SMALL VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS PROVIDING DAY CARE SERVICES TO ELDERLY PEOPLE: A STUDY IN ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

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Abstract:

The development of a mixed economy of social care has raised the profile of the UK voluntary sector. But although they constitute an important part of the voluntary sector, there is little information about small, local, voluntary service providers. It was suggested that external pressures such as changes in funding (from grant to contract) and social policies (enhancing the role of voluntary agencies in service provision) might result in significant changes to these organisations.

Day centres and luncheon clubs for elderly people were chosen for study because these were services with a strong voluntary sector tradition; the services were community-based; and the population served was of particular concern to policy makers. Twelve agencies were examined: three day centres and three luncheon clubs in each of two London boroughs. Five variables were examined: goals, structure, governance, funding, and personnel.

The study found that the main trigger for change was the increased frailty of clientele. This was reported by eight organisations. Six agencies reported increased extent and intensity of service, accompanied by hiring of paid staff and a re-examination of goals. Four organisations reported no changes in clientele, activities, personnel, or goals. Two organisations reported changes in clientele but no changes in the activities, personnel, or goals of the clubs. None of the organisations reported significant changes in governance.

The study concluded that organisations that saw the service recipients as internal elements of the organisation were more likely to change than organisations that saw their clientele as external to the organisation. Paradoxically, the more the agencies responded to the needs of their members, the more formal and "bureaucratic" they had to become in order to provide an intensive, reliable service. The study challenges the assumption that external forces, particularly funding, invariably result in organisational change.

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INTRODUCTION:

The perceived "failure" of states to provide appropriate social services (Hadley and Hatch, 1981), and spiralling social costs (Hills, 1993) have sparked searches for alternatives to traditional models of welfare provision. In the UK, as elsewhere (Evers and Svetlik, 1991), this search has been given increased urgency by prospect of the "ageing society" (Tinker, 1992). The perception of a "demographic time bomb" (NEDO, 1989) has been fueled by increased numbers and proportions of (potentially dependent) elderly people and changes in family structure (declines in fertility, the decline of traditional marriages and rise in single parent families), changes in the role of women (the traditional carers), and economic recessions. These social and demographic changes have been accompanied by changing political ideologies which no longer see direct state provision of welfare services as ideal. In this context, provision of welfare services by voluntary agencies has come to be seen as a flexible, cost-effective, and efficient alternative to "bureaucratic" public agencies.

Voluntary agencies have therefore risen to new prominence. The voluntary sector was once envisioned by Beveridge as providing

the service which cannot be found by public authority (Beveridge, 1948 p.231)

This assumption has not changed. But with the "public authority" providing less and less direct service, the scope of that "service which cannot be found" in the public sector was to grow from the peripheral and supplementary services to primary provision. Policies such as the Community Care Act 1990 have highlighted the role of voluntary sector organisations as providers of social services. In the "mixed economy of welfare" (Webb and Wistow, 1982), voluntary organisations are to become integral partners in the welfare state rather than "poor relations" on its periphery (Waine, 1992).

These developments have been accompanied by new expectations. Calls for the voluntary sector to become more "business-like" and more "accountable" (as opposed to perceived "amateurism") were backed by changes in accounting and reporting requirements (Charities Act 1992 and 1993), and the increasing use of contracts and service-level agreements (Common and Flynn, 1992). Voluntary organisations are expected to retain the favourable attributes of innovation, flexibility, and ability to "get close to the customer"

(HMSO, 1990), but are increasingly also expected to change certain services and procedures to conform to the specifications of detailed contracts dictated by funders.

It has been suggested that such radical environmental change brings with it organisational change as individual organisations adapt to new environments. Uncertain or rapidly changing environments may threaten organisational survival, prompting organisations to respond (Aldrich, 1979; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Indeed, some authors have presented rapidly changing environments as a major reason for changing the way firms are run (e.g. Taylor, 1977; Kotter and Schlesinger, 1979; Peters, 1987; Kanter, 1983). It has further been suggested that small organisations are particularly vulnerable to such environmental changes (Pennings, 1980; Welsh and White, 1981).

And yet, most of the studies from which these assumptions were drawn are based on observation of large private firms (Pettigrew, 1985), or large statutory agencies. Classic studies of not-for-profit and voluntary organisations[1] are also based mostly on large regional and national organisations (Friedkin and Powell, 1987; Kramer, 1981), rather than small community groups. Although interest in small voluntary organisations is beginning to find its way onto the research agenda in the UK, there is little published material on organisational change in small voluntary organisations.

This is an important omission. Because social service provision in the UK is organised on a local level, most voluntary services are provided by small local organisations or by local branches of national groups. Although the policies were aimed at the voluntary sector as a whole, without differentiation by size, in fact the changing role of the voluntary sector has important implications for small voluntary organisations which are a major component of the voluntary sector. According to the Charity Commission (personal communication, 1997), there are 112,416 registered charities with incomes of £10,000 or less in England and Wales, which account for 75% of all main registered charities. A further 32,000 charities have incomes of between £10,000 and £100,000. Altogether, 96% of charities have incomes of less than £100,000 per year. Aggregate figures for the sector, such as those summarised by the Home Office (HMSO, 1990, p.3), obscure this important point[2].

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[1] i.e. organisations which are neither for-profit, nor State bureaux. Many, but not all, of these are charities. The terms will be defined in greater detail in Chapter 2.

[2] It should be noted that not all voluntary organisations are registered charities. Some campaigning organisations may be unwilling to submit to the restrictions imposed by the requirements for such registration such as limits on political activity; while very small,

Although small local agencies were not mentioned specifically in legislation such as the Community Care Act 1990, they are clearly the most prevalent type of voluntary agency (Charity Commission, personal communication, 1997). The experience of small neighbourhood and community organisations may therefore be more representative of voluntary service provision than that of large national or regional organisations.

Why Study Organisational Change?

Blumer (1967) has observed that

> ...the essence of society lies in an ongoing process of action....To be understood, a society must be seen and grasped in terms of the action that comprises it. (p.541).

The study of organisational change is important because organisations, like the larger societies in which they are embedded, are constantly changing entities. An examination of organisation theory shows that it is mostly concerned with using organisational changes to explain organisations: how and why organisations change, whether due to internal processes or external pressures, or something else entirely, shape the views organisation theorists have of organisations themselves. Thus, for example, resource dependency theorists (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) are concerned with explaining how organisations control other organisations; life cycle theorists (Kimberly 1980a and 1980b; Miles, 1980) are interested in the formation, maturation, and death of organisations; institutional theorists are interested in the ways organisations respond to environmental pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Organisational change is of interest to policy makers as well. As Beyer, Stevens, and Trice (1983) note, policy makers have traditionally viewed organisations as "black boxes". Policies are formulated which rely on organisations for their implementation; but there does not appear to be much consideration of whether these institutions are in fact capable of meeting the demands placed on them. In one policy document, voluntary organisations are described as being

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informal groups may find the process unnecessary for the scope of their activities. For these reasons, the true scope of the voluntary sector remains unknown. It is, however, safe to assume that the majority of service providing agencies would register as charities or, where available, use the registration status of larger "umbrella" groups.

i. able to get close to the customer
ii. innovative and able to respond to new needs
iii. able to work in a wide range of fields
iv. able to operate at less cost than Government
(HMSO, Efficiency... 1990 p.6).

Critics have, however, pointed out that there appears to be scant consideration of the implications of the circumstances under which these assumptions hold true (Knight, 1993). If policy making is about "basing decisions on the analysis of information" (Challis, et al 1988), then empirical data about organisational change in agencies which are assuming increasing importance in social service delivery is essential.

Finally, organisational change has become an important issue on the agenda of many voluntary organisations. The changing role of voluntary provision from supplement or complement to core provision, increased accountability requirements, and social legislation in key areas of voluntary service provision (e.g. care of the elderly and of children), have meant that, increasingly, voluntary agencies face a turbulent, rapidly changing environment. An entire literature has been based on the assumption that, in similar situations, organisations must change or die (Peters, 1987, and Kantor, 1983 are examples). This urgency has been echoed in UK voluntary organisations: respondents to the Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector saw "adaptation to a changing environment" as a major challenge for their own agencies and for the sector as a whole (1996).

In summary, organisational change is of interest to organisational theorists, who use it to explain the underlying properties of organisations; to policy makers who rely on organisations as instruments of social policy; and to managers who must cope with the implications of organisational changes.

But what is organisational change?

Organisational Change:

So far, the term "organisational change" has been used without definition. But because the concept is central to the study, it requires further explanation. The previous section noted that organisations are constantly changing entities. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that organisations are constantly undergoing changes, some of which are significant, and some of which are trivial. The acquisition of a tea kettle, a minibus, or new premises are examples of changes which might take place within voluntary organisations.

Staff turnover, the creation of new staff or volunteer positions, annual general meetings, the redesign of the organisation's letterhead, or a new volunteer are similar examples.

What kind of change is **organisational** change? Does organisational change refer to all changes occurring within an organisation, however trivial? Or does the term refer to only those factors which influence the behaviour and direction of the organisation?

Two definitions of the term "organisational change" underscore the main approaches in the literature. From the perspective of inducing or managing change (usually by quasi-experimental design), Goodman and Kurke (1984) state that "change is the alteration of one state to another" (p.2); it is a "process", with an "object". On the other hand, Van de Ven and Poole (1988) define organisational change as "an empirical observation of differences in time of a social system" (p.36). Neither definition is satisfactory, because both are vague and hard to quantify. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the definitions will be combined as follows:

> Organisational change is the process over time of the alteration of one or more
> key components of an organisation.

In other words, **organisational** change is change in a major component of an organisation. The key or major components are those which could be assumed to be relevant to the direction and behaviour of an organisation. The use of these key components is a preliminary test of significance. Only changes within key organisational components are defined as **organisational** changes.

The reference to the "key components" of organisations leads us to another critical issue in this study: how to study organisations, and what those "key components" might be. This is an approach taken by many organisational studies.

How To Study Organisations:

Many studies of organisations appear to focus on key elements of organisations and to trace changes in these particular elements over time (Dawson, 1992). For the purposes of this study, six key elements were identified in the organisational and voluntary sector literature. These were: the **goals** or **purposes** of the organisation; its **authority structure** (the distribution of tasks and hierarchies); the **governance** of the organisation; the **human resources** used to carry out its activities; the **financial resources** available to the organisation; and finally, its **activities**. These will be defined and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

These "key elements" are often interdependent in that a change in one may influence further changes in others. For example, the availability of financial resources may determine whether an organisation decides to supply a particular type of service (activity); providing this new activity may require that the organisation recruit more volunteers or (if the finance is in the form of a contract with certain specifications) a specialist paid worker. The new activity may attract different people from those already participating in the organisation. These people in turn may then make new demands on the organisation, necessitating a review of the organisation's purpose and goals. Therefore, although the study takes changes **within** each component as its starting point, in order to properly address the issue of organisational change it will be necessary also to discuss changes **across** components (i.e. changes in one component which affected another).

There are a number of other considerations when studying organisations and organisational change. The methodological issues involved in the study of organisations will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter Four. It is sufficient to note here a number of issues which were critical to the design of the study:

Pettigrew (1983) stresses the importance of retrospective studies, which enable the researcher to examine organisational changes in their proper historical contexts, and to differentiate between the significant (with lasting effects) and the trivial. Early voluntary sector studies generally concentrated on tracing changes in one organisation over time (for a review, see Powell and Friedkin, 1987). More recently, the emphasis in both the generic and voluntary sector literatures has been on comparative studies across similar types or populations of organisations (e.g. Haveman, 1992; Haveman, 1993; Amburgey, Kelley, and Barnett, 1993; Hedley and Rochester, 1991; Freeman, Carrol and Hannan, 1983a; Harris, 1996). These developments have extended the unit of study beyond the narrow confines of a single organisation to encompass a population of similar organisations.

These approaches (definition of key organisational components for study; analysis of changes across components; use of retrospective data to trace long-lasting rather than ephemeral changes; and the use of multiple case studies to test the prevalence of the changes) provide some criteria for differentiating the significant changes from the trivial. But they ignore a characteristic of organisational research which is critical for effective data collection before any analysis can take place. As Argyris (1960) points out, organisational research is a collaborative process between researchers and the personnel in the organisations they study. Mutual trust and motivation are critical for the creation of "effective research relationships"

and the "wise application of research to organisation" (p.109). While the categories proposed here are useful for presentation of the findings and for analysis of the data, it would be all too easy to miss significant data because they did not fit the researcher's preconceived ideas.

One way to avoid this pitfall is to use the respondents' own assessments of which changes they considered to be the most significant for their organisations. This approach was proposed by Blumer (1967)[3]. Becker and Geer (1960) provide a framework for analysing respondents' statements which gives greatest weight to those observations which were not directly prompted by the researcher ("volunteered or directed statements", p.273), as a means of overcoming researcher bias.

Having defined organisational change and described the means by which it is to be studied, we now turn to the aims of the study.

The Aims of the Study:

This study aims to examine organisational change in small, service-providing UK voluntary organisations. The study proposes to describe and analyse changes taking place in small voluntary agencies[4] providing day care services (luncheon clubs or day centres) for elderly people. It aims to answer three questions:

1. What changes have taken place in these organisations?

2. How can these changes be explained?

3. What implications do the findings of the study have for the agencies, for policy makers, and for organisation theory?

The project is composed of twelve case studies of small, service providing voluntary agencies. For the purposes of this study, these were defined as serving not more than one London borough (although most served a smaller geographic area). For ease of comparison, the study chose to focus only on organisations which had a day centre or luncheon club programme for elderly people.

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[3] "... the study of action would have to be made from the position of the actor. Since action is forged by the actor out of what he perceives, interprets, and judges, one would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it.... in short, one would have to...see the world from his standpoint". (Blumer, 1967 p.542).

[4] The terms "agency" and "organisation" are used interchangeably in this study.

Day care provision for elderly people[5] was chosen because it originated in the voluntary sector and is a traditional activity for voluntary groups (although there are a substantial number of day centres and luncheon clubs under statutory auspices). Day care for elderly people is also a good example of a "community based" programme serving a population which has been given high priority by policy makers. The ease of access to day centres and luncheon clubs (as opposed to private homes) was also a consideration, as it made observation of the service easier. Finally, there appeared to be very little current information available about voluntary provision of day care to elderly people. Although the service was highlighted in the community care plans of a number of London boroughs, few authorities seemed to have even basic statistical information about the number of clubs or centres in the borough, who was being served, and how many people were attending. Scholarly information was similarly sparse, the two most recent major studies being several years old[6].

The Current Study:

This study is organised into three parts. Part One is a literature review. Chapter One reviews generic theories of organisational change and their applications in empirical literature on voluntary organisations. Chapter Two surveys the literature on the voluntary sector and describes the distinctive characteristics of voluntary organisations. Chapter Three traces the development of social welfare policies and the emerging emphasis on voluntary organisations as service delivery agents in the context of increasing demand for service and decreasing public resources.

The second part describes the study and its results. Chapter Four outlines the purpose of the study, the study questions, the hypotheses, and the research methods used in the study. Chapter Five which follows introduces the local contexts of the study and sketches the histories of the participating organisations. It concludes with a general comparison of organisational characteristics such as age, size, type of provision (day centre or luncheon club), programme content and extent (e.g. whether transport was provided). The main

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[5]For the purposes of this study, day care for elderly people was defined as any programme which involved at least a meal at a central location one or more times a week.

[6] Carter, 1981, is based on case studies conducted in 1976; Tester, 1989, does not differentiate between voluntary and statutory services, and while it includes day hospitals (usually state-run), it excludes luncheon clubs).

components of the organisations are then described in depth: goals/purpose (Chapter Six), structure (Chapter Seven), governance (Chapter Eight), funding (Chapter Nine), and people (Chapter Ten). In each of these chapters, relevant literature is used to introduce the concepts, or to illuminate further some of the issues raised by the phenomena described in the chapter.

The third section concludes the study. The findings are analysed and emerging themes from the case study are discussed in Chapter Eleven. In Chapter Twelve, the study questions are answered in light of the discussion in Chapter Eleven, and relevant literature is incorporated. Conclusions are drawn about the nature of change in small voluntary organisations and policy implications arising from these conclusions are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE: ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

The purpose of this study is to examine organisational change in small voluntary organisations. The Introduction to the study raised a number of methodological issues. These included defining what organisational change is, and how organisations are to be studied.

This section will examine the theoretical and methodological issues central to the study in greater depth. In Chapter One, theories of organisation and of organisational change will be reviewed. These theories will serve as the basis for the tentative hypotheses set forth in Chapter Four.

The approaches described in this chapter are generic. They do not differentiate between different types of organisations. Rather, they assume universal applicability to all organisations, whether public, private, or voluntary. The theories proposed by these authors were derived from observations of private firms (e.g. Pettigrew, 1985; Burns and Stalker, 1961; Woodward, 1967), hospitals (Pfeffer, 1973), and universities (Kimberly, 1980; Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1974). It was assumed that management was a generic discipline, and that theories derived from one organisation or type of organisation would therefore apply to all.

This approach has been challenged, not least by scholars of the voluntary sector who suggest that voluntary organisations have distinctive characteristics (Mason, 1984). This issue will be considered at length in the next chapter. Similar claims have been made about "human service" agencies which are different from their manufacturing counterparts (Hasenfeld, 1992; Willcocks and Harrow, 1992)[1]. Scholars in these disciplines have called for a tailored approach; indeed, this is the basic assumption underlying the literature examined in the next chapter.

Nonetheless, the specialised voluntary sector literature takes this body of "generic" work as its point of departure. For example, Friedkin and Powell (1987) draw on population ecology (Hannan and Freeman, 1984), institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and resource dependency theories (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) among other generic approaches, to assess organisational change in voluntary organisations. Hasenfeld and Schmid (1989) draw

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[1] These include the processing of human beings and the moral implications thereof (Hasenfeld, 1992); difficult to measure objectives and multiple goals (Willcocks and Harrow, 1992); and institutional environments, including accountability to public bodies (Hasenfeld, 1992; Willcocks and Harrow, 1992).

on life-cycle theories to propose a stage model for organisational change in human service organisations.

Following this tradition, this chapter will examine the organisational change literature, using empirical examples from the voluntary sector literature where possible. The chapter begins with a definition of the term "organisation"[2] and a more extensive discussion of the components or key elements of organisations mentioned in the Introduction to the study. It then surveys various theories of organisational change.

What is an "Organisation"?

Defining the term "organisation" has proven to be a complicated task. In adopting a working definition it is important not to be too rigorous, for fear of excluding most of the organisational forms in such a diverse field as the voluntary sector. At the same time, for the definition to be useful in setting boundaries it must have sufficient precision to exclude enitities which are not organisations.

A number of authors have attempted to define what an organisation is. Morgan (1986) explores the use of various metaphors in observations of organisations and organisational change, and argues that the metaphors chosen have a considerable effect on the theories used to define and describe organisations and organisational behaviour. He cites several major metaphors: organisations as machines; organisations as living organisms; organisations as brains or information processors; and organisations as cultures. As we shall see, these metaphors were used by those involved in the organisations in the study.

Van de Ven and Poole (1988), from a behavioral perspective, define organisations as "a social action system constructed by people to achieve their goals and ambitions" (p.25-26). Aldrich (1979), from an ecological perspective, defines organisations as "goal directed, boundary-maintaining activity systems" (p.4). Reed (1992), in reviewing various sociological approaches to organizations, summarises the "social systems" definition as:

> ...social units directed to the achievement of collective goals or the fulfilment
> of institutional needs for the wider society or environment of which they are a
> part...(p.76).

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[2]The term "organisational change" was defined in the Introduction. Because the term itself is rarely defined or discussed in the literature, it will not be further examined in this chapter.

Alternatively, organisations can also be seen as "social units that are created, sustained, and transformed through social interaction", in which the elements of an organisation are given whatever meanings the participants/actors choose to give them, and these are frequently "renegotiated" (p.85). Carnall (1982) describes organisations as social and economic exchanges between various interest groups or stakeholders (p.2, 35). Stinthcombe (1965) defines organisations as

> a set of stable social relations deliberately created, with the explicit intention of... accomplishing a goal or purpose. (p.142).

Max Weber saw

> a circle of people who are accustomed to obedience to the orders of leaders and who...have divided among themselves the exercise of...functions (in Harmon and Meyer, 1986, p.18).

Numerous other definitions have been advanced in a variety of disciplines (Harmon and Meyer, 1986), but they add little to those presented here.

The definitions present two difficulties. The first is that they are vague. For example, the social systems definition replaces the term "organisation" with "social unit" but does not define what this is or what attributes an entity would have to be considered such a unit. The terms "stable social relations" and "social actions systems" cannot be defined precisely enough to be useful in an empirical study.

The second difficulty with the definitions given so far is that they are descriptive but do not actually set boundaries. This is a serious methodological handicap (the first of many encountered in this study), because such definitions are not in fact useful in differentiating between organisations and not-organisations. As will be seen in Chapter 2, the problem is particularly thorny in the study of the voluntary sector, where boundary setting, definitions, and classifications have been ongoing issues for some time (Marshall, in Billis and Harris 1996; Billis, 1992; and others cited in the next chapter).

One method of dealing with this issue is to break organisations down into component parts. Any entity which is observed to contain certain integral elements is then classified as an organisation. Entities lacking these elements would not then be considered organisations. This is the approach taken by Dawson (1992). A number of elements can be isolated from the definitions given here. The common denominator found in the definitions cited in the last section is the existence of goals of some kind (Reed, 1992; Van de Ven and Poole, 1988;

Stinchcombe, 1965). Carnall (1982) refers to stakeholders. Dawson, following Weber ("the exercise of...functions") adds "formal association" to these two elements. Thus, an "organisation" consists of people with common goals who agree on formal means by which to carry them out.

In the introduction to this study, the following definition was adopted:

> collections of people joining together in some formal association in order to achieve group or individual objectives. (Dawson, 1992, p.xix).

This definition is probably the most straightforward. It contains three main elements: people (i.e. more than one person); a formal relationship of some kind; and goals or objectives.

In the next section, additional elements of relevance to the study of formal organisations will be added tothe basic three outlined here.

The Components of Organisations:

In examining the organisational literature, a number of elements stand out. The first component is the **goals** or **purposes** of the organisation (Perrow, 1961). These incorporate not only the written statements on which a voluntary organisation bases its mission, but also the unwritten "culture" (shared norms and values -- Schein, 1985; Dawson, 1992) of the organisation (Perrow, 1961). In voluntary sector organisations, the "public benefit", "not for profit", or "charitable" purpose of an organisation is a distinguishing feature (Salamon and Anheier, 1991).

The second component is the **authority structure** of the organisation, i.e. the "organisational chart" which shows the lines of authority and relationships between the people implementing the purposes and goals (Whetten, 1980; Hannan and Freeman 1984; Kramer 1990a). This is defined by Child (1972) as "...the formal allocation of work roles and the administrative mechanisms to control and integrate work activities" (p.3). Starbuck (1965) considers "an explicit and stable structure of task allocation, roles and responsibilities" (p.452) to be the dividing criterion between formal organisations and "informal social groups".

The third component is the **governance** of the organisation. This usually refers to boards of management and the legal structures within which they work. Middleton (1987) notes that

> Boards of directors are part of the organisation because they are responsible in the broadest sense for its well-being and for ensuring it fulfils its stated purpose.(p.141)

The voluntary sector literature has concentrated on the role of management committees and boards of governance (Harris 1994; Dartington 1995; Wood 1992) as well as the composition of those boards (Middleton, 1987).

The **human resources** used to carry out the activities of the organisation are also important. Particularly noted in the literature is the transition from the use of volunteers to the employment of paid staff members for certain tasks (Kramer, 1990a; Billis 1993; Billis and Harris 1992).

In service organisations, the people the organisation is designed to serve are also very important. When these people take an active part in decision-making for the organisation (by voting or undertaking leadership positions), they are referred to as **members**. When the people receive services without taking formal part in the running of the organisation, they are called **clients** (Cole, 1980, cited in Middleton 1987, p.149).[3]

The **financial resources** available to the organisation which fund its activities play a key role in shaping it (Bielefeld 1992; Salamon, 1987). In the UK, attention has focused on the changing funding arrangements of voluntary organisations from grants to contracts (Common and Flynn, 1992; George, 1994; Hedley and Rochester 1991). It has been noted, however, that one feature of voluntary sector organisations is their access to resources beyond money: additional contributions may include tax exemption or in-kind contributions (furniture, premises, free or reduced cost services) (Reisman, 1991). This access may depend on relationships with donors or funding bodies outside the organisation.

Finally, the **activities** of the organisation, sometimes referred to as the "technology" (Woodward, 1965) may be a distinguishing feature. Dawson (1992) has given the example of a manufacturing plant where the sequences of actions and configuration of the machinery involved may play a crucial role in the configuration of the factory and hence, in the resources and constraints available to the company as a whole. As Pfeffer (1973) points out, regardless of the auspices a hospital operating theatre must conform to a certain layout, and

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[3]The distinction is maintained here in view of the implications of the terms "client" and "member", discussed in depth in Stevenson and Parsloe (1993). While some (including respondents in the study) have objected to the use of the term "client", this was felt to best reflect the position of those service recipients who did not have decision making power in the agencies. The issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9 (People).

staff to a particular hierarchy, if surgical operations are to take place. In this study, the main activity of all the agencies was day care for elderly people.

These components can be used as criteria to differentiate an organisation from an informal arrangement. For example, families may have defined roles for their members (father, mother, sister-in-law), a means of making decisions (consensus, parental fiat), labour and financial resources, but because they have no formal goals, they are not formal organisations. For an organisation to have a viable existence, there must also be people to carry out the tasks involved in agreeing and implementing the goals. Consider, for example, a "village cricket team" without players. Such an entity, while it may have an historical existence (trophies, pennants, newpaper clippings, and stories of legedary matches), cannot actually engage an opposing team in a cricket match. Similarly, resources such as money, time, or in-kind contributions (e.g. a meeting place of some kind) are also essential for organisational survival. The village cricket team would have great difficulty playing its games without an open space of some kind and the use of a bat and wickets.

In addition to setting boundaries between formal "organisations" and informal or ad-hoc arrangements, these components are also useful in studying organisational change. As was discussed in the Introduction, the key components of the organisation are to be used as general categories for classification of changes in the organisations in the study. And, just as entities which do not have all these components are not considered in this study to be organisations, so similarly, changes which take place within the organisations but which do not fit into one or more of these categories will not be considered "organisational" changes.

We now turn to theories of organisational change. There are a number of ways to describe organisational change, derived from several disciplines: psychology, sociology, and management. The approaches cited here can be divided roughly between the literature on controlled change (organisational development, strategic planning) and the observation of change (natural selection/population ecology, collective action, system structure). The rest of the chapter will summarise the main approaches, applying them where possible to empirical literature on voluntary sector agencies. The extensive literature on planned change is given limited space here for two reasons: the first is that this study is concerned with observing change as it occurs rather than implementing it; and the second is that the "organisation development" or change management literature is often prescriptive and based on assumptions

which remain to be tested[4].

Making Change Happen:

The management/behavioral "planned change" or "organisational development" (OD) approach is based on the premise that change can be induced and controlled (Goodman and Kurke, 1984; Huse and Cummings, 1985). The literature describes various experiments in the introduction and implementation of organisational changes (Goodman and Kurke, 1984; Seashore, 1983). Although the original approach was first applied to the training of community leaders in two American voluntary organisations , the literature is primarily concerned with organisational change in the context of large private and public sector organisations (Huse and Cummings, 1985 p.4; Pettigrew, 1985). The premise is that improvement of "organisational efficiency", "quality of work life", and worker morale will increase profits or "improve" the organisation (Goodman and Kurke, 1984; Seashore, 1983; Katz and Kahn, 1978; Lawler, Nadler, and Mirvis, 1983; Huse and Cummings, 1985). Morgan (1986) notes that the organisation development or "controlled change" literature uses the "mechanistic" metaphor which sees organisations as machines to be "fine tuned".

An offshoot of this is the literature on "organisational effectiveness", which is concerned with enabling organisations to attain their goals as efficiently as possible (Carnall, 1982; Yuchman and Seashore, 1967).

Similarly, "strategic management" appears to offer a rational process by which organisations scan their environments, assess their strengths and limitations, re-examine these in light of their goals, and develop plans with which to carry the organisation forward. The organisations generally must decide on specific changes to be implemented if the strategies are to be successful (Mintzberg and Waters, 1989; Quinn, 1989; Medley, 1989).

Organisation development as traditionally practiced involves an outside consultant making a diagnosis of the organisation's needs, and then working in conjunction with organisation staff to implement appropriate interventions, which are then evaluated (Huse and Cummings, 1985). This approach has been criticised by Beer and Walton on the grounds that short-term interventions may not take the organisation's long-term relationship with its

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[4] Child and Keiser (1981) in particular are critical of the emphasis on growth, which, as Welsh and White (1981) point out, is not necessarily appropriate for small firms (or other small organisations).

environment into consideration and are therefore not effective in the long term (p.344); "scientific methodology", they argue, may not be compatible with "good action". Carnall (1982), in his discussion of the evaluation of organisational change, likewise finds the scientific method insufficient "where human aspirations and interests are concerned" (p.2). On the other hand, Bargal and Schmid (1992) present a brief review of several authors who have successfully applied this approach to human service organisations (p.2).

Stone and Crittenden (1993) review the literature on strategic management in voluntary sector organisations and conclude that despite considerable research into strategy formulation, content, and implementation, and organisational performance and governance, many unanswered questions remain. These include what information is used in strategy formulation and whether the process is driven by internal and/or external processes; what factors influence the content of strategies; how strategies are implemented and what factors affect their implementation; whether performance indicators developed for business firms can be adapted to serve non-profits and how effectiveness should be measured; and what is the role of executives and board members in strategic planning.

Mintzberg (1994) has argued that the "strategic planning" approach relies on a number of faulty assumptions: that changing circumstances can be predicted in advance; that the process is objective; and that it can be reduced to formal steps. He argues that change is in fact ad hoc; that planners are rarely fully informed; that the use of "soft" or qualitative data (often overlooked) is critical in implementing change; and that therefore, "strategic planning" is more likely to hamper the intuitive process of innovation rather than encourage it.

These approaches are, of necessity given limited attention here because the study is mainly concerned with observation of change as it occurs in small voluntary organisations rather than in prescribing means by which change can be successful. But it should be noted that the planned change or strategic planning approach comprises a significant area of the literature. Prescriptions about the way organisations should be run and the way change should be managed are often derived from it.

We now turn to the literature on observed change in various organisational settings. A number of themes emerge. They include life-cycle and stage theories, which see change as part of an organisation's natural course of development; population ecology, which uses a Darwinian natural selection metaphor to explain the rise and demise of groups of organisations; resource dependency, which explains organisational change in terms of external pressures; organisational inertia, when organisations do not change; and garbage can theories

which see organisational change as a random process. We shall also consider two theories about the process of change itself: incrementalism, in which change occurs gradually, and punctuated equilbrium, in which change occurs in fits and spurts.

Life Cycles and Organisations:

Life cycle or "stage" approaches are useful as overall frameworks to describe how organisations arise, how they develop, and how they fail or die (Hasenfeld, 1989; Kimberly and Miles, 1980). These theories usually divide organisational histories into a number of "stages". They are called "life-cycle" theories here because they often use the metaphor of a human life span[5]: birth, development or growth, and eventually, death.

The first stage in most life cycle theories of organisation is birth or formation. Organisations begin with new ideas and entrepreneurs to carry them out (Kimberly, 1980b; Pennings, 1980; Miles, 1980; Young, 1985, 1982). Van de Ven and Poole (1988) describe how organisations are formed "from scratch" or by merger of existing groups and individuals already active in a field (p.38). Downs (1967) describes the formation of public bureaucracies in four ways rather similar to Hatch's (1980) four main "triggers" for the formation of UK voluntary organisations: one or more staff members of a statutory organisation start a new group ("entrepreneurship"); an individual or a number of people with a specific problem seeks out others to form a mutual aid group; one or more altruistic persons come together for a public cause or perceived need; or the development of a spinoff group from an existing voluntary or statutory organisation.

New organisations are subject to the "liability of newness" (Freeman, Carroll, and Hannan, 1983; Stinthcombe, 1965). They have not established the relationships and networks with the environment that older organisations use to survive (Aldrich, 1979; Child and Keiser, 1981; Hasenfeld, 1989). Argyris and Shon (1978) propose an "organisation learning" theory in which organisations are constantly learning from previous experiences, which new organisations may not have (Marcus, 1988). According to Meyer and Brown (1977), new organisations are embedded in larger social structures (having not yet developed a cohesive identity separate from them), and are therefore wholly dependent on the environment (p.383). The fragility of new organisations is a major theme in this literature. It is backed by evidence

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[5]Morgan (1986) has discussed extensively the importance of metaphors in organisation theory.

of failure rates for new firms which shows the failure rates for businesses declining with age (Freeman, Carroll, and Hannan, 1983; Amburgey, Kelly, and Barnett, 1993).

Aside from their vulnerability, new organisations are seen as innovative and flexible[6] Kramer notes that

> Voluntary agencies seem to retain their freewheeling, pioneering, and loose organization for only a short time during the early formative stages, while they struggle for identity and to establish their domain. (Kramer, 1981, p.107).

The two recurring themes in the literature about organisational development are growth and bureaucracy. A number of authors (Miles, 1988; Child and Keiser, 1981; Kramer, 1990b) appear to take this growth for granted, perhaps because the empirical evidence used in this literature is of large organisations (e.g. Kramer, 1990b).. With growth, inevitably, come formalisation and bureaucracy (Kramer, 1981, 1990b; Powell and Friedkin, 1987; Aldrich, 1979; Donnison, 1989; Meyer and Brown, 1977; Chapin and Tsouderos, 1956; Child, 1972). Other sources of bureaucracy include institutional pressures[7].

So far, the picture of organisations which has emerged is of innovative, flexible, but very fragile entities. The innovation, flexibility, and fragility do not last long, however. Bureaucracy and formalisation are seen as inevitable, whether as a means of coping with the growth noted previously (e.g. Chapin and Tsouderos, 1956; Hannan and Freeman, 1984), or as the importance of perpetuating the organisation begins to overtake the original goals (Merton, 1976), or as a source of security (Aldrich, 1979, ch.8; Child and Keiser, 1981).

These assumptions are open to question, however. The assumption that new organisations are fragile and can easily fail makes intuitive sense, but ignores the empirical evidence that many organisations, rather than beginning completely afresh, are actually formed from other organisations. "Spin-off" agencies might bring with them personnel who have skills and experience (and connections) gained elsewhere. The assumption that growth is inevitable also does not account for those organisations which do not grow. And

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[6] For a discussion of innovation in organisations, see Child and Keiser (1981) and Hage and Aiken (1967)

[7] Kimberly (1988) describes how an innovative medical school became more formalised as the number of students increased and demands were made by faculty, the host university, and accreditation boards.

assumptions about bureaucracy appear to be tied to the assumptions about growth; in the absence of such growth, perhaps bureaucracy is not as inevitable as might be expected from the literature. Furthermore, as we shall see later in this chapter, formalisation and the accompanying inflexibility are implicated in organisational failure (Kaufman, 1971; Whetten, 1980).

A number of authors see organisational development as occurring in cycles or stages. Wood (1992) suggests a cyclical model of changes in the behaviour and composition of voluntary agency boards. In the "founding period", a group of concerned people come together to promote a cause. Eventually, a particularly committed person is designated as the executive director. The board begins to take a more passive role, delegating most decisionmaking and implementation to its executive director. This continues until a crisis occurs, which forces restructuring of the board. New members are recruited for particular skills. The board becomes more "businesslike" and enters a "supermanaging" phase, when board meetings become lengthier and more frequent, and conflict with the executive director may occur. As the initial crisis subsides, the board enters a "corporate" phase in which day-to-day running of the organisation is delegated to the executive, and the board concentrates on finances, management, and long term planning. Over time, the balance of power shifts as board members have less and less time to devote to managment tasks. In the "ratifying" phase, agendas are set by staff and the board becomes increasingly dependent on them, until a new crisis touches off a "supermanaging" phase.

Hasenfeld and Schmid (1989) propose a life-cycle theory of human service organisations which concerns the executive and staff, rather than the board. They propose six stages: formation, development, maturation, elaboration, decline, and death. Katz (1967) offers an empirical (and much less complicated) model of voluntary group development in five stages: origin; informal organisational stage; emergence of leaders; beginnings of formal organisation; and beginnings of professionalisation through paid staff.

What the cycle and stage models have in common is the assumption that organisational change is a natural, developmental process which will occur within organisations regardless of their environments (although the model proposed by Wood (1992) involves a crisis probably triggered by external events; and Hasenfeld and Schmid (1989) incorporate turbulent and stable environments into theirs). As Katz (1967) argues:

the chief factors that affect the growth and development of the groups through

these phases are related to the internal dynamics rather than to outside professional influences (p.126).

While cycle and stage theories are attractive in that they package organisational phenomena neatly into stages, they, too, are open to question. The three examples presented here are based on empirical evidence. But they, too, make certain assumptions. The first is that progress through the cycles or stages is inevitable. The second is that each "stage" is sufficiently distinctive that it can be clearly identified in organisations outside the samples examined by the researchers. Both assumptions remain to be tested.

So far, we have examined theories about organisational formation and development which stress the internal dynamics of organisations. We now turn to theories which examine the relationships between organisations and their environments.

Population Ecology, Resource Dependency, and Other External Forces:

The primary question population ecologists pose is, "why are there so many types of organisations?". Organisations are said to undergo constant processes of variation, selection, and retention, in which new organisational forms are subjected to environmental pressures, and those forms which successfully withstand the various pressures are retained (Van de ven and Poole, 1988; Aldrich, 1979; Child, 1972). Organisational variation is also explained in terms of ecological niches, or combinations of resources and constraints, in particular populations (Freeman and Hannan, 1983; Aldrich, 1979 ch.2; Child, 1972). Dependency theories, which link funding to organisational characteristics, are an example of this type of approach (e.g. Gronbjerg, 1991; Bielefeld, 1992). Human service organisations are dependent on the external environment for resources and legitimation (Hasenfeld, 1989). Fabricant and Burghardt (1992) show how changes in funding structures and resource environments influenced the daily functioning of three American social service agencies. If Pfeffer's (1973) study of hospital boards can be generalised, it is possible that voluntary sector organisations may be particularly closely linked to their environments, and therefore particularly sensitive to environmental change.

Hatch (1981) found that a supportive statutory environment for voluntary initiative encouraged the formation of new voluntary groups (Donnison, 1989), as did the extent of government service provision -- where this expanded into the "turf" of the voluntary sector organisations there were fewer of them, while the contraction of government services brought

an expansion of the role of the voluntary sector. These findings are consistent with the niche theory of the population ecologists, which holds that a "rich environment" -- that is, one rich in resources -- encourages group formation (Aldrich, 1979, ch.3; Hannan and Freeman, 1984). So do gaps in the market (Hannan and Freeman, 1984).

It has been suggested that organisations die when they cease to be responsive to their environments, when their interorganisational relationships are not strong enough to withstand competition, when the source of the agency's legitimacy ceases to exist, when changes in public values overtake the organisation and it is unable to adapt, or when the environment simply cannot support any more organisations (Whetten, 1980; Freeman, Carroll and Hanan, 1983). Empirical examples are brought by Friedkin and Powell (1987) and Landry (1985).

In order to survive, organisations may compete with each other for resources (Pfeffer and Leong, 1977; Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967), depend on one another for various services, and are subject to external pressures such as legislation and funding regulations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Kramer, 1990a). These combine to push groups to develop in particular ways (Starbuck, 1965). Aldrich (1979) refers to the process of "selective diffusion" or the imitation of successful innovations in other groups, borrowing of ideas or methods which have worked for others (p.44). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) call this "mimetic isomorphism".

Organisations in particular fields may select personnel from particular professional pools, creating professional networks ("normative isomorphism" -- DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In turbulent or uncertain environments, members of these networks may rely on one another across organisations for clues regarding appropriate courses of action. This is particularly apparent in evaluation of grant-aid recipients (Galaskiewicz, 1985). What Meyer and Rowan (1977) call "rationalised myths" begin to permeate a field until all organisations subscribe to them in one way or another, regardless of their efficacy.

The structure of social policy in the field may create universal "rules of the road" to which all organisations adhere ("coercive isomorphism -- DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Government contracts and regulation may affect who is hired, who is served, and what the standards of care are to be (Lipsky and Smith, 1989; Audit Commission, 1992). Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) set down specific conditions under which one organisation (funding body, regulator) can effectively control another. These include: when the organisation is aware of the demand; the organisation receives some resources from the controlling organisation; the resource is critical to the organisation; there are no alternative sources of the resource; the

organisation has no control over the resources the controlling organisation needs; the organisation wishes to survive (p.44). These propositions have been supported by research on contracting in Britain: the more successful negotiators were either sole suppliers of a service or else had alternative sources of funds (Common and Flynn, 1992; Hedley and Rochester, 1991). In the US, Lipsky and Smith's survey of the relationships between voluntary organisations and statutory agencies (Smith and Lipsky, 1993) also supports Pfeffer and Salancik's conditions and shows how these work both ways.

Demands for specific credentials and capital investments may "freeze" some organisations out of the funding process, and bankrupt others. Salamon (1987) also warns of the related danger of "vendorism" -- the distortion of agency missions in pursuit of government funding.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) see institutional isomorphism as a characteristic of organisational populations rather than individual organisations:

> In the initial stages of their life cycle, organizational fields display considerable diversity in approach and form. Once a field becomes well established, however, there is an inexorable push towards homogenization (p. 148).

This process however, is subject to some caveats (Powell, 1991): organisational fields are created at different times and under different conditions; resource environments vary greatly between organisations and fields; industries have different structures; professional occupations vary depending on the degree of control professional guilds have on the training and activities of their members (p.194-200). Organisations may also be influenced by the particular historical period in which they were founded (Stinthcombe, 1965). Thus it would be simplistic to say, for example, that all voluntary adult day care centres will come to have the same staffing patterns, same hours of operation, same goals, and same philosophy simply because they are all adult day care centres under voluntary auspices.

The population ecology approach sees organisations as being at the mercy of their environments (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Yet, this may not be entirely the case. Pfeffer and Leong (1977) in their study of United Fund organisations found that organisations with multiple sources of income could successfully manipulate their environment by offsetting different sources of revenue against each other. Indeed, organisations with sufficient outside resources could impose their agendas on particular funders (in this case, United Fund) by threatening to leave the coalition, thereby undermining the funder's legitimacy and competing

with them directly with donors (Pfeffer and Leong, 1977). James (1983) notes that organisations may use revenues from one set of activities or clients to subsidise another, thus gaining relative independence.

In the policy arena, Peters and Hogwood (1980) describe the way that organisations may participate in the political process to generate new policies. For example,

> Changes in policy may be directed at serving the same clientele group, but the manner in which a group is served may be as important as the actual level of services (p.29.)

Changing professional norms may lead to changes in policies which may in turn lead to changes in agency activities and even goals.

Inertia in Organisations:

A considerable number of authors have addressed the question of why organisations do not change, as well as why they do. Meyer and Brown (1977) point out that organisations must remain stable "if only to satisfy the expectations of clients and members" (p.383). Familiar patterns are easier to maintain than to break out of, particularly when the alternatives cannot be proven to be better (Kaufman, 1971).

In the context of planned change, Katz and Kahn (1978) observe that

> When pressures for organizational change are wholly external, institutions seek ways of resisting or neutralizing the external demands. (p.656).

Burns and Stalker (1961) describe the way individual self-interest in the existing hierarchies of certain firms caused people within those firms to sabotage any attempts to change a status quo that would damage those individuals' status or standing within the firm.

Staw (1980) explored "escalation situations", in which administrators commit increasing resources to a particular course of action, even when this has a negative outcome. In these situations, administrators seek to justify previous decisions by committing more and more resources to them; they become so committed to certain procedures that they can no longer switch to alternatives, particularly when they see themselves as responsible for the outcomes (Staw, 1980). As organisations become formalised, they commit themselves to particular missions, activities, and procedures (Staw, 1980; Aldrich, 1979; Hannan and Freeman, 1984). Friedkin and Powell (1987) note that voluntary sector organisations are not immune to Michel's "iron law of oligarchy" -- the triumph of procedure over goal attainment.

Once capital or resources have been sunk into a course of action, there is a tendency to maintain it (Hannan and Freeman, 1984; Kaufman, 1971). Hannan and Freeman (1984) argue that small organisations have less inertia than large ones, and that simple organisations have less inertia than complex ones. Starbuck (1965) claims that age influences not only how resistant organisations are to change, but also what **type** of changes organisations are likely to resist: older organisations are more likely to be flexible about goals, and younger organisations are more likely to be flexible about social structure (p.473).

Organisational inertia has an advantage in stable environments in that, providing the procedures work, it is an efficient way to run an organisation; consensus has been reached, and the organisation simply rolls along. In a turbulent, rapidly changing environment, however, inertia becomes a liability (Hasenfeld and Schmid, 1989; Bargal and Schmid, 1992). Indeed, Kaufman (1971) ascribes organisational death primarily to failure to change.

Garbage Cans, Incrementalism, and Punctuated Equilibria:

Thus far, we have treated organisations and environments as rational entities, in which institutional or environmental factors lead organisations to choose strategically among various options. Except for Wood (1992), the authors cited above assumed that change was gradual and incremental. The "garbage can model" of organisational change (Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972), in which an organisation is seen as a "loose collection of ideas" operating on a trial and error basis (p. 1), challenges the first assumption. Choice opportunities (i.e. points at which an organisation must decide to change) are seen as "garbage cans" containing various kinds of problems and solutions dumped in by participants (p.2). The garbage can model has the advantage that it can accommodate a model of decision-making in which various stakeholders have different perceptions of what the problem is, whether there is a problem, and how to solve it.

Gersick (1991) challenges the assumption that change is gradual and incremental, and proposes a "puctuated equilibrium paradigm". She argues that change occurs in fits and spurts, with intervals in between. During the "revolutionary periods", change is radical and affects the entire structure of the system. During the equilibrium periods, change occurs gradually and incrementally.

As was noted at the beginning of this chapter, these observations about why and how organisations change were taken from organisational literature which did not differentiate between different types or sectors of organisations. Although every attempt has been made to

supplement these theories with empirical work on voluntary sector organisations (e.g. Friedkin and Powell, 1987; Wood, 1992; Kramer, 1981 and 1989a), the literature presented here did not address voluntary organisations specifically. The next chapter will therefore discuss the voluntary sector literature.

Summary:

This review has presented a large number of theories of organisational change, some based on empirical studies of voluntary and other organisations and others purely theoretical. These have included lifecycle or developmental models and environmental or models of organisational change. Developmental models see organisational changes as occuring in almost pre-determined stages, driven by the internal dynamics of the organisation. Most authors appear to describe a movement from informal or ad hoc organising to more bureaucratic forms (e.g Katz, 1967; Chapin and Tsouderos, 1956); others see change as occurring in cycles (e.g. Wood, 1992).

This perspective does not contradict the ecological or resource dependency theories which see organisational change as a response to changes in environmental conditions (resources and constraints). These authors highlight the importance of environmental conditions in promoting certain types of organisations and in triggering change in organisations (Aldrich, 1979; Freeman and Hannan 1983b). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have noted that organisations in similar contexts tend to become more similar. This would appear to support an assumption that organisational change involves the interplay of internal dynamics such as formalisation with external triggers such as policy changes.

This chapter has applied generic organisation theories to voluntary sector organisations. Most of these theories were developed without reference to the voluntary sector as a separate entity. However, as the study of organisations has developed, a case has been made that private, public, and voluntary organisations operate for different purposes, under different constraints, and in different environments. Consequently, while a body of generic theory may well apply to all three types of organisations, different academic disciplines have evolved to address the differences between them. We therefore turn to the study of the voluntary sector.

CHAPTER TWO: THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

Organisation theory began with the assumption that there were basic and fundamental principles that could be used to run organisations effectively. It was further assumed that these principles could be applied to all organisations, large and small, from firms and businesses to government bureaus and departments (Shafritz and Ott, 1991).

Over the course of the twentieth century, however, the field has developed from the "one best way" assumption of management as a generic science to a recognition that the diversity of organisations requires a more tailored approach. Shafritz and Ott note that

> Although the elements of organizations have remained relatively constant, their purposes, structures, ways of doing things, and methods for coordinating activities have always varied widely.(Shafritz and Ott, 1991 p. 2)

Child and Keiser (1981) have expressed similar reservations. Following the emergence of separate disciplines for the study of public and private enterprise, scholars began to turn their attention to those organisations which fit neither the public nor private sectors -- the "third sector" (Ruckle, 1993; Paton and Cornforth, 1992). Just as public agencies and businesses required a body of theory specifically tailored to the demands and requirements of their environments and aims (the disciplines of public and business administration, respectively), so "third sector" organisations also required a body of knowledge derived from empirical observation of their unique characteristics and behaviours. As Mason (1984) put it:

> Voluntary not-for-profit organizations are not businesses. They have different purposes, different natures, different value systems, and they succeed and fail in different ways. (p.13)

Despite reference to voluntary organisations as "third party government" (Salamon, 1987), voluntary organisations are not public bureaus either (Paton and Cornforth, 1992). Voluntary organisations have different purposes, cultures, and often different structures from public agencies. This implies that the voluntary sector is a special case requiring theories tailored to its distinctive characteristics.

Because the field of study is a relatively new one, scholars are still in the process of resolving some of the more basic issues in the field. Among these have been the definition of terms and the establishment of boundaries, both major obstacles to future study. At the same time, attempts have been made to apply existing economic, political, and sociological theories

to it (Hansmann, 1987; Douglas, 1987). Voluntary sector literature on the organisational aspects of voluntary agencies draws on classical organisation theory and then adapts it to fit voluntary agencies (Powell and Friedkin, 1987; Knoke and Prensky, 1984).

This chapter will explore the various issues in voluntary sector research of relevance to small voluntary agencies engaged in service provision. These include the issue of definitions: how do we know that the entity we are studying is indeed a voluntary organisation? Where are the limits and boundaries of the sector? The answers to these questions directly affected the criteria for selection of the groups in the study.

The question of roles is related to the issue of definitions and boundaries. What does "the voluntary sector" do? How does "the voluntary sector" relate to the state, private, and informal sectors? The role(s) of voluntary action and voluntary agencies in society comprise an important element of voluntary sector literature, the social policy implications of which will be explored further in the next chapter.

A final body of work concerns theories to explain the existence of the voluntary sector and of voluntary agencies. As we shall see, the question of why the sector exists is related to the question of what the sector is meant to do, and why other forms of organisation (public, private, or informal) cannot/will not/do not do it.

These theories apply directly to the question of organisational goals. Conceptions of what the voluntary sector is, what kind of agencies are "voluntary" agencies, what they are meant to do, and the relative roles of the voluntary, public, and private sectors underlie not only the purposes of the organisations in the study but also the "culture" of those staffing those agencies. The staff, volunteers, and trustees involved in these agencies may not be familiar with these theories in the scholarly terms in which they are presented here, but nevertheless the basic concepts have had considerable influence on the study participants' beliefs and assumptions regarding the role and purpose of the agencies and their own roles within them.

What is the Voluntary Sector?

The issues of definition and classification are complex. The term "voluntary sector" is used to denote anything from a small ad-hoc group of volunteers/participants to a large not-for-profit corporation employing professional staff. The result is that agency staff, public policy makers, public social services employees, and the general public may use the term in

the same conversation to mean completely different things.

The first issue, then is that of terminology. There has been considerable difficulty arriving at a consensus for a universal term to denote an entity which is neither governmental nor private for profit. A number of scholars (Salamon and Anheier, 1991) have commented on the inadequacy of the terms used in the literature: "voluntary" gives the impression that an organisation is run entirely by volunteers. This may be true of many organisations in the sector, but the term excludes a major segment of service providers (including several groups examined in this study) who employ paid staff (Salamon and Anheier, 1991). The term "non-profit" or "not for profit", used most commonly in the US, also has inaccurate connotations: organisations may have what in private businesses would be called profits but what in the sector are known as "surpluses" (Hansmann, 1980). The difference is that the money is not distributed to share-holders or individuals but rather reinvested in the organisation (Salamon and Anheier, 1991). The term "independent sector" has also been used (Paton and Cornforth, 1992)[1]. This term ignores the fact that many organisations derive all or most of their resources from statutory or private sources (Salamon and Anheier, 1991); the implications of this "resource dependency" are explored by Gjornberg (1991). The term "third sector" has also been the subject of some controversy from those who feel that the term implies that this sector is a recent development, whereas in fact this form of service provision or association often predates statutory involvement or the private market in a particular industry (Young, 1989; Mason, 1984)[2]. The term "charitable" is often used in the UK as the equivalent of the American term "philanthropic" to denote the donation of funds or other gifts for public purposes (Salamon and Anheier, 1991); this, too, describes only part of a diverse sector. In this study and in the discussion below, the term "voluntary sector" and "voluntary organisation" will be used because these terms are the most commonly used by UK researchers.

In order to be useful, a definition of the voluntary sector must be general enough to

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[1] In the White Paper Caring for People and other British policy documents, the term is used to denote both private and voluntary agencies (p.5).

[2] Ruckle (1993) traces the evolution of the term "third sector" in organisational and public administration literature; the term was first used in the 1960's when organisational theorists began to recognise that the traditional public/private dichotomy did not explain a "third" group of organisations (p.4).

encompass the internal diversity of many different types of organisations, while at the same time it should differentiate voluntary sector organisations from the public, private, and informal sectors. Such a definition should also be applicable to a variety of cultural contexts.

Perhaps the easiest way to define "the voluntary sector" is by exclusion: thus we might say that all entities which are not part of the statutory (governmental) sector or the private (for-profit) sector are by default part of the voluntary sector (Levitt, cited by Van Til, 1988). This concept is refined by Hatch (1980) and Brenton (1985), who define **voluntary organisations** as:

> i. being organisations, **not** informal groups; ii. **not** established by statute or under statutory authority and **not** directly controlled by statutory authority; and
> iii. **not** commercial in the sense of being profit-making or... being mainly dependent for their resources on fees and charges paid by private individuals. (Brenton, 1985 p.8; emphasis mine).

This general concept encompasses purpose, function/role, and organisational structure, but it describes only what the voluntary sector is not and does not do rather than what it is and does (Van Til, 1988; Lohmann, 1989).

Another way to define "the voluntary sector" is to use existing legal definitions. These usually restrict incorporation in this form to particular purposes (Hansmann, 1980, p. 839). The problem with this solution, however, is that these vary from one country to another, with "acceptable" purposes in one country being excluded in another. Badelt, for example, notes that the "voluntary non-profit sector, as conceived in Anglo-American literature, is hardly a category of thought in Austria" and the equivalent German expressions do not translate precisely into English (1989, p.164). In the UK, agencies eligible for charitable status must have "religious, educational, literary, scientific, or public charitable purposes...." (Charitable Trustees Incorporation Act of 1872, sect. 1.) Note that this definition excludes trade unions, campaigning organisations, and political lobbies, categories which may be "permissible" outside the UK.

Hansmann (1980) offers a legal definition that applies to the UK as well as to the US: a nonprofit organisation is "an organisation that is barred from distributing its net earnings... to individuals who exercise control over it, such as members, officers, directors or trustees" (1980, p.838). He points out that this does not prevent such organisations from making

profits, but rather from distributing them to stockholders or individuals; all surpluses must be used to further the aims of the organisation.

The definitions cited so far are all residual in nature, that is, they take as a starting point the assumption that there is a well-defined state sector, a well-defined private sector, and that whatever is left over must be the voluntary sector. Two authors have attempted definitions of the sector based on common attributes.

Van Til (1988) gives a general description of the main attribute of a constituent part of the voluntary sector. A **voluntary association**, according to Van Til, is "a structured group whose members have united for the purpose of advancing an interest or achieving some social purpose". He identifies one form of voluntary association, the **non-profit corporation**, which is a publicly chartered tax-free organisation; this may be philanthropic or service-providing (p.8).

In a similar vein, Lohmann (1994) begins his attempt to define the voluntary sector with a series of attributes of what he calls "the commons":

-- Social action (an intangible product)
-- Affluence: "Only those whose basic needs for survival and reproduction have been met are in a position to rationally choose or reject self-interested behaviour" (p.49)
-- Authenticity: interactions are based on the assumption of altruism, and self-interested behaviour in the guise of altruism removes one from the commons
-- Continuity
-- Rationality: intentions and results are consistent
-- Near-Universality: the entity exists across cultures
-- Autonomy: "...actors in the commons are capable of acting independently and exercising both individual and group self-control" (p.53)
-- Intrinsic Valuation: the entity can only be properly evaluated using concepts that originate within it
-- Ordinary Language: any theory of the voluntary sector must be intelligible to the actors within it.

This far-from-exhaustive list of assumptions provides starting point for a positive definition of the voluntary sector and of voluntary organisation using common elements. Social action, authenticity, continuity, rationality, near-universality, and autonomy are all attributes which the components of the voluntary sector can be said to hold in common. The assumptions of intrinsic valuation (using concepts derived from the sector to evaluate the sector) and ordinary language (employing the language used by actors within the sector for theories of the sector) provide a basis for development of voluntary sector theories. Of the list above, the most contentious assumption is that of affluence, which restricts the scope of

voluntary activity to those who can afford it (an obstacle which organisations in the UK may seek to circumvent by paying or in some way compensating volunteers).

