do, very little money to spend on gasoline. Every agency, some professionals thought, should develop a transportation policy which would either provide transportation for those needing it or remuneration for gasoline spent on agency work.

Others thought, and this was a point on which many volunteers themselves agreed, that all voluntary agencies should provide travel expenses of board members to agency meetings or for work related to agency programs. Such a policy would make it possible for many volunteers to participate who had been excluded in the past because of their own limited resources. The concentration of officeholding and volunteer work in the hands of the upper classes has come from an automatic elimination of lower-income groups who cannot afford the luxury of participation.

"When a gifted leader with a lower middle-income declines to be considered for high office, it is usually because he feels he cannot take from his family the money which would be required for him to finance personally the expenses incident to officeholding," a civic leader in a small town in Eastern North Carolina pointed out. This is true not only for officeholding in politics but in civic and charitable organizations and in all kinds of volunteer work. "You will never be able," he continued, "to develop leadership among indigenous groups until volunteer work ceases to be an expensive undertaking."

Other services which professionals would like to provide volunteers to make it easier for them to give their time are those already mentioned by volunteers:⁸ baby-sitting and child care, free meals when volunteer work coincides with mealtime, volunteer activities which

8. See Chapter 4, p. 60.

enhance the skills of the volunteer and make it possible for him to get a paying job. "I think all volunteer work should be a learning and upgrading experience," said the project director of a Community Action program in the east. "This is a service which the agency owes the volunteer; otherwise the agency, whether it realizes it or not, is exploiting the volunteer."

When the sex of the professional is considered in relation to the attitude of providing services to the volunteer, it is found that men are more favorable toward making work advantageous for the volunteer than are women. Table 20 shows this difference in attitude.

TABLE 20
SHOULD AGENCIES PROVIDE SERVICES FOR VOLUNTEERS?

<i>Professionals Replying</i>	<i>Percentage Replying</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Men	67	33
Women	52	48

Fifteen per cent more men than women professionals thought volunteers should be remunerated for out-of-pocket expenses and provided with lunch, a car pool, and nursery services for their children. Nevertheless, more than half the women professionals (52%) also thought these services should be provided.

Perhaps one explanation for the more supportive attitude of the male professional is the traditional role men have played in providing the family income. Work of whatever kind is a business affair and deserves certain rewards. Women, on the other hand, have traditionally played a nurturing role which has so often gone unnoticed that they have acquired low expectations of reward for their services. This position is similar to that of the nonwhite in the labor market who has been paid less for his work than whites receive and has been assigned to menial tasks so long that he has come to underestimate his own abilities.

When women volunteers launch a pioneer program, they usually do so with meager funds. Their own time and their personal funds go into the effort, and they expect devotion and sacrifice from those who succeed them in the undertaking. It is to be expected that the woman professional would carry over into her supervisory work the same attitudes of the pioneering woman volunteer. As more women are trained professionally for their jobs and are paid at a rate commensurate with men, their attitudes toward the volunteer will

probably come to be the same as the male professional. The fact that men and women professionals who cooperated in this study are only 15 per cent apart indicates that the time is now fast approaching.

Need for Involvement in Program Development

The attitude of the professional toward the volunteer and the work he performs is further revealed in the extent to which the professional is willing to involve the volunteer in the development of an agency program or project, and, therefore, make the work meaningful to the volunteer. The responses of professionals to the questionnaire item which indicated at what point volunteers should be involved in the step-by-step development of program are indicated in Table 21.

TABLE 21
ATTITUDE OF SUPERVISORS ON PROGRAM INVOLVEMENT
OF VOLUNTEERS

<i>Point of Involvement</i>	<i>Number and Percentage of Professionals Replying</i>			
	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Clarification of goals	120	45.6	143	54.4
Structuring details	165	62.7	98	37.3
Selection of key volunteer personnel	169	64.3	94	35.7
Allocation of jobs	149	56.7	114	43.3
Only in staff assigned tasks	204	77.6	59	22.4
Volunteer training	140	53.2	123	46.8
Step-by-step evaluation	139	52.9	124	47.1
Overall evaluation of effectiveness	117	44.7	145	55.3

More than three-fourths of all professionals replying to the questionnaire thought volunteers should be imaginative and creative in their work and not be restricted to those tasks assigned to them by staff members. More than half of the respondents also thought volunteers should have a part in the clarification and statement of goals of a program (54%) and should have a voice in the overall evaluation of effectiveness and accomplishments (55%).

More than half thought that volunteers should not be involved in allocation of specific responsibilities (57%), that they should not attempt to train other volunteers (53%), and that they should have no part in step-by-step evaluation of a program while it is underway (53%) and no part in the selection of key volunteer personnel (64%). While they would like for volunteers to show initiative and be keen enough to help out in emergency situations without being told what to do, the majority of professionals want to keep in their own hands the

structuring of policy, selection of volunteer personnel, allocation of responsibility, training of volunteers, and the constant checking to determine whether the program is going according to plans.

A brief discussion of the attitude of volunteers toward involvement in the project to which they give their time has already been made in Chapter 4, but the percentage of replies to these points is revealing in comparison to the attitude of professionals. Table 22 gives this information for volunteers.

TABLE 22
ATTITUDE OF VOLUNTEERS ON PROGRAM INVOLVEMENT

<i>Point of Involvement</i>	<i>Number and Percentage of Volunteers Replying</i>			
	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Clarification of goals	218	41.5	307	58.5
Structuring details	306	58.3	219	41.7
Selection of key volunteer personnel	311	59.2	214	40.8
Allocation of jobs	277	52.8	248	47.2
Only in staff assigned tasks	387	73.7	138	26.3
Step-by-step evaluation	230	43.8	295	56.2
Overall evaluation of effectiveness	184	35.0	341	65.0

The differences in opinion between volunteers and professionals as to the point at which volunteers should be involved in a program varies only between four and five per cent in each category, but the preference for greater involvement is on the side of the volunteer. Thus, four per cent more volunteers want to have a part in clarification and statement of goals than professionals who want them to have a part. Almost five per cent more volunteers want to be involved in structuring the details of the program than professionals who want them to be included.

In other words, volunteers want to have a greater voice in determining the specifics of the work they are to do than do the professionals who supervise their work. Five per cent more volunteers than professionals want volunteers to help choose the key volunteer personnel to perform the tasks, and four per cent more volunteers than professionals want volunteers to assist with assignment of specific responsibilities.

A reversal of this disparity appears in the question of whether volunteers should engage in only those tasks assigned by professionals. Four per cent more professionals than volunteers wanted volunteers to take a greater initiative than merely performing the tasks handed out by staff.

Involvement in Evaluation

On the questions of the extent to which volunteers should be involved in evaluation, volunteers were further apart than in any of the other categories. Nine per cent more volunteers than professionals wanted volunteers included in step-by-step evaluation of the program as it unfolds "in order," wrote one volunteer, "to know as quickly as possible where we are failing and how to improve our work." The percentage of difference between volunteers and professionals rose to ten points in overall evaluation. Sixty-five per cent of all volunteers want to know whether the program to which they are giving their time is an effective one.

Involvement in evaluation seems to be the point of greatest difference between professionals and volunteers. While less than half the professionals want volunteers to be involved in step-by-step evaluation, more than half the volunteers want this involvement. Young professionals would also like to include volunteers in the evaluation process more frequently than would older ones. Table 23 shows the difference in point of view of professionals in the different age levels.

TABLE 23
INVOLVING VOLUNTEERS IN STEP-BY-STEP EVALUATION

<i>Age of Professional</i>	<i>Should Be Involved in Step-by-Step Evaluation</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
29 or less	47 Per Cent	53 Per Cent
30 - 39	49	51
40 - 49	47	53
50 or over	64	36

Even among the young professionals the spread between those who think volunteers should have a part in step-by-step evaluation is only from two to four points with the majority being in favor of involvement in each age group from those 29 or less through age 49. But among professionals who are 50 or over, more than two-thirds think this is not a function of volunteer work. Step-by-step evaluation is "strictly a staff function," some professionals wrote on their replies. Professionals in the oldest age category, however, were more inclined to include volunteers in overall evaluation. Only 36 per cent in the oldest age group were willing for volunteers to participate in step-by-step evaluation, but the percentage jumped to 47 when it came to including volunteers in overall evaluation.⁹

9. The report of Mrs. Kathryn B. Farran, Director of the Department of

The professional's experience with volunteers undoubtedly influences his attitudes toward volunteer work and his willingness to involve the volunteer deeply or only superficially in program development. As another check on the willingness of the professionals to work with volunteers, this study asked supervisors to describe the typical

Volunteer Services, to the Assistant Administrator of Forsyth Memorial Hospital of May 6, 1963, on evaluation procedures and findings is suggestive of the productivity of involving volunteers in overall evaluation:

. . . For five consecutive days volunteers left the floors at noon instead of 1:00 p.m., to allow for an hour's discussion . . . the Orientation Chairman took verbatim notes.

A copy of the form used for guidance of the discussions is attached; one was directed to your attention at the time of the evaluation. A copy of this form was given to the Director of Nursing and the request was made that she undertake a parallel study. The Nursing Department form, with a few changes, is similar to this Department's, thus providing a basis for evaluation from both nursing and volunteer services.

Summary:

1. Both the Nursing evaluation and the evaluation by this Department indicate that floor volunteers are performing satisfactorily.
 2. Requests for help with patients on all floors, although slow in coming, had developed at the time of the evaluation and have accelerated sharply since February.
 3. All volunteers, all floors on all days, agree that patient response is excellent. Expressions of gratitude by patients is estimated to be the prime motivation for floor volunteers staying with their assignments.
 4. Relationships with nursing personnel are variable; . . .
 5. All volunteers, except those who are R.N.'s would like training in patient handling. . . .
 6. Volunteers seem to feel that they have received orientation but hospital personnel has not. . . .
 7. No one objected to duties that might be considered distasteful, i.e., cleaning dentures, etc.
 8. No one objected to sitting with patients to relieve private duty nurses. . . .
 9. No one objected to bed making, if instructed and if needed. . . .
 10. All agreed they could help more if sent on errands to other parts of the hospital.
 11. All agreed they have grown into larger duties than those originally outlined; that this is good.
 12. Generally, it seems that floor volunteers have learned where and how to be useful. They find considerable satisfaction in their assignment, particularly because patient receptiveness and gratitude are high.
 13. With the floor volunteers better accepted and better able to be of service to patients, one problem remains: insufficient numbers.
- All floors are covered all days, but substitutes are limited. All new applicants for Auxiliary membership who are considered suitable for floor duty are solicited as substitutes, but few accept.

It is a continuing frustration on all services that volunteers want permanent assignment and reject substitute status, thus creating a problem when absences occur.

volunteer. A professional, a woman over 50, with a high income, working in a Piedmont agency with a staff of 32, wrote after she had scored the traits of the typical volunteer, "Some of these characteristics apply to each volunteer. Usually the careless or prestige seekers drop out when real work is necessary."

A woman, ten years younger working in an Eastern North Carolina agency also with a staff of 32 and with an income about the same as the professional from the Piedmont, thought that education and income level determined the greatest differences among volunteers. She wrote:

Volunteers with more than average educational training show initiative and want the work to be challenging. Volunteers with little training from low-income groups need praise and want to be told just what to do more often than those from upper-income groups.

Still another professional working with large numbers of volunteers thought age was a relevant determinant. "Youth or student volunteers vary considerably from adults in a feeling of commitment to the task."¹⁰ The young are inclined to be forgetful, to fail to show, to "goof-off."

The Supervisor's View of the Volunteer

The number and percentage of those replying to each trait listed on the questionnaire as characteristic of the typical volunteer are shown in Table 24.

The professionals who supervise volunteers are, for the most part, high in their praise of the typical volunteer. More than a third (35%) thought they perform as well as paid workers. Two-thirds said volun-

TABLE 24
THE TYPICAL VOLUNTEER AS DESCRIBED BY PROFESSIONALS

<i>Description</i>	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Good as paid workers	170	64.6	93	35.4
Dependable	89	33.8	174	66.2
Show initiative	105	39.9	158	60.1
Careless and casual	241	91.6	22	8.4
Want to be told just what to do	166	63.1	97	36.9
Want challenging work	188	71.5	75	28.5
Need much praise	163	62.0	100	38.0
Work for prestige	241	19.6	22	8.4
Seek meaningful relationship with those served	93	35.4	170	64.6

10. See Interview No. 24, August 5, 1966.

teers could be depended upon, almost two-thirds said they show initiative, and more than two-thirds said they seek a meaningful relationship with those served. Almost two-thirds also said volunteers do not need a great deal of praise in order to be motivated to give their time. Only 22 supervisors of professionals (8%) thought volunteers to be careless and casual and almost the same 22 said the volunteers do the work merely to gain prestige.

A few differences in description of the typical volunteer are significant when correlated by age and sex of the respondent. The professional who is 50 years old or over is more than twice as inclined to think that the volunteer wants to be told what to do as the professional who is 29 or less and the professional who is in his forties. But the professional in his thirties is even more inclined to this opinion than the professional in the oldest age group.

The most permissive of all professionals is the young staff member who is beginning his career. He is more inclined to think that the volunteer performs just as well as the professional, shows initiative, and wants his work to be challenging. Part of this attitude of praise may be accounted for by the flexibility of youth, the insecurity of a person just beginning a profession, and by a genuine willingness on the part of the young supervisor to admit that he can learn from the volunteer. Another significant reason for the high value which young professionals assign to volunteers may also be accounted for in the shift in the professional training which is currently underway. This is especially true in the area of social work, health education, group work, and community organization, which for some years has placed emphasis upon the important role which volunteer work plays in community development.

In six of the nine traits of the typical volunteer listed in the questionnaire, there was no significant difference in the opinions of men and women professionals. But on the question, "Do volunteers seek a meaningful relationship with those served?" 60 per cent of the men said "no," while 58 per cent of the women said "yes." Seventy-three per cent of women supervisors think volunteers are dependable as compared to 57 per cent of men, and two-thirds of the women (66%) think volunteers show initiative as compared to a little over half of the men (53%).

The traits of the volunteer which professionals were asked to score

were keyed to the traits of the professional¹¹ which volunteers were asked to score on their questionnaires. While the percentages of cross-reference traits were not exactly the same for volunteers as for professionals in any one category, the discrepancies in five were insignificant. For example, 35 per cent of the professionals said they think volunteers perform as well as paid workers and 37 per cent of the volunteers thought volunteers perform that well.

In four categories, however, there were significant differences and, in all four, volunteers gave the more favorable rating to professionals. For example, 37 per cent of the professionals thought volunteers wanted to be told just what to do, but 90 per cent of the volunteers thought professionals allowed them to show originality and initiative, and, therefore, were not inclined to restrict them to jobs specifically delineated by staff. The widest spread in evaluation of each other was in the area of praise needed and desired by the volunteers. Sixty-two per cent of the professionals said they thought volunteers did not need a great deal of praise, and only nine per cent of the volunteers complained that professionals seldom praised them. If less than ten per cent of the 525 volunteers who scored the professionals think they are not sufficiently praised for the work they do, the professionals must be seeking a meaningful relationship with the volunteers. A fewer number of the volunteers (61%) thought the professional was supportive of the volunteer than the professional thought the volunteer was seeking a meaningful relationship with those served (65%), but this difference of four points is hardly significant.

In general, the replies both of professionals and volunteers indicate that the two types of workers are very well satisfied with each other, despite the complaint of lack of understanding. Each group sees faults in the other that need to be corrected, but each thinks the other performs a valuable service. When the professional is a man, he is more likely than a woman professional to want to make volunteer work easier for the volunteer by providing certain services. But the male supervisor expects more of the volunteer than his counterpart and is less inclined to think the volunteer serves a valuable function.

11. Harold H. Hixson, "The Director of Volunteers as a Department Head," *The Auxiliary Leader* (May 1964), lists the undesirable traits of a supervisor of volunteers as "insecurity and secretiveness, empire building, isolation, complacency, resistance to change" and the desirable traits as "confidence, cooperation, curiosity, communication, initiative, delegation, even temperament, and developer of people."

The fact that the majority of volunteers in this study are women as well as the majority of professionals may have something to do with the more favorable evaluation of the volunteer by women supervisors. Women are probably more inclined to understand the position of the volunteer as that of a busy housewife who sacrifices her own leisure to serve others and in so doing must work her responsibilities both to her family and her community into her daily schedule without providing much leeway for the crises which are inevitable both in her family situation and her volunteer work. On the other hand, most men who are professionals have wives at home to protect them from the minor upheavals of family routine and thus free their time for undivided attention upon job responsibilities. Into this job, the man fits the volunteer as another component of the work to be done and he expects the same efficiency from the volunteer component of the work as from any other.¹²

Since the male professional dominates government financed programs in which volunteers might well play an important role, this fact may in part account for the seeming reluctance of these programs to make use of the availability of middle-income volunteers who would be eager to help out if called upon for service. A closer examination of the use of volunteers in government financed programs may provide a better answer to this question. The extent to which volunteers are involved in the work of the public schools, the mental health institutions, the programs for the handicapped, hospitals, local boards of health, and county departments of public welfare will be explored briefly.

12. Daniel S. Schechter of the American Hospital Association staff said in an address in Chicago in 1957: "Volunteer service must be recognized and maintained on the same basis as other essential activities," *The Volunteer in the Hospital*, p. 59.

9 VOLUNTEERS IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

"We use volunteers in the routine screening we do in the public schools. Volunteers also help us in our Maternal and Child Care clinics by talking to the mothers. They help, too, with transportation of patients, serve in the Glaucoma Screening Clinic, and we plan to use them in Audiometer Screening we are about to set up."—Public Health Nurse in local Health Department.

* * *

"Most of our volunteer workers are teenagers. These young people contribute as much as 100 hours a month per individual in volunteer work at the Center. In addition, we have a number of adult volunteers who spend many hours helping the children."—Volunteer Coordinator in a Center for Retarded Children.

* * *

"There is a definite place for volunteers in the public welfare program, but I would insist that the department should have complete freedom in recruiting, screening and training the volunteers. I will also admit that it is time-consuming to use volunteers, but I believe they can be of service and they can be most effective in interpreting the program, provided, of course, they have the right kind of supervision."—Director of County Department of Public Welfare.

Programs designed for the general welfare of all citizens supported by local, state, and federal funds are less likely than privately financed programs to seek the assistance of volunteers. Often when government funds have supplanted private welfare in a pioneer program, the volunteers who initiated the effort and helped finance it during its early years have retired with a sigh of relief.

For example, during the thirties a group of women volunteers in a Piedmont city wanted a well-organized recreation program for their community and went before their board of aldermen with a proposal.

"We will raise the money for a recreation program this summer and we will obtain a trained worker paid by the National Youth Administration, if you will set up an official Recreation Commission.

"But don't put any of us on the Commission. We will do our part by raising the funds. After that we want the city to supervise the program." The aldermen accepted the proposal and have not called since upon any of the women in the group to serve on the Commission or perform any kind of voluntary function.

Here was a tacit understanding that when government takes over the volunteer retires. The women knew well enough that their proposal would not be accepted if they showed any desire to hold onto it. The only way a Recreation Commission had a chance to succeed was for them to do the pioneer work and then withdraw and let the current power structure take over.

Many new programs of benefit to all citizens have been set up by this delicate maneuvering within the tight little systems of control within local, county, and state governments. Every government financed program for the general welfare—schools, health, welfare—has been achieved as a result of years, sometimes even a hundred years, of promotion and interpretation. When, finally, government officials have voted funds to support the new program, they usually have wanted to administer it either through trusted government officials who are transferred to jobs within the new program or to trusted friends of trusted government officials. The volunteer is an outsider who is an untried component and, therefore, someone to be viewed with concern.

With the increasing interest of women in politics, an education comparable to that given to men, and the emphasis of the majority of women's organizations upon citizenship participation, the traditional woman volunteer is knocking on the doors of directors of publicly supported programs asking for a role to play. These doors are gradually being cracked. In some publicly supported programs, the doors have been opened wide to admit all who will offer their services, but the use of volunteers in government financed programs throughout the state is spotty, and the reasons given for not making use of this resource are usually the same regardless of the function the program performs.

Although some volunteers participate in most of the government supported programs designed for rehabilitation, correction, and improvement of the state's human resources, only four types of pro-

grams will be discussed briefly for purposes of illustration. These programs are the local Departments of Public Health, the Centers for Retarded Children, the county Departments of Public Welfare, and the local public school systems.

Volunteers in Local Departments of Public Health

At the request of this study the State Health Director gave permission to the Chief of the Public Health Nursing Section of the Local Health Division to circulate a questionnaire on the use of volunteers to the public health nurse in all local health departments.¹ Sixty-six departments responded with the results shown in Table 25.

TABLE 25
VOLUNTEERS IN LOCAL PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENTS

<i>Use of Volunteers</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent Replying</i>
Currently using	32	48.4
Used in past	7	10.6
Never used	19	28.9
Unknown	8	12.1
Total	66	100.00

More than 48 per cent of those responding to the questionnaire are now using volunteers in some phase of their programs, and eleven per cent have used volunteers in the past but have discontinued their use.

Local nurses listed 29 different functions which volunteers perform. They serve as receptionists and registrars, prepare histories, route patients, work as nurses aides, talk to patients to allay their anxieties, and transport patients to the various clinics conducted by local health departments. The clinics listed by the public health nurses using volunteers are cancer, glaucoma, audiometer, orthopedic, visual screening, maternal, and child care. The majority of volunteers employed in local health departments serve in these clinics or they are used for routine clerical work in the health departments or in school health programs. The five local health departments listing volunteers in schools use them under supervision to maintain the sick room.

The routine office work in the local health departments consists of pulling the records of patients, filing, typing, calling patients on the telephone, writing letters for the doctors, mimeographing, posting, maintaining bulletin boards, conducting surveys, preparing supplies,

1. Data in letter of September 2, 1966.

and running errands. They also clean the rooms at the close of the clinics.

Other volunteers examine, keep in repair, and furnish new supplies of sheets, receiving blankets, wheel chair bags, and clinic nurses' aprons. They man booths at the local fairs, speak at local civic clubs about new health programs, serve on advisory boards when a new program is to be launched, work with the underprivileged in sanitation and recreation, and supply refreshments on special occasions.

The number of volunteers recruited for these programs usually varies from one to nine. The volunteers work an average of three to five hours a week. Three of the local health departments reported using volunteers only two hours a month; 24 use them 32 hours a week. Twenty-two departments, however, use volunteers from 50 to 250 hours a month, and usually get the Red Cross to assume responsibility for recruitment and training.

Public health nurses frequently do their own recruiting. The volunteers come from the local Woman's Club, local units of various health organizations, Lions Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, Junior Leagues, Senior Citizen Associations, Nursing Councils, United Church Women, American Legion Auxiliary, Hospital Auxiliaries, Service Leagues, PTA's, Red Cross chapters, and Girl Scouts. Some nurses have found volunteers from various components of the antipoverty program such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, and PACE.

As a rule, the public health nurse likes to develop her own group of volunteers whom she trains herself. Since her time for training is limited, she likes to keep the same small group of dependable volunteers year after year. One nurse has used only one volunteer and has kept her busy for 15 years. Another nurse who depended upon only one volunteer and upon this one to recruit and train others when more were needed for a clinic, gave up volunteers altogether when her one faithful aide decided to take a full-time job.

Other nurses who once used volunteers and have given up the plan did so because "volunteer workers are not always dependable." Some volunteers "work only once for a few hours" and then never appear again. Those who used the "paid volunteers" from the anti-poverty programs seldom made plans for replacements when the volunteer programs terminated at the end of the summer. The amount of staff time required for supervision "proved very unsatisfactory."

Volunteers in Mental Health

Volunteers have been accepted in mental health institutions for ten or 15 years, and the literature on their usefulness when properly trained and supervised is abundant.² In North Carolina most of the institutions under the supervision of the State Department of Mental Health use volunteers in some capacity. For more than ten years students in the Raleigh and Chapel Hill colleges and universities have been serving as aides in Dorothea Dix Hospital in Raleigh, the oldest of the state facilities for the mentally ill.

Perhaps more volunteers are used at the four centers for the mentally retarded than in the other institutions of the Department of Mental Health. At Murdoch Center³ volunteers work with residents on a ratio of one volunteer to one or two residents. The volunteer is given a short orientation session and taken to visit all areas of the Center to observe the objectives of the training program and residential care. The volunteer is urged to form a close relationship with the resident by becoming an interested friend who will maintain frequent, continuous, and supportive contact.

Volunteers serve as chaperones for parties and off-campus trips, and are used extensively in the recreation programs. At the close of the summer recreation program in 1966 at least 200 residents participated in such events as sack races, back-to-back races, wheel chair races, stilt races, and skating contests. The occasion was an opportunity for the residents to participate in competitive games which children enjoy but also to appeal for more volunteer help and for "greater interest from parents and friends to visit and be with children at Murdoch."⁴

Volunteers also collect donations for special programs at the Center and for equipment which the limited budget under state funds does not permit. Various women's organizations assume responsibility for raising these special funds not only for the Murdoch Center but for all four Centers for retarded children in the state.

"Volunteers are very effective and would be even more so if we had more time and personnel to train them," wrote a staff member

2. For the philosophy of the use of volunteers in mental health programs and a description of three such programs, see Charlotte S. Hirsch, "Mental Health," in Alfred de Grazia (ed.), *Grass Roots Private Welfare* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), pp. 3-19. For development in Great Britain see Madeline Roof, *Voluntary Societies and Social Policy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), pp. 79-169.

3. Letter from Murdoch Center dated September 1, 1966.

4. *Chapel Hill Weekly* (Chapel Hill, N.C., August 24, 1966), p. 1B.

from Murdoch Center. "Our volunteer program is not too well developed" because "we are still in process of trying to get a position of Director of Volunteer Services placed in our budget."

Two years ago Western Carolina Center at Morganton employed a Coordinator of Volunteer Services who has full-time responsibility with secretarial assistance. She recruits and trains the volunteers and does public relations work as well. She travels about the state to speak to civic and church groups to interpret the program and make contact with potential volunteers. The coordinator describes her work further:

Volunteer Services also organizes tours of the facilities at the Center for groups and for individuals. Often after seeing the Center and the children, a person will decide that he would like to do volunteer work. Many of our volunteers come from personal contact with the Volunteer Services Coordinator.⁵

The Center uses several hundred volunteers regularly and is looking for even more among the students from nearby colleges. A staff evaluation of the program indicates that:

. . . teenagers do present some problems as volunteers. They occasionally form unhealthy attachments with the patients and sometimes lack a certain maturity of judgment. But on the other hand they are dependable and can be very good for the children. The biggest problem with adult volunteers is that there are just not enough of them. In a community like Morganton where there is a lot of competition from industry, it is hard to find adults with any spare time to devote to purely volunteer activity. However, the few adult volunteers we have had worked well with the children particularly in areas of specialized skills such as homemaking, beauty care, and music. . . They also help to feed and care for the patients in the crippled children's unit, assist at Day Camp, take the children on walks, and engage in similar activities.⁶

The Coordinator also encourages organizations to give group services:

For example, several organizations (local Woman's Club, V.F.W. Auxiliaries, Church Circles) give different cottages monthly birthday parties. Another club sponsors "The Golden Door Room." This room is filled with gifts and children who have been good all week are allowed to visit and select one item. The volunteers donate articles to The Golden Door. They also staff it during its open hours on Wednes-

5. Letter from Acting Volunteer Service Coordinator dated July 14, 1966.

6. *Ibid.*

day and Friday afternoons. Other projects that groups volunteer for are Sponsor-A-Child, The Pen Pal Program, and group visiting.⁷

The Volunteer Services manual which the Center has prepared lists 19 different activities in which volunteers are engaged at Western Carolina Center. It also summarizes the philosophy of volunteer work which guides the program:

(a) Every child at the Center can benefit from a volunteer who is willing to share his time, his interest, and his understanding with a boy or girl who urgently needs this sharing to brighten his days and help him in his adjustment to life.

(b) Every child can benefit from the special entertainment, programs, and projects being sponsored by volunteers.

(c) Every child benefits from the donations and contributions which are received from individuals, groups, or organizations.

(d) Through this program, the volunteer can not only make the patient feel a part of the community, but also promote community understanding. The volunteer is in a unique position to prod the community's conscience, not allowing it to forget that more research and trained personnel will increase chances of rehabilitation of the retarded and bring about future prevention of mental retardation.

(e) Through work with the public, we are able to educate the community and promote community understanding of mental retardation.

The emphasis is on the development of a mature relationship on a one-to-one basis with severely handicapped children to improve their skills in self-care to enable them to live happier, more satisfying lives. "The severely mentally retarded can and must be helped to do things for themselves," says Dr. J. Iverson Riddle, superintendent of Western Carolina Center. "Doing things for these children, as in the past, may not be helpful to them at all and may make them more dependent."⁸ The role of the volunteer in such a program is to give

7. *Ibid.* The 1966 Report to the Governor from the North Carolina Council on Mental Retardation pointed out that Sunday school services and day care programs for the mentally retarded are offered by many churches. It suggested that "programs and workshops be set up to aid churches in developing and maintaining day care, Sunday school and recreational programs. Boy and Girl Scout organizations, the Y's and other community groups should be encouraged to design and operate programs for the retarded. Completely separate programs for the retarded should be avoided where possible." The Report was summarized by Robert C. Page in "The State Beat," *The Durham Morning Herald* (Durham, N.C., August 17, 1966), p. 8A.

8. "N.C. Program for Retarded Is Reviewed," *Winston-Salem Journal* (Winston-Salem, N.C., May 6, 1966), p. 22.

warm encouragement to the children so that they will more readily develop incentive to help themselves.

Volunteers in Local Departments of Public Welfare

The county Department of Public Welfare which deals with more cases of needy families, children, orphans, blind, handicapped, and elderly than any other agency in the state does not pursue its program within the framework of institutional care. It gives direct relief in the form of money and sometimes homemaker services, food stamps, and clothes if these additional aids are made available to the local Welfare office either by approval of the County Commissioners or through donations made by local voluntary organizations.

The county Welfare Department also refers cases to state-supported institutions for special assistance within the guidelines of county, state, and federal programs. Unlike the institutions supervised by the State Department of Mental Health, the emphasis of Public Welfare has been placed upon relief and not rehabilitation. Within this framework, the county Departments of Public Welfare have seen as a rule no significant role the volunteer might play.

In some sections of the state where local tax revenues are limited, County Commissioners have felt they have a public responsibility to maintain as few cases on the relief rolls as possible to keep down the local matching funds required for state and federal assistance. In such situations, public knowledge of eligibility rules might handicap the local custodians of county revenue and stir the public conscience beyond the tax point that is considered wise.⁹ Volunteers, therefore, could easily become a threat to the local power structure.

