

The Slogan of the Yugoslavian youth brigade, “We are building the railroad, and the railroad is building us,” suggests the mutuality of volunteer experience. As the volunteer gives, he is also getting. He is growing, developing, enlarging himself, making himself more aware of the world around him, increasing his effectiveness for the future, cultivating his sense of identity. Whether he is building a literal road or a figurative one—tutoring a child or helping someone who is blind, disabled or disadvantaged—the volunteer builds himself.

*Volunteering
& Student
Value
Development*
Is there a correlation?

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BUT IN ANOTHER SENSE the slogan misleads. It suggests a simple cause and effect relationship between volunteering and personal growth. If this; then that. If A; then B. If one volunteers; one grows. All who have worked with volunteers, or, indeed, examined their own experiences, know that this is an oversimplification. It reduces a complex process to a two-step formula.

Reactions to volunteering are varied and largely unpredictable. I can no more explain the response of the student who wrote, "Volunteering was the greatest thing that ever happened to me. Now I know who I am and where I am going," than that of another who wrote, "I started out thinking it was a good idea, but it turned out to be a waste of time."

As Jerry Porter writes for LUKE (Learning to Utilize Knowledge and Experience), a research project carried out by Boston University's Department of Psychology under a grant from the National Institute of Education:

Those of us interested in field experience believe in it. Most students feel we are doing good things for them. We think we are doing good things for the students. . . Most of us are full of wonderful stories, and will gladly give a handout describing what we are doing. But faith is not enough.

To support that faith, (or perhaps to test it) a number of probes are currently underway. The LUKE researchers, whose principle investigator is Robert Chin, are in the process of writing their final report. CAEL (Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning) resulted from an agreement between the Education Testing Service in Princeton, N.J., and nine task force institutions. Morris Keeton, chairman of the CAEL steering committee, writes in the organization's first newsletter that "to identify and make widely known the best practices of assessment of experiential learning is part of our work. To devise and develop other effective assessment processes and better ones is a second objective." Along with LUKE and CAEL, a third project is being organized under the aegis of the National Institute of Social Sciences.

Another avenue for faith is Richard Graham's. In a Journal of Voluntary Action Research article entitled, "Voluntary Action and Experiential Education," Graham discussed "developmental" education. He writes that: "In some limited but apparently sound research development, more than school achievement, has been found to be associated with achieving the good life, with work satisfaction, with participation in the affairs of society, and with the achievement of economic success." But, he does not anticipate a change in developmental education, accomplished by greater emphasis on experiential learning, unless the claimed advantages are supported with more solid research.

Sound research, such as Edgar Townsend's University of Delaware study of volunteers (See *Synergist*, Spring, 1974), sometimes produces results which seem

to undermine the claims made for volunteering. For instance, we assume that working as a volunteer leads to deeper concern and wider involvement in the community. Townsend found that at the end of the freshman year, volunteers were less concerned about the community than non-volunteers. But he sees these conclusions as a part of a development pattern.

He offers the possible explanation that the volunteers were involved in the process that Robert Coles found at work in summer volunteers in the South and in Appalachia. Coles describes four stages: 1) Awkwardness and frustration; 2) transference of these feelings to the Society by becoming disillusioned with the ability of individuals and organizations to deal effectively with community problems; 3) a period of self-examination, and 4) reassertion of purposes that are more focused on a realistic appraisal of personal resources.

We found a similar process of adjustment among tutors at West Virginia University when we asked them to rate their morale at four points in a semester: 1) immediately after the beginning of the semester training conference; 2) after four weeks; 3) after eight weeks; and 4) at the end of the semester. The composite ratings, represented on a graph, assumed the shape of a U, beginning high, sagging in the middle two periods and ending nearly as high as it began. Typical explanations for the tutor's feelings ran as follows: At the beginning they were full of expectations about their relationships with children whom they had not yet

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seen but whose lives they expected magically to transform, bringing beauty and hope to their dreary prospects. At the end of a month, the student hit his nadir. The tutee was not responding, perhaps he had not shown up for a session or had not done an assignment he agreed to do, or seemed more interested in just talking or teasing than in improving his skills. By the end of eight weeks, things were improving. Tutor and tutee had found things in common. The tutee had perhaps succeeded in a school assignment in which the tutor had been instrumental. Each could count on the other's being there for the weekly session. By the end of the semester friendship had begun. Perhaps they'd had a trip to campus together or had plans for the next semester. Trust and confidence were firm. Morale was almost as high as at the beginning.