A factor which complicates definitions of "the voluntary sector" is its extreme diversity. The definitions above have attempted to find the elements common to organisations of diverse purpose and structure (DiMaggio and Anheir, 1990). Brenton (1985) mentions the sector's "pluriformity". Kramer (1981) found such tremendous variation in size, consumer involvement, funding sources, function, and organisational structure that no single overall classification proved useful in characterising this sector (Kramer, 1981, p.103). Indeed, Brenton (1985) points out that definition in the conventional sense may not be possible, for this would "ascribe a homogeneity and unity to this vast range of activities that is totally artificial and misleading" (p.58). Hatch (1980) simply says that voluntary organisations "defy definition in terms of essential characteristics" (p.15).The significance of this diversity will be further discussed later in the chapter. For current purposes, however, it is necessary to choose a definition which can provide general criteria for the selection of organisations. The most comprehensive definition available is that of Salamon and Anheir (1990), who identify five functional criteria for voluntary sector organisations:

> 1. Formal: Organizations that have an "institutional reality" in the form of a constitution, charter, rules of procedure, and/or regular meetings.
> 2. Private: institutionally separate from government; not run by statutory officials or boards.
> 3. Non-profit-distributing: not returning profits generated to their owners or directors.
> 4. Self-governing: equipped to control their own activities, in this case having a separate board of directors or committee or membership.
> 5. Voluntary: involving voluntary participation in either the conduct of the activities or the management of the agency's affairs.

This is the most precise and most easily measureable definition of what constitutes a voluntary agency (by extension the voluntary sector is a collection of entities meeting Anheier and Salamon's criteria). Therefore, this was the definition applied in selecting organisations to be used in the study.

Why the Voluntary Sector?

Several theories have been proposed to explain the existence of the voluntary sector (Douglas, 1987). The residualist or "market failure" theory postulates that there are unmet needs for public goods which neither the statutory nor the private sector can fulfil (James,

1990). The statutory sector may be constrained by considerations of justice, equal treatment for all citizens, and/or political guidelines. Or the service may not be what some consumers want ("government failure" -- Badelt, 1989). The private sector may find some markets and clientele unprofitable (Douglas, 1987; James, 1990).

Hansmann (1987) suggests that voluntary organisations may be a form of private government created by groups to pursue objectives that the statutory sector cannot or will not. This is echoed in the UK literature by Hadley and Hatch (1979, p.18). Salamon (1987) calls this "third party government": the voluntary sector is used to reconcile ambivalence about "big government" with a desire for services. The role of the voluntary sector, then, is to serve clientele not served by the other sectors (the "parallel bars" theory) or to provide services that the other sectors do not (the "extension ladder" theory) (Hatch, 1980; Salamon, 1987; Wolfenden Report, in Brenton, 1985 p.241-242).

The "contract-failure" theory suggests that where consumers have insufficient information with which to evaluate a service, the for-profit sector has incentive to take advantage of this asymmetry, and the consumer therefore opts for the non-profit alternative on the assumption that the voluntary sector has less incentive to take advantage of the consumer (Douglas, 1987; James, 1989). In other words, because no personal gain is involved, there is less incentive to defraud the consumer. Consumers may prefer service run under particular religious or ethnic auspices, which may be seen as more trustworthy for similar reasons (James, 1989).

Wistow, et al (1992) paraphrase this theory to explain the conditions under which British local authority personnel preferred to contract with voluntary rather than private providers.

Paton (1992) suggests that

> organisations in the social economy do not just campaign against and compensate for the shortcomings of governments; they are deliberately used and created as vehicles for government policies. They have a role in securing and using particular segments of the market for common benefit ends; but they are also a means of expanding the market into the provision of services for which profit orientated organizations are unsuitable. They are a response to failures of the natural economy, but also a means of extending and recreating it. (p. 10)

It is interesting to contrast policy-makers' assumptions about the "efficiency" of the voluntary sector (reviewed in the next chapter) with economic theories of the voluntary sector which imply the opposite: because no one has property rights in the organisation, there is no incentive to keep the agency free from waste. James (1989) argues that the tendency to inefficiency is the other side of the coin of trustworthiness (p.22).

Lohmann (1989) considers traditional economic theories inadequate to describe the voluntary sector. He claims that "voluntary action... was written out of the economic corpus at the beginning", because unlike commercial ventures, voluntary activity such as services for the homeless or sports competitions cannot be evaluated by fixed prices. He proposes an economics of "common goods", in which the "commons" pursue "mutually agreed upon purposes along joint lines of action and on the basis of economic criteria unique and intrinsic to the commons" (p.373.) The basic unit of this economic approach is a "rendition", or a basic social act "that cannot be reduced to more... fundamental activities such as production, consumption, or exchange" (p.375).

Young (1989) proposes an evolutionary model, in which the voluntary sector is the "primordial soup" from which statutory sector and private sector service provision spring. He points out that voluntary sector organisations often pioneer services in an industry, often in an ad- hoc or experimental form. As the services or activities become institutionalised and prove their viability, private and statutory agencies become interested and enter the industry. These have less tolerance for the "anything goes" mores of the voluntary sector: private firms must make profits (or at least break even), while government agencies are accountable to broad constituencies. Because the voluntary sector is not subject to the same accountability as the statutory sector, it is more flexible and less bureaucratic, and therefore presumed to be more responsive to client needs. For the same reasons, voluntary agencies can afford to experiment in ways the statutory sector cannot (Douglas, 1987).

Salamon and Anheier (1990) propose a sociological view: the evolution of voluntary forms of particular services depends on "institutional structures and state policies" (p.153), which evolve differently in different societies and which create an environment in which voluntary forms of provision are favoured for certain goods. The "transaction costs" or "institutional choice" approach (Badelt, 1989) assumes that the form in which goods are supplied (via public, voluntary or private means) depends on the perceived costs of preparing and monitoring economic transactions. Therefore, for some goods, voluntary organisations

are "cheaper" (i.e., capacity is available, they have a good reputation and perceived expertise, the decisionmakers have used them before and there is less need for rigorous monitoring because they are perceived to have the good of the client at heart). Some empirical support is provided by Schmid's (1990) case study of changes in the domiciliary care industry in Israel following policy changes designed to encourage service delivery through small for-profit and not-for-profit agencies. He found that the main beneficiaries were established organisations which had had some contact with statutory sector personnel before the policies were implemented; for this reason, newer, private agencies had greater difficulty securing contracts. On the other hand, the clients of these services rarely knew or cared what the source of the provision was, as long as they received what they perceived to be good service. This finding would appear to contradict the market and government failure theories.

Voluntary Sector Roles:

The discussion of economic and sociological explanations for the existence of a voluntary sector leads us to a consideration of the role(s) of the voluntary sector. "Government failure" theories imply a supplementary role for voluntary sector organisations, doing what the state does/will not; "contract failure" theories imply that voluntary organisations do what private enterprise cannot or will not. Finally, the sociological theories imply what several authors find to be the case: that voluntary sector roles depend on the context under discussion.

The limitations of this survey should be noted: many of the authors cited (e.g. Van Til, Lipsky and Smith) are Americans describing the American welfare state or, like Kramer (1981), viewing the British welfare state through American eyes. Others, such as Brenton (1985) describe a situation as it exists at a particular point in time. Perhaps the best use of this section is as a survey of options available; some have been overtaken by policy developments.

The role of the voluntary sector varies by industry (DiMaggio and Anheir, 1990) and from country to country (James, 1989), depending on the status of government and private service provision. Where government provision of services exists, voluntary organisations may have a residual role, whereas in industries with no government or private provision, voluntary organisations may be the primary providers. As Van Til points out:

> The third sector...is closely linked to each of the other sectors. At times it takes a form not dissimilar from a business; at other times it exercises the functions of government; and on the neighborhood level, it blends with the household in the meeting of local and family needs. (Van Til, 1988 p.193.)

Kramer (1981) identified four main roles for voluntary organisations: the "vanguard" or pioneer, the "value guardian", the "improver/advocate" and the "service provider". "Vanguard" or pioneer organisations provide new services or serve new constituencies. Kramer cites special education for handicapped children in late 19th century Britain as an example. He points out that identification of new or unserved population is more likely to be a function of self-help groups, while innovations in service delivery systems tended to come from professionalised agencies. Especially in the U.S., the belief by funders that "new must be better" results in considerable incentive to develop small scale, incremental and non-controversial "innovations" in service delivery. Kramer found that few of these are ever adopted by the statutory sector: in the U.S. only 5% of "new" programs were adopted, and in Britain, 9%.

"Value guardians" promote democracy via citizen participation (Van Til, 1988; Kramer, 1981 p.3). These organisations

> "mediate between groups of individuals and the larger society, integrating groups into that society and providing opportunities for value communication, development of community services, initiation of change, and the distribution of power." (Kramer, p.194).

In these groups, volunteering is seen as a means of personal development. Mutual aid groups reinforce the individual focus.

"Improvers" or "advocates" seek to influence government policy. The voluntary sector mediates between the statutory sector and the private citizen as a democratic "watchdog". Van Til (1988 p.119) cites Henton and Waldhorn (1983) in identifying six ways in which voluntary organisations may seek to affect public policy:

> by influencing regulation and deregulation; by advocating tax policy changes; by seeking administrative reform; by developing collaboration with the private sector; by promoting self-help; and by engaging in public sector advocacy.(Van Til, 1988, p.119).

Hatch (1980) found that rather than take over existing voluntary programmes, the state appears to extend its activities into fields in which voluntary agencies have been acting as advocates (p.91).

In summary, some authors suggest that voluntary service providers do work that the government will not do, is not doing at present, might have to do if there were no voluntary agency, or does poorly (Kramer, 1981; Donnison, 1989 p.207; Mason, 1984). Seibel (1989), on the other hand, proposes a radically different view: his study of a women's shelter and hospital found that when there are "nasty" or unsolvable problems, statutory agencies may delegate them to voluntary sector agencies in order to show their constituents that something is being done about the problem -- without actually solving it.

Kramer (1981) described the role of voluntary organisations in the public-voluntary partnership in three ways: the voluntary sector complements government service provision by providing services that local government may not be able to provide (Salamon, 1989; Mason, 1984); it supplements statutory provision by providing alternative or substitute services; or it competes with government provision of certain services (James, 1989). In the first and second cases, there may be agreement regarding the distribution of clientele and types of programs between the two sectors; in the third case, the two sectors may act independently. How well the arrangements work in practice depends on the quality of the partnership. Successful partnerships

> include cooperation, support, basic respect for the needs of each
> sectoral actor, active involvement on the part of **government** in
> planning and managing the partnership, and a degree of trust between
> the sectors (Van Til, 1988, p. 155; emphasis mine).

Van Til does not address the issue of the active involvement of the voluntary partner, an issue raised by Brenton (1985 p.124-126). As Kramer points out, the public-voluntary partnership is inherently unequal when one side controls the resources; the voluntary sector is thus reduced to "at best, a junior partner if not a silent one" (Kramer, 1981 p.252). This is corroborated by Brenton (1985, p. 124), but dismissed by Leat, Tester and Unell (1986 p.97).

The conflict between the sectors can be seen in other aspects of the partnership. Several authors (Brenton, 1985; Salamon, 1987; Van Til, 1988; and Lipsky and Smith, 1990) note the dependence of voluntary sector organisations on government funding. This is a

double-edged sword, for while on the one hand the funds enable voluntary organisations to fulfil their missions (Salamon, 1987), this financial power may also be used to curb the advocacy function of the voluntary sector (Van Til, 1988; Brenton, 1985; Salamon, 1987). Public officials, under pressure to account for public monies, may interfere in the internal affairs of voluntary agencies through regulation, changing contract specifications, and other forms of administrative oversight (Lipsky and Smith, 1990; Audit Commission, 1992). The result may be institutional isomorphism (similarity of structure) to such a degree that the voluntary agencies may become indistinguishable from their statutory counterparts (Brenton, 1985 p.70; Powell and Friedkin, 1987; Lipsky and Smith, 1990). James (1990) cites international evidence that statutory subsidies lead organisations to become "regulated, higher cost, and therefore similar to the public sector in many respects" (p. 25). Forder and Knapp (1993) predict that small agencies supported by members of particular groups may benefit least from recent UK policy changes, while groups specifically set up to receive government funds will come to dominate service provision.

This analysis has described issues of definition and roles for the voluntary sector; but, as we have seen, it is virtually impossible to do so without reference to the public and private domains. The voluntary sector is, as we have seen, defined by elements which exclude it from the other two categories. The role of the voluntary sector in any society can, similarly, only be understood with reference to State and private provision.

We now turn to the issue of the boundaries between sectors, and particularly the ways in which these boundaries may have become less sharply defined than in the past.

Voluntary, Private, and Public: Separation and "Sector Blurring"

So far, we have noted the difficulties involved in defining the voluntary sector, in view of the diversity of the sector. As voluntary organisations have attracted increasing attention from policy makers, a related problem has become apparent: the issue of deciding precisely where the boundaries between the private, voluntary, and statutory sectors lie. Several authors have addressed the issue of the "fuzziness" or "blurring" of the borders between the three (Billis, 1992; DiMaggio and Anheir, 1990; Ferris and Graddy, 1989).

Particularly in the U.S., non-profit distributing corporations have responded to cutbacks in statutory funding and private donations by engaging in business-like activities such as the sale of various goods and products, and some have even created for-profit

subsidiaries (Van Til, 1988). These have led to charges of unfair competition with small businesses which do not benefit from charities' favored legal and tax status. Both Brenton (1985) and Hatch (1985) would exclude such from their definitions of "the voluntary sector". Yet, a considerable number of organisations of this type retain legal "charitable" or "non-profit" status.

"Cause-related" marketing by for-profit firms is perhaps the other side of the coin. Van Til cites benefit concerts such as "Live Aid" and "Hands Across America" (p.144). In Britain, "socially conscious" private firms such as Benetton and the Body Shop chains woo customers with specially chosen causes. These can be seen as an appeal to ethical consumerism, or as a cynical attempt to use voluntary causes as advertising. The marketing of "Charity" Christmas cards (in which voluntary groups may receive as little as 15% of the proceeds) is perhaps an example of the former.

In the UK and many other countries, the major boundary issue is that between the voluntary and public sectors (Billis, 1992). Hatch (1980) noted the role of public sector (social services) personnel and sponsorship in founding and promoting some community organisations. Initiatives may begin in a government agency and then be spun off into the voluntary sector. Larger scale examples in the UK include the Citizens' Advice Bureaux, which began as an initiative by the UK government to provide information to citizens during the Second World War.

Forder and Knapp (1993) refer to this type of boundary blurring as a consequence of changes in funding and policy structures. New policies requiring local authorities to spend money in the voluntary sector and to contract out work which was previously done by the statutory authority itself may well tempt state agencies to create "voluntary" subsidiaries. Similarly, moves from grants to contracts raise issues of organisational control (Marshall, 1996; Hadley and Rochester, 1991). These issues are of particular interest in the age of the mixed economy of care. Can an organisation which receives most -- perhaps even 90% -- of its revenue from the public sector (such as WRVS) be considered truly "independent" of it? When that money is provided on the basis of a contract which defines what service is to be provided, to whom, and how, with detailed specifications for quality of care, to what extent has the voluntary agency become an arm of the local authority?

Finally, the fuzziest boundary of all is that between the "informal" sector and the voluntary sector. The informal sector is defined as the mutual assistance network operating

within a family or community. Informal help is often defined by the particular social relationships within which it occurs (family, neighbours, friends) and is usually reciprocal (Van Til, 1988, ch 4.). Here, organisation is loose and ad hoc; informal neighborhood-based groups span the boundary between an informal collection of neighbours and an organisation as such (Milofsky, 1987).

Billis (1992) proposes a model of three "worlds" (governmental, private, and associational) with "ambiguous zones" where they overlap. He suggests that the statutory/voluntary "fuzziness" can best be resolved by classifying agencies according to their "roots". These include sources of revenue, implicit assumptions, and labour resources. He proposes a test of organisational roots by ascertaining which people or entities have the power to close the organisation down. Paton (1992) suggests an alternative framework involving two dimensions: "institutionalisation", from bureaucracies to informal groupings, and "purposes", from economic/private benefit to social or public benefit. Within these dimensions there are six sectors: the most bureacratised are the corporate sector (private benefit) and the public sector (public benefit). Less formal are small and medium sized enterprises (private benefit) and the "social economy". Finally, there is the hidden economy (trade of goods and services which does not appear in formal income or tax statistics) and the "natural economy". In this framework, the "social economy" is what others would call the voluntary sector, and the "natural economy" is what others would call the informal sector. Because there are no sharp lines of demarcation between the worlds, the model allows for "sector blurring".

Mapping the Voluntary Sector:

The issue of the blurring of voluntary sector boundaries leads us to a consideration of its internal components. The diversity of organisational forms within the sector was alluded to briefly, and the implications of this diversity in setting external boundaries was explored in the last section. We now turn to attempts to map the voluntary sector.

The main issue in mapping the voluntary sector is how it should be divided. One method is to classify voluntary organisations according to their intended beneficiaries. Kramer (1981) divides voluntary organisations into voluntary associations, which are

> membership organizations which usually have a social purpose... and usually seek to benefit their constituency,

and voluntary agencies, which are

> essentially bureaucratic in structure, governed by an elected volunteer board of directors, employing professional or volunteer staff to provide a continuing social service to a clientele in the community (Kramer, 1981; p.9).

This basic division between mutual aid and philanthropic or service-providing organisations is echoed by Knight (1993). Douglas (1987) adopts a similar division between a "public benefit" organisation and a "mutual benefit" one. However, rather than including political organisations in the category of mutual aid, he places them in a third category. Similarly, Handy (1988) divides voluntary agencies into three types: mutual support, service providing, or campaigning. Mason (1984) cites three types of classification: by personnel (those using volunteers vs. those using paid staff); "self serving" organisations vs. "other serving" organisations (similar to Douglas' "mutual benefit" and "public benefit"); and "expressive" or serving the needs of a constituency vs. "instrumental" -- serving a societal need. Similarly, Lohmann (1994) divides "the commons" into intrinsic benefactories (benefitting members), extrinsic benefactories (benefitting others) and mixed benefactories (engaging in both activities). This system differentiates between the culture of self-help in some grass-roots organisations, and the culture of charitable care in others.

A second type of classification is adopted by Hansmann (1987), who classifies organisations according to sources of income (donations vs. user fees or sale of goods and services) and organisational control (control by patrons or customers -"mutual"- vs. control by a board of directors, or "entrepreneurial"). This four-way typology is actually a refinement of Kramer's rough classification: membership organisations correspond to Hansmann's "mutual" non-profits, while voluntary agencies tend to be "entrepreneurial" in character. UK examples of "commercial" mutual associations might include the AA and RAC, or "friendly societies" offering benefits to their members; campaigning organisations such as Greenpeace might be an example of donative mutual associations.

In the UK, Marshall (1996) argues that there are in fact four "voluntary sectors"[3]: the

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[3] as well as the private and statutory sectors.

Religious, Philanthropic, Community, and Informal. The sectors are defined according to three criteria: criterion for allocation of action (who is served); source of control; and contribution to social change. For example, private agencies serve those who can pay; are controlled by the market; and do not alter inequality. Religious and Philanthropic agencies use moral criteria to choose whom to serve. Control is by the religious group or the provider; and both work towards local redistribution of resources. Community organisations use political criteria and serve those who mobilise to make their needs known; the source of control is the beneficiaries; and the groups work towards empowerment. Informal networks serve those who belong to them; the source of control is culture (e.g. kinship ties); and they reproduce community. Marshall points out that the sectors in fact overlap, and services and agencies may move between them over time.

Milofsky (1987) refers to five characteristics of "neighbourhood-based organisations": they are identified with particular contituencies; provide social services and/or advocacy for these constituencies; they are not for profit and usually small; they are member-driven; and they are usually small and have little hierarchy. He argues that such entities constitute a discrete field in their own right, one which has been neglected by theorists and practitioners concerned with making such associations conform to standards and practices derived from bureaucracies.

Knoke (1990) describes "collective action organizations" as membership organisations which

> (1) seek nonmarket solutions to particular individual or group problems;(2) maintain formal criteria for membership on a voluntary basis; (3) may employ persons under the authority of organization leaders; and (4) provide formally democratic procedures to involve members in policy decisions. (p.7).

As we have seen so far, the "diversity" or "pluriformity" of the voluntary sector (Brenton, 1985) encompasses two main forms of organisation, the associational and the bureaucratic. Organisations operating within these "worlds" (Billis, 1993) operate on different assumptions and have distinct and perhaps contrasting characteristics. These can be summarised as follows:

Attributes of Associations and Bureaucracies:

<u>Associations</u>   <u>Bureaucracies</u>

Member led   Leader led

Service as right of membership   Service as gift

Self benefit/self help   Public benefit

Reliance on   Reliance on paid staff/
    voluntary participation   specialists
    (staff "serve" members)

Relationship oriented   Task oriented
    (reciprocity)

Simple hierarchy, little specialisation   Formal chain of accountability
    (jobs often tailored to   (individuals tailored to
    individual attributes)   roles/seen as"cases")

(Derived from: Kramer, 1981; Knight, 1993; Douglas, 1987; Milofsky, 1987; Harris, 1995; Hummel, 1994; Marshall, 1996).

Harris (1995) notes that these discrete organisational attributes have implications beyond taxonomy. She cites five "organisational dilemmas of associations" which she argues are unique to this form of organising. These include the conflict between long term goals and members' needs; the difficulty in balancing competing interests; the need for organisational control in the context of member autonomy and independence; and the integration of paid staff.

Summary:

As we have seen, the issues of definition, composition, and roles for "the voluntary sector" are far from simple. What the voluntary sector is, what a voluntary organisation is, what criteria are to be used for inclusion in the sector, and what social tasks the voluntary sector is meant to fulfil continue to be unresolved issues in the voluntary sector literature. This chapter has explored various scholars' views of the issues from "within" the sector as it were. But the definitions and roles of the voluntary sector may be inextricably tied to the

political and social contexts in which voluntary organisations operate. This factor has made international comparative work difficult, as organisations which may be considered tax-exempt non-profits or charities in one country are excluded from the sector in another by government policy[4].

The next chapter traces the way voluntary agencies and the voluntary sector have been viewed by policy makers in the UK over the second half of the twentieth century, and the changing assumptions that have been made about the role of voluntary agencies in the British welfare state. Agencies serving elderly people are a particular case; in many cases, assumptions made by policy makers and agencies about elderly people and their role in society have prompted developments in social policy which have had an impact on the voluntary sector as a whole. As we will see in the next chapter, the phenomenon of the "ageing society" has given added urgency to policy initiatives aimed at providing for the disadvantaged (of which elderly people are seen as a major group).

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[4]E.g. in certain countries labour unions may apply for nonprofit status, while in others they are barred from doing so.

CHAPTER THREE: SETTING THE SCENE
THE SOCIAL POLICY BACKGROUND

In Chapter One, a number of organisational theories were explored. The importance of the organisational environment was stressed particularly by the population ecology and resource dependency approaches. Environments were seen as comprising both resources (which enable an organisation to do something) and constraints (which prohibit it from doing so). The role of environments in shaping organisations and organisational responses was further touched upon in Chapter Two, where "sectoral" theories showed the importance of social contexts in the definition and development of the voluntary sector. Comparative studies such as Kramer (1981), James (1989) and others, and the fluidity or "blurring" of sector boundaries over time described by Billis (1992) and others implied an important role for the social, economic, cultural, and historic contexts of different societies in shaping sector roles and boundaries.

The voluntary sector is, to a certain degree, defined by social legislation. Academic discussions of the definitions of the voluntary/non-profit/third sector usually begin by citing legal definitions such as the Statute of Charitable Uses (1601) in the UK. On a practical level, this type of legislative definition sets the boundaries between voluntary organisations and others. As was noted in the previous chapter, an organisation may "qualify" for inclusion in the voluntary sector in one country but not in another.

Legislation has other implications for organisations. It was implied but not explicitely stated in Chapter One that social policies are part of an organisation's environment. Social legislation forms the "rules of the road" by which organisations operate: it outlaws certain activities (e.g. dumping of toxic chemicals where they are likely to cause health hazards), licenses others (e.g. child care), and compels others (e.g. taxation of certain types of organisations). Hall and Quinn (1983) note that organisations are often the means by which social policies are implemented; and Smith and Lipsky (1993) provide a number of case studies showing the means by which voluntary organisations may act to influence legislation (e.g. by lobbying legislators or even by proposing draft legislation).

Ilchman and Uphoff (1983) define "public policy" as:

...the use by a regime of its resources to intervene into the accustomed behaviour of some of its citizens to produce more or less of the behaviour. (p.30).

Hall and Quinn (1983) comment that they see public policy as aimed particularly at organisations rather than at individuals. As we will see in this chapter, this observation would appear relevant when reviewing the UK social policy context. Voluntary organisations in the UK operate within opportunities and constraints created to a large extent by policies designed to encourage certain activities and to discourage others. The literature on contracts reviewed in the last chapter is a case in point: it shows how local authorities may use their financial resources to influence or even control service provision by voluntary agencies.

The weakness of the Ilchman and Uphoff definition, however, is that it does not take the social policy process into account. Social policies do not necessarily spring fully formed into existence. Rather, they can be seen as the product of historical and political processes (Donnison, 1989). The way the problem is defined, the way the various options for its solution are presented, and the options to be selected are influenced by political ideology, economic conditions (and perceived economic conditions) and historical precedents (Challis, et al, 1988).

As we will see in this chapter, all of these factors have influenced the way decisionmakers have viewed voluntary sector organisations and elderly people. These perceptions have formed the basis for recent social welfare legislation such as the Community Care Act (1990) and revisions to Charity Law. The changing expectations and demands made of the voluntary sector, and small voluntary organisations in particular, form the context within which small voluntary organisations serving elderly people operate.

The purpose of this review, then, is to set the historical and political context for the case to be examined in the study: small voluntary organisations providing day care for elderly people. We begin with a brief historical review of the development of welfare policies aimed at elderly people as a discrete needy group.

The Evolution of Care for the Aged:

Separate institutions specifically for the aged had their origins in at the end of the 19th century in special workhouse wards for the aged (Thane, 1982). In 1929, the Local

Government Act made care of the aged a local, rather than national responsibility (Townsend, 1962). British social policy on aging (as on welfare services for other needy groups) has continued to be based on the assumption of local responsibility and implementation ever since (Taylor and Lansley, 1992).

Clarke (1984) and Means and Smith (1985) have traced the development of domiciliary care in Britain from its origins during the Second World War until the 1980's, and this section will draw heavily on their reviews.

During the Second World War, a national labour shortage meant that an increasing number of older people were left without care as domestic servants were drafted and women entered the labour force. The first domiciliary services to be formalised were what later came to be known as "home helps" -- domestics who could perform basic housekeeping and/or personal care chores. Voluntary provision of the service to new mothers had been in existence since the turn of the century, but local authorities were given the responsibility to provide home help as an extension of maternity benefits to the frail aged in 1944 (Clarke, 1984; Moroney, 1976).

Meals on wheels, a staple of "community care" had its genesis during the war years in the WVS canteens -- mobile feeding stations originally intended to feed bombed-out families and crews clearing the wreckage left by the bombardment. As the war drew on, these needs became less urgent and the WVS changed its clientele to the home-bound aged (Clarke, 1984; Means and Smith, 1985).

In general during the war years, the voluntary sector was active both in service provision and in lobbying on behalf of the aged. The British Red Cross and Womens' Voluntary Service collaborated with the statutory authorities in developing and delivering services, and the first lobbying group for the aged, the National Old People's Welfare Committee (later Age Concern) was formed in 1940. These organisations concentrated primarily on aged living in the community, either on their own or with their families. Their emphasis on service provision contrasted with the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations, which lobbied for statutory, rather than voluntary, provision of services (Means and Smith, 1985), and with the Salvation Army, which concentrated on residential care provision in small homes (Means and Smith, 1985).

After the Second World War, the establishment of the NHS (1946) and abolition of the workhouse in favour of small residential institutions and sheltered housing (National

Assistance Act, 1948) laid the frameworks under which care of the aged was to proceed (Sumner and Smith, 1969; Beveridge, 1948). The emphasis in the first 10 years was still very much on residential care and housing for people who were not in need of medical attention. The sick would be cared for in the geriatric units of hospitals. This created a gap in provision for those people who were too sick for local authority homes, yet not sick enough for the geriatric hospitals (Sumner and Smith, 1969). Despite the emphasis on the independence and privacy of the aged in the 1950's and 1960's, it was expected that the bulk of care of the aged would be carried out by the family where there was one (Clarke, 1984; Sumner and Smith, 1969). Yet in Beveridge's study on voluntary action no mention is made of the role of the family in care, except in passing to express the need for separate housing for the elderly (Beveridge, 1948, p.228.)

In contrast to the statutory preoccupation with institutional care in the post-war years, between 1948 and 1958 domiciliary care was a patchwork of mostly voluntary with some statutory provision. Domiciliary health care, for example, was provided by home health visitors under local authority aegis. But the statutory sector did not have the authority to provide chiropody in England and Wales (Sumner and Smith, 1969). Laundry services could be provided by the statutory sector, but usually were part of the domestic home help service, also within statutory power. Meals on wheels were mostly voluntary, luncheon clubs were almost entirely voluntary, as was home visiting (Sumner and Smith, 1969)[1].

Beginning with the 1958 Local Government Act, the role of statutory provision of domiciliary services was extended to chiropody and meals-on- wheels. Recognition was extended to adult day care centres. Local authorities' power to support voluntary organisations was also expanded to capital and staff contributions (Sumner and Smith, 1969). In short, in the period of 1948 to 1965 there was a general "division of labour", with some tasks being statutory responsibility and others (home visiting, luncheon clubs, meals on wheels, night sitting, Good Neighbour) being primarily under voluntary provision with statutory support.

While the system of care described here would appear to be well organised and comprehensive, in fact there were serious problems with care provision. Townsend (1962)

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[1]Beveridge (1948) specifically mentions "clubs for old people" as an appropriate and much needed activity to be provided by "voluntary action" (p.234-5)

examined the deficiencies of post-war homes for the aged: the general lack of human rights, the regimentation, the lack of occupation for the residents, poor record keeping, poorly-trained staff, lack of privacy, lack of appropriate medical care. Clarke (1984), and Means and Smith (1985), on the other hand, show the problems of "community care": lack of coordination, fragmentation, poor quality of service, interprofessional jealousies and rivalries, poor coverage, and lack of resources (New Society, 1987; Castle, 1992). These were exacerbated by a shortage of staff (Sumner and Smith, 1969). Demand far outstripped supply for all services (Sumner and Smith, 1969; Means and Smith, 1985; Moroney, 1976). Both institutional and community services were concentrated on the same general profile of clients: frail and disabled elderly persons living alone who had no families to care for them or whose families were unable to care for them.

The 1960's saw several social changes which affected the balance of care of the aged. One was the beginning of the entry of women (the major carers) into the labour force and changes in family structures, such as divorce, migration, and lower birthrates, as well as the financial constraints of unemployment, reduced the availability of the family as a source of support (Cantor, 1991; Estes and Wood, 1986; Murray, 1985; Bulmer, 1986; Audit Commission, 1992). A second was the changing view of institutional care. Townsend's (1962) study of old age homes, and Goffman's (1968) work on insane asylums showed that institutions were not necessarily appropriate to the needs of those they were meant to serve (Eyden, 1973; Knapp, et al, 1992). Victor (1992), in her survey of literature on institutions finds most of it "unabashedly negative" (Victor, in Victor and Laczko, 1992 p.261). Finally, the elderly population was growing, and was projected to grow. These were all translated into the idea that local authorities should expand their role in domiciliary care (Eyden, 1973). The Seebohm reorganisation of the early 1970's gave the local authorities specific license to provide home helps, meals on wheels, residential accommodation and "support to the voluntary sector" (Clarke, 1984).

In the mid-1970's, the 30-year-old assumptions of an ever-expanding welfare state was challenged. World economic crises, including a recession in the late 1970's, set limits on social expenditure. The issues began to be framed in economic terms (Knapp, et al, 1992; Moroney, 1976). Questions were asked about the viability of social security and health systems in the face of projected increases in the absolute numbers of elderly people in the population and decreasing economic growth (Henwood, 1991; Moroney, 1976). Institutional

care began to look less attractive as costs rose. Hospital lengths of stay decreased, which meant that sicker people were discharged into the community (Grundy, 1987; Audit Commission, 1992; Bebbington and Charnley, 1990). Hospitals (particularly mental hospitals) began to be closed on economic and ideological grounds, further limiting the availability of institutional care (Knapp, 1992; Bebbington and Charnley, 1990).

The Role of the Voluntary Sector:

Hadley and Hatch (1981) trace the thinking of the Labour Party on voluntary provision during the early part of this century. They show the conflict between collectivists, who advocated public control of efficient, professional institutions to secure the greatest good, and syndicalists, who supported the "industrial democracy" of the workers against the state. The collectivists won.

State provision by right from cradle to grave implied a marginal role for voluntary organisations (Taylor and Lansley, 1992), which was accepted by post-war conservatives as well (Waine, 1992). Indeed, one reason for the implementation of British welfare state policy in the first place was that the voluntary sector had proven incapable of comprehensive service coverage (Thane, 1982). Voluntary agencies suffered from a "Lady Bountiful" stigma: at best, they were amateur collections of condescending do-gooders (Webb and Wistow, 1982). Marxists and other radicals saw the work of voluntary agencies in alleviating the abuses of capitalism as affirmations of the status quo (Van Til, 1988). The very idea of the more fortunate "helping" the less fortunate was seen as reinforcing class boundaries (DiMaggio and Anheir, 1990).

On the other hand, voluntary sector organisations had their uses. Beveridge (1948) allocated them a residual role in supplementing statutory provision; he particularly stressed the roles of Friendly Societies, mutual aid groups, and philanthropies (ch.11). Democratic pluralists saw the small voluntary organisation as supporting the interests of the individual against a monolithic state or private institutional complex (Van Til, 1988 p.82; Hatch, 1980). Much of the political activity of the 1960's and 70's, and many of the protest movements such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had their roots in voluntary action. Voluntary organisations began to be seen as more responsive to their clientele and less patronising than bureaucratic government agencies (Webb and Wistow, 1982; Johnson, 1987). They were seen as being quicker to act than slow government bureaucracies (Hood and Schuppert, 1990).

Their emphasis on self-help, provision of information, advocacy, and criticism of statutory systems improved their standing with policy makers (Webb and Wistow, 1982, p.59). They contributed to pluralism by providing vehicles through which the disenfranchised could organise (DiMaggio and Anheir, 1990), and offered alternative forms of accountability to the community (Taylor and Lansley, 1992)

Over the course of the 1980's, conservatives, too, discovered that the voluntary sector had its uses. Voluntary organisations were more "cost effective" (Wright, 1987). They were more "efficient" (Webb and Wistow, 1982; Donnison, 1989). Statutory services were blamed for encouraging dependency and creating more problems than they solved (Hadley and Hatch, 1979).

Hadley and Hatch (1981) summarise four themes in the "failure" of centralised statutory provision: non-compliance, inefficiency, bureaucratic ossification, and failure to involve the public (p.23). Administrators at the top of the hierarchies were unable to control the practices of their subordinates and lacked reliable information about what was going on; this led to organisational inertia in which ineffective and inefficient practices were allowed to continue. Rigid bureaucracies resisted necessary change and were unresponsive to the needs of their clients.

As conservatives cast about for ways to reduce government involvement in social welfare provision without reducing services, they found that in funding the voluntary sector (as has been the case in the US -- Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992), they could perhaps have their cake and eat it, too (Webb and Wistow, 1982; Kramer 1990a). A "mixed economy of care" was an opportunity to decentralise, reduce the role of the state, transfer services to the private market (including the already-existing voluntary sector), reduce dependency on statutory services, and "regenerate" the family (Johnson, 1987 p.61). The informality of the voluntary sector was seen as promoting the "empowerment" of the consumer, often neglected or even opposed by large monolithic public bureaucracies. As Hadley and Hatch (1981) put it:

> Being smaller and more flexible, with fewer bureaucratic constraints, voluntary organisations can often help in more responsive and personal ways. (p.96).

The stage was set for a change in the relationship between the voluntary sector and the State. Voluntary agencies, once on the periphery of service provision, were about to be given a

more central role.

The Role of Community Based Care:

The arguments advanced in defence of voluntary sector provision were also advanced in support of "community based" (as opposed to residential) care for elderly people. This is not surprising, considering the context in which community based alternatives (meals on wheels, domiciliary care ("home helps"), day centres, and luncheon clubs) developed. As we have seen, the state never completely took over provision of community services; most continued to be run by voluntary agencies.

Community care, according to its proponents, fostered independence, empowered clients and was more responsive to their needs, was preferred by elderly people and by their families, and was more cost effective (Donnison, 1989; Wright, 1987). Institutions, according to popular wisdom, were expensive, disempowering "snake pits" which produced disease rather than cured it (Knapp, et al, 1992) -- an image not improved by various nursing home scandals in the 1980's (Victor, in Victor and Laczko, 1992). Community-based care was seen as empowering because individuals remained in their own homes and would not be subject to the abuse possible in total institutions. Cost-effectiveness (for the funder) was seen as an additional benefit: whereas in residential care the institution undertakes all expenses for the individual (including heating, lighting, and food), in community services only part of the costs are covered and the rest are made up by the individual and/or the individual's carer(s). Part of the burden of cost is therefore shifted away from the funder and on to the individual or family.

Community care was also more efficient than residential care because the vast majority of elderly people lived not in institutions but in their own homes. Even at the end of the 1980's when institutionalisation rates in the UK had risen considerably, the proportion of people over 65 residing in "homes" never exceeded 5%, a rate comparable to other Western countries (Baldock, in Evers and Svetlik, 1991 p.129).

But what exactly was, or is, meant by "community" care? Bulmer (1986) examined a number of definitions: "the locality in which a person lives"; "an aggregate of people who live in a particular geographic area"; "a sharing of common interests", all of which imply informal networks (Bulmer, 1986 p.26-31). Cantor (1991) presents a model of care of the aged in which there are three concentric circles, the closest being the family, the next being the informal network, and the last being voluntary agencies. Johnson (1987) suggested that

small locally based groups attempt to cultivate and recreate "neighborliness", a less formal support network (p.96). They may be less formal than larger regional and national bodies. For the purposes of policymaking, however, these pure academic definitions were superseded by a definition that included residential care but excluded geriatric wards (Knapp and Renshaw, 1987).

This was probably no coincidence: although hospital provision had begun to decline, nursing home provision had increased over the course of the 1980's. Social security benefits were structured in such a way that private institutional care costs (board and lodging allowance) were paid out of the national social security budget rather than the local authority's purse (Knapp and Renshaw, 1987; Lewis, 1989).

The social security "loophole" created a market in private and voluntary provision of residential care. Over the course of the decade, the number beds in private sector and voluntary residential care rose, while domiciliary care (a local authority responsibility) barely kept pace with population growth (Grundy, 1987; New Society, 1987). The Audit Commission (1992) found that the beneficiaries of what increases there were in community based (non-residential) service provision tended to be the younger (65-74) population, rather than the over-75's most at risk for disability (p.13-14).

The distribution of service between community-resident, younger relatively fit elderly people (provided by voluntary and local authority agencies) and residential care for the frailer, older (and therefore somewhat more costly) population was not, in and of itself, a problem. Given a steady supply of resources and no changes in the numbers of elderly people (especially if the majority remained reasonably fit), such a system could continue to provide adequate levels of care for the population in its charge. But resources were not limitless; and by the end of the 1980's, policy makers had discovered an additional factor which was to add another dimension to discussions about alternative methods of welfare provision: demographics.

The "Ageing Society":

Over the past 80 years, average life expectancy in the UK has risen to 72 years for men and 77 years for women (Henwood, 1990). This is expected to reach 81 and 87 years, respectively, over the next 40 years (OPCS, 1991). Mortality has decreased as well (OPCS, 1991). In plain terms, people are living longer. This trend has considerable social implications.

One result is the increasing numbers of elderly people in the UK population (Audit Commission, 1992). The number of people over 65 has risen from 2 million in 1901 to 8 million in 1981 (Henwood, 1990). The number of people of pensionable age rose by 16% between 1971 and 1991; this is projected to rise again by 38% between 1991 and 2031 (HMSO, 1993).

A second demographic factor is the increasing proportion of elderly people in the population. The proportion of people over 65 has risen from 4.7% to 15% in 80 years (Henwood, 1990). Between 1971 and 1990, the proportion of people aged 75 years and over has increased from 3% of males in 1971 to 5% of males in 1991, and from 5% of females in 1971 to 8% of females in 1990 (Dept. of Health, 1990). The social implications of this rise are that fewer people of working age are supporting more people of non-working age (the "dependency ratio") (OPCS 1991; Tinker, 1992). Baldock (in Evers and Svetlik, 1991) refers to rising dependency ratios as a factor in increased public spending. UK public pension systems rely on people in the labour force to subsidise those of pensionable age (Hills, 1993).

The increase in the number and proportion of elderly people in the population, combined with increased chances of disability in this group (Moroney, 1976; Grundy, 1987; Henwood, 1992), and sharply increased prevalence of chronic sickness in older cohorts (Dept of Health, 1990), has made elderly people the single largest group of users of health and social services (Audit Commission, 1992; Dept of Health 1990).

At the same time, public expenditure on "welfare" services has risen considerably. Over the past 30 years, public welfare expenditure has risen faster than the UK GDP (Henwood, 1992). Welfare spending now accounts for 2/3 of all government spending and almost 25% of the GDP (Hills, 1993). Hills (1993) points out that the age structure of the population is a key determinant of public spending. More elderly people -- higher public welfare spending.

Nor is the end in sight. Both the proportion and absolute number of elderly people are expected to rise over the next 50 years as post-war "baby boom" cohorts reach retirement age. Tinker (1992), in her discussion of demographic trends (ch2) points out that although the over-all proportion of people over 65 in the population is expected to remain stable, the elderly cohorts will be ageing, with much of the increase occurring at older ages. The number of people over 75 is expected to double over the next 70 years; the number of people over 90 is expected to increase five-fold (OPCS 1991). These are precisely the cohorts most likely to

suffer from chronic illness and disability (Dept of Health, 1990).

Besides the increasing number and proportion of elderly people in the population, there have been other developments as well. Traditionally, disabled people who had family were cared for at home, usually by female caregivers. Changes in family structure such as increasing numbers of 3 and 4 generation families have meant that more and more families are caring for older relatives. According to data from the General Household Survey 1985, 14% of adults were providing informal care, and 19% of households contained a carer. Female caregivers still predominate (GHS, 1985/Green 1992). At the same time, however, the pool of carers available has been affected by greater female labour force participation (Audit Commission, 1992) and increasing divorce rates, as well as greater geographic mobility (Hadley and Hatch, 1981). Furthermore, Phillipson (1992) notes that although it may be in the interest of the State to shift the burden of care back to the family, such arrangements may be neither possible nor desireable from the point of view of the family and of the older people themselves (p.117)

The combination of more (potentially) disabled elderly people and fewer available carers has led some authors to refer to a "demographic time bomb" (cited in Hills, 1993 and Henwood, 1992; mentioned by Tinker, 1992; NEDO, 1989). The "problem" of an ageing population has been seen as one of the major challenges to the traditional welfare state (Phillipson, 1992; see, for instance, Hills, 1993 for a summary of implications of ageing population structures).

Demographic changes were accompanied by changing assumptions about elderly people. The focus of social policy gradually changed from pension issues to care issues. Whereas in the 1950's and 60's all people over 65 were seen as an aggregate (because all received pensions), by the 1980's professionals in the field of ageing were beginning to differentiate between cohorts (i.e. people born in about the same decade). Although disability does rise with age (Moroney, 1976), not all cohorts are affected in the same ways. Improvements in living conditions and nutrition, as well as personal habits such as smoking and exercise were found to have long-term effects on health in later life (Hartford, 1985).

Gerontologists began to differentiate between the normal effects of ageing (e.g. changes in vision and hearing) and pathological conditions which might be treatable or preventable (Kirk, 1992; Nolan, 1990). The onset of disability might be postponed by encouraging people to remain physically and mentally active (Leitner and Leitner, 1985).

Activity theory (Lemon, et al, 1972), which asserted that

> the key to successful aging lies in the individual's motivation to stay physically
> and mentally active. (Fry, 1992 p.263)

began to replace disengagement theory, which saw old age as

> an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased
> interaction between the aging person and the social system he belongs to.
> (Cummings and Henry, 1961, p.14.).

These developments had considerable policy implications, for they paved the way for a redefinition of need. People over 65 were no longer to be considered uniformly needy. Rather, there was a differentiation between the "young-old" (people under 75), who were expected to be relatively fit, and the "old-old" (people over 75) who could be expected to require more assistance. Even within these cohorts, elderly people began to be seen as a heterogeneous group, some of whom may be needier than others. There was now a scientific basis for targetting people according to levels of need.

Rethinking the Welfare State:

Demographic and economic factors combined to set the stage for policy discussions about the role of the welfare state in provision for elderly people. The "problems" confronting the British welfare state regarding care of elderly people at the end of the 1980's can roughly be summarised as follows:

1. There are an increasing number and proportion of elderly people in the population.

2. The number and proportion of elderly people is expected to rise considerably by the beginning of the next century.

3. Elderly people require separate consideration because their needs are different from those of other needy people in the population:

3a. Elderly people are poor and are unable to remedy this by seeking employment (because they are "too old" to work).

3b. Elderly people are more subject to chronic illnesses than the rest of the population; these illnesses are incurable and disabling.

3c. These evils of old age are not the responsibility of the individual (elderly people can't help being poor and sick).

4. Care of elderly people is the responsibility of family and society (i.e. the State).

5. Families cannot care for elderly people as they once did. But they still have a primary responsibility for their ageing members. Therefore they require external help to fulfil this responsibility.

6. The State cannot afford to care for elderly people.

7. Solutions to the "problem" of the "ageing society" must be framed in ways that preserve and promote individual autonomy and independence.

7a. Keeping people active and independent for as long as possible is not only good for the individual, but can help to reduce or postpone expenditure required to treat chronic disability.

Framed in this way, the "problems" imply certain criteria for their solution. Any method for resolving the difficulties must take into account increasing numbers of people and increasing severity and duration of illness. It must also consider shrinking public resources. In other words, methods must be sought which are cheap, efficient in using available resources, and make minimal use of state intervention.

A number of alternatives to "traditional" methods of service delivery were proposed in the 1980's. Among these changes have been a shift from universal provision by right to entitlement by need, or "targetting" of services (Hills, 1993; Webb and Wistow, 1982); a drive for greater efficiency and effectiveness in service provision (Griffiths, 1988); a shift from (expensive) residential care to community-based care (Webb and Wistow, 1982); and the reduction of the role of the state in provision of services (Johnson, 1987; Webb and Wistow, 1982).

Limiting care to those who were most in need was based on the assumption that since there are not enough resources to go around, existing public resources should be reserved for the most severe cases. This represents a departure from previous welfare-state policy, in which all citizens receive services by right. The "targetting" of the most severe cases would appear to be consistent with the need to use existing resources efficiently. Providing services for people who can manage without them, or who could obtain them by other means, would

involve depriving those most in need[2]. Universal provision has become a luxury the state can no longer afford.

At the same time, care for disabled elderly people was shifted from medical provision (which was free to the consumer at the point of service but expensive for the provider) to "social" provision (the cost of which could be partly subsidised by the consumer and was less expensive to the provider).

In defining "efficiency", policy makers turned to the free market in their search for models. This was a reflection of the "new managerialism" (Knapp, et al, 1992), in which human services were seen as products or "packages", to be tailored to customers and subject to contracts (Castle, 1992; Audit Commission, 1992).

The content of services also changed. It had been assumed that the best possible care for disabled individuals could only be achieved using residential, institutional care, and that people who were not able to manage independently therefore belonged either in long-stay hospital wards (because they were ill) or in old-age homes (because they were needy). These options had also been a means of solving the post-war housing problem for elderly people. By the late 1980's, however, these alternatives were proving very expensive, and costs were escalating. An alternative goal was therefore proposed: to limit expensive residential care to those who were the most disabled, and to keep people in their own homes ("in the community") for as long as possible.

Limiting the role of the state was to be achieved by increasing the role of non-statutory means of service delivery (informal care, the voluntary sector and the private sector) (Castle, 1992; Audit Commission, 1992; Lewis, 1989). The introduction of a "mixed economy of care" was meant to enhance "value for money" and user choice (Wistow and Henwood, 1991; Caring for People, 1989). The role of the state was redefined from direct provision to "enabling" provision to be made (Griffiths, 1988; Caring for People, 1989). The purchaser-provider split was meant to increase accountability while reducing direct statutory involvement in care provision.

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[2] The long-term efficiency of this approach has been questioned. By focusing on the most disabled, the policy solution was actually reinforcing custodial types of treatment for people whose condition was unlikely to improve, rather than the prevention of these costly conditions in the first place.

In 1988, the Griffiths Report called for better coordination of community care between health and social service authorities, clearer goals, and the implementation of a "mixed economy of care" for disabled people, including the elderly. Among other things, it called for the "potential contribution" of the voluntary sector to be developed via public agency funding (Griffiths, 1988). One way that this "mixed economy" might be structured would be for statutory services to concentrate primarily on short-term help, with voluntary and private programmes taking up the long-term needs of older people (Robbins, 1993).

In summary, the use of voluntary organisations to deliver community-based services to frail clientele has been seen as the optimal method of achieving the goals set out by recent UK social policy and have therefore been incorporated into the NHS and Community Care Reform Act of 1990 (Caring for People, 1989).

Implications of Social Service Reforms for Voluntary Organisations:

The main goal of social policy in the 1990's was to attempt to reduce the growth in expenditure for personal social services as much as possible (Parker, 1990) while attempting to "enable people to live as normal a life as possible in their own homes or in a homely environment..." with the best quality and choice of service possible (HMSO, Caring for People, 1989 p.4). The choice of methods by which these goals were to be met was strongly influenced by changes in the dominant political ideology, particularly in light of what had been seen as the "failure" of traditional welfare-state institutions and previous policies to achieve their objectives (Hadley and Hatch, 1981). There was increasing awareness of the limitations of traditional statutory provision in an era in which welfare provision was seen as "...a zero sum game... a contest for resources in which every winner's gains had to be paid for by some else's losses" (Donnison, 1989).

Social policy in the UK was based on several assumptions. Among these were that voluntary provision is cheaper, more cost effective, and more responsive than statutory provision; and that community-based alternatives are more cost effective than residential options and are of at least equivalent quality (if not better). Doubts have been raised regarding both assumptions.

Hood and Schuppert (1990) have questioned the perceived responsiveness of the voluntary sector. Hansmann (1987) points out that voluntary organisations are often slower to

respond to increased demand than private firms. Indeed, Knoke and Prensky (1984) note that

> most voluntary associations typically lack sufficient internal
> resources and structural components to adjust their operations
> rapidly to deteriorating or expanding environmental
> opportunities. (Knoke and Prensky, 1984 p.11).

This has considerable implications in a competitive and/or rapidly changing environment, particularly if some form of competitive tendering is implemented.

Another assumption which has been scrutinised is the "cost effectiveness" of voluntary agencies. This often stems from low wages, the use of volunteers, small staffs with little redundancy, and subsidising of costs through private donations (Douglas, 1987; Brenton 1985; Knapp, 1989; Hatch and Mocroft, 1979; Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992; James, 1990). The changing role of the sector from complement to primary provider may strain these arrangements, particularly if hidden costs (such as the cost of negotiating contracts) are not taken into account. An assumption with particular implications for voluntary agencies delivering services is that voluntary sector organisations are able to take over services from the state without affecting quality and availability of service (Murray, 1985). Hunter (1993) notes that community services are still as fragmented as before, (a view supported by Bebbington and Charnley's 1990 study of service provision to 176 elderly people) and questions the sustainability of the system.

Questions have been raised as well regarding the claims made for community care policies. Knapp and Renshaw (1987) comment that

> Good community care -- as many people now recognize-- is not necessarily
> cheaper than hospital provision -- although it may often be more cost-effective.
> (p.19)

Bytheway and Johnson (1990) express skepticism about the "mixed economy" of welfare as applied to services for elderly people on the grounds that market forces do not necessarily guarantee the availability of services appropriate to the needs of an individual at prices affordable to the consumer. Lewis (1989) has raised the spectre of a "two tiered system" stratified by ability to pay (p.84).

Community-based care policies have several additional implications. The most controversial is the reliance on families, and particularly women (Lewis, 1989 p. 19), to

undertake the bulk of the care (Cantor, 1991; Murray, 1987). Knapp and Renshaw (1987) point out that

> The assumption of an untapped supply of informal care, which is costless to statutory agencies, may be highly misleading...such care should not be considered as limitless. (p.20).

Murray (1985) questions the assumption that the "community" -- especially women -- is able care for the aged chronically ill.

The implementation of these policies has considerable implications for voluntary agencies serving the aged. For many, the policy changes may mean increased financial opportunities, but with strings attached (Russell, et al, 1995). Rochester (1996) notes a shift in state funding from core activities to project-related funds, and then mainly to projects of specific interest to government departments. The emphasis is on service provision (and particular services at that), rather than on advocacy (Billis and Harris, 1992). Changes in the balance of services mean that the environment in which voluntary organisations operate is changing dramatically. Will voluntary sector organisations serving the aged be forced out of advocacy and innovation and into basic service provision as some (Murray, 1985) predict? Will there be shifts in clientele and programs as might be inferred from the new funding environment?

In the United States, changes in the structure of statutory-sector funding of voluntary social service agencies, coupled with increasing demand and "sicker" clientele, have had a serious impact on the daily functioning of this type of agency (Fabricant and Burghard, 1992). Agency workers are dealing with more clients, and the clients they see have more complex problems (p.132-138). Time constraints have led to more superficial, "bandaid" treatment (p. 151). The scarcity of resources has meant less interagency cooperation (p. 139) and reduced choices for intervention (p.152). Statutory accountability requirements have led to increased formalisation and the use of paperwork as a measure of productivity (p. 145). Furthermore, salaries and benefits are lower than in the public sector, although standards of expected work remain the same (p.121). The result is staff burnout, high staff turnover, decreased responsiveness to clients, and lower quality of care. Concerns have also been raised regarding the availability of services to client groups who are not eligible for government subsidy under contracts and cannot afford to pay for their own care in a "privatised" system (Netting, et al,

1990; Estes and Wood, 1986).

Whether the American experience will be replicated in Britain remains to be seen. However, an exploratory study of mainly statutory services found similar phenomena emerging in British community services for elderly people, disabled people, and people with mental health problems (Hadley and Clough, 1997).

Other trends have also been evident. Over the course of the 1980's, British voluntary agencies moved away from self-help and community development and towards management of funded projects and direct provision of services (Billis and Harris, 1992). Along with this was a trend towards provision of services to the frailest clientele, and towards increasing formalisation of services (Billis and Harris, 1992). Common and Flynn (1992), in a British study of twelve contracts between local authorities and voluntary agencies, found that under contracts innovation was discouraged (p.31) and client choice restricted (p.35). This last finding was corroborated by Caldock (cited in Robbins, 1993, p.100). Furthermore, because the contracting process can be expensive, small organisations may lack the resources to enter into contracts (Common and Flynn, 1992 p.32); above a certain size threshold, economies of scale might enable organisations to negotiate effectively, but at the price of responsiveness and over-all organisational efficiency (p.32). Hedley and Rochester (1991) in a national UK study of home attendant schemes, found that contracts involving "billed care" meant an increasing amount of staff time spent on paperwork (p.15).

Small voluntary agencies may find themselves at the cutting edge of these policy developments. Voluntary agencies providing day care for elderly people are particular cases in point because day care is a classic community based service and elderly people as a needy group have been given high priority by recent legislation. Indeed it can be argued that the advent of the ageing society was one of the spurs to the development of new systems of care.

But there is a dearth of information about the extent of voluntary provision of day care for elderly people, the role such provision plays in the system of care, and most importantly, the dynamics taking place within such groups. The assumptions and counter-assumptions made about the voluntary sector as a whole and voluntary groups in particular by policy makers and researchers were summarised in this section. But these groups remain, to paraphrase Beyer, Stevens, and Trice (1983), a "black box into which policy flows and from which intended effects....do or do not emerge."

Day Care for Elderly People: A Review

Adult day care is a form of community-based care which, although it has received less attention than domiciliary care in recent years (for instance, the White Paper <u>Caring for People</u> devotes only one paragraph to day care) is nonetheless well established in the UK (Sumner and Smith, 1969; Nies, Tester, and Nuijens, 1991).

People over 65 constitute the single largest user group for adult day services (Carter, 1981). In 1992, people over 65 accounted for 29% of adult day care attendances in day centres run by local authorities or under contract to them (Department of Health, 1994). Social services statistics show that places for elderly people in local authority (statutory) day centres rose from 19,988 in 1980 to 26,996 in 1990 (Dept. of Health, 1990), suggesting that this form of provision has been expanding (Tester, 1989). Indeed, Baldock (1991) cites figures showing a 60% increase in the number of adult day care places for people over 75 between 1976 and 1986 (p.130).