The trend in Public Welfare is away from relief as the only function of the local office and toward relief plus rehabilitation and community involvement.¹⁰ The homemaker services and the state experiment financed with federal funds which has placed Community Service Consultants¹¹ in 14 local offices in different areas of the state are long steps toward achieving this new emphasis in Public Welfare. As the program unfolds and the need for public understanding increases, it is likely that more and more volunteers will become involved.

9. Cf. Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, "A Strategy to End Poverty," *The Nation* (May 2, 1966); reprinted in *Current* (July 1966), pp. 44-48.

10. North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, "Functions of the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare (February 1964), mimeo.

11. North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, *Biennial Report, July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1964* (Raleigh, N.C.), pp. 63-64.

TABLE 26
VOLUNTEERS IN COUNTY DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

<i>Use of Volunteers</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent Replying</i>
Never used	20	39.2
Used in past	11	21.6
Planning to use	3	5.9
Limited use	13	25.6
Use regularly	4	7.8
Total	51	100.00

This study wrote to every county Department of Public Welfare in the state inquiring about the use of volunteers in the local program. Fifty-one of the 100 Departments replied. Table 26 shows the extent to which volunteers are participating in the Departments which replied.

A third of the Departments reporting are now using volunteers. Four of this number are using them regularly and 13 have found a limited use for them. Three more Departments have plans underway to involve volunteers. Together these Departments form 38 per cent of those replying. On the other hand, a little more than a fifth of the Departments have used volunteers in the past and found them unsatisfactory. Well over a third have never thought of using volunteers. Almost two-thirds of the Departments have found no role which the volunteer can play satisfactorily in the local Public Welfare program.

The Departments which regularly use volunteers tend to involve large numbers, from 50 to 300. The volunteers are used to transport clients to medical clinics, to hospitals for emergency care, and to accompany caseworkers transporting children for specialized services. They serve as friendly visitors to the aged and infirm, to patients of local mental health clinics, and to those recently returned from state institutions. Teenagers and college students under supervision of a child welfare worker have begun recreation programs for children being served by the Department. Others have started tutorial programs under the direction of the Defined Services Section of Aid to Families of Dependent Children. One Department reports, "We have perhaps a hundred people who serve as volunteers known as Personal Representatives who help recipients to manage their public assistance grants," while other county Departments complain about difficulty in locating sufficient volunteers to perform this function.

Home Demonstration Clubs set up programs exhibiting the use and preparation of food available to recipients under the surplus food program. In those counties where their offer of services has been accepted, the clubs usually conduct the demonstrations for a month. In some of the counties club members are finding their services more acceptable when they ask permission to come into the recipient's home for the demonstration.

Junior Women's Clubs throughout the state have maintained "clothing closets" for county Departments for more than ten years. In some of the counties, the senior Women's Clubs have supplemented this activity by obtaining household furnishings for Public Welfare clients when the local Departments have requested the service.

Other county Departments have explored the use of volunteers as social welfare aides who not only have provided transportation for clients but have assisted in obtaining better housing, in finding employment, in advising on better home management, and in encouraging mothers to enroll in basic education or vocational classes.¹²

The work of the Forsyth County Department of Public Welfare has been so successful that it has received a half-million dollar federal grant for a Work and Training Program for subprofessionals. A Department in another section of the state which has used volunteers supplied by various programs supported by federal funds terminated the program because it involved too much staff supervision.

The Trainee Director wrote of the program:

Our evaluation at the end of the summer indicated that the work of our agency had gotten behind and the caseworkers were extremely frustrated by having to neglect the work that they as professionals were supposed to do in order to provide something for these volunteers to do and furnish them transportation as well. We found the volunteers demanding, critical, and some of them very immature.

This same Department, however, reported highly successful experience with a young local volunteer who plans to train for the field of social work.

A county Director who had used volunteers in the past but uses them no longer wrote: "There are many risks involved. However, organized and regular volunteer helpers could be a great value to our programs if properly oriented." Another Director who has used volunteers only for clinic work observed: "We have never used volunteers

12. See "Counties Use Creativity in Helping Clients," *Public Welfare News*, 30 (June 1966), pp. 9-10.

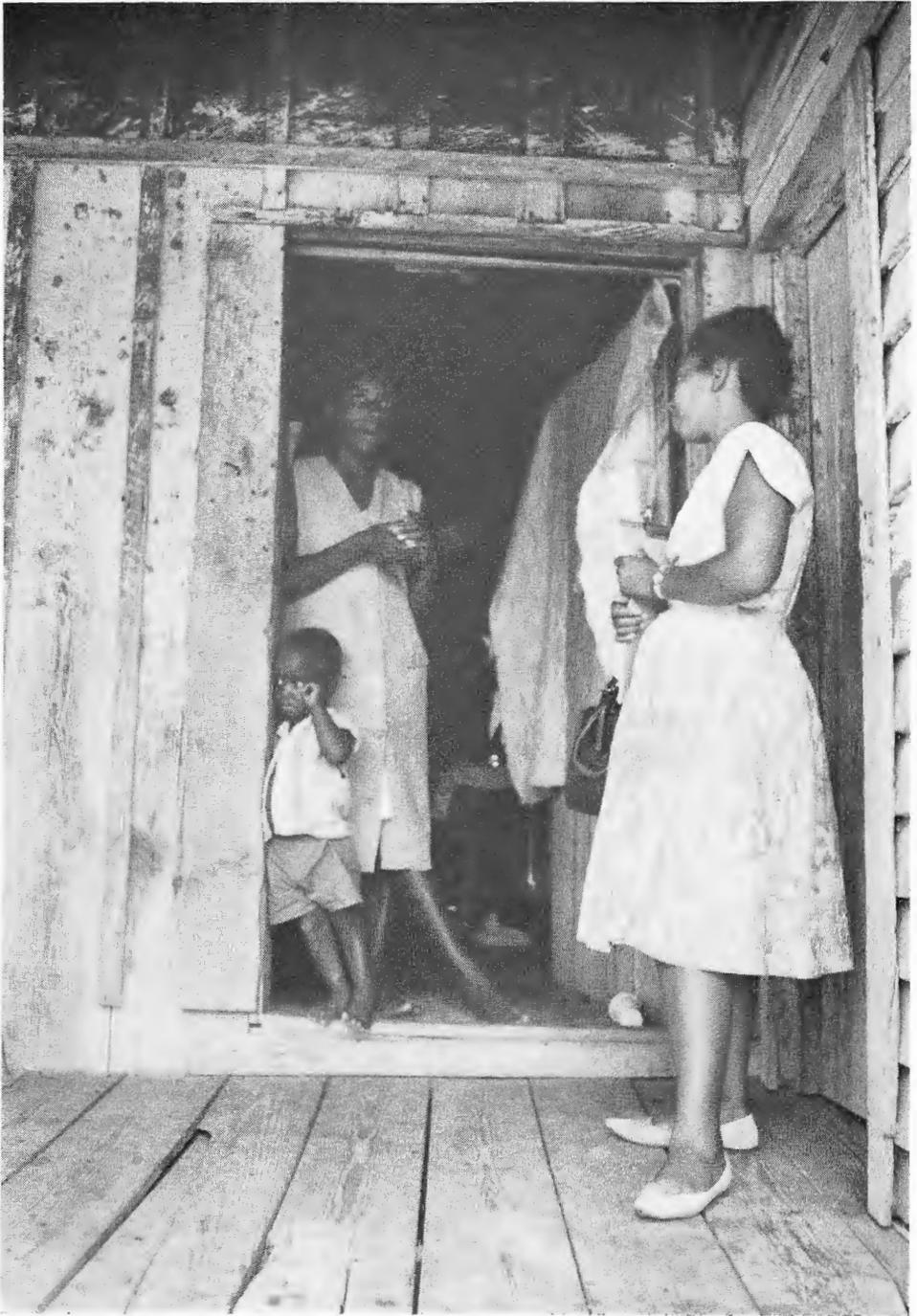


Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

An indigenous leader often can involve the poor in a self-improvement program more easily than a staff member.

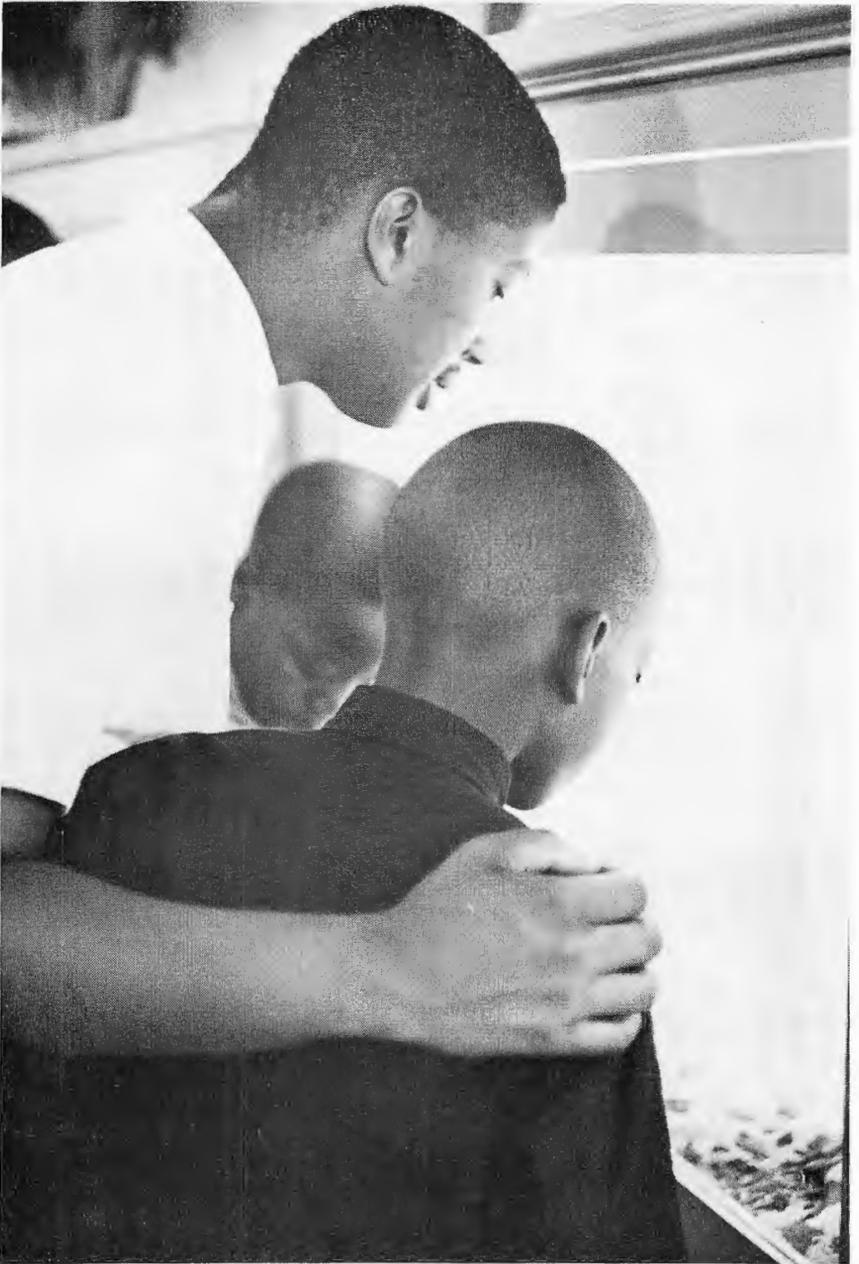


Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

The Big Brother program helps boys in a target area build wholesome self-images.

where it involved the volunteer having access to confidential material, and we will never plan to use them in this way." From another section of the state a Director wrote,

Perhaps one of the main reasons that we do not use volunteers more is that we like to use confidentiality as an excuse. . . . I feel that Welfare Departments are hesitant also to trust volunteers and are not aware of the services that could be rendered.

At least half of the Directors who have never used volunteers said they thought this kind of service could be very helpful but with the heavy work load, short staff, limited office space, and meager funds at their disposal it would be impossible to recruit, train, and supervise them. A few reported they had attempted to find volunteers and had been unsuccessful.

Volunteers in the Public School Systems

Volunteers in the public school systems of the state follow somewhat the same general pattern as those in the local Departments of Public Welfare. A few are using large numbers of volunteers with success. A few more are using them in a limited way, and the majority have not yet found a place for the volunteer in the school program.

This study prepared a random sample of 65 public school systems from a list of schools employing attendance counselors supplied by the State Department of Public Instruction. A simple questionnaire was prepared so that the counselor could fill in the data in less than a minute if he was familiar with the program. Thirty-five schools responded. The results are shown in Table 27.

Since this was a random sample, it may be assumed that all public schools in North Carolina employing attendance counselors and school social workers conform to the pattern indicated in the table. More

TABLE 27
VOLUNTEERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

<i>Use of Volunteers</i>	<i>Number Replying</i>	<i>Per Cent Replying</i>
Never used	19	54.3
Used in past	3	8.6
Limited use	8	22.9
Using successfully	4	11.4
Unknown	1	2.8
Total	35	100.0

than half (54%) have never used volunteers in the school program and three per cent of the counselors have recently been employed and are not aware of school policy in the past. A little more than ten per cent are now using volunteers successfully. A little more than a fifth are using them in a limited way and just under ten per cent have used them in the past and have not found the effort worth continuing. It is significant that 43 per cent of these schools have had experience in the use of volunteers and that only nine per cent have dropped the program.

The four schools that are using volunteers successfully vary in the number of volunteers used from ten to 300. They are used for emergency transportation, transportation to clinics, supervision of special events, and improvement of school grounds. Volunteers also serve as teacher and cafeteria aides, grade mothers who really function, aides to the school social worker,¹³ assistants to school counselors, home visitors who interpret the work of the child and the school to low-income families and in rehabilitation of drop-outs. They provide sick room services in the schools so that the room can be kept open when the public health nurse is not in attendance. They provide tutorial services for children working below achievement level. They give valuable assistance in special education classes.

Two of the four schools replying said the volunteers perform as well as paid workers and all four rated the volunteers as dependable persons who show initiative and seek a meaningful relationship with those served. Most of these favorable responses came from schools which undertake a school social work service. Volunteer programs in connection with this service have recently been initiated in North Carolina although some public school systems in the North and West have had programs in operation for many years.

The volunteer program in connection with the School Social Work Service in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools began in March 1965. The Director of the Service, Joseph Frankford, explains the goals of the program and the role of volunteers in it as follows:

The School Social Work Service is an ancillary service of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools. This school system is faced with a problem presented by a significant number of pupils who are under-

13. About five school systems in the state conduct a school social work service with professionally trained social workers. A few others conduct this service with untrained personnel. Many more employ attendance counselors who are not trained social workers.

achieving in their relationship to school. One of several ways the school system has selected to handle this problem is through hiring the profession of social work to offer to help the individual schools. The school social workers offer to help these schools through providing casework to the pupils who are having difficulties in their relationships to schools.

We have found through our experiences that many of the pupils can be helped through relationship assistance that need not require a skilled helping process by a trained and experienced social worker. For example, in the area of beginning absenteeism, we have found that a volunteer in her capacity of that of a good neighbor can be, and usually is, very helpful to both the school and to the parents of the beginning absentee.

The volunteer is different from the school social worker in that she has no particular ax to grind nor represents no particular point-of-view other than that of a good neighbor who is eager to offer help to her neighbors with problems. Therefore, we have found that the nature of the relationships among volunteers, school, and parents is different from that with the school social worker. The relationship is based upon that of neighbors, willing to be of assistance to one another.¹⁴

The Social Work Service in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools has developed a job description for the volunteer attendance worker which outlines function and procedures. Five functions are outlined:

1. Visiting homes in order to determine reason for child's absence from school.
2. Interpreting the North Carolina School Attendance Law to the child and parents.
3. Gathering necessary data in reference to the child's home environment thereby enabling the school to better understand each case.
4. Serving as a resource person to the school in matters of attendance.
5. Helping establish closer relationships between the school and the home.¹⁵

Volunteers for this program come from the Junior Woman's Club, the Junior League, and various women's societies of the churches. The Service asks each organization to designate one person to work with the school in development of policy and procedures. The volunteers are screened, trained, and supervised by the Director of the Service. They have monthly sessions with school and social work personnel to

14. Letter dated July 25, 1966.

15. "Volunteer Attendance Worker Program," mimeo.

consider problems and learn from one another. The final meeting of the year is an evaluation session.

The School Social Work Service of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools also supervises a program for school case aides and school service aides in connection with the antipoverty programs. As the antipoverty programs which relate to education are expanded, more and more North Carolina schools are beginning to take advantage of the services which federal funds provide. The Head Start program, especially, has emphasized the use of volunteers.

These federally financed programs might possibly point the way toward initiation of School Social Work Services in other school systems of the state. These services, however, will probably come slowly in North Carolina schools. Many have not as yet made a beginning and have no thought of trying to utilize the pool of volunteer resources available.

The schools reporting use of volunteers in a limited way call upon them for emergency transportation, assistance in the special education classes, as friendly visitors, for maintenance of the school sick room, for work in preschool clinics and help with Head Start. Four of the eight schools employ from ten to 19 volunteers, two call upon 20 to 49, and the remaining two use large numbers, 417 in one Head Start program, for instance. Four of the schools said the volunteers perform as well as paid workers and five report they can be depended upon. All seemed to agree that volunteers show initiative and want their work to be rather challenging.

One school was so appreciative of the work of the local Business and Professional Women's Club that the counselor described the activities as a model for others to follow:

. . . the Club adopted our Special Education classes as one of their regular projects. They furnish free lunches for the needy, extra treats from time to time, materials for hot or cold cereal for breakfasts in the classrooms; also, clothing for the most needy, and a Christmas shopping spree and big party for the children, complete with toys and gifts. They have also furnished some extra teaching aids and materials from time to time. In the spring they take the children on a picnic.

Another school, the only one reporting such a service, found volunteers who conduct the art and music classes for the system. But the average schools in the state, like the average health and welfare depart-

ments, feel so overwhelmed with the daily routine of supplying rudimentary services that they do not have the energy or foresight to look beyond the office into the community for the help which is there waiting to be put into motion.¹⁶

16. See "School Resources Volunteers," *Volunteer's Digest*, 3 (October 1966), p. 4.

10

WORKING WITH THE POOR

"There is a certain class of white people really in need, but they are so prejudiced I am afraid they won't take advantage of the opportunities offered them."—White Representative of the Poor.

* * *

"Upward Bound helped my girl a lot. She was weak in 'rithmetic and reading, but she had a lady study her after class. Now, when I come home from work, she reading a book 'sted a-looking at TV."—Domestic worker in the Piedmont.

* * *

"What our people need is jobs—jobs; and training to hold down jobs when they get them."—Negro Representative of the Poor on a Community Action Board.

"Because it is right, because it is wise, and because for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty," said President Lyndon B. Johnson on March 16, 1964, "I submit, for the consideration of the Congress and the country, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

It had always been the goal of this nation to build "an America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capacities," the President declared in justification of the Antipoverty program.

Life to one fifth of our people "means a daily struggle to secure the necessities for even a meager existence. It means that the abundance, the comforts, the opportunities they see all around them are beyond their grasp. Worst of all, it means hopelessness for the young," the President continued.

A war on poverty is good business, the President further pointed out.

We do it also because helping some will increase the prosperity of all . . . If we can raise the annual earnings of 10 million among the poor

by only \$1,000 we will have added 14 billion dollars a year to our national output. In addition we can make important reductions in public assistance payments which now cost us 4 billion dollars a year, and in the large cost of fighting crime and delinquency, disease and hunger.¹

Traditional Views on Poverty

With this message to Congress, the executive branch of the federal government took a stance on poverty far removed from the position of pre-Depression years. It was then believed that the destitute were the exclusive concern of private charity and local government.² Equally important for implications of work with the poor was the assumption by the President that direct assistance to the destitute is a positive good. He swept aside the dichotomy between the "deserving poor" and "the undeserving" which has existed from the seventeenth century almost to the present.

The policy of giving meagerly, and chiefly to the deserving—screened for worthiness by a set of guidelines established either by local government or in combination of local and federal government—was current in many parts of the nation at the time the President delivered his message. The hurriedly constructed programs of the Great Depression which brought federal assistance on a wide scale to the distressed had been based upon a humanitarian desire to relieve suffering. It had also been enacted despite the vigorous protest of many who still accepted the seventeenth century dictum that almsgiving might be more hurtful than helpful to the recipient. According to this position, it could be a positive menace and, therefore, should be restrained out of compassion for the poor whose self-respect would be destroyed. The poor would come to think that the world owed them a living. They would become lazy, lose their initiative, and permit themselves to become dominated by the evil which resides in all human beings. Assistance from public funds would, therefore, lead to illegitimacy, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, degeneracy.

The seeds to the position which the President took had been sown in the humanitarian reform movement of the nineteenth century. As the century wore on it came to be said more and more that charity

1. Lyndon B. Johnson, "Message on Poverty" (March 16, 1964); reprint in Robert E. Will and Harold G. Vatter (eds.), *Poverty in Affluence: The Social, Political, and Economic Dimensions of Poverty in the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), pp. 15-17.

2. Woodroffe, *From Charity to Social Work*, Part II, *op. cit.*

should be directed toward constructive aims. The poor should have help in breaking bad habits. They needed moral elevation, education, instruction in budgeting, buying, and household management. They needed friendship, understanding, even respect. They actually needed help before being overwhelmed by a crisis. They needed help to help themselves.

While these recommendations sound as if they were lifted directly from speeches made by the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the directors of local Community Action Programs, they were actually proposals made as early as 1894 by Amos G. Warner and other social reformers of his time.³ But it sometimes takes as long as a century for a new approach to social welfare to become an accepted policy of government.

The antipoverty program has been buffeted, consequently, by the divergent views of the American people on the advisability of giving relief; on whether it is the deserving poor and not the hard-core poor who can be helped; whether, indeed, it is possible to lift a person out of depravity; on the kind of help the poor need, the point at which help should be given; even on the kind of person who can best give the help. The whole question of federal public assistance has been complicated further by the attitudes of the American people on race. Since a large proportion of Negro families are poor, some Americans have assumed that they are in this condition because they are Negroes. They overlook, or do not know, that the majority of poor Americans are white.

The American Institute of Public Opinion took a nationwide poll of public opinion in the spring of 1964 on the causes of poverty and found that these views "go deep to the roots of the political philosophy of American voters." The Institute found that those who thought poverty is primarily due to lack of individual effort were more likely to be Republicans than Democrats. Those who believed that poverty is largely due to circumstances were more likely to be Democrats than Republicans.

Difference in attitude was also keyed to difference in income and education. Those with incomes of \$10,000 or over were more likely to blame effort than circumstances as cause of poverty, but those with incomes of \$3,000 or less thought circumstances were the cause rather

3. Amos G. Warner, *American Charities, A Study in Philanthropy* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1894), pp. 372-386.

than lack of effort. Those with the most education attributed circumstances rather than lack of effort as the major reason for poverty.⁴

What North Carolinians Think of the Antipoverty Program

It has already been pointed out that 55 per cent of volunteers replying to the questionnaire for this study think the antipoverty program is ineffective.⁵ Their reasons are both political and racial. The reasons are also tied to the respondent's view of charity and to his view of the administrative policies of the program:

... I am a life-long Democrat who has always voted the straight ticket but I think the antipoverty program is the most ill conceived that has ever been foisted on the American people.

... I am very suspicious of the motives of politicians. . . .

The same emphasis on politics was made by a person interviewed for the study. He was from a lower middle-income bracket and implied but did not acknowledge that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He said:

The whole thing is the biggest boondoggle the Democrats have ever put over. They've done it just to keep in power. I don't know when we will ever turn them out. They's too much free money floating around. This race thing may do it, though. There's more hatred toward the Negro than ever before in the history of the country.

Respondents to the questionnaire who objected to the antipoverty program because of help being given nonwhites, wrote:

... It is unfortunate that the whole program has been given a civil rights bias, although help for Negroes in depressed areas is needed.

... Too much pressure to integrate. . . .

... Too much money going to the colored people.

Those who believe that too much help for the poor may be a positive harm wrote:

... I feel that a lot of people are receiving help that would not need it if they would go to work. To a degree, this program is making the American people lazy and think the world owes them a living.

... More emphasis needs to be placed on the programs leading to making people more independent.

4. *Gallop Poll Report* (Spring 1964); reprinted in Will and Vatter, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

5. Chapter 4, p. 53.

... There must be *guided* help by capable hands to help the poor in *helping themselves*.

Those who seemed to approve of the antipoverty program in principle but objected to it on grounds of poor administrative policies wrote:

... I have heard a lot of blow, and see very little in way of efficient, to the point action, or results. I think much more is accomplished quietly, by individuals, than by proclamations, movements, and the like.

... I definitely think top workers are overpaid—many without the training necessary. Knowing three of the workers and their training and comparing their salaries with salaries of local teachers makes me think as I do. Too much overhead.

... Not enough local involvement and feeling of community responsibility. I think it would be more effective if considered a local problem and not a federal one.

... The community is not involved.

... The antipoverty program itself is a good program, but it is not effectively carried out. Some of the personnel of this program do not have the proper attitude towards those with whom they are working.

... I am not familiar enough with the antipoverty program to judge it. At the last meeting I attended on Basic Adult Education, I had the feeling that one office had the responsibility of carrying on the work and another held the purse strings and I wondered how it could be effective.

... The Program has employed too many untrained leaders who have *not* involved people in planning and carrying out programs.

... I think that with added experience in these new poverty programs will come greater efficiency. Most of the programs are still pilot stage.

... I favor the Program, and am sure it is carried out effectively in some places. However, administrators should be more carefully selected, more *qualified* personnel used, better planning with the community in mind, and effective use of volunteers at all levels.

Why "The Community" Has Not Been More Involved

Complaints against the local Community Action Programs for failure to involve the community appeared on many questionnaires received for this study and also cropped up in the interviews with middle-income volunteers and even with personnel in the Community

Action Programs themselves. These respondents want community involvement in shaping policy, drafting specific programs, and later in carrying out these programs. They also want a better interpretation of the poor and their needs.

A middle-class employee confided:

I am soon resigning from the staff. I have worked for a year in this program harder than in anything else I have ever done because I believed in it, but it has been a constant frustration. Most of the staff members are untrained and actually do not know how to work and are hostile to me because I do have a good work pattern. The Director has seemed to antagonize the community deliberately and when I want to bring in volunteers who know how to work and will give a good performance, he scornfully dismisses them as "Lady Bountifuls." It would be so easy to get community support for this important program. The community wants to cooperate, but the Director and the majority of the staff are almost gleeful every time something happens to antagonize what they call "the power structure." This is what they think is progress.⁶

Since the emphasis of the antipoverty program and its components has been upon involvement of the poor and the development of leadership among "indigenous personnel," federal guidelines have stressed the importance of searching out those in "pockets of poverty" who might open the doors to help for the hard-core, multi-problem poor. The assumption has been, based upon the writings of Michael Harrington and Frank Riessman,⁷ that indigenous leaders are more effective in developing motivation among the poor than are middle-class workers and volunteers. These potential leaders, often with little education and training, have been sought in many Community Action Programs, and have been placed in staff positions.

These positions have usually been as subprofessionals who are rated in federal guidelines at a salary scale of \$3,600, just above the poverty line. Or they have been "paid volunteers" who have received \$1.25 or \$1.50 an hour for their work. But many of these potential leaders never before have earned more than a pittance. They are often boastful of their income and lead some in the community to think they are receiving handsome salaries. Sometimes they are incompetent and do not measure up to their expected performance. This, too, gives the appearance of waste and inefficiency. When they

6. Interview No. 25, April 21, 1966.

7. *Infra*, pp. 150-152, 165, 187-188.

do develop leadership and the target area begins to stir with the organization of a neighborhood council and the council begins to make demands for improvement of living conditions or job opportunities, those in the community who have always thought too much help for the poor is a bad thing, now are convinced it is a positive evil. If these indigenous leaders are white, it is considered by some to be bad, but if they are black the whole movement of stimulating neighborhood councils becomes, in the minds of the opposition, a public menace.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why the program has been under heavy Congressional fire and why the majority of respondents to the questionnaires for this study have generally opposed or wished to reorganize the antipoverty program. Many Community Action boards throughout the country were at first organized along traditional lines which involved those who customarily serve on welfare boards, but the protest to Congress from representatives elected from poverty areas became so loud that guidelines were drawn up requiring greater involvement of Representatives of the Poor, in many instances Representatives who were to be elected by those in the target areas.⁸ This movement began to isolate, and even to alienate, the traditional volunteer.

The Need for Community Involvement

Given the assumption held by the majority of Americans that poverty is caused by lack of effort, it is easy to understand why many directors of local Community Action Programs have also assumed that the local "power structure" will attempt to thwart their efforts if the goals are clearly defined. The director has also been in many instances an outsider who, it was thought, would be free from local pressures; and he has sometimes been untrained in the type of work he is to perform.

The great lack of professionals throughout the nation who have had both training and experience in the fields of community organization and group work has made it impossible to find trained workers for the thousands of programs being administered by the great variety of components in the antipoverty program. In order to lure trained personnel into the antipoverty program and away from their jobs

8. Jules Witcover and Erwin Knoll, "Politics and the Poor: Shriver's Second Thoughts," *The Reporter* (December 30, 1965), pp. 23-25.

which give them tenure, it has been necessary to make the salary scale higher than the normal expectancy. This was one of the hard necessities required to get the program underway quickly, and it has been one of the least understood and most frequently criticized aspects.

Many respondents for this study thought it would have been wiser to have selected a local person to head up the Community Action Program than to bring in a total stranger. A professional worker in the Piedmont said:

A local person would have been accepted immediately. He would have understood the community and how to interpret the program to bring community leaders along gradually to accept the goals of the antipoverty program. This is how the principle of price control and rationing, both anathema to the American people, was introduced during World War II and the acceptance of these restrictive measures is one of the success stories of the war period. The poverty program is a crash program, but so was price control and rationing.

The key to community success during World War II was community leadership and community involvement. But the Community Action Programs have been based on the conclusion that community leadership is opposed and, therefore, must be avoided. There has also been no attempt to build upon the past experiences and knowledge of those who have been doing work in this field for years and should have been involved instantly in the plans for development of Community Action in the local communities. I am thinking of the long established community service agencies and the new Human Relations Councils which are scattered all over our state. These leaders have learned things that would have been extremely helpful to those working in the local poverty programs.⁹

A director of a Community Action Program, a resident of the local area, with a college degree in a social science and years of experience in community work, was more tolerant of the way the program had been set up but also critical of the failure to provide more room for involvement of community resources. He said:

I'm sympathetic with the bungling and confusion since the program is so new. I've had my share of trouble with the rules, but I realize there must be rules. The government just couldn't examine the thousands of programs that would come from all parts of the country if everyone had a free rein. My biggest gripe is that the antipoverty program doesn't have enough teeth and that community resources are not more involved.