But beyond the process of adjustment which Coles notes and which we discovered in our tutorial program, there are formulations of growth and development

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which bear sharply on student volunteerism. In this regard, the views of a humanistic psychologist, Abraham Maslow, and two developmental psychologists, Jane Loevinger and Lawrence Kohlberg, should be examined.

To obtain some measures of the growth and development that result from volunteering, I prepared a study at West Virginia University, a mailing to 370 former student volunteers who were graduated between 1968 and 1972; I examined unpublished studies conducted at Michigan State, the North Carolina Internship Program, and Boston University; I mailed a request for student statements to NSVP consultants and received back material from Florida State and El Camino College; and finally I examined field reports, journals, evaluations, letters, and other miscellaneous records that came my way during seven years of advising a student volunteer program.

Theories of How We are Built

Maslow, Loevinger, and Kohlberg see human experience in terms of a process with full realization of our humanness as its culmination. Maslow describes a hierarchy of needs beginning with the physiological need for air, water, food, shelter, and sex. When these are satisfied, a higher level might be reached, the level of safety and security. Next higher is love and belonging and above love and belonging is self esteem and the esteem of others. Finally, at the top of the hierarchy is a list of "growth" needs which, by themselves are not hierarchical but of equal importance. They are: Truth, goodness, beauty, aliveness, individuality, perfection, necessity, completion, justice, order, simplicity, richness, playfulness, effortlessness, self-sufficiency, and meaningfulness.

Jane Loevinger is interested in ego development. She defines ego as "the unity of personality, individuality, the method of facing problems, opinion about oneself and the problems of life and the whole attitude toward life." For her, as for Kohlberg, development is sequential, the stages must be taken one after another. As in baseball, you cannot skip bases.

A table from her book appears on page 47.

For a thorough examination of the implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's thought see Richard Graham's "Voluntary Action and Experiential Learning," *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, Volume 2, Number 4, Fall 1973. Kohlberg identifies seven stages of moral development which, like Jane Loevinger's stages of ego development, are sequential. Further, he believes these stages to be universal, because he has been able to identify them in the developmental patterns of several different cultures (See Table 2).

In the light of the WVU study, the Yugoslavian slogan takes on additional meanings, for former WVU volunteers are building "roads" all over the United States and even in foreign countries. If they, like Edgar

Townsend's freshmen volunteers at the University of Delaware, had experienced a time of disenchantment with community involvement, that time had passed. In response to the question, "Have you been involved in your community since graduation?" 49 of the respondents (68 percent) listed 99 instances of participation in their communities. And it was clear that the list was an incomplete one:

"Working with my neighbors for anything that strikes me at the moment."

"Adult evening recreation work with migrants."

"Since graduation nearly three years ago, I have been serving in the Peace Corps in Fiji."

"I'm with a women's ex-offender program."

"I've spent two years working at our free medical clinic."

"While in law school, I've been counseling inmates in the county jail."

"As a candidate for political office and as a concerned neighbor coaching Pop Warner football."

"Member of a steering committee, North Dupont Community Association, a neighborhood Civic Association involved in preparing a development plan."

These former student volunteers clearly, to borrow Loevinger's phrase, conceive of themselves "in social context."

In the WVU study I tried to obtain some measure of the student's impression of his growth by requesting a "yes" or "no" answer to whether he felt he had grown as a result of the volunteer experience in terms of each of the characteristics listed by Maslow, Loevinger, and Kohlberg. To provide some basis of comparison I asked also for the respondent to indicate whether volunteering for the Student Action for Appalachian Progress (SAAP) group at WVU had contributed to his intellectual growth.