Unlike day care for other user groups, however, adult day care for the elderly has its roots in recreational and custodial, rather than therapeutic or rehabilitational aims (Carter, 1981; Tester, 1989) and it continues to play an important role in elderly people's leisure opportunities (Clarke and Curson, 1993).

The terms "adult day care" and "day services" are used to describe all services that take place in premises outside the clients' homes and do not involve an overnight stay (Tester, 1989). This includes day hospitals, day centres, and luncheon clubs. Although Tester (1989) differentiates between day hospitals, which have short term rehabilitational or "medical" goals, and day centres, which have long term custodial or "social goals" (ch.9), less attention is paid by most authors to the boundaries between day centres and luncheon clubs. Nonetheless, various authors refer to these as separate types of provision ("day centres and luncheon clubs" (see, for example, Clarke and Curson, 1993; Ackers and Grimwade 1986; Rickford, 1993). The goals of luncheon clubs and day centres are somewhat different:

> <u>Luncheon clubs</u> from the users' point of view have generally proven to be a valued form of service, sometimes more because of the social function they fulfil than the provision of a meal.... The role of the club or centre in creating an environment which encourages people to relax, meet, and commune together cannot be overemphasised. (Dunn, 1987)

Although the stated objective of many programmes might be

> "to supplement the dietary intake of elderly people in whom it might otherwise be deficient" (Kemm, 1979)

in practice the underlying agenda may have more to do with

> "help[ing] elderly people to overcome the problem of loneliness and provid[ing] them with opportunities for social contact and recreation" (Kemm, 1979)

In day centres, on the other hand, the custodial or "care" goal is often more explicit. As part of a "package" of care, adult day care (particularly in centres) is meant to prevent the breakdown of family support systems that leads to institutionalisation (Cantley and Smith, 1987; Carter, 1981; Tester, 1989; Victor, in Victor and Laczko, 1992 p.267).

As a community-based service, day care for elderly people is attractive to policy makers on economic or "value for money" grounds. Adult day care is seen as being cheaper than residential care provision because no "overnight" costs (such as facilities and staff) are incurred (Tibbit, 1987) although Leat (1990) points out that compared with domiciliary services, savings on personnel are offset by capital and transportation costs.

Adult day care services are part of the "package" of community care which current policy hopes to develop further using the voluntary sector (Caring For People, 1989). A cursory examination of the community care plans for 1992-93 of 13 London boroughs found that 12 of them contained statements in which the further development of adult day care services for the elderly in collaboration with the voluntary sector was a policy objective[3]. However, despite increasing political emphasis on development of adult day care for elderly people on a local level using the voluntary sector, exact figures on the scope of voluntary provision of adult day care for the elderly cannot be found (Leat, 1990). Voluntary provision of adult day care is considered by some authors to be a significant proportion of total day care provision in the UK (Carter, 1981; Pahl, 1989). It is estimated that one third of day care programs for the elderly in the UK are provided under voluntary auspices (Carter, 1981;

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[3] These were the London Boroughs of Barnet, Bromley, Camden, Hammersmith and Fulham, Harrow, Hillingdon, Lambeth, Lewisham, Redbridge, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, and Westminster. The City of London does not provide direct services but contracts with other boroughs.

Tester, 1989) as well as more than half of the day care places available per day (Tester, 1989; Pahl, 1989). In London, day care services for elderly members of ethnic minorities have traditionally been provided by the voluntary sector (Ackers and Grimwade, 1986).

A 1994 statistical bulletin based on 1992 figures supplied statistics for day centres either under local authority auspices or under contract to local authorities. It should be stressed that these figures include only places directly funded by the statutory sector; voluntary agencies not in direct receipt of statutory funding would not appear in the survey. The bulletin reports a total number of 139,030 places for people over 65 in the week surveyed; of these, 29,730 (21%) were provided by voluntary agencies under contract to the local authorities (Department of Health, 1994). A total of 1,065 day centres for people over 65 were surveyed, of which 407 (38%) were run by voluntary agencies under contract to local authorities (ibid.).

The major studies of adult day care centres (Carter, 1981 and Tester, 1989) did not differentiate between statutory day centres and voluntary ones. Nies, Tester, and Nuijens (1991) in a comparative study of the UK and the Netherlands, found that "the supply and distribution of such services are largely determined by government policy"; this finding is particularly significant in light of the fact that adult day care provision in the Netherlands is almost entirely under voluntary auspices. Ackers and Grimwade (1986) surveyed day centres and clubs for ethnic elderly in selected London boroughs, almost all of which was provided under voluntary auspices, and found that the extent and history of voluntary-statutory collaboration and support were linked to the provision of adult day care clubs and centres for this type of clientele. Their findings were consistent with Hatch's (1980) conclusion that a "supportive" statutory environment encouraged the growth of new voluntary groups. An article in Community Care (Rickford, 1993) claimed that local authorities were shifting their emphasis from luncheon clubs to day centres, a development which may have relevance to the agencies in the study.

Summary:

This chapter has traced developments in UK social policy with reference to the voluntary sector and care of elderly people in order to describe the general context in which voluntary organisations providing service to elderly people operate, and the ways in which the roles of these organisations have changed over time. As we have seen, the social policy consensus has changed: the voluntary sector was at best the tolerated poor relation of care,

providing a marginal or "alternative" service at a time when the emphasis was on statutory provision of the types of service that statutory agencies did best and public resources were relatively bountiful. But when demands began to grow beyond the ability of statutory systems to keep pace, the search for solutions to the dilemma prompted social policy makers to rethink the position of the voluntary sector in social care. Assumptions about the capacity and abilities of voluntary provision have now been institutionalised in social policy documents such as Caring for People and the NHS and Community Care Act.

These developments have a particular influence on small service providing voluntary agencies such as those running day care programmes for elderly people. Yet, as a review of the literature in the previous section showed, little is known about such agencies. Policy changes such as emphasis on community based care and provision by voluntary groups should theoretically expand the opportunities available for this type of service provision. Changes in funding, from grant to contract and possibly to competitive tendering could be expected to affect the resource bases of these organisations. In theory, such wide-sweeping policy changes should engender organisational responses. But is this in fact the case?

The next chapter will state the purpose of the study, the specific research questions, the hypotheses derived from the literature reviewed in this and the previous two chapters, and the research methods used.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

The previous section (Chapters 1-3) has reviewed various literatures of relevance to the study. In Chapter One, definitions of the term "organisation" were offered, and the main theories of organisational change were illustrated by examples from the voluntary sector literature. Chapter Two provided a closer examination of that literature and illustrated some of the difficulties in defining what "the voluntary sector" is. Chapter Three explored the context of voluntary provision of services in the UK, with particular reference to community based services for elderly people.

These chapters outlined some of the basic issues in the field. These are not theoretical exercises: rather, the issues outlined have posed serious practical difficulties for study design. For example, definitions were important because definitions provide useful boundaries. The way in which the term "organisation" is defined provides the criteria for including or excluding particular entities from the study. There was even greater difficulty in defining what a "voluntary sector" organisation is: should a programme which was originally conceived by staff at a local (statutory) social services department and run by them, but which was later transferred to a local church, be considered "voluntary provision"? What about an organisation which has no volunteers? What of a programme which is completely funded by local government but is run by unpaid individuals?

The literature explored in the previous chapters has also provided the basis for some general ideas about organisational change. These are sufficient to offer what McClintock, et al, call a "rough framework" for the study of organisational change in voluntary organisations. Among the assumptions supported by the literature is the idea that organisations respond to changes in their environments by making certain changes in the way they are run (see Chapter One). Another assumption is that voluntary sector organisations have discrete characteristics that make them different from their public and private counterparts (see Chapter Two). Finally, Chapter Three documented the ways in which voluntary sector roles in service provision have changed and are set to change over the course of the 1980's and 1990's. On the basis of these developments, it is reasonable to assume that organisational change should be fairly prevalent, particularly in organisations serving high priority populations such as elderly people.

Having explored these issues, we now turn to the study design itself. How should one study organisational change? This chapter will begin with a recapitulation of the purpose of the study and the questions which the study aims to answer. It will then discuss the approach taken by the research, which underlies the choice of methods used. The boundaries of the study will be set using a series of working definitions of key terms and concepts. The chapter will then describe how the participating organisations were selected and the design of the study itself.

The Aims of the Study:

The study aims to examine organisational change in small service providing agencies. It proposes to describe and analyze the changes taking place within these agencies. Using various theoretical frameworks taken from organisation theory and voluntary sector literature, the study then aims to explain these changes.

The findings of this study are expected to have implications in a number of areas. For organisation theorists, the application of existing theory to a previously ignored subsector of organisations offers the opportunity to test organisational theories. For policy makers and others interested in voluntary service provision, the study offers new data about service delivery by small voluntary agencies, also a neglected topic[1]. The cases may also offer lessons for small voluntary agencies who are either engaged in service provision or who are about to engage in it. Finally, the use of day care for elderly people as a case study provides new information about a neglected service.

The study aims to answer the following questions about organisational change in small voluntary organisations:

1. What changes have taken place in these organisations?

2. How can these changes be explained?

3. What implications do the findings of the study have for the agencies, for policy makers, and for organisation theory?

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[1]Standard references in the literature such as Kramer (1981) are based on studies of large agencies, and even Lewis (1994) studied medium-sized organisations. Harris has studied religious congregations (1995), which are often small but for whom service provision is not necessarily a main activity, and the governance of small community agencies (1994; 1989), but has not made a comprehensive study of organisational change in the type of small agency examined here.

Tentative Hypotheses:

The study uses a qualitative research approach based on the concept of "grounded theory" first proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This involves "the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (p.2). In other words, theories are constructed from an inductive examination of cases and "are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research" (p.6).

Although Glaser and Strauss emphasise approaching research questions without preconceived ideas, Miles (1983) points out that

> research projects that pretend to come to the study with no assumptions usually encounter much difficulty (p.119)

and suggest that a "rough working frame" is necessary for the sake of clarity. A number of hypotheses were generated by the literature cited in the previous chapters.

Resource dependency theory (e.g. Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Aldrich, 1979) suggests that organisational change is mainly triggered by forces external to an organisation. This approach would appear to be supported by empirical literature in both the UK and US (cited in Chapters Two and Three) which describe the relationship between the State and the voluntary sector and the ways in which changes in funding structures and availability of funds have influenced voluntary organisations.

It is therefore to be expected that changing political priorities might be translated in changing funding priorities. Certain activities (e.g. community based services) being encouraged through extra funding, leaving fewer resources for lower priority activities (e.g. advocacy). Services for populations identified as having a high political priority (e.g. elderly people) might be expected to benefit from increased availability of funds.

These changes might be expected to trigger changes on a local level as local authorities complied with central government priorities. Local organisations providing day care services for elderly people might therefore be expected to benefit from increased funds. With increased funding would come pressure to provide a more extensive and intensive service for frailer people. As was noted by Rickford (1993) in the previous chapter, the main winners would be day centres, while luncheon clubs (which cater to a less disabled clientele) might be expected to lose out.

We now turn to a more detailed discussion of the research approach.

The Research Approach:

Organisational theory has yielded a number of tools for studying organisational change. The most useful of these, for the purpose of this study, is a multiple case study format based on qualitative research methods.

Qualitative case studies have a long and honourable history in organisational research. This methodology was employed by Pettigrew (1985) to study ICI; by Smircich (1983) to research organisational culture in an insurance firm; by Holliday (1995) and Gill (1985) to study small firms; and by Pfeffer and Salancik (1974) to study university budgets. In voluntary sector literature, major theoretical work by authors such as Kramer (1981), Gronbjerg (1991), and Billis (1993a; 1992) have been based on qualitative case studies. Katz (1967) used this method to study parents' associations; Wood (1992) studied boards of management; and Seibel (1989) used the case study of a women's shelter to explain the use of voluntary organisations to solve "wicked" (persistent) problems. Of the studies cited by Friedkin and Powell (1987), almost all were qualitative case studies.

Qualitative methods such as participant observation, non-participant observation, and semi-structured interviews offer a number of advantages in organisational research. Traditionally, qualitative case studies

> permit the grounding of observations and concepts about social action and
> social structures in natural settings studied at close hand

and provide a "more holistic study of complex social networks" (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg, 1991; p.6). Mintzberg (1983) argues that

> Measuring in real organisational terms means first of all getting out into the
> field, into real organisations. Questionnaires often won't do.... (p.111)

> Increasingly.... we are impressed by the importance of phenomena that cannot
> be measured -- by the impact of the organisation's history and its ideology on
> its current strategy, by the role that personality and intuition play in decision
> making. To miss this in research is to miss the very lifeblood of the
> organisation. (p.113).

Scott (1965) suggests that qualitative methods are appropriate to three types of study designs: exploratory studies (in which a research problem is first defined); descriptive studies,

which "define and portray the characteristics of the object of research"; and hypothesis testing. Because of the emphasis on context, qualitative methods are particularly well suited to the analysis of organisational processes (Bryman, 1989).

McClintock, et al (1983) cite three goals for qualitative case studies:

> 1. to capture the frame of reference and definition of the situation of a given informant or participant....2. to permit detailed examination of organizational process, 3. and to elucidate those factors peculiar to the case which may allow greater understanding of causality. (p.150)

These goals are particularly relevant to a study of organisational change.

As well as the use of qualitative methods in the study of organisations (and organisational change in particular), a number of authors have emphasised the importance of temporal context in the evaluation of significant changes. Chief among these is Pettigrew (1983 and 1985), who warns that

> Sound theory must, therefore, take into account the history and the future of a system and relate them to the present. (1983 p.87).

Similarly, Mintzberg alluded to the "impact of the organisation's history" (1983 p.113). Historical context is crucial in separating the significant from the trivial. Because the researcher is seldom able to observe organisations logitudinally over a period of years or decades (Pettigrew, 1985 being one notable exception), a retrospective study is the most practical means of collecting the necessary data.

One issue of concern is generalizeability (Rosen, 1991; Lieberson, 1992). Early voluntary sector studies generally concentrated on tracing changes in one organisation over time (for a review, see Powell and Friedkin, 1987). But case study methodology has been criticised on the basis that the case in question may not be representative of the general trends (Lieberson, 1992[2]). For this reason, the emphasis in both the generic and voluntary sector literatures has shifted to comparative studies across similar types or populations of organisations (e.g. Haveman, 1992; Haveman, 1993; Amburgey, Kelley, and Barnett, 1993; Hedley and Rochester, 1991; Freeman, Carrol and Hannan, 1983a; Harris, 1996).

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[2] Feagin, et al (1991) note that the examination of "deviant" and "extreme" cases may be useful in shedding light on normal processes or cases.

Comparing a number of cases enables the researcher to determine what elements are unique to individual cases, and what elements represent a general trend (McClintock, et al, 1983). Because the study seeks to examine general trends across a number of similar organisations, a multiple case study format was chosen.

In summary, three main methodological issues were addressed here. In order to answer the study questions, the researcher required "deep", descriptive data which are best provided using a qualitative approach (Van Maanen, 1983). The examination of organisational change requires an understanding of historical context best achieved by undertaking a retrospective study (Mintzberg, 1983; Pettigrew, 1985). And because the study was concerned with general trends in the provision of a service as well as the particular organisational circumstances of individual agencies, a multiple case study approach seemed most appropriate.

We are left with a remaining issue of serious importance: the unit of study. Or, as Ragin and Becker (1992) would ask, what is this a case of (p.6)?

The study aims to examine organisational change in voluntary agencies providing a day care services to elderly people. These agencies therefore comprise the units of study. They had the following characteristics in common: all were small voluntary organisations which provided a day care service exclusively for elderly people either as their sole service or as one of several services. Day care services for elderly people were used as a common element in order to make comparison between the agencies easier; for this reason, where the service was one of several offered by the agency, the study examined only the day centre or luncheon club.

The next section sets the boundaries for the selection of these agencies.

Setting Boundaries: Working Definitions

As was noted in the introduction to the study and mentioned in passing in the introduction to this chapter, the use of definitions to set at least preliminary boundaries is crucial to the design of the study. The fuzziness of some of the key concepts ("organisation"; "voluntary sector"; "volunteer"; and even "day care") was described in the first two chapters of the study. This lack of clarity had serious implications for the study design, as the participating organisations could not be chosen without the imposition of some unifying criteria, and these criteria had to be developed from existing literature.

In this section, the working definitions for the three major concepts used in the study are stated explicitly. It was important that the definition chosen be "tight" enough to differentiate the concept being studied (e.g. to tell the difference between an organisation and an entity which was not an organisation). On the other hand, setting criteria that are too "tight" ran the risk of screening out much of the diversity of the sector, and with it the very entities that are most of interest to the study. It was also important that the definition chosen should be grounded in existing literature, for the purposes of comparison with other empirical studies.

As the study aimed to examine "small" "voluntary sector" "organisations" providing "day care for elderly people", four key concepts will be defined here. These are, of course, "small"; "organisation"; "voluntary sector"; and "day care for elderly people"[3].

Small:

A number of criteria can be used to measure the size of organisations. The 1971 Bolton Report defined small firms as those employing 200 people or fewer, with a turnover of up to £185,000 for service firms (cited in Curran, 1989; and Curran and Stanworth, 1982). The Charities Commission breaks down registered charities according to income: the two smallest categories are those registered charities with an annual income of £10,000 or less, and those with an income between £10,000 and £100,000.

Neither set of criteria appears to be fully applicable to voluntary service providers. Because voluntary agencies often use volunteers, even national agencies may have very small numbers of paid staff, making this criterion unreliable; and income may reflect fundraising ability more than it reflects the actual extent of service provision. Furthermore, the Charities Commission figures do not differentiate between service providers and other types of voluntary organisations.

Background interviews before fieldwork commenced revealed that the geographical catchment area of provision was often used by service providers and funders as a measure of size. Accordingly, "small" agencies in this sample were those serving a catchment area of one local authority (borough) or smaller. Agencies which spanned more than one local

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[3]The issue of size will be discussed later in the chapter with the additional criteria for selection of the agencies.

authority area were excluded from the sample.

Organisations:

The issues surrounding the definition of organisations were discussed in detail in Chapter One. For the purposes of this study, "organisations" are entities which have goals and formal structures by which to attain them, and people (clients, members, customers, volunteers) to carry out the necessary tasks and/or be served. In other words, groups which have a committee with decision-making power over the day to day running of the group. This definition eliminates marginal programmes which are run by one person only or which exist only on paper, and ensures the absolute minimum of independence from another entity. At the same time, it is loose enough to include small ad-hoc organizations and programmes that are subsidiary to larger groups. For example, a luncheon club run single-handedly by the parish priest in a church hall with food prepared by the local authority would not qualify because there is no committee to administer the programme; but a day centre meeting in church premises which is run by its own separate committee, even if the majority of those serving on the committee are church members, would qualify for the study.

In the Introduction to the study, six key or core components of organisations were identified. They were discussed further in Chapter One. These components have been reduced to five main headings for the purpose of this study. The self-help ethos of many voluntary agencies often blurs the distinction between the people by whom the organisation is run (human resources) and the people for whom the organisation is run (clients/members). Therefore, all the people involved in the organisations, in whatever capacity, will be examined under one general heading. Also, because organisations carrying out similar activities were selected for the study, these activities are examined as part of the overall background features of the organisations, rather than as a separate component. The five key elements examined in detail in this study are goals, structure, governance, people, and funding/external relationships.

Voluntary Sector:

The issues surrounding definition of the "voluntary sector" (and what entities are to be included and which to be excluded) were discussed in detail in Chapter 2. For the purposes of this study, a commonly accepted definition by Salamon and Anhier (1991) was adopted:

1. Formal: Organizations that have an "institutional reality" in the form of a constitution, charter, rules of procedure, and/or regular meetings.

2. Private: institutionally separate from government; not run by statutory officials or boards.

3. Non-profit-distributing: not returning profits generated to their owners or directors.

4. Self-governing: equipped to control their own activities, in this case having a separate board of directors or committee or membership.

5. Voluntary: involving voluntary participation in either the conduct of the activities or the management of the agency's affairs.

Chapter 2 also touched on the issue of defining "volunteers". This issue will be addressed in greater depth in Chapter Ten (People). For the purposes of this study, volunteers are people working within the organisation who are providing a direct service to elderly people, and who are unpaid or do not work directly for payment, where this work is not compulsory (Thornton, 1991; Thomas and Finch, 1990). "Paid employees" are people employed under a formal agreement or contract for specific services to be delivered for payment at the "going rate" (see Thornton, 1991).

Day Care for Elderly People: ·

"Adult day care" is defined as a programme which provides care (food, supervision, and/or formal or informal activities) at a central location on a group basis for a number of hours per day, for one or more days per week (SSI, 1992; Tester, 1989; Carter, 1981). This included both day care centres and luncheon clubs, but not day hospitals, which are usually run under statutory auspices.

"Elderly people" are people over retirement age (65 for men and 60 for women).

These working definitions of key concepts were based on the literature reviewed in the previous chapters and served as basic criteria for the selection of organisations to participate in the study. The agencies examined in this study had the following common elements:

1. They were all "small" (i.e. their catchment area was one local authority or smaller).

2. They were all "organisations": they had written constitutions or rules of some kind and a committee of three people or more which administered the service.

3. They were all "voluntary": the people in charge of making decisions were not paid. In view of the potential for "hybrid" agencies in the wake of the NHS and Community Care Reform Act 1990 (where a service originally run by a state agency is reconstituted as a

voluntary agency), it was stipulated that the service must have been run under voluntary auspices (involving unpaid decision makers) before 1990.

4. They were all providing either a luncheon club or day centre exclusively for people over 60.

In other words, the club run single-handedly by the parish priest using local authority food was excluded from the study, because there was no committee; similar problems arose in the case of a club financed entirely by a wealthy individual who hired a cook to provide meals, and an advice and counselling agency which had given its name to a local authority club but which in fact had no administrative control over it whatsoever (the cook who ran the club was paid by the local authority and answered directly to it, and the agency's trustees had no power to close down or change the club in any way). Agencies where there were no volunteers were accepted into the study, provided the trustees/management committee members were not paid and were acting as private individuals (i.e. not as part of their jobs). Agencies which received all their funding from the local authority were accepted provided that the agency had a separate constitution and management committee, and that those on the management committee were not paid and did not hold local authority offices.

A note on terminology is in order here. As we shall see in Chapter 7 (Structure), agencies providing a single service were often difficult to distinguish from the service itself. Indeed, many did not have separate funding or governance structures for their day care services. In order to distinguish between the two, the organisations in the study will be referred to as "agencies", while the services (where distinguishable), will be called "luncheon clubs" or "day centres" (as appropriate).

The next section will describe the actual selection of the boroughs and agencies, and the methods used to collect and analyze the data.

The Study Methods:

As was noted in a previous section, the research approach taken was that of a retrospective, qualitative case study. The histories of twelve organisations were traced, beginning with the decision to provide a day care service (centre or club) and ending with whatever issues were of importance to the respondents at the time of the study. Semi-structured interviews were combined with the use of documents supplied by the organisations and a day of non-participant observation. As an aid in interviewing, a general questionnaire

was compiled which contained questions covering the main organisational components identified earlier in this chapter (see appendix).

This section describes the main steps in the research: selecting the boroughs, selecting the organisations, collecting the data, writing the case reports, and analyzing the data.

Selecting the Boroughs:

London was chosen as a major population centre which contains both urban and suburban areas. London was assumed to have a wide and diverse population of small voluntary organisations, and particularly, day care services for elderly people.

Several criteria governed the process of selecting the boroughs for the study. Resource constraints (time and funding) precluded the use of more than two boroughs. In order to be comparable, the boroughs must have similar proportions of elderly people in their populations. But it was also important to capture as much diversity between boroughs as possible in order to take variables such as political leadership and urban/suburban characteristics into account. These variables had been mentioned as significant by Leat, Tester, and Unell (1986).

OPCS statistics for the London boroughs (1990) were consulted and boroughs containing similar proportions of elderly people to the rest of the population were chosen. Of these, several Outer London and traditionally Conservative boroughs were selected for further study, as were several Inner London and traditionally Labour boroughs. The most recent community care plans for each borough were then examined and the pool of potential boroughs narrowed to those boroughs which specifically mentioned day care as a service for elderly people and the use of voluntary sector organisations in their reports.

The CVS or equivalent in each of the prospective boroughs was then contacted, and a list of agencies active in each borough was acquired. It was important that the boroughs chosen had a sufficient "pool" of potentially suitable agencies (see next section). This narrowed the pool of boroughs to two of each type. Interviews were then secured with "insiders" in each borough to discuss the research further. Two boroughs were eliminated on the basis of these interviews. The remaining boroughs both had a tradition of voluntary sector involvement in service provision and a sufficient "pool" of suitable agencies to supply alternative choices should any individual agency choose not to participate at the last minute.

Selecting the Agencies:

A number of criteria were used to select the agencies to be used in the sample. All the agencies had to be organisations as defined by the working definitions. These were summarised in the previous section. Because the study was retrospective in nature, the agency and service had to have existed before 1990. This criterion was introduced for two reasons: first, it would provide a 1980's "yardstick" against which current changes could be assessed; second, 1990 marked the beginning of a transition period in local government when community care reforms were first discussed and then implemented. Since many of the proposed changes were yet to be implemented at the time the fieldwork was to begin, it was felt that it would be more appropriate to draw conclusions from the organisations as they were before the reforms were implemented, and to leave assessment of these changes to a later study. Limiting the agencies to those existing before 1990 also had the side-effect of safeguarding their voluntary nature, as some local authorities began to "float" services off into the voluntary sector in order to anticipate some of the reforms. This transition process and the development of such "hybrid" organisations is a complex issue which requires a separate study of its own.

Although the agencies in the study need not serve elderly people exclusively in order to be included in the study, they did need to provide a service which was exclusively for elderly people. This was because day care for elderly people has unique characteristics of its own, not least the recreational and custodial (rather than rehabilitative) emphasis. It was assumed that luncheon clubs differed somewhat from day centres and should therefore be considered in a separate category. In the absence of written definitions, agencies were classified according to their own self-definition. In other words, a service calling itself a luncheon club was classified as a luncheon club, and one entitled day centre was classified as a day centre. Three of each type were chosen in order to establish what "typical" provision of the service was like in that borough[4].

With the help of an "insider" from each borough, a list of suitable organisations was

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[4] One organisation might be anomalous, and in comparing two of the same type it might be difficult to establish which was "normal"; but three was seen as a sufficient number from which to draw conclusions.

drawn up. The organisations were contacted by telephone and a cover letter was sent explaining the purpose of the research. Several organisations were eliminated at this stage when it was discovered that they did not, in fact, meet the criteria[5]. Of the remainder, a number of organisations refused to participate and two refused access after an initial visit.

The final sample consisted of three luncheon clubs and three day centres in each borough. Because service provision for ethnic minority communities is an important area of voluntary sector luncheon club provision, one such agency in each borough was included. Where possible, agencies from different areas of each borough were chosen, although in Borough B two of the luncheon clubs were situated within a half-mile radius and three other agencies were within a mile of one another. This reflected the geographical realities of an inner-city borough.

<div align="center">Writing the Case Reports:</div>

Once an organisation had been contacted and had agreed to participate, an initial interview was set up. This interview established a contact person within the organisation with whom the researcher could correspond. The researcher and the contact person then drew up a list of possible interviewees and the contact person supplied the researcher with written material about the organisation (annual reports, constitutions, publicity material, and sometimes correspondence).

At least three people from each agency were interviewed. These included trustees, managers, chairmen (many of whom were women), staff members (where applicable), volunteers (where applicable), and clients. Generally, unlimited access was provided and respondents were generous with their time. Interviews were scheduled to last one hour and took place at a location of the respondents' choice. Most staff and clients were interviewed at the facility itself, but trustees and volunteers preferred to meet in their homes. One interview took place over the telephone at the respondent's request. Interviews often ran over the time allotted as respondents added to points they had made earlier. Respondents were generally interviewed individually; however, in three cases this was not practical[6]. In two cases

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[5] These were described in the previous section. In addition to these, a Salvation Army club was excluded because the provision spanned two boroughs and all age groups.

[6] In Case 5 an interview with one client turned into a group interview as others chose to

interviews had to be conducted through an interpreter because of language problems.

Where possible the interviews were taped; otherwise, notes were taken. The interviews followed a semi-structured format using the questionnaire included in Appendix I but departing from it when respondents raised points they felt were important and relevant[7]. One issue which has been raised about semi-structured interviews is the question of verification, where the researcher runs the risk of misinterpreting or misunderstanding parts of an interview (Scott 1965; Bryman, 1989). This issue was addressed in this study by sending a summary of the transcription of the interviews to the respondents for comment.

The researcher also spent at least one full day in each agency observing the service in action and taking field notes. Where appropriate, the researcher joined in with whatever activities were going on (e.g. helping to serve lunch).

The interviews, written material supplied by the agency contact person, and background information obtained by observing the agency in action over a day or more were then compiled into a case study of the organisation. This was sent to the agency contact person.[8] A cover letter was included which explained that this was a draft report and asked for corrections and comments. It was made clear that this draft was confidential and had not been circulated to anyone outside the agency; circulation within the agency was entirely at the discretion of the contact person. Some agencies chose to supply written comments; others held one or more "follow up" meetings with the researcher. Those who did not respond were contacted by telephone to confirm that the case study was factually accurate. This procedure was used to verify the completeness of the data and to avoid misrepresentations (Scott, 1965; Bryman, 1989).

Analyzing the Data:

Once fieldwork was complete, the interviews were analysed. The questionnaire was used as a starting point for allocating responses into different categories. Thus, for example,

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join the conversation; in Case 6, a husband-and-wife team of trustees/volunteers were interviewed together; and in Case 3, the cook arranged a meeting of herself and two volunteers (but the researcher had opportunities later to speak to the volunteers and cook privately).

[7]The importance of volunteered statements was emphasised by Becker and Geer (1960)

[8]Argyris (1960) discusses at length the importance of feedback to study participants, both as a means of creating effective research relationships and avoiding researcher bias.

all the statements regarding the decision to provide the service were grouped together; so were statements of purpose (both formal/written statements and interview responses); descriptions of volunteer roles or comments about the use of volunteers were similarly put together, and so on. As common themes emerged, such as the issue of local authority pressure on organisations to serve particular types of people, these were similarly grouped together. Finally, the various categories were put together under the main headings selected for the study: goals, structure, funding, external relationships, and people (volunteers, clients, and paid staff).

Summary:

This chapter has been concerned with the study of organisational change. The chapter began by recapping the study questions and providing some tentative hypotheses based on the literature summarised in previous chapters. It then continued with a discussion of the appropriate methods to be used in answering the research questions. Qualitative methods were chosen because of their advantages in describing organisational processes. Indeed, Bryman (1989) comments that "it is rarely possible to understand organisational change in quantitative studies" (p.140). In the tradition of organisational studies, a case study approach was used. The units of study (the "cases") were defined as voluntary organisations which provided a day care service exclusively for elderly people. Working definitions of the three main concepts ("organisation", "voluntary", and "day care for elderly people") were used to set boundaries and criteria for the selection of actual agencies. The chapter concluded with a description of the study design and the analysis of the data.

The next section begins with an overview of the boroughs and the agencies selected. In the interests of anonymity (sometimes a condition of access to the agency), the boroughs are referred to as A (outer London) and B (inner London), and the agencies referred to as cases by number (one to six in Borough A and seven to twelve in Borough B). The overview of the service describes the elements that the agencies had in common, with individual variations. This included the type of recreational activities provided (quite similar across the groups); the food; the premises (which varied from a purpose-built "leisure centre" to temporarily converted church halls); and the time table (variations on a sequence of arrival, lunch, and departure).

The following chapters are devoted to the particular elements of the organisations: their goals and culture; organisational structure (the hierarchy of roles within the clubs/centres

and the relationships between the clubs/centres and the rest of the agency); the management committees and governance; external relationships with funders and other organisations; and the people (clients, volunteers, and staff members).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ORGANISATIONS

A basic background knowledge of the organisations and the boroughs in which they operate is necessary in order to place the changes in the context in which they occurred. Although there were many similarities between the two boroughs, there were considerable differences in the history of social service provision in both which had some effect on the evolution of voluntary provision in each borough. London Borough A (LBA), for instance, had a long history of cooperation with voluntary organisations, but because of the suburban nature of the borough (much of which developed after the Second World War), the agencies tended to be younger than in London Borough B, where many had predated the welfare state and public provision.

In the following discussion, Cases 1 to 6 were drawn from London Borough A, and Cases 7 to 12 from London Borough B. Throughout the rest of the study, the term "agency" will be used to denote the organisation sponsoring the service; "day centre" or "luncheon club" will be used to describe the service itself.

London Borough A:

London Borough A is an outer London Borough with a population of 310,000 people, of whom 22,500 or 7.2% are over 75 (OPCS, 1990). At the time of the study, the borough was run by a Conservative council. The borough is generally middle-class with some poorer areas. Geographically, it covers almost 35 square miles. The present borough was created by amalgamating three smaller boroughs in the early 1980's; there are four distinct areas, for the purpose of the study labelled North, South, East, and West.

There are five main day care providers in the borough. Three of the organisations are loosely affiliated with Age Concern (although only one uses that name in its title); a fourth organisation is church-based. These four groups are in close contact with one another and form a general network of provision; between them they have divided the borough into the four general catchment areas. The fifth provider is a branch of the Alzheimer's Disease Society. Its catchment area is borough-wide. The organisation maintains fairly close connections with the other four organisations.

In addition to the day centres, there are a number of luncheon clubs throughout the borough. These are generally small (less than 50 people served) and meet in various premises. The number of luncheon clubs in the borough has been falling in recent years.

According to a respondent from the local authority's community services personnel, this form of provision is no longer as attractive to the statutory sector as it once was, and "in a couple of years' time, we might not be funding drop-in clubs at all".

The Day Centres:

Three of the five main providers in the borough agreed to participate in the study (Cases 2, 5, and 6):

Case 2 is a branch of the Alzheimer's Disease Society. The organisation is run by its founder, and held its first meeting in 1985. A "Tuesday club" for sufferers and carers was started in 1987; in 1988, a grant was obtained to open a day centre. This organisation was the only one in the study to provide the service in partnership with another group: premises and some personnel are provided by a religious order of nuns. The group continues to run afternoon clubs twice a week in various parts of the borough concurrently with the day centre provision.

Case 5 is the largest voluntary sector day care provider in the borough. The organisation has been in its present (council owned) premises since 1972; it had previously operated a luncheon club in another location. The group operates meals on wheels and offers advice as well, although the day centre remains its main activity. In the summer of 1993, the organisation closed down for a month. The trustees felt that in light of staff illness and holidays the professional cover was inadequate to keep the group open but clients blamed the trustees for taking "the easy option". At the time of the study, a new care worker had just been hired, with a proposal for two more positions pending. The group had recently changed its name from "club" to "centre", a controversial move in this organisation.

Case 6 is a church-based organisation. It is run by a consortium of area churches in church facilities adapted for the purpose. The day centre was started as a once-a-week club in 1981; within eighteen months it was operating three days a week. It currently operates five days a week, including a Saturday service, as well as a Tuesday night "club" staffed entirely by volunteers. Of the day centres in the study, this organisation relies the most heavily on volunteer involvement for service provision.

The Luncheon Clubs:

Three luncheon clubs (Cases 1, 3, and 4) were selected on the basis that they represented the diversity of this type of provision in the borough while at the same time fulfilling the criteria laid down in the project.

Case 1 is a church-based club which meets in a church hall. The club evolved from a hymn-singing group to a once-a-week lunch group in 1971, following a suggestion from a local social worker. At its height, in the late 1970's, the club served 30 people three times a week. The group is run entirely by volunteers and offers a lunch delivered by the local authority; recently there has been some attempt to add a Wednesday afternoon social group.

Case 3 is run by a local neighbourhood association; it was started at the instigation of a community social worker from the social services department in 1985. Premises in the multi-purpose building are shared with play groups and children's holiday schemes. Meals are cooked on the premises by a cook who also coordinates transportation for frailer members and runs some activities.

Case 4 is a group for Asian elderly. The luncheon club provision was started in 1990 in council-owned premises after the group approached the council. Food is cooked by the honorary secretary who at the time of the study was a volunteer but who has since applied for a stipend. The group provides a vegetarian lunch and facilities for Gujarati-language social activities; men and women are accommodated separately.

London Borough B:

London Borough B is an inner London, urban borough with a population of 173,700 people of whom 11,200 or 6.5% are over 75. At the time of the study, the borough was run by a Labour council. The borough contains pockets of poverty and pockets of affluence; the boundaries have changed little in this century. The borough is divided into 16 neighbourhoods, each of which has its own social services system and each has a distinctive character.

There are three major voluntary sector providers of day care in the borough. They are situated within a radius of about a mile and a half. These three function autonomously, with very little communication among themselves. All three agreed to participate in the study.

Besides the day centres, there is a considerable and diverse population of luncheon clubs. There are a considerable number of clubs catering to ethnic minority populations; others are affiliated to other charities such as the Salvation Army and neighbourhood groups.

The Day Centres:

The three day centres in the study were Cases 9, 10, and 11.

Case 9 is a church mission which dates from the turn of the century. The day centre shares the mission premises with a children's play group (which rents the space). The day centre was started by the previous minister about 20 years ago. Initially, only lunch was provided, but this soon expanded to other activities as well. Following closure of the Council's central kitchen in 1992, the group began to cook its own meals (employing a cook). The organisation is currently planning a major renovation of the building, and reassessing its service and clientele in the process.

Case 10 is a Quaker-based organisation which in its present form dates from 1896. The facilities are shared between a youth club and a day centre, which was started in 1976 in response to the needs of the neighbourhood. The centre offers meals cooked on the premises and a variety of classes; transportation for very frail clients is provided. The group has now outgrown its present location and is currently in the process of constructing a larger, new facility not far away.

Case 11 is a 400-year-old charitable trust which opened a day centre in 1982. This is the largest voluntary provider in the borough. The building itself is a school which was adapted for use. Provision is geared to the needs of the local people, and most of the trustees live either in the area or close by.

All three organisations rely mostly on paid staff for service delivery. Because all three groups use older premises, maintenance and building costs were a significant issue.

Luncheon Clubs:

The luncheon clubs used in this study were Cases 7, 8, and 12.

Case 7 is a neighbourhood association which runs programs for children and an Over-60's club. The club was started by volunteers in 1974 but from 1975 was run by paid staff. Meals are cooked on the premises by a paid cook, and one innovation is the inclusion of ethnic choices on the menu. The club is open from 11 until 5 with any number of informal and organised activities, including snooker and coffee mornings run by a paid organiser.

Case 8 is run by a community organisation founded in 1913 as a mother and baby clinic. The luncheon club itself opened in 1976 following a reassessment of goals by the parent organisation. It is run by a volunteer with assistance from two or three others. The club provides meals ordered from the local authority kitchens and heated on the premises to 12 "homebound" elderly people. There are no real additional activities, as the club operates between 12 and 2 pm.

Case 12 is the oldest Vietnamese luncheon club in the UK. The group is 10 years old and meets in council-owned premises. Meals are cooked on a rota basis by the board members of the parent organisation (which also runs other programmes for Vietnamese people in the area); the council grant just about covers the cost of ingredients. The club offers outings (particularly to Paris where there is a large Vietnamese community) and other social opportunities to anyone who can come or be brought.

Comparative Characteristics of the Agencies:

Descriptive characteristics of the agencies are summarised in Table 1. These include the age of the agency, whether it served clients other than elderly people (and which client groups), what premises were being used, and whether the agency was affiliated to a national organisation. Note that the size of the budgets (income and expenditure) will be addressed in detail in Chapter Nine.

Table 1: Characteristics of the Agencies

Case	Age of Org. (years)	Serve Other Client Groups?	Premises	Type of group /affiliation
1	40-50	N	Church	Church
2	9	N	Convent	Branch of national org
3	20+	Y (under 5's)	LA	Neighbourhood Association
4	16	N	LA	Small ethnic association
5	30+	N	LA	Independent association
6	30	N	Church	Church
7	20+	Y (under 5's)	LA	Neighbourhood Association
8	81	Y (children)	Own	neighbourhood charity
9	90	N	Mission	Mission
10	98	Y (youth)	Own	Independent Association
11	400*	N	Own	Independent Charity
12	10	Y (ethnic assn)	LA Library Basement	Ethnic Association

* Case 11 was a Parochial Trust.

Agencies varied in age, the oldest being a Tudor trust (Case 11) and the youngest being a local branch of the Alzheimer's Disease Society (Case 2); the second largest, a Vietnamese cultural association, operated the oldest Vietnamese luncheon club in the UK.

Agencies in Borough B tended to be older than those in Borough A, perhaps reflecting the history of Borough B as an inner-London area: aside from the venerable Case 11 and relatively recent Case 12, three agencies were founded either in the last decade of the 19th

Century or in the first decade of the 20th Century (Cases 8, 9 and 10). In contrast, the oldest agencies in Borough A were founded in the 1950's and 1960's (Cases 1, 5, and 6). The two neighbourhood associations (Case 3 in Borough A and Case 7 in Borough B) were both started at around the same time.

The age of the agencies is significant in a number of ways. It has been suggested that "older" agencies may be less flexible and therefore less likely to change (). This will be explored in depth in Chapter 11 (Discussion). But of interest here is the issue of the relationship between age and the available premises. The older agencies were more likely to have acquired premises of their own, while younger agencies were more likely to be renting their premises, usually at a "peppercorn" rent from the local authority (compare Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 with Cases 3, 4, 5, and 12). As we will see in Chapter 10, older agencies tended to have capital assets not available to their younger counterparts, which had a significant effect on their financial situation; on the other hand, older agencies also inhabited older buildings, the upkeep of which was a concern not encountered among the other agencies in the study.

The issue of premises was important in and of itself. A key characteristic of day care services is that they require some type of central location; without this, the agency cannot offer a service of any kind. Agencies in the study used purpose-built facilities (Case 5, 11), the basement of a library (Case 12), community centres (Case 3, 7, 8), church or mission halls (Case 1, 6, 9), a convent (Case 2), a council office building (Case 4), and a converted Victorian row house (Case 10). Four of the organisations were using council owned buildings (Cases 3, 4, 5, and 12). Four organisations used church facilities (Cases 1, 2, 6, and 9). The other organisations had their own premises. As we will see later in this chapter, the type of facility the agency used and whether it afforded access to more disabled individuals acted as an implied parameter for the day care and other services provided by the agencies.

Although seven of the agencies were serving a exclusively elderly population, five ran programmes for other users as well. Most common were nurseries and facilities for children under 5 (Case 3, 7, and 8), after-school clubs (Cases 3, 7, 8) and youth clubs (Case 10). Although Case 8 was also serving disabled children, none of the agencies appeared to be serving adults with disabilities. As we will see in Chapter 7 (Structure), this element affected the configurations of the agencies. Where there were other groups present, day centre/club users often had to compete for space with them (a particularly contentious issue in Case 10,

although the youth group never overlapped with the day centre).

We now turn to the services themselves.

The Day Centres and Luncheon Clubs:

Characteristics of the provision in the day centres and luncheon clubs operated by the agencies are summarised in Table 2. These include the number of days per week the service was offered, hours per day, number of participants, and the age of the service.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Clubs/Centres

Case	LC/DC	Days/ Week	Hours/ day	Age	Number of Clients
1	LC	3	3	24	12
2	DC	5	7	7	10
3	LC	3	4	9	48
4	LC	2	3	4	20/day*
5	DC	5	8	22	300
6	DC	5	7***	13	150
7	LC	5	4	20	67
8	LC	2	2	18	12
9	DC	5	6	20	200
10	DC	5	8	18	156
11	DC	5	8***	12	100/day**
12	LC	1	2	10	30

Note: LC= Luncheon Club
   DC= Day Centre
* Total agency membership is 190
** Claim 1300 served per week, but this may include same people on different days.
*** Some evening activities

As can be seen from the table, organisations classified themselves either as luncheon clubs or as day centres. In theory, luncheon clubs are meant to cater to more physically able clientele, while day centres are meant to accommodate more disabled people. However, the dividing line between these services has become increasingly blurred.

All the day centres offered service for five days a week, usually Monday through Friday (although in Case 6 a Saturday service replaced the Friday provision), and all offered a full "day" of service, i.e. from approximately 10 am (allowing for traffic) until 3 or 4 pm. The day centres all offered activities in addition to the lunch.

The luncheon clubs tended to offer fewer days per week and fewer hours per day of service. Two luncheon clubs (Cases 1 and 8) offered no recreational activities whatsoever: clients arrived between 11:30 am and 12:00, lunch was served at 12:30, and by 1:30 or at

latest 2:00 pm everyone had left. This, however, was the exception. The other four luncheon clubs had all began to offer informal activities similar to those run in day centres, which might last well into the afternoon.

Luncheon clubs were among both the youngest (Case 4, Case 3, and Case 9) and the oldest (Case 1) forms of the services. Indeed, in comparing the ages of luncheon clubs and day centres, no pattern emerges, an issue which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11 (Discussion).

Although the day centres served the largest numbers of people at a time, some of the luncheon clubs in the study were also quite large (e.g. Case 3 and Case 7, both popular in their local areas); it should be noted that Case 2 limited participation in its day centre to 10 people, which accounts for its small size in comparison with the other day centres.

These characteristics provide the general parameters for the services. Within these parameters, however, services spanned a continuum, from the least formal luncheon clubs to the more intensive day centres. We therefore turn to the attributes of the services. As can be seen from Table 3, the dividing line between luncheon clubs and day centres was quite thin at times: Case 9, for example, referred to itself as a "Day Centre", although its provision was less intensive than that of Cases 3 and 7, which were called luncheon clubs.

Table 3: Contents of the Service

Case	LC/DC	Activities?	Cook own Lunch?	Transport?
1	LC	N	N	N
2	DC	Y	Y	Y
3	LC	Y	Y	Y
4	LC	Y	Y	N
5	DC	Y	Y	Y
6	DC	Y	N	Y
7	LC	Y	Y	Y
8	LC	N	N	Y
9	DC	Y	Y	N*
10	DC	Y	Y	Y
11	DC	Y	Y	Y
12	LC	Y	Y	N

Note: LC= Luncheon Club
DC= Day Centre
* Subgroup arrives on tranport one day/week; discouraged by organisation.

Activities run by all the groups generally included dancing, exercise classes, art classes, bingo (a staple), bowls, card games, singing, and socialising. Some, such as the bingo and dancing, were led by the clients themselves; others were run by paid staff or volunteers. All of the day centres but one (Case 5), and two of the luncheon clubs (Case 3 and 7), offered summer outings. The determining factor for each activity was its uptake by the clients, and several organisations (Case 7, 10, 9, 5) had client committees whose main function was to decide which activities to run. In most organisations, client wishes were respected even when this ran counter to the organisation's ideology: one church-based organisation held an outing to Ascot for its members, despite the fact that church doctrine frowned on gambling, and in several centres and clubs, staff were less than enthusiastic about the bingo games but acquiesced because this was clearly what clients wanted. In the ethnic luncheon clubs, the activities included traditional card games, exercises, and prayers, generally self-led.

The blurring between luncheon clubs and day centres can be seen in the cooking arrangements. All but two luncheon clubs cooked their own meals, as did all but one of the day centres. There appeared to be no difference between the two forms of provision in this respect.

In the beginning, most groups either had an informal group of volunteers cook the food on a rota basis in their own homes (Case 1) or at some central premises (Case 4), or imported food from local authority kitchens (Case 3,6,7,8,9,and 11). At the time of the study, only in Case 12 (an ethnic luncheon club) was food prepared by a rota of volunteers. In Case 4, the honorary secretary cooked the food with assistance from other volunteers. Cases 1, 6 and 8 bought local authority food (in Case 8 it was frozen and reheated; the others got theirs hot each day). The rest of the organisations supplied their own food, cooked by paid personnel. Reasons given for the shift included client complaints about the quality of the local authority food (Case 3,7, and 9 especially) and the flexibility of self provision (being able to cater for special diets and varying numbers of people). Similar reasons were given by those organisations that had never used local authority food (Cases 2, 5, and 10). In the case of the ethnic organisations, the local authority food was not appropriate to the clientele. In virtually all the organisations, the menu was dictated by the wishes of the clientele.

The decision to cook food on the premises represents a substantial investment: lunch preparation requires a kitchen which conforms to EC health and safety standards (in Case 1, the kitchen was being refitted at the time of the study), which in itself represents a considerable expense, and someone has to shop for and cook the food, both time-consuming tasks.

A third element in the provision was transportation. Five of the day centres offered transportation to some or all of the clients. The remaining day centre did not as a rule offer this service but did in practice make arrangements for a sub-group of its members to be bused to the centre twice a week. An equal number of luncheon clubs did and did not offer transportation.

Transportation costs represented a considerable financial and physical investment. Organisations offering transportation must hire or purchase a vehicle, maintain it, insure it and the drivers, and often reimburse the drivers as well (even "volunteer" drivers were paid a stipend); staff time was also required to plan the routes and collect and deliver clients at the beginning and end of the day. In LBB, transportation also necessitated often lengthy

negotiation with the local authority.

A final note is in order regarding the effects agency premises had on the services provided. The services operated within the constraints of the available space, which, as was noted above, was sometimes shared with other users (and even with other organisations). The physical architecture of the facilities (whether purpose-built for elderly people or not) could be either a constraint or an opportunity. For example, in Case 1, the corridor leading to the main room was quite narrow, and there were no disabled toilets; this effectively barred wheelchair bound people or those using Zimmer frames (walkers) from using the facility. In Case 2, the extensive grounds provided by the convent in which the centre was situated afford an excellent and much utilised opportunity for supervised walks as daily activities. In Case 3, on the other hand, space was at a premium and the room was shared with an after-school scheme, so service could not be provided during half-terms when the children were using the site. In Case 4, the size of the room limited the number of people who can be served to about 20 at a time; because only one room was available, men and women cannot eat on the same day (mixed seating arrangements being taboo).

The limitations of the buildings were most pronounced in Cases 6 and 10. In Case 6, although the facility was built with disabled people in mind, the toilets were located at the end of a long corridor. As a result, staff were constantly having to escort frailer clients to the toilets. There were no bathing facilities such as a shower, and nowhere to put them, so incontinent people could not be accommodated in comfort. The room used by the programme was too small for physical activities such as dancing or exercise to be conducted except in a very small group. In Case 10, the building was in a conservation area; consequently, a number of hazards such as cobblestones and overhangs could not be removed and clients had to be escorted a considerable distance to and from the transport vehicle. This operation required the deployment of all staff, leaving effectively no one to run activities in the centre during arrival and departure times for those people not arriving or departing.

Summary:

This chapter has provided an overview of the organisations used in the study. The chapter began with a series of "thumb-nail sketches" of the boroughs and agencies in the study. Three day centres and three luncheon clubs were examined in each of two boroughs. One luncheon club in each borough was serving an ethnic minority population.

The characteristics of the agencies were then compared. Agencies range in age from a Tudor trust (400 years) to a local branch of the Alzheimer's Disease Society (9 years). Some of the younger agencies had been providing day care or luncheon club facilities for elderly people from the agencies' founding (e.g. Cases 2, 4, 12), while others entered service provision relatively late in their histories (Case 11); this will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter. While most agencies in the study served elderly people exclusively, some also served children, an issue that will be explored further in Chapter 7 (Structure). The older agencies tended to have their own premises, while other agencies (particularly in London Borough A) rented theirs from the local authorities. This had financial implications explored in detail in Chapter 10 (Funding), as well as implications for the services the agencies offered.

Day centre and luncheon club services varied in the number of people they served. The smallest, Case 2, restricted its service to 10 people, while the largest, Case 11) boasted 1300 "client/days" per week or approximately 300 people. Luncheon clubs ranged in age from 24 years (the oldest group in the study, Case 1) to four years (Case 4, an ethnic luncheon club). The day centres ranged similarly from 9 years (Case 2) to 22 years (Case 5); but it should be noted that this agency had recently "converted" from a club to a centre. The oldest day centre operating continuously as such was Case 10 at 18 years.

The services ran a spectrum, from "lunch and leave" clubs which operated one or two days per week for two or three hours (e.g. Case 1, 3, 8) to day centres which operated a full (five or six days) week service, for seven or even eight hours (e.g. Case 2, 5, 6, 10, 11). Most of the services offered activities which ranged from self-led bingo and dances to professionally led art and exercise classes. Nine of the services cooked their own food on the premises, which, although it was a considerable expense, added to the variety of menus on offer. Eight of the services (six day centres and two luncheon clubs) also provided transportation to an from the venue.

This chapter has provided the general background for the next four chapters. Chapter Six will discuss the goals of the agencies, describe the decision to provide this type of service, and explore the underlying assumptions made about the services and their intended audiences by the agencies. Chapter Seven will explore the organisational configurations in detail and examine both the simple and complex structures used by the agencies to deliver the services. Chapter Eight will examine the governance structures of the agencies and describe the

composition and roles of management boards. Chapter Nine will examine the funding and finances of the agencies: what financial resources are available to the agencies and where they come from. It will also look at the relationships between the agencies and other agencies in their environments (e.g. their funders, other agencies providing similar services, and "headquarters" organisations). Chapter Ten will examine the people in the services: the clientele for the luncheon clubs/day centres and the personnel staffing them. In each of these chapters, relevant literature will be used to define terms and, where possible, to illuminate some of the findings.

In Chapter Eleven, the study will return to some of the basic characteristics mentioned here such as age and size, in order to relate them to the issue of organisational change. It will then build on the findings of the next chapters to present a more complete picture of organisational change in the agencies in the study.

CHAPTER SIX: GOALS

The previous chapter gave a general description of the two boroughs selected for the study and the twelve agencies which participated in it. The main characteristics of these agencies and of the services they offered were compared in order to provide a general sense of the context of the study.

This chapter and the next four chapters present the findings of the study regarding five main elements of the organisations: their purposes, their structures/internal configurations, their governance, the people in the service, and the issue of funding and external relationships. Some of these topics overlap somewhat: as we shall see in this chapter, a description of the ways in which the goals of the services may have changed involves alluding to changes in the clientele for those services; a discussion of organisational structure in Chapter Seven can give only a general background to issues such as the management committee-service relationships (explored in depth in Chapter Eight), external relationships (described in Chapter Nine), and the overlapping roles of paid staff, volunteers, and clients/participants (explored in Chapter Ten). Nonetheless, the five main topics (purpose, structure, governance, people, and funding/external relations) are presented here in different chapters in order to give each the depth of detail it requires.

We now turn to the goals of the agencies and the services they provided. Purposes and goals are a central element of any organisation (Perrow, 1961), but the mutual benefit or public benefit element of self-help groups and associations is particularly distinctive (Van Til, 1988; Harris, 1995). As Smith and Lipsky, (1993) have noted, issues such as who is to be served by the agency and in what way they are to be served lie at the core of voluntary action. A change in the goals or mission of an agency would therefore be considered very significant.

In studying the goals of an organisation, it is important to look beyond official statements. Perrow (1961) describes two types of goals in complex organisations: the "official" or stated goals, and the "operative" goals which

> designate the ends sought through the actual operating policies of the organization; they tell us what the organisation actually is trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims (p.66)

For example, an agency's annual report might state that its service is open to all, but the organisers might subtly discriminate against particular types of people.

Schein (1985) refers to the "culture" of the organisation:

...the basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation... (p.492).

He and Smircich (1983) emphasise the importance of metaphors and symbols in reflecting these assumptions.

In other words, there are three types of goals in an organisation: the official (written) statements; what the people involved in the agency think the organisation is about; and what is actually occurring within the organisation. The official goals can be discovered by reading publicity material and interviewing senior personnel; but to properly explore the "culture" and operational goals of an agency requires a period of observation.

The chapter begins with the formal goals of the agencies and of the services they ran. These statements show what agency personnel believed the purpose of the agency to be, and provided the justification for provision of the service. The chapter then continues with a discussion of the decision to provide the service, and follows this with an analysis of the assumptions made by the agencies about their service and its intended audience. Why provide a luncheon club? Why target elderly people? Who is to be welcomed into the service? Who is to be excluded, and why?

The Purpose of the Agencies and Their Services:

As we will see in the next chapter (Structure), in some cases day care services were part of a pre-existing agency, while in others, the agency was created specifically in order to facilitate provision of the service. The resulting blurring between the two entities was referred to in the last chapter and will be discussed further in the next. For the purposes of this discussion, we will begin by examining the purposes of those agencies where the foundation of the parent agency predates the foundation of the club or centre.

Three agencies had written statements of purpose (Case 7, 3, and 10). These were found in annual reports in Cases 3 and 7. In Case 10, a photocopied sheet of paper containing one paragraph was casually given to the researcher during the course of the first interview.

...to promote the benefit of the in inhabitants of [LBB]...in a common effort to advance education and to provide facilities in the interests of social welfare and recreational and leisure time occupation with the object of improving the conditions of life for the said inhabitants. (Case 7)

...to serve the people of [LBA] by promoting community spirit...coming together for social and recreational activities...to promote social contact and to provide services for a wide range of residents...with particular emphasis on services for the Under-5's, the elderly, and the disabled... (Case 3)

To advance the mental, physical, religious, moral and social education of persons who are resident in [LBB]...and to provide facilities for recreation and leisure time occupation for such of those persons as by reason of age, youth, infirmity, disablement, poverty, or social and economic circumstances are in need of them with the object of improving their condition of life (Case 10).