9. Interview No. 26, June 15, 1966.

Without the power structure in the local community backing the program, the development can't succeed. Apathy is the main problem in this area . . . Most of the people are conservative and most of them really think this country can't afford the antipoverty program. Of course, many of them think the project is strictly for Negroes.

Staff in the antipoverty program can't do work without the people of the community. I've met dozens of staff members outside this one. They are all dedicated and competent.

I'm sold on community effort and volunteers. In Head Start last year, all the volunteers were middle class. They were amazed at all they learned about the problems of the poverty-stricken.

Other people should get involved, especially the critics. We had one newspaper man who was staunchly against all these programs until we asked him to volunteer to help a family attempt to budget their money. This educated him fast about what problems these people are up against and now he is one of the programs' biggest supporters.

Just a few volunteer hours a week will do it. Just sitting on the council two hours a month can have some real enlightening effects. I have made many speeches to people about such things as relief, and I can usually make them understand the other side.¹⁰

The Poverty Program Viewed from Inside

What do other staff members in components of the antipoverty program think of it, and how do indigenous leaders react? The study conducted interviews to determine some of the answers to these questions, and other interviews made by staff members of the North Carolina Fund were made available for this purpose. An interview with a staff member of Youth Educational Services, an experimental summer tutoring program sponsored by the North Carolina Fund and financed by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, indicates that residents of the target area were not only stimulated to help themselves but that segments of the larger community were also involved:

I am from North Carolina and all of the staff—college students, recent graduates, two high school students—are from North Carolina except a guy who's from the University of Wisconsin and one who's from Chicago.

We have worked in a Negro target area of one of the largest cities in Eastern North Carolina. The target area has about 300 people, and approximately 80 families. We've had about 70 children. All of them have been in group situations, and about 50 have been on a one-to-one basis with a tutor. This is where there's one child and one tutor who can give individual attention and get the best possible results.

10. Interview No. 12, July 18, 1966.

All the staff feel that the experience is just as profitable, if not more so, for us as for the children. We have had in-service training sessions and have learned so much about children, about teaching techniques, and about even some of the things that some of the staff had missed growing up.

We have also worked in the community. We have organized parents into a community council, and they have helped us with the recreation center. It's an old church that we've renovated during the summer into a recreation center and a neighborhood center. Everybody's been helping with the fund raising, and the men have been helping us with the work on the church. They've also been working on sewage for the streets. And we're trying to get a committee now to go to the city to see what can be done about this. They tried before, but I think they have a more organized front now to present. We've had one member of the parents' council elected to the Community Action Program of the whole county. We think this is a pretty big advancement.

When we began repairing the church for the neighborhood center, we thought we would have to replace only a few of the floor beams. When we started tearing out the floor to find the rotten beams, we found there were just too many to make spot patchwork repairs. So, we tore out the whole floor and we were going to build it back because we had been able to obtain several donations from lumber companies. Then we decided that perhaps we could get cement enough and luckily we found a man who was very nice and told us that he would give us half the cost of a cement floor if we would pay the other half.

We had a beautiful day one Saturday when we poured the cement. The women were cooking the chicken dinners to sell to get the money for the floor and the kids were selling the chicken dinners. The men of the community as well as some of the teenagers were inside the church taking in wheelbarrows of dirt to fill in the floor and the cement was coming in a window on the other side and was being spread quickly before it dried. It was beautiful teamwork, and I think their hearts were all very much in it.

All the parents have expressed concern over their children's education and some of them call our office the little schoolhouse. They seem very interested in the program and their own organization that has developed out of it. I hope they become really concerned over the inequities in the educational system because this does exist. And I think the parents could bring some pressure to make some sort of amendment. . . .¹¹

The work of a middle-class white subprofessional in a day care center attended predominantly by Negro children shows less involve-

11. Interview No. 141-01, August 15, 1966; edited for continuity from a taped recorded interview for the North Carolina Fund.

ment with groups and with community forces than does the report from the student staff member of Youth Educational Services. Her report, however, reveals the philosophy of the program and how work with the children carries over into the family situation:

We had a very helpful six-week training program before beginning work in the Day Care Center. Much of it had to do with understanding the problems of low-income groups so that we were well prepared to work with the children from low-income families.

For a while we had two white children at the Center. At first, the Negro children made pets of them. They would yield toys to them, stroke them, defer to them much as a child will to his pet cat or dog. Once a Negro child said of one of the white children, "She's not like us."

The teacher, who was a Negro herself, called all the children around her, sat comfortably on the floor in a relaxed manner and said, "Each of you has a Mommy and a Daddy. You look like your Mommy and your Daddy. Mary and Sally have Mommies and Daddies too. They look like their Mommies and Daddies. But all of you are just children playing together here in this room." Then she waited for any comments and when there were none and she saw that the children were satisfied with this explanation, she resumed the customary play period. After that, the novelty of having white children in the group wore off and they were accepted as belonging on their own merits as children.

When we had our training from the staff supplied by the Poverty Board, the instructors stressed a "great love of children," as the chief qualification for a person working in a Day Care Center. They said that even if you had no special training or skills, you could work acceptably in a Day Care Center if you *really loved* children. The best learning climate for a child is one of love between the teacher and child. In the less than a year I have been working in the program, I have found this to be true. My basic qualification, I think, is that I have a concern for little children, especially little Negro children.

You see how accepting and friendly the children are to visitors. They wanted to "love" you and bring you into their games even though they had never seen you before. And the fact that you were white made no difference to them. They were not afraid of you.

We had one child who was under great stress. The father beat the mother. The child saw this and came to school unhappy and frightened. As a result he was aggressive toward other children, angry and belligerent. We would take him out of the school conflict situation as soon as his fighting began. Without reproving him we would give him special attention. Read to him; sometimes just hold him in our arms or in our laps and give him the comfort of warm physical contact and reassurance. This act which seemed to reward him for aggression could have carried over into a behavior pattern calculated to get

special "love" from the staff, but we also talked gently to him and didn't prolong the special attention. The family situation has now changed because we also worked with the mother and the father, trying to discover the cause of the father's aggression, pointing out also what this behavior had done to the child.

We found the wife worked all week except Sunday in domestic service for \$26 a week. She had three small children between the ages of three and five and some older children. The home was untidy and the children were running in and out of the house all day without any supervision. She was persuaded to give up her job and stay at home. The father works in a factory and gets a good salary, ample to take care of the family, but he was not giving any of the money to his wife. All she had was the \$26 she made and this was far from enough. The father was persuaded to help out if the mother would quit her job and look after the children. He likes so much the improved atmosphere in his home that he has continued to support the family.

The mother says she never had time to give the children any home training until now, and she says the best help she has comes from the child in the Day Care Center. He insists that everyone wash hands before meals and that he be allowed to say grace. Both parents like this, and say it is good for the whole family.

Most of the children in one way or another are "problem children," some from families without fathers, some with physical defects, some with behavior difficulties. Some problems are more easily corrected than others.

We are trying to clear up all physical defects, and this work is being financed by the Poverty Board. You saw the child with a cast over one eye. A doctor is seeing her and will eventually come to some decision, probably to remove the eye and give her an artificial one so that her appearance will be normal. And did you notice the little boy with the hearing aid?

We have one little boy whose urethra was damaged by an accident when he was several months old. He wears an artificial bladder strapped to his thigh with a tube in the kidney. In play he frequently pulls the tube out and if he falls headlong and the artificial bladder is full, the urine spills all over the floor and must be cleaned up. He cannot have an operation to correct this defect until he is six. When he first came to us he complained of hurting low in the abdominal region all the time and it was easy to see he was in pain. Because of lack of care at home, he had an infection of the kidney. With medication and the care we are giving him this has been corrected.

We have a psychiatric social worker who comes to consult with us once a week. She is able to explain some problems that puzzle us.

We have one child of an unwed mother who is not responsive but evidences a great desire for love yet does not know how to elicit it. The only thing she really likes to do is play in water.

We have another child, a boy, who is greatly troubled with night-

mares even when he is taking his afternoon naps. Yesterday he had four nightmares in succession during nap time.

All parents pay a little. The rate is scaled to the rent paid in the housing project. The highest fee paid is \$3 a week per child or \$5 for two. Some pay only 50 cents a week. The hours of the Center are from 8 to 5. We give the children a morning snack and a hot meal at noon. We have a cook to prepare the meals. She plans the menus, buys the food, and prepares all meals, which are excellent. They are designed for nutrition and variety so that the children will always be well fed but will also become accustomed to different foods.

We have no eating problems whatever except that of the little girl I mentioned earlier who wants affection and doesn't know how to get it except by atypical behavior.

In admissions, we try to include the most needy. There are 120 children in the housing project but we have room in the Center for only 40.

The mothers come in on invitation occasionally and the children seem proud and delighted. I think the program is improving the child-parent relationship.

We have been so busy getting started and then with the daily routine that we have had no time for imaginative involvement with volunteers. We could use volunteers to advantage. There are many things which even untrained volunteers could do such as putting out cots for the afternoon nap and then putting the cots up again, helping with lunch, handling small groups, giving individual attention which is needed but for which the staff actually has very little time without neglecting group work.¹²

The Poor Speak Up

As the interviewer was alternately playing with the children and talking with the staff, a mother accompanied by her husband came to pick up two children, a five-year-old from the older group in another room and one of the most responsive little boys in the group where the interview was underway. Both parents were young, well dressed and neat looking. They greeted their children quietly.

The little girl ran to her mother and hid her face in her dress, but the little boy wanted to kiss his teachers and the visitor good-by before he left happily with his father. The mother observed:

This Day Care helps a lot. We go off to work easy. Nothing to worry about. We know the children will be treated right. They have been here seven or eight months. The girl is still a little shamefaced, but the little boy loves everybody. And it makes things easier for me when I get home. They are rested and know how to keep on playing

12. Interview No. 5, June 27, 1966.

and not pull at me and cry. I can get my housework done. They are not begging for something to eat, either. It's real nice. I like it just fine.

Not all the poor are happy with the programs offered them. Many close the door in the face of an indigenous leader who is trying to locate needs so that the Community Action Board will know what programs should be given priority, and Representatives of the Poor on the local boards are often confused about their own roles. A white Representative of the Poor on the Community Action Program in an Appalachian area was disappointed because the project director would not come to her aid in a housing problem and instead urged the indigenous leader to take action on her own account. She explained her experiences on the Board this way:

I been on the poverty board about a year and a half. I enjoy the meetings and get a lot out of them. I mostly keeps quiet. Sometimes I tell one of the women workers who sometimes come by to pick me up what I think after the meetings, but not much.

I don't always know what they is saying. And I don't want to ask the wrong thing. Anyway, women don't speak up in church. I belong to a church that ain't a denomination. Just a church. And the preacher always say women ought not to speak out in church. If they want to say something, tell their husbands and let their husbands speak up. I guess that's the way I feel about this poverty board.

I been to most the meetings. We meet in different places. Sometimes in the big bank, different places. And we sometimes have coffee and things. I like that and to meet big people and see these big places.

I'm a nurse and I worked over at the hospital and we was getting along fine till they made me stop here 'cause we's making too much money to stay in the Housing Project. They upped our rent real high and my husband said I'd just have to stop. He couldn't afford to pay that high rent. Nobody wants you to pay your bills or get ahead here. I'm packed to move and I want to get out of here.

I told the woman at the poverty board about it, but she just told me to look around and try to do something myself. I talked to the Big Man here about it and he just said, "If you don't like it here get out." You can't do nothing with him.¹³

Not all indigenous leaders feel as helpless as this one, but many are frustrated and wonder what lies ahead. The president of a Neighborhood Council summarized her experiences this way:

13. Interview No. 1, June 28, 1966.

A Work-Study student from the College came through saying we ought to organize, and we had a meeting and decided to organize. We elected officers right off and they made me president.

I been president a year now, and I'm trying to get somebody else to take over, but they all say they too busy. That's what everybody says. I'm busy too. I got a sick husband and five children, and work all day. I tell these people you got to make sacrifices, but I haven't got anybody to take over yet.

This is a Betterment Council we have, and we talk about how we can better ourselves. We got a hundred members but about 60 come to the meetings. We feel we are getting somewhere. Not as much as we want, but something.

We got ten neighborhood councils in this town and we all belong to the United Council. We all try to help one another. Our Betterment Council helped out when Westend Neighborhood Council wanted a demonstration to protest bad housing. I had a little trouble getting some of our members to help out, but they done real good. I was real surprised at some of the people who went. Some old people you would think would be too afraid to protest. I was real surprised.

We worked real hard for voter registration, too; and to get people to the polls to vote. We wanted everybody in our target area to register and act like a citizen. We did right well, but, of course, you're not ever going to get everybody.

Some say, "My white lady said not to." One woman told me she wasn't registered. She didn't have to register, she voted anyway. I didn't say anything, but I knew she didn't vote. And there's one woman won't let us leave anything at her house; no matter what it is. Just shuts the door in our face.

All our active members worked for their candidates at election time, the ones they thought would help us most. When I was working in the campaign, people would tell me, "I already know how to vote. My boss told me," or "My white lady told me." And you can't change them. But we done real good. Taking them to the polls was the best thing, but it was hard getting all the cars lined up. You saw all that hurrah in the papers about our taking people to the polls. Said we were using poverty board cars, and then the poverty board voted that no staff member could use a car to take people to the polls.

The poverty board is against us. Some are bitterly opposed to the antipoverty program. The board puts so many limitations on the projects, they can't do much to help those who need it most. Every time the program interferes with somebody's friend who's making money off the poor, the board writes a new policy.

We were working against the friend of a board member in the campaign, and he raised such a fuss we can't borrow staff cars any more to take people to the polls. Everybody we took to the polls wasn't voting our way, but we wanted them to vote so they could learn to be citizens.

I think the chairman of the board is a good man, and the mayor wants to help us. He stood with us on the Neighborhood Youth Corps. That's helping our young people, and he stood with us. But I can't understand why he doesn't help us all the time. He didn't help us on the minimum wage. If he had just said he favored it, we would have won. All these issues are so hot. A lot of big people turn the heat on the mayor. He says he is for us, but we can't win all the time.

We like to win. That's what we are working for. But when we are attacked the reaction makes us stronger. It pulls us together and we work harder.¹⁴

Indigenous volunteers have trouble working with the poor as well as middle-class volunteers. There is no easy formula or set of rules that can spell out instant success in any program. A careful examination of a few programs which have succeeded in work with the poor may give some indication of basic principles which must be followed in an effective undertaking.

14. Interview No. 9, July 22, 1966.

11

PROGRAMS THAT WORK

"It isn't the poverty programs that are wrong, but the way they are carried out, and the fact that they don't have enough support in the middle class."—Professor in a college in Eastern North Carolina.

* * *

"Handouts work overnight, but I don't think they help. To really help, there must be organization and a workable plan that has to develop over several years. I would let people see their own dignity as human beings. Poor is an adjective—you are a person, and poor is not a final description of you. It will take twenty years to train a new generation. These problems take a long time to solve."—Religious leader working with the poor.

* * *

"In working with people, I feel to get to know them makes it better . . . and to show them respect."—Low-income volunteer.

When is a program effective? What are the procedures which make it so? Can the effects of a program which attempts to improve the life of a person, a group, or a community ever be measured accurately in a simple way? How can a program director separate the forces which his project set in motion from all the subsidiary elements also producing change?

A decrease in the crime rate, rising employment, increased school attendance, for example, may be the result of a combination of influences, and the most powerful ones may be unrelated to the project no matter how well it has been conceived and developed. A study of juvenile delinquency made in Chicago in 1942 found that rates of delinquency among nationality groups whose children at one time ranked high in the number of cases coming before the juvenile courts declined as the group improved its economic level and moved out of neighborhoods of high delinquency.¹ Any undertaking, espe-

1. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban*

cially one involving an effort to shape human personality, is so complex that all the ingredients which went into what appeared to be a successful endeavor are difficult to pinpoint and measure.²

In medical research it is a tedious but relatively simple process to set up a control group against which to measure the effectiveness of certain procedures. Even in small group research, progress has been made in measuring empirically the effects of certain methods on human responses. While the techniques for measuring the success of a broad program of human betterment will probably be debated for some time to come, enough is already known about human behavior to make it possible to devise procedures with which to work to produce favorable change.

It is known, for example, that in almost any group anywhere in the world certain persons are recognized as leaders. They are looked up to and their counsel followed. A group without leadership and some kind of organization, however simple, is generally a sick group, doomed to be preyed upon by other groups with leaders and power.

The poor in this country are generally thought of as a leaderless mass, and one goal of the antipoverty program has been to develop leadership in the hope that these leaders, in turn, will stimulate others to move themselves out of poverty and into a higher economic level. This process has been called "helping the poor to help themselves." It has been the intention of those who have developed the components of the Community Action Programs to give the poor enabling forces which would make this process feasible.

It has been the general assumption that it is important to find the "natural leaders" in pockets of poverty because these leaders are most successful in manipulating the people with whom they live. It has also been assumed that leadership in target areas may be developed

Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 151-157. See also Solomon Kobrin, "The Chicago Area Project—A Twenty-five Year Assessment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 322 (March 1959), pp. 19-29.

2. The Education Improvement Program of Durham, N.C., being conducted cooperatively by Duke University, North Carolina College, Durham City Schools, Durham County Schools, and Operation Breakthrough should throw light on some of these questions. The ultimate goals of the Program "are the discovery of meaningful ways to help all children move more successfully from the home into the broader environments of school and community." A group of "infants born into families living in three low-income areas of Durham City and County are undergoing careful study from the first few days of life through the twenty-first month." See *The Education Improvement Program* (Durham, N.C.).

if opportunities are provided the people to react to problems meaningful to them. People should thus be given an opportunity to work on their own problems in their own way and in their own time. This philosophy, if carried to the extreme, can lead to the very *laissez faire* against which the entire program has been leveled.

The leadership in the programs observed by this study has varied on a continuum from authoritarianism to unstructured democracy, and the projects from a single-minded emphasis upon the task to be accomplished to a single-minded emphasis upon leadership development to the neglect of the task at hand.³ Projects have also been uncovered which meld harmoniously both the task to be accomplished and the development of the people working on the tasks. The result has been solid accomplishments accompanied by personality change and development. Some of the most task-oriented projects as opposed to those which have been chiefly people-oriented have met the widest public acclaim because tangible results are always easier to appraise than intangible ones.

Task-Oriented Programs

Programs which are designed to get the job done and to show specific accomplishments in a given time are the ones which usually are accepted by the public as the most effective. This type of program can point to concrete achievements and immediate results. The long-range achievements, however, may be negligible unless the goals and the procedures have been designed democratically. A strong leader may possibly organize an effective program and carry it out with very little professional and volunteer assistance, but once this leadership is no longer available, the program may collapse.

An efficiently operated Day Care Center in the Piedmont has many of the earmarks of a task-oriented program operated under the supervision of a strong leader who is the teacher. This is how she explains the program which she directs:

I have a degree in Education and a higher degree in kindergarten work. I have tried to equip myself to do the best possible job with little children. I think we are becoming more aware each day of the need for training and that training should begin at an early age.

3. For a summary of theory on techniques of organizational change, see Harold J. Leavitt, "Applied Organizational Change in Industry: Structural, Technological and Humanistic Approaches," in James G. March (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), pp. 1144-1211. The analysis of people approaches is especially helpful to supervisors of volunteers.

My hours at the Center as teacher, and, therefore, as the person in charge of the program, are from 8:15 in the morning to 3:30 in the afternoon, but the children come as early as 7:45 and leave at 4:30 or later. I arrange to have someone here the entire time the children are at the Center.

We encourage all the parents to try to pay a small fee, but some pay nothing because this Center is in a target area where most of the families are on Welfare and they have very little money.

We have a cook who plans the menus, buys the food, and prepares it, but, of course, I give general supervision. I also have subprofessionals working with me, one for every 20 children, and now I have these six girls from the Neighborhood Youth Corps. These are what you call "paid volunteers" and they certainly act like it. They are more trouble than they are worth. They don't know what to do except sit. They are not careful in watching the children.

I always try to stand or sit where I can observe everything the children are doing. We have children of all kinds here. A few are retarded. They are supposed to be four or five years old, but we have a few who are younger and a few older. The older ones are retarded. We are trying to teach them good habits. Some have not even been toilet trained but we usually have them trained in several months.

We also try to teach them to keep themselves clean and to feed themselves nicely. They are taught not to put their elbows on the table. The little girls are taught to put their napkins in their laps and the little boys to tuck the napkins under their chins. One of the mothers said to me, "Nobody at home can put elbows on the table now." You see, our work here carries over into the home life. Manners are so important.

It doesn't take long for the children to manage themselves better. That little white boy over there with the brown eyes used to wet himself all the time. Today his mother sent me word to keep up the good work. He is getting better.

He is a smart little fellow, too. I took the children to see the big road machinery being used on a new street and he was the only one who seemed to be able to tell from looking at the construction just which way the traffic would flow. He's smart, and so is the other little white boy. It's easier to handle smart children than slow ones.

These children have not had much attention at home and have not had the training a child gets when its mother is with it all the time. You see that big boy over there in the blue. He is retarded. When he came here last year he could not control any of his body movements. We straightened him out and he started to public school, but there are no special education classes for children until they are nine. School was too much for him and he started all over. We took him back and have him all right again. He can learn but it takes time.⁴

4. Interview No. 10, July 22, 1966. In appraising this interview, Thorstein Veblen's (*The Theory of the Leisure Class*) indictment of settlement house work

The child who was only ten feet away seemed to know he was being talked about and came running up saying, "I make a birthday for you, please, Mrs. R." She smiled at him without saying anything and he returned to his solitary play. The teacher's explanation of the work at the Center was constantly interrupted by children coming up one at a time to ask if they might go to the bathroom. If they did not say, "Please, Mrs. R." and follow permission with "Thank you, Mrs. R." she would remind them.

The children played quietly and individually in the sandbox, at the swings, and on the slides, or with large toys designed for outdoor play. When the cook rang the bell for lunch, they lined up obediently and marched inside.

This Day Care Center program was operated efficiently with emphasis upon the task of meeting the physical needs of the children, but their emotional needs for interaction and group response were secondary to sanitation and orderliness.

The work of a doctor who found many of his patients illiterate, poor, and burdened with large families illustrates what a dedicated individual can do to initiate a much needed program for the poor. It was a task-oriented effort deliberately set upon to produce results as quickly as possible. Because he knew the goals he wanted to achieve and did not have time to cultivate the goodwill of other doctors who might eventually have been willing to cooperate, he did most of the work himself. In explaining his program, he said:

The volunteer work I decided to go into was designed on the basis of two major ideas: (a) that this is a complex job, needing a complex solution, and (b) that education is the best shotgun answer that we can provide to this problem.

My next question was obvious: where is today's education failing? The problem seems to be that these kids are placed in two different environments, mutually conflicting: the home and the school. The in 1899 may have implications for today. He wrote: "The solicitude of 'settlements,' for example, is in part directed to enhance the industrial efficiency of the poor and to teach them the more adequate utilization of the means at hand; but it is also no less consistently directed to the inculcation, by precept and example, of certain punctilios of upper-class propriety in manners and customs. The economic substance of these proprieties will commonly be found on scrutiny to be a conspicuous waste of time and goods. Those good people who go out to humanize the poor are commonly, and advisedly, extremely scrupulous and silently insistent in matters of decorum and the decencies of life. They are commonly persons of an exemplary life and gifted with a tenacious insistence on ceremonial cleanliness in the various items of their daily consumption."

idea is then to supplement their school education with material that helps them understand what is going on in the home. At this stage, our major problem could be put in the form of another question: how do we supplement today's education?

Our search for an answer to this question gave us a third idea, which we might call (c) that the business of providing for the *total* education of a section of a community was too large for any single agency or person. The job as such needed the cooperation of all the responsible elements of the community, such as teachers and community leaders and—well, in short, it called for *teamwork*. Persons from every section of community life—from the home, the church, the school, the resource people from the community, from the communication media—would have to participate in making this concept come to fruition.

I then organized a program that started with the schools: I thought of it as a program of *correlative education*. There are two phases to the program, and the one of most immediate importance we call the active educational phase, and its most important concern is with sex education. You see, North Carolina laws don't permit sex education to be taught as a separate course, so what we did was send out volunteers to teach courses in health education, putting in a good chunk of sex education. We worked on two levels: on the elementary level in the grammar schools and also on the secondary level. We set up a program of teacher education, and the first year we would send a volunteer to teach at the school on the condition that the school would send at least one person to the teacher education program; thus we obtained a pool of future teachers, since in the second year the local teacher would be qualified to teach the classes.

I think our main contribution in the area of human relations has been that we have proved conclusively that, when it comes to creativity, volunteers of any color can work together.⁵

This project was definitely task-oriented and the activating factor was the conviction and personality of one man. It was designed in such a way as to bring immediate results which both parents and teachers could observe. It was set up within the framework of community agencies and involved their cooperation. The content was potentially controversial but the leader operated so skillfully within the complexity of community patterns that the program was accepted. Had he suddenly been removed before the program was well underway, it is possible that the program would have been changed radically by those who were left behind to implement it or that it would have been dropped suddenly as too difficult to carry to fruition.

5. Interview No. 11, July 19, 1966.

People-Oriented Programs

Other programs are oriented toward changing people without too much emphasis being placed upon accomplishing the task within a given time. In fact, it is generally recognized in such programs that the time factor will be unimportant; change is the crucial emphasis and whatever time is necessary to produce this change will be accepted. In people-centered programs, individuals and groups are dealt with in such a way as to enable them to gain skills and insights which will assist them in solving their own problems. The focus is on the dignity of the individual and the development of an awareness of social processes.

A well-educated white woman living in Western North Carolina on an income derived mainly from Social Security has been conducting her own people-centered program for several years. Following many of the procedures of the Big Brother and Big Sister programs which have been used in some of the Community Action Programs of the state, she sponsors several Negro children chosen by the school administration in her small community. At first she had a group of three children who were attending Head Start in the summer and would go on to first grade in the autumn. "Before school started I took them around: to the Zoo in a nearby city, to the airport, the large bank building in the city," and to places of historical interest.

During the Head Start program she had daily contact with the children. "I picked them up every morning and took them to school and took them home after lunch." When the regular session of school began, she saw the children less often but always once a week. She would take them to a movie which she thought appropriate for small children and then to her home for a little party afterward. Instead of the disapproval of the white community which she expected, she received praise. "I was stopped on the street occasionally and congratulated for taking a personal interest in these little Negro children."

Her goal was not to change the children by telling them what they should or should not do, but to change the level of their aspirations by supplying them with a gentle introduction "to gracious living." She had very little money to spare for the work, but she hoarded it for these weekly ventures.

When we had our little parties, just the three little children and I, I used my best china and silver, and we talked about whatever the children were interested in—usually the movie we had seen or the

place we had visited that day. The mothers trusted me and came to me for advice about their personal problems. These problems are usually very deep and go beyond my ability to solve, but I always try to direct them to the agencies which can be helpful. I am sorry to report that these troubled people do not always find the help they need, and sometimes they are not willing to take the help offered. I worked with the mother of a mongoloid child trying to persuade her to take the help for him that was offered, but she was afraid harm would come to him if she gave him up.⁶

From the Piedmont comes another illustration of a people-oriented project initiated by one woman with the simple motive of serving an individual family in need. A kindergarten teacher called the family to her attention. The teacher explains the situation this way:

... this is a case of a 7-year-old boy who missed first grade on account of a road accident. His parents are illiterate—the father works as a janitor. The boy has six brothers and sisters.

In a kindergarten setting, he was observed to be extremely aggressive and had to be watched constantly in case he hurt the other children. Otherwise, he seemed cheerful and likeable. We arranged for him to be tested at the Child Guidance Clinic hoping perhaps some help could be given. At the end of nine months, after physical and mental tests of the most thorough nature, of sessions with and without the parents, the psychiatrist said that there was nothing the clinic could do to help him since his parents were also so deprived of love and knowledge that any counselling would pass right over their heads. The boy himself, they decided, was retarded. The whole family would need at least ten years of a stable, loving environment for any improvement to take place.

In other words, many deprived, disadvantaged people are as children themselves with regard to the maturing processes. So now what becomes of this boy and his family? In his case a devoted volunteer has worked with the whole family and is described by the father to the psychiatrist as "the bestest friend I ever had."

How long will she be able to go on with this family? If she has to stop, will all her effort have been in vain? She has already given them hope and a better life by her real concern for them. Since people respond to care, or love—whatever you want to call it—then a volunteer has a real contribution to make in rock bottom cases like this one.

The difficulty seems to be in getting the deprived ones in contact with the one who has time to care. This making contact, I think, is the responsibility of many agencies in the community.⁷

6. Letter dated June 12, 1966.

7. Note attached to questionnaire returned to the study in June 1966.

Several private agencies organized nationally such as Big Brother and Big Sister have developed procedures for placing the trained volunteer in contact with a needy family which has been screened by a social worker.⁸ The supervision by the agency is continuous and the work of the volunteer is continuous over a sufficient period of years to be productive. If the volunteer must drop out, an adequate replacement is found to give a minimum of emotional stress to the family being served.

Western Carolina Center at Morganton has experimented for more than a year with the use of elderly low-income citizens as "Foster Grandparents" in meeting the emotional needs of mentally handicapped children receiving residential care at the Center. Under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Administration on Aging, the Center has operated the program with 38 elderly persons 60 years old or older. These elderly citizens have worked with children at the Center four hours a day for five days a week and were paid \$1.50 an hour. In the language of the antipoverty program, they are paid volunteers.

Dr. Tong-su Kim, project director for the Center, explained the purpose of the program:

Often mental handicap in these children can be traced to traumatic emotional experiences, or to environmental deprivation. This emotional deprivation and trauma may be partially relieved by a one-to-one relationship with "Foster Grandparents" who will give attention and tender, loving care for two hours a day to each child. This project will . . . hopefully, show some improvement in the attitude and progress of both the "Grandparents" and the children . . . Training of the "Foster Grandparents" and the general program for the children will be supervised by this Center's professional staff.⁹

The staff evaluation of the project in December 1965 reported, "The Foster Grandparent Project has proved stimulating and rewarding beyond the expectation of the Center's Staff!" The staff had prepared a check-list which was used in evaluating the progress of the children in the Project. They found that some children were improving rather rapidly in their motor coordination, that each child was developing

8. Big Brothers of America, Suburban Station Building, Philadelphia, Pa., 19103; Big Sister Association of Greater Boston, Inc., 73 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass., 02108.