The volunteer experience emerges clearly as highly contributive in all areas but more contributive to ego development, self-actualization, and moral development than to intellectual development.

Growth and Development Themes

While the WVU study hinted at the value of volunteer experience, it lacked subtlety. What I had tabulated was yes or no answers on a form. To move closer to the actual experience, I examined the words of the volunteers; the journals, field reports, evaluations, etc. While reading these, I tried to hold in mind the psychologists' growth structures. I hoped these would help me discover whether those structures emerge as recurring themes in the student statements. They do. Among the more consistent themes are these: self-esteem and esteem by others (Maslow); helpfulness (Loevinger); achievement (Maslow and Loevinger); love and belonging (Maslow); respect for autonomy (Loevinger and Kohlberg); and respect for individuality (all).

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TABLE 1 SOME MILESTONES OF EGO DEVELOPMENT*

Stage	Code	Impulse Control, Character Development	Interpersonal Style	Conscious Preoccupations	Cognitive Style
Presocial			Autistic		
	I-1			Self vs. non-self	
Symbiotic			Symbiotic		
Impulsive	I-2	Impulsive, fear of retaliation	Receiving, dependent, exploitive	Bodily feelings, especially sexual and aggressive	Stereotypy conceptual confusion
Self-protective		Fear of being caught, externalizing blame, opportunistic	Wary, manipulative, exploitive	Self-protection, wishes, things, advantage, control	
Conformist	I-3	Conformity to external rules, shame, guilt for breaking rules	Belonging, helping, superficial niceness	Appearance, social acceptability, banal feelings, behavior	Conceptual simplicity, stereotypes, cliches
Conscientious	I-4	Self-evaluated Standards, self- criticism, guilt for consequences, long- term goals and ideals	Intensive responsible, mutual concern for communication	Differentiated feelings, motives for behavior, self-respect, achievements, traits, expression	Conceptual complexity, idea of patterning
Autonomous	I-5	Add: Coping with conflicting inner needs, toleration	Add: Respect for autonomy	Vividly conveyed integration of physiological and psychological, psychological causation of behavior, development, role conception, self-fulfillment, self in social context	Increased conceptual complexity, complex patterns, toleration for ambiguity broad scope objectivity
Integrated	I-6	Add: Reconciling inner conflicts, renunciation of unattainable	Add: Cherishing of individuality	Add: Identity	

Note—"Add" means in addition to the description applying to the previous level.

*Used by permission of Jane Loevinger and Ruth Wessler, authors of *Measuring Ego Development*, Volume One, Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco, 1970.

For example, a volunteer at Kendall Home for Juvenile Delinquents in Miami, Florida, said:

I cannot express how much I have learned and how much I have grown up. I received immeasurable amounts of personal satisfaction from the work. To me nothing could be as rewarding. After changing majors many times, I have no doubt that a career in social work is perfect for me. Such work makes me feel more like a complete person.

What values are here? Meaningfulness, richness, aliveness (Maslow). Role conception, self-fulfillment, self in social context (Loevinger).

Another wrote of his experience in West Virginia:

This spring I am graduating in English Literature, a study in which I find great personal joy. It took me a long time to understand that a man has the right to that which merely brings him intellectual satisfaction; that is a man does not have to feel

TABLE 2 SEVEN STAGES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

I. Preconventional Level.

At this level, the child is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad, right or wrong, but he interprets the labels in terms of either the physical or hedonistic consequences of action (punishment, reward, exchange of favors) or the physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. The level is divided into the following three stages:

Stage 0: Egocentric judgment. The child makes judgments of good on the basis of what he likes and what helps him, and bad, on the basis of what he does not like or what hurts him . . .

Stage 1: Punishment and obedience orientation. The physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness regardless of the human meaning or value of these consequences. Avoidance of punishment and unquestioning deference to power are values in their own right . . .