In these agencies, the club (Cases 3 and 7) or centre (Case 10) for elderly people[1] were part of the agency's ongoing mission to provide recreation and educational activities for a number of groups. The aims were mainly recreational rather than custodial in nature.

The statements quoted above came from secular agencies, but it was not unusual for a club or centre to be sponsored by a church, as part of that institution's benevolent mission. In Case 9, a respondent noted that some of the participants in the day centre had attended the Mission's religious and children's activities fifty years ago. In Case 6, the Minister saw care of elderly people in the area as part of the church's charitable duty, a "Christian mission"; a sign at the entrance to the facility proclaims under the title of the day care centre that it was "where Jesus Christ is Lord" (although volunteers emphasised that there was no proselytising). Some statements of purpose restricted the benefit of their services to people in particular neighbourhoods (e.g. Case 11, which actually provided a map of the area of benefit) or to members of particular ethnic communities (e.g. Case 12). In one case, participation was restricted to sufferers of a particular disease and their carers (Case 2).

Some of the clubs and day centres had their own statements of purpose, separate from those of the sponsoring organisation. The statements given here are typical of sentiments expressed by respondents participating in day centres or luncheon clubs across the different

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[1]As was noted in Chapter 5, luncheon clubs were generally less formal and less intensive than day centres, although in some cases the differences were becoming less clear.

types of agencies:

> We are glad to welcome any elderly person who enjoys a meal in company. (Case 1, annual report for the luncheon club)

> To have a centre for older people to come to during the day and to provide lunch and activities for them. (Case 9, day centre coordinator, dictating from annual report).

The day centres and luncheon clubs in the study expressed their goals in terms of nutrition and stimulation for older people. Only one agency was actually revising its statement of purpose (Case 10, where sexual orientation was to be added to the list of circumstances under which one might be "in need" of recreational services). These statements generally dated from the time the day centre or club had been set up, and with one exception (Case 10) had not changed since. They reflect the history of the agencies as much as present-day reality. We therefore turn to the circumstances surrounding the decision to provide these services, which will further illuminate their original purposes.

The Decision to Provide the Service:

Respondents were asked why the agencies had decided to provide a day care service, and why particularly they had chosen to serve elderly people. In organisations such as the churches (Case 1, 6, and 9), the older neighbourhood charities (Case 8 and 10) and the neighbourhood associations (Cases 3 and 7), the decision to provide day care of some kind to elderly people was part of a longstanding tradition of service provision to needy people in the local community. In others such as Case 2 (a relatives' association) and Case 11 (a philanthropic trust), service provision was a departure from the groups' previous activities.

Some organisations such as Case 5 were specifically interested in elderly people and had been serving this client group for some time; for others (Cases 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 12), elderly people were one group of several served by the organisation[2]; and for one group in particular (Case 8), service to elderly people represented a departure from its usual client

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[2]In each case, the services for elderly people occupied at least half the space, time, and staff/volunteers. Premises in Cases 3, 7, 9, and 10 were shared with children or youth, in Case 6 with other disabled adults who were not elderly, and in Case 12, the luncheon club was part of an ethnic community association.

group.

There were two general categories of responses to the question of why agencies decided to provide the service. The first category comprised groups which started the provision in response to a felt need of some kind. These included the church based groups, two of the charities, the neighbourhood associations and the two ethnic groups.

The three church-based organisations evolved their programmes in different ways. In Case 1, a Sunday afternoon hymn-singing group became a luncheon club after a local social worker suggested that some of its participants might benefit from a social outlet during the week. In Case 6, a detailed survey of neighbourhood needs was commissioned by the church minister, who then approached his colleagues in two local churches to interest them in the scheme. The decision grew out of

> ...the concern that we as a church felt for being relevant to the community,
> seeking to address the social needs of the community...we'd got people
> who...complained about meals on wheels... and the other thing is that they just
> felt, they never get out of the house... (Case 6)

In Case 9, most of the mission's activities had been taken over by the welfare state in the 1950's; in the 1970's the minister organised afternoon social activities for the pensioners in the neighbourhood which soon evolved into a "day centre":

> It just happened automatically. The minister felt that there should be something for
> them [the old people], so we got a television, and then a snooker table, and then kept
> adding one more thing at a time...(Secretary, Case 9)

Similarly, charitable and philanthropic agencies (Cases 10, and 11), had a long-standing tradition of giving aid to the needy.

Case 10 was founded in the last century as part of a movement by Oxford and Cambridge students to work with impoverished people in the inner city. The day centre run by Case 10 was one of the first in the borough and grew out of a women's group which had been attracting lonely elderly women for some time. The decision to serve this constituency was consistent with previous organisational provision, which had focused on the needs of the surrounding community at the time; the organisation had run soup kitchens, youth clubs, clubs for unemployed men, and other such activities for as long as there had been a demand for them. For this group, the day centre was a means of fulfilling a need expressed by the

community.

Case 11 was the oldest organisation in the study, a Parochial trust dating back to Tudor times. Unlike the other two charitable organisations, this organisation was primarily a charitable trust rather than a social action organisation. Its first foray into social provision was a scheme in 1885 "for the relief of the poor and needy" including a pension scheme for elderly people and alms houses for the poor. By the 1970's, the trust had moved away from direct provision of services and towards financial grants to needy people. The day centre represents a departure from the trust's usual philanthropic activities. One respondent put it this way:

> It was getting away from the old days when you would hand out a sack of coal and a blanket to people. Now the aid leaves people with their self-respect intact. Nowadays the idea of charity has changed. (Trustee, Case 11)

The day centre was built because

> The elderly people needed somewhere to go. (Trustee, Case 11)

Neighbourhood associations (Cases 3 and 7) saw themselves as membership organisations enabling members of the community to achieve self-sufficiency. In Case 3, as with other groups, the service evolved from an existing social club:

> ...we did have a Friday afternoon social club....just a....cup of tea, and then [the local social worker] suggested we open a luncheon club. And I was asked to help. (Volunteer, Case 3)

> ...historically, the person who developed the project to start with was a community worker.... and she with her colleagues decided that there were a lot of isolated elderly people that could use the service, and together with [two volunteers], as the two sort of founder people, they got together and designed the setting up of the luncheon club. And that fitted in with the development of the community centre as a whole. (Administrator, Case 3)

In Case 7, a social club had been meeting on the premises:

> ...it was started among ourselves. (Client, Case 7)

The two ethnic groups also started their luncheon club provision in response to needs felt by members of their communities. In Case 4, the founder of the club had noticed groups

of elderly Asian men congregating in a local park and became concerned. He therefore organised a committee in order to establish a social group for these people; this soon merged with a women's prayer group which had "outgrown" the private homes in which its activities had been held. The honourary secretary who ran the group noted that one of its members had tried to attend a local day centre but that this had not proved satisfactory:

> He couldn't eat the food. He was there all day without eating. And this is no good. Old people have to eat or they will be ill.

In Case 12, the community had become concerned that its elderly members had no social outlets; this was a problem for younger people because their elderly relatives spoke no English and were therefore entirely dependent on their families.

In these agencies, the decision to provide a luncheon club or day centre service for elderly people stemmed from a perceived need within the community. As two of the trustees in Case 11 put it, "the old people needed somewhere to go". The choice of both service and clientele was dictated by a perceived obligation to the community to serve whoever was in greatest need at any particular time (in these cases, elderly people), in whatever way appeared to be necessary. Hence, for instance, the choice of social clubs rather than befriending services. As the chairman of Case 6 put it, "they [the clients] just felt, they never get out of the house".

But there were other motivations for service provision as well. In some cases, needs other than those of the clients also played a role in the decision to provide a service, what service to provide, and to whom. This was most evident in Cases 2 and 8.

In Case 8, a luncheon club for elderly people did not actually fit the organisation's traditional remit at all. The agency was founded by middle class women "to help less privileged mothers bring up their babies" (official history). After the NHS took over maternal and postnatal health care, the organisation turned to other youth services. An organisational crisis in the late 1960's caused the group to redefine its constituency. The neighbourhood had changed: there was an increasing number of pensioners and the primarily white constituency of the past had been replaced by ethnic minority families. In the early 1970's, following the reorganisation of the agency to cater to ethnic minority children, disabled children and teenagers, and the incorporation of an NHS baby clinic on the premises, a longstanding agency staff member retired. This woman had been involved with the agency for most of her

working life and was reluctant to leave. She therefore sought the assistance of the local social services office in starting the luncheon club for elderly people in the area. At the time of the study, she and several of the original volunteers were still running the club.

In theory the club had been started in order to address a community need (a social outlet for "housebound" elderly people in the area), and this was the reason given by the organisers when they were asked. However, there were a number of features to the service which suggested additional motivations. One was the limited nature of the service, which met for two hours per day twice a week and provided transportation and meals only. The organisers' explanation for this format was that the clients would be tired, but in private conversation several clients, having expressed their gratitude for the service, said that they had no other forms of social activity. Most telling was the statement of one client that

> I am here because I am disabled. Do you think I would come here if I wasn't housebound? I'd much rather go out to a nice restaurant and have a nice meal, but I can't afford it and I can't get out on my own anymore. (Client, Case 8)

The administrator of the agency sponsoring the club told the researcher that the luncheon club organiser did not liaise with the rest of the organisation at all: she never attended planning meetings and except for a short written summary published in the organisations' annual report rarely produced any written documentation. Indeed, in the course of the interview this administrator asked the researcher for information about the luncheon club[3].

The organiser explained that limited financial resources precluded expansion of the service to include more days per week or more clients (at the time of the study there were 8 "regulars"). Other services at the same location did not appear to be so affected, and when asked why she did not simply ask for more funds, the organiser did not reply.

Case 2 was started primarily as a membership and advocacy group for carers of mentally frail elderly people. This case is different from the others because service provision, rather than being an end in itself, was seen as a means of establishing legitimacy and credibility. The decision to start providing a service was taken partly because

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[3] The relationship between the club and its sponsoring agency will be reviewed in the next chapter (Structure), and the governance issues implied here will be explored in Chapter Eight (Governance).

...we wanted to be listened to. Nobody was going to pay attention to us unless we could be seen to be doing something, providing a service. (Chairperson, Case 2)

In other words, service provision was seen as a means of gaining credibility with funders and the statutory sector for advocacy work. The choice of which service to provide was made by elimination: a sitting service was already available in the borough, whereas day care for this constituency did not exist. A respondent who was involved in the decision to provide day care saw it as a natural extension of the organisation's goal of relief for carers: when she was caring for her loved one "I longed for day care. It's the first thing and it's vital".

So far, we have examined the decision to provide day care. Two types of origins emerged: most of the organisations in the study created the service in response to a felt need in the community (e.g. case 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12). This often emerged in the context of other service provision already undertaken by the organisation (particularly in cases 3, 6, 7, 9, and 10) but sometimes signalled a change in the traditional direction of the agency (e.g. cases 2, 8, and 11). But there were also other factors at work: particularly in cases 2 and 8, the needs of the organisers and organisations also played a role in the decision to provide a service.

We now turn to some of the assumptions made by participants (organisers and members) about the service in these organisations as it was provided at the time of the fieldwork.

Assumptions Underlying the Service:

A number of agency assumptions about the service and its intended audience underlay the decision to provide day care for elderly people. These assumptions can be deduced from the way the services were designed and the people they attracted. As we will see in this section, while the statements of purpose quoted earlier implied universal provision, in practice certain groups of people were implicitly or even explicitly excluded.

A number of assumptions were made by the organisers about elderly people. As was noted in the methodology (Chapter Four), the study deliberately selected day care programmes designed exclusively for elderly people. Organisations which decided to create programmes specifically for people over 65 assumed implicitly that people over this age were a discrete group, separate from other user groups. People over 65 required separate provision because they could not or would not participate in existing activities. Older people would not

attend activities which took place after dark or in the late afternoon, for example[4]; activities designed for young people, or mothers with young children, were seen as inappropriate for older people.

Older people were classified as a needy community group, often along with very young children (Case 3,7,8), youth (Case 10), or disabled people (Case 3). It was assumed by the organisations in the study that older people fell into the category of people whose "conditions of life" required "improving" (Case 7, 10).

With one exception (Case 2), none of the organisations in the study distinguished between different types of elderly people in their written statements of purpose. Indeed, as can be seen from the official statements cited in the first section of this chapter, some emphasised the universal nature of their provision (e.g., Case 1 welcomed "any elderly person" -- emphasis mine).

However, there was evidence that certain types of people were in fact excluded from the provision. Most agencies had not designed the original provision with very disabled people in mind. This was reflected in the choice of premises, many of which were not in fact originally accessible by wheelchair (e.g. Case 1 and 12); in some cases these premises were later adapted at some cost (Cases 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; Case 10 was building new premises, and Cases 11 and 2 had renovated existing premises before starting service provision). Personal care, and particularly incontinence, was becoming a serious issue among the agencies. Most of the luncheon clubs did not serve people who required this type of service:

> we do take diabetics, we do take people who can't hear, or partially hear. We do have some who need wheelchairs or Zimmer frames, but.... some day centres take them if they're incontinent. Those, we can't handle people like that, because we haven't got the facilities. (Cook, Case 3).

> ...they're old but they're not really, you know, 90 or, they're all in their 70's or early 80's and they're all usually mobile. When they don't become mobile they don't come. (Volunteer, Case 1)

With one exception, agencies would not serve people who were mentally frail. The exception was Case 2, in which mental frailty was a prerequisite for acceptance into the service. People with dementia or other mental illness were otherwise not generally welcome

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[4] Mentioned specifically by a trustee in Case 11.

(although in agencies such as case 6 a token "case" or two might be tolerated).

Except for the two ethnic minority luncheon clubs, the clientele was also white and Christian. As one organiser commented bluntly:

> Elderly people tend to be racist. I mean that's a bit hard, but they tend not to be very open minded.

In ten of the 12 agencies, not one identifiable member of an ethnic minority was observed among the clients during fieldwork. As the comment from the honourary secretary of Case 4 quoted in the previous section indicated, food was a major issue. The standard cuisine in all the agencies drew heavily on the traditional English meat and two vegetables (although a respondent in Case 11 pointed out that fish and chips was so popular the agency had had to vary the menu to avoid being oversubscribed on the day it was served). Despite the availability of cooking facilities in most of the agencies, vegetarian and ethnic fare was rarely available (Case 11 being a notable exception: a vegetarian dish was always offered). In Case 7, an "ethnic" option had been successfully introduced by the new organiser:

> You have to be very careful, because people here are very choosy about what they eat... It started with once a week, and not too many spices. It was always just one option, and I said they could always have what they were used to. And in the beginning, they wouldn't try it. But now, quite a few of them like it. It all depends on what you're used to.

Aside from food, language was cited by respondents in the two ethnic luncheon clubs as a barrier to participation in mainstream provision. Mainstream clubs conducted their activities exclusively in English, while the ethnic clubs conducted theirs in Gujarati and Vietnamese respectively.

Older people in these clubs also expressed a preference for different social activities: in the Gujarati club, religious worship was an important feature and men and women preferred a segregated service. The Vietnamese elders preferred traditional music and exercises. The "mainstream" provision, on the other hand, was generally secular with religious elements confined to the annual Christmas dinner[5] or, in Case 1, to saying Grace

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[5] It could be argued that this, too, was more a secular activity than a religious one.

before the meal. Men and women were mixed, and clients expressed a preference for Western music, particularly British music of the 1930's, 40's, and 50's.

In short, most of the agencies in the study had designed their provision to cater to the tastes of white, Christian people over 65 who were "mobile" and at least able to hold a conversation.

Elderly people were a convenient group to serve in that they were assumed to be polite, relatively independent, and in many cases, similar to the providers. They were unlikely to inflict damage on the facilities (as would teenagers, for example), and their appearance was respectable (unlike homeless people). People who did not fit these criteria, either because of their appearance or because of disruptive behaviour, were discouraged. One client described an incident involving a gentleman whose personal hygiene did not conform to the required standard:

> People were complaining that he smelled and they could not sit with him. We warned him three times and then we told him not to come back.... I mean, we just can't have that kind of thing.

Provision of meals and entertainment to elderly people was not subject to onerous regulations and inspections (as are services for children) beyond the standard health and safety standards required of the facilities in any case:

> A number of other activities were already running; we had got to the state where the building could cope with something like the luncheon club. We'd done a number of improvements in... hygiene and floor coverings and warmth, and all sorts of things that would be necessary for the running of the luncheon club. We'd made quite a bit of progress so we knew that we might well fit in with the sorts of demands on environmental health and so on. (Manager, Case 3)

The minimum requirements for the service were premises of some kind (a church hall or, in some cases, premises rented from the council at a "peppercorn" rent), food (usually supplied by the local authority kitchens, at least initially), and a supply of volunteers. Overhead costs such as heating and lighting were either absorbed by the parent organisations or included in the local authority grant.

There were additional underlying assumptions made about the relationship between the clubs or centres and their clients. In most cases, the model used was that of an association.

Club or centre participants were referred to as "members", a point of considerable importance. One respondent criticised the researcher sharply for using the term "client" in a preliminary draft of a case study (Case 2):

> We quite deliberately call them day centre members and dislike the word "clients"! (emphasis hers)

The use of the term did not necessarily imply the decision-making or voting power of membership in traditional associations. As we will see in Chapter 8 (Governance), only in one agency were luncheon club or day centre "members" eligible to vote for and be elected to the board of management of the sponsoring agency (Case 7, where this was encouraged). But the term was meant to imply an egalitarian atmosphere in which all participants are equal "members" of a "club"[6].

Although as we saw in the previous chapter the line between "day centres" and "luncheon clubs" had blurred somewhat over the past decade, the "club" assumptions still underpinned the provision and are therefore worth examining here.

According to participants at one facility, a "social club" was a self-run group catering to all comers which met primarily for lunch and recreation. Membership fees were paid by annual subscription and entitled all members to full use of the facility. The element of payment was very important: free service carried the stigma of charity. "Paying your way" was an important means of maintaining one's dignity. The equal nature of the subscription (which ranged from 50p to £3.00) erased the social distinctions between rich and poor. Members expected equal treatment from staff and from one another.

The term "club" underlined the voluntary nature of the association. Members were expected to take care of themselves and each other and assumed responsibility for the running of the club. Activities were generally self-led and informal. Things were done by the members and with the members rather than for the members. As one respondent put it, "It's a social thing, not rules" (Case 3).

One day centre had installed a bar on the premises and served alcoholic beverages. This was exceptional as most of the organisations served alcohol only at special occasions

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[6]The extent of actual decisionmaking power the members had within the clubs or centres is explored in detail at the end of Chapter Eight (Governance).

such as Christmas dinners. The provision of a bar was an indication of the "adult" status of its patrons (only autonomous adults may drink alcohol), and staff were somewhat defensive about this:

> how can I judge them? They are at a stage of life where these habits are hard
> to break. It's very difficult for them to change. (Manager, Case 11).

Another contentious issue was smoking. Many older people had smoked for most of their adult lives. A number of organisations had either imposed no-smoking areas or had banned the activity altogether on health grounds. The issue was especially controversial in Case 5, where it was imposed by the trustees but resented by many of the participants.

The restrictions on smoking and alcohol were exceptions, however. For the most part, club members expected and were expected to run their own activities with minimal outside interference, and many organisations had formal or ad-hoc "committees" for the purpose. The self-help ethos was particularly evident in agencies such as Cases 4, 5, 7, and 9 where participants helped to serve meals to the less mobile and to clear the tables after the meal (jobs carried out by volunteers in other organisations)[7].

However, there was evidence that with more intensive provision this was changing. Participants in an agency which had recently renamed itself from "club" to "centre" (Case 5) articulated the underlying assumptions most clearly. The terminology was far from a matter of semantics. Day centres were

> run by the council. It's mainly for people who can't cook their own meals and
> can't get out. They come because the doctor recommends that they come, and
> they come by ambulance [minivan]... they're really semi-convalescent.
> (Client, Case 5)

Participation in a day centre was therapeutic or rehabilitational rather than recreational: things were done for the peoples' "own good". The "rehabilitation" emphasis was expressed by some of the organisers in these terms:

> ...now some of them, I think if we weren't providing that kind of care, they
> would have gone down, some of them wouldn't be alive now or would be in

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[7] This will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Ten (People).

some nursing home or geriatric ward...(Chairman, Case 6)

...the fact that you've actually kept people in the community in their own homes until they actually just peacefully died quietly is I think a tremendous achievement really. (Manager, Case 3)

[We are] trying to pursue the general philosophy of helping people to help themselves, and helping people to live independently. (Manager, Case 10)

Activities in day centres are likely to be run by volunteers or professional staff, on the assumption that members are unable to initiate and carry out their own activities.

In summary, the actual running of the organisations was influenced by the underlying assumptions organisations made about the clients, the service, and the type of organisation (association or bureaucracy) best suited to both. Agencies served elderly people not only because that was the expressed need in the surrounding geographical area but because of assumptions made about the nature of people over 65 and their needs; people who did not conform to these assumptions were often excluded. The service was chosen on the basis of the capacity of the organisation to provide it (availability of premises, food, and personnel). And the service was generally organised initially along the lines of a club or association rather than a "social service" or mini-bureaucracy (although as we will see in Chapter Ten, this may have changed over the course of the provision in some organisations).

Summary:

This chapter has examined the purpose and goals of the agencies and their clubs or centres. Although some of the older agencies had been set up with "charitable" objectives, the current statements of purpose stressed recreation and leisure, particularly for those disadvantaged by circumstances such as disability and age (the very young as well as the old). The services were originally conceived as recreational in character and as supplemental to State provision. Particularly obvious in the ethnic luncheon clubs (and to a lesser extent, in sole providers such as Cases 2 and 6), the services were meant to fill gaps in existing provision by serving populations not served by "mainstream" provision, whether State or voluntary (Kramer, 1981; Donnison, 1989).

The agencies began their provision either because of a felt need by a certain population (e.g. the ethnic luncheon clubs, Case 2, Case 6, Case 11) or because this particular

type of service and clientele fit the capacity of an agency looking for a service to provide (Case 8).

The formal statements of purpose, and the assumptions made about the needs of elderly people and about the service, do not appear to have changed since the clubs or day centres began. But, as we will see in Chapter Ten, the intended audience for these services was actually changing. These changes were to challenge some of the assumptions articulated in this chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: STRUCTURE

Chapter Six described the goals of the organisations, and the assumptions organisers made about the service and service recipients. This chapter will describe the frameworks which the organisations put into place in order to implement these goals. These will be referred to as the organisational "structure", which Child (1972) defines as

> ...the formal allocation of work roles and the administrative mechanisms to control and integrate work activities (p.3).

In formal organisations, these relationships are best described in organisational charts.

Five main influences are cited as affecting organisational structure: size, age, technology, environment, and choices made by organisational decision-makers (Wilson, 1992a). It is argued that the larger an organisation grows, the more tasks must be coordinated and therefore the more formal structures are required (Child, 1972). Older organisations are also likely to be more formal (Wilson, 1992a). A technology may dictate a particular configuration, particularly in voluntary organisations (Wilson, 1992a)[1], although Child dismisses this (1972). The environment is seen as a major influence on organisational structure: organisations may change their structures in response to external demands in order to survive (Child and Keiser, 1981; Wilson, 1992a). Finally, Child sees organisational structure as being influenced to a large degree by organisational decision makers (1972, p.10).

This chapter will describe the organisational charts of the twelve participating agencies. Two main categories of relationships will be discussed: the relationship between the agency and the day centre or club it sponsored, and the internal relationships of club or day centre personnel. As was noted in the introduction, the creation of a new position or job title is one type of organisational change. Similarly, as we saw in Chapter Six, the introduction (or shutting down) of a service is also an organisational change. Organisational charts are useful in tracking organisational histories: the addition or demise of a committee or staff position may well reflect the changing needs of the organisation.
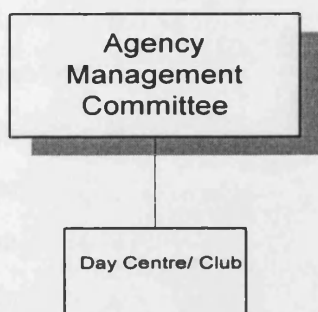
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[1] E.g., all luncheon clubs and day centres require a place to meet, a supply of food, and a supply of people to deliver the service.

The Relationship of Agency to Club or Centre:

Three models emerged among the agencies in the study. These can be seen in Diagram 1:

Diagram 1: Club/Organisation Relationships

Model 1:   Model 2:

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┌─────────────────┐              ┌─────────────────┐
│     Agency      │              │     Agency      │
│   Management    │              │   Management    │
│   Committee     │              │   Committee     │
└────────┬────────┘              └────────┬────────┘
         │                   ┌───────────┼───────────┐
┌────────┴────────┐    ┌─────┴─────┐┌─────┴─────┐┌────┴──────┐
│ Day Centre/ Club│    │ Service  1 ││Day Centre/ ││ Service 3 │
└─────────────────┘    └───────────┘│Club        │└───────────┘
                                    │for Elderly │
                                    │People      │
                                    └────────────┘
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Model 3:

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                  ┌─────────────────┐
                  │   Main Agency   │
                  │   Management    │
                  │   Committee     │
                  └────────┬────────┘
┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐         │
: Second Agency :  ┌──────┴──────┐
: with interest in ─ ─ ─ ─│   Service   │
: Service       :  │ Management  │
└ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘  │ Committee   │
                  └──────┬──────┘
                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                  │ Day Centre/ │
                  │Luncheon Club│
                  └─────────────┘
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In the very smallest agencies, the luncheon club was either the only service or the major service provided. The agency managed the service directly in the sense that the service did not have any formal governance structures (committees or boards) that were separate from the main

agency. Nor, in most of these agencies, were separate financial accounts kept for the clubs or day centres. This model was found in Cases 4, 5, 9, 11, and 12. In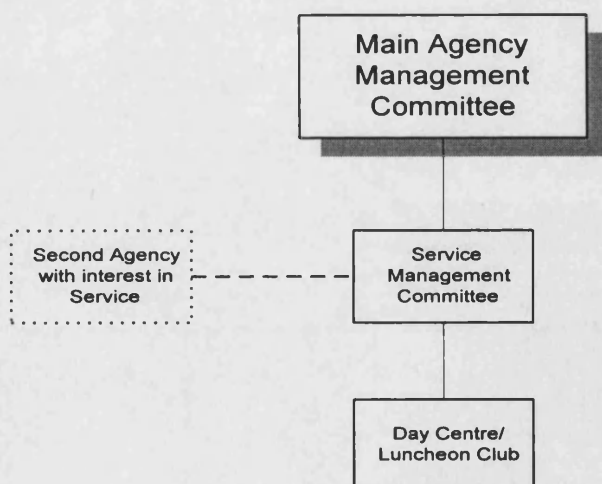 Case 4, the club was the only service delivered by the agency. Although the agency's membership included people who did not use the service (families and friends of service users and other members of the community), the agency had been set up solely for the explicit purpose of providing a club for elderly people. In Case 9, the day centre was the only service provided by a church mission, outside of Sunday religious services. Although the people using the day centre were completely different from the Sunday worship attenders, there was no separate administrative structure: the vicar, church secretary, and church treasurer were also the executive committee of the day centre and they supervised the centre manager directly. The mission did not keep the day centre accounts separate. In Case 5, the agency provided additional services such as insurance and meals on wheels, but the day centre was the major activity with the other services being almost vestigial (the insurance sales had no separate staff or desk space, and the meals on wheels were the same meals as were cooked on the premises, delivered using day centre vehicles). Although there were separate budgets for these, there were no separate personnel on the organisational chart. Case 11 was almost identical to Case 5 in this respect: although reference was made to a "conference centre", there were no separate budgets or personnel. Case 12 was an ethnic community organisation which had added the luncheon club to its other activities. Again, there was no separate budget nor separate personnel and the club was directly administered by the community organisation's board of management (which also did the cooking on a rota basis).

A more complex structure evolved where the agencies were running more than one main service. In the examples given in the previous paragraph, the other services were subsidiary to the day centre or luncheon club. But in Cases 3, 7, 8, and 10, the day centre or luncheon club was one of several major services provided by the agency. The agencies therefore had separate staffs and budgets for the day centres or clubs. These ranged from one volunteer organiser with a "committee" of two volunteers (Case 8) to one part-time paid worker with a volunteer/participant "house committee" (Case 3, 7), to a dedicated staff (Case 10). These agencies were serving not only elderly people but young people (Case 10) and children (Case 3, 7, 8) as well. In this context, divisionalisation appeared to be the most prevalent model, with all activities equally represented on the board of management (Case 7, 8, 10).

Complications arose when the day centre/luncheon club service was provided by more than one "parent" agency. This situation arose in Cases 2 and 6. In Case 2, the main day care service was one of several services provided by the agency (the others being carer support and weekend informal "clubs" for carers and their loved ones), but this was the agency's major service. The day centre was operated in partnership with a second organisation. This agency and the day centre will be described in greater detail later in the chapter.

In Case 6, the day centre was run by a consortium of three local churches. The major partner was the local Baptist congregation: the day centre used the Baptist church premises, and the minister of that congregation was the Chairman of the day centre committee. Volunteers were drawn from all three churches as were committee members. Under those circumstances, a separate management structure (oversight committee and dedicated staff) and a separate budget had been set up.

Although Case 1 was being run by one church, the congregation had been formed by the merger of two churches. The service predated this merger and had previously been run directly by one of the congregations. When the churches merged, a separate committee structure was set up with members of both churches on it. Although some overhead costs were subsidised by the (newly combined) church, the main budget for the luncheon club came from outside the church via a second community organisation with no ties to either church, and from the local authority. The existence of four stakeholding organisations in the luncheon club (St. A's, St. B's, the local authority, and Borough East Old People's Welfare) appears to have influenced the creation of a management committee and budget separate from the (now united) church, even when the old people's welfare committee discontinued its involvement and the local authority began to fund the club directly.

The three models show increasing distance between the sponsoring agency and the service it provided. In the first model, the agency **was** the service. In the second model, the service was one of a number of divisions or departments within the agency. In the third, the service was quasi-independent of the sponsoring organisation(s).

In summary, the different configurations adopted by the agencies reflected the tasks the agencies had set themselves (whether to run one service or many), and the number of agencies involved in a particular service (whether the service was to be "owned" exclusively by one agency or to be run in partnership with others). As the history of Case 1 shows, history also

plays a part in structural designs. The separation of the service from its sponsoring church was a legacy of two historical events: the merger of two churches (wherein the original sponsor was joined by another) and the original funding arrangements involving a local old people's welfare association. These arrangements will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Nine.

The implications of these models for the agencies and for the day centres/luncheon clubs will become apparent as we examine the structures of the agencies in greater detail in the next section. The agencies have been divided between those with simple structures (Cases 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12) and the two more complex ones (Case 2 and 5).   The next section describes the organisational charts of the simple organisations. It is followed by a discussion of the way jobs and tasks were allocated within the day centres or luncheon clubs.

The Internal Structures of the Simple Organisations:

Wilson (1992a) describes four dominant structures in large (national) service providing organisations: functional, divisional, federal, and matrix/project based (p.154). As was noted in the last section, the divisional structures were used in this study by organisations serving more than one type of client (e.g. Cases 3, 7, or 8); the day centre formed one division of a larger organisation. Federal structures were not found in this study, although two of the organisations were technically "branches" of larger federations (Cases 2 and 5)[2]. Most of the organisations were run along "functional" lines, but because these groups were much smaller and much more limited in scope than Wilson's national organisations, their functions were also more limited and their structures less formal and more ad-hoc. One of the organisations in the study (Case 2) had opted for a "matrix" type structure in order to run its day centre. This will be described in greater detail in the next section.
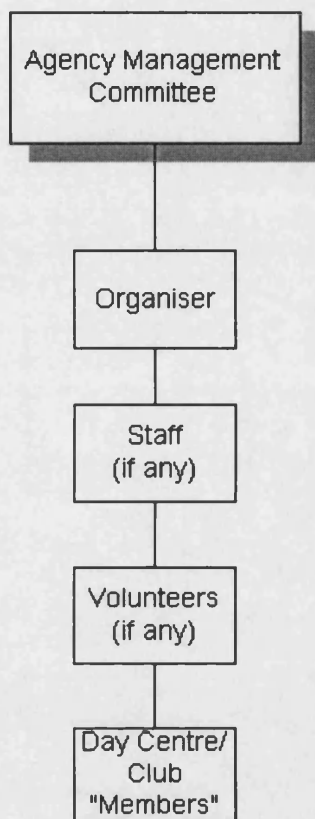
The internal structures of the agencies varied from very simple to very complex. The smaller organisations tended to have very simple organisational structures. Diagram 2 shows the structure of simple agencies such as Cases 1, 3, 4, 8, and 12.:

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[2]Headquarters-local branch issues will be discussed in Chapter 10 (Funding and External Relationships).