9. Western Carolina Center, "Foster Grandparents Project, Preliminary Information," (Morganton, N.C., 1966), mimeo.

his own individual characteristics in relating to his Grandparent, that the child's relatedness to other people had been improving, the scope and range of the children's activities had increased, the amount of physical activities had greatly increased, and that separation from their own parents after being returned to the Center from their own homes was less traumatic. The children also experienced an obvious increase in verbal communication and their attention span improved.

On the other hand, some of the children who were not included in the Project displayed their disappointment and jealousy. They became upset when the Project children were taken away from the cottage and they attacked or mistreated the children when they returned. As the staff pointed out, this was an unavoidable by-product of the experiment since there were not enough Foster Grandparents to accommodate all of the 160 children in the two cottages which were selected for the program, and since it was necessary to have a comparable control group.

Many of the tutorial programs which have been underway since before the establishment of the antipoverty program have also been designed on a people-oriented basis. They are usually conducted by one tutor for the benefit of one child so that the emphasis may be upon improving the achievement level of that student by using techniques adapted to the emotional needs and the skills of the individual.

Task- and People-Oriented Programs

People-oriented programs are usually demonstrations of what it is possible to accomplish when the basic needs of people are considered carefully and a program designed to produce socially desirable change is set up based upon these needs. Unfortunately, the scarcity of trained staff and of trained volunteers to work with and augment the skills of staff makes it impossible for many programs to be constructed so as to accomplish a specific task and at the same time focus on the development of people.

The majority of programs aimed at putting into motion socially desirable processes are calculated both to accomplish a task and to enlarge the horizons of people. Sufficient empirical research has not yet been designed to establish whether these task- and people-oriented programs are more or less productive than those which are entirely people-oriented.

It is conceivable, for example, that a program such as the experi-

ment in creative acting techniques sponsored by Adelphi University for the Advisory Council for Children's Theatre in 1962 and later adapted to the needs of North Carolina children by the Directed Activity Recreation-Education Project might be even more productive than a one-to-one tutorial program. The project in New York City was developed around 16 children from eight to 19 years old from a Settlement House who came voluntarily to the Demonstration Class headquarters and were accepted on a first-come, first-served basis. The staff was also voluntary and was composed of teachers, dancers, musicians, speech therapists, playwrights, community workers, and librarians. The basic goal of the project was to see what might be accomplished with low-income, potentially delinquent children in a creative fun-situation designed to improve their language skills.

The demonstration leader, Grace M. Stanistreet, concluded at the end of the ten-week-project period:

We had accomplished our purpose. We had achieved communication, interaction, and oneness in this heterogeneous group. Each member had achieved greater self-knowledge and unity through the experience with the integrated problems presented. Each had found satisfaction and pleasure in his individual contribution to the group. . . .

The children . . . were motivated solely by interest in a new activity. They came to enjoy themselves. Because they found enjoyment, they grew in ways we cannot estimate . . . We did see, within the group, that each became more sure of himself, more at ease and accepting of himself, more willing to try something new, more articulate and more alive. We hope each child will remember what it feels like to use all of himself to master a problem, and will have a memory of group applause for a word or action that was his, will remember that adults are not strangers from another world, but share his own feelings, abilities, and inabilities. Each experienced what it feels like to be recognized as an equal.¹⁰

When this program was adapted to the needs of low-income children in an elementary school in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, by a volunteer who had participated in the Adelphi University Project, one of the teachers wrote at the close of the school session:

The Language Development Program has enabled my pupils to do the following better:

1. To think more independently

10. Grace M. Stanistreet, "An Experiment in Creative Acting Techniques Sponsored by Adelphi University for the Advisory Council for Children's Theatre" (New York: Adelphi University, 1963), p. 28.

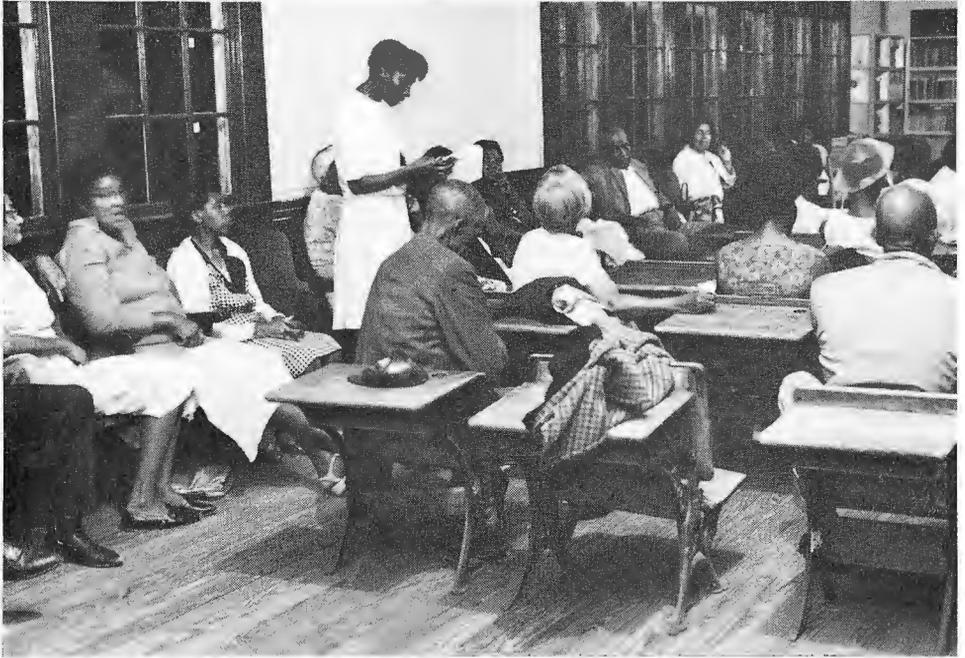


Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Programs designed to involve people in finding the solutions to their own problems usually produce constructive change.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Programs combining learning with fun can develop personality
and stimulate achievement.

2. To express themselves more clearly
3. To think well of one's self
4. To take turns.

All the materials presented have been correlated with all subjects in the curriculum.¹¹

Both the New York and the North Carolina projects were programs oriented toward accomplishment of the task of improving the language skills of the participants, but the design of the undertaking was also geared to the skills and personality configuration of each child.¹² In both programs it was recognized that lasting effects could not be expected in short-term projects however creative they might be. For example, one teacher wrote of the North Carolina project, "For the Language Development Program to be more beneficial, it should be a daily part of the school's curriculum."

Program Development With Low-Income Groups

Before a program for a low-income neighborhood is set up, careful preliminary work must be undertaken.¹³ A trained staff member who knows how to collect data relevant to community organization must gather the pertinent facts for a community analysis:

- Geographic boundaries of the neighborhood
- Governmental structure
- Political composition
- Population size, composition, and mobility.

11. Daryl Farrington Walker, "Comments From Home-Room Teachers" (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966), typescript.

12. For this reason, two antipoverty programs for low-income children, Head Start for preschool children and Upward Bound for high school students, have been evaluated as excellent for short-term achievement but of limited effectiveness in producing lasting scholastic and personal goals. The point which the evaluation stresses is that remedial support must be given on a long-term and not a short-term basis. See "Head Start Value Found Temporary," *New York Times* (October 23, 1966), pp. 1, 70; Mark Levy, "Upward Bound: A Summer Romance?" *The Reporter*, 35 (October 6, 1966), pp. 41-43.

13. The literature on how to make a community analysis is abundant. See, for example, Severyn T. Bruyn, *Communities in Action* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1963); Sidney Dillick, *Community Organization for Neighborhood Development—Past and Present* (New York: Women's Press and Wm. Morrow Co., 1953); Arthur Hillman, *Community Organization and Planning* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950); Henrik F. Infield, *Cooperative Communities at Work* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1945); Ronald Lippitt (ed.), *The Dynamics of Planned Change* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1958); Murray G. Ross, *Case Histories in Community Organization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958); Irwin T. Sanders, *The Community* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958).

- Economic level
- Patterns of employment and wage scales
- Family structure
- Housing conditions
- Formal and informal types of organizations including religious and civic
 - Recreational facilities and patterns: public parks and playgrounds, vacant lots, school grounds, etc.
 - Habitual places of congregating: street corners, pool halls, "the backroom," places where liquor is available, etc.
- Neighborhood resources
 - Public health clinics
 - Department of Public Welfare
 - Employment service bureau
- Youth serving agencies: Boys Club, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, etc.
 - Service agencies for families: YWCA, YMCA, Family Service, Child Welfare Association, etc.
 - Leaders: those who are accepted by the neighborhood in contrast to those whom outsiders consider to be the leaders.

After the basic information about the neighborhood has been obtained, it is important to cultivate the friendship of the neighborhood leaders and to seek the goodwill of any professionals working in the area to achieve goals related to the proposed program. Many a good project has been stalled by professional staff or neighborhood leaders who fear the new project will be in competition with their own work and plans. It is important to build on past and current accomplishments and find an accommodation with these previously established efforts.

In some instances, the proposed new program is actually unnecessary, and should be abandoned if a careful analysis of the community structure supports such a conclusion. If need has been established and it is still impossible to obtain the cooperation of agencies already operating in the neighborhood—the majority of church, school, and welfare officials, for example—it may be wise for the staff of the new project to move ahead, nevertheless, slowly, quietly, without publicity until a few solid accomplishments can be demonstrated to the neighborhood itself. Afterward, acceptance will come more rapidly, but not as rapidly as the staff might hope.

Despite all that has been written about indigenous leaders being able to involve others of their economic level more easily than middle-class workers, it really does not matter whether the workers come

from an indigenous or middle-class background so long as they have respect for the human personality and do not violate the unwritten rules of the area being served.

It will be recalled that professional staff members surveyed for this study thought that the same techniques employed in working with middle-income people would apply equally well with the poor.¹⁴ But volunteers, even low-income volunteers, did not think so. When the content of the observations made both by professionals and volunteers was analyzed it was found that both groups were talking about the same thing—courtesy, respect for human dignity, an understanding approach rather than an authoritarian one, involvement of the recipient in the plans being devised for his welfare, and a recognition of the right of the recipient to make his own decision.

It is important, however, for a worker who would be effective to accept the poor as they are and in turn conduct himself in such a way as to be accepted by them. He must not be shocked by anything he sees or hears or permit himself to become emotionally involved in the situation. This is a lesson social workers learned long ago, and it is one of the first the volunteer must learn who wants to be helpful in work with low-income groups.¹⁵

The volunteer, or the newly employed worker in a component of a Community Action Program, must not speed through the streets of the target area in an expensive car dressed in his best clothes. "I have to be careful what I drive, the way I drive, and what I wear," said an

14. Chapter 7, pp. 100-102.

15. Cf. Nat Hentoff, "Six Ground Rules for Working With the Poor," *Council Woman*, Magazine of the National Council of Jewish Women (December 1965); *Communities in Action*, 1 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1966); George M. Beal, Joe M. Bohlen, and J. Neil Raudabaugh, *Leadership and Dynamic Group Action* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1962); Richard Poston, *Small Town Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); Herbert Stroup, *Social Work* (New York: American Book Co., 1948); W. J. H. Sprott, *Human Groups* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963). See also Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945) which describes the organization of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in Chicago's slaughterhouse district. This book is considered the classic approach to conflict strategy in organizing "people's" councils in which "the people" learn to gain the power to control their own destiny. For a detailed analysis of the value of co-operation and consensus, see William W. Biddle, *The Community Development Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965).

For an excellent dialogue on power equalization, see Bob Bailey and Lou Smith, "Operation Bootstrap," *Center Diary*, 16 (January-February 1967), pp. 37-44.

experienced nonwhite professional working in a government financed program in Western North Carolina. "I know the colloquial expressions of the neighborhood and use them in my conversation with the people so they will know I understand them and talk their language."

Some practitioners, both professionals and volunteers, think that it is important for the worker to maintain his role as expediter. He is warm and supportive in dealing with the people in the target area whether he is tutoring or upgrading their work skills, but it is also important for him to realize that one of his best services to the poor is that of an ego model. If the volunteer is a man he does not have to drink bootleg liquor in the backroom with the toughs in the neighborhood to gain acceptance. They actually expect something better of him than that, "but he shouldn't be a tin angel, either," said a professional with long experience in working with the poor.

Others insist that the vital consideration in social change is "power equalization." In order to establish a climate of acceptance, it is important for the worker in a low-income area to realize that he can learn as much from the poor as he can possibly teach. Before the worker can hope to communicate with those whom he wishes to serve, he must convey to them his sincere conviction that he in no way feels superior; and the poor are not easy to con.

The ingredients for a successful volunteer program with the poor have long since been spelled out by practitioners in the field of social welfare.¹⁶ They may be briefly summarized as:

- Awareness that the program must be shaped to fit the location and the total situation.
- Knowledge of the neighborhood where the work is to be done and the circumstances surrounding the mode of existence in the area.

16. Argument over proper procedures has become somewhat of a "parlor game" since the beginning of the antipoverty programs, but differences of opinion over "the right steps" are as old as the settlement movement and social work. As a result of experiences with the Peace Corps, some participants in these programs have maintained that the best starting point from which to construct a program for deprived people is to determine the pattern of needs. These needs may be listed in order of priority as follows: physiological, personal safety, affection, esteem, recognition, and self-realization. It is held by those who accept this listing of needs that deprived people must have their needs met at the first level before they are ready to accept help at the other levels. Therefore, a group of people deprived of the need for food and shelter are not prepared to accept affection and esteem until their physiological needs are met first. Such an approach to the problems of the underprivileged helps the program planner to know where to start.

- Knowledge of the existing services already available to the people and the degree to which they are aware and making use of them.
- Careful delineation of the relationship of the new program to those already in existence to avoid unnecessary duplication and to have the benefit of their experience and their cooperation.
- Knowledge of the people in the area to be served prior to establishment of the new program, their family patterns and daily routine.
- Understanding of the leadership structure in the neighborhood and, if possible, acceptance by the leaders before the program gets underway.
- Involvement of as many of the leaders as feasible in the planning stages of the new program to determine both the content and structure and to tailor the program to immediate needs.
- Acceptance of the tentative plans of the project by the recognized neighborhood leadership before implementation gets underway.
- Modification of plans when an analysis of the situation shows change is needed.
- Location of project headquarters in an area easily available to those to be served and, if possible, near a frequently visited spot. The headquarters gives an acceptable reason for the presence of the staff in the neighborhood, but constructive evidence of the kind of work to be performed, even if tentative, will hasten acceptance.
- Careful selection of staff, whether paid or volunteer, from emotionally mature personnel with the selection of at least one local person if possible.
- A relaxed manner, the low-keyed dress, and knowledgeable speech of the staff which hasten neighborhood acceptance.
- Maintenance of staff identity with the project and careful observance of the role of a helping service in the neighborhood. The staff is a facilitating force to help the neighborhood. Contact with group thinking in the target area is sustained best by indigenous leaders who keep the staff in focus with the community.
- Avoidance of staff attachment to any particular in-group so that all groups in the area may be served without antagonism.
- Development of a flexible program, adapted through experimentation, to meet the needs of the area.
- An ever increasing involvement of people in the target area in the work and goals of the program.
- Development of plans which call for work *with* and *by* the people and not *for* them. Services *for* the people are often planned by someone from the outside with little regard for the real and expressed needs of the area, nor are these services developed in a way which will bring the additional reward of motivating the people being served.
- Easily attainable goals in the initial stages of the program; something to capture the imagination of those served and something to fit an immediate need articulated by those in the target area.

- Avoidance of raising false expectations, and repeated emphasis on the fact that change comes slowly.
- Avoidance of publicity until tangible results appear; then publicity in low-key for the neighborhood and not for the staff.
- Plans for constant evaluation of the program, in-service training of staff, and pleasant and rewarding training sessions for the neighborhood leadership involved.

The points to be emphasized are that the project must fit the expressed needs of the poor, be geared to where they are at the moment, must be easily attainable, spark the imagination of those served, and involve them in the unfolding plans of the project. The project must also have its little victories and show a few tangible results quickly. The poor are accustomed to being deceived, to having their hopes dashed. Their expectations are already low and they easily become bored and drop out—even in plans for a day of fun.

One of the most important of all ingredients in the success of a program is the composition of the staff. If the staff is to be composed chiefly of volunteers as thousands of projects are throughout the nation, it is well to take a look at the qualifications of successful volunteers.

12

EFFECTIVE VOLUNTEERS

"Volunteers give themselves, their thought, their effort, and concern. What is more important than that?"—Pastor of a church in Eastern North Carolina.

* * *

"By going into the homes to make friendly visits, the volunteer is able to see as well as hear the problems, and understand better why they exist."—President of a Negro Woman's Club.

* * *

"Volunteers involve the community in pioneering efforts. They interpret the work and perform an invaluable service by educating their fellow citizens to the need for change. No program can operate in a vacuum or be superimposed upon people. The community must understand it."—Middle-class volunteer in the Piedmont.

Qualities Which Make a Volunteer Effective

Effective volunteers are also successful volunteers. They find self-fulfillment in working for the good of others. They are meeting their own needs for human response as well as giving service. If there is one principle on which all social scientists are agreed it is the fundamental importance of participation in group life as a requirement of mental health. The nature of the individual and his ability to function adequately in human society are shaped largely by his participation with others working to achieve a common goal.¹ As long as an individual is able to form warm associations with others he is not alienated from society.

One of the characteristics of the poor, it has been pointed out previously, is alienation not only from the mainstream of American society but also from one another.² "They have built walls around

1. Roach and Gursslin, "An Evaluation of the Concept of the 'Culture of Poverty.'" *op. cit.*; Pettigrew, *op. cit.*; Clinard, *op. cit.*

2. *Supra*, Chapter 3.

themselves," one successful volunteer has put it, and it is the work of the volunteer to break through.³

Can all volunteers achieve this breakthrough? The answers from most respondents for this study, both volunteers and professionals, indicate that the reply is a firm negative, but with adequate training the work of all volunteers can be improved. This is what Professor Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work undoubtedly had in mind when he observed, "The health of a democratic society may be measured by the quality of services performed by its citizen volunteers."

The effective volunteer, therefore, is not one who is pressured into giving his time and resents every moment he is doing the work. A busy man in Eastern North Carolina, undoubtedly having to intersperse his civic work with the long hours demanded by his growing business, listed his volunteer activities as "begging for the United Fund, begging for Boy Scouts, more damned begging for the church." He was probably successful as a fund raiser or he would not have been asked to take on so much begging, but he would probably have been more effective doing something to which he felt a stronger commitment.

The reasons given, both in the questionnaires and in the interviews, for doing volunteer work are complex but whatever the motivation,⁴ it does not seem to dilute the potential quality of service which volunteers can render.

At a discussion of the role of the volunteer in work with the poor in Asheville⁵ in May 1966, attended by both staff and volunteers working in antipoverty programs, the group showed little interest in the reasons for volunteering and more in the qualities important for success. A middle-aged woman who was herself a volunteer said:

A volunteer must have a basic attitude of being a humble person. I have worked a long time and in many different groups, and I find that I can always learn something new if I have a receptive attitude and do not assume I have all the answers. Humility is the key word; not smugness nor arrogance.

A Negro man working with the poor chimed in, "It is important not to be the Big I. An earnest individual can convey a desire to help which will reach people. A simple, friendly approach is the best."

3. *Infra*, p. 173.

4. *Supra*, Chapter 5.

5. Asheville Area Conference conducted for purposes of this study, May 10, 1966.

A young white woman working as a skilled volunteer in the same program with the Negro professional worker added, "One must be interested in the person as a person; not the group of poor as a whole, but the individual as a human being."

To this another young white woman who had done work with multi-problem poor in Harlem said, "I have found that if you can acquire the confidence of one person in the target area and get a person-to-person communication started, the word will spread in the neighborhood that you can be trusted and are helpful."

A white man working as a subprofessional in a target area composed of low-income whites, agreed. He said, "You must really know the people and understand their problems. Then you must demonstrate in some practical way that you can help them."

A caseworker in the Department of Public Welfare readily assented. "A person being helped can reach another person better than the caseworker."

A group in Chapel Hill conducted a dialogue built around the same questions.⁶ This time the discussants were predominantly white women from high-income groups with a few Negro volunteers and both men and women professionals. They listed the qualities of an effective volunteer as:

- Dependability, interest, and willingness to give time.
- Flexibility. "We need to stress flexibility. In any volunteer effort related to the poverty program, we need to have interpreted to the middle-class volunteer the way of life of low-income groups."
- Volunteers need to recognize their spheres of activity and their responsibilities and perform their work as conscientiously as if paid.
- Volunteers need specific tasks to do and clear understanding of what is expected. Also, a volunteer should participate in making decisions and thus be given a feeling that he has a stake in the goals of the agency.
- Volunteers like to be successful, and most of them can be with proper training and supervision.

Most Desirable Traits in a Volunteer

When a ten per cent random sample was made of the question asked on the questionnaire for this study, "What are the most valuable things volunteers do?" a variety of replies resulted:

6. Chapel Hill Area Conference conducted for purposes of this study, May 26, 1966.

- Improve the self-image of the poor.
- Bring self-fulfillment to the volunteer.
- Raise funds.
- Relieve paid staff.
- Interpret goals to the community.
- Perform service otherwise denied.
- Develop warm human relationships.
- Furnish the agency with available workers.
- Give dependable service.
- Understand the problems of the poor.
- Assist with administration.
- Bring creativity to the job.
- Keep the professionals on their toes.
- Bring enthusiasm to an agency which may have become bored.

When these "most valuable things" are interpreted in terms of qualities most desirable for successful volunteer work, they spell out the five traits which the respondents to these questionnaires consider most important. In converting the "most valuable" work volunteers perform into the "most desirable traits" of volunteers, the following matching procedure was used:

- Ability to develop warm relationships: "show others they are cared for," "help people to realize their own values as persons," "bring cheer to patients on the hospital wards," "see the needs of the poor and give support without undermining their self-respect and pride," "help the handicapped to develop self-confidence," etc.
- Helpfulness: "perform services otherwise denied," "relieve staff of chores so they will be free to handle more complex jobs," "serve at the information desk," "do office work," "furnish transportation to clinics," "serve as scout-masters," "raise funds," etc.
- Identification with the community: "interpret goals of the agency to the community," "interpret the community to the agency," "serve on speaker's bureau," "serve as public relations chairman," etc.
- Creativity: "give skilled work which agency could not provide," "supervise the staff," "do pioneering work," "help shape policy," "give inspired leadership," etc.
- Dependability: "always meet a commitment," "as punctual as if paid," "will never let the agency down," "reliable and straight-forward," etc.
- Unknown: respondent left the question blank or said, "I do not feel qualified to judge."

Table 28 lists the most desirable traits of volunteers as seen both by the professional and by the volunteer.⁷

7. Both professionals and volunteers were asked this question and the replies were taken from both types of respondents. Cf. Tables 14 and 24.

TABLE 28
MOST DESIRABLE TRAITS OF VOLUNTEERS

<i>Most Desirable Trait</i>	<i>As Seen by Volunteer Per Cent</i>	<i>As Seen by Staff Per Cent</i>
Ability to develop warm relationships	42	17
Helpfulness	21	40
Identification with the community	10	17
Creativity	10	17
Dependability	1	4
Unknown	16	5
	100	100

It is clear that a gap exists between the self-image of the volunteer and the image which the professional staff member projects. This gap points up still further the feeling of a need for a better understanding between volunteers and professionals already indicated in this study.⁸ Five per cent of the professionals falling within the sample of replies to the questionnaire reported no opinion as to the most desirable traits of volunteers but more than three times as many volunteers felt unqualified to make a judgment. The implication is a negative attitude toward volunteers and volunteer work on the part of the respondents; or a negative attitude toward answering questionnaires.

The volunteer sees as the most desirable trait of a volunteer the ability to develop warm relationships with others; the ability to communicate, to establish empathy, to be understanding. But staff members thought the most desirable trait to be a willingness to perform specific tasks: to help out with the office work, to file and write letters, to relieve them of having to transport patients to a clinic, and to handle the chores of an agency. Volunteers listed helpfulness next in importance to understanding but they thought the ability to develop warm relationships was twice as important as willingness to carry out task assignments. It is significant to point out, however, that a majority of both volunteers (63%) and professionals (57%) rated helpfulness and the ability to develop warm relationships as the two most desirable traits of volunteers.

Both volunteers and professionals ranked creativity and identification with the community of equal importance, but professionals gave these two traits a higher rank than volunteers. In view of the stress which both volunteers and professionals place upon dependability in

8. *Supra*, p. 59.

their training programs, it is somewhat amazing to find that both groups listed this trait as the least important.

It is interesting that professionals gave exactly the same rank to creativity, identification with the community, and ability to develop warm relationships (17%) and that volunteers gave the same score to creativity and identification with the community (10%). Apparently in the opinion of volunteers a person who can communicate with others has a better opportunity of working effectively as a volunteer than a person who has skills, who is dependable and helpful, and who is well known in the community. Professionals, on the other hand, want the volunteer most of all to be helpful. After that, creativity, identification with the community, and the ability to build warm relationships are of equal importance. Dependability is ten times less important than helpfulness and more than three times less important than skilfulness, being well known in the community, and having the ability to communicate.

When interviews were conducted to determine the traits most necessary for effective volunteer work, the same traits were suggested as mentioned in the questionnaires but in somewhat different terminology:

- Ability to bring warmth and love.
- Ability to forget self in service to others.
- A good personality, pleasant and congenial.
- As punctual as if paid.
- Ability to take jostling.
- A helpful attitude.
- Interpretation of the work to the community.
- Skilled work which the agency could not provide otherwise.
- A sense of involvement and identification with the work.
- Understanding the problems of the poor.
- A humble spirit.
- Ability to keep a confidence.

A few examples of successful volunteers will illustrate both the qualities of an effective volunteer and the way they do their work. Since the emphasis of this study is on work with low-income groups, examples have been drawn from those who have been productive in a meaningful way when working with the poor. Achievements of middle- and high-income groups who have worked with others of their own income level for the general welfare have already been listed in Chapter 2.

Middle-Income Woman Achieves Breakthrough

An elderly but still active and alert woman who lives in one of the large cities in the Piedmont has been doing volunteer work for 50 years with several ethnic groups. For the purposes of this study, she has been given the name of Mrs. T. "Breakthrough is the secret of working with the poor," she observed. "Many of them build a wall between themselves and other people, and you can't do much until you can break through this wall and have a line of communication." Work with the poor, she said, is the hardest work one can do, but it is also the most rewarding:

One time when I was in the Veteran's Hospital, I saw a poor little colored boy, who never said a word. He wouldn't have anything to do with anybody. Well, one day I brought him some ice cream, and fed it to him. After that he was friendly, and wouldn't let anybody but me help him.

There was a very handsome Negro boy there who was quite shy, and when he spoke it was so low you couldn't hear a thing he said. He lay there and listened to records all the time. Well, nobody could get through to him.

One day I was playing the record, "Perfect Day," and I started humming it as I stood beside him. All of a sudden his face lighted up, and he said, "May I sing with you?" and he did. He had a beautiful voice. You see, that was the breakthrough. Wasn't that beautiful?⁹

This elderly volunteer was often accompanied to the hospital by a young woman, but one day the nurses would not permit the young woman to go behind the closed doors, and confided to Mrs. T., "She is such a blab-mouth she annoys more than she helps. You are just the type the boys need, and love, and want. You're the motherly type and can break through to them."

Mrs. T. started volunteer work in college in Kentucky when a course in psychology motivated a group of students to go into the homes of the poor, make friends, and try to be helpful. "You have to go into their homes," she said. "You can't reach them any other way."

After college she did mission work among Mexican families in a Texas border town. "They were all from poor families. I still have good friends there."

When she married and moved to Piedmont City, she worked with families in the mill village.

9. Interview No. 7, July 17, 1966.

Of course, now the mill owners have sold the houses and the people aren't really poor anymore, but the majority of people in mill villages used to be poor. The mill owners would send their men up into the mountains and bring these families down to work in the mills.

We set up classes in the church—all kinds of classes—after their working hours, but not too many came. You know, it's hard to get people to go to things like that. We had sewing classes, canning classes, and even furnished a lot of materials—but they didn't come much.

She had better success working with the children. She had joined a Home Demonstration Club and organized a 4-H Club among the mill children.

We had lots of projects. We picked berries, arranged to gather apples and peaches, and made jelly and preserves. . . . One of the little girls I had in my 4-H Club told me, "Mrs. T., when I grow up I want to be in a Home Demonstration Club just like you," and you know, she has done just that.¹⁰

Mrs. T. is still a member of a Home Demonstration Club whose current work has been providing meals for elderly poor. "There was an old lady down on Main Street we've been helping. We cooked food and took it to her, and also bought supplies, and gave her money."

Mrs. T. thinks one of the big problems of poverty today "is that so many girls are having so many babies:"

You know, we have so many cases of children being left alone or abandoned. Then the children go around living out of garbage cans.

The maid I used to have . . . who now works for my neighbor . . . says there are many older Negro women here looking after the children of young Negro women but where there is no older woman to do this work, the children usually run wild. The mothers have to work and the Day Care Centers can accommodate so few that the mothers feel they have no other choice.

There are a lot of people who will get all the free stuff they can. I knew of a white family who put their uncle in the hospital as a charity patient, yet they had two cars . . .

You know, colored people will not tell on each other. They won't talk, and they won't tell on each other. One time when I was doing some government survey work, I just couldn't get them to tell me anything. They wouldn't even tell how many children they have. . . .

Let me tell you about something that happened at the Boy's School.

10. Back (*op. cit.*, p. 24) thought that a valuable contribution the North Carolina Volunteer made in her project with low-income families was to function as ego models.

The other day I went to a program of United Church Women. A woman there told me about two boys at the school. One boy, white, was from a rather well-to-do family, and had lots of fine clothes. The other little boy was Negro, and he had only one extra shirt. The first boy didn't have room to put all his clothes in his closet, and the Negro boy told him he could use his closet.

When the mother of the white boy learned that her son was rooming with a Negro boy, she called and said she was coming to get her son and take him home. She was persuaded to wait a few days.

Then her son called and asked if he could bring his roommate home with him for the week-end. "I like him so much," he said.

You see, this is the breakthrough. This was interracial understanding. If we can get an understanding, get people out of their shells, then you can have a beginning.¹¹

Negro Physician Likes to Work With People

Another effective volunteer is a Negro physician in a city in Eastern North Carolina. He has a busy practice "with two Negro nurses in immaculate uniforms" to assist with his office visits. "Once he begins to talk" on his pet subject of helping others "the enthusiasm in his voice and the fire in his eyes make it hard for one not to become deeply involved, sharing with the man his obvious love of people." He said:

I started volunteer work about ten years ago more or less, as a person interested in social problems: juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, mental deficiency, the problems of high school drop-outs, and especially all the problems involving youth.