Stage 2: Instrumental relativist orientation. Right action consists of what instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Human relations are viewed in terms such as those of the market place. Elements of fairness, reciprocity and equal sharing are present, but they are always interpreted in a physical, pragmatic way. Reciprocity is a matter of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," not loyalty, gratitude, or justice.

II. Conventional Level

At this level, the individual perceives the maintenance of his family, group or national expectations as valuable in their own right, regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. The attitude is not only one of conformity to personal expectations and social order, but of loyalty to it, of actively maintaining, supporting, and justifying the order and identifying with the persons or group involved in it. The level consists of the following two stages:

Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy-nice girl" orientation. Good behavior is what pleases or helps others and is approved by majority or "natural" behavior. Behavior is frequently judged by intention—"he means well" becomes important for the first time.

Stage 4: The "law and order" orientation. The individual is oriented toward authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of the social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.

III. Post-Conventional; Autonomous, or Principled Level.

The individual makes a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or persons holding them and apart from the individual's own identification with the groups. The level has the two following steps:

Stage 5: The social-contract legalistic orientation (generally with utilitarian overtones). Right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights and of standards that have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. There is a clear awareness of the relativism of personal values and opinions and a corresponding emphasis upon procedural rules for reaching consensus. Aside from what is constitutionally and democratically agreed upon, right action is a matter of personal values and opinions. The result is an emphasis upon the "legal point of view," but with additional emphasis upon the possibility of changing the law in terms of rational considerations of social utility (rather than freezing it in terms of Stage 4 "law and order"). Outside the legal realm, free agreement and contract, is the binding element of obligation. The U.S. government and Constitution exists at this level.

Stage 6: The universal ethical-principle orientation. Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles that appeal to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. These principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the categorical imperative); they are not concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments. At heart, these are universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individuals.

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guilty about all activities that are for personal reward only. Being a part of SAAP—and SAAP a part of me—has helped me to realize, however, that there is much more that I can and must do. I will return to this state some day, and when I do so, it will be to teach that subject which I have found to bring me great personal satisfaction. However, I will also be returning in order to find those areas where I may be of benefit to this land and its people, whether that be by helping them lobby for better food and housing or to read the works of Shakespeare.

The values specified by Maslow and Loevinger are here in abundance. Kohlberg's criteria are also present in the attitude toward social change: "The individual makes a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or persons holding them and apart from the individual's identification with the groups . . . Right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights and of standards that have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. There is a clear awareness of the relativism of personal values and opinions and a corresponding emphasis upon procedural rules for reaching consensus." The student's sensitivity to social problems and his intention to work within the system place him, to use Kohlberg's designation, at the "autonomous, or principled level."

To obtain some sense of the frequency of the growth themes, I turned to the Michigan State University study. The MSU data came from a questionnaire returned by 488 students from a mailing to some 1500 students on campus whose names were on file in the Office of Volunteer Programs. (Not all had actually volunteered).

On that form, the students had three quarters of an inch to list skills and abilities, if any, that resulted from volunteer work. They had one and a quarter inches to discuss the positive effects of their volunteer experiences in any context.

I analyzed the responses on 100 randomly selected forms, tallying frequently used words and certain themes. The words (and their derivatives) that I tabulated were: 1) help; 2) learn; 3) understand; 4) love, and 5) a cluster such as joy, fun, pleasure, happiness.

The themes that I recorded (and these were much harder to delineate) were: 1) Concern for interpersonal relationships; 2) cross cultural experience—working with foreign students or individuals from a subculture such as another age group or socio-economic class; 3) concern for communication; 4) cherishing individuality; 5) sense of personal achievement; 6) growth in self-knowledge.

For instance:

The student said: "I am learning about the world by being part of it. This cannot validly be done by reading books or merely observing it from a distance."

I tallied only "learning." The statement implies some kind of cross cultural experience, but since it is stated only in general, I did not tally it.

The student said: "Helped my self-esteem. Most worthwhile thing I did in four years here. Gave me contact with non-university world."

I tallied "Achievement," "Self-esteem," and "cross-cultural."