Diagram 2: Simple Agency Structure

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┌─────────────────────┐
│  Agency Management   │
│     Committee        │
└─────────────────────┘
           │
    ┌─────────────┐
    │  Organiser  │
    └─────────────┘
           │
    ┌─────────────┐
    │    Staff    │
    │   (if any)  │
    └─────────────┘
           │
    ┌─────────────┐
    │  Volunteers │
    │   (if any)  │
    └─────────────┘
           │
    ┌─────────────┐
    │ Day Centre/ │
    │    Club     │
    │  "Members"  │
    └─────────────┘
```

In Case 1, there had been a rudimentary committee consisting of a chairman (who was always a Church elder appointed by the church sponsoring the club), a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Treasurer resigned due to ill health, and since a replacement could not be found, the Secretary took over his duties. She oversaw a small and decreasing band of volunteers who served the clients.

In Cases 3 and 8, the sponsoring agency provided administrative assistance (a telephone number and office staff); the day to day running of the luncheon club was done by the cook (in Case 3) or the volunteer organiser (in Case 8), who supervised the volunteers; these in turn served the clients. In Case 3, a member of staff supervised the cook; the sponsoring community association prepared accounts and negotiated grants with the local authority as part of the over-

all running of the agency. In Case 8, the sponsoring community agency had a more limited role as negotiations were generally carried out separately by the luncheon club organiser.

In Case 4, a management committee elected by the membership had appointed the honorary secretary. This individual was the only person in the group who was literate in English. This gentleman ran the organisation: his tasks included all external contacts, cooking, care of the premises, and issuing bus passes. The clients took an active role in serving and clearing up. Similar arrangements were in place for Case 12, where the cooking was done by the committee on a rota basis.
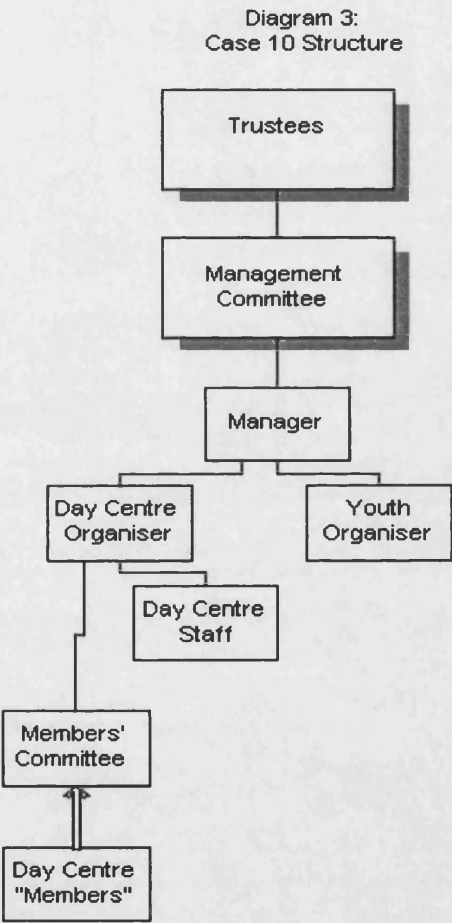
Cases 6, 9 and 10 offer variations on this theme. In Case 9, the church meeting appointed a committee consisting of the Minister, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. These three supervised the paid Centre Services Manager. This role has recently changed considerably: the previous incumbent was a "community worker" who had been responsible directly to the church meeting. The job had been defined generally as "community work". The current incumbent was responsible to the church officers and was therefore slightly removed from the church meeting; when she was hired, the position was redefined and focused to include only the centre programme, the building, and the office. The Centre Services Manager supervised the Cook and coordinates the part-time teachers and voluntary workers (including students on work-study placements); these in turn serve the club participants. A part-time bookkeeper was employed after the Treasurer declined to do this task (her predecessor had considered it part of his remit). It appears that in both cases, job descriptions were altered to fit the skills and abilities of the new incumbents.

The organisation had considered setting up a separate committee for the day centre. This was shelved in favour of a "development group" consisting of the minister, secretary, treasurer, and centre services manager, to plan and oversee a complete refit of the premises. The group appeared to be reluctant to commit itself to a structure until decisions had been made regarding the clientele and building.

In Case 6, the organisation was set up by a consortium of three churches, each of which was represented on the management committee. The minister of the host church was always the chairman of this committee, and he oversaw a Centre Coordinator, who in turn oversaw staff and volunteers. An interesting variation in this case is that quite often management committee

members also serve as volunteers. This will be explored in depth in the next chapter (Governance).

In Case 10, the organisation had recently split its trustees from its management committee, and was in the process of incorporating as four companies limited by guarantee. The administrative structure remained linear, but with the addition of a "members' committee", as shown in Diagram 3:

Diagram 3:
Case 10 Structure

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │   Trustees   │
                    └──────┬───────┘
                           │
                  ┌────────┴────────┐
                  │   Management    │
                  │   Committee     │
                  └────────┬────────┘
                           │
                    ┌──────┴───────┐
                    │   Manager    │
                    └──────┬───────┘
              ┌────────────┴────────────┐
       ┌──────┴───────┐          ┌──────┴───────┐
       │ Day Centre   │          │    Youth     │
       │ Organiser    │          │  Organiser   │
       └──────┬───────┘          └──────────────┘
              │    ┌──────────────┐
              │    │  Day Centre  │
              │    │    Staff     │
              │    └──────────────┘
       ┌──────┴───────┐
       │  Members'    │
       │  Committee   │
       └──────┬───────┘
              │
       ┌──────┴───────┐
       │ Day Centre   │
       │  "Members"   │
       └──────────────┘
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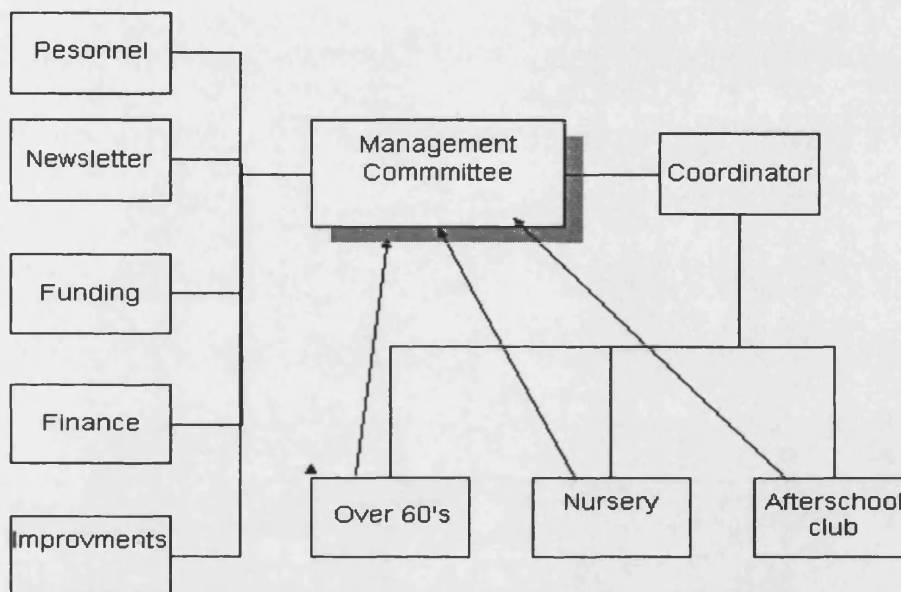
The other variation in Case 10 was the establishment of a members' or "house" committee; this group was elected annually by the day centre members and ran the programming at the centre. It also served as a means of conveying complaints to the manager and the management committee, and its minutes were reviewed by the trustees.

In Case 7, shown in Diagram 4, the organisation was run by a committee which was elected by local residents at a combined annual AGM and neighbourhood party. It included one

representative from each group using the premises, but two from the luncheon club. With the exception of the officers, the composition of the committee changed annually.

Diagram 4: Structure of Case 7

There were five subcommittees: personnel, newsletter, funding, finance, and improvements. Membership of the personnel committee was restricted to officers, and the finance committee consisted of the Treasurer and the two paid staff members. The other committees were open to all members of the association; committee members were expected to serve on at least one. Committee members were also expected to volunteer with other user groups.

The luncheon club elected 4 representatives (two alternates) to the management committee. A general meeting of the club was held each month before the management committee meeting to raise issues of concern to the members. The paid worker also met with the four representatives on a regular basis.

The distinctive feature of this structure is the way that it reflects the culture of the organisation. Case 7 was one of two community associations in the study, but it was the only one to follow what Harris (1994) called a "membership" or "mutual benefit" model.

So far, we have examined organisations with fairly simple, linear structures. These structures had changed little since the introduction of the day care services. In the divisional agencies (e.g. Cases 7, 8, or 10), the introduction of the service did not produce other changes within the organisations: services were simply added or dropped as appropriate to the neighbourhood or population; thus, for example, in Case 10, the day centre had succeeded soup kitchens, drop-in clubs for older women, and clubs for unemployed men; in Case 8, it catered for the same mothers who had once brought their children to the premises. Little structural change was required to accommodate one more activity of many. It appears that this divisional format was very stable over the course of the organisations' histories, particularly among the older ones.

Among the agencies which either provided no other service, or for whom the service was the main activity, the introduction of the service was a milestone. But once the relationships had been established, there appeared to be little need to change them.

Division of Tasks in the Day Centres/Luncheon Clubs:

The relative stability of the agencies (in terms of changes to their general configurations) was reflected in the distribution of tasks within the day centres and clubs themselves. In all the organisations described above, the internal distribution of tasks within the centre or club was very simple. In Cases 1,3,4,5,7,8, and 12, respondents rejected the idea of a hierarchy:

> Well, we don't have particular jobs. We, the three of us as you know on each day, and we more or less, we say well I'll do this and I'll do that, you see, there's no actual pattern at all. (Volunteer, Case 1)

> There's no guv'ner (Client, Case 5)

> Well, everybody knows more or less what they're going to do. If not, [the organiser] will tell them what she would like done. (Volunteer, Case 3)

> But if anything's got to be done we just ask one another to do it, really. (Cook, Case 3)

Particularly when volunteers were used, tasks were generally distributed according to individual abilities and preferences:

> So Margaret likes to stay in the kitchen and help, so Margaret will be in the kitchen on a Tuesday and Friday her days, and on a Thursday Peggy will be in the kitchen, you see. It's a bit complicated because they don't all come every day. So their jobs vary, but like Katy, she always lays tables, takes dinners around, or fools around and there's Eileen who always lays tables and only comes on a Tuesday. She helps lay tables and take dinners around but you don't need two to take the dinners around, so one might come into the kitchen and help with the washing up.... (Cook, Case 3)

> Well it all depends what sort of job.... It's all volunteers so we just go along and volunteer. Serving dinners, S. [member] usually decides that. Because some of the people couldn't carry a tray, and so on. He knows who can do what. (Member, Case 5)

The usual distribution of tasks was very simple: one person (the secretary, cook, honorary secretary, or self-selected client or volunteer) coordinated the various tasks of setting the tables, serving the meal, and clearing up. Often, there were tacit understandings regarding peoples' jobs; e.g. one particular volunteer always served the dessert, another always dried the dishes, etc. Although the arrangements would appear to be informal, all the participants took their tasks very seriously. If someone was allocated a particular task "you do not step on their toes" (Organiser, Case 7). Or as one respondent put it, "the job is the role is the person".

To a more limited extent this was the case with paid staff members and trustees as well. The change in task distribution in Case 9 is one example: when the new Treasurer made it clear that she was not prepared to do bookkeeping, this task (which had been part of the Treasurer's domain) was transferred to a paid part-time staff member. Similarly, the Centre Manager no longer did community outreach, but was involved in decisions regarding the renovation of the premises. The Honorary Secretary in Case 4 had chosen to manage the premises and issue bus passes and the organisation had evolved around his capabilities. The Cook in Case 3 actually functioned as an administrator because she had chosen to run the social activities and interview potential members (her predecessors had done none of these things).

None of the organisations had clear written job descriptions "on file"; jobs in the simpler organisations were generally defined by the people doing the task. Even in the more complex organisations, job descriptions were generally drawn up only when there was a change in paid staff members. The only example that could be found among the groups was in Case 11, which

was recruiting a new "Clerk" or Chief Executive Officer. The job description was composed by the incumbent and the management committee and ran over two pages. Case 7 had comprehensive written guidelines for its management committee, probably because the composition of that body changed every year (as mandated in the constitution).

Three important points emerge from this analysis. The first is that most agencies adopted linear hierarchies in which one person supervised the next, who supervised the next (see Diagram 2). These structures had changed little over the course of the organisations' histories.

The second point is that allocation of tasks was generally very informal and done by consensus. Formal job descriptions were rare, and were usually only written when job holders moved on.

The third point is related to the first two points. Positions were generally tailored to the talents and interests of the individuals holding them. When these individuals moved on, job descriptions and responsibilities were generally reshuffled to accommodate either the temporary "hole" left while a new person was found, or the interests of the new person. In these agencies, then, staff turnover was a potential time of change.

The only discernible source of complexity in the "simple" agencies was the need to accommodate the interests of the clients or "members". This issue will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Here it should be noted that the interests of these stakeholders were sometimes accommodated through separate committees. In one organisation (Case 7), the need to secure participation by users of the club in the wider organisation led to a fairly complex structure.

We now turn to the two more complex agencies in the study. In contrast to the picture presented here among the simple agencies, these agencies had evolved complex structures over time.

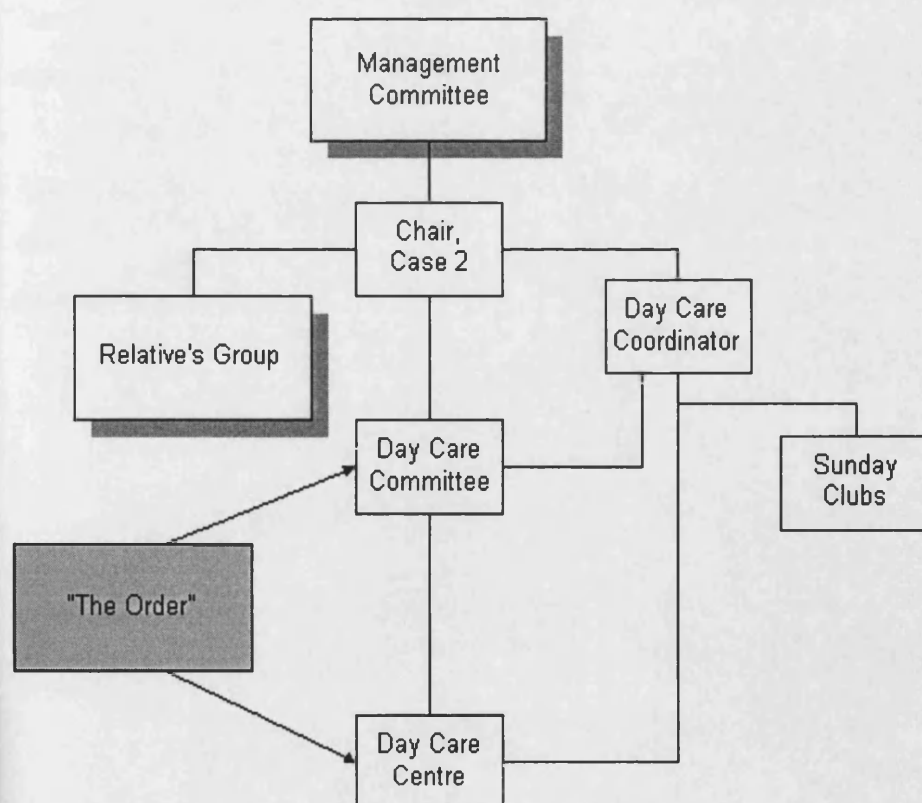### The Complex Agencies and Their Day Centres:

Two organisations showed particular complexity. These will be analysed individually, in depth, because the evolution of these structures reflect processes going on within the agencies which were not as obvious in those with less complex structures. One of these agencies (Case 5) was undergoing significant changes to its service (which had organisational repercussions) at

the time of the study, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Ten (People). It is impossible to understand the real processes taking place within this agency without examining in close detail the evolution of its structure. In this agency, the complexity of the structure reflects internal conflicts between power groups.

The other (Case 2) saw few changes in the service during the time of the study, but the remarkably complex arrangements for administering both the agency and the day centre raise a number of organisational issues of relevance to other agencies as well. In this agency, the complexity of the structures reflects environmental opportunities and constraints.

The structure of Case 2 is the most complex in the study, and is shown in Diagram 5:

Diagram 5: Case 2 (Agency Structure)

It began originally when two founders decided to start a local branch of a national organisation. One of the founders withdrew soon after the group started, leaving the second as "Secretary" of an informal membership group. After two years, the group decided to explore

the possibility of obtaining local authority funding and discovered that a prerequisite for such funding was a management committee with a chairman. The position of Secretary was promptly renamed "Chairman", and the new Chairman (actually a woman) picked a management committee out of the membership. There now existed two entities: "the Branch", or management committee, oversaw "the Relatives' Group", or the original membership association. The Chairman headed both.
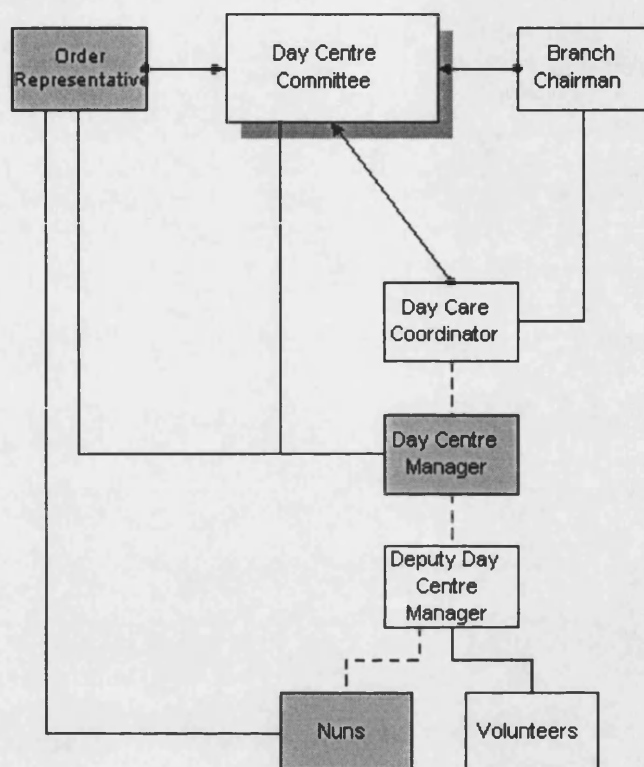
The group's decision to provide day care added another layer to this structure. The Relatives' Group members wanted to use the service, but wanted it kept separate from their group. A Day Care Coordinator was hired to oversee the day care side of the organisation, working under the supervision of the Chairman.

Then the group entered negotiations with a second group, "the Order". This was a religious order of nuns who offered to collaborate in a joint day care project. The "Day care Committee" was formed to oversee the Day Care Centre. The original clubs continued separately, under the supervision of the Day Care Coordinator.

The internal structure of the day centre itself was the most complex of all of the organisations in the study. In this case, the internal hierarchy in the centre reflected the dual nature of the positions of staff members vis-a-vis the centre and vis-a-vis the parent organisation.

Diagram 6 shows the structure of the centre.

Diagram 6: The Day Centre in Case 2

The Day Care Coordinator was responsible for the administrative aspects of the day centre: recruitment and assessment of clients and volunteers, supervision of staff, and liaison with families. The Day Centre Manager was responsible for the actual daily running of the centre itself, i.e. insurance, repairs to the premises, cleaning, ordering food. The Deputy Day Centre Manager assisted the Day Centre Manager in her duties. Both, in turn, supervised the two drivers and the volunteers.

This figure was complicated by the fact that the individuals involved were employed by two separate organisations and occupied positions simultaneously in the day centre hierarchy and their own (the gray and clear boxes). So, the Day Care Coordinator, an employee of "the Branch", was responsible for the Day Care Manager, who was always appointed by "the Order". The Day Care Manager, however, was primarily responsible not to the Day Care Coordinator (who belonged to a different organisation), but to her own superior within her order, a nun who

(in theory) had only a peripheral interest in the centre. In practice, although the Day Care Coordinator was responsible for the Day Care Manager, she neither selected her nor controled her.

The Day Care Manager, in turn, had authority over the Deputy Day Care Manager. The Deputy Day Care Manager, however, was not a nun, but an employee of "the Branch". The Deputy Day Care Manager's immediate line manager within "the Branch" was the Day Care Coordinator. The Day Care Manager, therefore, had no real control over the Deputy Day Care Manager.

Both the Day Care Manager and the Deputy Day Care Manager supervised the two additional nuns and the volunteers. The two nuns were responsible within the order and day centre hierarchies to the Day Care Manager. The secular volunteers were responsible to both the manager and the Deputy.

The difficulties of a dual set of hierarchies were exacerbated by a basic cultural difference between the two organisations. "The Branch" was a secular group, run along participatory democratic lines. "The Order", on the other hand, was a religious order which was run by more autocratic methods. As a religious order, it divided the world into those inside and outside its purview. The secular society (including "the branch") was "outside" and therefore must be kept somewhat at arm's length. Inside the order, decisions were made according to the needs of the community of the nuns rather than individual preference.

The result was that neither "the Branch" nor the individual nuns themselves had any control over the staffing of the positions controlled by the order. The order administration made these decisions without necessarily consulting the day centre staff, the "Branch", nor the individuals concerned. The Branch was told of the decisions when the Order decided that the Branch needed to know, usually some time after the decision had been made.

These arrangements would appear to be unwieldy, but in fact they worked very well. One reason for this was that both organisations "owned" the centre and had a stake in its continued effective management. This applied not only to the respective administrative bodies but to the staff at the "coal face" as well: both the Day Care Manager and the Deputy Day Care Manager saw this as "their" centre -- the Deputy Day Care Manager on behalf of the Branch and the Day Care Manager on behalf of the Order. This did not appear to cause conflict but rather to reinforce the smooth running of the centre as both appeared to have a stake in the best

possible functioning of the centre, i.e. the welfare of its clients. Both the Day Care Manager and Deputy Day Care Manager were members of the Day Care Committee.

A second factor on which the effective running of the centre depends was the personalities of the people involved. These actually supersede official job descriptions. At the time the interviews took place, the Day Care Manager had been in the post for 4 months; her predecessor had been a temporary replacement for the previous incumbent. This last incumbent had often been absent from the centre. The Deputy Day Care Manager had been in the post for 18 months and had served under all three. In the absence of a permanent Day Care Manager, she had in effect been running the centre.

The installation of a new Day Care Manager could have caused some disruption to this arrangement, and in fact there were some "teething problems": the new Day Care Manager, rather than challenge the Deputy Day Care Manager directly, took conflicts with her directly to the chair of the branch, who then referred them to the Day Care Coordinator. This put the Day Care Coordinator in the awkward position of having to intervene while being urged by the chair of the branch to let the Day Care Manager settle in. The situation appeared to have been resolved as the two staff members had reached tacit understandings over individual responsibilities in the centre. The Day Care Manager had made a few minor changes in the operation of the centre, but in general appears to allow the Deputy Day Care Manager freedom to continue to run the centre as before. Both respondents stressed the non-hierarchical nature of the staff structure. As in the agencies described in the last section, tasks were distributed according to the interests and talents of the staff and volunteers. Thus, for instance, the Deputy Day Care Manager often collected the clients in the minibus while the Day Care Manager prepareed the building in the morning. Decision-making appeared to be done by consensus.
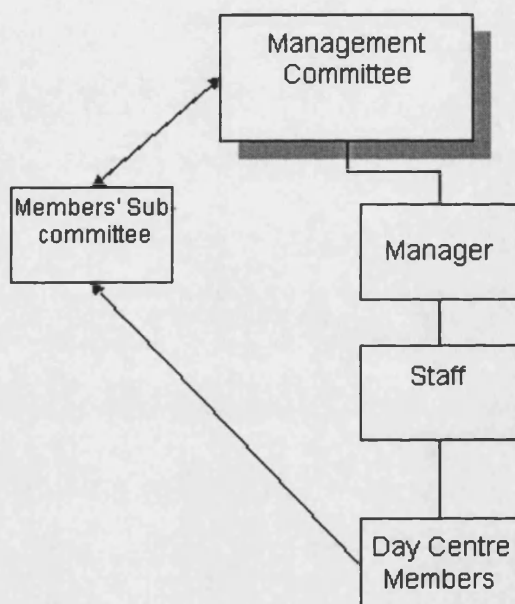
The free-flowing nature of the centre's activities appeared to facilitate an informal management style. This informality was crucial in minimizing disputes and issues of authority and turf within the centre. However, as the Day Care Coordinator summarised the situation, the arrangements only worked as well as the personalities involved.

This case shows how the organisational structure of the day centre evolved as the result of two organisations with different cultures attempting to take equal shares of the project without conceding control to one another. Day to day management and general policy

formulation for the day centre requires ongoing negotiation and consensus rather than unilateral decision-making.

In Case 5, the structure, shown in Diagram 7, was considerably simpler than in Case 2:

Diagram 7: Structure of Case 5

The original structure consisted of an executive (management) committee whose Chairman oversaw the paid Centre Manager. The Centre Manager, in turn, supervised her deputy, an office manager, and the cook, all paid employees, and the hairdresser and drivers, who were "paid volunteers". She also chaired the "members' committee" which was elected by the clients. The manager served as a liaison between the management committee and the "members' committee".

A recent change to this structure was the formation of a "users' subcommittee". This was chaired by a member of the executive committee (not the Chairman), and it was composed of three members of the executive and three centre clients selected by the members' committee. It met quarterly to discuss clients' views and grievances.

This committee was set up the year before the study commenced, after an initiative by the clients for a seat on the executive committee was turned down by the Chairman. The executive committee member who chaired the user's subcommittee said that it was set up "to make the members feel more involved". The clients' perceptions were somewhat different. One client said the committee "keeps the likes of me off the exec"; he was only half joking. According to this respondent, before the advent of the user's subcommittee (which he called the "steering committee"), users would take their views directly to the Manager who would convey these to the executive committee. The current arrangement was seen as unnecessarily cumbersome, as "I wouldn't bypass [the manager]".

Members of the executive committee took a different view. It was felt to be to the advantage of the members that grievances and issues not go through the staff but reach the executive committee directly. In addition, the subcommittee chairman felt that he could put the members' case more forcefully than the Manager because he was not an employee but a full voting committee member.

The Manager's opinion was that complaints should be dealt with using an established procedure, in which the staff should be involved as a first stage. Only if the staff could not address the concerns of the members in a satisfactory manner should the matter be taken to a committee that did not involve staff. She felt that some of the issues raised in the user's subcommittee were trivial matters that could easily have been resolved by staff members, but that the committee "created tensions" in the organisation by blowing the issues out of proportion. She gave the example of one agenda item, a complaint about a cup left in the ladies' restroom. This took up half an hour of the subcommittee meeting and resulted in a formal recommendation being made to remove the cup; previously, a member would have complained directly to the manager, who would have removed the cup immediately.

The chairman of the user's subcommittee agreed that some of the issues raised were indeed trivial but felt that this built trust in the committee to address the more important issues; it was also a useful way for the committee to understand members' concerns without these being filtered through the staff.

It was important to note that this change in structure was not arbitrary, but rather reflected the relationships between the individuals involved. Four strong characters predominate: the Chairman of the executive committee, the users' subcommittee chairman, the

(paid) manager, and a vociferous client who was the informal "president" or "representative" of the clients. The Chairman and the client leader had been in conflict for some years. The lack of direct communication between the members' committee and the executive committee had served to keep the two apart, as much of the communication went via the Manager. The invention of a subcommittee, on which neither served, fulfilled the same purpose. Creating a seat on the executive committee, which would almost certainly have been filled by the "leading member", would have brought the two together and created opportunities for conflict between them.

At the same time, the Manager and the Chairman had conflicting visions of the direction of the organisation. The creation of a users' subcommittee was intended to by-pass the Manager as much as it was intended to reflect users' views.

Similar conflicts existed between the Chairman and the committee member who chairs the users' subcommittee. Formation of this subcommittee served as a vehicle for the chairman to neutralise a potential rival (by giving him "harmless" responsibility) while providing the committee member with a power base (as a representative of the clients). In separate interviews, each of these men perceived the paid manager as being on the side of the other.

In this case, the structure of the organisation reflected internal power plays by important stakeholders more than external pressures.

These two case studies reflect a hidden element of the agencies not clearly visible in the less complex agencies: the issue of power. In Case 2, complex structures were evolved in order to prevent the external partner from controlling the agency. This issue will be explored further in Chapter Nine (Funding and External Relationships); it is sufficient to note here that Case 2 is an extreme version of a similar dynamic in the less complex agencies where more than one agency had an interest in the service.

In Case 5, the configuration reflected personal conflicts not evident in other agencies. The evolution of the different committees was a face-saving device for keeping antagonists apart while accommodating both within the organisation. Similar conflicts were not in evidence in the other agencies in the study. One possibility might be that dissenters were not encouraged to remain in the other agencies. As we will see in the next Chapters, particularly Chapter Ten (People), the personal conflicts in this agency reflected other processes as well, and highlight

some important concerns about changes taking place in the service and by implication, within the agency.

Although both these complex agencies are unique in their complexities, at the service level they share a very important attribute with the other day centres and luncheon clubs in the study. This is the informality at the "coal face". As we will see in Chapter 9 (People), volunteers, paid staff members, and day centre participants/members/clients had distinctive roles within the clubs and centres. But these roles co-existed with a shared consensus or "organisational myth" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Smircich, 1983) that everyone mucks in together. Generally, jobs or tasks were tailored to the interests and talents of the individuals rather than the other way around. This flexibility appeared to have been a very important element of the service; in the extreme case of Case 2, it made the service possible as formal (and conflicting) hierarchies were by-passed.

Common Trends:

The analysis so far has divided the organisations into relatively "simple" and relatively "complex" agencies. As we have seen, the agencies generally adopted linear structures in which one person was responsible for supervising staff and/or volunteers, who in turn divided particular tasks among themselves (see Diagram 2). Complexity was introduced either as a means of settling internal disputes (Case 5) or as a means of mediating outside influences (Case 2).

The picture painted so far is of little significant change. However, two trends were evident across the organisations. These evoked little comment from respondents, perhaps because the processes were incremental rather than dramatic, but were nonetheless of some significance.

The first involved the increasing use of paid staff members, particularly to fill in jobs where volunteers were not available. This will discussed in detail in Chapter Ten. Here it is sufficient to note in passing that paid staff required formal job descriptions and formal contracts of employment, which brought a note of formality to the ad-hoc arrangements described in this chapter. Because the first paid staff member was usually an administrator, it also affected organisational hierarchies (note that in Diagram 2, staff are placed above volunteers in the hierarchy). The implications of this trend will be discussed at the end of Chapter Ten.

Also of note was a change in job titles which occurred most noteably in Cases 5, 6, 7, and 9. This was the replacement of the title "coordinator" with that of "manager"[3]. In Cases 5, 6, and 7, the same individual began as a coordinator and became a manager, while in Case 9, the change from "community coordinator" to "day centre manager" coincided with staff turnover.

While the change in job title might appear trivial, it reflected the increasing formality of relationships. As one manager put it, in response to a direct question:

....because this is really what I do; I don't coordinate, I manage".

The term "manager" implied formal hierarchies, while the term "coordinator" was more consistent with the informal allocation of tasks described earlier in the chapter.

Summary:

This chapter has examined the organisational structures of both the agencies and the services they ran. Three configurations were found, which highlight the blurring of boundaries between the service and the sponsoring agencies. Where one agency was running one service, the two were virtually indistinguishable as there was no separation between personnel, budgets, and management structures. Where an agency was running more than one service and/or serving more than one type of client, a "divisional" structure was found, wherein the day centre or luncheon club was but one of several activities, often (but not always) with dedicated personnel and budgets. Where more than one agency had an interest in the service (even if the interest was no longer current but purely historical, as in Case 1), the agencies tended to "spin off" separate management structures, budgets, and personnel to the club or centre.

The services themselves were marked by the informality of personnel at the "coal face": jobs and tasks were tailored to individuals rather than the other way around. This was seen particularly in Case 9, where the new Treasurer declined to do bookkeeping and this function was transferred to a part-time paid member of staff, and in the most extreme instance, made the operation of the day centre in Case 2 possible.

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[3]The luncheon clubs (Cases 1, 3, and 8) had coordinators, while the remaining day centres (Cases 10 and 11) had managers. Case 4 had an "honorary secretary".

The configurations of the two most complex agencies highlighted two important issues for the agencies: the management of internal conflict (Case 5) and the issue of external control (Case 2).

It has been suggested that organisational complexity grows with size (Child, 1972). This was not the case in these agencies, where the complexity was found to be a result of internal and external control issues (as seen most clearly in the complex cases). Older organisations were no more nor less formal than their younger counterparts, particularly at the level of the service itself (contrary to Wilson, 1992a).

It should be noted that the structures described here had changed little over the course of the service provision, although there was some evidence that arrangements were becoming more formal, particularly when paid staff were involved.

CHAPTER EIGHT: GOVERNANCE

Chapter Six described the goals of the organisations, the decision to provide day care services to elderly people, and the assumptions that were made about this service by the organisations and their personnel. Chapter Seven discussed the formal and informal hierarchies of the organisations: how the day centre or luncheon club fit into the overall structure of the organisation (whether it was the sole service or whether it was one of several), the way the agencies were run "on paper", and the actual arrangements for doing the daily work. This chapter will describe the governance structures of the organisations, while the next one will look at the other people involved in the services, namely day centre/club participants, volunteers and paid staff.

Governance is defined by Dartington (1995) as

> the oversight and guidance which committee members provide, insuring that
> the charity or voluntary organisation acts in accordance with its constitution
> and legal identity. (p.208)

This includes legal, financial and management responsibility for the voluntary agency.

The issue of governance is an important one in the analysis of organisational change, not least because it is the management committees who are held responsible for decision making in voluntary organisations (Smith, 1992; Harlan and Saidel, 1994) and by implication, for initiating organisational change. Management committees are, therefore, potential levers for organisational change in that it is they who choose to run a service or to shut it down; and, at least in theory, it is they who supervise and ratify decisions made by personnel "on the ground". But changes in the way an agency is governed are also important organisational changes in and of themselves. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) note the importance of "interlocking" boards of trustees as a means of controlling organisations. This would imply that changes in the composition of management committees (e.g. attempts to include different types of people from the trustees of the past) might have implications for the organisation and its future directions.

Following previous studies of management committees (Hedley and Rochester, 1992; On Trust, 1992; Billis, Ashby, Ewart, and Rochester, 1994; Harris, 1989), this chapter will examine the composition of the boards of management, the ways in which trustees or

committee members assume their positions in the agencies, and their perceptions of their responsibilities, whether towards the agency as a whole or towards the individual service. The chapter will conclude by exploring some of the implications of these findings for the day centres/luncheon clubs and their participants.

Legal Frameworks for Charities and Voluntary Agencies:

According to the Charity Commission, the "trustees" of an organisation are

> the people responsible under the charity's governing document for controlling the management and administration of the charity, regardless of what they are called (Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1993).

> These people are obligated to act rationally, sensibly, carefully and with proper advice in financial and other matters, ensuring that assets are not mis-used but applied to the proper objectives of the organisation as defined. (Evers, 1992)

Trustees are responsible for ensuring "that the charity is abiding by its objects and constitution and operating within the constraints of law" (Dartington, 1995 p. 210). They may be personally liable for debts or liabilities incurred on behalf of the charity (Charity Commission of England and Wales, 1993). They also have managerial responsibility for

> the appointment of, and contractual relationships with, staff (including volunteers); ensuring accountability to funders, users and members; representing the views of the organisation; and strategic planning, including the identification of the mission of the organisation, maintainance of values, and evaluation of the organisation's activities. (Dartington, 1995 p.210).

Notwithstanding this prescriptive view of trustees, some authors have questioned the extent to which boards of management truly control organisations (e.g. Bradshaw, Murray, and Wolpin, 1992; Peck, 1995). Heimovics and Herman (1990) hold chief executive officers (usually paid employees in larger voluntary organisations) equally responsible for decisionmaking, and Drucker (1990) describes the relationship as being "equal members of a team". Some authors (Senor, 1963; Murray, Bradshaw, and Wolpin, 1992; Harris, 1994) have gone so far as to portray agencies in which the board is simply a rubber-stamp for the chief executive. As we will see in this section, the degree of management involvement in the daily running of the organisations and of the services they provided was an important issue in

this study as well.

A preliminary note on terminology is in order here. The distinction between trustees and management committee members is important only for clarifying the legal status of the organisations: Cases 2, 3, and 10 were companies limited by guarantee. Cases 8 and 10 were charitable trusts. The rest of the agencies were unincorporated associations . The majority of the agencies in the study (all but the three smallest -- Cases 1, 4, and 12) were registered charities. Case 2 was operating using the charitable status of a national "headquarters" group. Case 7 was in the process of applying for charitable status because "raising funds from trusts and other large organisation will be much easier and also that we would have a legal and stronger base from which to work" (Annual Report, 1993). It should be pointed out that the very smallest agencies (Cases 1, 4, and 12) were neither incorporated in any form (either as trusts or as companies limited by guarantee) nor registered charities. This underscored the point that while most voluntary agencies are also registered charities, many of the smallest associations are not actually charities in the legal sense of the word. For this reason, the term "charity" is not used in this study.

Trustees and management committee members in the study had the same functions and roles. In all the organisations, trustees/management committees had the same general responsibilities for the running of the organisations. The two terms will therefore be used as equivalents in this section. The term "trustee" will be used in organisations where individuals so described themselves. In the rest of the groups, the term "management committee member" or "committee member" will be used.

Selection of Trustees and Composition of Committees:

Table 4 shows the basic characteristics of the management committees of the voluntary agencies participating in the study. As was noted in Chapter 7 (Structure), some agencies had separate "house committees" or boards of management to oversee the luncheon clubs/day centres (e.g. Cases 1, 2, 5, 10). These are not included in Table 3, except for Case 1 which was semi-autonomous: the only connection between the the church and the luncheon club was via the Chairman of the Luncheon Club Management Committee, who was also a church elder.

Table 4: Boards of Management

Case	Number on Board	Elected/ Appointed	Term of Office	Meetings/ year
1	5	Appointed	Indefinite	3
2	12	Appointed by Chair; confirmed by AGM	1 Year	6
3*	NA	Elected	NA	NA
4	12	Elected	1 Year	1+ as needed
5	10	Appointed; confirmed by AGM	Indefinite	6+ as needed
6	8	Appointed	1 Year	6
7	13	Elected	1 Year	12
8*	12	Appointed	NA	NA
9	3	Elected	Indefinite	As needed (informal weekly meetings)
10	5+	Appointed	Indefinite	As needed
11	18	Appointed	5 years/ until next local election	6
12	Not Clear	Elected	1 Year	As needed

* Board not formally involved in day centre/luncheon club management; in Case 3, no formal representation, accountability via staff member; in Case 8, volunteer organiser is nominally member of board but does not attend meetings.

The largest committee in the study had 18 members, the smallest, 5. Most committees were composed of 12 members. Most committees met as a body every two months (i.e. six times a year), but one met monthly (Case 7) and one met only 3 times a year. This did not include annual general meetings (AGMs) and subcommittee meetings, which committee members were often expected to attend. It should be noted that in three cases (Cases 1, 4, and 9) the committee members were actively involved in service provision and

often met informally over the course of that time; informal decisions may therefore have been taken and information exchanged outside formal meetings.

There were several ways to become a committee member: in four committees, members were elected at the Annual General Meeting by the membership at large. In two more cases, the members were proposed by the chairperson and voted in by the general membership, which effectively "rubber stamped" the chairpersons' choices. In the remaining organisation, people were co-opted or appointed either by the chair or by a majority of commitee members:

> They're [prospective trustees] really just asked to come along and often the committee itself, someone's name is suggested, they sort of think it would be useful to the committee. (Chairman, Case 1)

> There's an annual general election, they're usually looking for volunteers. I didn't go to last year's AGM because I was working and I couldn't go, it was at lunchtime. (Trustee, Case 2, on how she joined the board)

In Case 11, one third of the trustees were appointed by the local authority.

These findings do not appear to be atypical of the general situation in UK voluntary associations. Harris (1989) found that most of the management committee members she interviewed had joined their agencies' boards either by chance or as a by-product of other communal commitments. Hedley and Rochester (1992) noted that "people drifted into becoming management committee members" (p.23, emphasis in original). And a survey conducted by NCVO in 1992 found that just under half of trustees were elected, most without opposition (On Trust, p.20). These surveys would tend to confirm the picture painted here.

Also of interest is the term of office. Although the formal term of office for committee members was often one year, in practice committee members often remained in office for a period of several years. Indeed, three organisations set no term limits for their committee members, and even where there were formal limits on the term of office these were often ignored in practice. One committee member complained that although the Chairman's term of office was formally limited to five years, the incumbent had been holding his position for fifteen years with no opposition. In Case 11, individuals' terms in office were limited by the electoral terms in the district. Because many trustees were political appointees, they were often replaced after each election depending on the political party in power. However, it was

no unusual for a political appointee to be "co-opted" as a trustee after his or her party lost an election. Involuntary removal was rare (one Case in Case 11 was mentioned in passing, otherwise there were no instances mentioned by respondents). Trustees usually resigned due to poor health or other commitments.

One reason for the low turnover, confirmed in other studies, was difficulty in recruiting "suitable" board members (e.g. Billis, et al 1994; On Trust, 1992)[1]. Organisations often complained of difficulties finding appropriate members to serve, and, having found such people, preferred to hold on to them:

> ...because of the paucity of volunteers, we've been grateful to accept those who are willing to serve. And I don't think I've got any names of people up my sleeve who would not be grabbed if I knew them. (Chairman, Case 5)

> They can change every year but in practice it doesn't happen that way. Some of our committee have been serving since we started, for instance, but others have come and gone. (Chairman, Case 6)

> Good management committee members are hard to find, and for the sake of continuity it's easier to let members serve an indefinite term. (Manager, Case 10)

This last respondent noted that the increased requirements for accountability made explicit in the Charities Act 1993 had also had an adverse effect on recruitment. Although she was careful to inform prospective trustees of their legal responsibilities,

> Some of the [existing] trustees have opposed this, because they felt it would put some people off. If people knew ahead of time what their responsibilities were, they might not agree to join.

In summary, the low turnover of trustees and their extended terms in office were attributed to the difficulties in recruiting suitable new members. This problem appeared to affect most of the organisations in the study[2].

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[1] "Suitable" board members will be described later in this chapter.

[2] In Case 11, the high prestige of the position and the fact that most applicants were former councillors who were used to such responsibilities made it an exception. In Case 9, the management committee was so small (three people, including the vicar) that recruitment was not an issue.

Committees met at varying intervals. None of the respondents particularly noted an increase in the frequency of committee meetings, although in Case 5 several committee members complained about their increasing length and the difficulty in decision making. This will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter, and may well be a reflection of the considerable conflict between committee members noted in Chapter Seven (Structure) and later in this chapter.

The composition of the boards of management, and particularly the main sources of personnel, are of considerable interest. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) have mentioned interlocking boards of trustees as means by which some organisations (in this case, local authorities, other local agencies, funders) might attempt to control others. We therefore focus our attention on the attributes of individual trustees. Table 5 summarises the composition and tenure of the management committees:

Table 5: Management Committee Members

Case	Main Source	Other Sources	Longest Serving	Shortest Serving
1	Volunteers	None	20 yrs	18 mos
2	Ex-Carers	1 rep each from: Nuns, LA, HA	10 yrs*	18 mos
3	Area Residents	NA	NA	NA
4	Community	None	10 yrs	NA
5	Rotary Club + Inner Wheel	Personal Contacts	15 yrs*	18 mos
6	Local Churches	1 LA rep	13 yrs*	1 yr
7	Area Residents	None	NA	1 yr
8	NA	NA	NA	NA
9	Church	None	5 yrs	1 yr
10	Retired Proff'ls; Local Residents	2 descendants of founders	NA	NA
11	8 local residents; 6 LA appointees	3 church appointees; local residents	20+ yrs	1 yr
12	Community	1 LA rep	NA	NA

LA = Local Authority; HA= Health Authority
* Chairman is longest serving board member

The committees were quite homogeneous. With one exception, the bulk of the members came from one source, either a church, other community organisation, or organisation members at large. For example, in Case 2, all the committee members were former carers. These were recruited because they had first-hand knowledge of the issues involving the particular population but not the commitment of actual caring; it was felt that current carers were too busy for management committee responsibilities. In Cases 1, 6, and 9 all the committee members were church members. In Case 5, the committee was drawn from the local Rotary Club and its women's auxiliary, and personal contacts of rotary club members. Case 11 was the most interesting: one third of the members of its committee were appointed by the local authority, and of the 8 co-opted members, a large number were former district councillors. Respondents pointed proudly to the 4 former mayors (one of whom had been recently removed from office by a local election) serving on the committee. Otherwise, three organisations had a local authority or social services representative on their committees. In 11 of the 12 cases, all the committee members actually lived in the area of benefit or were members of the ethnic community in question. In Case 11, several people had moved out of the area but remained trustees; residence one or two blocks away was sufficient for the other committee members to label the person as having "moved out of the area".

Although Billis, et al (1994) note the increasing recruitment of "professional" board members for particular skills, this was not a common practice among the agencies in the study. Cases 2 and 10 made an explicit policy of recruiting retired professionals, and Case 10 had specifically recruited a solicitor who provided legal advice at a discount. The other agencies appeared to be only too pleased to accept any volunteer, perhaps because of the "paucity" of candidates described earlier.

No data were available concerning the race or gender distribution of management committee members. The majority (7) of the committees were chaired by a male. Of those interviewed, all except the Honorary Secretary of Case 4 and the Chairman of Case 12 were white. Of those interviewed, the majority (10) were female, and almost half (7) were male; but this does not necessarily reflect the actual distribution of genders across the committees. Interviewees in LBB were particularly likely to respond with hostility when asked about race and gender: a number made unsolicited (and usually off the record) remarks about the inappropriateness of the subject in discussing their agency.

Not surprisingly, in view of the homogeneity of the management committees, most organisations reported that management committee decisions were arrived at by consensus, with votes rarely being necessary. In one case (Case 5), however, this statement masked considerable conflict on the board. Committee members complained that although policies were often discussed at length at committee meetings, final decisions were rarely made, and the agenda was taken up with the same issues again and again; even when a decision was made at a meeting, it was often re-made at subsequent meetings. In this particular organisation, the chairman, treasurer, and a number of other members had been running the group "for almost 15 years"; newcomers, recruited in the past five years, had begun to challenge the prevailing consensus. They referred to themselves as "rebels" who "rocked the boat" and accused the chairman of being "autocratic". This conflict may very well have led to the deadlock respondents complained about.

In Case 11, where a third of the trustees were serving local authority councillors or other personnel, the organisation was very much affected by the local political scene, with members of rival parties sitting on the same committee. In contrast with Case 5, however, there was no open conflict. A norm had developed over time that discussing council politics on this committee was "out of bounds" and it was seen as "neutral" territory. As one respondent (one of the former mayors) put it:

> Some of them see politics in it. But you to some extent leave it behind when
> you come on to the board. There have been strong feelings in the past, but
> people are more sensible about that sort of thing now.

Because of the strong identification of the board members with the neighbourhood, none saw any conflict of interest between their positions as trustees of Case 11 and their electoral functions. One trustee (a former mayor and serving councillor) saw the day centre as providing a valuable resource for the borough; in its absence, the borough would have to "pick up the pieces". There did not appear to be any wish to "control" the agency beyond making it responsive to the needs of pensioners in the neighbourhood (of which he numbered himself).

We now turn to the responsibilities of trustees, as they saw them.

The Responsibilities of Trustees:

The legal responsibilities of trustees were summarised at the beginning of this chapter. Hedley and Rochester (1992) found that voluntary associations in their study expected trustees to raise funds, assist with service delivery, and to run the organisation "legally and solvently" (p.26). Also mentioned was responsibility to hire, fire, and supervise paid members of staff. Zald (1969) has added to this list the "outward looking functions" of representing the organisation to external stakeholders (e.g. funders and the general public).

The most extensive discussions of the role of trustees was held with trustees from Case 11. Being a trustee was seen as both a great honour and a responsibility. Trustees saw themselves as accountable to the original purposes of the organisation and to its donors:

> I always think, what did the donors mean it to be used for. They would like to see things properly managed. People try to get away with all kinds of things...donors would not like to be caught out by people getting away with things, and they wouldn't like their money wasted. (Trustee, Case 11)

> Now, trustees are held accountable. The new Charities Act has made the committee [members] more conscious of their responsibilities. They are more defiant of the chair. (Committee Member, Case 5)

> I see myself as a self-appointed watchdog (same committee member, second interview, Case 5)

> We keep an eye on how the money is spent (husband-and-wife committee members, Case 6)

Trustees in this study rarely mentioned fundraising, perhaps because the agencies were usually funded by local authority grants. Supervision of paid staff was usually (but not always) delegated to the Chairman or to the honorary officers of the agencies. Some management committee members were also involved as day-to-day volunteers, an aspect which will be examined in greater detail in the next sections; but this was not necessarily expected of them, particularly in agencies where there were paid staff[3].

The "ideal" committee member was someone with sufficient time to devote to management committee meetings. As was noted above, many organisations were not very

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[3]The issue of staff-volunteer relationships will be explored in Chapter 9 (People).

selective about who they chose, so desperate were they to fill their vacancies. Most did expect their committee members to be at least somewhat familiar with the issues confronting the agency. For example, Case 2 drew its committee members from the ranks of carers who had been beneficiaries of either the day centre or the carer's group. Case 7 drew its committee members directly from the services it ran; it required committee members representing a particular service (e.g. the luncheon club) to volunteer in the other services (e.g. the nursery or after school club). Case 10 drew on retired professionals and used a two-tier structure of management, with the lower tier (retired professionals and paid staff) advising the higher tier (descendents of founders). It was also careful to screen out inappropriate people:

> often, some of the people who want to come on may have political aims which
> do not necessarily coincide with the aims of [Case 10]. (Organiser)

Loyalty to the organisation was an unspoken criterion for selection of trustees in most of the agencies.

In addition to familiarity with the activities of, and loyalty to, the agency, personal qualities such as assertiveness were seen as important components of a "good" committee member or trustee:

> Then [the chairperson] asked me if I would come on the committee, because I
> suppose it was clear to her that I was articulate, and not unintelligent, and the
> sort of person who would be good on the committee. (Committee Member,
> Case 2).

In general, the trustees' own views of their responsibilities corresponded to the view of the Charity Commission. Trustees particularly stressed the financial element of their responsibilities, perhaps because many were aware of recent legislation in that regard. In one organisation (Case 5) reference to this legislation was used by some trustees to bring the chairman and other longstanding members of the committee to account[4]. But despite the consensus about the importance of financial accountability in the "job description" of a trustee, few expected or were expected to raise funds themselves.

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[4]The issue of accountability will be explored further later in this chapter.

While trustees in all-volunteer organisations expected to carry out daily tasks in the clubs or day centres, in others there was less frequent contact with the day-to-day business of the organisation, an issue which will be explored in the next section.

The picture of individual trustees which emerges from this section is of conscientious laymen who donate their time to the organisations either from a sense of altruism, or because they were past beneficiaries of the service (Case 2 in particular), or because it was considered an honour (Case 11), but mainly, because they were asked. These people were donating their time, and many complained that recruiting difficulties meant that more responsibility was being shared by fewer individuals. It should be noted, however, that these individuals were drawn from a limited number of sources, which might account for the "paucity" of new recruits. New sources of trustees, and even recruitment from among the day centre clients themselves, do not appear to have been considered (with the exception of Case 7)

The Role of the Committee:

Harris (1994) identified three types of governing boards[5]: the Traditional Model (in which the board made policy and supervised staff, who served clients), the Membership Model (self-help organisations in which clients serve on the management boards) and the Entrepreneur Model (in which board members are also staff members). She also added a fourth type, the "Phantom Board", in which the board is completely uninvolved in the daily activities of the organisation. Conflicts occurred when the consensus as to which model the organisation was following broke down, e.g. when staff and client assumptions were different from board assumptions regarding the role of the board.

The current study found variations on this theme. In all the organisations, the management committee/governing body/board of trustees was assumed by all respondents to be responsible for policymaking and for the "direction" of the organisation:

> The executive committee of course is responsible for the administration and the policy of the organisation, and the staff are there to carry it out. (Chairman, Case 5)

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[5] For a similar typology, see Murray, Bradshaw, and Wolpin, 1992.

> The management committee tries to look at the overall sort of service that we are providing, we try to review whether we are on target with everything we're doing. We look at staffing levels, whether those are appropriate. We look at funding issues because we don't feel that it is the job of the staff to raise their own money so they can be paid. (Chairman, Case 6)

But there were variations in the ways in which this was implemented and the amount of day-to-day responsibility trustees and board members had. Five models were found in this study: The "phantom board" (Harris, 1994) (Case 3, 8) had little to do with the actual running of the services. The "one man band" (Cases 2, 4) depended on one person to do everything and "rubber stamped" his or her decisions. Harris' (1994) Membership model (Case 7) involved association members. In the volunteer board, (Case 1, 6, 9, 12) committee members also carried out the tasks involved in the provision of the services. Finally, the traditional "supervisory" board (5, 10, 11) made decisions to be implemented by staff and/or volunteers.

In the case of the phantom board, the activities of the day care programme were completely divorced from the management committee. There was no interaction between the two: management committee members never visited the site, and had no contact at all with the organiser, staff, volunteers, or day centre/club participants. The extent of the interaction was annual reports given to the organisation at large. The management committee was seen as completely irrelevant to the luncheon club. This was the situation in Case 3, where provision was supervised by a paid staff member who in turn reported periodically to the management committee, and in Case 8, where the organiser saw the programme as her private domain and had no interest in "interference" by anyone else, including committee members.

The "phantom board" model has a clear and evident danger: in fact, neither programme was being supervised by people with a long-term view. In Case 3, day-to-day supervision was provided by a paid staff member. The organisation's governing body had only indirect control over what went on in the luncheon club. There appeared to be little planning. For example, no questions had been asked about the arrangements for the cook's remuneration until the Internal Revenue was involved; the implications of changing clientele had not been assessed; incremental decisions were being taken on a day-to-day basis by staff and volunteers without any apparent supervision by an internal governing body. In Case 8, the organiser appeared to be completely independent of any supervision whatsoever. Both Cases raise serious issues of accountability.

The "one man band" was more complex. In these cases, a charismatic leader (the chairman in Case 2, the honorary secretary in Case 4) played a dual role: he or she ran the daily affairs of the organisation as its chief executive while also being a member of the board. This is similar to the pattern of active chair and passive board described in Harris (1989). In Case 2, the board had been "hand picked" by the chairperson. She initiated all the major decisions and usually implemented them as well. Board members deferred to her judgement:

[the chair]'s got lots of plans for future care and that. (Committee member)

[the chair] runs the whole dragold (sic) thing. (Committee member).

In Case 4, the honorary secretary was the only individual on the board who was fluent and literate in English. The board therefore delegated to him the role of interacting with the outside world: representing the group on committees, lobbying, financial matters, issuing bus passes to the club participants, and correspondence. Because he had recently retired from a full-time job, he was also the logical person to do the shopping, cooking and other tasks necessary for the provision of the meals. Because he lived nearby, it was logical that he should be a "key holder" for the premises. In consequence, the honorary secretary ended up doing everything. This was ratified by the committee on an annual basis. In theory, the honorary secretary could refuse the appointment, but this never happened. In theory, too, the board could decide not to appoint him to the position, but as there was no potential replacement to succeed him, this, too, never happened.

The "one man band" has a clear weakness: over reliance on one individual. As the chairperson of one organisation put it,

we are still at the stage that if I disappeared the group would perhaps not collapse altogether but things would be different. (Case 2)

The paid staff member of this organisation observed that

she [the chairwoman] feels... that she's very much alone, that she hasn't got anyone to work with her...

One organisation in the study fit Harris' "membership" model: Case 7. The structure of this neighbourhood association was explored in the previous section. This was also the only organisation in the study in which club participants served as board members and

expressed their interests directly, rather than through a representative model. Although Harris cites a number of difficulties with this model, in Case 7 there appeared to be no conflicts and all the respondents interviewed (including the staff) were satisfied with the arrangement.

The "volunteer" board was found in the three religious organisations in the study. In this model, board members also performed various volunteer tasks. In Case 1, the committee consisted of a chairman, a secretary/treasurer, some of the volunteers, and a few luncheon club participants. The secretary/treasurer and other committee members were also the personnel who actually ran the club on a daily basis. The chairman saw his role as more removed from the day to day administration:

> I look at the job of chairperson as being the link person with the members of our church, and also as backup. I am not too actively involved with the running of it... though I help out occasionally....... If [the secretary/treasurer] feels that there's something that's come up that she doesn't want to make the decision on her own, she feels that maybe it's better to have a corporate decision rather than an individual one, she usually calls [a meeting].

In Case 6, volunteering was expected of committee members:

> We try to say to people when they're nominated, well we don't want people who will just come for the meetings. We want people who are prepared to give some time so that when they come and discuss issues at the management committee meetings they at least have some sense of the clients and the community. That I think is important. (chairman, Case 6)

For example, two committee members ran a Tuesday night club for some of the day centre participants. There did not appear to be a conflict between these committee members/volunteers and the paid staff, perhaps because the arrangements were very informal; there certainly did not appear to be any element of "turf".

In Case 9, the minister, secretary, and treasurer were intimately involved with the programme: the minister was on the site almost all the time (as was the minister/chairman of Case 6). The treasurer came in once a week or so. The secretary apologised in the interview that he could "only come down in the afternoon"; in fact he was on the premises almost every afternoon and was "aware of what goes on".

In Case 12, the management committee had a rota for cooking. Because of language problems in the interviews (no interpreter being available at the time) it was unclear to what extent they were involved in the day to day running of the organisation but they appeared to

take their cooking responsibilities seriously, and this certainly facilitated contact between them and the club participants.

In this model, the board takes a "hands on" approach and board members are expected to be involved in the day-to-day business of the agency. This was seen as giving the management committee greater credibility in deciding policy, as well as direct information about what was "going on". There appeared to be no conflict between management committee members acting as volunteers and paid staff members. In Case 6, staff had been hired for their perceived expertise; there appeared to be an allocation of responsibilities whereby committee members deferred to staff members on "professional" issues and staff members deferred to volunteers on "policy" issues. A similar consensus in Case 9 explains the paradoxical statement made by one executive committee member:

> The executive doesn't make any decisions. That's what we employ [the paid staff member] for. We do provide support... but we are not involved in the day to day.

As we have seen in this case, although the committee members were in fact very "involved", and did make decisions, the boundary between "day to day" management and policymaking was maintained.

The final model was the "traditional" board. In this model, the boundary between the daily management and policy making functions was most clearly maintained:

> If it's a decision on administration and the terms of carrying out the policy, I think, within the competence of the staff they will do it. I can't tell them how they should handle a person... That's all specialist charge. (Chairman, Case 5).

> Their [the trustees] role is policy making, not implementation. If they overstepped their mandate, there would be chaos. (Chief Executive Officer, Case 11)

In two of the three organisations that fit this model (Cases 5 and 11) there were conflicts and disagreements between committee members/trustees regarding the proper role of committee members/trustees.

In Case 5, there was considerable conflict on the board, discussed earlier in the chapter. It emerged that the more longstanding board members had little or no contact with

the day centre participants: one participant said that

> They [committee members] don't think like us. We don't consult them. We
> run our own affairs.

Another, when asked how often members of the executive committee spoke to day centre participants, said: "Only at the Annual General Meeting". These committee members (including the chair), were used to an "arms' length" oversight where daily management was delegated to staff, who were also relied on to report back on policy issues requiring consideration.

The newer appointees had a more "hands on" approach: one member, who described himself as a "trouble maker", chaired the newly-formed "users' subcommittee" and went down to the centre at least once a month. So did other recent appointees. They considered this type of oversight to be part of their duties, while the other members did not.

In Case 11, there were also differences in the degree of involvement found in trustees. Almost half the board lived in the area, and several were very involved: they came in to the centre every month or every week. One of these trustees complained that the others were not involved enough. He was very disappointed that other trustees did not come down to the centre on a regular basis as he did and that others did not "mix" with the day centre participants.

The chief executive officer of this group (a paid staff member), on the other hand, said that he invited "two" trustees to come along on the annual holiday "so they can see the organisation in action". This, however, appeared to be the extent of involvement outside actual board meetings for some of the trustees.

The main issue in these agencies appears to be the extent to which trustees can be involved in the day to day operations of an agency and still maintain sufficient objectivity to engage in long-term planning. Or, to what extent can they be involved in objective long-term planning if they do not have verifiable information about the day-to-day functioning of the organisation. If trustees are involved in the everyday activities (transporting participants, dishing out the dinners, etc), how objective can they be when discussing abstract issues of finance and policy? If trustees are not involved in the every day activities of the group, to what extent are their expectations and policy-making based on reality?

Case 10 appears to have resolved this dichotomy in its own way, by splitting the trustees and management committee from each other. The board of trustees consists of five people, two of them descendants of original founders. It is responsible for the "arms-length" oversight and the major policy decisions. These are informed by recommendations from the management committee, a "hands on" group of retired professionals and volunteers who take active roles in the agency. The management committee acts as both a check on and a support to, the paid staff, while the trustees act as a check on the management committee.

It is interesting to compare the relationship between the trustees and the day centre participants in Case 5, where there was considerable animosity, with the sentiments expressed by a "house committee" member in Case 10:

> We all get on well with the management. We don't have much to do with the big management committee but we work together well. We don't infiltrate on their business and they don't infiltrate on our business. They talk to us and consult with us. They don't do anything on our behalf, they ask us. We're content to leave things to them provided our interests are covered. If they were always down our throats we might resent that but they leave us alone unless we're in difficulty, and then they help us out. (Day centre participant, about the board of management).

Harris (1994) noted that conflict in organisations arose when different shareholders had different expectations of the board. This could be seen in this study: in Case 5, trustees had differing views on the future direction of the organisation, as did the day centre participants. The day centre participants felt that their interests were not being addressed, and "troublemaker" board members had different assumptions about their role from long-standing trustees. Although the conflict in Case 11 was less overt, trustees of that organisation did express differing assumptions about the extent to which trustees should be involved in the activities of the organisation. In Case 10, on the other hand, while there may not have been consensus about certain decisions, there was clarity about what was and was not appropriate for each committee. As the manager put it,

> It's a lot to do with management. It's a lot to do with giving people control. But you can't give people total control....You must be very clear regarding the responsibility of the committees.... my job is about giving people clarity on what cannot be done, as well as what can.

Senor (1963) tried to identify a number of contingencies under which management committees assumed dominant or passive roles. He found that a strong executive (and weak board) tended to occur in organisations which were "total institutions" (where staff control the lives of inmates and restricted their access to the outside), when the board "loses physical, social, and verbal contact with the agency", when agency staff support the executive (no mention of volunteers), and where technical staff are required for service implementation (e.g. medical personnel). The agencies in this study do not fulfil these criteria: day centres and luncheon clubs are not total institutions, technical staff are not required, and board members had access at all times. There did not appear to be much difference between the day centres (more intensive services) and luncheon clubs (less intesive services) in this regard. Nonetheless, the "phantom board" and the "one man band" were all too common in this study. The "strong" or participatory boards, where board members were involved in the daily running of the agencies, were to be found not only in the luncheon clubs (e.g. Case 1, and 7), but also among the more intensive day centres (e.g. Case 6 and 9). This involvement had its own pitfall -- the "supermanaging" board (Wood, 1992), evident in Case 5[6].

The issue of the extent to which boards of management were involved in the daily affairs of the agencies, and the extent of contact between them and service participants, combined with their homogeneous composition, the long tenure of board members, and the general lack of democratic elections (with some exceptions) raises the issue of the degree to which boards of management were truly accountable. In theory, boards of management were accountable to the Charity Commission and/or to Companies' House, but we have noted that a number of agencies were not in fact registered charities, nor companies limited by guarantee. These bodies were almost never mentioned in interviews with management committee members.

In theory, in voluntary associations, it is the membership which holds its officers to account (Leat, 1990b; Harris, 1995; Knoke, 1990). The next section therefore examines the issue of internal accountability within the agencies. What recourse did day centre/club participants have if they did not like the way the day centre or luncheon club was run?

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[6] A description of board-executive relations was given in Chapter 7 (Structure). The paid manager noted that whereas at one time trivial complaints such as cups left in the ladies' lavatory had been dealt with directly by herself, since the advent of a new "members' committee" such issues had become the province of the board of trustees.

"Membership" in the Organisations:
Who (Really) Runs the Service?

So far, we have examined the recruitment of trustees, the composition of boards of managements, the expectations organisations had of their trustees, and the roles of the management committees. Five main models were identified: the phantom board, the one man band, the membership model, the volunteer board, and the traditional board (Harris, 1995).

We now turn to the issue of membership in the organisations. The issue of membership was touched on briefly in Chapter Six, where the cultures or roots of the agencies were explored. The relationship between providers and day centre/club participants was mentioned. It was noted that although in all the agencies, day centre/club participants were referred to as "members", this implied neither decisionmaking power nor voting rights[7].

This observation can be confirmed here. In only one organisation (Case 7) were club participants formally eligible for election to the board of management. In Case 1, club participants were included in committee meetings in an informal and ad-hoc manner. In the two ethnic groups, club participants were given the same membership rights as the rest of the community (participation in an AGM and election of management committee members), but there was no evidence that they were particularly encouraged to stand for election. In none of these organisations had club members done so.

In two organisations, the day centre participants had independent "house committees". As we saw in Chapter Seven, in Case 5 the users' subcommittee served more than one political use and was in fact a compromise; the members' own committee could schedule activities such as tea dances and settle internal disputes between day centre participants, but had no power to actually influence decisionmaking in the organisation. In Case 11, the house committee had similar scope to decide activities and settle disputes, but its influence on trustees was limited to an advisory capacity. For example, the house committee had voted to levy a membership fee to be used to pay for summer art and exercise courses (which were not funded by the local authority and therefore suspended over summmmer holidays); the management committee vetoed the motion on the grounds that it violated the agency's tradition that all activities be free to participants. In the six other organisations in

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[7]Knoke (1990) uses these powers as criteria for "membership".

the study, day centre/club participants were not formally represented and had no formal membership rights whatsoever. In three of these, informal consultation did take place:

> I mean they all decided, it was the members who decided that Fridays was bingo afternoon, not us. (Cook, Case 3)

> ....quite often on important things we go directly to the club. (Cook, Case 3, same interview).

In Case 6, the Day Care Manager was observed asking the participants what activity they wanted that afternoon, and participants noted that this was routine. In Case 9, the participants described a successful trip to Ascot, despite the mission's objection to gambling and horse racing. The vicar related the following exchange:

> As they were getting on the bus, one of them said, "Vicar, will you pray for me horse?" and I said, "I won't pray for your horse to win, but I will pray that you have a good time!"

The consultations rarely went beyond the planning of social activities, and decision making was usually confined to the destinations of outings or menu planning.

In the remaining three agencies, day centre/club participants were not consulted and had no membership rights whatsoever. In Case 2, day centre participants were considered to be too impaired to make such decisions; their carers and other relatives usually held formal membership in the "relatives' association" running the day centre, but did not stand for election to the management committee on the grounds that they would not have the spare time.

In summary, while the term "membership" implies the power to elect representatives to a decisionmaking body and/or to influence decisions made by an association, in fact in these agencies day centre/luncheon club participants rarely had either. Their power was generally limited to advising on social activities and/or menu selections.

Holding the Management to Account:

The issue of membership raises issues of governing board accountability[8]. As was

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[8] This is best defined by Lawry (1995): "What accountability is about.... is "answerability", the giving of a justification or explanation, even to the precise level of filing

illustrated above, the management committees were rarely accountable to those participating in the service. They did not formally represent the day centre/club participants, were not elected by them, and generally functioned independently of them. Furthermore, as we have seen in this chapter, in seven of the twelve groups, committee members were appointed by either the chair or entities external to the organisation. In only five of the groups were management committee members elected by the membership of the organisation, which, as we noted, did not necessarily include day centre/club participants.

In four of the groups, the term of office was indefinite. In five groups, the term was one year. In another, the maximum term was five years or until the next local election (because the majority of the trustees were appointed by the local authority and subject to change depending on which political party won the election). No information was available for the remainder. In general, trustees actually appeared to serve between one year and 20 years on the board. It was impossible to determine the turnover rate in most organisations (although in Case 7 it was made clear that most of the board was replaced each year). It was also not clear how unsuitable board members could be removed.

Finally, the five models of management committees described in this section raise some serious issues about organisational control and board accountability. These are most obvious in the "phantom" and the "one man band". In these models, either there is no one in the organisation with the power and responsibility to supervise and guide those carrying out the daily running of the organisation, or else the token "board" assembled is powerless to do so. Effectively, there are no checks on the power of the charismatic leader and no oversight to prevent wrongdoing and to formulate policy.

Similar concerns can be raised in the case of the "volunteer" board. The paradoxical need for "hands on" sources of verifiable information and "arm's length" objectivity was noted in this chapter. Can people who are involved at the coal face really maintain sufficient objectivity to question organisational practices and detect improprieties or simply poor decisions?

Nor are the issues raised here, particularly by the "phantom board" and the "one man band", unique to this study. A report published just before fieldwork for this study took place noted that

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a report". (p.175).

> Growing emphasis on accountability -- to funders, users, and members -- presents a particular challenge to trustees, since they are the people who are held to account. Yet our evidence suggests that most funders never come into contact with the trustees of the organisations they fund, and many trustees have little or no contact with users. (On Trust, p.32)

It should be emphasised that in none of the organisations was there any evidence of any kind of abuse. The organisers and trustees were sincere, altruistic, honest people who were scrupulous about financial accounts and who were clearly concerned for the day centre/club participants' welfare. Nonetheless, particularly in some of the smaller organisations, the honesty and accountability of the agency depended more on the personal qualities of the individuals involved than on formal oversight structures.

Summary:

Boards of management are particularly important, since it is they who are responsible for the decisionmaking within the organisation that makes organisational change possible. The study found that boards of management tended to consist of people appointed by the Chair or proposed by the Chair and elected without opposition. The boards tended to be homogeneous in composition, with most board members being recruited from the same sources. Board members, once elected, were seldom removed: formal terms of office were often ignored and many members served indefinite terms. These features confirm the potential for oligarchy within these organisations (Perkins and Poole, 1996) and were generally ascribed to difficulties locating suitable candidates (confirmed by Billis, et al, 1994, and other UK researchers).

Following Harris (1994) and others (Murray, Bradshaw and Wolpin, 1992), the study identified five main types of boards: the phantom board, which was largely absent from daily management of the luncheon clubs; the "one man band", in which one person carried out all management and the board "rubber stamped" his or her decisions; the "membership" board in which service participants also managed the parent agency; the "volunteer" board, composed mainly of people who also performed various daily tasks within the service; and the "traditional" or supervisory board, which delegated the daily running of the services to paid staff and volunteers, but which set policy and intervened in crises and disputes. In the context of the composition and tenure of management committee members, concerns were raised

about the accountability of the boards of management to the day centre/luncheon club participants. The study found that while participants often had considerable power to run the clubs/centres as they saw fit, this power was often granted informally and rarely extended to decisionmaking power within the agency. With one exception (Case 7), day centre/luncheon club members could neither elect nor be elected to boards of management.

Despite recent changes in legislation (the Charities Act 1991, most of which had yet to be implemented), there was little evidence in this study that management arrangements had changed much. The findings reported here were similar to those of two other reports on UK local agency boards of management (Hedley and Rochester, 1992; and On Trust, 1992). Respondents did complain about difficulty recruiting new trustees for the boards of management. Partly, this was due to the depletion of traditional sources of recruitment (in this study, the Rotary Club and other community groups) and failure to look elsewhere; but another factor cited by some individuals was the increasing demands made on trustees in terms of financial and legal accountability. But the composition of the boards of management, the ways in which trustees were appointed or elected, and their perceptions of their duties, had changed little over the course of the organisations' histories.

CHAPTER NINE: FUNDING

So far, we have examined three main elements of voluntary organisations: their goals, the structures used to implement those goals, and the way the organisations were governed (and by whom). We now turn to a fourth key element: the resource bases of the organisations. How did these organisations obtain the necessary resources (money, facilities, transportation, food, clients) to run the clubs and centres, and from where?

The search for resources brings organisations into contact with their environments in a number of different ways (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Aldrich, 1979). The resource dependency perspective outlined in Chapter One views organisations as dependent on their environments to secure the resources necessary for the organisations' continued survival, and underscores the importance of funding and external relationships in understanding organisations. Indeed, one of the arguments for a discrete "voluntary" sector is the unique combination of funding sources (state and private grants, public contributions, membership fees, tax exemptions) available to charities in most countries (e.g. Steinberg, 1987).

The voluntary sector literature in this respect has concentrated primarily on money. Authors such as Gronbjerg (1991) have described the implications of different funding regimes on non-profit organisations[1]. A number of authors have raised issues about the effects of changing state funding arrangements for voluntary organisations (Krashinsky, 1990; Russell, Scott, and Wilding, 1995). It has been suggested that replacing open-purpose grants with more tightly specified contracts might erode the traditional advocacy role performed by voluntary organisations (Lewis, 1993).

But there are other resources besides money (Reisman, 1991). The previous chapter (Chapter 8) described the main sources of trustees and noted that part of their homogeneity tended to stem from the fact that trustees recruited one another from the same main pools. Other resources noted in the background given in Chapter 5 included physical facilities (rented, donated, bought, loaned), food, and transportation.

As we have seen so far, a consideration of funding and the external relationships

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[1] Other authors include McMurtry, Netting, and Kettner, 1991; and Ferris, 1993. Rose-Ackerman (1990) and others (Wilson, 1992b and Lewis, 1993) have questioned the applicability of the American experience to UK voluntary agencies because funding structures in the UK are different, but this caveat only underscores the important influence of funding sources.

necessary to secure it is important not only because they are essential for organisational survival, but also because they have been seen by many authors as levers of organisational change (e.g. Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978).

This chapter begins by describing the budgets and main sources of funding for the organisations. Because the local authority social services departments were the major sources of funding and other resources for the organisations in the study, statutory-voluntary funding, in-kind contributions, and interagency relationships are then described. The chapter continues with a description of alternative sources of funding, and concludes with a description of voluntary-voluntary interagency relationships. Relationships with other local agencies were experienced as being different from interactions with the local authorities and therefore require a separate analysis.

Agency Budgets and Their Composition:

The issue of funding and agency budgets turned out to be a sensitive one. While many organisations published full accounts in their annual reports, others obscured the information by, for example, publishing only the proportion of income derived from each source but not the actual figures (Case 8). One agency refused outright to supply the information on the grounds that it did not want the local authority to discover the true position of its budget (Case 5). Others, particularly Cases 9 and 12, either procrastinated or simply refused to acknowledge correspondence from the researcher.

We begin with a comparison of the agencies' over-all budgets (income and expenditure) between fiscal years 1992 and 1993 (April to March). This analysis was complicated by the fact that some agencies did not keep separate figures for the day care services they offered; sometimes, only the income and expenditure for the service was available (as in Case 4), while other agencies did not keep separate accounts (particularly income) for the clubs or centres. The discussion therefore continues with an examination of club/centre budgets where available. The composition of both budgets is then examined to reveal the major sources of funds for the agencies.

Table 6 shows the budgets of the agencies for the fiscal years 1992 to 1995. The income and expenditure figures were taken from the agencies' annual reports or annual statements of accounts, with three exceptions. Case 2 provided only one years' figures to the researcher. As noted above, Case 5 refused to provide any figures at all. For both these

agencies, the figures given here are taken from funding applications submitted to the local authority grants committee. In Case 12, the contact person could not find the relevant materials and did not subsequently reply to contact attempts. Comparison of the income and expenditure of the agencies is further complicated by differing accounting procedures. Note also that because of these practices, which included not separating income and expenditure for the agencies from that of the clubs, the smaller agencies (which operated only one service) were not included in the table. Nonetheless, a general comparison is possible:

Table 6: Agency Budgets, 1992-1995

	Agency Income			Agency Expenses		
Case	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95
2	25,184	NA	NA	26,352 (-)	NA	NA
3	39,415	42,983	51,148	41,654	43,490 (-)	50,080
6	101,785	119,436	124,086	100,820	121,921 (-)	126,366(-)
7	220,142	228,163	234,484	219,280	231,871 (-)	234,673(-)
8	471,604	476,567	530,696	475,572 (-)	469,256	525,148
10	154,799	163,068	294,132	226,912 (-)	230,471 (-)	232,976(-)
11	855,234	893,151	902,321	848,499	883,019	889,028

(-) indicates agency in deficit
Case 5 refused to provide figures but confirmed cuts of 14% each year after 1992-3
Case 10 funded its services from interest income; deficits were made up from "uncommitted funds".

Agency incomes ranged from ,39,000 per year in 1992 (Case 3) to ,855,000 (Case 11). It should be noted that the figures in Case 2 are artificially low, as this figure does not include the day centre budget, which was kept completely separate from that of the parent agency and not added into the agency total, as in the other agencies for which figures were available.

A comparison of income and expenditure over the three years (where figures are available) shows that income for the agencies overall showed steady increases over the period (Case 3, 6, 8, and 11); Case 10's income doubled over the period, but because of the

idiosyncrasies of its funding this cannot be generalised.

Notwithstanding the increases in income, most agencies found their expenditures also rose. Only one agency (Case 11) showed no deficit at all over the three years; as we will see, this agency was not dependent on external sources of funds. Case 8 had a deficit for 1992-93 and then managed to show a slight surplus in the next two years; on the other hand, Case 6 showed deficits for the last two years out of the three, and Case 3 showed a deficit for one of the three years. In sum, these agencies were only just keeping up with expenses.

Case 10 was once more exceptional: the deficits were in fact remedied by the use of "uncommitted funds" (substantial reserves) to make up the shortfall. This will be even more apparent when the Case 10 day centre budget is examined in Table 7:

Table 7: Club/Centre Budgets, 1992-1995

	Service Income			Service Expense		
Case	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1992-93	1993-4	1994-95
1	5,030	4,970	3,745	5,030	4,970	3,745
2	NA	45,986	38,278	NA	50,489 (-)	54,221 (-)
3*	NA	NA	NA	6,777	6,401	4,752
4	8,044	8,631	8,216	7,780	8,789 (-)	8,480 (-)
5**	NA	77,300	66,450	NA	210,484	250,139
6*	97,105	116,423	121,888	99,436 (-)	120,377 (-)	124,348(-)
7***	54,460	141,694	146,314	55,073 (-)	147,926 (-)	152,201(-)
8	5,867	6,976	6,599	8,133(-)	6,462	6,119
10	10,453	12,074	Not kept	136,318 (-)	141,589 (-)	150,755(-)
11	191,040	201,076	196,334	191,040	201,076	196,334
12	2,300	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

* Separate accounts for the service not kept. Figures are estimates which may not reflect full expenses.
** Case 5 refused to provide figures; figures are from Local Authority grant application. Income is therefore exclusive of LA grant.
*** Case 7 accounted for administrative income and expenses separately in 1992-1993, but allocated a proportion of costs and grant income across the various services in 1993-4 and 1994-5.

This table shows the income and expenditure for the clubs and day centres. In some agencies, separate accounts were not kept; often, administrative expenses and other overheads (e.g. a share of the rent, heating, and lighting) were not calculated separately for the day centres or clubs. In these cases, the expenses shown here were those directly associated with the club or centre, and no attempt was made to allocate overheads. Therefore the expenditure figures in Case 3 may not reflect the full cost of the service to the agency, and in Case 6 (where the cost of other schemes are deducted, but not the overheads), the figures may overstate these costs

somewhat. Most importantly, the apparent jump in club budget between 1992-93 and 1993-1994 can be accounted for by changes in accounting procedure: administration had its own budget until 1993, when this was abolished and overheads spread across the various services run by the agency. As before, these figures are taken from either annual reports or from annual statements of accounts, except for Case 5 where a grant application to the local authority social services grant committee was used.

Once again, the budgets show funding remaining stable over all. Income stayed more or less the same (Case 11) or rose slightly (Case 6), although in Case 1 income was declining. In Cases 2 and 4, the decline in income in 1994-95 reflected borough-wide budget cuts implemented in that year. Overall, though, there were no dramatic changes in income across the services.

Notwithstanding this general stability, the income was not sufficient to keep up with rising costs. Although Cases 1 and 11 were careful to balance their budgets, most of the other services showed a deficit for at least one of the years in the period. While these figures did not reflect any reserves held by the agencies (particularly important in Case 10, where this was a major source of funding), they do confirm an overall picture of agencies just covering their costs.

The years shown here are particularly important as 1992-1995 saw the implementation of Care in the Community. A special transitional grant was allocated to the local authorities to be spent in the "independent sector". The figures show that, while incomes did rise somewhat, these did not offset the rising costs. There is no evidence of dramatic increases in funding for these agencies, nor, conversely, for large cuts. None of the respondents interviewed mentioned any additional funds being available for the service, although as we will see in the next section, there was considerable apprehension about the possible implementation of service level agreements and contracts.

The analysis here is incomplete without examination of the sources of agency funds, a factor perhaps as important as the size of the budgets. Table 8 shows the main sources of income for the agencies in 1994:

Table 8: Funding

Case	Main Source: (50% or more)	Other Sources:	Keep fees charged?
1	LA Grant	Lunch Fees	No
2	LA Grant	Dept of Health; fundraising; membership fees	Yes
3*	LA Grant	Membership fees; fundraising; one-off charitable trust grants	Yes
4	LA Grant	Annual subscription fees	Yes
5	LA Grant	None significant (less than 5%)	Yes
6	LA Grant	None significant	Yes
7	LA Grant	Hall hire; fundraising; membership fees	Yes
8	LA Grant	Rents, fees for service, charitable trusts (Club financed 100% by local authority)	Yes
9	LA plus Mission rental and fee income (50-50)	Lunch charge	Yes
10	Interest income from property sale	Lunch fees (insignificant)	Yes
11	Interest income from property sale	Lunch fees (insignificant)	Yes
12	LA Grant	Lunch fees	No

*Total grant to organisation; programme income not available.

For all but three of the agencies (Cases 9, 10, and 11), the local authority grant was the single largest source of funds, and in the case of some of the smaller agencies (Case 1, 4, and 12) it was the sole funder of the service; this was also the case for larger agencies such as Case 5 and Case 6. In Case 8, although the agency itself raised considerable income from service fees, the local authority was the sole funder of the luncheon club. It should be noted that in all cases, the price of the lunch was set by the local authority, and in Cases 1 and 12, all lunch fee receipts had to be turned over to the local authority. In Case 1, this amounted to 50% of its income (the remainder being local authority grants).

When respondents in the various agencies were asked about sources of funds, all noted

that there had been few recent changes in the composition of their incomes. While some services had begun with very small budgets covered by luncheon fees and donations of in-kind services by volunteers (in Case 1, people cooked the food in their own kitchens, at their own expense), this was no longer the case. The sources of funds reported here and their relative importance to the agencies had remained the same (with the local authorities predominating) for some time, and in the case of Cases 4 and 12, from their inception.

Two agencies require special mention. Cases 10 and 11 had each owned land, which they sold in the mid-1980's. These sales yielded sums in excess of , 3,000,000 for each of the agencies. The interest from this income was the main source of operating funds; when, as was noted before, deficits occurred, the agencies used some of these reserves to cover them. The sale of these assets had made both agencies financially independent of the local authorities.

Having examined the budgets of the agencies and their luncheon clubs/day centres, and having described the sources of income, we now turn to a more detailed examination of the financial and political relationships involved. We begin with the predominant funder and major influence: the local authorities.

The relationship with the local authorities can be described under three main headings: funding, in-kind contributions, and political relationships.

Local Authority Funding

Kramer (1989a) suggests that state funding has considerable advantages for voluntary agencies, enabling them to "maintain, expand, and diversify their regular services" (Kramer, 1994 p.47) In this study, local authority funding often made the service provision possible:

> ....So we spoke to social services and they confirmed that they did have an honorarium arrangement whereby they would pay with a sort of grant allowance every year, for running the centre [the parent organisation -- MCP] as a whole....to pay an honorarium per session to whoever it was who was going to produce all the meals. And so we were then able to look around for somebody who wouldn't just do it for nothing, somebody who would be able to receive a small amount. (Case 3)

> I know we received considerable help from the council when we wanted to set it up because they produced the fitted kitchen and everything else for us....without government money, council money, we couldn't afford to be independent.... If it didn't do that [provide the grant], we'd be out of business, because we could never raise that money. (Case 5)

I mean we are dependent on them for funding, nearly 70-80% of our funding comes from the borough. (Case 6)

Fifty percent of the centre manager's salary comes from the council and this is substantial and important. We would find it difficult to fund this. (Case 9)

In Cases 4 and 12, provision only began after council funding was secured. For these groups and for Case 1, the council was the only source of funds.

It should be noted that at the time of the study all local authority funds were given in the form of a grant. London Borough A was in the process of investigating the possibility of negotiating contracts with agencies whose grant exceeded ,2,000. These arrangements were not to be implemented for at least two years. The threat had had two effects on organisations in that borough: the smaller organisations (particularly Case 1) had made conscious attempts to submit grant proposals that fell below the "magic number":

If you want more than ,2,000 you have to apply in a different way for a grant,

and... they treat it in a different way...And they are aiming to establish contracts

for utilisation using more than ,2,000. (Case 1)

The larger organisations were asked to submit detailed information regarding their clients. The agencies were beginning to think about the implications of a contract[2]:

probably for next year we will be on service level agreement...in theory we should be better off. (Case 3)

We haven't got anywhere yet because we don't know what the local council are going to do in this regard. They're saying that they will only finance what they call dependent people.... but we've got nothing in writing about this....because this will be the vital year [when arrangements are worked out for contracts]. (Case 5)

There was considerable apprehension that the local authority would cease financing services for less disabled people (such as the luncheon clubs) and fund only services for very disabled people:

...The borough, because of financial constraints, they have an expectation that day care

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[2]Lewis (1993) found similar processes taking place in her survey of four agencies in four London boroughs. Although only one of those agencies had actually entered into a contract (and encountered similar issues about the dependency levels of the people served), agency personnel in Lewis' study noted the increased amount of time spent on such reporting requirements.

centres funded by them must concentrate on high dependency. (Case 6)

For Case 2, changing funding priorities by the local authority were actually seen as an opportunity: in a letter to the council, the organiser proposed a new project, saying

> We had not until now given the scheme much serious thought, as we had believed it would be impossible to raise the capital required. The change in policy regarding Joint Finance [to provide funds for capital projects to voluntary organisations] has changed that situation....

In London Borough B there had been no indication that the local authority was considering changing the grant allocation process. The issue of contracts did not therefore arise in interviews with respondents. One respondent in Case 10 did comment that if the council decided to opt for per-head contracts (where individual cases are financed at a set daily fee), the organisation would be in a strong position to accept such an arrangement because it had independent sources of income and would not be dependent on the "as-and-when" agreements. This was referred to as "buying our clients" (Case 10, Day Centre Organiser).

In summary, the agencies in the study were heavily dependent on local authority funding, which had traditionally been provided via annual grants. London Borough A was now moving towards implementing service level agreements, and in preparation for this was requiring more sophisticated reports about client dependency levels from the agencies in the borough. Agencies in this borough expressed apprehension; small groups serving less dependent clients felt particularly vulnerable, as it was the larger agencies with more dependent clients who stood to gain most (or lose least) from these arrangements.

In-Kind Resources:

Besides money, there were other resources which were contributed by the local authority. This was particularly the case in London Borough B. These included food, premises, transportation, activities teachers, and client referrals.

Both boroughs provided cooked food. In LBA, the food was cooked by the education authority using the same kitchens as the school dinners. Because the kitchens were run by the education authority rather than the social services department, they shut down at school holidays and half terms. The consequence in Case 1 was that service provision was suspended at those times. In Case 6, food was bought in bulk, frozen, and reheated.

In LBB, the kitchens were run by the local authority social services. Only one agency got its meals directly from the local authority (Case 8): the organiser would order the food on a monthly basis from a list provided. The food would then be delivered in bulk, and heated up on the day.