Overall, it has been my philosophy to work on my own, independently of any outside group and to a certain extent even of some restrictive groups in the city.

Really, I consider all my work to be volunteer work, and medicine is only a part of the contribution. It is a fact that you will find few people around who have both leadership qualities and an understanding of the basic problems of the poor, although you will find enough who have one or the other talent. The combination of leadership and understanding is at a premium, and when it exists it should be put to work.

I don't know exactly how much time I spend a week on what you'd call strictly volunteer work. For a while I was teaching all the health education courses in the schools before enough teachers were prepared to carry on, and I was also teaching the seminars for teachers and driving all around the state to do this. I must have been doing 30 hours a week, and it almost killed me.

11. Interview No. 7, July 17, 1966.

I've done all types of volunteer work—administrative, consultant, service—perhaps less consultant than the other two. I have no preference. I'll do whatever is necessary at the moment.

Ignorance is the main problem with low-income groups. In my community you can see almost physically the levels of ignorance among the people. And what makes the problem hardest to handle, of course, is the fact that its root is in the home. Parents don't have the knowledge or incentive to place a value on education, and it is hard to show them the advantages. Sometimes all you can do with ignorance is pity it.

You have to break down the wall and inspire in the person a desire to better himself. This takes a missionary quality, or maybe you'd call it salesmanship.

There is a great need for better understanding of the problems of low-income groups. We need a better understanding from all sides, and the way to have it is to have more contact among the various groups.

If I could choose the type of persons best qualified to work successfully with low-income groups—and I would select personnel with extreme care—I would look for such characteristics as (a) prior training, (b) interest, which would be well determined in light of their previous activity, (c) creativity, and (d) acquaintance with the community. It is very helpful for a worker to be known and respected by the community—all elements of his community.¹²

Low-income Man Stresses Education

In contrast to the disciplined and logical mind of this Negro physician is the effective work of a Negro man from Western North Carolina who never went beyond the sixth grade.¹³ He has worked hard all his life, and regrets that he is not now able to do as much as he used to. His name for this study is Mr. X. He lived in a little house with his family when he first came to Western City. Above him was a big white house which he could look up at, admired, and resolved to have for himself one day. He didn't believe he really could ever afford to buy it, but he worked hard and saved for 23 years. He finally did buy it and now lives there very proudly. He has also sent five children to college, some of whom have finished, and are now well settled in jobs, living with their families in Boston, California, Piedmont City, and Chicago. He said in explaining his volunteer work:

12. Interview No. 19, July 19, 1966. For an outline of his program of volunteer work, see pp. 154-155.

13. Interview No. 6, July 12, 1966.

You'll have to excuse me if I find it hard to express myself because I haven't had much education. Now volunteer activities are things you don't get paid for, aren't they?

I'm a Representative of the Poor on the poverty board. I did some work for the OEO on the Medicare program. I was a field worker, but they paid me for that. I would have done it for nothing, just the cost of my gas.

I do a lot of work for my church. I teach a Bible class, and do committee work. I spent all of yesterday afternoon going around town trying to find someone to put in a new furnace at the church.

I'm head of a committee to try to get all the members of my church and all the people in my neighborhood to agree to help get a community center. We have to go to the city council to get permission to have it and we hope we can persuade them to let us use that piece of property on the hill above me. It would be a good place to have a center, and the land was given to the city. This kind of work is new for me, but I am always interested in trying to make things better.

In the work I've done we have all been volunteers working together. If I see something I think ought to be done, why, I just do it.

I've worked a lot with the NAACP. Those are all volunteers. I have been chairman of the legal recourse committee. I am working now on school integration. You know we will never get a good enough education unless we have the Negroes and whites together in schools. They just don't give us a good preparation in our schools. You know our people are not really prepared for the jobs they get. I'm on the Citizens Betterment Committee, which is a Negro group working for job opportunities, especially for our young people. But they can't hold the jobs if they don't have as good an education as the white people. In our high school, we have a Negro woman teaching electronics without any laboratory equipment—just what's in her head and a book. If there were white students in the school, they'd *have* to get the right equipment.

I helped to get Negroes hired at that new factory over there. It was the first to hire Negroes around here. I heard some Negroes talking about not having any jobs and I said, "Go to that new factory. They're advertising for men." And they said, "Oh, those are white men's jobs." So you see, that's the way they think. That's what they are used to.

I also got the telephone company to hire the first Negro girls. I wrote to the main office at Charlotte, and the manager answered my letter. He said he would come up himself if I couldn't get satisfaction here. Well, I didn't. They wanted to put me off a year. So he came up and they hired one and then another. Now I think there are four who are still there. One quit. I went up there and asked them how they like the Negro girls and they said they liked them fine.

I keep trying to tell our young people they have to get the educa-

tion first to be ready for the jobs. I tell them that every chance I get.

Volunteer work is really worth doing. I'll do anything I'm asked to do. I'm seventy-three years old, and I can't do so much any more, but I'm glad to help as much as I'm able.¹⁴

Low-income Woman Respects All People

Mrs. B is another low-income person who has been successful in volunteer work on a modest scale. She is a white woman whose husband has been dead for several years, active in her church, and firm in the belief that "if we could teach the Bible, and carry the message of the Lord," there would be less hatred in the world and more brotherly love. She lives on the outskirts of an Eastern North Carolina city with her two children. She rents a room to a girl working in town, but aside from this, her only income is from Social Security.

She is superintendent in the Children's Department of the Sunday School in her church, conducts Bible classes twice a week for poor children, does friendly visiting among the sick and elderly, and helps with the campaigns for the health agencies.

I enjoy all my volunteer work, but I guess I like to work with children most. I feel so many times a young child doesn't get the training he needs. It seems if you wait till they get older it's harder for them to get into the habit of going to church.

The parents don't object to their children coming to our little Bible classes. We don't teach a doctrine; just tell them Bible stories. We call them clubs. This year we had two white clubs. Last year we had two Negro clubs.

The colored children were very poor, but it was easier to teach them than the white children. The colored children had never heard the Bible stories before. Many colored people go to church, but the children are not taught the Bible stories the way the white children are. The colored children who came to the clubs were of all ages. We even had a good many adults participate.

I think the main problem of poor people is the church has neglected them. The white church. I think if we'd started 50 years ago, 100 years ago, teaching and living up to the Bible, we wouldn't have these problems.

I feel if poor people are taught self-respect they wouldn't need the sort of help the antipoverty program is giving. Sometimes these people's children don't know things that other people take for granted like cleanliness or how to play with other children. I see it in the homes I visit. That's why I wanted to organize the Bible clubs. I give classes on personal cleanliness.

Sometimes I don't think poverty is as bad as people say it is. It's those who don't have love in their heart that are the worst.

14. *Ibid.*

I know a family not far from here. They are dirty and the house is dirty. The man has a regular job. They are good people and, you know, they are just plain happy like they are. They don't seem to care about cleanliness or education. They are a happy family. They send their children to school most of the time and one of them is doing real well. They discipline their children and teach them morals. They just make themselves content with what they have and are happy. I've always lived near this family and had respect for them.

From the way I look at it, my husband was born in the most poverty ever. His mother couldn't read or write. He worked hard and was smart. He graduated from high school with top honors. I feel like if you really want to, you can make it. I feel like any Negro, well anyone, if he cares, can go as high in America as he wants to.

Most people working with the poor really don't know the people. You have to go into their homes in a friendly way and with respect. I respect them and they do me. Respect demands respect.¹⁵

A college professor, who says he was born in poverty, agrees that upper-income groups and even those working in programs set up for the poor often do not have respect for the poverty-stricken. They tend to have a paternalistic attitude: "I know best. I will do these things for you because they will help you to be a better citizen." The basic thing is that most people who live comfortably do not understand the poor. "Underline this," he said, "*They don't understand.*"¹⁶

He continued:

Other countries have eliminated poverty. There is no need to have poor. We have convinced ourselves that there is a lower class, that there always has been, and that there always will be. This isn't true. Let your Cadillac delinquents take field trips into this cancerous part of our society to see the poor. Let them feel it, and, if they don't, let them mail a check in and keep themselves at home.

An approach to solutions of the problems of the poor, the college professor thinks, is through the right kind of community programs, beginning with "enlightenment" of the upper-income groups—through the preparation and distribution of appropriate literature, lectures, radio programs, TV, in-service training for teachers, courses in high school and college, and special training courses for volunteers working with the poor. While no such program of mass education of the upper classes is now underway, programs designed to alleviate some of the problems of the poor and ease the burdens of isolated groups are underway in community after community throughout the nation.

15. Interview No. 17, July 19, 1966.

16. Interview No. 18, July 19, 1966.

13 RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND SUPERVISION

"The new attitude toward the use of low-income people as volunteers makes possible an unlimited supply of auxiliary personnel in all the programs in the human-service areas."—Home Agent in Eastern North Carolina.

* * *

"Training for the specific job is important, but what is more difficult and perhaps more important is training in human relations techniques. The right and wise procedures for gaining the confidence of people are necessary if the volunteer is to succeed. The volunteer is often hemmed in by too many rules."—Retired professional now working as a volunteer.

* * *

"The professional worker, particularly, needs training in how to work efficiently with volunteers."—Trained professional now working as a volunteer in the field of her training.

All citizens are potential volunteers. The central problem is how to increase their opportunities to participate in community development in a way that will be meaningful to them and at the same time helpful to the community. The question goes to the very heart of the process of preserving a free and democratic society.

The motivation of volunteers has already been explored. The replies of the respondents to this study give clues for recruitment.¹ Volunteers are motivated by a desire to be helpful to people in need and to the society of which they are a part. An even stronger motivation is one of self-interest: "How can the work benefit me?" All volunteers, regardless of sex, age, or income level, want to feel that the work they are doing is important and will benefit them as individuals or improve the community where they live. The wise recruiter

1. Chapter 5, pp. 65, 67-68.

will be aware of these hidden motivations and not try to con the citizen into giving his time to work that has no reward either to the participant or his environment.

While the importance of identifying the volunteer job with the needs of the volunteer is crucial in any successful recruitment program, the traditional, middle-income volunteer, especially the woman volunteer, has come to accept voluntarism as a way of life and will respond to any reasonable request for help. She expects to give a portion of each week to some kind of volunteer activity and will reply to a request from a friend or an appeal from a trusted community agency.

Appeals for volunteers through the mass media will usually produce hundreds of responses from middle-income, middle-aged volunteers. The Woman's Page editors in numerous cities across the country are accustomed to running a weekly column on "Current Volunteer Opportunities," which lists the needs of accredited agencies. In cities with a coordinating volunteer service such as a Volunteer Bureau, the needs are usually supplied the editor through this reliable screening agency.

ADMINISTRATION

The Importance of Volunteer Coordination

Careful planning on the goals of the program, the role of the volunteer in the program, and specific allocation of volunteer jobs are all necessary steps to be taken prior to a recruitment program. Long before volunteers are sought the agency must know how they will be used, how they will be trained, and who will supervise them. Before even one volunteer is recruited, the agency must have a job for him to perform, and a structure for involving him in program development.

Several months ago a new agency in Piedmont North Carolina wished to identify quickly with community leaders and obtained the cooperation of a local newspaper in the publication of a full-page story with dramatic photography pointing out an urgent need for volunteers. The day the story broke no less than 100 women called offering immediate help, but the agency had not yet planned how it would use volunteers. Three months later when the details of a well-coordinated volunteer program had been developed, the agency telephoned all the women without being able to recruit even one of those who had previously offered help.

Agency jealousies and the competition² for volunteers has led to many devices in recruitment. Some volunteer coordinators regularly scan the daily newspapers for new arrivals and try to be the first to telephone to recruit the newcomer. Others seek the help of Chambers of Commerce, local banks, real estate agents, and merchant associations for lists of newcomers. Some place advertisements in newspapers inviting potential volunteers to visit the agency and choose a desirable volunteer job. As more and more women who have made up the pool of traditional volunteers are now either returning to college or taking jobs, the competition for middle-income, middle-aged volunteers has grown keener. Today this type of volunteer is in short supply.

To increase the supply of volunteers and at the same time stimulate citizen participation in programs for community development, coordination of the needs and cooperation of all community agencies are essential. Voluntarism is an indispensable condition for bringing about agency and community expansion. The wise community, therefore, will develop a systematic plan for recruiting and placing volunteers in the many tasks which need their services.³ Certain procedures are essential for such an undertaking:

- The manpower needs of all agencies serving the general welfare of the community should be canvassed by a designated agency or a committee of community leaders to determine the specific jobs which can be performed by volunteers.

- Each agency should be requested to supply the canvassers with detailed information as to the number of volunteers needed, the specific tasks they would perform, the exact number of hours and days these services would be needed, a job description of each task, and plans for training and supervision of the work.

- Once the legitimate manpower needs of community agencies have been explored, these agencies should determine in a joint session

2. "Competition for and Conservation of Volunteers," in National Social Welfare Assembly, "The Significance of the Volunteer in American Society," (New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, 1962, mimeo.), pp. 12-17.

3. See Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., "Working With Volunteers," (Pamphlet No. 10), pp. 3-25; Kaiser, "Recruitment and Training of Volunteers," in "Volunteers Can Make the Difference," *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34; Bruyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130; William J. Lavery, "Program Volunteers, They are Worth the Effort," *The Journal, Boys' Clubs of America* (Fall 1965), pp. 1339-1343; T. H. Stephenson (ed.), "Building Better Volunteer Programs," (Princeton, New Jersey: The Foundation for Voluntary Welfare), Part I.

how responsible leadership may be obtained to plan, initiate, and administer a program for volunteer services in the community. Pinpointing the specific leadership should come through joint participation of both public and private agencies, but the leadership itself might conceivably come from a variety of sources such as a church group, a new agency created for the specific purpose, or from a committee of citizens.

- Citizens should be regularly acquainted with the community needs which would be served through their volunteer efforts. This information should be supplied the general public through the press, radio, television, public meetings, information supplied all voluntary organizations including the churches, and through individual interviews to solicit the specific skills of professional groups.

- The community volunteer coordinating agency should help the person who wishes to give his time to find the kind of work best suited to his abilities and interests. Without this service which meshes the skills of the volunteer with the job to be performed, the work may be frustrating both to the volunteer who has been recruited and to the agency which receives his service.

- Recruitment and placement of volunteers is most successful when the job to be performed is clearly outlined. The volunteer will thus have a definite understanding of what the job expectations are before he undertakes the responsibility and will feel a commitment to the work because it is something which he has chosen of his own free will and something which has captured his imagination.

- Those recruiting and placing the volunteer must stress the job responsibilities. These responsibilities are a willingness to commit a specific number of hours to the work, a willingness to take training for the task, and to accept supervision for on-the-job performance.

- Those responsible for recruiting volunteers should make certain that the agencies using their services give the volunteers proper training and supervision, provide them with an acceptable working environment, furnish them an opportunity to have a good working experience, and do not exploit their services.

These are basic principles which apply to the use of all types of volunteers. They will be further explored in Chapter 14. The recruitment of volunteers outside the traditional categories requires different methods, but the basic principles apply, nevertheless.

Recruiting Special Classes of Volunteers

Any recruitment program which wishes to involve special classes of volunteers such as teenagers, college students, skilled professionals, retired personnel, the elderly, or low-income groups must be aimed directly at these special classes. More and more, teenagers, college students, and retired people are becoming involved in volunteer work, even seeking it out, but special recruitment must be focused in their direction. For example, the Peace Corps regularly sends recruiters to college campuses across the nation to make special appeals for applicants. The recruiters are usually returnees who can speak from their own experiences about the values to the volunteer as well as to the United States and the nation being served. The recruiters work through organized groups on the campus, even college classes which would have a special interest for the type of work performed by the Peace Corps, and these contacts function as built-in screening devices so that the primary work of the recruiter is promotion and interviewing.

When the program for a domestic peace corps known as the North Carolina Volunteers was set up under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Fund in the spring of 1964, the Fund employed the same general recruitment strategy used by the Peace Corps. The State Governor, who was also chairman of the Fund board, made the first announcement of the program. The announcement was followed by generally accepted recruitment procedure:

Letters were sent to Presidents of Colleges, Deans of Student Affairs, Deans of Men and Women, Presidents of Student Bodies, Editors of Student Newspapers, Directors of Placement, Directors of Student Aid, Heads of relevant departments (sociology, psychology, education, physical education, anthropology and political science), and key personnel throughout the state system of public and private higher education. Application forms and recommendation blanks were prepared and sent out to each campus in volume. Initial posters were prepared and sent to each campus and fact sheets about the program were sent out to accompany each application. A statewide publicity campaign in newspapers was mounted and theater movie advertisements, television ads, and radio spot announcements were placed in all areas of the state where college and university students were concentrated.

In addition, over a four-week period, two full-time staff recruiters completed a series of visits that took them to 40 campuses in the state.

When applications from potential volunteers came in more slowly than had been expected, the North Carolina Fund altered its strategy slightly.

. . . the Volunteer program was placed under the direction of a North Carolina Fund staff member . . . new posters were prepared and distributed to all campuses announcing the program and announcing the new application deadline. A brochure was distributed to every dormitory room of the major college campuses and mailed to student governments at other institutions for mass distribution on these campuses. This drive eventually helped in yielding the final total of 750 applicants and approximately 500 totally completed forms.⁴

In this attempt to recruit a specific number of well-qualified college students as volunteers, a carefully planned public relations approach was coordinated with face-to-face recruitment. The recruitment program worked through the lines of authority to organized groups of potential volunteers down to the individual volunteer. The general plans followed public relations techniques which have been found effective whether the goal is to promote a new welfare program or sell a cake of soap. When the end results came more slowly than was expected, the public relations techniques were reevaluated and a slightly altered approach made. This second punch paid off.

These same techniques apply in the recruitment of volunteers from other special categories of volunteers and in recruitment for a new or even unpopular program. In recruiting volunteers from low-income groups, including those who are functionally illiterate, the techniques must be modified.

Recruiting Low-Income Volunteers

Among low-income groups the face-to-face contact is even more important than when recruiting from other categories of volunteers. The potential low-income volunteer is less likely to be a member of a voluntary organization, although the rural church in the South and the storefront church in the slums of the North and West are excellent resources from which the recruiter may obtain further contacts.⁵

Creative planning is even more crucial in soliciting volunteers among hard to reach groups than among the higher socio-economic

4. "The North Carolina Volunteers, Final Report," (Durham, N.C.: The North Carolina Fund, mimeo.), pp. 10-12.

5. Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, *The Voluntary Association in the Slum* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1962), p. 7.

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levels. The Boys Clubs of America, an organization with a long and successful history of working with low-income youth in deprived areas, has found that successful planning begins with the appointment of a recruitment coordinator, a staff member or a volunteer who either is serving on the board or is involved in some phase of the program.⁶ The coordinator in turn may allocate responsibility for assisting with recruitment to every department which needs volunteers. A training session for recruiters is an important step in a creative plan, and a significant part of the training is for recruiters to understand the motives for volunteering. The volunteer must be "sold on volunteering." Among low-income groups it is important to stress that

volunteering is fun—a recreational experience; it enables one to enjoy the satisfaction of helping others; it helps a person to develop his leadership ability; and to those with a deep interest in a particular hobby or skill, it enables him to share his skills with others. The recruiter should not overlook these selling points, as they may very well be the deciding factors which will encourage some people to consider volunteering . . .⁷

It will be recalled that among all the volunteers queried for this study, low-income young men placed highest the prestige value of volunteer work.⁸ This fact gives the recruiter an immediate insight into motivation and thus a basis on which to make an appeal for service. Despite the feeling that volunteer work carries with it a special status, very few low-income people will walk into an agency and offer their services. They must be asked, and in order to be asked they must be sought out. To find potential volunteers, the recruiter must go where they are likely to be found.

The board of a private social welfare agency was complaining not long ago of the difficulty of interesting parents in a target area in a playground which the agency was planning for the neighborhood. The chairman in charge of the project explained that she had asked the pastors of all the churches attended by the people of the neighborhood to meet her at a given place for a discussion of plans, but that no one had bothered to come.

A board member who had worked successfully with the neighborhood in another project asked:

6. Lavery, *op. cit.*, p. 1341.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1342.

8. Chapter 5, p. 71.

Have you tried knocking on the doors in the neighborhood and discussing plans with each individual family? You probably have, but found nobody at home. The only time you will have an opportunity to talk with them is about dusk as they come home from work. If you can arrange to walk along with them as they go to their homes, they will listen to you; and if you capture their imagination they will pause at their doors to talk long enough for you to involve them in the recreation project. They want a playground for their children even more than you do, but they can't take time some night after work to come to a formal meeting. They are too tired and too busy with things that consume the routine of their daily lives. They are interested in the playground, but not that interested.

A city recreation supervisor and worker in the Methodist Church's Bethlehem Center, a social agency serving low-income areas in Dallas, Texas, recently explained how he reaches the people. He goes on the streets three nights a week and mixes with the crowds in pool halls, taverns, parks, and anywhere else he finds people. He thinks the recruiter must come to know the people as individuals and be trusted by them before they will respond.

"How can you tell someone that God loves him when he doesn't have shoes and sufficient food?" he asks.⁹

After people in a target area have been activated to volunteer and then asked to give their time, the recruiter must take one additional step. He must make it easy to say, "Yes." A training director for Boys' Clubs of America, puts it this way: the recruiter must

anticipate reasons why people might say "No," and forestall any reservations they might have. For instance, some people may not be able to afford to commute to and from the Club; for others, there might be too much time involved in going from place of employment to home to Club. . . . the point remains, you should consider the possible blocks to volunteering that may exist in your particular community. Then minimize these and make it easy for people to respond in the affirmative when they are asked to serve.¹⁰

Once an indigenous volunteer has been discovered and convinced a program is good, he is the best recruiter for other low-income volunteers. From mouth to mouth the word passes, "Get with it."

9. "Young Minister in Tennis Shoes," *The Daily Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill, N.C., Oct. 29, 1966), p. 4.

10. Lavery, *op. cit.*, p. 1342. See also recruiting techniques used by the Reverend Norman C. Eddy of the East Harlem Protestant Parish in George R. Metcalf "Metro North Moves Mountains," *The Reporter*, 35 (November 17, 1966), pp. 24-29.

VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

The lower-class status of the indigenous volunteer is a positive ingredient in the successful development of a new program in a target area. For example, in a voter registration drive on lower East Side, New York City, in which both professional and indigenous community organizers participated, the indigenous leaders outstripped the professionals, and a recent Children's Bureau survey found that low-income mothers are highly successful in recruiting other low-income mothers to parent education classes.¹¹

Training the Professional to Work With Volunteers

Once volunteers have been recruited, the next step is to screen them for placement in the work which will give them the most satisfaction and also best serve the agency. These steps will be discussed further in Chapter 14. Even before the volunteer has been recruited it is of utmost importance that the professionals, or the trained volunteers who will function in the place of professionals, have a welcoming attitude. In other words, the professionals themselves must be trained how to use volunteers. It will be recalled that 60 per cent of the volunteers answering the questionnaires sent out by this study said they thought a need existed for improved understanding between professionals and volunteers. The general feeling seemed to be that most professionals do not know how to use volunteers effectively.

The American Hospital Association cautions hospital administrators not to initiate a volunteer program without first being certain that the staff will accept volunteers as belonging to an official department of hospital administration.¹² Other national agencies give the same advice and conduct workshops to interpret the role of the professional. Some agencies such as the YWCA and the American Red Cross include officers and board members, who are themselves volunteer supervisors of volunteers, in these training sessions.

Sometimes professionals—even highly trained personnel such as doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers—reject volunteers because of their lack of technical skills. They are reluctant to acknowledge that volunteers may bring other skills of equal importance to the program.

11. Jack Otis, "Problems and Promise in the Use of Indigenous Personnel," address prepared for the panel on "Critique of Programs for the Training of Auxiliary Personnel," at the annual meeting of the Council on Social Work Education, Denver, Colorado, January 1965.

12. American Hospital Association, "The Volunteer in the Hospital," *op. cit.*, pp. 15-22.

RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND SUPERVISION

Consequently, administrators and program directors who wish to use volunteers have the responsibility of interpreting to the staff the vital role which volunteers can play when properly trained and placed. This role has been pointed out frequently in this study, but may be summarized briefly here as:

- Augmenting the staff in agencies which are greatly understaffed throughout the country. It will be recalled that 37 per cent of the volunteers responding to the questionnaire for this study said volunteers perform as well as paid staff and 35 per cent of the professionals were of the same opinion.

- Bringing to the clients of an agency (patients in a hospital, children in a public school, clients in a local Department of Public Welfare) friendly services which would be denied them otherwise because of staff shortages. It is possible for the volunteer to create such a cordial climate within the agency that the clients will be more responsive to the specialized skills of the staff. For example, an understanding volunteer can quiet the fears of a patient so that the doctors can more easily perform their tasks. Thus both professionals and volunteers have separate and unique roles to play.

- Supplementing the skills of the staff. It is rare to find even among highly trained professionals that one staff member has all the skills needed to perform the work at hand. Additional skills are needed which an agency may be hard put to supply unless it can call upon volunteers who possess these skills to supplement the staff: human relations, community organization techniques, group work practices, recreation.

- Building bridges of understanding between the agency and the community. Volunteers can interpret community attitudes to the staff and at the same time interpret the program and the needs of the agency to the community. Knowledgeable volunteers can speed up community acceptance of a new program and maintain acceptance of a continuing program.

- Establishing contact with those of the same income and educational level more readily than professionals. This is especially true of indigenous volunteers.

A program director or administrator should not find it difficult to interpret to his staff the important role of the volunteer. The first step is for the administrator himself to acknowledge the value. When an interviewer for this study was discussing volunteers with a staff member of an agency in Piedmont North Carolina the social worker observed that the director opposed a volunteer Auxiliary because he does not like women. He thinks, she said, that "they yap too much."¹³

13. Interview No. 27, July 26, 1966.

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which is really concerned about staff shortages should have a favorable attitude of the professional staff. A favorable agency attitude is one of the primary ingredients for a successful volunteer

... should understand that the beginning volunteer is ill at ease in the preliminary stages of the work, but this uncertainty will quickly wear off as he realizes that the staff accepts, even gladly welcomes him. One of the surest ways to create an effective, loyal corps of volunteers is for the professional staff to encourage them by friendly associations while on the job. The way both work together will, in turn, influence the effectiveness of program services.

Training the Volunteer

The second step in the development of a competent corps of volunteers is training for the work. Training is most effective when it is designed to meet the dual goals of (1) general competence of volunteer activities and (2) specific instruction for a specific job performance.

The first goal requires a longer training period than the second. It encompasses the whole area of the philosophy of citizen participation in government. It stresses two imperatives: (a) involvement of every citizen insofar as possible in the many-faceted structure of American institutional life so that the society of which the citizen is a part may be kept constantly responsive to the needs of the people and (b) the continuing education of citizens in the knowledge that change is a condition of life and that structural change must come through democratic procedures if the needs of all the people are to be met through peaceful rather than revolutionary means.

These are hard lessons to learn. They have not yet been accepted by many citizens, especially by those who think they are profiting by maintenance of the status quo. This is as true of the agency director who resists incorporation of volunteer work into program activities as it is of the entrenched officeholder.

The general training essential for volunteers includes information on social problems presented with the objectivity of university classroom instruction. But few volunteers have received this type of training. A staff member of a federally funded project in North Carolina pointed to the inadequacies in training he had observed: "The Vista volunteers we have used in our program were totally unprepared for

the work they were to do. They had a strong civil rights bias and refused to do any work in connection with our agency. All they were interested in doing was organizing for demonstrations which had nothing to do with the agency's program."¹⁴ Other directors interviewed for this study thought volunteers trained by a statewide agency for work in antipoverty programs had been given a "public relations approach to poverty" which glamorized the poor instead of interpreting them in terms of their actual situations.

Whatever the field of volunteer work, it is helpful to good on-the-job performance if the worker has a general knowledge of the causes of poverty, delinquency, retardation, mental illness, and all the other social problems which plague society. The instruction must also be geared to the age and educational level of the volunteers being trained.

Other skills in which the volunteer should have some training are community organization, group work, recreation, program planning and administration, public speaking, public relations, and interpersonal relations. This is a broad directive, one which is impossible to accomplish in one short training session. One community organization consultant with long experience with volunteer workers is of the opinion that tentative approaches to knowledge in these broad fields of human welfare should be made first of all in the home and then followed through from nursery school on through college and into continuing adult education if the volunteer is ever to realize his potential contribution to the society in which he lives or if this country is ever to face up to its responsibilities in the conservation and development of its human resources.

Colleges and universities are already rapidly moving to supply the kind of training which every citizen should have to make him a mature, responsible person. The programs are being developed through contributions from private funds, foundation grants, state appropriations, and federal grants. For example, programs in five different universities in New York began in the autumn of 1966 under the Federal Higher Education Act of 1965.¹⁵

Some universities are offering special classes on Saturdays and at night, all directed in the general field of continuing education to update former training, to give information on current issues, and to

14. Interview No. 28, June 3, 1966.

15. "Wanted: Educated Women to Start or Return to Work in Community Service," *New York Times* (October 1, 1966), p. 20.

improve the competence of volunteers. Some of these courses are workshops set up as weekly two-hour sessions which continue from ten to 16 weeks. All are based upon the assumption that broad background information in a variety of skills is necessary for work, both paid and volunteer, if the worker is to contribute to human well-being and his own feeling of security. These courses are aimed primarily at women whose children are in school and no longer require the major portion of their time. Women in this age group are the major source of traditional volunteers who are now coming forth from their homes in greater numbers than ever before announcing the right of the married woman to self-fulfillment in outside work. If more and more of them are turning to paid work rather than volunteer jobs it is probably as much due to the failure of volunteer work to offer a creative experience as it is to the desire for additional income.

At first these special courses were opened to those who had already graduated from college. Now they are being extended also to adults with less training but seldom, as yet, to indigenous leaders. A literature is rapidly developing on special techniques to be employed in training indigenous leaders for work as subprofessionals and as volunteers.¹⁶ If the indigenous leader or subprofessional is to be used in his own neighborhood or in a comparable one, he will bring to the work a firsthand knowledge of the conditions of poverty.