The student said: "Fun, Warm, Love."

I tallied "fun" and "love."

Under "positive effects" a student entered: "Got to know and love some beautiful kids, affirmed my interest in this field, became more competent as teacher and person, built up my confidence somewhat, was a lot of real fun!"

I tallied "Love," "fun," "interpersonal," "cross-cultural," and "confidence."

The results of my content analysis are as follows:

Words	Tallies
Help	30
Learn	23
Love	10
Understand	24
Joy, pleasure, etc.	12

Themes	Tallies
Achievement	16
Cherishing individuality	5
Concern for communication	15
Confidence	12
Cross cultural experience	36
Improved interpersonal relations	45
Self-esteem	10
Self-knowledge	12
Empathy	11

The Road to Growth

These recurring words and themes place the students' awareness at the advanced stages of ego development, self-actualization, and moral development. It may be argued, "So what? Those levels are normal for students of college age." True. The significance, I believe, lies

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in the fact that the volunteer experience activates these themes. And the activation is a requisite to future development.

Examined from Maslow's perspective, these accounts fall mainly within "growth needs." They suggest that the more fundamental needs have been met. Further progress toward self-actualization depends upon the exercise of growth experiences.

A Twist in the Road—Matching

Looked at from Kohlberg's point of view, development depends upon encounters that "incorporate reasoning and judgment a stage above that of the individual, along with reflection on these encounters."

This conclusion prescribes both the experience and the match, i.e., each volunteer should be matched with an experience that can be resolved only by a higher order of reasoning and judgment than he is accustomed to, and it should provide the dialogue opportunity for reflection, or some other stimulus to his growth.

Edgar Townsend also calls for matching. He is not, however, concerned with the developmental pattern that Kohlberg suggests but rather with Robert Coles'. He says:

A properly designed program should determine where each student stands in this (Coles') process, and then provide the appropriate services to assist them in integrating experience into their own developmental pattern.

A Further Twist in the Road—Mutuality

In his essay, "The Golden Rule in the Light of New Insight," Erik Erikson speaks of the need for mutuality: "I would call mutuality a relationship in which partners depend on each other for the development of their respective strengths." And again:

Truly worthwhile acts enhance a mutuality which strengthens the doer even as it strengthens the other. Thus, the "doer" and "the other" are partners in one deed. Seen in the light of human development, this means that the doer is activated in whatever strength is *appropriate to his age, stage and condition*, even as he activates in the other the strength appropriate to his age, stage and condition. (1964). Understood this way, the Rule would say that it is best to do to another what will strengthen you even as it will strengthen him—that is, what will develop his best potentials even as it develops your own.

For Erikson, then, it is insufficient merely to match the volunteer's age, stage and condition with the experience. The client's age, stage and condition must also be part of the volunteer coordinator's calculations. But in making the match, what analysis of developmental stage should we use: Loevinger's, Coles', Kohlberg's, Erikson's, or that of some other developmentalist? Our road seems to have become a maze.

I believe that we cannot yet hope to realize the Erikson ideal within the volunteer movement. Neither are the resources available nor is the state of the matching art sufficiently advanced for us to match individuals and experiences with confidence.

But the ideal of mutuality is a valuable one to keep in mind. The idea of mutuality, Erikson's addition to the Golden Rule, converges with the central insight in the Yugoslavian slogan. Volunteer (road/client) both build and are built. What kind of building actually occurs? The following case histories may provide some insight into the phenomenon.

Case No. 1—Nancy and Jane

Jane, Nancy's tutor, used Kenneth Koch's *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* to help motivate Nancy in reading and writing. The result was a highly imaginative series of poems. Of that experience, Jane wrote:

"Nancy was noticeably improved, mostly through her own determination and willingness to work with records and flashcards. I only hope that her eagerness to please her teachers and parents in competitive fields . . . will not bury an imagination startling in its colorful depth, perception, and originality.