A second resource provided by the local authority was premises. This was vital in some cases as organisations were unable to provide services otherwise. Cases 3,4,5,7, and 12 were operating in premises rented from the local authority. The arrangements for this were the same in the two boroughs: rent was allocated to the agency as part of its grant and then transferred automatically from one local authority department to another. As one respondent put it:

> Well they take it away from you before you even see the grant. They deduct it at source. So at the beginning of the year you've paid your rent, so you're secure for a year... (Case 3)

In effect, the agency acts as a conduit for the council to pay itself:

> They give us a grant for the rent of the building and then they take it away from us.... and you don't see it because it's transferred from one department of local government to another department of local government. (Case 5)

In LBB there were additional in-kind subsidies. One was transportation (in LBA, organisations tended to have their own minibuses). This turned out to be a mixed blessing: although the council provision enabled organisations to transport their members cheaply, the groups were dependent on the council's transportation schedule. This was true even of the two organisations (Cases 10 and 11) which had independent means and could afford their own minibuses. Three of the groups which provided transportation in LBB (Cases 7, 10, and 11) complained about these arrangements. The voluntary agencies had to share vehicles and staff escorts with council programmes. Over the previous year, the number of staff and hours available to voluntary sector organisations had been cut drastically. The groups received 3 hours a day (i.e. 90 minutes per journey). This worked out as 10 minutes per person transported, an unrealistically low figure when traffic and the delays involved in getting disabled people in and out of a minibus are considered. Because the minibuses had to be available to transport children in the borough to school, they were unable to deliver the clients until quite late in the morning, and picked them up very early in the afternoon. The groups complained that this was not satisfactory.

A second issue was the provision of activities teachers. These included art, exercise,

and dance teachers. The provision was made by the education authority in LBB. Because the education authority ran according to a school calendar, there was no provision during school holidays and half-terms. In Case 9, the organisation simply improvised, although a popular art class had been dropped entirely following budget cuts. In Case 10, the clients had proposed levying a fee to pay salaries during holiday time, but this had been rejected by the trustees as being against the spirit of the organisation. Consequently, every year the clients and staff scheduled their own, self-led activities, but the teachers were clearly sorely missed. In Case 11, the organisation had a sufficient budget to pay its own teachers, so the issue did not arise.

A final, but very important, in-kind resource provided by both local authorities was client referral. This was an important source of clients in Cases 2, 5, 6, 8 and 10. It was also a major point of contact between the social services departments in the boroughs and the voluntary organisations. The issue of which clients the organisations wanted to serve and which clients the social services departments thought the organisations should serve was a controversial one, and is examined in the context of the over-all relationships between the statutory and voluntary agencies in the next section.

Statutory-Voluntary Relationships:

Changing funding regimes might have been expected to affect the political relationships between local authorities and the voluntary agencies. All the groups described their relationship with the local authority as "good". In general, the agencies saw themselves as providers of a public service which, otherwise, would be the responsibility of the council:

> Of course, I've been waiting for someone in the borough to say, look, is it worth it? But they're a bit sensitive to being accused of not doing all that they could for elderly people... (Case 1)

> This is the only provider in this area of the borough, and it is doing a public service by feeding over 200 people a week. (Trustee, Case 11).

Respondents stressed that they were providing a more "economical" service than the council could:

> [LBA] sees us as a, I suppose a way of saving them from providing services themselves. From their point of view it's obviously cheaper to do a bulk supply than to do individual meals on wheels....I mean, we would have to put up a case for the borough that we are doing this more cheaply than they could. (Case 1)

> When I saw the way [council provision] was run, I wanted to say, "give me the

money and I will just do it." They are too dogmatic and too heavy on management. (Chair, Case 2)

On the basis of some of the figures that we actually saw at a meeting last year, I'm talking about the cost of day care, the cost of residential care and the cost of transporting people from A to B, by the council themselves, if we got half of that amount we would be absolutely, so much money it would be coming out of our ears. I mean, I think we're very economic at the moment. (Case 3)

I did a calculation about five or six years ago, the borough was giving us ,40,000 a year then, and I calculated that if the borough provided the same amount of day care services we were providing, it would cost them ,240-odd thousand....so there's an enormous saving for the borough because of what we're doing. (Case 6)

In this context, statutory funding was seen as a right. Agencies seemed to feel that they were doing the council a favour by providing a service. Several organisations (Cases 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11) were the sole providers in their areas; others (Cases 2, 4, and 12) were the sole providers to a particular population:

> The Directorate of Community Services is making increasing use of the facilities provided by the group, especially its luncheon club, which directly replaces the statutory provision of meals for dependent elderly. (Case 4, LBA grant document).

Implementation of the Community Care Act (1990) was seen as further stregthening the organisations' bargaining position because

> the Borough needs us. They now must consult users and carers. (Chair, Case 2)

The groups therefore saw statutory funding as their due. In two cases, respondents expressed dissatisfaction with funding arrangements: in Case 11, one trustee said that on several occasions he was willing to vote to shut the centre down "and let the council pick up the pieces". Another respondent said:

> I think we're strong enough and we've been here long enough to say, OK, in the politest possible way, to say, stuff your money really. Because if we can't run the service in the way that we feel is the most appropriate for our community we just won't run the service full stop. And then you [the council] put up with the consequences. (Chair, Case 6)

Among these consequences were a poor public image for the borough and considerable expense. These responses echo Kramer's assertion that new contracting arrangements did not necessarily threaten voluntary sector autonomy: the monopoly position of many agencies, and their perceived cost-effectiveness gave them important levers in financial negotiations (Kramer, 1989, p.109).

Nonetheless, organisations were quite concerned about council "control". In Case 9, the agency had deliberately not set up a separate management committee for its day centre in order to avoid intervention by the council:

> We have escaped having a council representative on our management, which would be impossible in this context [a management committee separate from the church meeting]. (Case 9)

> ...unless you are very careful, and this is one of the things you've got to weigh up, you'll find that we are becoming the paid servants, if we are not careful, of the local authority. (Case 5)

In Case 11, where one third of the management committee were council appointees, respondents gave the fear of council control as a reason not to apply for more than minimal council funding (i.e. subsidies of existing activities). Indeed, the separate funding arrangements appeared to be a major element in maintaining the agency's autonomy from council control in spite of the large number of councillors on its board of management. Because the trustees were not spending public money, they could afford to allow the agency to provide the service as it wished. Furthermore, it was in the local authority's interest not to "interfere" in the provision of the service, as long as the statutory social services did not have to "pick up the pieces" (in the words of a trustee who was also a councillor).

A similar issue which affected respondents' perceptions of their relationship with the local authorities in the study was the extent to which council personnel were seen to be familiar with the organisations and their aims. The two elements which appeared to affect this were the tenure of council personnel (longer serving staff would have had more time to familiarise themselves with the organisation), and geographical proximity. Thus, for example, in LBA, the social services office had moved from one end of the borough to another. The manager of one of the organisations complained that whereas in the old days he could simply "pop along and say hello", since the move any contact with the local office required a car journey in heavy traffic, which curtailed the old, informal relationships. The chairman of the organisation complained that

> The trouble is, most of the people who are making the decisions, some of them I can honestly say have never been to a day care centre. These are the managers who are making the financial decisions.... So you have these huge highfalutin' titles of managers and providers and purchasers, and all that, some of them have never visited day care provision. (Case 6)

A similar complaint was heard in LBB:

> It is difficult for voluntary organisations. Local councils do not understand the situation where day care is run in the context of a wider organisation. Our priorities do not fall naturally into their straightjacket. (Case 9)

In Case 11, relationships at the senior level (i.e. with councillors and senior administrators) were seen as excellent because management committee members and the Chief Executive Officer had personal contacts with the appropriate personnel, and trustees with longer tenure "socialised" newer appointees into appropriate roles on the board of management. But staff complained privately that day-to-day relationships with junior staff suffered from poor communication.

The "ethnic monitoring" requirement in LBB was a further bone of contention in four of the six groups surveyed. These groups felt that this type of assessment was inappropriate and irrelevant to their groups; all were serving entirely or predominantly white populations.

In summary, while local authority funding and in-kind resources enabled the organisations in the study to provide their day care services, this was offset by concerns that the statutory agencies were attempting to control the clubs or centres, and possibly the organisations themselves. These findings are consistent with the resource dependency perspective outlined earlier. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) note that an asymmetrical relationship between two organisations (in this case, the local social services department and the voluntary agency) is necessary for dependency. In this study, most of the organisations were dependent on the local authority for funds and (in London Borough B) in-kind resources, to the extent that withdrawal of these resources had measurable effects on the service[3]. But the asymmetry was not total. Pfeffer and Salancik also describe ways in which organisations might seek to avoid or alleviate control (p.108-112), mainly through cartels and monopolies[4]. In related work, Hudson (1993)

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[3] In Cases 9 and 10, there were no teachers and therefore no art or fitness courses unless the local authority supplied them.

[4] They also suggest the use of co-optation, that is, bringing people from the controlling organisation onto the agency's board in order to "socialise" them (p.110); but in this study, such

and Aiken and Hage (1968) have argued that exchange relationships between organisations arise out of mutual dependence. In this study, most of the voluntary agencies held monopolies over the day care services for particular geographical areas or groups of people. The local authorities were therefore as dependent on the agencies as the agencies were on the local authorities.

It is interesting to note which agencies were chosen for this partnership with the local authority. Hudson (1993), and also Schmidt and Kochan (1977), notes that agencies like to collaborate with similar agencies. All the organisations in the study which received substantial funding from their local authorities had long standing relationships with social services personnel. The exception was Case 4, which illustrates the point. This agency only received funding after intervention by the local councillor for its district. It was relatively new and had not previously participated the local forum through which local authority personnel became familiar with the other voluntary agencies.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) advocate the use of multiple sources of funding and other resources as a means of reducing or avoiding resource dependency. Aiken and Hage (1968) make similar recommendations. This strategy was used in a limited way by the organisations in the study. The next section explores some of the alternatives to local authority funding.

Alternative Funding Sources:

Aside from local authority funding, organisations had made considerable efforts to find alternative (non-council) funding sources. There were three main types of income: proceeds from the sale of property, donations from charitable trusts, and in-house fundraising.

Two organisations were "independently wealthy". In both cases, this was the result of historical circumstances. In Case 10, land had been acquired at the turn of the century in a then-unpopulated area of an outer London Borough, for use as a playing field. In the early 1970's, when property prices began to rise, the organisation sold this land to developers, and the proceeds from the sale were placed in a fund. The interest from this fund has been a major source of income for the organisation, which has been able to finance the building of a new facility.

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representation was seen as more of a threat to the agency's autonomy and actively resisted. This is why, among other reasons, Case 9 did not have a separate management committee for the day

In Case 11, the Tudor trust had included prime land in London's West End. This was sold in the early 1970's for a seven-digit sum, which was then split between the two charities. As in Case 10, the interest on this income has been a major source of revenue which has among other things financed the acquisition and renovation of the centre's present site.

In Case 9, the church owned a small piece of land nearby which had become quite valuable, but the rent they had been receiving for it (from another voluntary organisation which had rented the premises for decades) was far below the value of the property; although the rental agreement had recently been renegotiated and the rent raised, the church did not expect to receive significant additional revenue.

No other organisations in the study were so fortunate. The other groups therefore turned to charitable trusts such as the Valentine Fund and Jesus Hospital to finance capital projects such as buying and maintaining a minibus (Case 3). In Case 11, personal connections with various corporations were activated and resulted in substantial donations, including new kitchen equipment. These tended to be "one-off" grants rather than steady operating funds.

In-house fundraising took a number of forms. Case 7 operated a bar on the premises and used the revenues to subsidise its services. Case 3 did perhaps the most in-house fundraising, holding coffee mornings, raffles, and soliciting donations from the families of its members to raise money for a new stove after the old one "exploded". Bingo and 10p football pools were also popular for raising money for condiments and tea (especially in Case 5). Case 2 held an annual "flag day" in conjunction with a national organisation and sold Christmas cards.

In many cases (3, 5, 7), the fundraising was done by the clients themselves. In Cases 2, 6, and 11, fundraising was expected of management committee members and seen as part of the "job description".

The revenue raised this way never covered organisational running expenses. Generally it was used to supplement local authority funding either for needed capital projects (from minibuses to new cutlery) or to cover crises (e.g. the cooker in Case 3). It was not seen as a reliable form of income. For instance, the coordinator of Case 3 commented that because a certain charitable trust had been approached that year for a grant towards a minibus, "we will have to wait a few years before we approach them again".

The secondary position of trusts and in-house fundraising, and the general absence of

centre.

business support[5] found in this study is confirmed by Russell, Scott, and Wilding (1995), who noted that "support from private business is insignificant to organisations which are small and locally based" (p.6). In this study, solicitations to trusts were confined to occasional capital projects, and in-house fundraising, while constant, rarely comprised a significant element of funds for the agencies in this study.

One final potential source of support was national or "headquarters" organisations. Only two of the agencies in the study were affiliated with such networks. Both were supported by fieldworkers from their respective national (Case 2) and regional (Case 5) offices. In Case 2, membership fees were split between the headquarters office and the local branch. The headquarters office also "lent" the branch use of the national organisation's charitable status, which enabled the branch to carry out direct solicitations of funds via annual "flag days" (this was the only agency in the study to do so). It also provided training to staff and volunteers at annual conferences and centralised courses.

In Case 5, the affiliation was much looser. The agency did use the national "headquarters" name in its title and sold some of the products promoted by that organisation. However, the local agency did not receive any direct financial support, nor was any training provided exclusively to its staff. The fieldworker noted that she was not involved in this particular borough as none of the agencies met the criteria for full "membership" in the national organisation.

National bodies did not figure greatly in the agencies in this study. Because none but two of the agencies were in fact affiliated with a national body, the issue appeared to be irrelevant to them, and the ties between national bodies and their local affiliates in this borough appeared to be quite weak.

We now turn to the relationships between local agencies.

Interagency Relationships

Before discussing relationships between the organisations in the study and other local voluntary organisations it is important to point out that these were perceived differently from the organisations' interactions with statutory authorities. As was noted in a previous section, local authorities were seen as a necessary evil. The local authority was the main source of funds

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[5] Not one respondent mentioned local businesses as a source of support, and only one had used personal ties with his previous employer to secure some equipment (a trustee in Case 11).

and other resources in the borough; but it also, potentially, threatened the autonomy of the organisations. It was, therefore, to be kept at arm's length.

Other voluntary organisations presented a different combination of opportunities and threats. It has been suggested that collaboration arises when resources are limited or declining (Aiken and Hage, 1968). Indeed, Levine and White (1961) argue that if resources were limitless, there would be no incentive for agencies to collaborate and no joint projects would take place. Exchanges with organisations possessing complementary resources has obvious advantages: access to those resources.

Collaboration can also be detrimental, however. Hudson (1993), drawing on Aiken and Hage (1968) points out that collaboration involves loss of autonomy and control and the investment of scarce resources in maintaining relationships. In the case of the organisations in the study, neither were trivial considerations.

Hudson (1993) identified three types of interagency relationships: independence, interdependence, and conflict. While overt conflict was rare in the study, the advantages and disadvantages discussed here perhaps explain the prevalence of the other two types of interaction in the study. Organisational interaction spanned a continuum from joint projects (Case 2's day centre) to total isolation (Cases 7 and 8, although situated across the park from each other, were completely ignorant of each other's existence).

The most intensive form of cooperation occurred in Case 2, which ran its day care centre jointly with an order of nuns. The structural relationships were explored in depth in Chapter 7. This was a reciprocal exchange of complementary resources similar to those described by Levine and White (1961): the nuns had a suitable location available, and were seeking a to provide a service in the field of mental health. The voluntary agency, on the other hand, had the expertise and motivation to set up a day care centre, but lacked a location and personnel. The resulting configurations confirm Aiken and Hage's (1968) finding that organisations pursuing joint programs tended to be more complex.

A less intensive form of collaboration occurred between Cases 3 and 6, which served adjacent areas. Arrangements had been made so that individual clients could attend both the luncheon club (Case 3) and the day centre (Case 6) on alternative days:

> we work very much ....in conjunction with other organisations, so [Case 6] will have them on a Monday and we will have them on Tuesday and Friday, and they'll go back to [Case 6] on a Saturday. So like almost a week's worth of day care between the two voluntary organisations. (Manager, Case 3)

In this example, the agencies collaborated because the demands on their services were greater than they could fulfil independently (Aiken and Hage, 1968).

There was considerable political cooperation between the larger organisations in LBA. A voluntary sector forum had been set up by the local VSC which met once a month, and executive members of the five major organisations (including three of those in the study) were in constant informal contact with one another. This cooperative strategy was clearest when the discussion turned to the imminent possibility of contracts or service level agreements being imposed:

> ...we're meeting with [Case 5] and [another voluntary day centre] to talk about it, because that's one of the things we've felt that very much, because they've been pushed into high dependency. (Chairman, Case 6)

These organisations were collaborating in the face of a mutual threat, the imposition of service level agreements. This example also illustrates the ways in which interactions with the local authority were perceived to be different from interactions with other voluntary organisations. Statutory agencies threatened to control a key element of the voluntary agencies, whereas the other voluntary agencies were potential competitors.

It has been noted that little overt conflict was found between the organisations in the study and their colleagues, despite the fact that all the agencies in the study were providing similar services to (more or less) similar clients. In London Borough A, phenomenon can be explained using the concept of domain consensus (Hudson, 1993). Organisations generally agree among themselves which tasks are appropriate for which agencies. Levine and White (1961) describe this phenomenon using the example of rehabilitation agencies who handled patients consecutively: preschool age children, school age children, and adults. Chapter 5 described the ways in which the organisations in London Borough A divided their domains geographically (North, South, East, and West); Case 2 took only people suffering from a particular disease (which none of the other organisations would serve); and Case 4 took members of a particular ethnic group, which, again, were not served by any of the others.

The lack of overt conflict between the groups did not indicate that there was no competition, however. The most obvious effects could be seen in Case 1, which was not the only luncheon club in its area. Competition by two new groups (neither of which participated in this study) was cited as the reason for declining attendance:

.... other organisations are offering full day centre activities. [Local group], which has a purpose-built place in Oak Lane is open I think all day every day, and it has a variety of activities as well as lunches and it can provide transport and so on. [Local organisation], which you may know, that is the same thing....I think perhaps what they're [the clients] looking for is supplied by these bigger day centres, where they have dancing and all kinds of activities. (Secretary)

The existence of other organisations in the area which are competing directly for clients offered something of a dilemma for the group:

Some of us said something, that we should do what other groups in the area do.
I've been resisting it....and certainly we have felt a certain amount of competition. (Chairman).

Indeed, as a response, the organisation had begun to provide social activities in addition to the lunches, in the hopes of retaining its clientele.

So far, we have described organisational interdependence and competition. Interdependence in its various forms and intensities had a number of advantages for the groups in the study: securing vital resources (Case 2), shared ability to meet demand (Cases 3 and 6), and the devising of unified strategy to face a common threat. Competition, on the other hand, had detrimental effects on Case 1. We now turn to the third type of interaction identified by Hudson (1993): independence, or, in this study, isolation.

The lack of any interaction between agencies was most pronounced in LBB, where organisations operating in adjacent areas almost never spoke to one another. Indeed, in several cases (8, 9, 10, and 11), respondents asked the researcher for information about other groups located within easy walking distance. The two ethnic groups were particularly isolated (although Case 4 sent a representative to the local forum) because of language and cultural barriers.

Isolation appeared to be a "default" strategy: organisations were so busy with the day-to-day running of their services that they had neither the time nor the staff to attend cooperative meetings or to form relationships with other organisations. This strategy can particularly be seen in one organisation which was not directly involved in the study. The neighbourhood group had been active as an "umbrella" for the smaller luncheon clubs in the area. When Case 1 began to receive council funding, it did so through this umbrella organisation. Then a decision was made by the larger organisation to build a day centre of its own. The project took priority

over the group's previous coordinating role:

> For a long time they [the umbrella group] used to have a system whereby they covered all the clubs in the [East] area....but gradually the meetings became less and less frequent, and eventually they changed over to [the current structure], which doesn't have this committee structure at all....they certainly were supporting us, and we have a friendly relationship with them....there wasn't quite as much contact with groups like ours. We weren't notified about things. Individuals who were members of our club would be on their distribution list, but it would only be by chance that we would hear of things that were going on. Occasionally they used to say, could you let your people know that there's going to be an outing, this that or the other, but sometimes we haven't even had that contact. (Secretary, Case 1)

Eventually, the two groups came to a parting of the ways, and Case 1 began to deal directly with the council. The second organisation no longer had the resources to coordinate activities with other groups and isolated itself from them. This may have had to do with internal crises within this agency, but as the organisation in question declined to participate in the study, any such conjectures remain purely speculative.

These findings confirm the observation by Levine and White (1961) that organisations which are self-sufficient have no particular reason to form relationships with others. Cases 9, 10 and 11 received referrals from the local authority; but they did not collaborate, because the resources they had to share were not complementary (all three owned their premises, and Cases 10 and 11 were financially independent).

In Cases 7 and 8, the lack of interaction can be ascribed to the factors noted earlier: collaboration threatens organisational autonomy and requires time and energy which, presumably, agency personnel did not have (Aiken and Hage, 1968). Similarly, the curtailment of the coordinating role played by Case 1's original partner coincides with both a major capital project and an organisational crisis.

A final form of interaction found in this study was the takeover. This was generally amicable, and involved one organisation absorbing the clients of another, so that the second organisation ceased to exist. This occurred among several of the organisations in the study. Case 3 had been called in by the council to take over provision for a smaller luncheon club in the area. According to a respondent in Case 3, the council had "pulled the plug" on the second organisation. A deal had been made whereby Case 3 would serve the people who had previously gone to the second organisation, and in return, the council would subsidise an

additional day of service.

Case 11 had taken over a local council luncheon club, once again at the behest of the local authority. The centre had agreed to take on the staff members and to serve the clients who had been attending the council facility. Several years on, however, the day centre no longer employed any of the council staff because it was felt that they did not fit the ethos of the organisation. The clients had continued to come and had integrated into the facility.

In each case, the takeover had been facilitated by the local authority, which was interested in providing a service to clients. In each case the council chose an organisation which was geographically close to the facility it wished to close. Neither of the organisations had themselves initiated the takeover, although both were quite satisfied with the arrangements after the fact, particularly as their own positions as sole providers in the area were strengthened.

In summary, relationships between the voluntary agencies in the study and their counterparts were perceived to be different from their relationships with statutory agencies. Other voluntary agencies were seen as both potential allies and as potential rivals. At one extreme, joint working enabled some organisations to access vital resources and to meet client demand. But such collaboration placed constraints on organisational autonomy and required a considerable investment of time and energy. In the absence of incentives such as mutual resource dependency or a common threat, the organisations, particularly in London Borough B, often did not interact with one another at all.

Summary:

This chapter has described the funding of the agencies and their services, and the external relationships between the agencies, the local authorities, and the agencies' local colleagues. The study found that over the past few years, there had been few dramatic changes in the funding situations of most agencies. Although the smaller services (Cases 1 and 4 in particular) had been hit by budget cuts, the incomes and expenditures of the agencies and their services had remained the same, with increases in income offset by rising costs.

The composition of the budgets had also remained the same. The local authority remained the single largest funder for all the groups but two: the local authority grant was the single largest source of income, and it generally comprised over half the agency budgets. Two agencies which were not dependent on local authority funds had access to resources not available to the other agencies in the study, noteably, the proceeds from property sales.

Neither local authority had implemented contracts, although dicussions were under way in London Borough A. Generally, the larger agencies stood to gain most from these arrangements, while smaller agencies were apprehensive. Agencies' monopoly positions as sole providers of the service in their geographical areas, and their perceived cost-effectiveness were two elements which they felt they could use in their negotiations with the local authority.

All the agencies in the study benefited from in-kind contributions from the local authorities (from food to transportation), which had significant effects on service content (e.g. the availability of transport in London Borough B dictated the hours during which services were available to the frailer clientele).

In addition to local authority funding, agencies also charged fees for service. Often, however, the levy for the lunch was set by the local authority, and the smaller agencies could not keep these proceeds. Agencies did a considerable amount of in-house fund raising, but this did not constitute a significant proportion of their income. Trusts and other charities were approached for one-off capital expenses, and were not seen as on-going sources of support.

Agencies' contacts with one another varied: the agencies in Borough A were more likely to cooperate, while those in Borough B rarely spoke to one another. Takeovers, in which a smaller service was adopted by a larger one, took place in both boroughs. While there was little direct competition, new providers did sometimes draw clients away from pre-existing services (as in Case 1).

There was little evidence of change in the funding and external relationships described here. This is all the more striking considering that the years 1992-1995 saw the implementation of the Community Care Act 1990 with its attendant changes to funding structures.

We now turn to the final key element of the organisations: the people who attended the clubs, and the people who ran them.

CHAPTER TEN: PEOPLE

The previous chapters have described three key elements of the organisations in the study: their goals, the structures devised (or evolved) to implement those goals, and the boards of management responsible for the ensuring that the organisations adhered to their original missions. The picture which has emerged so far has been of little significant change. Although some of the organisations were re-examining their mission statements, and trustees complained of a growing scarcity of "suitable" management committee members, these were not major issues for the respondents interviewed in this study. Most of the organisations retained very simple, linear structure, although two organisations had evolved more complex structures which reflected attempts to cope with either internal power struggles (Case 5) or external control (Case 2).

The previous chapters have concentrated on describing changes (or, in most cases, lack of changes) in the key elements of the organisations. Although the key elements listed in the Introduction were presented as potential levers of change, there has been little evidence of changes in goals, structure, or governance as driving other changes in the organisations.

This chapter departs from the previous format. Changes in clientele, while gradual in some agencies, had reached almost crisis proportions in many. These changes were accompanied by a re-examination of staffing patterns. In most of the agencies in the study, respondents ranked these changes as the most significant change in the history of their organisations. Furthermore, respondents noted that these changes in clientele and staffing patterns were also related to the re-examination of goals noted in Chapter 6. This chapter therefore goes beyond a description of the clients served and the use of volunteers and paid staff in the organisations. The changes in these elements are important not only in themselves, but as levers of organisational change.

The transition from the exclusive use of volunteers to the employment of paid staff, and the attendant assumptions made about the role of staff in the agencies, highlight a critical underlying issue for these agencies. In Chapter 2, a distiction was made between associations and bureaucracies. As we shall see at the end of this chapter, this distinction is useful in analysing the assumptions agency managers made about their personnel.

As with the previous chapters, this chapter sets out the findings of the study and places them in the context of relevant literature where possible. But, because of the significance of the findings reported here, this chapter also lays the groundwork for much of the discussion in

the next chapter (Chapter 11).

Clients, Staff, Volunteers: Definitions

We begin with a definition of terms. The concepts of "clients" (or members, or users), "volunteers", and "paid staff" require additional clarification. The distinctions between these categories of personnel were far from straigtforward in practice. As we shall see, the status of "client", "volunteer", and "member of staff" often overlapped in practice, an issue which raised methodological problems for the study[1].

Although within the organisations the users of the service were referred to as "members", in Chapter 7 we saw that with one exception (Case 7), day centre and luncheon club "members" had no power vote at any organisational meeting and could neither elect nor be elected as trustees of the organisation (Knoke, 1990). Therefore, the service users/participants will be referred to in this chapter using the term clients (for a full discussion of the implications of such terminology, see Stevenson and Parsloe, 1993).

The organisations in the study used a variety of personnel to carry out the day-to-day management of the service. Some organisations used volunteers exclusively; others relied entirely on paid staff; and others used a mixture of the two. In the "mixed" agencies, managers were generally paid, while in all-volunteer organisations the managers/organisers were not paid, or received a modest stipend[2]. The core tasks of managers in both types of setting were similar: ordering food from the local authority (or supervising its preparation); record keeping; and liaison with volunteers and with the local authority. For this reason, all those people responsible for the daily running of the service will be referred to generically as "organisers".

The term "volunteer" requires additional clarification. The issue of volunteers is a complex one, not least because of the inability of scholars to agree on a universal definition of the term (Leat, 1977; Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth, 1996). Van Til (1988) differentiates between **volunteering, voluntary action,** and **voluntary associations. Volunteering** is a refinement of the concept of **voluntary action,** which Van Til defines (citing Smith, Reddy

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[1] A discussion of these methodological issues, and working definitions, can be found in Chapter 4.

[2] £5 per day in London Borough A.

and Baldwin) as any action done of one's own free will. **Volunteering** is "a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain or mandated or coerced by others" (p.6). Smith (1981) defines volunteering as engaging in behaviour that is

> "not biosocially determined...nor economically necessitated...nor socially compelled...but rather that is...motivated by the expectation of psychic benefits." (p.22-23).

Leat (1977), and Thomas and Finch (1990) having explored the issue in depth, propose the following definitions:

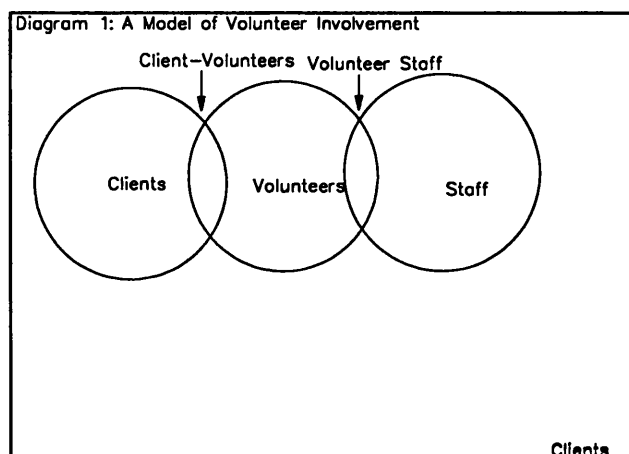> ...giving up one's time to do work which is unpaid (Thomas and Finch, p. 17)

> ...unpaid work that is not socially required as a duty or responsibility (Leat, p. 3)

All three authors conceed that there are great difficulties in applying these definitions to "real life". For this reason, Cnaan et al (1996) suggest that volunteering spans a continuum. As we will see later in the chapter, the tasks of volunteers, paid staff, and clients overlapped to a degree. One respondent even made a distinction between "staff" (who were paid), "unpaid staff" (which carried connotations of professional expertise), and "volunteers" (which implied amateurism, in his view). For the purposes of this study, the term "volunteers" included anyone in the organisation who was performing tasks for others without remuneration, and anyone who classified him or herself as a volunteer. It should be noted that many of the latter were receiving daily "stipends" or "honoraria". The one exception to this classification (a cook) is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Finally, there were the paid members of staff. For the purposes of this chapter, these were defined by respondents in the study as being paid "the going rate for the job" on either an hourly or monthly basis. Full time employees generally worked more than 30 hours a week and were usually paid monthly. These usually included administrative staff (managers, coordinators, and secretaries) as well as some care staff. Part-time employees worked less than 30 hours a week and were usually paid by the hour.

These categories (client, volunteer, and member of staff) would appear to be discrete. In fact, they overlapped to a considerable degree. Diagram 1 summarises these overlapping boundaries.

Diagram 1: A Model of Volunteer Involvement

Client–Volunteers   Volunteer   Staff

Clients   Volunteers   Staff

Clients

Figure 1

Three categories are shown: "paid staff", "volunteers", and "clients". Paid staff are employees of the organisation who are paid a sum of money or goods by the organisation. They are directly accountable to the organisation and can be dismissed for unsatisfactory performance. They are expected to perform explicit tasks consistently (i.e. work between fixed hours during a set number of days; perform specified tasks).

Volunteers donate their time to the organisation. They are not directly accountable in that they do not forfeit money or employment if they perform poorly; for this reason, they are not expected to obey the organisational hierarchy in the same way as paid staff (e.g. arrive or leave at a particular time, work for a particular number of hours, or do tasks dictated by a "boss").

Clients are participants in the organisation who are neither paid nor expected to contribute their labour to the organisation. They are recipients of care in that they are not expected to take responsibility or perform tasks.

There are two grey areas:

"Professional volunteers" have been described above. Technically they are volunteers but they behave like employees and are treated that way. Often they are paid honoraria below the "going rate", and they may participate in policy making to the same extent as paid staff. They may also be recruited for particular skills which under other circumstances they would charge for (e.g., a physiotherapist who donates a limited physiotherapy service).

"Client volunteers" and "Volunteer clients" are on the boundary between volunteers and clients. These are the "extra" volunteers who have all the attributes of clients but classify themselves as volunteers. The category also includes those people who have all the attributes of volunteers but see themselves as clients. A case in point was in Case 5: certain group members undertook tasks such as issuing bus passes or serving meals, but did not see this as voluntary activity.

The "grey area" between clients and volunteers becomes particularly problematic when volunteers take on the attributes of the clientele but will not give up the volunteer role. An example of this was found in Case 3 when volunteers became too physically frail to get to the club on their own and began to use the transportation. In Case 6, the centre manager described similar issues with some of the volunteers.

The theme of blurred boundaries and ambiguous statuses will recur in the descriptions of volunteers, staff, and clientele which follow. Methodological issues aside, it is important to note here that such ambiguity may be considered a distinctive characteristic of associations, and by extension, the voluntary sector (Billis, 1989), with practical implications which will become apparent as the findings are discussed (Harris, 1995).

We now turn to an in-depth description of the people in the organisations. We begin by describing the clients who used the service, and the ways in which the clientele had changed.

Changing Clients:

One change which was cited by respondents in almost all the cases was the changing nature of the clientele. As we have seen, all the clubs and day centres (except for the exclusive groups) had begun with universal provision to all people over 65 in mind. Across the organisations the consensus of opinion was that the people who attended the programmes were more disabled than in the past. This can be seen in the clientele of all the clubs: older people (age 75 and above) predominated, as did women, and married couples were a minority. With one possible exception, none of the organisations had originally catered to incontinent people, and none had provided intimate personal care when the day care service was initiated. Organisations reported that they were caring for more wheelchair-bound clients than in the past, and the continence was becoming an increasing problem among their clients.

...you're coming to a point where a lot of the people from the early days are getting

very old and require a much more care than previously. (Chairman, Case 5)

I think that in one sense the most important thing is that people are getting older. (Chairman, Case 1)

It should be noted that none of the organisations kept individual records about their clients. In London borough A, the local authority began requiring aggregate documentation of the level of disability in groups under its jurisdiction the year before the study began; but in London Borough B, no such documentation was required and therefore none was kept by the organisations. Documenting the changes was therefore difficult.

Documentation of disability was available for five of the groups in LBA. Except for Case 4, all reported that more than half their clients were of "medium to high" dependency: in Case 3, 50% of clients were so classified; in Case 5, 84% were medium to highly dependent; in Case 6, 90% of clients scored in the medium to high dependency range. Case 2 was created specifically for highly dependent people and reported 100% of its clients being at least moderately disabled.

The number of people requiring transportation to the centre or club is a useful measure of disability, used by day centre personnel to make the distinction between relatively independent clients and frailer individuals (Rickford, 1993[3]). This service was used by the frailest clients, i.e. those unable to manage the physical demands required to attend the centre or club "under their own steam".

Clients were asked how they got to the facility and what abilities were required. According to clients at a number of agencies (Case 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11), independent attendance required the physical ability to:

-- get out of bed independently (transfer)

-- wash and dress independently

-- walk on pavement to the bus stop (distances varied)

-- stand while waiting for the bus; this could take up to half an hour

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[3]For a discussion of measures of disability and screening instruments, see Kane and Kane (1981) Ch. 2. People are generally considered somewhat disabled if they are unable to carry out one or several Instrumental Activities of Daily Living (IADLs): cooking, cleaning, using the telephone, shopping, laundry, managing money, using public transportation. People who are unable to carry out one or more Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) -- bathing/washing, dressing, eating, continence -- are generally considered to be very disabled.

-- negotiate steep steps

-- balance while standing in a moving vehicle

-- see well enough to identify the correct stop

-- negotiate obstacles such as hills and broken paving stones.

Clients also required the mental ability to find their own way to the centre or club and to remember to lock their front doors.

Those who fell below this level of physical and mental ability required transportation, provided by all but three organisations. This required the physical ability to:

-- get out of bed independently

-- wash and dress independently

-- negotiate stairs or ramp to the transport (alone or with assistance)

-- get into the transport (with assistance)

-- exit the transport (with assistance)

Clients also required the mental ability to arrange for the transportation either the day before or that morning and to remember to wait for the transport. Those unable to accomplish these tasks were usually considered to be completely unsuitable for the programmes. The exception was Case 2, which provided service to mentally frail elderly people; in this case, the arrangements were usually made by people other than the clients themselves.

Eight of the groups (all but one of those providing transportation) reported increasing numbers of people using the transportation; in all the cases where transportation was provided, the reason given was the frailty of the clientele.

The increasing frailty of the clients and the corresponding changes in the role of the service in their lives had considerable implications for the service and for the organisations providing it. These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11. It is sufficient to note here that innovations such as the use of transportation (to bring and return people who were too frail to manage all the tasks listed above), increased hours, and addition of more days of service were attributed directly to the increasing frailty of the clients. As we will see in the next sections, the transition towards greater use of paid members of staff (rather than volunteers), particularly care staff, was similarly attributed to the greater numbers of people who required more "professional" care. We therefore turn to the deployment of personnel in the agencies: volunteers and paid staff.

Deployment of Human Resources:

Table 9 summarises the staffing of the organisations in the study. Because of the informal nature of the volunteer commitment, none of the organisations could supply more than an unreliable estimate of the number of volunteers they had at the time of the study, and this number changed frequently. The number of staff cited in the table includes part-time as well as full time staff members:

Table 9: Staffing

Case	Paid Staff?	Number of Staff*	Volunteers?
1	N	--	Y
2	Y	2	Y
3	Y	1	Y
4	N	--	Y
5	Y	4	N
6	Y	5	Y
7	Y	1	Y
8	N	__	Y
9	Y	2	N
10	Y	5	N
11	Y	17	N
12	N	__	Y

* Includes part-time and hourly staff.
Note: the number of volunteers in each organisation could not be determined.

Only two groups had never used volunteers at all (Cases 11, and 5). In Case 5, group members had always helped themselves, and the distinction between "volunteers" and clients was not relevant to the organisation.

The other programmes in study had all begun with volunteer labour. At the time of the study, four were using volunteers exclusively to deliver the service (Cases 1, 4, 8, and 12), and four more used volunteers in conjunction with paid staff (Cases 2, 3, 6, and 9). Four

organisations used paid staff exclusively (Cases 5, 7, 10, and 11).

Three organisations (Cases 5, 10 and 11) had used paid staff to run the programme from the beginning. Three more organisations began using paid staff within the first two years of operation (Cases 2, 6, and 7). At the time of the study, four organisations were using no paid staff whatsoever (Cases 1, 4, 8, and 12). In Case 9, paid staff had been employed more than two years after the programme had started, but before the study commenced. It should be noted that all the day centres used paid staff (Cases 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11), as did two of the luncheon clubs (Cases 3 and 7).

The next sections will explore the roles of the volunteers and paid staff. It was previously noted that there was considerable overlap between the two statuses. The next section reports participants' perceptions of the volunteer role, beginning with the issue of payment. The section then examines the level of commitment which participants agreed was appropriate for volunteers, and the types of tasks they might expect and be expected to perform. These issues had administrative implications for the organisations, which are also described.

Volunteers:

As was noted in Chapter 2 (The Voluntary Sector) and earlier in this chapter, one of the distinctive features of "the voluntary sector" is, of course, the involvement of volunteers, either in the management of the agency or in the day-to-day tasks required to provide the services offered by it (Salamon and Anheier, 1981; Rudney, 1987). The attributes of management committees and their membership were discussed in Chapter 8. We therefore turn to a discussion of the volunteers involved in service provision. As we noted before, the definition of a volunteer has been a difficult problem in the literature (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996; Van Til, 1988; Smith, 1981). Rudney (1987) notes the "overlap" between volunteers and paid staff, mostly in terms of businesses "donating" the services of their employees during work time and employees of voluntary organisations donating additional time to their own or other organisations. While these phenomena were not observed in the current study, the issue of payment did make differentiation between "paid staff" and "volunteers" somewhat complicated.

Many of the volunteers in this study were paid. Payment ranged from free lunch (Case 8), to expenses (Case 2, 4), to a small honorarium (Case 1 and the drivers in Case 5), to a large honorarium (Case 3). Those volunteers who did not receive payment were proud of

the fact:

> Never had any money paid. (Volunteer, Case 3)

> So since I've been doing it, although I said I didn't want to be paid, [the organiser] said, yes, be paid because we have the money. (Volunteer, Case 1, emphasis mine)

The underlying assumption was that volunteers were there because they wanted to be, rather than because they were paid to be.

The stipends were usually initiated by the local council:

> And the council said to the secretary, don't mind what you do with the money, it's your money, it's there for your lunch club, we don't mind what you do with it. (Volunteer, Case 1)

The use of volunteers to provide service has a number of implications for the organisations. One is the basic "untidiness" of the voluntary nature of the job. Unlike paid staff, volunteers can decide to leave at any time, either temporarily or permanently. In a sense, the organisation is dependent on the volunteer's continued good will:

> "... when it's somebody who's just giving their services, you have to be careful...Because if somebody doesn't like it [criticism - MCP] they'll say, well, I won't come anymore" (Volunteer, Case 1).

A related issue was the extent to which volunteers wished to commit themselves. Although in several cases (2, 3, and 6) respondents denied that there was a distinction between "volunteers' jobs" and "staff jobs", in fact there were differences in role and degree of commitment. In virtually all the cases where staff were employed, paid staff were expected to do the "nasty" jobs (Cases 2, 6). Many volunteers were unwilling to commit themselves beyond certain limits. As one respondent put it, "...we're only running a lunch club, we're not really social workers" (Case 1). Volunteers expected and were expected to serve meals, befriend individuals, do light clearing up and administrative tasks, and on occasion to lead activities such as bingo; but personal care and cooking were seen as the domain of paid staff.

This raises issues of continuity and quality of care when dealing with a vulnerable group of clients. One case in point was the Saturday service provided in Case 6, which relies

heavily on volunteers. An insufficient number of volunteers on any particular Saturday may mean that the number of clients will have to be limited that day, or else that the centre may provide a service that is below the safety and quality standards that the organisation would like. As the Chairman put it,

> There are limitations in our heavy dependency on volunteers which we have to recognise all the time. That is, unlike paid staff members we cannot have the same kind of expectations of volunteers. Although they are very loyal and committed. They are always reserved the freedom really to ring us up in the morning and say, "sorry, I won't be in today". Or I won't be in for the next three weeks, you see, because I'm off... (Chairman, Case 6)

These issues were not unique to the services in this study. The "untidiness" noted by the centre manager in Case 6 was also described by Harris (1995), who provides similar anecdotes about the inability of small associations to "control" either the level of the volunteers' commitment or the quality of their work, despite its serious implications for the agency if volunteers fail. Milofsky (1988) makes similar observations. The non-coercive nature of volunteering meant that volunteers in this study chose their hours and their tasks, and to an extent, the service had to revolve around their needs rather than the other way around. The description of task allocation in Chapter 7, by a Case 3 volunteer, illustrates this point: people were generally given what they wanted to do, when they wanted to do it. Similar findings led Thornton (1991) to predict "the demise of the volunteer" (p.193) when organisations dependent on this type of labour enter into contracts specifying continuity and quality of care.

This consensus about the limited nature of volunteer commitment and its lack of reliability contradicts field observations noted earlier, of volunteers who provided a reliable and consistent service. This contradiction can be resolved if volunteering in this study is treated as a continuum (Cnaan, et al 1996), with the "professional" volunteers at one end, and "client volunteers" at the other (see Diagram 1).

Volunteers were divided by one manager (Case 2) into two categories which are rather similar to Pearce's (1993) distinction between "core" and "periphery" volunteers:

Some volunteers were capable of delivering "excellent" service with minimal supervision. These were often difficult to tell from the paid staff:

> In some areas you won't know the difference. We have some volunteers who

are giving 3-4 days a week. So it's very hard to distinguish, apart from the fact that one is paid and one isn't. (Chairman, Case 6)

Examples of these were to be found in several groups (Case 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9):

In Case 6, these were the people in charge of collecting and processing statistical data for the organisation, those who do the book keeping, the befriending, the gardening, the driving, and many other jobs. In Case 9, there was "The Volunteer" whose tasks included opening the gate, lighting the oven, setting up the knives and forks, putting the urn on, setting out the tea cups, laying the tables, putting out sugar for the tea, shopping for ingredients at the local market/supermarket, collecting dinner money, moving tables, clearing up, running the coffee mornings, serving afternoon tea and biscuits, and running errands and odd jobs. In Cases 1, 4, and 8, the volunteer organisers performed all the relevant tasks from administration to serving the meals (and, in Case 4, cooking them as well, and looking after the premises).

Other volunteers were classified by a respondent in Case 2 as "extra" volunteers. For them, volunteering was a form of rehabilitation, or at least a means of preserving their own social skills. The centre manager of Case 6 commented that

...one goal of managing volunteers is rehabilitation of these volunteers.

Such volunteers must be carefully managed to avoid their needs taking priority over the needs of the clients. Again, a number of examples were given by various respondents: the gentleman whose wife forbade him to watch television during the day and who therefore volunteered in order to watch sporting events on the centre's set (Case 2); the well-meaning woman who insisted on treating diabetic clients to cream cakes (Case 6); the volunteer who lined up centre members "like nursery children" to take their coats off (many were quite capable of doing this for themselves) (Case 10).

Sometimes the use of the term "volunteer" was a face-saving exercise: very disabled people who might have qualified for the service but who did not wish to recognise their own disability used the "volunteer" status as an excuse to use the service themselves: a volunteer was assigned to help a physically disabled client to play bingo played for herself (she won) (Case 10). A well-meaning new "volunteer" was observed in Case 1 to be incapable of setting the table when implements were given to her, and required intensive supervision in order to complete any task she was given.

A variation on this "client-volunteer" could be found in Cases 5 and 7. In these organisations, members of the client group themselves took on certain responsibilities. In Case 5, one particular member served as a "public relations" liaison with newcomers, took the lunch money, and directed the serving of meals by other group members. In Case 7, various group members had tasks which they performed such as serving tea or calling bingo; these tasks were considered the special domain of the person performing them, and "you do not step on their toes" (group member, Case 7). It should be noted that these people did not see themselves as volunteers but as group members.

Overlapping Roles: Volunteers and Paid Staff

As was noted in the previous section, the boundaries between volunteers and paid members of staff are often blurred. This was particularly evident in two agencies in the study (Cases 2 and 3). In these agencies a number of individuals bridged the gap between being a "professional volunteer" and a paid staff member. The most obvious example was the cook in Case 3, who saw herself as a volunteer. She was seen as such by the other volunteers and by the staff of the parent organisation:

> "...we do not see [the cook] as a paid person. I mean, if we had seen her as a paid person, we would have actually advertised a job and produced a job contract and all sorts of things that go along with it. And we saw her as a volunteer who was being reimbursed with a set amount of money, her expenses, and also a gratuity. You know, it's not paid work in the same way as we've got the secretary, we've got the handyman..." (Organiser, Case 3)

On the other hand, the cook was recruited specifically for her expertise and experience. It was made clear by the centre coordinator, the volunteers, and the clientele that the recruitment of this particular person using professional skills has made a tremendous impact on the organisation of the luncheon club. As one volunteer put it, "...if she had to leave, for any reason, we'd never get anybody else to do it. Not what [the cook] does". The payment of an honorarium made it possible for the cook to fulfil this function in the organisation, particularly at first when it was used to pay a childminder's fees. As a professional who is using professional skills and being paid a reimbursement/honorarium/fee, the cook could be seen as a "paid staff member". This is the position taken by the Inland Revenue, which sees the honorarium as taxable income.

Similar issues were raised in Case 2 by the use of nuns as staff members. The nuns chosen for this duty all had professional training and were accountable to a church hierarchy (as well as to the day centre). Although they were not paid for their work, they acted like "paid professionals"; one could argue that their work was "socially required" because nuns are expected to do community service. Nor were they "giving up their time", as they had been posted by their order to perform precisely this role.

In Case 3, the gap between professional staff and volunteer was blurred by the organisation's expectations and payment of its "volunteer". In Case 2, the only difference between the nuns and the paid staff members was payment: tasks and expectations were identical.

Harris (1995) noted that the overlap between employees and volunteers who were often performing the same tasks generated hostility within the organisations. She cites concern by members of religious associations that they might be "disempowered" by professionals. This was not evident in this study; volunteers did not express these sentiments to the researcher either in interviews or during the observed sessions, and only one respondent actually addressed the issue.

Lenn (1982) noted some ambivalence by paid professionals (particularly social workers) towards "para-professional" volunteers who may be seen as encroaching on their "turf". Again, this was not observed in this study. Paid staff members were quick to acknowledge that

> We couldn't manage without volunteers (Paid Organiser, Case 6).

> We couldn't do without them... (Day Care Manager, Case 2)

This was not to say that the potential for conflict did not exist at all in some of the agencies, only that it was not obvious. One manager summarised it thus:

> The paid staff tend to be critical and envious I suppose of the fact that if a volunteer decides that she would rather go to Harrods than come and do what she's doing, that she rings in and says, tough, I'm not coming, my grandchildren are down and whatever. And the volunteers are always critical of the paid staff because they tend to want to call the tune. Irrespective of their rank, if you like. They always think that they are set above the volunteers. Irrespective of length of time that they've actually been on the premises. So both sides have got this kind of negative attitude on the other side. And that

always comes down to the individual personalities. (Day Care Manager, Case 2).

There are a number of reasons why this type of mutual "negative attitude" was not often observed among the staff and volunteers interviewed for this study. Of the twelve groups, only in four were paid staff and volunteers actually working side by side, and therefore few people were actually affected. The most negative perceptions of volunteers came from staff in a day centre which was not actually using volunteers at the time. In a second centre, the chief executive made derogatory comments about volunteers' "delving into people's backgrounds", but this did not appear to be based on experience in that day centre (Case 11). In other staff-led agencies, the issue simply did not arise.

In the volunteer-led clubs and centres, the issue of paid staff did not arise because there were none. Volunteers in agencies where paid staff were used tended to view the staff as taking on responsibilities that the volunteers did not want; for example, the organiser of Case 8 was happy to make use of the facilities of the agency receptionist rather than answer the telephone. In Case 3, the volunteers were happy for the cook to receive her stipend because "well, she does everything, doesn't she?". Similarly, in Case 4, the agency had recently applied for a grant so that the honorary secretary would be paid a salary. This was seen as his due, given the extent of his commitment.

As we have seen, the role of "volunteer" spanned a continuum from quasi-client to para-professional. This ambiguity had a number of implications for the organisations in the study. On an operational level, the donation of labour could be withdrawn at any time, for any reason, posing issues of service reliability. Volunteers could not be sanctioned for poor performance (although, in practice, those providing poor service were usually given the less demanding tasks), leading in some cases to questions about service quality. The ambiguous status of volunteers also led in some cases to latent conflict between volunteers and "professional" staff on hierarchies ("they always think they are set above the volunteers"), as well as boundary disputes about who was responsible for which tasks.

These relationships were taking place within the context of increasing use of paid staff in these organisations. The next section therefore explores the third dimension of client-volunteer-staff relationships: paid or "professional" employees.

Paid Staff:

The discussion of volunteer roles in the last section highlighted a number of attributes which raised operational issues for organisations dependent on volunteer labour. Among these were reliability, and in some cases, quality. It was to secure these elements of the service that organisations often turned to paid staff.

Several main reasons were given for employment of staff. They were seen as accountable, responsible, and professional:

> You need professionally competent people who are paid to manage the voluntary sector run service. (Case 6)

> You cannot give service to [clients] just with volunteers. You need a core of paid staff to give stability. (Case 2)

> To provide a service which is a high quality you need staff; to do it voluntary [sic] is not reliable because something can always come up. Of course you can't do away with volunteers entirely, but in key jobs you need someone with training and you have to pay for this. (Case 9).

> We should do it more professional. It was being run in an amateurish way. We wanted something that was not makeshift. (Case 9).

Unlike volunteers, paid staff can be dismissed for inappropriate conduct or poor job performance. Staff can be required to work certain hours or do certain jobs:

> Once we're actually paid to do what we do we have to sort of grin and bear it, and heave later. (Staff member, Case 2).

These were all seen as positive reasons for employing staff. Because of these attributed qualities, staff were seen as a supplement or a substitute for volunteers. A dearth of "suitable" volunteers was cited as a reason to hire workers (Case 7, 10, 11). Particularly in London Borough B, respondents cited health and safety regulations (Case 7 and 9) as requiring qualified personnel to handle food, effectively barring volunteers from the kitchens. Difficulties in insuring volunteers were also cited (Case 11).

Another motivation in hiring staff was legitimacy. This was cited in Case 2 in particular. As one respondent put it:

> paid workers like to respond to other paid workers (Chair, Case 2)

This organisation found that paid staff were a necessary means of gaining entry into professional networks, thereby securing client referrals and additional funding.

Employing staff had a number of other implications for the organisations, however. The first was expense. Several organisations (Case 1, 4, 12, and possibly 3) could not afford the cost of a paid worker. In addition, the employment of staff is both a financial and moral commitment to the continuity of a service: volunteers can be told to go home or referred to another agency, but a staff member must be made redundant, something many organisations may be reluctant to do because it is unpleasant.

A third issue was that of the impact of paid staff of the "social" or self-help culture of the organisations. In the previous section we described the issues raised by a number of authors (Lenn, 1982; Naylor, 1983) regarding the ambivalence of volunteers towards paid professionals. But these authors did not address the issue of client responses to the use of paid members of staff. In Case 5, where the proposal for employment of a careworker was controversial among the clients and management committee because it symbolised a change from the self-help ethic of the social club to the dependency ethic of a day centre. It was opposed by clients who were unwilling to acknowledge their and their colleagues' increasing disability. They claimed that such a person was unnecessary because group members were capable of helping each other out.

The limitations of this assumption became apparent when the club was closed for a month the summer before the study began. The reason given by staff, management committee members, and clients, was lack of staff cover. The administrative staff had all taken either sick leave or holiday during the same four week period. The management committee took the decision to close the facility altogether rather than risk remaining open without paid staff. It became clear to the trustees and to the clients that although the clients were able to run their own activities, paid staff had not only been doing the administrative tasks (supervising the transportation, organising funding, paperwork) but had also been assisting clients who had difficulty with personal care tasks. This had placed increasing strain the staff members (hence the sick leave) and, in their absence, clients were unable or unwilling to perform these tasks themselves, as were the trustees.

When provision resumed, a care worker was hired and two more were proposed. Respondents interviewed during the study accepted the necessity of a paid careworker but were concerned that control of the group and its activities would be taken away from the

clients and given to the paid professionals.

Although Katz (1967) sees the use of paid professionals as an inevitable (if controversial) stage in the development of associations, this case study illustrates some of the problems involved. As Harris (1995) has pointed out, the initiation of payment for service is experienced as a significant qualitative organisational change. In this case, the agency was being transformed from a self-help, membership association into something else. In the process, those who were meant to be helped most by the changes felt that they had been disempowered by them.

This section has explored the implications for the organisations of employment of "professional" staff to carry out administrative and/or support tasks. Although some organisations (particularly in London Borough B) had employed staff from the outset, for others the hiring of an employee or the expansion of staff was experienced as a significant organisational change. Employees were generally hired in the expectation that they might make up for the perceived deficiencies of volunteers: reliability and quality of service. But this change occurred in the context of an increasingly frail clientele and a re-examination (noted in Chapter 6) of organisational goals and missions.

Perceptions of the paid staff by managers and trustees are examined in the next section because they are part of an analysis of the roles of these personnel. But they also reveal something more fundamental about the workings of the organisations themselves. It could be argued that the shift from volunteers to paid staff members is symptomatic of an underlying shift in the orientation of these organisations. The implications of this shift will be explored in greater detail in the final chapter of the study.

"The Management of Ambiguity"[4]

The previous section explored the reasons respondents gave for hiring paid workers. These reasons were based on a number of assumptions about, and expectations of, paid workers. This section will explore in greater depth the implications of assumptions made about paid staff by trustees and executive officers who were in the position of managing paid staff members. The assumptions made by these individuals, whether they were paid executive officers or unpaid trustees, influenced the atmosphere and culture prevailing in the

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[4]Billis, 1989.

organisations. Harris (1994) has noted the conflicts that can arise when paid staff members and the trustees of associations have differing perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. Although the idea of staff being "out of control" was not found in this study, other management issues did arise.

Billis' model of the voluntary sector (1989) sees voluntary associations as straddling two organisational "worlds". Voluntary organisations fill the space between the bureaucratic world (public agencies and private enterprise) and the personal world of relationships. He notes that

> These agencies contained the structural properties of the adjacent....bureaucracies and those of the associational worlds. (1992, p.9).

The "structural properties" to which Billis refers are the ambiguous statuses of organisation personnel, which were explored in this chapter in depth. As we have seen here, the advent of paid staff have raised issues of hierarchy (who is in charge?) and mission (the self-help/service dilemma discussed in the previous section).

This "blurring" of the bureaucratic and the personal was referred to in Chapter 2, where a distinction was drawn between bureaucracies and "pure" associations, and the attributes of both were listed. This distinction is critical to the analysis which follows. The expectations managers had of their staffs (paid or unpaid) were derived from their models of the way the organisations should be run.

There were two general ways of looking at organisations: managers either saw their organisations as machines ("a business") in which individual idiosyncracies were "harmonised" into a greater, bureaucractic whole, or as "families", groups of relationships around which the "business" and structure of the organisation revolved[5].

Managers who subscribed to the first model (most noteably in Cases 11 and 5) saw their employees as vehicles for the execution of particular tasks. Employees were expected to perform prescribed tasks well. These managers generally had a utilitarian view of their employees:

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[5]For a discussion of the importance of metaphors in organisational analysis, see Morgan, 1986.

This place is run along military lines. People are given a job to do and then expected to solve it. I encourage people to use their initiative, within guidelines.... The only way to keep staff happy is to use the paternal approach.... (Chief Executive Officer, Case 11)

You pay people now to do the work that is required (Chairman, Case 5)

"The work that is required" was defined in instrumental terms:

The prime responsibility of the staff is not to run the club as such, it's their responsibility to run the resource of the kitchen... but they're not there to play bingo and that sort of thing. (Chairman, Case 5)

This is very similar to Burns and Stalker's (1961) "mechanistic" firms.[6]

Managers who subscribed to the second model tended to see their employees as resources to be trained or "improved" in some way. There was less emphasis on performance of prescribed tasks by prescribed individuals (although "getting the job done" was no less important) and more on exploiting individual talents. Employees were seen as partners in the enterprise:

I think I see my job really as, primarily and fundamentally it would be to be the enabler, to facilitate the staff to get on with the job they're doing.... There are tremendous feelings of guilt that staff have [about referring clients on when they are too frail for the service]. So trying to pick up on that level area and provide support which sometime I am able to do... (Chairman, Case 6)

I wanted to offer them [staff] something more interesting, to lift them up...at the end of the day, they spend more time with these people [clients] than I do; they are in a position to observe the people more closely than most of us at the centre. (Centre Organiser, Case 10)

An experience from Case 5 illustrates the importance of these management "world views" to the running of the organisations. A degree of conflict was reported by various respondents between the chairman of the management committee and others in the organisation. This individual was seen to be "autocratic". One respondent, a staff member, related an incident she felt showed the extent of the "problem":

On Christmas Eve, a longstanding client who had been helping to put up

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[6] "They cannot....bring themselves to trust subordinates to be occupied with matters directly related to their jobs when they are not demonstrably and physically 'on the job'" (Burns and Stalker, 1961, p.x)

decorations at the centre suffered a fatal heart attack in the parking lot after leaving the centre. He was discovered by the staff member, who called an ambulance and attempted to resuscitate him, to no avail. Following the incident, the staff member returned to her office and wept. The chairman arrived shortly afterwards. According to the staff member, the chairman was unable to understand why the staff member was so upset, and why the decorating had not been finished in time for the party that afternoon.

The chairman saw the work of the organisation in terms of specific tasks to be completed:

> ...we're now engaging people who have been referred to as "careworkers". Their primary job of course is to help these people in every possible way, taking them to the loo, bringing their drawers up, everything that is necessary for people that are only half in this world sort of, encourage them to concentrate a bit, that sort of thing...

> ...the drivers are paid to pick up people and take them...

> ...we're paying you to do the work that we want you to do...

Employees were judged by their ability to carry out specific tasks.

When this approach was a applied to the day centre, it conflicted with the assumptions made by the staff and clients. Day centre work in the organisation was based less on tasks than on relationships. Clients judged staff members by how "nice" they were. One longstanding member said that his decision to come back to the club was based on the way he was treated when he first arrived: although lunch had already been served, the cook offered to cook him a special meal. Another client commented that

> speaking personally, I regard them as friends. We are on a first name basis.

The new careworker was described as

> She's very good. She's very understanding, very kind, and very helpful.

Clients often asked staff about their families and shared vicariously in various life events. The manager described how, when her father was ill, clients expressed concern; when he died, clients offered sympathy and appeared to relate her loss to those they had themselves suffered in the past.

The day centre staff member had had a longstanding relationship with the deceased individual. This client and the others at the centre were seen as friends, acquaintances, colleagues rather than as customers or "cases". The death of a client was an important event, as it marked the end of a relationship. Grieving for this loss was seen as a natural and healthy

Nonetheless, the chairwoman of the organisation expressed concern that her employees were isolated from their colleagues because they worked in such a small organisation. In reviewing a draft report on the organisation, she took great exception to the comment of a trustee who saw the role of the paid employee as follows:

> Well, problems come up 24 hours a day, so we need somebody who is available all the time.

The chairwoman's response was to point out that the trustee had confused two roles; the chairwoman felt that it was her responsibility to be available on a 24 hour basis, rather than the employee's.

As we have seen in this section, the underlying assumptions about the roles of paid staff and the management styles used in various organisations by those supervising them (usually, but not always, management committees) are of considerable relevance: the issues generated by these management styles may be quite contentious (Harris, 1994). These issues may come to the fore when organisations find it necessary to hire staff or to increase the number of paid staff on the organisations' payroll. This is particularly the case when, as we saw in the previous section, the lines of demarcation between (and therefore the expectations of) paid staff and volunteers become increasingly blurred.

The "ambiguous" statuses of clients, volunteers, and (paid) staff reflects ambiguity in the organisations themselves. These agencies found themselves poised between the informal, associational world in which process was as important as outcome, and the bureaucratic, formal world in which outcomes are used as measures of success.

Summary:

The most significant changes to occur in the organisations studied here was the increasing frailty of the clientele, and the transition by many groups from reliance on volunteers to employment of staff. These changes were ranked by respondents as the most important issues to affect their organisations since the day centres or clubs were founded.

Although there was little physical documentation, respondents in eight of the organisations reported that their clients were becoming more disabled, either because existing clients were remaining with the agencies after the onset of disability, or because more disabled people were being referred to the agencies. In response, organisations often

reaction by clients and other staff. It was expected that events external to the day centre (such as bereavements or other stresses) would affect the performance of the individual and were therefore the business of the organisation. Therefore, clients and staff expected to share personal losses, as they expected to celebrate happy occasions such as births, birthdays, weddings, and anniversaries. These events were the essence of the business of the day centre[7].

Similar, but more covert and less dramatic conflict was found in Case 11, where the chief executive officer saw himself as running a "crack fighting unit". He "ran a tight ship", to the extent of reading all incoming post (whether addressed to him or not). Staff were expected to carry out assigned tasks regardless of the level of support available: the centre manager had no secretary and was expected to carry out those tasks herself in addition to her administrative and managerial roles. Contract cleaners had been employed as a means of reducing costs: but the centre manager reported that she spent a considerable amount of time complaining to the various companies over poor performance and interviewing replacement contractors. Despite generous terms of employment, staff were seen as a commodity to be used as needed and replaced as necessary.

Case 2 illustrates the way the second approach was put into practice. The complex structure of this organisation was explored in Chapter 7. The separate agendas of two different organisations led to a structure that at first glance appears quite unwieldy. Authority structures were unclear, with personnel supervising collegues over whom they may technically have no power whatsoever (the centre manager could not select or fire her deputy, for example). This organisation ran entirely on the force of the relationships between the personalities involved. Tasks were allocated by consensus, negotiation, personal preference, and sometimes implicit assumptions by both sides on a day to day or week to week basis.

The assumption that all personnel are professional partners to be respected and used accordingly was reflected in the organisation's decision to make professional training available to everyone (including volunteers). Training was provided by the national organisation to which Case 2 is affiliated. Staff members were also encouraged to attend conferences.

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[7]Pahl (1989) refers to this as the "social club" metaphor (p.9)

extended their hours and offered additional services such as transportation.

A related, and very significant change found in the organisations was the increased use of paid members of staff. Although many of the organisations had started as all-volunteer services, by the time of the study eight of the twelve agencies employed staff in some capacity. A ninth club (Case 8) relied on the receptionist from a sponsoring organisation, although the club itself did not use paid staff, and a tenth club (Case 4) had applied for a salary to be paid to its organiser (subsequently granted).

These changes took place in the context of the ambiguous statuses of the personnel of the organisations. The term "volunteer" spanned a continuum from quasi-client to para-professional. This lack of consensus about status led to a number of conflicts between volunteers and paid staff. Organisations which relied on volunteers also commented on the "untidiness" of the arrangements, which had implications for the continuity and sometimes the quality of the service.

The changes described in this chapter are important not only in themselves as examples of organisational change. The ambiguity of status among the personnel of the organisations reflects their own ambiguity as they straddle the bureaucratic and informal worlds (Billis, 1992).

This and the previous four chapters each described one key aspect of the organisations in the study: their goals, structures, governance, external relationships and funding, and the people involved in the day centres or luncheon clubs. The next chapter will bring the various elements together to construct a model of organisational change taking place in participating agencies. It will then attempt to explain the processes which were observed in this and the previous chapters.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: DISCUSSION

The previous chapters have examined the main organisational variables in depth. Chapter Five provided the context of the study and described the organisations by giving short histories and comparing them by age, size, and activities. Chapter Six described the goals of the organisations, and placed the decision to provide a day care service in the context of the assumptions organisations made about themselves, the intended and actual clientele, and the service itself. Chapter Seven described the structures of the organisations. Chapter Eight described the governance of the organisations: the trustees and boards of management and their functions. Chapter Nine explored the issue of funding and external relationships with other organisations, funders, and statutory bodies. Chapter Ten described the people within the organisations: the clients, the volunteers, and the paid staff members.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw these aspects of the organisations together, to summarise the main findings, and to discuss the main themes emerging from them. The chapter will begin by describing which of the variables explored in previous chapters changed over time and which did not. It will then discuss the relationships between the variables and present a model of the changes which took place within the organisations. The chapter will then discuss why some organisations changed in the ways described and some did not.

The Main Findings:

Resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Aldrich, 1979) and population ecology (Freeman and Hannan, 1983) theories suggest that, when the operating environment of an organisation changes, the organisation responds by adapting itself to the demands of its new environment. The shift in the role of the State from direct provision to "enabling", and the attendant shift in the role of the voluntary sector from supplementary to primary provision was therefore expected to have profound implications for service providing voluntary organisations. As the resource environment changed to reflect new political priorities, it was expected that voluntary organisations would adapt their activities and missions accordingly, a phenomenon called "vendorism" by Kramer (1989b).

Small voluntary organisations providing day care services to elderly people were chosen with policy priorities in mind. Day care services (centres and clubs) are a form of community based care, and a traditional "voluntary sector" service. Elderly people were given high priority

by welfare legislation such as the NHS and Community Care Act 1990 (which, as we saw in Chapter 2, was partly prompted by the spectre of the "ageing society"). As local authorities (the major funders of local voluntary agencies) redeployed their resources in order to implement Care in the Community, local voluntary agencies were expected to feel increasing pressure to change their activities and missions to better fit local authority priorities.

Although the NHS and Community Care Act 1990 had not been fully implemented at the time of the study, it was expected that the change in emphasis from institutional care to community based care, the move towards increasing the role of the voluntary sector in service provision, and especially, the changes in funding mechanisms from grant to contract would have an impact on local voluntary agencies. Changes were expected particularly in goals, structures, and personnel as organisations responded to contract requirements of funding bodies. Radical changes within the organisations were anticipated.

Six organisational variables were examined: activities/extent of provision, goals, structure, governance, funding/external relationships, and personnel. These were described in detail in Chapters Five through Ten, but the main points can be summarised as follows:

Extent of Provision: Many of the day centres and luncheon clubs were extending the number of days and number of hours per day they operated. The service had generally started as a once-a-week lunch; by the time of the study, all but one of the luncheon clubs were operating two or more days per week, and all but one offered social activities in addition to the lunch. The line between luncheon clubs and day centres had become increasingly blurred: in some cases, the "club" was almost indistinguishable from the "day centre" operated by another agency. Organisations were beginning to offer transportation and to cook meals on the premises. Self-led activities were giving way to professionally led classes and events. Agencies were also beginning to offer personal care services such as chiropody, bathing, and (at minimum) assistance in using the lavatory.

Goals: For the most part, written statements of purpose had not been amended since the service began. Most of the clubs and centres had been started as social and recreational activities, and the written material available reflected this. However, respondents noted that the original goals of socialisation and alleviation of loneliness were being superseded by the need to provide care.

Structure: The organisations had generally adopted simple, linear structures. Distribution of tasks was usually informal, with one "organiser" supervising volunteers and staff

and reporting to the trustees. Complexity in the organisations evolved as a means of resisting external control in a partnership (Case 2), settling internal disputes (Case 5), or empowering diverse types of members/clients and involving them in all aspects of the organisation (Case 7). Job descriptions were generally tailored to the interests of the incumbents and changed with staff/volunteer turnover; but some agencies had replaced "coordinators" with "managers". The introduction of paid staff often involved some formalisation as these required a formal recruitment process, job description, and contract of employment.

Governance: The compositions of the management committees had changed little if at all. The study found that despite some complaints about the scarcity of "suitable" trustees, most boards of management were homogeneous, with trustees being recruited from a single source. The lack of involvement by some trustees and boards of management in the daily running of the organisations (and the open conflict between the trustees and clients in one organisation) raised issues of accountability.

Funding and External Relations: The transition from grant to contract had not been implemented in either borough at the time of the study, although this was of some concern to a number of respondents. As expected, most (nine of twelve) of the organisations were dependent on local authority funds for half or more of their total budgets. Alternative sources of income were used to fill gaps. Small rises in funding had been offset by increasing costs: the surpluses or (more commonly) deficits shown by the organisations were very small. Contrary to expectations, there did not appear to be dramatic rises or falls in funding over the three years of the study, and agencies did not report significant changes in funding sources.

People: The most significant change reported by agencies in the study was the increasing frailty of the clientele. According to respondents, most of the other changes in activites, goals, and personnel could be ascribed to the changing demands of people as they grew older and (in aggregate) more disabled. Agencies also reported increasing reliance on paid staff members, particularly administrators and care staff. The blurring of boundaries between clients, volunteers, and staff was also noted: in some cases, the term "volunteer" was used as a face-saving exercise to describe the involvement of very disabled people in the organisation, while in others, volunteers and paid staff performed almost the same tasks.

The changes in clientele, goals, and staff deployment were consistent with the original expectations that organisations would be called upon to provide a more reliable, consistent, and extensive service. However, there were a number of surprises.

The changes described here were not as prevalent as was expected, and were not universal. Eight of the organisations reported changes in clientele, of which six reported changing their activities, personnel, and goals. Four agencies reported no changes in clientele, and reported no changes to any of the other elements of the organisation.

It was expected that the main trigger for changes in the organisation would be changing funding priorities by local authorities. This was not the case. There was no evidence to show that funding patterns had changed, particularly as contracting had yet to be implemented in either borough. Furthermore, organisations which were not dependent on state funds also reported the changes described here, while several highly dependent organisations did not. The only measurable impact of the Care in the Community reforms was a requirement in London Borough A that the organisations assess their clientele and keep written records of the type of people using the service.

Finally, because Care in the Community and other welfare reforms were political issues, it was expected that the political affiliation of the borough might be relevant (Tester, Leat, and Unell, 1986). This proved not to be the case. Similar patterns were found across the Labour and Conservative boroughs, and none of the respondents considered party political affiliation to be relevant to their relationships with the local authorities, or to local authority funding priorities.

The most significant trigger for change in the participating organisations, according to the respondents, was the increasing frailty of the clientele. This was a gradual process which began to have significant implications for the organisations in the early 1990's. The changes in clientele in turn sparked changes in activities, personnel, and goals which will be analysed in greater detail in the next section.

Analysing the Changes:

The changes summarised in the previous section appear to have followed similar patterns in all of the organisations in which they occurred. That is, the clientelle, activities, staffing, and goals appear to be linked with one another. This section will exlore this linkage, beginning with the change in clientele which was documented in Chapter 9.

Two related phenomena underlie the changes in clientele in the day centres and luncheon clubs surveyed. The first is that of "aging in place", when existing clients grow older (Krout, 1989). The second is the influence of external factors which have led to new members

being older than in the past.

"Aging in place" had occurred in organisations where the service was more than 10 years old. People who began to attend the programmes in the late 1970's or early 1980's (when they themselves were aged 65-75), continued to attend the same club or centre for ten or up to twenty years. Those who began to attend at the age of 65 in the 1970's were at the time of the study approaching their middle 80's.

This cohort had particular characteristics. They accepted themselves as "old" at the age of 60 or 70. For these people, local social clubs were a main social outlet. People in this cohort had particular preferences for activities and food, which were described in detail in Chapter 5. Over time, as they aged, they became in the aggregate more disabled.

When individuals became disabled, the organisations had two choices: the first was to refer them to other frameworks, and the second was to retain them within the programme by modifying the programme. The most significant example of the second option is the decision to provide transportation: in all the organisations which chose to provide it, those people using transportation were the most disabled.

Most of the groups in the study (Cases 3,5,6,7,9,10,11) chose to retain their original members. There were two factors in this decision. The first was the groups' loyalty to their members: to refuse service to an elderly person, especially when there was some uncertainty about the availability of alternative services, would have violated the charitable culture of most of these groups. The second significant factor in the decision was concern about the ability of the organisation to replace members who left. This was not an unfounded concern: in one case (Case 1), elderly members who left the group were not being replaced and the number of people using the service had been declining for some years.

The consequence of the aging in place phenomenon was that the group as a whole became older. The "inclusive" emphasis was superseded as younger people (those in their sixties) were less likely to join. Younger cohorts (people born in the 1920's and after) were more active and had more disposable income, and therefore greater choices for social activities. Younger pensioners were more likely to be able to drive, more likely to be married (which, according to respondents, had certain effects on leisure opportunities), and less likely to consider themselves "old" at the age of 60. Because the amount of time between retirement and the onset of disability was longer for these people, they were less interested in luncheon clubs or day services for elderly people. As one programme organiser put it:

Now people of 70 are active and keeping extraordinarily well... I think that is probably why a lot of people when they retire...don't see themselves as candidates for a luncheon club. (Case 1)

In this way, both the number and proportion of older, more disabled people in the programmes rose gradually over time. Luncheon clubs and day centres became exclusively the domain of the oldest and the frailest.

At the same time, the environment in which the organisations operate was also changing. Several organisations reported pressure from local authority funding and referral sources to accept people with more serious disabilities than they had in the past. There are a number of possible explanations for this: one is that local authorities have themselves been under pressure to contract with voluntary organisations rather than providing the care themselves, so clients who would once have gone to local authority day centres are now referred to voluntary agencies. A second could be the effect of the drastic reduction in institutionalisation: people who would once have been referred to residential care are now being referred to community-based resources. A third possibility is that the "aging in place" phenomenon had established these organisations in the minds of the local authorities as places for frail elderly; new referrals were simply "matching" the present clientele.

As the clients became frailer (due to natural ageing and changing referral patterns), the organisations expanded their activities, adding days, hours, and transportation. The preferences of the clients directly influenced the type of activities offered by the service, from the choice of menu and background music to the location of the annual outing.

The additional activities had resource implications for the organisations. Because the service had originally been aimed at fairly mobile people, the organisations did not require purpose-built or adapted premises and were able to meet in ad hoc circumstances (church halls, the basement of a public library, unused community centre space). Premises were usually either donated or let at "peppercorn" rents, and these organisations rarely paid the full costs of overheads and upkeep. Food was usually supplied by the local authority and cooked in local authority kitchens (although in Case 4 respondents mentioned that the special ethnic ingredients raised food costs considerably). Labour was donated by volunteers; even when remuneration was given, it was rarely "the going rate", and often this was initiated by the local authority rather than by the agency.

More intensive provision, however, cost more. Cooking meals on the premises requires the use of a kitchen meeting Health and Safety standards. Food costs were transferred from the local authority to the agency. Additional personnel were needed to shop, cook, and clear up; most agencies cooking food on the premises used professional staff for this[1]. This transition alone raised provision costs.

Then there was the issue of transportation, which required considerable capital outlays for the running costs and maintainance of a special vehicle (even when the vehicle itself was donated or shared). Additional personnel had to be recruited to drive the vehicle; even when these were volunteers, they usually received remuneration of some kind.

Equipping the premises for disabled access represented another significant capital cost. In Borough B, organisations were likely to own their premises; but most buildings were over a century old and had considerable maintainance costs. These had to be added to the costs of renovation, which were considerable in Borough A as well.

Finally, there were staffing costs. Extending hours and days of service was usually associated with increasing reliance on paid administrative support for reasons given in Chapter 10. More intensive service, in this case the provision of personal care, was associated with the use of paid care staff because volunteers were unwilling or unable to carry out these tasks. These factors raised the cost of the service considerably, even when they were offset by in-kind contributions and organisational fundraising.

A number of respondents in the organisations reported that the changes in clientele, activities, and staffing had sparked a re-examination of organisational goals. This was most obvious in Case 5, where six months before fieldwork for the study started, the organisation had temporarily suspended the service altogether. The management committee decided that the available staffing (a manager, deputy manager, secretary, and cook, three of whom took holiday leave concurrently) was not adequate to care for the number of disabled people actually attending the centre. Following the suspension, the first careworker was hired and funding was requested for a second. Both moves were very controversial within the organisation as was the change of title from "club" to "centre".

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[1] In Case 3, the cook was referred to as a volunteer and received remuneration at below the "going rate"; this remuneration was still more than received by "ordinary volunteers". The reasons for treating the cook in this case as a "paid staff member" were discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

In Case 6, the organisers were concerned that the nature of the organisation would change further if they agreed to accept frailer people on referral from the social services:

> ...the whole of our culture in which we have worked over the years, ever since we began, was to major on preventative care. That is, we felt it was important to halt the slide from low dependency to medium and high. And we felt that bringing people out and socialise [sic], and keeping them active and stimulating them meant that they had a reasonable quality of life for independent living on other days. (Chairman)
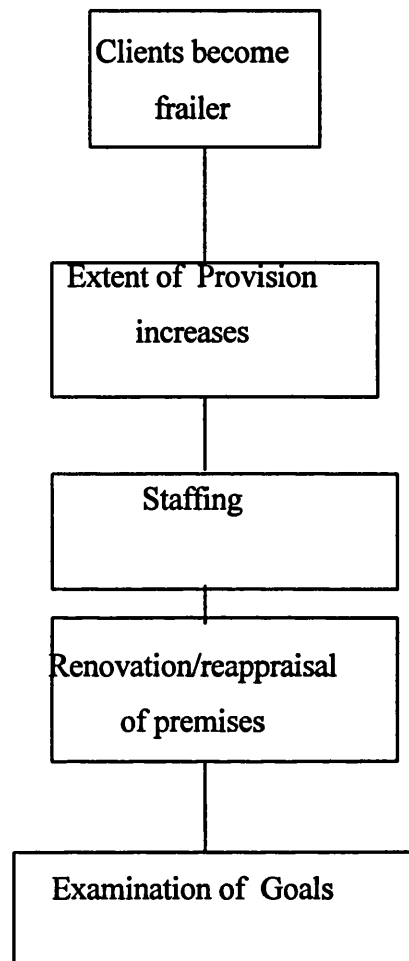
In Case 10, a respondent commented that the organisation was

> skating on thin ice; we are on the boundary between care, which is not in our trust deed, and education, which is. If the people attending classes require considerable support in order to participate, where does education end and care begin? Can bathing facilities and care assistants be justified as "educational" expenses?

(In the event, these expenses were justified as "improving the condition of life" for the people).

Similar issues were raised in other organisations as well. When asked what significant changes they had observed in the organisations over time, most respondents described a pattern of changes which can be summarised in Diagram 1:

Diagram 1: The "Chain of Changes"

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          ┌─────────────────┐
          │ Clients become  │
          │    frailer      │
          └────────┬────────┘
                   │
       ┌───────────┴───────────┐
       │ Extent of Provision   │
       │     increases         │
       └───────────┬───────────┘
                   │
       ┌───────────┴───────────┐
       │      Staffing         │
       │                       │
       └───────────┬───────────┘
       ┌───────────┴───────────┐
       │ Renovation/reappraisal│
       │     of premises       │
       └───────────┬───────────┘
                   │
    ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
    │   Examination of Goals      │
    │                             │
    └─────────────────────────────┘
```