The life style of the indigenous leader has already prepared him for work in the target area and is a skill in itself. His knowledge of the area and its people are his special contribution to the development of any program designed to serve them. He can locate the "power blocs" in the target area and suggest ways of dealing with them. He knows the problems of the neighborhood and the relevance of a service to the needs of the people. He knows why the people are either accepting or rejecting the service. He is ready to take the second

16. Otis, *op. cit.*; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, "The Use of Indigenous Personnel in Human Service Areas," (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, April 13, 1965, mimeo.); Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess (eds.), *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston 1965); "Experiment in Culture Expansion," Proceedings of a Conference on *The Use of Products of a Social Problem in Coping With the Problem* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Youth Studies Center, July 1963); Lucius P. Cervantes, *The Dropout, Causes and Cures* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965); Pearl and Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor*, *op. cit.*; Robert Reiff and Frank Riessman, "The Indigenous Non-professional," (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Labor Education).



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Transportation volunteers are always in short supply. A volunteer bureau can coordinate the volunteer services in a community.



Photo for The North Carolina Fund by Billy E. Barnes

Upper-class volunteers must take the initiative in offering their services for projects benefiting all human resources in the community.

training step without going through the preliminary background training which is necessary for the middle-income volunteer.

Training for Job Performance

The second step in training the volunteer is that of orienting him to the specific task to be performed. Some agencies give their volunteers a hasty orientation and then assign them to tasks for which they are entirely unprepared. The result is that the volunteer becomes a drop-out or does not perform according to expectations and the agency staff points again to the "inadequacies of volunteers."

It is not only important for the agency to determine the tasks to be performed but also to write a brief, adequate job description of each task before even the first volunteer has been recruited. The volunteer must then be informed, preferably in groups or classes, of the work of the agency.

The orientation and initial training of volunteers should include well-planned sessions to present the following information:

- A brief but interesting account of the national movement of which this particular agency is a component. If it is a local Community Action program, this phase of the training should include a summary statement of the antipoverty program and its goals.

- A brief statement of how the local agency was set up.

- An accurate presentation of the sources of financial income and expectations as to how the funds will be used.

- An outline of the philosophy of the agency, both its long-range and short-term goals.

- A specific statement of how the methods of work are related to the philosophy of the program.

- A detailed account of methods of procedure so that every volunteer will be informed of the routine practices of the agency. These routine practices should be written down and given every volunteer at completion of the training course.

- The relationship of the agency to the community.

- The specific characteristics of the community to be served.

- The links between the agency and the community with emphasis on the fact that the volunteer is himself one of these important links.

- A brief statement about the continuing training of volunteers such as in-service programs, evaluation sessions, etc.

- A brief statement about supervision of volunteer work and an interpretation of its importance.

- An explanation of the unique contributions of both professionals and volunteers toward the accomplishment of goals which the agency is seeking to fulfill.

No training session can be successful if it is entirely a lecture, although some lecturing is necessary to give important information. All the sessions must be planned carefully and a variety of techniques employed. The temptation to use professional language should be avoided at all costs. Visual aids and role-playing are helpful and information in written form is highly desirable. A field trip after the trainees have gained enough information to interpret what they see is also a significant part of training.

After the formal training period is completed, the agency should be prepared to make specific job assignments and give each trainee a written job description, the name of his supervisor, and the time and place of his volunteer activity. The most critical time in his period of volunteer service now confronts the trainee: his first on-the-job performance. It is important that the experience be meaningful and satisfying; therefore, when possible, it is well to set him to work with an experienced volunteer who can give him a feeling of security. In a short time, he should be on his own working only under the general guidance of his supervisor.

Indigenous leaders as well as middle-class volunteers need orientation in the philosophy and goals of the agency with which they are working as well as the conceptual framework of the type of work which they are performing: social work, mental health counseling, tutoring, recreation, subprofessionals in health clinics, etc. They become quickly bored and drop out more frequently than middle-class volunteers, and their training needs¹⁷ to be more fun-oriented as well as practice- and task-oriented than is usually necessary with the traditional volunteer.

Volunteers who work with agencies serving a particular type of human disability such as the blind, the mentally retarded, the mentally ill require the type of training already outlined but in addition supplementary guidance designed to help them develop the specific skills required. Training manuals have been developed for these

17. Drawing upon Frank Riessman's conclusions in his "The Revolution in Social Work: The New Nonprofessional," (*Mobilization for Youth Report*, October 1963), Otis, *op. cit.*, concludes that indigenous leaders should be trained (1) to keep information confidential from nonworkers and to share relevant information with the employing agency and others, (2) to avoid overidentification with the agency and its corollary underidentification with the community, (3) to accept authority, (4) to prevent over-optimism from turning into defeatism, (5) to be prepared to cope with the natural anxieties of professional staff when using untrained recruits in a helping role.

specialized functions.¹⁸ Most national agencies, including the churches, have also prepared manuals which are helpful in training volunteers to function in the local units of these organizations.

Supervision and In-Service Training

The importance of training the administrative and professional staff in the techniques of working with volunteers also applies to supervisors of volunteers. It is the supervisor who feels especially threatened by the volunteer, and is most likely to rebuff him. The professionally trained volunteer and the indigenous leader are likely to be the first to become disgusted with the agency's lack of know-how and drop out of the program. Both types of volunteers have special skills which are not easily replaced and their loss to the agency may be serious. But supervision seems to be the most difficult aspect of volunteer work for an agency to maintain. Without it, however, the entire volunteer program may deteriorate and volunteer morale may be destroyed before the volunteers have an opportunity to prove their worth.

Some agencies such as hospitals have found group supervision to be the answer to these problems. If group supervision is accompanied by group evaluation which includes both the supervisors and the volunteers, it is possible to build group cohesiveness in a few sessions. The group situation is less threatening both to the supervisors and to the volunteers than is individual confrontation. The key to the success of this phase of volunteer work is the accepting and supportive attitude of the supervisors, but the supervisor himself is often frightened. It has frequently been pointed out that the professional feels more comfortable with his counterpart from another country than he does with the poor in his own—or with a volunteer of whatever description.

Group supervision, however, must not entirely replace individual supervision. It should be possible, for example, for a hall nurse in a hospital ward to give impromptu individual supervision when it is needed or requested, or for a doctor to give clear, down-to-earth teaching in a task-oriented situation. In regularly scheduled group

18. For example, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Vocational Rehabilitation Commission, "Training the Volunteer to Assist the Home Teacher of the Adult Blind" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964); National Institute of Mental Health, "Pilot Project in Training Mental Health Counselors," *Public Health Service Publication*, No. 1254 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

supervisory settings, which actually function as in-service training periods, both the volunteers and the supervisors can learn from one another. This group in-service training and supervision will also bolster the feelings of security and unity among supervisors and volunteers and better enable them to work together as a team.

The supervisors must keep no secrets and they must refrain from functioning as a clique. The supervisory session is a time for pointing out good procedures, praising the finesse of an especially well-performed volunteer task, inviting volunteer observations and suggestions. It is an evaluating and learning process for all involved and with this kind of honest and open discussion of techniques and goals, the program of the agency becomes more flexible and effective.

At many points in the unfolding of a reliable volunteer service program, both the supervisors and the volunteers stand in need of additional education. With the increased funds available for the human service agencies it is increasingly possible to provide this kind of specialized knowledge. Psychiatrists, anthropologists, sociologists, clinical psychologists, and other experts can often be found to compose an interdisciplinary team to organize short-term in-service training programs in which both supervisors and volunteers alike participate. The focus of such training should be on reorientation in the conceptual framework of the agency's program, explanation of new research, demonstration of improved work procedures, and especially on understanding and utilization of new manpower developments including low-income personnel and volunteers.

The majority of the 800 or more professionals and volunteers responding to the questionnaire prepared for this study rejected the idea of including volunteers in each step in program building, but it is only when all work together as a team toward the development of agency goals that the total program can be achieved. The promise of reaching still distant frontiers of human well-being will come only with the realization of the potential of these new sources of manpower, and the quickest way to achieve this goal is by giving them a stake in program development.

The best way to reach this new manpower potential has yet to be explored in this study. An examination of the procedures of American volunteer service bureaus will demonstrate how communities in the United States and Canada have moved to meet their own supplementary manpower needs.

14 THE VOLUNTEER SERVICE BUREAU

"Volunteer service is the backbone of any community when properly coordinated and channeled. The Volunteer Bureau performs these functions by serving as a central agency to which citizens of all ages are encouraged to apply for volunteer service in civic, cultural, and social welfare programs."—Chairman, Volunteer Bureau, Lansing, Michigan.

* * *

"From our experience here we have found there is a great need to train and educate the public that they can and should become involved in their community. Also, to convince professionals that a volunteer can be useful."—Director Volunteer Service Bureau, Youngstown, Ohio.

* * *

"The South Central Volunteer Bureau was a pioneering effort in the United States for a Volunteer Bureau through federal funding to make a special effort to recruit, train, and place volunteers in a low-income section of a city."—South Central Volunteer Bureau, Los Angeles, Calif.

As volunteer work expanded into a pattern of American culture, it became evident that coordination of effort would increase the effectiveness of citizen participation in community development.

Although the importance of coordination was discussed by social scientists in the late nineteenth century, the experiences of World War I pointed up the need. Community organization as a specialized field of work emerged and with it an awareness of a need to mobilize volunteers so that their efforts might be focused constructively.

Before separate agencies known as volunteer bureaus were organized, community agencies such as the Community Chest or United Fund, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Red Cross, hospitals, schools, churches, the YWCA, YMCA, family welfare

agencies, and youth-serving groups were all participating in some kind of volunteer coordination. Even today these agencies are the chief means of channeling the work of volunteers in thousands of cities and towns where no volunteer bureau has yet been established.

When resistance to organizing a clearinghouse for volunteer effort arises it often comes from agencies which have been functioning for years as informal bureaus. If they have been able to meet their own needs for volunteers, they are reluctant sometimes to see an agency set up which conceivably might divert the supply to other community programs. "Our growth here has been slow partly because agencies had for years recruited their own few volunteers or had not used volunteers because they held the old concept that a volunteer was only a 'do-gooder' and not of too much value in their service program," wrote a professionally trained director of a volunteer bureau in the Middle West in response to an inquiry for this study.

On the other hand, agencies which have been attempting volunteer recruitment in addition to the ever increasing demands of their own programs have themselves often taken leadership in organizing a volunteer bureau. This was the case recently in Denver, Colorado, when a survey was made to determine the need for a bureau.

The Development of Volunteer Bureaus

Community councils, which are customarily composed of representatives of all public and private agencies in a given area which are working toward community development, have probably been the prime agents to stimulate volunteer bureaus. But other voluntary associations, notably the Junior League of America,¹ have played a leadership role in cities across the continent, and on the West Coast women's civic clubs such as Zonta, Soroptomist, and Quota have been active.

United Community Funds and Councils of America initiated the organization of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America which in 1966 had a membership of 108 local bureaus in the United States and Canada. The agency with the longest record of continuous operation seems to be the School and Volunteer Bureaus of United

1. Ruth T. Lucas and Helen O. Studley, "The Cities With Volunteer Bureaus," in Cohen (ed.), *The Citizen Volunteer*, p. 204. For a brief discussion of forces opposed to the development of a volunteer bureau, see Leonard Yarensky, "Conflicting Group Pressures in the Development of a Volunteer Bureau," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1952.

Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, which has been functioning for 40 years. Robert B. McCreech, Director of the Boston Volunteer Bureau and formerly president of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus, has explained the development of the Boston Bureau in this way:

In the early years of the Volunteer Bureau its activities were usually limited to the recruitment and referral of volunteers. Now it is an integral part of the community planning process of United Community Services, with a primary responsibility for coordination, development of standards, and consultation services to agencies and citizens groups on the matter of participation . . .

The purpose of the Bureau is to accept requests for volunteers from the health and welfare agencies and to find volunteers to fill those jobs among men and women from all walks of life.²

In 1949 the Boston Volunteer Bureau recruited an average of 1,200 volunteers a year. By 1966 the number had increased to 11,200. Of this number 4,000 are adults and 7,200 are high school and college students.³ These are "volunteers who perform well because they are selectively recruited, properly placed, intelligently trained, wisely supervised, and sincerely recognized."⁴

The survey which this study made of the 108 volunteer bureaus in America indicated that the majority of the 73 which replied were organized since World War II and that the organizational period covers a span of 40 years. Thirty-three bureaus are known to be in process of organization, probably the largest number of any year since the establishment of the America Association. Since the life history of a local community council has been found to be only two years on the creation of clearinghouses for volunteer services have volunteer bureau is likely to have the same casualty rate.

The forces which have probably had the greatest impact in recent years on the creation of clearinghouses for volunteer services have been the President's Report on the Status of Women which was quickly followed by reports from various State Commissions, the

2. "A Statement Prepared by the Volunteer Bureau of United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston for the Massachusetts Committee on the Status of Women" (Boston: Volunteer Bureau of United Community Services, October 27, 1965, mimeo.), p. 2.

3. Letter from Robert B. McCreech, Director, dated August 9, 1966.

4. Robert B. McCreech, "Challenging the Massachusetts Volunteer" (Boston: Volunteer Bureau of United Community Services, September 18, 1963, mimeo.), p. 18.

successful organization of the Peace Corps, and the needs of the anti-poverty programs. The President's Commission on the Status of Women recommended increased effectiveness of volunteers through better training, planning, and coordination:

Increased stress on standards and increased specialization by voluntary agencies in many fields—social work, recreation, health—call for high levels of volunteer performance. Where pursued in a disciplined fashion and in accordance with standards comparable to those of employed persons, volunteer activity constitutes valid work experience that merits recognition if and when the individual performing it seeks paid employment. Voluntary agencies should keep records of such work and make them available on request.

. . . volunteers trained and qualified for specific tasks can augment the supply of skills in occupations where there are shortages of professionals, supplementing the professionals' work and enabling them to use their capacities to best advantage.

Volunteers' services should be made more effective through coordinated and imaginative planning among agencies and organizations for recruitment, training, placement, and supervision, and their numbers augmented through tapping the large reservoir of additional potential among youth, retired people, members of minority groups, and women not now in volunteer activities.⁵

In North Carolina, the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women found that "the lack of an efficient coordinating force is preventing the resource potential in volunteers and the community's unmet needs from being brought together to produce results which are mutually satisfying." The Commission, therefore, recommended that the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations, the only statewide coordinating agency of voluntary organizations in existence in the state, set up a statewide "Volunteers' Bureau to serve as a coordinator between volunteer resources and needs and to promote the development of similar coordinating bodies in local communities."⁶

The immediate success of the Peace Corps, followed shortly by the creation of the Volunteers in Service to America and still later by the Teachers' Corps, has stimulated local communities to examine their own needs for volunteer corps with the result that plans are now underway in many parts of the nation. The discussion continues on the national level as to the need to create some kind of continuing

5. The President's Committee on the Status of Women, *American Women* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 26.

6. The Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, *The Many Lives of North Carolina Women*, pp. 60, 67.

body such as a National Volunteer Service Corps. Opinion differs as to whether it should be under the joint auspices of the Army and other departments of government following the structure of the depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps or whether it should be entirely voluntary. Marion K. Sanders, a senior editor of *Harper's* magazine, favors a voluntary corps which would be available on certain conditions for use in local communities. His reason for wanting a "voluntary national service corps, including both men and women," is that "the response of Americans to well-planned voluntary programs has always been impressive."⁷

Across the nation, the demands of the antipoverty programs have resulted in the occasional funding of Volunteer Bureaus and especially in the stimulation of bureaus in Neighborhood Centers.

Where Volunteer Bureaus Are Located

The locations of the 73 Volunteer Bureaus which responded to inquiries made by this study are shown in Table 29.

TABLE 29
LOCATION OF VOLUNTEER BUREAUS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number Responding</i>
Midwest	20
West	15
Southeast	9
Canada	9
Mideast	8
Southwest	8
New England	4
Total	73

The region with the largest number of Volunteer Bureaus affiliated with the American Association is the Midwest and from this area came the largest number of respondents to this study. In the Midwest, Ohio has 11 Bureaus, the largest number of any state in the region, followed by Michigan with seven. California with a total of 19 has the largest number of Bureaus of any state in America. In comparison, New York, the second most populous state in the nation, has only seven Bureaus. The region of the Mideast, in which New York is located, ranks third in America in the number of Volunteer Bureaus with a

7. Marion K. Sanders, "The Case for a National Service Corps," *The New York Times Magazine* (August 7, 1966). See also Harris Wofford, "Toward a Draft Without Guns," *Saturday Review* (October 15, 1966).

total of 17. The Southeast is fourth with a total of 16 Bureaus, six of which are located in Virginia. Of the three Bureaus responding to this study which reported they are no longer in operation, all three were in the Southeast.

The four regions which reported expansion of Bureau work into neighborhood areas were located in the Mideast, Midwest, Southwest, and West. Plans are also underway in the Southeast, but were not reported by respondents which are affiliated with the Association of Volunteer Bureaus.

How Administered and Financed

About 15 different types of administration were reported by the 73 Volunteer Bureaus responding to this study. The most frequent are indicated in Table 30.

TABLE 30
ADMINISTRATION OF VOLUNTEER BUREAUS

<i>Staff Structure</i>	<i>Number Responding</i>
3 professionals and secretaries	3
2 professionals and secretary	9
2 professionals and volunteers	8
1 professional and secretary	12
1 professional, part-time secretary, volunteers	11
1 professional and volunteers	4
$\frac{1}{2}$ -time professional and $\frac{1}{2}$ -time secretary	3
$\frac{1}{2}$ -time professional and volunteers	6
Entirely volunteer	2

In only 20 large cities of the United States and Canada have Volunteer Bureaus been able to develop their programs sufficiently to employ as many as two or three professionals in addition to an adequate secretarial staff. The administrative pattern for almost a third (32%) was the employment of one professional staff member with secretarial assistance. Twelve had full-time secretarial help but eleven had only a part-time secretary plus the help of volunteers. All except four bureaus had paid professional assistance. Two of these four were operated entirely by volunteers, one by volunteers with the help of a part-time secretary. Six bureaus were operated entirely by part-time secretarial assistance from the local community council staff.

Volunteer bureaus seem never to have sufficient staff to carry on the ever increasing development of their programs. The nature of the work which includes assistance with in-service training in local

agencies and setting up community workshops in addition to the routine work of recruitment and referrals makes heavy demands upon the staff.

The director of an Ohio Bureau summarizes the experiences in her community which might be repeated in other bureaus throughout the country:

Our Bureau opened in 1960 as a project of Junior League and staff consisted of a paid full-time director plus Junior League Volunteers. In 1962 a Senior Citizens Information and Referral Service was added to the Volunteer Bureau with a part-time secretary. We also became a Community Chest agency, still partially supported by the Junior League. We soon found a part-time secretary and one director could not adequately handle the volume of work. We are now a department of the Health and Welfare Council of the Community Chest with a full-time secretary but still unable to do all the program we would like to do.⁸

The type of training usually considered a requisite for a director of a volunteer bureau is a degree in social work or sociology with a major in community organization. When it is possible to employ more than one professionally trained staff member, the choice usually lies between a person trained in public relations or one trained in social work with a group work or case work major. The Volunteer Service Bureau office manual of Richmond, Virginia, indicates that the Bureau operates with a staff of one professional and a full-time secretary-office manager. The qualifications for the professional are:

Graduation from an accredited school of social work or its equivalent is desirable; graduation from an accredited college or university is mandatory.

Substantial and progressively responsible experience in a health, welfare or recreation agency is preferred.

Experience in working with volunteers.

Ability to work harmoniously with people.

The methods of financing a volunteer bureau are almost as varied as the pattern of staff structure. Table 31 shows how 60 of the 73 Bureaus responding to this study are financed.

More than half of the bureaus are supported by funds raised by the Community Chest or United Fund appeal either as a component of a local community planning council or as a separate agency. A few

8. Volunteer Service Bureau, Youngstown, Ohio, letter dated August 5, 1966.

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TABLE 31
HOW VOLUNTEER BUREAUS ARE FINANCED

<i>Method</i>	<i>Number Responding</i>
Component of Community Council	35
Agency of United Fund	14
Jointly financed	6
Federally financed	3
Financed by Junior League	2

of the six other bureaus which are jointly financed also receive some funds from a United appeal. Other sources of funds come from civic clubs and at least three receive some assistance from departments of state government such as the Department of Social Welfare, a Governor's Council on Human Resources, or a State Department of Public Instruction.

One bureau is financed entirely by local churches, another by the local Chamber of Commerce, and another entirely by voluntary contributions. Only three bureaus responding are operating on federal funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity plus local matching funds. Another bureau which is now jointly financed reported that it had prepared a prospectus for federal funds to develop a bureau among indigenous personnel in a target area, when "the local situation blew sky high" and the plan was not submitted.

If a bureau is a component of a community council, the director of the bureau is employed by the council executive and his board, but the bureau usually has an advisory committee also. The advisory committee works with the director and assists in formulating policy and program development. A few bureau directors, however, operate without an advisory committee and are directly responsible to the board of the community council of which they are a component.

Volunteer bureaus which have been incorporated as separate agencies and bureaus which are jointly financed usually operate under the direction of their own boards. The director and other staff members are employed by the board and are responsible to it for program development. The board also serves as a buffer between the staff and the community and helps interpret the community to the staff.

The size of a board varies with the customs of the community in which the volunteer bureau is located. A seminar speaker on "Dimensions in Voluntary Community Leadership" conducted by the Volunteer Bureau of Northern Santa Clara County, California, in March 1966 suggested that 12 was a desirable size for the board of a volun-

teer bureau.⁹ With some bureaus, this may be the size of the executive committee while the board may include from 25 to 50 members.¹⁰ The justification for increasing the size of a board is to involve larger segments of the community in agency planning so that understanding and acceptance of the program may have a broader base. A large board customarily meets from two to four times a year but is divided into working committees which are busy throughout the year. The executive committee which is often composed of the bureau officers and chairmen of committees meets either monthly or bi-weekly. The committees collect data for the information of the board members, and, on the basis of the information provided, the board determines policy and procedures which the staff implements.

The customary standing committees of a volunteer bureau board are staff personnel, nominating committee, finance, program, and public relations. Ad hoc committees are appointed to explore new areas of service, which, if accepted by the board, later become standing committees.

The Central Volunteer Bureau which is a component of the United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit functions with a staff of three plus office volunteers, an executive committee of five, and an administrative committee of 25. The subcommittees of the administrative group are: nominating, future planning, hospitality, annual meeting, publicity, volunteer of the week, student recruitment, retiree recruitment, group recruitment, motor aide, friendly visitors, and forum of volunteer directors. Each member of the advisory committee is expected to serve as a working member of a subcommittee each year and eventually as a chairman of a subcommittee. When subcommittee chairmen are not members of the administrative committee during their term of service, they are appointed members of the administrative committee without voting privileges.

The structure of the board, the number of staff members, and the relation of volunteers to the program are all determined by the functions of the volunteer bureau as conceived by the bureau, the board,

9. Volunteer Bureau of North Santa Clara County, "Dimensions in Volunteer Community Leadership" (Palo Alto, Calif.: March 1966, mimeo.), p. 3.

10. Cyril O. Houle, *The Effective Board* (New York: Association Press, 1960); B. Y. Auger, *How to Run More Effective Business Meetings* (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1964); Volunteer Service Bureau of United Community Services, "Board Membership is What You Make It" (Boston: United Community Services, mimeo.); Roy Sorenson, *The Art of Board Membership* (New York: Association Press, 1950).

volunteers themselves, and the community at large. Most bureaus have started tentatively and have gradually seen their programs expand as the services rendered the community have become increasingly important.

Functions of a Volunteer Bureau

The stated purposes of two different types of bureaus will illustrate how communities have tailored the service to meet what they consider to be their needs. The Stamford, Connecticut, Volunteer Bureau which is operated entirely by volunteers conceives of its functions in simple terms:

Our community service agencies depend on volunteer help.
Without this help many of them could not function.
The Volunteer Bureau has on file the jobs which these agencies need to have filled.

The Bureau's appeal to the volunteer is also simply stated:

Volunteer work can . . .
—Help you use your spare time in the best possible way.
—Help you become a more active and aware member of your community.
—Help you to practice your professional skills and training.
—Help you make new friends in the community and develop new interests.¹¹

The Volunteers' Bureau of Louisville, Kentucky, which is a department of the Health and Welfare Council and operates with a staff of three lists its functions as:

- to promote volunteer service in welfare, health, civic, cultural, educational, and recreational agencies.
- to serve as a source of information and guidance on opportunities for volunteers.
- to recruit, interview, and refer volunteers.
- to stimulate and guide agencies in utilizing services of volunteers.
- to promote good standards of volunteer work.
- to counsel with clubs and organizations about the possibilities for community service projects.
- to counsel with agencies in setting up orientation and training courses for their volunteer programs.¹²

11. Volunteer Bureau, Stamford, Connecticut, letter dated August 20, 1966.

12. Volunteer Bureau, Louisville, Kentucky, "Fact Sheet, 1966" (Louisville: Volunteer Bureau, 1966, mimeo.).

In this statement of function which includes the traditional aims of increasing, improving, and coordinating volunteer services in a community, it will be seen that a new focus has arisen: to counsel with clubs and organizations about the possibilities for community service projects. Bureaus across the country are not only providing this important service, often in cooperation with the community councils of which they are a part, but where no community council exists they are meeting this serious gap in community services.

One additional function which has developed since World War II is that of continuing education for the community. For example, the report of the executive director of the Volunteer Bureau of Northern Santa Clara County, California, includes a comment on this function: "Of the many roles of the Volunteer Bureau, indeed one of the responsibilities, is the arranging of programs of orientation, training, and community education."¹³ This educational function is being performed primarily through workshops, seminars, and use of the mass media to educate the community to the work being performed by the human service agencies and to the gaps in these services. An additional incentive for such contributions is the fact that more and more bureaus are assuming responsibility for the development of tutorial programs in the public schools. This is one of the reasons that a few bureaus are receiving funds from State Departments of Public Instruction.

Another more recent function of volunteer bureaus which has been assumed in California, Chicago, Baltimore, and Reading, Pennsylvania, and is now being explored by others is that of recruiting indigenous leaders in connection with the antipoverty programs.¹⁴ The purpose of this function is to increase citizen participation in community life of low-income groups, to enable indigenous personnel to share in the benefits of volunteering by gaining a sense of self-identity and importance, and to serve as an enabling force to assist low-income groups and individuals to solve their own problems.

To understand better how a volunteer bureau operates, it will be useful to examine the recruitment practices of American bureaus.

13. Volunteer Bureau of North Santa Clara, "Annual Report, 1965" (Palo Alto, Calif.: Volunteer Bureau, 1965, mimeo.), p. 3.

14. See, for example, the brochure of a volunteer bureau in a low-income neighborhood, South Central Volunteer Bureau of Los Angeles, "A Unique New Venture," *op. cit.*

Recruitment Methods

Volunteer bureaus in America are re-examining the resources from which volunteers come and are concluding that the day of competition for middle-income, prestigious personnel is fast disappearing. Traditionally, the volunteer in the 40-60 age bracket from the major income-producing levels has made up the greatest proportion of those giving their time to community agencies.¹⁵ Already other resources are being tapped. Young people are being recruited at an earlier age than ever before. "Just last week," said an agency director in the Southeast, "a Brownie Girl Scout knocked on my door and asked if I had registered to vote. She had with her two other Brownies who were rounding up all potential voters in the neighborhood."

The number of retired persons will continue to increase in the next decade and will bring enormous benefit to agencies by giving their time and experience for community development.

Income-producing men will be available in greater numbers because the shorter work week which is inevitable in the face of automation will free them for community service.

Low-income groups which are just now being discovered by volunteer bureaus are probably the greatest untapped resource in the nation.¹⁶ It is more difficult to work efficiently and effectively with a broadly based pool of volunteers comprising individuals from heterogeneous experiences and backgrounds, but the dynamics of the situation are already quickly evolving workable adaptations of techniques. The inclusion of all these new sources of volunteers will require patience, tolerance, and sincere acceptance. Enlightened self-interest eventually will lead all bureaus to a more equitable distribution of volunteers from all potential resources with a resulting refinement of techniques. When this time comes a great service will be rendered toward the better unification of American society as a whole.

Many devices are now being employed by bureaus across the nation to recruit volunteers. The techniques mentioned by the 73 bureaus replying to inquiries of this study are summarized in Table 32.

Probably all bureaus use newspaper publicity, but unless the bureau specifically listed newspaper, it was not recorded in the table on methods. The table, therefore, reflects only the methods referred

15. Cf. Chapter 4, p. 55.

16. Chapter 13, p. 194.

TABLE 32
VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT TECHNIQUES

<i>Method</i>	<i>Number Responding</i>
Regular newspaper publicity	54
Speeches to organized groups	45
Radio	36
Television	36
Word of mouth (friend to friend)	33
Regular recruitment campaigns	21
School contacts	21
Flyers	18
Newsletter	15
Churches	15
Visual aids (films, slides)	15
Special workshops open to public	9
Posters	9
Bulletin boards	9
Welcome Wagon or Welcome Neighbor	9
Other	9
Unknown	4

to by the respondents for this study. Among the devices mentioned by only three or less were tent cards in restaurants, book marks in lending libraries, flyers in bank statements, cards in buses, distribution of project guides to organizations, flyers in the pay envelopes of industries, and invitations to the public to attend the bureau's annual meetings.

From the St. Louis Bureau comes the report that the regular newspaper column announcing volunteer needs is the best recruitment device in that city. All agencies producing their own newsletters which are mailed to volunteers and to agencies found this communication device to be effective. The Bridgeport, Connecticut, Bureau reports that the Community Calendar which it prepared in 1965 in cooperation with the Bridgeport Area Cultural Council gave a dramatic boost to the Bureau by giving it the widest publicity ever received. The Volunteer Bureau of Greater Vancouver says "recruits in the main come through word-of-mouth contacts," although the agency also finds newspaper and radio publicity to be helpful.

Agencies using workshops, seminars, and conferences to which the public is invited find that follow-up work is necessary for recruitment. But agencies also find that these educational techniques provide excellent background training for volunteers. For example, the Volunteer Placement Bureau of Pasadena, California, sponsors an annual Community Understanding course which is open to the public. "Agencies and their services are discussed, new services explained, the role of

the volunteer is stressed and general 'do's and don'ts' for volunteers are reviewed. This course is a requirement for provisional members of six organizations," and all of these provisional members are potential volunteers for the bureau.

Screening the Volunteer

Most bureaus have left the matter of training to the agencies using the volunteer. Some agencies neglect to give the necessary training and consequently complain about volunteer inefficiency. Before the volunteer is referred to an agency, most bureaus go through a screening process which also serves as an orientation period for the volunteer. The majority of bureaus consider this period during which the potential volunteer is interviewed to be both a screening and a training device. Table 33 summarizes the screening techniques employed by the bureaus responding to this study.