"In Nancy lives a beautiful person. For me she was not only a trip forward into a special individual but a conversation with hidden portions of myself. Nancy's images represent a world deeply hidden in childhood—an island somehow cut off from the rest of existence. I hope that those poems helped her get in touch with herself. Perhaps their most important function is their usefulness in communicating itself to us in its purity, fear and joy.

"I feel I learned more from Nancy than I could possibly have taught her. The opportunity to earn her friendship was a great and rare privilege."

Are not Jane and Nancy "partners in one deed?" And in that deed is there not mutuality, the strengthening of both? We do not have Nancy's reaction, but clearly Jane grew, and if she did not enhance Nancy's strengths, at least she was solicitous of them. Is it too much to assume that Erikson, perhaps also Loevinger, would see that event as relevant to his theory of individual development?

Case No. 2—Tom and the McOwens

From Tom's Journal:

"At a tutoring session several weeks ago I discovered that the McOwens family did not have refrigerator. I wanted to get the family the refrigerator, but was not sure how to approach them on this touchy matter. I checked with several people about this problem and they offered suggestions. Finally I approached the boy that I tutor, and asked him to mention the idea of getting a refrigerator for them. The idea was well accepted and the McOwens had even been looking for one.

"After some work, I found a family that had a used refrigerator and would donate it if someone could pick it up. I asked Mickey if he could drive his van out and pick up the refrigerator. We picked it up and spent some time cleaning it before taking it to the McOwens.

"When we got there everyone was waiting excitedly. Mickey and I carried the refrigerator inside with some help from the boy I tutor. We placed it in the kitchen . . .

"At this time I began to look into the adjacent rooms. The conditions were just unbelievable. There were holes in the ceiling and some in the walls. The house was dark and dirty. There was one mattress lying on the floor in the living room with no sheets or blankets on it. The only other piece of furniture I could see was a stuffed chair with most of the cloth missing, exposing the bare springs underneath. The other two rooms were too dark to really see anything specific.

"To say the least, I was shocked at what I was seeing. I could not imagine how six human beings could possibly live in these conditions. I never believed people lived like this. It was terrible.

"For the next two or three days, I reviewed my goals and aspirations for my life. I realized that what I considered normal living would be a king's palace to the McOwens. This changed and reinforced many of my ideas about life. I decided that if I was going to live a fulfilling life, that I was going to have to help people that were less fortunate than me."

What mutuality is here? In this event, what comes together is a family with Maslovian deficiencies and a young man ripe for a growth experience. Tom served others, but he saw service as necessary to his fulfillment. To realize his own strength, he must also contribute to the strengthening of others. If he is to be built himself, he must be a builder.

If we follow the paths of volunteers and place the grids of psychologists over those paths, we come to two conclusions and two hypotheses:

Conclusions

1) Volunteer service brings experiences into play that contribute to ego development, moral development, and self-actualization.

2) At present, precise matching of volunteer and client in terms of the needs or stage (however defined) of each is impossible, not only because resources are inadequate, but because our understanding of human maturation is insufficient.

Hypotheses

1) Erikson's ideal of mutuality will become the ethic of volunteerism and permit it to transcend much of the traditional criticism. If the volunteer and his client are partners in a deed, then the deed itself becomes the focus of interest. We need no longer dwell on the role of the volunteer (is he condescending? being

exploited? making a bad system tolerable?) or that of the client (is he being demeaned? reinforced in his dependency? exploited?). Their separate roles submerge in a mutually enhancing action. Their partnership is paramount.

2) The psychologies of Maslow, Kohlberg, and Loevinger merely portend cultural changes which will eventually permit man to realize the ethical ideal which Erikson sets before us. In his preface to *Toward a Psychology of Being*, Maslow sees his psychology as "one facet of a general *weltanschauung*, a new philosophy of life, a new conception of man . . ." This psychology, he continues, seen in its cultural setting, "suggests action and implies consequences. It helps to generate a way of life, not only for the person himself within his own private psyche, but also for the same person as a social being, a member of society. As a matter of fact, it helps us to realize how interrelated these two aspects of life really are.

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