This pattern was described in six organisations: Cases 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.

This pattern of changes had implications for the way the organisations were run. With one exception (Case 11), the organisations in the study had originally been formed as associations, with all the hallmarks of this type of voluntary organisation: groups of concerned individuals who came together for the common good. Service in the original luncheon clubs was based on a "membership" model (Kramer, 1981; Harris, 1994), there was little formal hierarchy[2], and the commitment of volunteers and trustees was very much a "spare time" or leisure activity. At the time of the study, even organisations which had changed considerably from the original model retained traces of the "membership" culture. Attendees were

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[2] See, for example, the description of task allocation made by a volunteer in case 3, p.?.

universally referred to as "members" rather than "users" or "clients". Decision making about food and recreational activities was done by informal long standing consensus between attendees and organisers. The emphasis was on "fun" rather than care or rehabilitation. Most organisations had only recently begun to keep written records of attendance and some still had no "intake" procedures for new members -- one simply turned up or telephoned to arrange transportation.

The shift to more intensive service, however, had, to a certain extent, modified or even abolished this "associational" model of organising. The changing relationship between the organisations and their clients led to formalisation of procedures and decision making and increasing hierarchies which affected the daily running of the organisations.

The original associations had been set up on the assumption that the service would play a complementary or even peripheral role in the lives of it users. The once-a-week club was one of several leisure opportunities available. If, for some reason, service was to be suspended (e.g. during school holidays), clients could either turn to similar alternatives, or could do without. In other words, the worst risk was the temporary withdrawal of a weekly bingo game, hardly a life-threatening event.

By the time of the study, this balance had changed. For many, if not most of the clients, the organisation was the only service of its kind in the vicinity[3]. Most clients had no alternative social outlets at all. For many, attendance represented the only time in the week they left their homes:

> The luncheon club is my only social outlet....without this club I would be inside four walls. (Member, Case 5)

> Because a lot of them are housebound. They come in on the ambulance and the only time they go out is when they come to the day centre or luncheon club or something. (Volunteer, Case 3)

The support given was also more intensive. The day care service now provided a significant part of the individual's overall care. Suspension of the service might result in people not eating a hot meal on that day, not having a bath that week, or not receiving other care. A "recreational extra" had turned into a "core service".

Organisations found that the service made two new demands: the first was continuity,

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[3] The division of "turf" among the organisations in London Borough A was described in Chapter 10.

and the second was professional expertise. Ad hoc labour arrangements were no longer sufficient to ensure continuity of service. Nor were volunteers willing to undertake the new tasks required (which could involve personal care and lifting). As was described in chapter 10, organisations turned to paid staff to resolve both issues.

The hiring of paid staff had significant implications. Securing the resources to pay staff often brought organisations into closer contact with the bureaucratic world of local authority funding grants. They were required to produce written documents such as formal constitutions (e.g. Case 2) and detailed financial records. Hiring staff also meant embarking on formal procedures for selection and recruitment such as the formulation of job descriptions (which were often jettisoned after the "right" person had been found). It meant embarking on a formal relationship between the organisation and the employee, again characterised by written procedures.

Organisations found themselves increasingly accountable to their membership and employees (who now depended on the continuation of the service) and their funders (who were committing more funds). They responded, if reluctantly, by using more formal procedures and documenting these procedures with more written records. Although all the organisations in the study would still accept anyone who walked in, most had implemented some type of registration procedure. In any event, fewer clients were "self-referring"; most were being referred through formal channels such as the local social services or their GPs. In this context, boards of trustees found that what had begun as a part-time, amateur commitment to do good for the community was beginning to require more and more time, responsibility, and expertise[4]. Trustees were expected to oversee the work of paid employees (often professionals), produce more detailed financial accounts, and make decisions which might affect the lives of others. They also discovered that they may be held personally and collectively accountable for "wrong" decisions.

As one trustee described it,

Now, the trustees are held accountable. The new Charities Act has made the

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[4] Concerns about overloading or "asking too much of" trustees and management committees were raised by Dartington (1995); the fragility of small organisation management committees was described by Harris (1989), who raised similar concerns. The issue of management expertise in the context of negotiating contracts was raised by Russell, Scott, and Wilding (1995).

committee members more conscious of their responsibilities, and has also made them more defiant of the chairman. After all, we are all equally responsible now; if something goes wrong, we will all have to answer for it, not just [the chairman, secretary, and treasurer]. (Trustee, Case 5)

The "club" had turned into what many called a "business".

The increasing formalisation in the way the organisations were run could be seen most clearly in Case 5, where the transition from "club" to "centre" was accompanied by considerable conflict. Trustees had responded to the increasing frailty of the clientele by curtailing the annual three day holiday trip on grounds of increased risk, and hiring care workers. Clients bitterly resented what they perceived as increasing paternalism on the part of the trustees, and an erosion of their traditional autonomy in running their own club.

In summary, the "chain of changes" described here resulted in organisations moving from ad-hoc, informal arrangements to formal, "professional" (bureaucratic) models of organising. These changes are similar to those documented by Russell, Scott, and Wilding (1995) in their sample of small organisations in six local authorities, and corresponds to descriptions by Billis and Harris (1992) and Kramer (1981) of the British voluntary sector as a whole.

In view of the process described here, it would be logical to assume that the organisations with the frailest clientele were the most likely to have changed, and that organisations where the clients were fairly robust would not report these changes. This is indeed the case in the two ethnic minority luncheon clubs (Cases 4 and 12), which did not provide transport and effectively did not cater for very frail people. People who fell below the threshold described in Chapter 10 ceased to attend and their places were taken by others. Case 2, which had the frailest of the clientele of all the organisations, had tailored its provision accordingly from the outset. Case 11 provided a mixture of more and less intensive care, having provided transport for some clients and having hired care staff from the beginning; as in Case 2, provision had been designed from the outset to include very frail people.

But this assumption did not hold true across the rest of the organisations. The clients of Cases 1, and 8, (where no organisational changes were reported) were indistinguishable from those of Cases 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, or 10. So although organisations in which changes in provision, personnel, and goals were taking place ascribed these changes to the increasing frailty of their clientele, similar processes appeared to be at work in other organisations which did not change

their provision.

Explaining the Response to Client Frailty:
Which Organisations Were More Likely to Change?

As was noted previously, eight of the organisations in the study reported that their clients had become frailer, and six of the agencies had responded to this change by extending their provision, hiring paid members of staff, and re-examining their original goals. Four organisations reported that their clientele had not changed, and neither had their provision. Two organisations reported that their clients had become frailer, but they had not changed their provision or staffing.

The previous section described the "chain of changes" reported by respondents in the organisations where provision had changed. But to ascribe all the changes to frailty of the clientele (as the respondents in this study did) would be to miss an important phenomenon: two organisations, faced with circumstances similar to the other six, chose not to change. Alternative explanations are therefore necessary.

It has been suggested that organisational age (Meyer and Brown, 1977), size (Hannan and Freeman, 1984), funding patterns (Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992) and political circumstance (Leat, Tester, and Unell, 1986) are related to organisational change. We therefore begin by examining these variables to see whether any additional patterns emerge which might shed some light on the "anomalous" agencies. Table 10 shows these for organisations reporting the changes described in the previous section; Table 11 shows the same for organisations which reported no changes:

Table 10: Characteristics of Organisations Reporting Changes
in Provision, Clients, and/or Staffing.

Case	LC/ DC	Age (Org)	Age (Service)	# Clients	Income (1994)	Funding Source	Borough (Leadership)
3	LC	20+	9	48	£42,983*	Grant	A (C)
5	DC	30+	22	300	£77,300*	Grant	A (C)
6	DC	30	13	150	£116,423	Grant	A (C)
7	LC	20+	20	67	£141,694	Grant	B (L)
9	DC	90	20	200	£50,000	50% Grant, 50% rent/fees	B (L)
10	DC	98	18	156	£136,318	Interest income from property sale	B (L)

Table 11: Characteristics of Organisations Reporting No Changes
in Provision, Clients, and/or Staffing.

Case	LC/ DC	Age (Org)	Age (Service)	# Clients	Income (1994)	Funding Source	Borough (Leadership)
1	LC	40-50	24	12	£4,970	Grant	A (C)
2	DC	9	7	10+10[a]	£45,986	Grant	A (C)
4	LC	16	4	190[b]	£8,631	Grant	A (C)
8	LC	81	18	12	£6,976	Grant	B (L)
11	DC	400[c]	12	1300	£201,076	Interest income from property sale	B (L)
12	LC	10	10	30	£2,300	Grant	B (L)

[a] Case 2 had two programmes and restricted service to 10 people per day in the day centre

[b] Total membership; actually served 20/day
[c] Case 11 was a Parochial Trust; actually served appx 100/day.
*Where separate accounts were kept, figures are for the day centre/luncheon club; where separate figures for the centre/club are not available, total agency income is used.

Let us examine the variables one by one, starting with age. This was measured in two ways: the age of the agency, and the age of the club or centre. Organisations reporting changes in the service (with spinoffs) were all more than 20 years old; of these, four were between twenty and forty years old, while two were in their nineties. Organisations which did not report changes in the service were either less than 20 years old (in three cases) or more than forty years old. In other words, the youngest organisations rarely changed; among the oldest organisations, half did (Cases 9 and 10) and half did not (Cases 8 and 11). It could be argued that the establishment of the day care service in and of itself represents organisational change in both Cases 8 and 11[5]; but these organisations did not report any subsequent changes after the establishment of the services. Organisations younger than 20 years are not likely to have experienced changes, perhaps because client frailty might not be obvious so soon. But why did some of the older organisations (over 20 years old) report changes while others of the same age did not.

Most of the organisations which reported changes had been providing the service for more than 10 years (one exception being Case 3, whose luncheon club was 9 years old). Three of the organisations reporting no changes had provided the service for 10 years or less (Cases 2, 4, and 12). The other day centres or luncheon clubs were between 12 and 24 years old. There appeared to be no pattern among the organisations reporting no changes in the service in regard to age. Indeed, if we compare individual organisations, we find a number of equivalents: why did Cases 3 (9 years of service) and 6 (13 years of service) change, while Cases 12 (10 years) and 2 (7 years) did not? Case 5, at 22 years of service, was changing rapidly, while Case 1 (the oldest service at 24 years) was not.

From the comparison of ages, we find that organisations that were founded at roughly the same time did not necessarily experience changes; and services which were begun at about the same time (within a year or two of one another) certainly did not necessarily experience the same changes. A comparison of the organisations across the sample shows that organisations

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[5] In Case 8, the organisation had always cared for children, and the service for elderly people marked a change in client group; in Case 11, the organisation had not engaged in service

older than 20 years, who have been providing day care for 10 years or more are more likely to change than their younger counterparts. But the comparison also shows that contemporaneous organisations and services did not necessarily behave in the same ways.

We now turn to size. This was measured using the number of clients served and the income available to the centre or club. Day centres/luncheon clubs which changed were serving more than fifty clients (Case 3 serving 48), with the largest (Case 5) reporting 300 clients. The smallest clubs/centres (30 clients or less) reported no changes. Neither did the very largest (Case 11 with an estimated 1300 clients). Although Case 4 reported a total membership of 190, it rarely served more than 20 or so people at a time (the number observed on two site visits), and therefore fits the pattern.

As expected, the amount of money available to fund the service varied depending on the intensity of the provision (luncheon clubs generally had smaller budgets) and the number of people served. The issue of funding was described in detail in Chapter 9. We can note here that the organisations that changed reported an income for the service of £40,000 or more. The organisations reporting the least income did not report changes. This includes Case 8, which was very reluctant to release the figures for its service but confirmed that the club had less than £5,000 income.

Among the larger services, though, there were some interesting comparisons. Case 9 and Case 2 reported the same amount of income for their day centres (£50,000), yet Case 9 was in the process of making changes, while Case 2 was not. The service reporting the highest income (Case 11) did not report changes in the service while services with fewer funds (Cases 6, 7, 9, and 10) did.

There appears to be a threshold of 50 clients and £40,000 above which changes were reported. But more clients and more funds did not automatically imply change, particularly as the largest service in the study (in terms of both clients and budget) did not report changes.

A variable which was related to the income of the organisations was the matter of the main source of the funds. Most of the organisations in the study were dependent on grant aid by local authorities for the income necessary to provide the service. Of these, four reported changes and five did not. Case 9 was dependent on local authority funds for half of its income; it reported changes. But of the two organisations not receiving significant local authority

provision since the end of the last century (almshouses), concentrating on financial assistance.

income, Case 10 did change while Case 11 did not. The source of the funds would therefore not appear to predict whether organisations changed or did not.

Finally, there was the issue of political leadership. As can be seen in the tables, both the six organisations reporting changes and those reporting none were evenly split between the Labour and Conservative-led boroughs.

In summary, no single variable given here was sufficient to explain why some organisations changed and some did not. There appeared to be general parameters for organisational changes: organisations younger than 20 years, who had been providing the service for less than ten years, who served less than 50 clients, and who had less than £13,000 income were less likely to report changes than those above those limits. Nonetheless, when organisations similar in size and age were compared with one another, the variables of size and age alone were not sufficient to explain why some organisations reported changes and others did not.

It has been argued that organisational culture is an important factor in organisational change (Schein, 1985)[6]. The basic assumptions made by the agencies in the study were described in detail in Chapter 6. The next section re-examines these assumptions in order to shed light on the decisions made by some organisations to extend their services, and by others not to change their provision.

<div align="center">

"Us" and "Them":

Internal and External Pressure for Change

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In the previous section, we compared the main characteristics of organisations that changed with those which did not. Of the twelve organisations in the study, six (Cases 3,5,6,7,9 and 10) changed the extent and intensity of their service to meet the changing needs of their clients; four organisations (Cases 2, 4, 11 and 12) reported that the clientele had not changed significantly (although there may have been client turnover); and two organisations (Cases 1 and 8) reported that their clientele had become frailer, but the service and organisation had not changed significantly. The analysis in the previous section found that these key differences could not be explained by any of characteristics examined: whether organisations changed did not appear to be linked to their ages, sizes, funding sources, or the political influence of local authorities.

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[6]"Culture" is defined by Schein (1985) as the pattern of basic assumptions made by

When organisers were asked why certain changes had been made (e.g. extension of the hours and days per week of service, hiring of paid staff), they ascribed them to the increasing frailty of their clientele. This would explain why organisations which reported changes in their clientele changed while those which did not report such changes did not change their service significantly. But it does not explain why two organisations which did report changes in their clientele chose not to institute the other changes.

The key lies in the assumptions organisations made about themselves and their clients when the service was first started. In Chapter 6 (Goals), this decision was described in detail. A variety of different types of organisations, ranging from churches to charitable trusts and community residents' associations were described. Two types of organisations emerged: what I shall call "community response" organisations, and "service providing" agencies.

In Chapter 2, we found similar divisions between "public benefit" and "mutual benefit" organisations (Douglas, 1987; Handy, 1988; Lohmann, 1993). The service providers saw themselves as giving to the general public (i.e. people like themselves but other than themselves). Community response organisations were offering mutual support. That these distinct cultures were evident even among the smallest organisations would tend to challenge Milofsky's (1987) five-fold characterisation of "neighbourhood based organisations" as one, uniform, type of voluntary agency. While the organisations in the study may well fit Milofsky's list of characteristics[7], these groups were also quite diverse. They ranged from the complex (Case 2) to the simple (Case 1); and some relied entirely on volunteers for service delivery (Cases 1, 4, 12) while others had none at all. This diversity mirrors the diversity of larger organisations in the voluntary sector, and makes exact divisions and typologies difficult.

The agencies in the study were faced with competing priorities: the needs of the membership/clientele and the availability of resources (including personnel) to meet those needs. Even the most dedicated of community response organisations were not immune to the constraints of time, personnel, premises, and funding. This was particularly evident in organisations where large numbers of volunteers were used. Case 6, for example, had to satisfy the needs of their volunteers and organisers as well as their clients; one volunteer noted that

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organisations and their personnel (p.494).

[7] identification with particular constituencies; social service provision; not-for-profit; member driven; minimal hierarchy.

mainly the helpers want to come because they have been bereaved or have other needs and want to give something back.

The manager noted that one consequence of moving towards serving very highly dependent people would be a loss of volunteers, who would find the atmosphere "too depressing".

In Case 3, the desire to respond to the needs of increasingly frail clients had to be balanced against the limitations of the premises, the needs of other groups using the premises, and the personnel available. In Case 12, provision was started in response to the expressed needs of the community. But after 10 years of service, there was no attempt to expand the provision beyond one day a week, and those who could no longer reach the club on their own (or whose relatives were unable to take them) were not accommodated.

In short, a balance had to be struck between the interests of the client group and the interests of the organisations. In community response organisations, the interests of the clients were emphasised (although not without recognition of the constraints on the organisation). In service providing organisations, emphasis was placed on the commitment of the organisation to a particular service or form of service, with considerations of client interests being of secondary importance.

Abrams (Bulmer, 1986) makes a distinction between services "of the community" and "in the community". This distinction rests to a certain extent on the relationships between the providers of service and the recipients of service. Services "of the community" have a self-help element. Service is provided to users who are part of the social group. When services are provided "in the community", on the other hand, the beneficiaries are not seen as part of the community, but as a group separate from the providers.

"Community Response" Organisations:

The "community response" organisations in this study provided services "of the community". The main assumption underlying service provision was that the service was meeting the expressed needs of a constituency, as expressed by members of that constituency:

> We try and meet needs as they arise... we change things as needed and we constantly review the things provided (Manager, Case 10)

The agency determined need in a number of ways. Sometimes, members of the community

spontaneously started an activity which was then adopted and advanced by the agency. Examples of this were found in Case 1 (the hymn singing group), Case 3 (the Friday afternoon club), Case 4 (the old men in the park), Case 7 ("it started among ourselves"), Case 10 (the women's club), and Case 11 ("the old people needed somewhere to go"). Sometimes, agencies conducted a needs assessment exercise in the local community, which may be as sophisticated as the door-to-door survey commissioned by Case 6 or the formal assessment conducted by Case 11, or as informal as the discussions in Case 10, the unofficial survey conducted by the vicar of Case 9 or, in Case 5:

> ... there was a gut feeling that what you were about to do was wanted, and then you set about getting the wherewithal to do it.

In some cases, members of the community or organisations approach the agency with a request for a particular service. In Case 12, it was the sons and daughters who had recently arranged for their elderly parents to immigrate to the UK; in Case 2, the choice of which service to provide (day care rather than sitting) was determined by the membership of the organisation[8].

These organisations saw themselves as gap-fillers, providing services that could not be obtained elsewhere or serving people who otherwise would not benefit from any services:

> ...the clubs, when they first started, they were for people who probably wouldn't take a place anywhere else. (Case 2)

The service was an obligation to the community:

> ....the concern that we as a church felt for being relevant to the community, seeking to address social needs of the community. (Case 6)

> ...they know that we're always here if they're in difficulties. (Trustee, Case 11)

The ethnic luncheon clubs were a case in point: the members of the community organisations recognised that their elderly people would not or could not obtain service from other agencies or organisations, and it was therefore up to the communities themselves to look after their own. Similarly, agencies such as Case 11, Case 9, Case 7, and Case 3 had rigidly defined catchment areas; these agencies felt that they had the primary responsibility for service to people resident

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[8] In this association, the members were relatives of day centre participants; the service was intended not only to help the participants, but to alleviate the strain felt by association members.

in those areas.

The sense of obligation was not restricted to a particular group but extended to individual participants. Once a person was admitted to the group, the agency felt a sense of continuing obligation to the person even after the individual ceased to meet the original criteria for group membership. For example:

> ...we've got people that we've carried on looking after them when they've got beyond our terms of reference. We reckon that we have been able to cope with that. We've been quite fortunate in being able to do that. But we wouldn't.... deliberately take on a highly dependent person... (Manager, Case 3)

> ...volunteers and staff get emotionally involved with people because they've been with us for so many years....You may not want to let them go. There are tremendous feelings of guilt that the staff have (Chairman, Case 6)

In this study, the community response organisations saw themselves as being "of the community". A person was defined as a member of the community either by ethnicity, or by residence in a geographical location, or by having chosen to join the club. Once the person was accepted as a member of the community, the organisation incurred an obligation to fulfil his or her needs as a matter of right.

"Service Providing" Organisations:

A second type of organisation which emerged from the analysis of goals in this chapter was the "service providing" organisation. In this type of organisation, the service and clientele were chosen as a means of fitting the needs of the organisation. Two examples were Case 8 and Case 2. In Case 8, major considerations for starting a luncheon club appeared to be the interests of the main organiser who was looking for an activity that would enable her to remain involved with her previous place of work. In Case 2, the chairwoman made very clear her motivations for service provision:

> We wanted to be listened to. Nobody was going to pay attention to us unless we could be seen to be doing something, providing a service.

Major considerations for the decision to provide a service and which service to provide were the availability of resources. Thus, in several cases, the service was started at the suggestion of a social worker in the statutory services (Case 1, 3, 8). The availability of unused space, and

funding were other considerations:

> ...we had got to the state where the building could cope with something like the luncheon club, we'd done a number of improvements in sort of hygiene and floor coverings and warmth, and all sorts of things that would be necessary for the running of the luncheon club. (Manager, Case 3)

> They had the premises available, they were fairly sure that there was a need....And the founder had a daughter who was a trained social worker, who I think told her mother that this sort of activity was found to be needed in quite a lot of areas. (Secretary, Case 1)

The service was usually designed to fit the capacity of the organisation rather than the needs of the clients. For instance, some organisations suspended their services during school holidays and half-terms because the premises were needed for children's play groups.

While these agencies were also serving the needs of the community, their relationship with that community was different. These were agencies in, rather than of, the communities they served. Participants were not necessarily members of the same social groups as the providers. For example, although Case 1 was sponsored by two Protestant churches, it attracted a number of Catholic participants and the Secretary noted that

> ...some of our helpers are from the church and some are from outside, and some are from other churches. One of our supervisors is a Catholic. And we have quite a few people from the Catholic church who come to us. (Case 1)

In Case 9, a mission, there was a conflict in progress between the congregants and the day centre participants. The congregants did not live in the area but came to worship on Sundays, while the day centre participants lived in the area and attended the day centre on weekdays, but did not come to worship on Sundays. Many congregants were ambivalent about the increasing amount of space being taken up by the service provision.

Similar "us and them" attitudes were expressed in Case 5 between the trustees and the day centre participants:

> They don't think like us; we don't consult them. We run our own affairs. (Client, about the trustees).

> ....they have all tended to have been perhaps quote "spoiled". In the sense that there has been far greater [staff] involvement with them up there [in the

club/centre]. (Chairman, about the clients).

Service in these agencies was seen as a gift: "we" give (our time, our energy, our service) to "them". Therefore, the sense of obligation was limited to what the givers wished to give, rather than what the recipients may have wished to receive. The continuation of the service was driven by the availability and convenience of the organisers. The sense of obligation to individual clients was minimal: if there was a demand for the particular service offered by the organisers (in the form of a minimum number of clients), then the service would be provided. But organisers were only committed to the service they wished to provide; if clients wanted something else, they were welcome to find it elsewhere. As one volunteer put it, "...we're not really social workers".

For example, in Case 8, organisers were unwilling to give more than two or three hours per day of service. Nor were they interested in a more extensive relationship with the clients: there was no visiting and no contact outside service hours unless clients contacted the club (via the parent organisation) to cancel attendance.

Similarly, in Case 1, the service was to an extent limited to what volunteers wished to provide:

> I said I would only do it on a temporary basis, because I quite enjoy going there but I don't want to become too involved. I don't want to do more than once a fortnight. (Volunteer, Case 1).

> Some of us said something, whether we should do what the other groups in the area [do]. I've been resisting it....This is one that we can cope with in our resources. (Chairman, Case 1)

In other words, the capacity of the organisation determined the service, rather than the needs of the clientele. As the Chairman of Case 1 commented:

> ....but we haven't got the numbers of people available to provide activities and things, we haven't set out to do this. Now it may be that what we're offering isn't what's needed. We've got to look at that.... All the people are volunteers, and they're doing something that they believe is giving service, they're [the clients] enjoying it. It might be that they would prefer to do something else....We've got to do what we can within the scope of the people who are there.

In this agency, the number of participants had been declining for some time. Although a

number of explanations were offered for the decline, including competition from other clubs in the vicinity, there was no attempt to survey local residents or club participants to discover why people were no longer attending the club and what services they might prefer. Rather, as the chairman put it:

> we chose.... not to go out into the highways and byways and drive people into the feast.

As long as there was some demand for the service offered, it would continue. But the agency did not see itself as obligated to change the service in response to changing demand.

In the service providing agencies, there was an additional assumption that if necessary, service could be provided by other agencies or entities. If people no longer fit the remit of the agency, they could go elsewhere. This was most clearly seen in Case 1, where references were made to other agencies in the area providing more extensive services. In Case 8, the agency took responsibility for the clients, but only during service hours; needs beyond the service (e.g. food on days not covered by the service) were the responsibility of the local authority, not the organisers of the service.

The attributes of community response organisations and service providing organisations can be summarised in the following diagram:

Community Response Vs. Service Provision:

Community Response Organisations:	**Service Providing Organisations:**
Self service to community members (Service recipients are internal to organisation)	Service to others (service recipients are external to organisation)
Choice of clientele determined by gaps in existing provision	Choice of clientele based on interest of organisers, whether or not other needy groups exist
Choice of service based on needs/demands of members (resources developed to meet demands)	Choice of service based on capacity of organisation (demand is tailored to available resources)
Service seen as duty/obligation to members	Service is a gift
Assumption that no one else can do the job, so it's up to us	Assumption that if we cannot do it, someone else will/should

Both types of organisation contained elements of associations and of bureaucracies[9]. The community response organisations had a number of elements in common with associations: they were member-led; service was seen as a right of membership; and there was a self-help element. It was noted in Chapter 10 that managers in these organisations used the metaphor of a "family" to describe the clubs or day centres. These organisations were relationship oriented, and saw their staff (paid and unpaid) as resources to be "improved" or "uplifted" (in the terms of the organiser in Case 10). Tasks were often tailored to individual preferences rather than individuals made to fit preconceived job descriptions[10].