TABLE 33
HOW VOLUNTEERS ARE SELECTED FOR REFERRAL

<i>Method</i>	<i>Number of Bureaus Responding</i>
Staff interview by appointment	15
Staff interview when volunteer walks in	29
Interview by trained volunteers	9
Registration by telephone	6
No screening	2

Ninety per cent of the bureaus require a personal interview with the potential volunteer before making a referral. As one director said, much can be learned about a person in even a short interview of 30 minutes, the usual time allotted for an interview: his general health, his interests and skills, his emotional maturity, his motivations. An interview is also necessary to give the volunteer an opportunity to decide upon the kind of service he wants. Often the kind of work he thinks he wants is not at all the work for which his skills qualify him, and the interviewer feels the responsibility of tactfully pointing out other jobs more suited to his qualifications so that the volunteer will see that other choices are open.

During the interview the bureau director also stresses the qualifications of a good volunteer and the responsibilities of volunteer work: the importance of punctuality and of notification of inability to work if a crisis should arise, the role of the volunteer in relation to the

agency served, the importance of accepting training for the work to be performed, the need for confidentiality, and the fact that the volunteer is a bridge between the agency and the community.

Some of the bureaus which register volunteers by telephone send out a registration card after the call requesting the vital statistics of the potential volunteer so that the bureau can make a knowledgeable referral. The bureau later may ask the volunteer to come in for a brief interview if the registration card indicates the desirability of a personal conference. Bureaus which register by telephone usually mail the volunteer mimeographed materials on the responsibilities of a volunteer and, if possible, literature concerning the agency to which he is being referred.

Bureaus in Low-Income Areas

The two bureaus which reported using no screening methods were those involved in developing leadership among low-income groups. Leaders were discovered by observation and by guidance from the indigenous subprofessional associated with the bureau. The prime object of a bureau in a low-income area is to involve as many persons as possible, and, consequentially, the agency must maintain minimal selection qualifications.

When the Training Center for Youth and Community Studies of Howard University began an experimental program to determine whether socially deprived and delinquent youth could be trained on a short-term basis to do a part of the less skilled aspects of work in human service areas (day care centers, public recreation, and youth programs), the selection requirements were on a low level. The requirements were only that the youths be between 16 and 21 years of age, that they be poor, that they come from a high delinquency area, that they be free from acute infectious diseases, and that they have no court action pending. Being aware of the considerable difficulty of maintaining the interest of the trainees and of preventing their dropping out of the program, the Training Center staff quickly put them into supervised on-the-job experiences, into workshops to develop skills, and into core groups with a trained leader.

The core group was a daily feedback from the job and workshop experiences. It dealt with the experiences of the day, the good and the bad, the reason one had supervision, how to use supervision, why it was necessary to get to work on time, what happened when you

didn't get to work, why it is necessary to behave responsibly on the job, how you behave when you didn't like your supervisor or when you have trouble with other workers on the job. In this way, the staff could deal with problems while they were still small and before the agency became disgusted with the youth and asked him to leave, or before the youth became disgusted with the work and while he still felt there was a chance to succeed. This experimental program demonstrated the importance of counseling, for it dealt with such matters as changes in self-esteem, changes in self-image, ways of dealing with situations, the development of coping skills, the evolving of new standards and values; in fact, a total socialization experience.¹⁷

The results of this experimentation give clues even to a volunteer bureau working entirely with middle-income groups. But for the bureau seeking to involve low-income leaders in a deprived neighborhood it points to imperatives which must be followed if any lasting results are to be achieved. It also stresses that the volunteer bureau serving target areas must be engaged in educational processes somewhat different from those used in training middle-income volunteers. The bureaus in low-income neighborhoods, however, also deal with how the community works and what the community resources are just as do the traditional bureaus now functioning throughout America.

How Volunteers Are Trained

Table 34 summarizes the way most volunteers, now being referred by bureaus, are trained. These are the methods reported by the 73 bureaus which replied to inquiries for this study.

Some bureaus not only give the potential volunteer an orientation session during an interview, but also provide community workshops, and assist a particular agency with its training program when requested to do so. Nearly all bureaus replying listed more than one training device.¹⁸ Some bureaus also have annual training sessions for their board members and some set up annual sessions for the volunteer coordinators in the local agencies served by the bureau.

17. Beryce MacLennan, "The Use of Indigenous Personnel in Human Service Areas," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 8.

18. See Chapter 13.

TABLE 34
TRAINING VOLUNTEERS

<i>Method</i>	<i>Number of Bureaus Responding</i>
Agency using volunteer does the training	36
Bureau gives community training seminars and workshops	30
Volunteer orientation at time of interview	18
Agency and bureau share training responsi- bilities	9
On-the-job training only	9
Bureau asks agency to give in-service training and supervision	9
Bureau requires agency to furnish job description and agree to train before referral will be made	6
No training required	9
By Red Cross	3
Unknown	5

Relation of the Volunteer Bureau to the Agency Served

Most volunteer bureaus stress the point that they do not place volunteers. Their function is to screen volunteers so that only emotionally stable persons in good health will be referred to community agencies needing auxiliary manpower. The agency makes the placement after an interview with the volunteer. Ideally, the placement is based upon the volunteer's preference when matched with the agency's needs.

The agencies themselves are subject to the screening process so that the volunteer will be protected against exploitation and will be assured of a good work experience. When a volunteer bureau is a component of a community planning council, it usually serves the member agencies of the council. The council has agency standards for membership which correspond to the standards of such national bodies as United Community Funds and Councils of America, the National Conference on Social Welfare, and the National Social Welfare Assembly. It is customary to refer a request for volunteers which comes from a new or unknown agency to the volunteer bureau board for action. Well-established agencies which are not members of the local community council may also call upon a volunteer bureau for "spot" referrals for any short-term project which will benefit the entire community.

The Director of Central Services of the Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis has established the following procedures for volunteer referrals:

We recruit volunteers for programs that are being operated by reputable agencies, and we consider a reputable agency to be one that has a representative board of directors, has a solid plan for financing its operations (United Fund, tax supported, or operates own campaign), has adequate staff, and also has a good plan for use of volunteers.

Before we would recruit volunteers for any group we would meet with the people in charge and review how they planned to use volunteers, who would supervise them, who would be training them, etc. We would not place volunteers in an agency where they were going to be "turned loose" to work without any supervision from staff and without any guidelines, in the form of a job description, for them to follow.

We see part of the volunteer service job to be that of consulting with agencies on how to use volunteers in a productive manner, and, while the focus of use of volunteers is on their being used to supplement staff for better service to clients or patients, we are also concerned that the volunteer be offered an opportunity to serve the community in an appropriate and satisfying manner.

Agencies sometimes think of using volunteers only for the humdrum kind of jobs that must be done—addressing envelopes, filing, etc. We are anxious that agencies be imaginative about the use of volunteers so that the skills and abilities of volunteers can really be used.¹⁹

The Volunteer Service Bureau of Metropolitan Boston has prepared a statement of principles of volunteer services which it expects the cooperating agencies to follow:

Volunteer service should supplement and never supplant that which should be rendered by paid staff.

The volunteer program within an agency should be sound in organization and should be established as a part of the functional structure of the agency.

The direction of the program within each agency should be the responsibility of a specific staff person.

The volunteer service should be centralized for the purpose of planning, orientation, training and supervision.

The area of service of a volunteer within an agency should be clearly defined and understood by both the volunteer and the agency staff.

The entire paid staff should recognize the importance of the volunteer in the agency program. The volunteer should be recognized as an integral part of the agency.

19. Letter dated September 1, 1966.

The agency should give formal or informal recognition to the volunteer for his or her service to the agency and the community.²⁰

Robert B. McCreech, Director of the Boston Volunteer Service Bureau, has noted "a developing professionalization of volunteer coordinators in health, group work, recreation and social welfare agencies," and states that one of the functions of a volunteer service bureau is to provide continued consultant services to all these new directors and coordinators of volunteers.²¹ To reach a wider area than agencies within the metropolitan area of Boston, the Volunteer Service Bureau works "closely with the University of Massachusetts Extension Program of Adult Education" to provide a series of forms for volunteer leadership at both the state and county levels.

In Michigan the volunteer bureaus have organized the Michigan Association of Volunteer Bureaus whose objectives include the encouragement of volunteer coordinating centers in Michigan communities. "Through this State Association and also at a local level we are cooperating with the Volunteer Division of the Governor's Human Resources Council," writes the Director of the Central Volunteer Bureau of Detroit.²²

In almost every community where a volunteer bureau is in operation, some kind of recognition for volunteer service has been set up. Some bureaus obtain the cooperation of a local newspaper in publishing a photograph and feature story of the "Volunteer of the Week." Others not only recognize the work of volunteers through the mass media but also give annual "earned" awards. For example, the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Volunteer Bureau presents a series of awards. The Whale Award goes to the volunteer who has rendered the most valuable service to the Bureau and is given by the Bureau staff. The Distinguished Citizen Service Award is conferred annually in recognition of community-wide service, and group citations are made to organizations for outstanding work. In addition, special awards to individuals are given for notable service and "letters of commendation" go to agencies in recognition of their work with volunteers.

Most agencies which regularly use large numbers of volunteers not only supply them with some recognizable token of their volunteer work such as a special uniform, cap, arm band, or button, but also

20. "Principles of Volunteer Service" (Boston: Volunteer Service Bureau, mimeo.).

21. Letter dated August 9, 1966.

22. Letter dated August 10, 1966.

send a letter of appreciation and an insignia to be worn upon completion of a designated number of hours of work. At an agency Workshop on Volunteer Programs held in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1965, a volunteer coordinator who reported on methods of recognition called attention to thank-you letters, woven patches on uniforms, certificates of commendation, recognition teas, and then concluded, "Perhaps the most important method of showing how much we appreciate our volunteers is by word of mouth . . . much depends on the attitude of agency staff and how welcome, important, and appreciated they make the volunteers feel."

Volunteers themselves are inclined to say that the best form of recognition is the day-to-day satisfaction of doing well a task that needs to be done. The volunteer bureau conceives of itself as the strategic community agency which has been designed to make certain that the volunteer's need for on-the-job happiness is met and at the same time that the community itself has been well served.

15

THE NEXT STEPS

Citizen participation in community development is at the very heart of the question of how to expand the foundations of a free society.

* * *

“. . . when we fret about the high costs of riots in the streets and insecurity in the cities, we might do well to remember that if more Negroes are given a stake in society, it is unlikely they will have any desire to endanger it.”—Winston-Salem Journal.

* * *

A statewide volunteer consultation service will stimulate the organization of local volunteer service bureaus and neighborhood centers in low-income areas.

The potential contribution of volunteers to community development and the role which they can play in the elimination of poverty in America have broad implications both now and for the future.

One of the crucial issues of the time is how to involve the individual citizen more deeply in working for the general welfare of his community.

A big and powerful government seems far removed to the average citizen. He is sometimes fearful and confused. He often feels helpless in the face of the incomprehensible changes which confront him. He would like to understand these new forces and to have some small part in making the decisions which affect him and the society of which he is a part. He is willing to make personal sacrifices to preserve both his own and his society's well-being, but he wants to have reasonable explanations for the demands being made upon him. He wants to be a participant rather than an observer. If participation is long denied, the inevitable consequence may be apathy, misguidance, even violence. In his search for answers to his doubts, he may be lured by persuasive agents to the right or left of national unity.

A broad expansion of voluntary participation in community development is one answer to the urgent need to inform and involve more and more citizens at all economic and social levels in the affairs which press upon their lives. It has been an assumption of this study that an expansion of volunteer activity bears the seeds of American democracy. A corollary to this assumption is that voluntarism in America must have the skills and the influence of all segments of the population, the poor and disadvantaged as well as the rich and privileged.

Those who live well above the poverty line overlook the maladjustments in this nation's socio-economic system which are likely to be the primary causes of poverty. They still cling to the seventeenth century concepts on which the poor laws in the United States were originally based. These well-meaning citizens—comfortable in their split-level houses, two-car garages, and well-stocked refrigerators—are reluctant to admit either that the poor form a large portion of the nation's population or that poverty is the visible sign of national failures. They quiet their qualms with the obsolete dictum that poverty is bred by moral degradation or inherited shortcomings, despite the evidence to the contrary of such forces as structural unemployment.

To dislodge the notion that the cause of poverty rests chiefly upon individual inadequacies and is consequently the fault of the person who finds himself in this self-inflicted embarrassment, a concerted effort toward presenting the more factually based causes of poverty must be mounted. In the words of a college professor in Eastern North Carolina, the words must be shouted from the street-corners. "Put them in neon signs!"

Multiple approaches toward interpretation and, therefore, toward solving some of the problems of the poor have been pointed out already. These approaches may be summarized in recommendations for implementation of the findings of this study. Some of the recommendations are straightforward and easy to accomplish. Others are more complex because they strike at the roots of traditional attitudes and deep human prejudices.

The obvious next steps required to meld all the state's human resources into a democratic unit for the common good might include:

- Organization of a voluntary planning council on the state level.
- Involvement of low-income groups in voluntary organizations to

stimulate greater desire on the part of all people to assume civic responsibility.

- Exploration and development of techniques to discover and utilize leadership among indigenous personnel.
- Emphasis upon the responsibility of middle-class organizations and institutions such as the church, men's and women's civic clubs, and especially women's voluntary organizations to take the initiative in seeking out all potential volunteers.
- Involvement of the total community in Community Action Programs not only to broaden services but also to develop a better understanding of the potentials of community organization.
- A more imaginative use of volunteers in all government programs in the human service areas.
- Recognition of the contribution which voluntary work makes not only to the economy but also to manpower as a resource for meeting shortages of professionally trained personnel.
- A conscientious effort to increase understanding between professionals and volunteers by

... Assigning the responsibility of working with volunteers to a volunteer coordinator and recognition of volunteer work as a component of administration.

... Screening and placing volunteers carefully so that skills will be meshed with the work to be done and the volunteers themselves provided with meaningful work experiences.

... Giving adequate preliminary training to all volunteers.

... Providing the volunteer with clearly written instructions concerning the work to be done.

... Continuing the training as long as the volunteer is working with the agency.

... Acknowledging publicly the volunteer's worth to the agency and the community.

... Rendering necessary services to the volunteer so that low-income volunteers can afford to participate.

• Realization on the part of elected officials, board members, and committee chairmen that they are as much supervisors of volunteers in their voluntary organizations as the paid staff member of a social welfare agency who works with volunteers.

• Expansion of the annual Leadership Training Workshop conducted by the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations in cooperation with the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and stimulation of institutions of higher

VOLUNTEERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

throughout the state to enlarge their current programs of vocational education.

Establishment of a statewide Volunteer Service Bureau to implement these recommended next steps and thereby encourage a broader base of citizen participation.

- Acceptance of a volunteer responsibility as a public trust.
- Recognition by policy-makers of the humanizing role of voluntarism in an age when technology and big government point in the direction of dehumanization.

A Voluntary State Planning Council

The brief historical survey of volunteer work in North Carolina reveals what it is possible to accomplish when citizens work together to achieve a common goal. A more careful examination of the history of reform movements would have shown that many years of interpretation have been required before the public has accepted the need for change.

Today when it is possible through the mass media to bring information quickly to all citizens, the time required for change can be reduced drastically. The habit of working together cooperatively on a broad base of citizenship participation is also growing. In the past, voluntary organizations have followed two parallel paths of development, one for white citizens and the other for Negroes. Since World War II, the paths have begun to converge.

The next step is the organization of a state planning council set up on a voluntary basis. Many organizations with excellent programs and long-range goals are now working on various components of human welfare, but the state has no central clearing house from which to view total needs. The North Carolina Conference for Social Service, for example, is concerned, as its name implies, with social services. The state Public Welfare Association and the North Carolina Public Health Association are each limited in their perspective to their own immediate concerns. The Family Life Council focuses on problems in family situations; the Mental Health Association, on expanding knowledge and services in the field of emotional well-being. The Council of Women's Organizations was set up "to provide an opportunity for women's organizations to work together cooperatively on matters of mutual concern."

If all organizations working to upgrade the state's human resources

worked together in a planning council, the state would then have a strong base from which to consider the needs of all its people and bring forward concrete plans within the perspective of total needs.

The pattern of development of voluntary organizations has been a piecemeal approach with a proliferation of competing groups which diffuse the focus on the greatest good for the greatest number. While opposing voices serve a real purpose in clarifying issues, a channel for a common meeting ground is essential if the needs of those without power and wealth are to be met.

Involvement of the Poor

Although nonwhites compose only a fourth of the population in the state, it is true that they are more likely to be poor than is a white person. But the state also has a large portion of poor who are white. Despite the outward migration of nonwhites and their movement toward the cities in the Piedmont, they are still located in the areas where they have been found most numerous throughout the history of North Carolina.

Negroes are concentrated in the old plantation regions of Eastern North Carolina and in the industrial cities of the Piedmont; Indians in the lowlands of Robeson and adjoining counties and in the northwestern counties where they were herded upon a government reservation almost a century and a half ago. Poor whites are located in the Appalachian region, in the cities of the Piedmont, in the neighborhoods of most industrial plants, and in the regions once known as the pine barrens of the coastal plain. Historical and socio-economic factors recognized by all students of these problems have kept them at the bottom. Programs for their improvement have met with the resistance which always accompanies change.

The Winston-Salem Journal recently put the problem of the Negro in perspective: ". . . all of us owe it to ourselves and our society to try to do far, far better at encouraging Negroes to prepare themselves for good jobs and to overcome the deficiencies that history has imposed on many of them." The prosperous and well-educated citizen often complains about the high cost of government programs to qualify nonwhites for better jobs "when they make no effort to let Negroes earn a dignified livelihood." The *Journal* continued:

It is said that the war on poverty is being fought with popguns. If this is so, then it must also be said that equal employment opportunities could represent some heavy artillery in the fight. And for the

public treasury, these Big Berthas could represent the biggest bang we could hope to get from our antipoverty buck.¹

One of the soundest arguments against the theory of the existence of a "culture of poverty," from which the individual born into this culture finds it difficult to escape, is the data for this study and numerous pilot projects of the antipoverty program conducted elsewhere which imply that the poor have middle-income aspirations and desire involvement in the larger society.

About a fifth of the volunteers included in this study came from the poor and yet their responses to the questionnaire did not vary significantly from those from higher economic and social levels. The one point at which there was significant divergence was in their feeling that volunteer work gives them prestige.

A study of the Job Corps made by a sociologist, David Gottlieb from the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity, reached the same conclusion. He complained that much in sociological literature creates the impression that poor youth do not desire or seek entrance to the middle class. He thought that research based on a person-to-person dialogue with the poor would find that "poor youth do want to be middle-class; but it's not easy."²

The Need to Discover Ways to Involve the Poor

The obvious next step in North Carolina, as elsewhere in the nation, would be to provide an opportunity for more and more of the poor to be brought within the inculturating processes by participation in volunteer activities by the side of middle-class "culture bearers." This process, in fact, is already underway and the trend is likely to increase, how rapidly will depend upon many factors: a greater opportunity for job placement and advancement, the rapidity of school integration, the eradication of racial requirements for membership in voluntary organizations, and the speed with which the churches proceed with unification of their long-segregated congregations.

It seems highly significant that a fifth of the respondents to this study fell within the category of poverty. If these respondents are

1. *Winston-Salem Journal* (Winston-Salem, N.C., November 15, 1966).

2. David Gottlieb, "Poor Youth Do Want to Be Middle Class: But it's Not Easy." Paper delivered at the 61st Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, August 29-September 1, 1966. See also Ralph McGill, "On Poverty and Morality," *Winston-Salem Journal* (Winston-Salem, N.C., September 16, 1966).

typical of the population as a whole, then forces are already at work to bring the poor closer to the mainstream of life within the state: ego enhancement with a resulting increase in self-esteem, rising expectations, and replacement of an attitude of defeat with one of achievement, to name a few.

The Need for Traditional Volunteers to Take the Initiative

The majority of the poor in North Carolina, however, are still beyond the bounds of middle-class cognizance. They live in a world apart, yet they long for glimpses into the better world of middle-class life. A poor white in Appalachia declared the greatest benefit the antipoverty program had brought her was an opportunity to serve on the Community Action board where she could meet big people and see inside those big bank buildings. Once she had glimpsed inside she began to look around her at her own drab environment and to become dissatisfied.

It is this glimpse into the new world of the affluent with resulting dissatisfactions that has caused some of the bad publicity for the anti-poverty programs in the state. Many citizens are hearing about the life style of the multi-problem poor for the first time, and they are shocked. They also resent any organized effort on the part of the poor for a greater share in the good life of American society. To lend a hand through equal education and employment opportunities will bring change and upset the status quo. The next step away from the status quo is apparently the hardest to take.

Since the majority of volunteers in North Carolina, as elsewhere in the nation, come from the category of high-income middle-aged women, it is apparently this group which must assume the initiative if change is to come. In North Carolina, it is this group which has already started the processes in motion by removing the racial bars from such voluntary organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Association of University Women, the Extension Homemakers' Association, the League of Women Voters, United Church Women, and a few of the societies of various denominational groups.

Involvement of the Total Community

The middle-aged, middle-class woman volunteer has yet to take a longer step in the direction of national unity. Her privileged social and economic status places her in a position where she can work to

stimulate change. She is a member of the in-group. She knows organizational procedure. While issuing an invitation to membership is the first step toward involvement, it is not the only one which must be taken. Persons once excluded must be made to feel welcomed and needed. They want to be treated like all other members, not given special recognition and patronizing acceptance.

As volunteers in community projects and in the service areas, middle-class women are now working beside the poor. They can, in fact, work with the very poor more easily than with their nonwhite middle-class counterparts, but the important consideration is that they are already beginning to work together to fill a need for service on the hospital wards and as volunteer case aides in a few local Departments of Public Welfare.

A recent research project of the Cornell Studies in Intergroup Relations shows that ethnic group identification is positively oriented toward the broader society. A corollary of these findings is that an all-Negro organization, for example, would welcome membership into a formerly all-white group so that together they might work to achieve the goals of American society, but they also want to share in leadership roles. Otherwise, they are likely to prefer a separate organization. The study also found this to be true under special circumstances for militant minority groups. When the larger society becomes supportive of the objectives of the goals of the militant groups, such as equality of opportunity and respect for personal dignity, even militant group pride recedes into cooperation.³

As professionals who work with volunteers and the volunteers themselves view potential resources for volunteer work in the community, they tend to feel that the last ten years has brought rapid expansion in the number of available volunteers. The only groups which seemed to think it more difficult to obtain volunteers now than previously were the churches and those private welfare agencies which use only upper-income volunteers. "With the new emphasis being placed on the involvement of low-income groups in community development," wrote a staff member from Eastern North Carolina, "the supply of volunteers is unlimited."

The next step in the direction of bringing these potential volunteers into service so that the total community may become involved

3. Donald L. Noel, "Minority Group Identification and Societal Integration." Paper delivered at the 61st Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, August 29-September 1, 1966.

is to ferret them out and make it possible for them to say "yes." When the total resources of a community—both economic and human—have a part in problem-solving, solutions come more easily.

Imaginative Use of Volunteers in Government Programs

But the human service agencies in North Carolina, with the exception of some of the mental health institutions, have dipped only tentatively into this broad reservoir of supplementary manpower. Only eight per cent of the county Departments of Public Welfare, eleven per cent of the public school systems, and 48 per cent of the local Public Health Departments responding to this study said they were now using volunteers successfully in their programs.

A close examination of the number of volunteers being used and the tasks in which volunteers are employed indicates that a well-planned and imaginative use of this source of manpower is the exception even in the agencies labeling their programs as successful.

In the Community Action Programs in the war on poverty, traditional volunteers have been used tentatively in North Carolina, and only in the case of Salisbury has a volunteer service bureau been funded temporarily.⁴ In Charlotte a coordinator was employed in 1966 to give full-time to the development of volunteer services. Several other Community Action Programs have appointed volunteer coordinators. In some, the role of the coordinator has not been clearly defined and the coordinators have either devoted full-time to the development of indigenous volunteers or given their services to other aspects of the program.⁵

The failure to involve the traditional middle-income volunteer probably has been based upon many reasons: the pressures of setting up a crash program which has not been previously tested, the focus of the programs on the poor, the urgent necessity of involving indigenous leaders as a measure of program effectiveness, an awareness of a pre-

4. Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc., did not request additional federal funds for the continuation of the Volunteer Bureau upon termination of the grant, and plans are underway to finance the Bureau locally. The monthly publication of the Council gives helpful information on volunteer services. "As Ye Did It" (Salisbury: Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc., 1966-1967), no. 1-6.

5. For a discussion and analysis of the impact of the antipoverty program upon a local community planning council, see Ralph Baker Cauthen, "The Impact of the Federal Anti-Poverty Program on the Durham Community Planning Council," essay for the degree of Master of Social Work, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1966, typescript.

vailing attitude that any program for the poor will certainly fail, the scarcity of well-tested techniques for training middle-income volunteers to work with the poor, and a failure to understand the potential worth of volunteers to the programs.

As a result, a vacuum of communication has existed between the local antipoverty programs and the public. Even public information through the mass media has not been received understandingly because an insufficient number of citizens have been involved through volunteer activities to make a knowledgeable interpretation possible. Partly for this reason and for others with an ideological basis, unfavorable and sensational reports in the mass media were often accepted as unbiased information. Both the staff and the components of the program have been vulnerable to attacks because they have lacked the support of large numbers of informed volunteers who would have served as a buffer between the Community Action Program and the community at large.

The next step not only for local Community Action but for all government financed programs in human services would, therefore, seem to be the exploration of means by which more and more traditional volunteers may become involved. While the present administration of antipoverty programs, especially the Community Action phase, was thought to be ineffective by 55 per cent of those replying to this study, the majority approved of the concept of "helping the poor to help themselves." Almost two-thirds of the respondents are already working in some type of program related to the poor. It is safe to assume that a large pool of volunteers exists for work with the poor whether it is in an antipoverty program or in a public school, in public welfare, or other service-related activities.

Even if federal funds for the war on poverty were to be cut off tomorrow, a sufficient desire to work with the poor exists among the volunteers queried for this study to carry on a truncated program. The work would be considerably diluted, no doubt, and many changes in emphasis would certainly result, but the program itself need not come to an abrupt halt. One of the questions posed at the two area conferences conducted for this study was whether the intentions of the war on poverty could be carried on if federal funds were suddenly cut off. Not one of the conference participants thought the program would come to an abrupt halt, and all said they would be willing to give time to the work. Persons interviewed for this program were of much the same opinion.

"The poverty program *can't* stop!" exclaimed an indigenous leader in the Piedmont. "This is the first time we have had hope. They *can't* do that to us!"

A middle-income volunteer who was sympathetic to the war on poverty thought federal funds might be drastically reduced, even stopped, because of the poor press given the Community Action Programs, the failure to interpret the goals on the local level, and the "mythical idea of democracy" held by the middle class that the poor "have had the same opportunities as everyone else." But he added that if the antipoverty program were abandoned a new program with a different name but with the same objective would have to be "invented the next day to take its place."

Volunteers Meet Manpower Shortages and Add to the Economy

In ever increasing numbers agencies, both public and private, are recognizing the positive contribution which volunteers can make not only as links between the community and the agencies but equally important as augmenting the services of professionals who have always been in short supply. A major factor in the success of any program involving citizen participation is the recognition of its value.

The trend is toward volunteers assuming more responsibilities which staff once tried to perform under pressure of other commitments. Instead of diminishing as a pattern of behavior, voluntarism has grown as the nation's population and economy have expanded. Until recently, studies of the quantitative dimensions of volunteer work in the United States have usually been limited to an examination of one organization or to a limited geographic area.⁶

A preliminary report has now been issued of a study made by Harold Wolozin of the University of Massachusetts for the National Bureau of Economic Research.⁷ Contrary to the findings of earlier studies, he reports that voluntary work is typical of American life. He found the number of volunteers in the national economy to range from 38 to 45 million, almost one in four of the population.

He estimates that their imputed value to the American economy rose in terms of current prices from 4,708.3 million dollars in 1949 to 14,215.5 million in 1965. By 1980 their value will be an estimated 29,383.4 million, a considerable sum to add to the gross national product if the contribution of volunteer work to the welfare and growth

6. *Supra*, pp. 65-67.

7. "The Value of Volunteer Services in the U.S. Economy," *Volunteer's Digest*, 3 (November 1966).

of the American economy were included for imputation to the national accounts.

This study of 525 volunteers in North Carolina and 263 professional workers who supervise volunteers indicates that even in this state, voluntarism is big business. It has already been pointed out that this small survey of the total number of volunteers in the state is contributing at least a half-million dollars annually to the North Carolina economy.

If comparable estimates for the half-million members reported by affiliated members of the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations were available, their contribution to the state economy would exceed 200 million. Since it is the rule rather than the exception for one person to belong to more than one organization, it is safe to conjecture that the combined memberships of the affiliated organizations of the Council represent considerably less than a half-million different persons. If the individual memberships represent only a tenth of the total, their contribution would still represent almost 50 million annually.

The majority of volunteers and professionals responding to this study are of the opinion that the reservoir of volunteers will increase in the years ahead rather than level off and will continue to be a welcomed resource for meeting the manpower gaps in the supply of trained professional workers. The reasons they give for this assumption are the increasing interest of youth and college students in voluntarism, the increasing longevity and good health of retired workers who already are giving their talents to voluntary work, automation and the shortened work week which will free more and more businessmen, increased technology which will decrease time required for household chores and thus free more women, and the impact of the antipoverty program.

If these trends continue, an increasing supply of volunteers will be available for work in the human service areas. Nor will the fact that semiskilled subprofessionals, now being trained in large numbers, are also working as employees in these fields, be a deterrent. At least 90 per cent of the volunteer respondents to this study said they would work gladly with subprofessionals or "paid volunteers."

Better Understanding Between Professionals and Volunteers

The use of volunteers in a government financed program or in a program supported entirely by private funds is no guarantee of suc-

cess. There is no magic in the use of volunteers. Like any manpower resource, volunteers must be recruited, properly screened, adequately trained, and competently supervised. This is hard work, and a professional staff already overtaxed to carry on its program often feels that it is a waste of time to become involved in the use of volunteers. The solution is the employment of either a staff coordinator or the recruitment of an experienced volunteer who will give full-time to the undertaking. Before a coordinator is employed, however, it is important for the agency and its staff to accept volunteer service as an integral part of administration.

A point on which there was almost unanimous agreement by all participants in this study was the crucial importance of training volunteers, and both staff members and volunteers thought it important for professionals to have training in how to utilize volunteer services. When directed by a knowledgeable staff, volunteers can perform in many cases as competently as paid staff. They can even perform some tasks better than staff.

"Every time the nurses came in to tell me to stop crying when they put me in the hospital to see why I was having those fainting spells," said an indigenous patient, "it scared me so bad I cried harder than ever. Then a nice lady in a pretty pink smock came in and sat down by my bed and began to talk real easy. She made me understand things better, and I stopped crying."

To feel secure in the work and to give a good job performance, volunteers need not only orientation to volunteer work in general, but also to the specific task to be performed in a given agency. Written job descriptions are important so that the volunteer will know his exact area of responsibility and the policies of the agency to which he is giving his time.

Adequate supervision is as fundamental to the success of a volunteer program as training. Volunteer coordinators in a hospital have no difficulty in pinpointing the wards and floors where the supervision is adequate. County Departments of Public Welfare are especially reluctant to employ volunteer manpower because of the staff time required for supervision. This problem ought not to be too difficult to overcome if group supervision is employed or if a skillful volunteer could be gradually trained to assume the responsibility.

Supervision becomes less difficult when volunteers are adequately screened and placed. There is a volunteer job which almost any type of volunteer can perform adequately if the volunteer coordinator takes

the necessary time for the preliminary interview and then follows through on the right kind of placement.

Adequate techniques for the development of effective volunteer programs are being employed in only a fraction of the agencies using volunteers. Relatively few staff positions exist for volunteer coordinators. Screening, training, and supervision are often considered either unnecessary or the work is performed casually. Notable exceptions have already been pointed out, and in some instances the techniques are as well conceived as those being performed anywhere in the nation.

An important phase of volunteer training, often neglected both by professionals and by administrators of voluntary organizations, is participation in program building. Volunteers are close to the community pulse and they sometimes know better than professionals whether a program is needed and is effective. To be successful, programs must meet felt needs. A person in need of bread and shoes is in no frame of mind to listen to a homily on brotherly love. Nor is a middle-class volunteer in a mood to continue to give time to an agency whose function is being performed more adequately by another group.

Strangely enough, both professionals and elected officials of voluntary organizations are often reluctant to involve the volunteers who assist with the services in the development of the programs they are to carry out. The respondents to this study thought it proper to include volunteers in statements of goals and overall evaluation, but the majority wished to exclude them from the more crucial steps of program building.

It has long been held that the officers of an organization, the chairman of a committee, and the professionals who are employed to administer a program have the undisputed right to make the major decisions. This notion of equating authority with goodness flows directly from the old concept of the "divine right of kings" to rule their subjects. A hopeful indication that neither professionals nor volunteers are wholeheartedly in favor of authoritarianism was the fact that at least a third of the respondents to this study were in favor of involving volunteers in every step of program building. The leaven of democracy is at work, and as it moves toward fulfillment the benefits of complete involvement will bear fruit. When volunteers are fully integrated into program development the gap in the understanding between professionals and volunteers shall have been bridged.

Since it is important to bring low-income workers into agency programs and to stimulate their willingness to volunteer, it is necessary to reduce the cost of volunteering. Agencies which are not already providing services for volunteers will make it possible for larger numbers to give their time in helpful services if the agencies, in turn, will supply a few essential aids for volunteers.

These services include not only a good work experience but also remuneration for out-of-pocket expenses and simple accommodations. Volunteers need a place to hang coats, store purses safely, and a clean uniform to wear while volunteering if the work involves this kind of service.

The Responsibility of Elected Officials to Supervise

A further word needs to be said about the supervisory role which elected officers, the board, and committee chairmen of voluntary organizations play with respect to their members. If an organization, including the church, finds itself losing members year after year, the answer may be that those in positions of responsibility for program development have failed to involve the membership sufficiently in the affairs of the organization.

These program expeditors have probably failed in their roles as supervisors of members, who, after all, have joined the organization of their own free will and, therefore, are as much volunteers as those who join a hospital auxiliary for service on the wards. The same requirements for orientation, training, and supervision apply in these situations as in a hospital which recruits volunteers for staff augmentation.

A volunteer who identifies with an agency and feels a part of the on-going program is one who has an active role in the work. For the agencies, including the churches and privately supported welfare organizations, which are having trouble locating all the volunteers they need, it would seem that the next step is to examine their programs and goals to determine why they no longer hold the appeal they once had.

The Role of Higher Education

The voluntary organizations which supply the majority of volunteers for the human service areas are in many instances themselves failing to give adequate background training. Among the notable

exceptions are the local chapters of American Red Cross, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Leadership Training Workshop of the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations. The next step for the Council of Women's Organizations is to explore the possibility of expanding the annual training workshop and of making local workshops available for those unable to attend the annual session.

The Extension Divisions of the Consolidated University of North Carolina have for many years been engaged in some phases of volunteer training, but, with the exception of work in the agricultural services, the programs have been limited in scope and in funds. The creation of seminars, workshops, and special programs in continuing education for women has been a long neglected area.

The next step for the Consolidated University, the community colleges, and for the private institutions of higher learning is to follow the example of universities throughout the country by setting up courses specifically designed to train and sharpen the skills of that large group of middle-income women who are the backbone of voluntarism.⁸

One emphasis of these courses should be to give background information on techniques of working with indigenous personnel. Although most schools of social work do include this information in their curriculums and a few manuals have been prepared as a result of the impact of the antipoverty programs, a dearth of knowledge still exists in this important area. The knowledge gained in the short period since the beginning of the war on poverty makes obsolete some of the old assumptions. It is possible that inadequate methodology in some of the highly respected social sciences have led to wrong conclusions and public policy has in some instances been shaped by these conclusions. Further research based upon some of the tentative findings in this first mass attempt to help the poor help themselves will lead to refinement of techniques and greater clarity in delineation of goals.

The Need For Volunteer Service Bureaus

Society cannot wait, however, for the slow processes of change through research and education to alter the climate of public opinion

8. See for example the "Urban Issues Seminar" of Rutgers University and the Urban Policy Institute of Southwestern University at Memphis reported in "Top Programs of 1965-66," *Continuing Education for Adults*, no. 101-102 (November 7, 1966).

toward the poor. An on-the-job experience in working with the poor can bring new insight into the causes of poverty and the immediate needs of depressed areas of the community.

The organizational structure best devised to recruit and coordinate volunteer work and channel it to the sore spots in the community is the volunteer service bureau. The volunteer needs of all community agencies can be simplified and more adequately met by the organization of local volunteer service bureaus. The next step for the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations is to explore the possibilities of setting up a statewide agency, guided by the experiences of Michigan and Massachusetts, to stimulate the organizations of local volunteer bureaus and give them the assistance of professional consultation on the problems which are inevitable in the erection of any new service.

In the words of the recommendation of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women to the Council of Women's Organization in 1964 "the training and use of volunteers could then be purposeful, the offer of service meaningful, and the rewards both to the community and the individual volunteer genuinely significant."

The function of such a statewide coordinating agency would be to encourage the organization of local volunteer bureaus and to stimulate the local bureaus to set up similar agencies in neighborhood centers so that indigenous personnel might be involved more easily in volunteer work.

The bureau in a target area might serve several purposes—the discovery of indigenous leaders, the stimulation of neighborhood community councils, screening of volunteers for service in the neighborhood, and an advice center where members of the community who are often confused about resources available to meet their needs might go for information and guidance.

Volunteer Work Is a Public Trust

One of the functions of a volunteer bureau is to upgrade the quality of services performed by volunteers. The aim of a bureau is to develop in volunteers a professional attitude about work so that they are as reliable in the functions they perform as staff members.

If the agencies using volunteers and the community at large recognize volunteer work as a public trust and give it the prestige its contributions to society merit, volunteers themselves will develop a satisfy-

ing self-image. Psychiatrists know that a normal individual tries hard to live up to the expectations others have of him. "I just do volunteer work," many a retired person or housewife says apologetically. This attitude reflects the lack of community recognition given to the millions of hours of selfless work contributed annually in this country without thought of reward.

A rural woman in Eastern North Carolina who helps out with the chores on the farm spoke eloquently of the low value her community places on volunteer work when she said almost bitterly, "I think those of us who volunteer are just fools to be taken for granted and asked to do so much for nothing. I work on the farm with much longer and harder hours than professionals and receive no check at the end of the day."

The same public apathy concerning citizen participation in community affairs came from an educator from Western North Carolina. He wrote on his questionnaire for this study, "Poverty rules at every facet of the social institutions in this Appalachian county, and I am appalled at the individualistic unwillingness to get involved in this community beyond social club and the church."

A civic leader from Eastern North Carolina put his finger on the crux of voluntarism. "If a person cares enough to help someone," he wrote, "that's the best way." Caring is the heart of volunteer work—caring enough about the community to give time to the school board, caring enough about people to help with transportation to a health clinic, caring enough about one's self to be dependable when one offers to do a volunteer job.

Recognition of the Humanizing Role of Voluntarism

The new approach to the problems of the poor upon which the war on poverty has been based is founded on the humanistic philosophy of the perfectibility of mankind. The parable of the Good Samaritan points out that man's humanity to man has perhaps been a concomitant strain in the forces of history to this day.

While a few countries of the world, notably some of the Scandinavian ones, have largely eradicated poverty, the launching of the war on poverty is the first acknowledgment in the United States that poverty can indeed be solved. It has been assumed by the policy-makers in the past that a lower class has always existed and will continue to exist throughout time. It has been assumed that the well-being of society in general depends upon the existence of a "mud sill"

type of poverty composed of illiterate workers capable of performing only the menial but highly necessary tasks required to keep the wheels of society moving.

This was the antebellum justification for slavery and one of the modern justifications for a laissez faire attitude toward poverty. But modern technology has cut the ground from under these assumptions by developing machines which not only displace most of the chores of menial labor but also the work of many white-collar jobs as well.

The narrow concept of the utilization of human resources which existed prior to the scientific revolution sprang from the Cartesian view of the nature of progress. Until technological developments proved otherwise, philosophers held that change is uncontrollable with its direction outside man's ability to manipulate. Only within the last few decades has the new philosophy of innovation given hope to depressed people like the poor in America. This new philosophy sees change as controlled, directed, and intentional human activity. Man manipulates change and creates progress. Man is no longer a helpless creature bound to accept whatever relentless fate places upon him.

Since the philosophy itself is so new, it has hardly had time for general public acceptance. Nevertheless, with the launching of a war on poverty, a long step has been taken in the United States toward elevating to greater usefulness a fifth of the population of the nation.

The next step for the policy-makers is to accept also the humanizing role of voluntarism in the functions of planning, decision-making, and implementation. None of the problems in the human service areas has yet been solved, and although poverty itself might possibly be eradicated by such a device as a guaranteed minimum family income rather than the current war on poverty, many of the problems in the human service fields will still prevail. These problems include child care, education, recreation, mental health, the care of the sick, and other succoring functions all of which need the comforting assurance of individual attention which the volunteer can bring.

The new revolution of technology is likely to breed progressive dehumanization and depersonalization in many of those aspects of life which are now considered to be most human and personal.⁹ The implications of these changes for society in which tomorrow's children will grow up are frightening unless the agencies now serving man's

9. Cf. Robert S. Morison, "Where Is Biology Taking Us?" *Science* (January 27, 1967).

needs can balance the process of dehumanization with the warm, human approach.

This is the work of the volunteer. It is high time to get on with the job of spelling out an increasingly important role for the volunteer in American society. The task is as vital as any the nation faces today. It is at the very heart of how to expand the foundations of a free, human, and dynamic society.

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APPENDIXES

1. Questionnaire for Volunteers
2. Questionnaire for Professionals Who Supervise Volunteers
3. Questionnaire on the Use of Volunteers in North Carolina Public School Systems
4. Interview Questions

1.

VOLUNTEERS AND THE POOR

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
RESEARCH PROJECT

The Volunteer

In connection with our study of the work of volunteers in antipoverty and other programs designed for the betterment of our human resources, we need information and comments from those who have been active as volunteers. We would be most grateful to you if you will help by completing this questionnaire and *returning it within 5 days to:*

N C C W O Research Project
P. O. Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Please answer fully and frankly. Do not sign your name. Your answers will be very much appreciated. Attach additional sheets to give complete answers, if you wish.

1. In the last year and a half, what kinds of volunteer work have you done, and approximately how many hours per month has each involved?

What kind of work?	For what organiza- tion or group?	About how many hours per month?
--------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------------------------

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| a. | | |
| b. | | |
| c. | | |
| d. | | |

2. What is your age?

.....29 or under
.....30-39
.....40-49
.....50 or over

3. What is your family status?

.....Single
.....Married, without school-
age children
.....Married, with school-age
children
.....Widowed or divorced,
without school-age chil-
dren
.....Widowed or divorced,
with school-age chil-
dren

4. What was your family income
last year?

.....\$4,999 or less
.....\$5,000-\$7,999
.....\$8,000-\$11,999
.....\$12,000-\$14,999
.....\$15,000 or more

5. What is your employment status?
Employed full-time
Employed part-time
Not employed
6. How many hours of domestic help do you have per month?
None
1-10 hours
11-20 hours
21-30 hours
31 hours or more
7. What is your sex?
Male
Female
8. Have you done any kind of volunteer work with the poor?
YesNo
 If *yes*, what did you do?
 If *yes*, did you take training before working with the poor?
YesNo
9. Would you like to become more involved in work with the poor?
YesNo
 If *yes*, what would you like to do?
10. Do you think the antipoverty program is being carried out in an effective way?
YesNo
 If *no*, please explain.
11. How long have you been doing volunteer work?
12. As compared with *ten years ago*, has the nature of your volunteer service changed?
YesNo
 If *yes*, please explain.
13. What do you think are some of the most valuable things volunteers do?
14. What new and/or expanded services do you think volunteers might render?
15. Is there a need for improved understanding between volunteers and professional workers? Please explain.
16. Are there types of work for which volunteers should be replaced by paid employees?
YesNo
 If *yes*, please explain.
17. Do you think volunteers should be trained for the job?
YesNo
 If *yes*, please explain.
18. What training as a volunteer would you like that you cannot obtain at this time?

19. Do you think the same techniques in working with middle-income groups are effective in work with the poor?
YesNo
 If *no*, please explain.
20. Would you approve of having "paid volunteers" from low-income groups work with others in their group?
YesNo
21. Would you be willing to work on the same project with these "paid volunteers"?
YesNo
22. Would you like to change the nature of your volunteer services?
YesNo
 If your answer is *yes*, please explain.
23. At what point do you think volunteers should be involved in a program or project? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY.)
Clarification and statement of goals
Structuring the details of the program
Selection of key volunteer personnel
Allocation of specific responsibilities
Only in carrying out tasks assigned by the staff
Step-by-step evaluation when program or project is under-way
Overall evaluation of effectiveness and accomplishment
24. Do you think an organization should provide services (baby sitting, nursery care, transportation, out-of-pocket expenses, etc.) which would make it easier for the volunteer to render service?
YesNo
25. Check those descriptions which you think apply to typical professional workers with whom you do volunteer work.
a. Perform as well or better than volunteers.
b. Are dependable.
c. Show initiative and inventiveness.
d. Are careless and casual about the work.
e. Don't allow volunteers to show any originality or initiative.
f. Want to do all the challenging work themselves.
g. Seldom praise volunteers for a job well done.
h. Think volunteers do the work merely to gain prestige.
i. Seek a meaningful relationship with the volunteers.
j. Want the volunteer to do all the "busy work."
k. Are genuinely helpful and supportive.

26. There are many reasons for doing volunteer work. Please indicate which of the following items are RATHER IMPORTANT and NOT VERY IMPORTANT as reasons for YOUR PRESENT volunteer activity. (CHECK ONE FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<i>Rather Important</i>	<i>Not Very Important</i>
a. I enjoy being with people
b. I like to get out of the house
c. I like to be helpful
d. The work is extremely interesting
e. It is very important that the work be done
f. It is important to my family that I do volunteer work
g. My close friends do volunteer work
h. I feel it is my duty to do volunteer work
i. My relationship with those I serve is very rewarding
j. I like to feel needed
k. Volunteer work gives me prestige
27. I live in Eastern North Carolina, the Piedmont, Western North Carolina. (Please check the appropriate geographic area.)		

THANK YOU

2.

VOLUNTEERS AND THE POOR

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
RESEARCH PROJECT

The Professional Who Supervises Volunteers

In connection with our study of the work of volunteers in antipoverty and other programs designed for the betterment of our human re-

sources, we need information and comments from those who supervise the work of volunteers. We would be most grateful to you if you will help by completing this questionnaire and *returning it within 5 days to:*

N C C W O Research Project
P. O. Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

The first few questions request factual information about you and your organization. The remainder of the questions request your opinion of volunteer workers. Please answer fully and frankly. Do not sign your name. Your answers will be very much appreciated. Attach additional sheets to give complete answers, if you wish.

-
1. How many paid workers are there in the organization of which you are director?
 -Number of professional, technical, or managerial personnel
 -Number of secretarial, clerical personnel.
 -Number of service and maintenance personnel.

 2. What is your age?
 -29 or under
 -30-39
 -40-49
 -50 or over

 3. What is your family status?
 -Single.
 -Married, without school-age children.
 -Married, with school-age children.
 -Widowed or divorced without school-age children.
 -Widowed or divorced, with school-age children.

 4. What was your family income last year?
 -\$4,999 or less
 -\$5,000-\$7,999
 -\$8,000-\$11,999
 -\$12,000-\$14,999
 -\$15,000 or more

 5. What is your employment status?
 -Employed full-time
 -Employed part-time
 -Serve as a volunteer supervisor of other volunteers

 6. How many hours of domestic help do you have per month?
 -None
 -1-10 hours
 -11-20 hours
 -21-30 hours
 -31 hours or more

 7. What is your sex?
 -Male
 -Female

 8. Where do you live?
 -Eastern North Carolina
 -Piedmont
 -Western North Carolina

-5. Assistants to school social worker.
-6. Emergency transportation.
-7. Other.

If you use volunteers, about how many?

..... 4 or fewer 50-99
..... 5-9100-299
..... 10-19300 or more
..... 20-49	

How would you evaluate volunteers?

-a. Perform as well as paid workers.
-b. Can be depended upon.
-c. Show initiative.
-d. Are careless and casual about the work.
-e. Want to be told just what to do.
-f. Want their work to be rather difficult and challenging.
-g. Need a great deal of praise.
-h. Do the work merely to gain prestige.
-i. Seek a meaningful relationship with those served.

4

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

How long have you been working as a volunteer?

Do you enjoy volunteer work? Why? How many hours do you give?

As you know, there are three kinds of volunteer work—consultative, administrative, and service. Which do you prefer? Why?

Have you had training for the work? What kind? Would you like training?

Have you ever worked with low-income groups? What did you do?

Did you feel you were accomplishing anything? Why?

What about the antipoverty program?

Why do you feel that way?

What do you think of the staff in antipoverty programs? Is this the way you feel about all staff?

What do you think are the real problems with low-income groups?

If you had the power to do whatever you wished, how would you help solve the problems of the poor? What would you do first?

Do you think we need greater understanding of the problems of low-income persons?

How do you think we could get understanding?

How long do you think it will take to improve the lot of the poor?

What would you be willing to do to help out?

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The staff turned to many agencies, both government and voluntary, to the colleges and universities throughout the nation, to professionally trained personnel, and to volunteers themselves for assistance in this project. Their information, insights, and suggestions added depth to the work of exploring the role of the citizen in community development. We are grateful to every agency and to every person who put time and thought into this study.

Below is a partial list of those who have given assistance. Many who helped are unknown to the staff. Their services were sought by local leaders who distributed questionnaires or who asked help in collecting local data. To them as well as to those whose identity is known, both the Council of Women's Organizations and the Project staff are indebted.

1. Programs Related to The North Carolina Fund

Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.
Choanoke Area Development Association, Inc.
Craven Operation Progress, Inc.
Experiment in Self Reliance, Inc.
Manpower Improvement Through Community Effort
Migrant Project of the North Carolina Council of Churches
Mobility Program
Nash-Edgecombe Economic Development, Inc.
Operation Breakthrough, Inc.
The Opportunity Corporation of Asheville-Buncombe County, Inc.
WAMY Community Action, Inc.
Youth Educational Services

2. College and Universities

Brandeis University, Community Organization Curriculum Development Project, Waltham, Mass.
Goddard College (Plainfield, Vt.), Head Start Orientation Program
East Carolina College (Greenville, N.C.), Department of Sociology.
Howard University Training Center
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (Greensboro),
Agricultural Extension Service

North Carolina State University (Raleigh), Agricultural Extension Service
 Northeastern University (Boston, Mass.), Programs for Adult Women
 Yale University Computer Center
 Yeshiva University, Ferkauf Graduate School of Education
 University of Minnesota, Women's Continuing Education Program
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

3. *Volunteer Bureaus*

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Volunteer Bureau, Community Service Council
 Community Services Bldg.
 3600 Eighth Avenue, South (35222)

CALIFORNIA

Burlingame

Volunteer Bureau of San Mateo County
 119 Primrose Road

Los Angeles

Volunteer Bureau, Los Angeles Region
 749 South Harvard Blvd. (90005)
 South Central Volunteer Bureau of Los Angeles

Marin County

749 South Harvard Blvd. (90005)
 Volunteer Bureau of Marin County
 725 A Street
 San Rafael

Newport Beach

Volunteer Bureau
 325 North Newport Boulevard (92663)

Oakland

Volunteer Bureau of Alameda County
 1527 Webster Street (94612)

Palo Alto

Volunteer Bureau of North Santa Clara County

Pasadena

460 California Avenue (94306)
 Volunteer Bureau of Pasadena, Inc.
 118 South Oak Knoll Avenue (91101)

Sacramento

Volunteer Bureau of Sacramento
 1122-17th Street (98514)

San Diego

Volunteer Bureau of San Diego County
 520 E Street (92101)

San Francisco

Volunteer Bureau of San Francisco
 John Adams Adult School
 750 Eddy Street, Room 214 (94109)

Santa Barbara

Volunteer Bureau of Santa Barbara
 806 Santa Barbara Street (93102)

Stockton

Volunteer Bureau of Greater Stockton
 214 North California Street (95202)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- COLORADO**
 Denver
 Community Information Center
 Metropolitan Council for Community
 Service, Inc.
 1375 Delaware Street (80204)
- CONNECTICUT**
 Bridgeport
 Volunteer Bureau of Bridgeport
 932 Broad Street (06603)
 New Haven
 Volunteer Service Bureau of Greater New
 Haven
 397 Temple Street (06511)
 Stamford
 Volunteer Bureau
 Stamford Community Council, Inc.
 77 South Street (06901)
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**
 Washington
 Volunteer Services
 Health and Welfare Council of the
 National Capital Area
 1101 M Street, N.W. (20005)
- FLORIDA**
 Miami
 Volunteer Services, Welfare Planning
 Council of Dade County
 395 N. W. First Street, Suite 202 (33128)
 Palm Beach
 Volunteer Bureau
 P. O. Box 870
 West Palm Beach
- HAWAII**
 Honolulu
 Volunteer Service Bureau
 1040 Richards Street (96813)
- ILLINOIS**
 Chicago
 Central Services
 Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago
 123 West Madison Street (60602)
- INDIANA**
 Indianapolis
 Central Services
 Community Service Council of Metropolitan
 Indianapolis, Inc.
 615 North Alabama Street, Room 410
 (46204)
- IOWA**
 Council
 Bluffs
 Volunteer Bureau of Council Bluffs
 628 First Avenue
- KANSAS**
 Topeka
 Volunteer Bureau of Topeka
 VFW Bldg., 214 West 6th Street (66603)
- KENTUCKY**
 Louisville
 Volunteers' Bureau
 207 West Market Street (40202)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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- MASSACHUSETTS**
 Boston School Bureau and Volunteer Service Bureau
 United Community Services of Metropolitan
 Boston
 14 Somerset Street (02108)
- MICHIGAN**
 Detroit Central Volunteer Bureau, United
 Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit
 51 West Warren Avenue (48201)
 Flint Volunteer Bureau, Council of Social
 Agencies of Flint and Genesee County
 406 N. Saginaw Street (48502)
 Grand Rapids Kent County Central Volunteer Service, Inc.
 512 Association of Commerce Bldg. (49502)
 Lansing Volunteer Bureau
 615 North Capitol Avenue (48914)
 Pontiac Pontiac Area United Fund, Women's
 Division
 132 Franklin Boulevard (48053)
- MINNESOTA**
 Minneapolis Volunteer Service Bureau, Community
 Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin
 County, Inc.
 404 South Eighth Street (55404)
- MISSOURI**
 St. Louis Volunteer Service Bureau, Health and Wel-
 fare Council
 417 North 10th Street (63101)
- NEBRASKA**
 Lincoln Volunteer Bureau of Lincoln
 212 Lincoln Center, Room 225
 215 South 15 (68508)
- NEW JERSEY**
 Camden Volunteer Bureau
 Health and Welfare Council of Camden
 County
 301 Cooper Street (08102)
- NEW MEXICO**
 Albuquerque Volunteer Bureau
 Community Council of Albuquerque, Inc.
 P. O. Box 1775
- NEW YORK**
 New York Volunteer Services
 Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies,
 Inc.
 281 Park Avenue South (10010)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- Rochester Volunteer Bureau of the Council of Social Agencies of Rochester and Monroe County, Inc.
70 North Water Street (14604)
- Westchester County Volunteer Service Bureau, Inc. of Westchester
151 East Post Road
White Plains, N.Y.
- NORTH CAROLINA
- Carrboro Volunteer Bureau
Inter-Church Council for Social Services (27510)
- Greensboro Volunteer Bureau of the Greensboro Community Council
P. O. Box 13045 (27413)
- Salisbury Volunteer Services,
Salisbury-Rowan Service Council, Inc. (28144)
- NORTH DAKOTA
- Fargo Volunteer Bureau of Fargo-Moorhead
330 Gate City Bldg.
- OHIO
- Cincinnati The Volunteer Bureau of Greater Cincinnati
2400 Reading Road (45202)
- Hamilton Volunteer Service Bureau
323 North Third Street (45011)
- Lima Lima Volunteer Bureau
140 West Grand Avenue (45801)
- Toledo Toledo Council of Social Agencies
441 Huron Street (43604)
- Youngstown Volunteer Service Bureau of Youngstown, Inc.
1000 Wick Building (44503)
- OKLAHOMA
- Tulsa Information and Volunteer Service
Tulsa Council of Social Agencies
602 South Cheyenne (74119)
- PENNSYLVANIA
- Philadelphia Council on Volunteers
1617 John F. Kennedy Boulevard (19103)
- Reading Bureau, Economic Opportunity Council of Reading and Berks County
631 Washington Street, P. O. Box 302
(19603)
- TEXAS
- Fort Worth Volunteer Center
Tarrant County Community Council
513 Life of America Building
6th and Throckmorton Streets (76102)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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- Houston The Volunteer Bureau
3520 Montrose Boulevard (77006)
- Lubbock Volunteer Bureau
Community Planning Council of Lubbock
2201-19th Street (79401)
- UTAH
Ogden Community Council of Social Services
412 Kiesel Building (84401)
- VIRGINIA
Newport News Volunteer Bureau of Community Services
Planning Council
87-29 Street (23607)
- Norfolk Volunteer Service Bureau
100-A Royster Building (23510)
- Richmond Volunteer Service Bureau
2501 Monument Avenue (23220)
- WEST VIRGINIA
Charleston Volunteer Service Bureau
Community Council of Kanawha Valley,
Inc.
612 Virginia Street E (25330)
- CANADA
- ALBERTA
Edmonton Central Volunteer Bureau of Edmonton
306 Tower Building
10135-103rd Street
- BRITISH COLUMBIA
Vancouver Volunteer Bureau of Greater Vancouver
1625 West Eighth Avenue (9)
- MANITOBA
Winnipeg The Volunteer Bureau
Division of Community Welfare Planning
Council
177 Lombard Avenue, Suite 600 (2)
- ONTARIO
Hamilton Volunteer Bureau of Social Planning Council
of Hamilton and District
220 Main Street West
- Ottawa Central Volunteer Bureau
329 Chapel Street (2)
- Toronto Central Volunteer Bureau of Social Planning
Council of Metropolitan Toronto
55 York Street (1)
- QUEBEC
Montreal Services Benevoles De Montreal
985 Sherbrooke Street, W (2)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Le Centre De Benevolat Du Conseil
Des Oeuvres De Montreal
3414 ave du Parc, Montreal 18, P. Q.,
Local 301

4. *Other Agencies, Public and Private*

American Association of University Women, North Carolina Division
American Cancer Society, North Carolina Division
American Jewish Committee
American National Red Cross, North Carolina Chapters
American War Mothers, North Carolina State Chapter
Asheville-Buncombe County Citizens Association
Asheville City Federation of Negro Women's Clubs
Associated Family and Child Service Agency, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America
Bethlehem Center, Winston-Salem, N.C.
The Betterment Society, Durham, N.C.
Boy Scouts of America, Occoneechee Council
Boys' Clubs of America
Buncombe County Planning Council
Carolinas United Community Services
Catalyst, New York, N.Y.
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, School Social Work Services
The Children's Home Society
Civitan International, local clubs
Coffee, Talk, and Action, Durham, N.C.
County Departments of Public Health in North Carolina
County Departments of Public Welfare in North Carolina
Day Care Centers in Target Areas
Delta Kappa Gamma Society, Eta State
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Durham (N.C.) Community Planning Council
Forsyth County Tuberculosis Association
Forsyth Memorial Hospital
The Garden Clubs of North Carolina
Gaston Community Action, Inc.
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., various Councils in North Carolina
Goodwill Industries, local units
Guilford County Economic Opportunity Council, Inc.
Head Start, local Programs
Inter-Church Council for Social Service, Carrboro, N.C.
Jack and Jill of America, local units
Jewish Occupational Council, New York
Junior Chamber of Commerce, local units
The Junior League, local Leagues in North Carolina
Junior Woman's Club, Winston-Salem, N.C.
The League of Women Voters of North Carolina, local Leagues

Local Churches: Baptist, Congregational-Christian, Episcopal,
Methodist, Presbyterian
Lions International, local clubs
Metropolitan Fund, Inc., Detroit, Mich.
Murdoch Center
National Council on the Aging
Neighborhood Councils in Target Areas
Neighborhood Youth Corps
North Carolina Association of Jewish Women
North Carolina Conference for Social Service
North Carolina Education Association
North Carolina Extension Homemakers' Association
North Carolina Dietetics Association
North Carolina Farm Bureau Women
North Carolina Federation of Business and Professional Women's
Clubs
North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs
North Carolina State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs
North Carolina Home Economics Association
North Carolina Home Economics Division of the North Carolina
Vocational Association
North Carolina League for Nursing
North Carolina Memorial Hospital
North Carolina Mental Health Association
North Carolina Society for Crippled Children and Adults
The North Carolina State Board of Health
The North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare
North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction
North Carolina State Planning Task Force
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