The service providing organisations, on the other hand, shared a number of attributes of bureaucracies. The clubs were led by the interests of the providers rather than the demands or needs of the clients; service was seen as a gift from providers to consumers; and there was a public benefit element, in which beneficiaries were seen as being external to the organisation. The agencies were described by managers as a "business", with a task orientation. Staff were

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[9]A detailed list of the attributes of associations and bureaucracies was compiled in Chapter 2.

judged on how well they completed assigned tasks, rather than on their relationships with others.

In view of these shared attributes, it might be expected that community response organisations would be more likely to rely on volunteers, while service providing agencies would be more likely to employ professionals. This was in fact not the case. Community response organisations often hired staff, and in one case actively discouraged the use of volunteers (Case 10). The service providing agencies, on the other hand, included two agencies run solely by volunteers (e.g. Cases 1 and 8). A possible explanation of this phenomenon might be the motivations of the agencies in question. The hiring of paid staff was part of a larger change taking place in the agencies (described in Chapter 10 and again at the beginning of this chapter). Community response organisations turned to paid staff as a means of better meeting the needs of their members. For service providers, the investment involved was not in the interests of the volunteers running the service: professionals cost money to employ and posed a potential challenge to the authority of those already running the service. It was therefore easier and more efficient for the volunteers to perform the tasks themselves. It should be noted, however, that Cases 1 and 8 notwithstanding, both types of agencies used paid staff.

The difference in mission between service providers and community response organisations, could explain why organisations confronted with changes in their clientele chose to change their services accordingly, or not to change them:

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[10]Note, for instance, the allocation of jobs described in Case 3 (Chapter 6).

DIAGRAMME 2:
A Model of Organisational Change in Small Voluntary Organisations:

	Clients Change:	**No Client Change:**
Community Response:	1. Change service to meet demand of current clientele (Case 3,5,6,7,9,10)	No need to change service (Case 4, 11)
Service Provider:	1. Look for new clients 2. Wait until existing clients no longer attend, then close down service 3. Keep service going in hope new clients will appear (Cases 1, 8)	No need to change service (Cases 2, 12)

For both types of organisations, where there was no change in clientele (the same types of people continued to use the service), there was no reason to change the service. But when changes in clientele did occur, community response organisations often decided to change their services accordingly. This was evident in organisations such as Case 6 and 10 where the service was provided in the first place because that was what appeared to be needed at the time. Service providers, on the other hand, were committed to the service as it was, and continued to operate it without changes unless and until no users were left to justify it.

Summary:

Six of the organisations in the study reported that as a result of increasing frailty of their clientele, they had extended the service offered by their club or day centre. The extension of service had necessitated using paid staff to ensure reliability and quality of service. These agencies reported that they were now re-examining their original goals.

Of the other six organisations, four reported that their clientele had not changed. One of these organisations (Case 2) had been serving very frail clients from the time the day centre was founded and reported no changes in extent of provision or staffing. The two ethnic luncheon clubs (Cases 4 and 12) and Case 11 reported some turnover of clientele but no changes in the type of people who came for lunch, and no changes in the extent of provision or staffing. Two

organisations reported that although their clients had become frailer, they had changed neither their provision nor their staffing patterns.

The study also examined organisational structure and governance. Where changes in structure had occurred, these were gradual and were implemented in response either to external control attempts (Case 2) or internal disputes (Case 5). The changes in structures were rare, and did not appear to be related to other changes taking place in the organisations.

Respondents across the organisations reported little change in the way the trustees were recruited or in the perceived responsibilities of the trustees, although some complained of a dearth of "suitable" trustees. Overall, however, the boards of management remained homogeneous, with little attempt to recruit outside the one or two traditional sources of trustees to the organisation.

The most significant findings reported in this chapter were that, contrary to expectations, funding and external relationships were not the main triggers of change. Rather, the main trigger was changing client needs. This by itself was not sufficient to explain the other changes, however, as two organisations chose not to change either their provision or their staffing patterns.

.   The phenomenon was explained by re-examining the motivations underlying the service provision. "Community response" organisations initiated and continued the service in order to accommodate the demands of their clients. "Service providers" were more concerned with the interests of the organisers. When the characteristics of the service recipients changed, "community response" organisations modified their services, while "service providers" did not. These findings underline the importance of the distinction made by Douglas (1987) between "mutual" and "public" nonprofits.

It should be noted that change in the organisations in the study occurred in response to internal pressures (changing membership), rather than external influences (local authority demands).

We now return to the research questions in order to discuss the implications of these findings in greater detail.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine organisational change in small voluntary organisations. A review of various literatures, summarised in Chapters 1-3, found that most organisation theory had been derived from study of large firms and public bureaucracies. This raised questions about the applicability of "generic" theories to small, voluntary organisations. Several authors (Child, 1972; Hannan and Freeman, 1983; Welsh and White, 1981) suggested that there may be differences between the ways large and small organisations changed. Others said that voluntary organisations, while they may share some characteristics of public agencies and private firms, operate under different assumptions, opportunities, and constraints (Knoke and Prensky, 1984; Mason, 1984). This raised additional questions about the applicability of assumptions derived from the public and private experience.

With the recognition of the role of voluntary agencies in service provision in the UK (Hadley and Hatch, 1981; HMSO 1990), these issues have gained prominence. Chapter 3 has described how social welfare costs, combined with the perceived failure of established methods of addressing social problems and an emphasis on efficient use of resources, have led the UK government to explore new options in social service delivery. These policy directions have been based on assumptions about voluntary sector organisations (Common and Flynn, 1992; Wright, 1987; Murray, 1987; Johnson, 1987; HMSO Caring For People 1989). But empirical research on voluntary agencies, particularly on small agencies in the UK, has been limited.

Generic theories of organisational change suggest that change is most likely to occur in small organisations (Pennings, 1980; Hannan and Freeman, 1984) when the external environment (and with it the balance of constraints and opportunities) shifts (Freeman and Hannan, 1983; Aldrich, 1979). Day care for elderly people was chosen as an area of study on the assumption that agencies in this field would show considerable evidence of such change. Day care centres and luncheon clubs for elderly people are a traditional voluntary sector service (Means and Smith, 1985). Most agencies are small, serving at most one local authority or borough and often one neighbourhood. At the same time, these agencies are at the focus of current policy changes: they serve elderly people and provide a "community

based" service[1].

A case study approach was used to study the histories of twelve agencies in two London boroughs. The general characteristics of the organisations (size, age, type of provision, and extent of provision) were compared, and five main aspects of the organisations were examined in depth: goals (Chapter Six), structure (Chapter Seven), governance (Chapter Eight), funding and external relationships (Chapter Nine) and people (clients, volunteers, and paid staff-- Chapter Ten).

The previous chapter discussed the findings which emerged from the analysis of these areas. The study found that, while governance and funding had not changed significantly during the history of any of the organisations, other aspects had. Agencies reported that their clients had become frailer and older. This had triggered changes in the provision, most noteably the provision of transportation and extension of hours and days when the day service was in operation. Indeed, while the agencies divided themselves into "luncheon clubs" (less intensive provision) and "day centres", in fact the distinction between the two types of service had blurred, with some luncheon clubs providing service similar to that of day centres. Agencies reported that as the extent of the service changed, the agencies began to hire paid administrative and care staff. Several agencies reported that their goals had also changed, with less emphasis on recreation and more emphasis on care. This model of a chain of changes was described in Chapter Eleven. Most organisations were evolving from associations to more formal bureaucracies, a process which coincided with this "chain of changes".

The study also found that two organisations had evolved complex structures over time as a response to issues of internal (Case 5) and external (Case 2) control. These changes did not appear to be related to the changes in clientele.

The model of changes described in Chapter Eleven was derived from case histories of six of the agencies. The other six agencies, although similar in most respects (size, age, funding sources) to agencies reporting changes, reported no differences in extent of provision, staffing, or goals. This was explained in four cases by the fact that these agencies' client group had not changed since the service was started (i.e., the same types of people were using

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[1] The increasing emphasis given to these elements by policy makers in the 1980's was discussed in detail in chapter 3.

the service). However, there remained two organisations (Cases 1, and 8) whose client group had changed but the other aspects of the organisations remained the same (extent of provision/activities, staffing, goals). This phenomenon was explained in the previous chapter by re-examining the division described in Chapter Six (Goals) between "community response" organisations and "service providing" organisations. The attributes of these organisations were described in detail in Chapter Eleven. Community response organisations tailored their services to the demands of whatever clientele appeared to be most needy. Once they had chosen their clientele, these organisations placed great emphasis on their relationship with their "members" and therefore changed their services to meet the changing demands of their clients. For service providing organisations, on the other hand, the interests of the organisers took priority; although they also felt a sense of obligation to their clients, this did not extend to making significant changes in the service or to the organisation when the demands of these clients changed[2].

We now return to the research questions set forth in Chapter Four (Methodology). These were the following:

1. What changes have taken place in these organisations?

2. How can these changes be explained?

3. What implications do the findings of the study have for the agencies, for policy makers, and for organisation theory?

The previous chapter has answered the first two of questions. However, there remain a number of outstanding issues which are dealt with here. In particular, the study findings raised a number of questions regarding size and sectoral "roots" which will be discussed in some detail. The chapter continues with a discussion of the implications of the findings of the study for both the service and the organisations in the study, and concludes with some suggestions for future research.

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[2]As was noted at the end of Chapter 11, both types of organisations operated within the constraints of funding, facilities, and personnel.

A Summary of the Most Significant Changes:

The changes discussed in Chapter Eleven, and particularly the increasing extent and intensity of service provision offered by the organisations in the study, were not unique. Billis and Harris (1992) and Kramer (1990a and 1990b) documented similar trends across large voluntary organisations in the UK. Because this study focused on service providing agencies, the increasing emphasis away from advocacy was not as obvious as might perhaps be found in larger, national agencies. Nonetheless, the comment by the Chairwoman of Case 2 about the origins of the service[3] indicates that the issue is not irrelevant to small community organisations. The move towards service of the most frail in a particular client group, the increasing reliance on paid staff to carry out service-related tasks, and the use of more formal procedures, documented by Billis and Harris, were also found in the organisations in this study. However, while Billis and Harris ascribed the changes to external influences on the sector, this study found that the impetus for change occurred from within the organisations as existing clients grew frailer and were not replaced by healthier individuals.

To summarise the findings of the study:

1. The extent of the service has been increased. The service was now available for more hours per day and more days per week. Some luncheon clubs had expanded to five days of provision per week and some of the day centres were offering or contemplating some form of weekend service.

2. The intensity of the service has increased. Luncheon clubs are no longer a "lunch and leave" affair: rather, the provision includes social activities before and after the meal. Increasingly, these are being led professionally, and are no longer restricted to bingo games and tea dances. Among the day centres, organisers are contemplating the addition of services such as chiropody and (in Case 10) optical services.

3. Demand from an increasingly frail clientele has led to the provision of transportation and personal care services such as bathing. Day care is no longer (if it ever was) the province of the "well but lonely". The nature of the service is changing from a primarily recreational one to a custodial or care emphasis. Most poignant was the observation of one participant that day centres were

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[3] "Nobody was going to pay attention to us unless we could be seen to be.... providing a service."

...not intended for people like me. They're for invalids... (Case 5).

Accompanying the changes in the service have come other changes. These were discussed in detail in Chapter Eleven, and include the following:

1. Changes in staffing, including a greater reliance on paid staff. The implications of this changes were discussed in detail in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

2. Greater use of formal procedures. This was particularly evident in two areas: intake procedures (deciding whom to accept), and funding. In most of the organisations, service had at one time been on a "first come, first served" basis; i.e., anyone who walked in the door was welcome. By the time of the study, however, this had begun to change: most participants were "referred" to the service by professionals such as their GP or the social worker from the social services department.

The increased amount of "paperwork" required by funders was also reported by respondents; although grant funding was the norm, organisations were now required to supply more information to the local authority than previously. In London Borough A, this included information on the composition of the client group which led to the keeping of crude records on clients where none had been kept before.

3. The third major change noted by respondents was the impact of changes in the service on the overall goals of the organisations. Several (Case 10 in particular) were revising their constitutions or statements of purpose to reflect the changing goals of the services provided, from social recreation to custodial care. The comment by the coordinator of Case 11 about "skating on thin ice" (cited in Chapter Eleven) is particularly revealing.

These changes reflect the changing role played by the services provided by these organisations, both in the lives of their participants and in the continuum of social care. Most of these organisations found that the nature of the tasks they had to carry out precluded the informal, ad-hoc arrangements which may have been in place when the service was started. In Chapter Eleven, the implications of increasing client dependency were described. Organisations were required to provide a more consistent and reliable service. Although this need was not as extreme as that described in the case studies of "high reliability organisations"[4], the consequences of a failure in the service were nonetheless very serious for

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[4] These included an air traffic control room (La Porte and Consolini, 1991), nuclear power plant (La Porte, noted in Sagan, 1993 p.15), and nuclear aircraft carrier (Roberts, 1990). Clearly, day centres for elderly people are not in the same league.

clients and providers. Roberts (1990) and others (e.g. Sagan, 1993) have noted that high reliability organisations tend to have or -- in the wake of disaster adopt -- a number of characteristics, including the implementation of clear hierarchies and procedures. What is striking about this analysis is that the organisations in the current study have reacted in similar ways, by hiring staff and writing formal policies and procedures. In other words, they have become more bureaucratic[5].

The changes implemented by the organisations had far-reaching implications not only for the clients, but also for those running the organisations. These implications will be examined in greater detail at the end of this chapter. It is sufficient to note here, however, that respondents in the organisations felt that they were undergoing a significant qualitative transition from one type of organisation to another.

As was noted in the previous chapter, the changes described here occurred in half the organisations in the study. Of the remainder, two agencies experienced changes in clientele but did not change their services, while four others reported no changes in clientele. Furthermore, change was not triggered by external (mainly financial) pressures as expected: levels of funding did not change significantly, and organisations which were financially independent of local authority funds were as likely to experience the changes as were those financially dependent on council grants.

These features are directly relevant to the discussion which follows. An explanation of the findings was offered in the previous chapter. It was suggested that the assumptions organisations had made about themselves were important in explaining why the changes described in this study were not universal. The next section returns to some of the theories proposed in Chapters One and Two, in order to more fully answer the second research question: How can the changes be explained?

Forces for Change:

In Chapter 1, a number of different approaches to organisational change were summarised. Lifecycle theories described organisational change as an inevitable process which occurred as organisations aged and developed (e.g. Kimberly and Miles, 1988; Hasenfeld and Schmid, 1989; Katz, 1967). Change was internal to the organisation. On the

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[5] In the sense of a greater orientation towards formal procedures and hierarchies.

other hand, institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), population ecology (Freeman and Hannan, 1983), and resource dependency theories (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) viewed change as externally induced: organisations were subject to "isomorphism", changes in environmental "niches, or control attempts by other organisations which controlled the resources essential for organisational survival. A related approach described organisational change as a "steps and stairs" response to externally triggered crises (Johnson, 1989; Billis, 1993b).

As will be shown in this section, each of these perspectives makes an important contribution to the analysis of the changes described in the last section and in Chapter 11. However, none of them is sufficient by itself to offer a complete explanation of the findings of the study.

Lifecycles and Organisational Development

Kimberly and Miles (1988) and others (noteably Kramer, 1990a) have suggested that organisational "life cycle" stages played a role in the types of changes taking place in organisations. Drawing on two classic US case studies, Friedkin and Powell (1987) suggest that organisations in their formative stages may change rapidly, while more "mature" organisations may be subject to the pressures of goal succession (the classic example being that of the Infantile Paralysis Association, cited in Friedkin and Powell, 1987). Some authors have described rather detailed organisational "stages" (e.g. Hasenfeld and Schmid, 1989).

A number of authors (e.g. Kramer, 1981; Katz, 1967) have suggested that voluntary organisations change most at birth and shortly after they are formed. This was true of the organisations in this study. During the first year or so of operation, the clubs or day centres agreed their goals, set up procedures, and recruited their personnel (volunteer or paid). Agencies such as Cases 3 and 6 expanded their provision rapidly from one or two days per week to three or even a full week. The employment of a paid coordinator and/or other staff often occurred within the first two years of the founding of the service.

It could be argued that the transition from luncheon club to day centre is a "lifecycle" stage. The process would appear to fit Katz's (1967) stage model: the informal group which evolves leaders, then establishes a service, and hires (professional) staff. The increasing frailty of the elderly people using the clubs fits this model: young clubs would have young and fit (relatively) members, while the more mature day centres would cater to the same

clients several years onward, when they, too, had matured. The ageing of the clientele over time could be seen as an expected and inevitable internal process.

This explanation is consistent with the respondents' own explanations of the changes in the service. It can also be used to explain why the changes were not universal: some agencies simply never reached the next stages in their lifecycles. There was enough turnover in clients that there was never a necessity to consider formalising the service further.

The explanation advanced in Chapter Elevenat "community response" organisations changed to fit the needs of their clients, while "service providers" did not — also supports this analysis. The organisations which changed saw their membership or clientele as an internal element rather than an external one.

It is not clear, though, whether the changes occurred as a result of the life-cycle stages of the organisations[6], or whether other factors were at work. For instance, there may be historical factors (Stinchcombe, 1965). Luncheon clubs appeared to be a prevalent model of service provision for voluntary organisations in both boroughs in the early 1970's. All the services described in the study which were started at that time were luncheon clubs. Day centres do not begin to appear until the late 1980's (e.g. Case 11), and luncheon clubs undergo a rapid transition into day centres during this time (e.g. Case 6, where the changes occurred within the first year of the day centre's operation). Respondents in the study ascribed the changes to the emergence of a frail clientele, something which might be seen as a natural life cycle phenomenon in organisations serving the elderly (as 60 year olds eventually become 80 year olds), but which, equally, may also have to do with changing patterns of care for more disabled people over the same time period.

The lifecycle theories also ignore the issue of external relationships. These were described in detail in Chapter Nine. The Chairman of Case 6 was quoted as expressing his concerns about the conditions that the local authority was imposing on the service in return for funding (which accounted for 85% of the agency's budget). These issues were of considerable relevance for organisations which were financially dependent on local authority funding. Similarly, lifecycle theories do not explain why some organisations collaborated while others did not.

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[6] The difficulty of applying life-cycle theories to actual organisations was discussed in Chapter One.

Lifecycle or stage theories of organisational development are useful in explaining the directions of the changes (towards increased formalisation and use of paid staff). But they do not offer a complete explanation of the findings of this study.

Population Ecology and Resource Dependency

The previous section reviewed developmental theories which saw organisational change as an internal process which occurs as organisations grow and mature from informal/ad hoc groups to formal bureaucracies. This and the next sections will review theories which see the source of organisational change as external to the organisation. Resource dependency theories have been mentioned throughout the previous chapter and this one. These see organisations as operating within environmental opportunities and constraints (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Other organisations such as local authority social services departments, funding agencies, and competing agencies influence and attempt to control the "target" organisation via the resources it requires for survival.

In Chapter Nine, the resource dependency approach was used to explain the ways in which the organisations interacted with the external environment. Exchange theory was useful in describing why the organisations in London Borough A collaborated with one another, and why those in London Borough B did not. The agencies in London Borough A had reached "domain consensus" (Hudson, 1992), using geography and client characteristics to carve out non-competitive "turfs". The local authority was perceived as a common threat, and collaboration was used as a response. These incentives did not exist in London Borough B, where agencies in close geographical proximity operated in virtual isolation from one another. Several of these agencies were self-sufficient financially and therefore did not need to exchange resources in the way that, for example, Case 2 collaborated with the order of nuns. Others were unwilling to incur the costs associated with collaboration: loss of autonomy, complicated hierarchies (e.g. Case 2), and investment of time.

Resource dependency theory also partly explained the relationships between the organisations and the local authorities. Most of the organisations were financially dependent on the local authorities, but this was offset by the fact that many were also monopoly providers of their services.

Population ecology (e.g. Freeman and Hannan, 1983) draws on the basic model of resources and constraints proposed by the resource dependency approach, but focuses on

groups of similar organisations (populations), rather than on individual agencies. The basic premise is that organisations inhabit certain ecological niches of resources and constraints; in a turbulent environment, these change and the organisation must adapt or die.

It could be argued that the ecological niches occupied by luncheon clubs were changing. Active pensioners had alternative forms of recreation and were neither lonely enough nor malnourished enough to require the service provided by the luncheon clubs. Those elderly people who were sufficiently lonely and/or malnourished to warrant attendance at a club had other needs as well, which only a day centre could supply. This hypothesis could be supported by the phenomenon mentioned in the previous section: the luncheon clubs were mainly founded (and thrived) in the 1970's, while day centres generally dated from the mid to late 1980's. The transition from one to the other also dated from the mid- to late 1980's.

The statement by a respondent from the social services department of London Borough A that "in a few years' time we may not be funding" luncheon clubs any longer further supports the contention that the environment had changed, and that therefore certain types of organisations simply were no longer viable.

The resource dependency and organisational ecology approaches predict that in a turbulent environment (such as that engendered by the enactment of far-reaching reforms in the health and social services in the late 1980's and early 1990's), organisational change should be prevalent, with agencies changing their services in order to better comply with the priorities of local authorities and funders.

As was noted earlier in the chapter, however, this was not found in the organisations in the study. Half of the organisations did change their provision and staffing, but six did not. Among the organisations which did not change their provision were the two ethnic luncheon clubs (Case 4 and 12), both of which were relatively recently established (four and ten years, respectively).

Nor were changes in funding the main triggers for change among those agencies which did implement changes. As was noted in Chapters Nine and Eleven and earlier in this chapter, the transition from grants to contracts had not yet occurred, and there was little evidence either of extra funding for more intensive service or of the curtailment of funding for luncheon clubs. These findings limit the applicability of resource dependency and population ecology theories in this study.
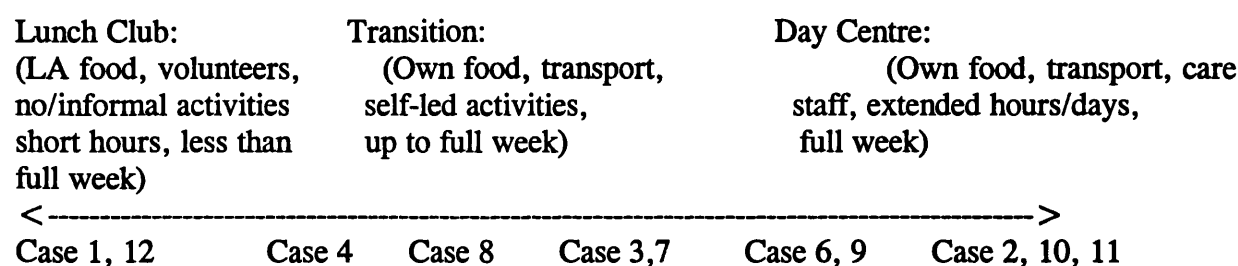
We now turn to another external influence: the observed tendency of organisations in the same field to resemble one another over time.

Isomorphism

Institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) predicts that organisations in an industry will gradually come to resemble one another over time.

The study found that, when the organisations did change, they did so in similar ways. All the organisations had begun providing service as luncheon clubs. When clients became frailer, organisations began to provide both more extensive service (more days and hours), and more intensive service (transport and sometimes personal care); there was a shift towards the use of paid staff (sometimes together with volunteers); and the service became more formalised. A continuum could be mapped:

Lunch Club:	Transition:	Day Centre:
(LA food, volunteers, no/informal activities short hours, less than full week)	(Own food, transport, self-led activities, up to full week)	(Own food, transport, care staff, extended hours/days, full week)

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Case 1, 12   Case 4   Case 8   Case 3,7   Case 6, 9   Case 2, 10, 11

Where organisations changed, it was along this continuum, and all moved towards more formal care and away from less intensive and less formal types of care. At no time did day centres become luncheon clubs; additional days of service were never curtailed; paid staff positions, once instituted, remained, even if the job descriptions and actual personnel might change from time to time.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) refer to three types of isomorphism: **coercive**, where organisations are required to conform to certain "rules of the road" imposed externally; **mimetic**, where organisations imitate other perceived to be successful; and **normative**, associated with professionalisation.

The only "coercive" influence found in the study was client demand. The threat of client exit was documented as one force influencing organisational change in the organisations in the study. The preferences of the clients certainly influenced, and perhaps even controlled, the choice of food, music, and activities in most of the organisations. All but three of the

organisations in the study were serving similar constituencies: white, Christian, people born between 1905 and 1925, most of whom were resident in the boroughs for many years, who were not "mentally frail" or homeless. They appeared to have similar demands in terms of service content and similar definitions of what constituted "good" food, activities, outings, etc.[7] Similarly, the ethnic luncheon clubs provided the food, music, language, and activities the clients preferred: Case 4 was vegetarian and offered a segregated service for men and women; Case 12 served traditional food and offered annual outings to visit friends and relatives in similar communities in other UK cities and France. Case 2 provided specialist care for people with a particular disease, tailored to the needs of the clients and their carers.

There was little evidence of mimetic isomorphism. It should be noted that despite the differences between the two boroughs (political leadership, urban/suburban character, history, etc), the same trends were occurring across both. In Borough A, the organisations met bi-monthly to discuss issues of concern. This forum was a recent development. There had, however, been considerable informal contact of long standing among the groups, and respondents from this borough appeared to be aware of developments in the other organisations. But there was no evidence that organisations actively copied one another in service provision.

In Borough B, there was virtually no contact at all between the organisations in the study. Indeed, on a number of occasions, respondents asked the researcher for information about other organisations. This was striking in view of the geographical proximity of some of the organisations studied: three organisations were located within a ten minute walk of one another. Respondents in the organisations appeared to be completely unaware that others were undergoing similar experiences.

There was some evidence of the influence of the infiltration of particular professional norms. Professional input was increasingly being used to select and take in new clients (Case 2,3,6, and 10 had formal intake or case management procedures). There was also a consensus that frailer people required some "professional" expertise. The link between the use of formal procedures and other changes taking place in the organisations was explored in Chapter Eleven.

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[7] In one case (9), these demands were satisfied even when they contradicted the stated philosophy of the agency running the programme.

A serious problem with the institutional approach is the lack of evidence in this study to support it. As was noted previously, the changes mapped here were not universal. The analysis in the last chapter showed that organisations in similar circumstances did not in fact share the same experiences. Organisations of similar sizes and ages were compared and found to be quite different. For instance, Case 10 changed extensively, while Case 11 (in similar financial circumstances and of similar size) did not.

A more likely explanation for the isomorphism among the organisations described in this study is an observation by Handy (1988) and Woodward (1965) that organisations tend to be configured around tasks. When the tasks of the organisations change, so do the other elements of the organisations. In this study, the tasks of the organisations changed from providing a basic meal and some recreation to providing care. As was noted in the previous chapter, the tasks involved in caring for a frail elderly person (providing transportation, warmth, nutrition, stimulation, and sometimes personal care) are different from those involved in providing an ad-hoc recreational amenity. Because the organisations in the study were, by and large, attracting a similar clientele (white, native-born people between the ages of 75 and 90 who were living "in the community") whose demands were similar, the tasks required to satisfy those demands were also similar, and therefore the changes required of the organisations were also similar.

We now turn to a final source of change: crisis.

Crisis and Change

It has been suggested that organisational crisis often precipitates organisational change as organisations attempt to adapt to perceived change in their environments. Johnson (1989) described change as a "steps and stairs process". As long as there is no obvious discontinuity between environmental demands and organisational activities, the organisation continues as it always has done. Over time, the environment "moves on" and discontinuities begin to emerge. The organisation takes notice of this, usually when a crisis threatens (Billis, 1993b; Johnson, 1989), scans its environment, and adjusts its activities accordingly. The cycle then repeats.

Of the organisations that implemented changes (in extent of service, in staffing, and sometimes in amending their official goals), several did so reluctantly when faced with an impending difficulty. The most extreme example of this was in Case 5, where service had to

be temporarily suspended altogether. In other organisations, there was a more gradual discovery by decision makers (trustees or paid staff) that their clientele was becoming more disabled, followed by a period of rapid change as new procedures were implemented. Case 10, for instance, was about to undergo such changes when after several decades of stability it simultaneously moved into new (purpose built accommodation), chose a new director, and hired more members of staff. An inquiry by the Internal Revenue into the status of the cook in Case 3 (with an accompanying demand for tax) provoked a re-examination of the luncheon club service. The hiring of a new day centre manager for Case 9 (with a different job description from that of her predecessor) sparked a conflict in the management committee which ended with both the resignation of the Treasurer and a re-examination of that service (and a decision to refurbish the facility).

In between these crises, the organisations experienced periods of relative stability. For those founded in the early 1970's, this period lasted well into the mid-1980's (and in some cases, until the time of the study at the beginning of the 1990's). For those organisations founded in the 1980's, rapid growth was followed by several years of stability. As one chairman put it:

> If things are going right, there's a motto, isn't it: If it ain't bust don't fix it. And while things are going along and seem satisfactory there's definitely no incentive to change. You don't want to change something that seems to be working reasonably. If you see that the changes are coming, you try and plan ahead and see how you are going to cope with the changes. But what it is is a question of recognising what changes have almost already happened, what might happen. And then how you should cope with these things. You've got to react to the problems. (Chairman, Case 1)

This would appear to confirm the picture drawn by Johnson (1989) and Billis (1993b) of periods of rapid change (often sparked by crises), followed by relative calm.

It should be noted that the crises which occurred in the organisations described here were not sudden phenomena, but rather the result of cumulative processes. This was particularly the case in Case 5, where crisis highlighted the fact that, while the clients had gradually changed, the organisation itself had not. As we shall see in the next section, organisational change was not to be undertaken lightly as it posed a number of risks for the organisations.

In summary, we have seen that neither developmental theories (lifecycles) nor external pressures are sufficient by themselves to explain the results of this study. Rather, change resulted from the interplay of both.

There remains a final factor which was not examined in Chapter 1, but which has emerged as having relevance to the findings of the study. This is the issue of size. All the agencies examined here were small relative to the national agencies studied by authors such as Kramer (1989). However, there were considerable differences in size between the various organisations. The discussion in the next section will therefore refer to the "larger" and "smaller" agencies. It should be noted, however, that even the largest of the agencies examined in this study was quite small in terms of budget, clientele, and staff.

Size and Change

Pennings (1980) suggested that small organisations were more like to undergo organisational change than large ones. Large organisations were less susceptible to external pressures and the level of formalisation required to sustain them inhibited radical changes. Small organisations remained flexible and therefore able to change rapidly to adapt to changes around them. Similar claims have been made about small firms, but these are now treated with some skepticism by researchers in that field (Halliday, 1995; Stanworth and Curran, 1976).

The findings from this study would appear to confirm these caveats. Tables 8 and 9 in Chapter Eleven compared the organisations which changed and which did not by size. Among the organisations studied, it was the larger organisations (in terms of clients and size of budget) which were more likely to change. The smallest organisations in the study were more likely to remain the same than were the larger ones.

Organisational change, and particularly the types of changes seen in the services in this study, appears to require a certain level of resources. Small organisations were less equipped than large organisations to obtain the resources required to make the changes in provision detailed above. Although funding and in-kind assistance were available in both boroughs, to access them required organisational skills, personal connections, time, and energy which the smaller organisations lacked. Most were run as "one man bands", with the "one man" (often a woman) coordinating the daily running of the service (volunteer rosters, client lists, etc) as well as administrative tasks. Fundraising in these agencies was often

limited to an annual sale or event of some kind and the annual application for the traditional local authority grant. Organisers had neither the time nor the expertise to ferret out additional sources of local authority or other funds, or to cultivate the kind of personal connections with local councillors and civil servants which might enable them to locate and secure more money[8].

In contrast, the larger organisations could afford to be more entrepreneurial. Managers and administrators were paid to liaise with local authority and social services departments, fill out funding applications, and raise funds. Expertise, time, and energy were thus available for securing the needed resources. Kramer's review of large UK voluntary organisations (1990a) suggested in passing that the contract culture and other changes in funding structures might present opportunities for larger organisations which would not be available to smaller groups. We can note the difference between the relatively "wealthy" Case 10, which saw itself as well-placed to take advantage of proposed "per-head" contracts, and Case 1, which deliberately kept its grant proposal below the "magic number" set by the local authority, so as not to be burdened with increased accountability requirements.

These findings correspond well with parallel research on small firms, where lack of financial resources (Welsh and White, 1981), time (Halliday, 1995), and expertise (cited in Curran, 1989; Halliday, 1995; Stanworth and Curran, 1976) inhibited flexibility, innovation, and growth. The owner-manager described by Halliday (1995) bore some resemblance to the managers of the small voluntary organisations in the study: so busy running the day to day business that he (or more often in this study, she) had no time for the networking or additional skills training required to find additional sources of revenue, welcome though they might be. Stanworth and Curran (1976), in their study of small firm owner-managers, found similar factors inhibiting the growth of small firms. They note that

> The small entrepreneur may well make an assessment of the results of certain courses of action, and decide that....the "costs" (in social and psychological terms) of some of these are too high. (p.106).

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[8] This was a serious concern as most organisers were already over-committed. As one respondent admitted:
> I've moved to the stage now when it's become not very easy.(Secretary, Case 1).

For the organisers of the two smallest groups in the study (Cases 1 and 8), these costs included the additional time required for the paperwork; additional scrutiny by outsiders which might inhibit the organisers' autonomy; and the possible sacrifice of independence.

This brings us to the second reason why small organisations providing a "shoestring" service apparently did not grow. These organisations existed on the margins of service provision and were extremely cheap to run. They were therefore more easily overlooked by funding authorities. Because the financial demands of these organisations were so modest, it was politically easy for local authorities to simply renew the grant each year without necessarily reviewing the service or making additional demands on the organisations. This advantage disappeared once the organisation began to grow, for then it would cost the funders more money, and the funders were then more likely to scrutinise the service more closely. There were risks involved in asking for more money:

> ...up till now we've only put in for very modest increases, and we've not had any difficulty. (Secretary, Case 1)

Asking for a small sum and receiving it was better than asking for a large sum and receiving nothing.

The evidence in this study shows that size has some implications for organisational change. Rather than being more likely to change, the smallest organisations were actually less likely to do so. Not only did they lack the resources necessary to change (time, money, skills), but it was against the interests of the organisers to do so.

So far, we have considered a number of theories of organisational change in light of the findings of this study. Lifecycle or "stage" theories explained why organisations tended to become more formalised and suggested that change is triggered from within, rather than from outside, the organisation. Resource dependency theory explained why organisations collaborated and why they did not. The concept of isomorphism, while superficially of use, was rejected on the basis that no evidence could be found in this study to support it; while many of the organisations did change in similar ways, the changes could be explained in other ways. The crises found in the study tended to be the result of longstanding processes which had reached crisis proportions, rather than sudden "explosions". Finally, size proved to be a relevant contingency in predicting change: below a certain threshold, organisations had neither the resources nor the incentives to change. While this made them vulnerable to the

whims of the local authorities on which they were dependent, their relatively modest needs also insulated them from the turbulence of their environments.

In summary, organisational change is the product of both internal and external forces. Environmental resources and constrains can provide the opportunities for change. But it is the internal dynamics of the organisations which determine whether they will actually do so. This interplay of internal assumptions and choices with external opportunities makes organisational change a complex matter. It is therefore not sufficient for a funding agency to adopt a "carrot and stick" approach and then expect to see (and control) certain results.

The findings of the study have implications for organisation theory, for social policy makers, and for the agencies and their members. We now turn to a discussion of these issues.

Implications of the Study for Organisation Theory:

The findings of this study raise a number of issues for organisation theory, for social policy making, and for the voluntary agencies and their members. We begin with the implications for "generic" organisation theory.

In order for theories of organisation to be truly universal, they must be applicable to organisations of all sectors and sizes. The findings of this study show the importance of sector in applying generic explanations of organisational change. In the previous section, various theories of organisational change were examined in light of the findings of this study. None provided a complete explanation for the changes observed in the agencies.

One reason for the failure of the theories examined in the previous section to fully explain the findings of this study is their neglect of organisational technology. Organisations are set up by their founders in order to achieve objectives. These objectives often dictate the other elements of the organisation. In the Introduction to the study, the example of an operating theatre was used: if the objective of the organisation is to carry out surgery, then instruments, sterile facilities, surgeons, and medical support staff are necessary, regardless of whether the hospital is run privately, publicly, or by a non-profit organisation.

Woodward (1965) found that different manufacturing processes made different demands on the firms in the study: "organizational characteristics, technology, and success were linked together" (p.69). She concluded that "one particular form of organization was most appropriate to each system of production" (p.71).

The findings of this study confirmed this approach. Change was triggered by the changing attributes of the members. As the technology required to carry out the original objectives changed, so did the various other elements of the agencies. The implications of this finding for social policy will be discussed in the next section.

But if this approach explained why the agencies changed in the ways that they did, it failed to predict the prevalence of the changes. Given changes in the characteristics of their clients, some agencies chose to adapt, others "slid" into change (Billis, 1993b), but others did not change at all. This finding confirmed the importance of organisational "culture" (Smircich, 1983; Schein, 1985) in organisational change. The recognition that voluntary organisations cannot be studied without consideration of distinctive cultural attributes is critical to an understanding of these types of agencies. The distinctive features of the sector not only dictate the resources available to the agencies (e.g. donated income; tax exemption; donate labour) and their constraints (e.g. limitations on political and trading activities), but also influence organisational strategy. This study identified two organisational cultures ("service providers" and "community response"); these proved to be crucial to explaining not only the process of change in the agencies in the study, but also its prevalence.

Implications for Policy Makers:

The case made for the use of "the voluntary sector" to deliver social services was based on a number of perceived attributes of voluntary services and organisations. Services delivered by voluntary organisations was seen as more "flexible" and "responsive", and less formal and bureaucratic than monolithic State provision (HMSO, 1990). Voluntary organisations provided services that were "innovative" (Kramer, 1981; HMSO, 1990). Because voluntary organisations operated on a smaller scale than social services departments, and because they were composed of the communities they were meant to serve, they could get closer to the consumer and could respond in more appropriate and individual ways (HMSO, 1990). Because voluntary organisations were accustomed to fewer resources than the equivalent State bureaucracies, they were also more "efficient" and less tied up in red tape (Hedley and Hatch, 1992).

The results of this study include some evidence to support these claims. The agencies in the study saw themselves as more cost-effective and more efficient than their statutory counterparts. Respondents commented that

[The Borough] see us as.... a way of saving them from providing services themselves. (Chairman, Case 1)

[They are] too dogmatic and top heavy on management. (Chairwoman, Case 2)

Similar comments by other respondents (discussed in detail in Chapter Ten) indicate a widely-held perception that the groups were providing a cheaper and more efficient service than their statutory counterparts.

However, the small size of the agencies in this study has implications which tend to contradict the perceived cost-effectiveness of small voluntary agencies. While small may be beautiful (Schumacher, 1973), it brings with it a number of constraints. A number of researchers have questioned the assumption that small firms are necessarily flexible (Holliday, 1995) or responsive. As was noted by Welsh and White (1981) and others, small organisations suffer from "resource poverty" (Holliday, 1995): lack of financial resources, time, and skills[9]. This was supported by the findings of this study and has considerable implications for the quality of the services to be provided. The smallest organisations in the study cited a lack of resources as the reason for not changing the extent of their services. Organisations that did change incurred considerable costs. The financial costs included staff salaries (to cover new employees) and physical modifications to premises (disabled access, disabled toilets, and sometimes provision of shower facilities). Other costs included the increased commitment of time for administrative duties. Small organisations may not be able to afford either the initial capital outlay nor the ongoing running costs. Even when resources are made available to these organisations, we have seen that organisers, like their counterparts in small firms, may find that such development is not in their interests (Stanworth and Curran, 1976).

The increased capital and running costs may reduce the perceived efficiency and "value for money" aspects of very small organisations. Is it really worth the expense to accommodate ten or fifteen people at a time? One organisation was offering a very intensive service but actually limited its day centre to ten participants at a time, on the grounds that it would be impossible to provide such a personalised service to a greater number of people

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[9] Similar observations were made about voluntary organisations, in which economic inefficiency is seen as an inherent characteristic (James, 1990).

(Case 2)[10] Perhaps this is why a respondent from the social services department in one borough suggested that in a few years' time "we might not be funding [small luncheon clubs] anymore".

The claim to greater responsiveness was supported by the three groups which were providing services to specific communities: mentally frail people (Case 2); Gujarati Hindus (Case 4); and Vietnamese elders (Case 12). These services had been specifically tailored to the needs and demands of their participants.

But there is also evidence to the contrary. The three organisations in the study which were running services for specific communities not catered for by local authority services started their services because these clients were not being accommodated by other voluntary organisations either. This was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, but also bears repeating here. The organisations in the study had tailored their provision to the needs of their particular communities, but these communities were defined as much by those excluded as by those included. Service by these organisations was particular rather than general (Milofsky, 1987). These communities were indeed taking care of their own -- but not, necessarily, anyone else[11].

The changes described in this study raise another issue for policy makers. Informality and lack of "red tape" has been cited as a hallmark of voluntary provision (Hadley and Hatch, 1981). The findings of this study cast some doubt on this assumption.

The services provided by the organisations in the study had been based on a number of assumptions regarding their clientele. The main purposes of the service had been recreational, to "entertain them" (Chairman, Case 5). The service was intended for people who were generally self-sufficient, with the assumption that more dependent people would turn to other forms of provision. Accordingly, the service was made available for a few days in the week, for a few hours a day (with extensive breaks during school holidays when the premises were needed for children and the food provided by local authority kitchens was more difficult to obtain). Service was informal: people simply walked in on any given day,

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[10] This organisation also relied on volunteers and other unpaid labour to cut labour costs; sometimes (depending on volunteer availability) there was one member of staff/volunteer for every one or two participants.

[11] The point made by one organiser in Chapter 6 [Goals] about racism is of particular relevance.

and records beyond simple rosters were rarely kept. The continuing popularity of this type of service among the participants interviewed during the course of the study testifies to its success.

By the time of the study, however, the assumptions underlying the service had all changed. The service was no longer purely recreational, but also custodial in nature. People were no longer self-sufficient but depended heavily on the service for a hot meal, a warm place to be in the winter, and even in some cases, a bath. Organisations responded by becoming more formal in a number of ways: they hired paid staff (for "stability" -- Chairwoman, Case 2); they instituted intake procedures which involved referrals from professionals (as one respondent cynically pointed out, "paid professionals like to talk to other paid professionals"); they began to provide more intensive services such as transportation, which required advance planning on the part of both client and organiser. The ad-hoc, informal style was giving way to a more "professional" ethos.

This suggests that the informal style so beloved of policy makers might have more to do with the role and tasks that the voluntary organisations had originally undertaken than any innate "voluntary sector" attribute. Providers of a recreational, part-time service can afford ad-hoc arrangements, because if something should go wrong, the worst consequences might be a missed meal or bingo game. But, in the absence of other alternatives (and many of these organisations were the sole providers of any day care in their immediate vicinity), suspension of a service to very disabled people might have more serious consequences. That the organisations excelled at providing recreational services for more active people is not in doubt. But quite possibly, more intensive provision requires greater accountability (to clients, to clients' families, to local authorities and regulators, to funders), and this, in turn, involves more formal procedures, more standard and reliable care -- the advent of the "case" and the demise of the "individuality" so treasured by organisers and clients alike.

In summary, while small voluntary agencies appeared to be very good at the informal, less intensive services they had originally been founded to provide, they may be less appropriate vehicles for intensive, "high reliability" services. Resource poverty, including lack of appropriate managerial support, and the limitations of volunteer labour, mean that such agencies are fragile indeed. Agencies below the £10,000 threshold used by the Charities Commission may not be able to provide reliable, intensive service, nor might they wish to.

Implications for the Agencies and Their Members:

Most of the agencies in the study began their provision as a generic service to all people over a certain age. The limitations of this approach have become apparent over time. The assumption that all people over 65 have the same characteristics and needs is no longer viable. The "ageing in place" phenomenon seen in this study has shown that, in aggregate, disability rises with age, with services for 85-year-olds making different physical demands than those for 65-year-olds. Different cohorts of older people will have different tastes, likes and dislikes, and physical requirements. Furthermore, as Britain has become a multicultural society, elderly people are no longer universally white and Christian.

Failure to define the audience for the services led the agencies into serious dilemmas. The needs of longstanding members had to be balanced against the capacity of the agency to provide for their needs. Agencies either had to make the painful decision to "abandon" a much-loved individual, or to retain the individual but change the nature of the service. In some cases, agencies muddled through until a crisis forced a decision. This was obvious in Case 5, where service had to be suspended altogether, but was also an issue in Case 6, where the agency felt pressured to provide a service beyond its capacity.

The implications of the "ageing in place" phenomenon observed in this study are that as a service grows older, so will its clientele. The consequence is that an increasing number of members will become frail. Should the agency choose to adapt its service to the new needs of its clientele, it must be prepared to pay the costs. These include physical modifications to the premises (to enable wheelchair access, for example); changes in staffing, including use of paid staff to provide a reliable service; and introducing transportation and its attendant capital and running costs. The agency must also be prepared to take on increased risks of falls and, inevitably, the deaths of members.

But agencies need not undergo these changes. Agencies which do not have access to the resource base required to implement the changes that were listed here can choose to continue their service in its original form, provided that they are willing to recruit new members and refer disabled individuals to other frameworks of care. This was the strategy adopted by Case 1 and to a lesser extent by Case 3. Refusing to provide transportation for people who without it could not access the facility was a strategy adopted by Case 12 and to a lesser extent by Case 9.

Both approaches require ongoing surveillance to match the tasks with the original objectives of the agencies. "Sliding into change" (Billis, 1993b) in this study occurred on a case-by-case basis, when volunteers and other staff members were unwilling to abandon individual members. Agencies which choose not to change must enforce that choice without exception.

Agencies in the study responded to the increasing frailty of their clientele by taking a more formal approach than they had previously. Increasingly, clients no longer walked in of their own accord but were referred by professionals (GPs or social workers). People using the transportation arrived and departed at set times and could not choose when to come and when to leave. And while some agencies did set up "house committees", these were highjacked by non-users for political purposes (Case 5) or had very limited decision making power (Case 10). These developments had serious implications for the day centre and luncheon club participants.

Of the twelve organisations in the study, only one made formal provision for luncheon club "members" to be directly represented on the management committee of the organisation (Case 7)[12]. This mattered little so long as clients retained the option of "exit" (Hirschman, 1970). But once clients became dependent on the organisations for transport, they became a "captive audience"[13]. This issue was discussed at the end of Chapter Eight, and noted in the previous chapter, but bears repeating here. While the safeguarding of client autonomy and choice was seen as reason for the use of the voluntary sector (and particularly small voluntary organisations) (Wistow and Henwood, 1991), this, too, may be an inherent characteristic not of the organisations but of the type of service.

Future Directions:

There remain a number of unknowns. To what extent are the organisations surveyed in this study indeed typical of small UK voluntary agencies? Existing data on small voluntary organisations in the UK is limited to the work of Harris (1995 and 1994), a study of funding by Russell, Scott, and Wilding (1995) and a number of unpublished case studies, none of

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[12]Discussed in detail in Chapter Eight (Governance.

[13]Knoke (1990) mentions similar dynamics in membership associations and unions, noting that the "closed shop" situation was conducive to oligarchy.

which specifically address the issue of organisational change.

A more comprehensive survey of small UK voluntary organisations would provide a means of confirming or disproving the conclusions arrived at in this study. The current study was limited to two London boroughs and to the field of day services for elderly people. More information is needed about small voluntary agencies in other British metropolitan areas and in rural and semi-rural areas. A national survey might show whether the changes described in this study held true across the country or were specific to the boroughs and organisations surveyed here. Similarly, it would be useful to examine agencies providing different services (such as domiciliary and residential care, or friendship clubs, or transportation services) to elderly people: are the changes seen here confined to the field of day care centres and luncheon clubs for this clientele? An examination of organisations serving other types of clientele (e.g. children, people with specific disabilities) might also provide information about the generaliseability of the findings reported here.

It would be interesting as well to follow up the organisations in the study after the changes proposed in both boroughs had been fully implemented. This would provide an additional longitudinal "check" on the current findings and help to address some of the limitations of the study. For instance, it was noted that despite the predictions made in Chapter Four (Methodology), the organisations in the study showed relatively little change. It was suggested that the time period covered in the study (retrospective from 1993 to the early 1970's) was a fairly stable one, with few policy changes. A "follow up" study covering the time period from 1994 onward, when the effects of community care policies might be expected to be felt at the local level, might test this hypothesis.

This study chose to follow twelve specific agencies, rather than to map voluntary provision of day care to elderly people in the boroughs as a whole. In doing so, the study used data from specific (and possibly idiosyncratic) agencies to generalise about voluntary provision in aggregate. The "mapping" exercise, however, remains to be done. How will the nature of day care for elderly people under voluntary auspices in these boroughs change in the coming decade? Will voluntary agencies continue to emulate their statutory counterparts and become more formalised and "bureaucratic"? Are luncheon clubs indeed an endangered species, as some study respondents suggested?

A major omission discovered in the process of gathering background material about day care for elderly people in the UK is the lack of statistical data about the scope of

voluntary provision of this service in the UK. Statistical data on luncheon clubs and day centres for elderly people rarely differentiates between statutory and voluntary provision (e.g. Department of Health, 1994) and even when it does, contains no information about the organisations themselves. It is therefore unclear whether the organisations in this study were "typical" of voluntary sector day service providers in the UK, or whether there is such a thing as a "typical" provider. A statistical survey similar to that conducted in the US (Weissert, et al, 1988) could give information about the distribution of such provision (is voluntary provision of day care for elderly people more common in rural or urban areas? North or south?) and organisational characteristics such as age, size of catchment area, use of volunteers/paid staff, type of premises used, main sources of funding, and number and types of clients served. A basic "census" of this type would be a useful planning document for local authorities wishing to use voluntary agencies to provide day service for elderly people.

Summary:

This study has examined small voluntary organisations providing day care services for elderly people. Despite the high profile of services for the elderly in social policy planning (e.g. Caring for People, HMSO, 1989), the predominance of small agencies in the British voluntary sector (Charities Commission, 1995), and the increasing reliance on this type of agency for delivery of social services, these agencies have been neglected by academic research. Organisation theory has mainly been concerned with studies of large organisations, primarily in the private sector. Studies of voluntary agencies have concentrated on larger organisations in the sector (e.g. Kramer, 1981). And, while the importance of day centres and clubs for elderly people has long been recognised[14], only one recent study could be found on the subject (Tester, 1989), and this did not differentiate between public and voluntary provision, nor did it provide a view of the grass-roots of community-based provision. Nor was there any serious literature on luncheon clubs, despite the importance of this type of provision.

The study examined twelve local voluntary agencies in two London boroughs. It found

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[14]Beveridge (1948) emphasized the provision of such clubs as an important role for the voluntary sector; see also, Tibbit, 1987, as well as a passing reference in Caring for People (HMSO, 1989).

that the main impetus for change in the provision was the increasing frailty of the day centre or luncheon club members. In order to support more dependent people, agencies extended their hours and the number of days of provision; added a transportation service; replaced local authority meals with those cooked on the premises; and hired care staff. In some agencies, formal assessment and referral procedures were put into place.

Paradoxically, although the level of support was increased in order to accommodate changing client demands, clients often found that the extent of their influence on the agency declined. Only one agency had formal structures for luncheon club members to participate in agency-wide decision making. While others did have representative committees, the power of these was limited. The power of individuals to leave at will was curtailed by formal transportation arrangements (which limited entry and exit to set times of day) and formal referral procedures (requiring the individual to actively reject the service, which some might be reluctant to do).

Only half the agencies in the study reported these changes. Some agencies reported no significant changes in clientele, either because the agencies had not operated the service for long enough for the increase in disability to become apparent (e.g. Case 4), because the there was sufficient turnover of clients so that the issue did not arise (e.g. Case 12), or because the agency deliberately designed the service to accommodate the very disabled (Case 2). Of the agencies that did report changes in clientele, two of the smallest did not implement the changes to the service described by the other agencies in this study.

The decision to make changes -- and the attendant dilemmas faced by the agencies -- were rooted in the cultures of the organisations. Agencies which felt that their duty to individual members, however disabled, superseded considerations such as the increased costs to the agency (in financial resources, goal deflection, and administrative capacity), were more likely to implement the changes than were agencies where this loyalty was tempered by the capacity and interests of the service providers (usually volunteers).

The study raised concerns about the fragility of the agencies as service providers. Most had limited administrative capacities and were operating under financial constraints. Many agencies were "one man bands" where one individual was responsible for everything; the failure of the "one man" would be sufficient to plunge the agency into crisis and would

endanger the service[15]. The study found that there was a threshold of about £40,000 annual income, below which increased extent and intensity of provision were unlikely.

And yet, a second paradox found in the study was that the very fragility of these agencies was also their main strength. While their access to resources (administrative and financial) was limited, so were their demands for those resources. The limited service they provided required little beyond the ad-hoc arrangements they organised, and the tiny budgets they commanded. They were well-placed to take advantage of whatever in-kind contributions came their way: any person with spare time could be accepted as a volunteer (even if in a minimal capacity); the service could be adapted to whatever premises were available, from library basements to church halls; and coordination was often limited to telephoning volunteers to ensure sufficient cover for the day, at the organiser's convenience.

These advantages disappeared with growth, increased intensity of provision, and increased reliability. Personnel with specialised skills such as lifting, accessible premises, and transportation required increased financial resources and left agencies vulnerable to budget cuts. Growth involved ever-more volunteers, beyond the capacity (time and telephone costs) of a private individual. And the consequences of something going wrong were became more serious as the clients' reliance on the service grew.

These findings have implications for personal social service delivery in the UK. While small voluntary agencies may be ideal vehicles for informal, less intensive services to relatively fit individuals, the study raised questions about their ability to care for more disabled people without significant changes in the nature of the agency. The informality of these agencies tended to disappear under the constraints of intensive, reliable service for very disabled people.

The inappropriate use of small voluntary agencies, and the failure to acknowledge the particular constraints on such agencies, would do both the voluntary organisations and their clients a disservice. Pressure on small agencies to provide service beyond their capacity to do so may have two possible consequences. One is agency failure, where the agency simply

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[15]Just before fieldwork commenced in London Borough A, the charismatic founder of one of the main agencies died. This agency declined to participate in the study, so data from it was not included for ethical reasons. But leaders in other agencies referred to this death, and the crisis it caused in that agency, in informal conversations with the researcher, and it was clear that the effects of that event had implications beyond the agency affected.

refuses to provide intensive services and is possibly forced to suspend its activities altogether. This would deprive communities of a valuable resource. Alternatively, agencies which attempt to provide a service beyond their remit may find themselves held responsible for inappropriate, inadequate, and possibly dangerous service.

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APPENDIX I: STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How did your organisation/day centre/luncheon club start? Why? When?

2. Why did you decide to provide day care/a luncheon club? (terminology as appropriate)

3. What do you provide?

4. How do you provide it?
   a. premises (type, source, own/shared)
   b. transport (own, clients)
   c. food (how provided)
   d. activities (what, led by whom)
   e. hours? days per week?

5. Who comes to your club/centre?
   a. number
   b. type of people
   c. do they go anywhere else as well?

6. Who runs the group (staffing)?
   a. number
   b. distribution of tasks
   c. paid/volunteers

7. [ORGANISATIONS WITH PAID STAFF ONLY] Why did you decide to use paid staff?

7a. Have you always used paid staff?
   a. If not, when did you hire your first paid staff member? who decided? why?

8. Can you tell me about the volunteers?
   a. why do people volunteer?
   b. why do you use volunteers?
   c. what do the volunteers do?
   d. what are the advantages/disadvantages of using volunteers?
   e. is there a difference between what volunteers do and what paid staff do?

9. What does the board of trustees/management committee do?
   a. who is on the board?
   b. how do people become trustees/ management committee members?
   c. why do people choose to become trustees/committee members?

10. Who makes the decisions? How?

11. Once something is decided, how does it get done?

12. What do you (respondent) do?

13. How is the organisation funded?
      a. do you get money from the council? how much? what proportion of your budget?
      b. do you get money from other sources? What proportion of your budget?
      c. what are your main costs?

14. Since you have been involved in the organisation, what would you say is the most significant change you have seen?

15. [alternative version] What is the most important thing that has happened to the organisation since you have been involved?

Other questions as appropriate:

16. Do you have contact with the local council? What kind of contact? Are there any particular issues you have with the social services/council?

17. Do you have contact with [your headquarters organisation]?
      a. how often?
      b. what do they do for you?
      c. what do you do for them?
      d. do they have anything to do with your decision making?

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

London Borough A:

Case 1:
Chairman
Secretary/Treasurer
2 Volunteers

Case 2:
Chairwoman
2 Trustees
Day Care Coordinator
Day Centre Manager
Deputy Day Centre
Manager

Case 3:
Centre Manager
Cook
2 Volunteers

Case 4:
Honorary Secretary

Case 5:
Chairman
2 Trustees
Centre Manager
4 Members

London Borough B:

Case 7:
Cook
Over 60's Worker
Centre Manager
4 Club Members

Case 8:
Centre Manager
Club Organiser
2 Volunteers
2 Members

Case 9:
Vicar/Chairman
Secretary
Treasurer
Day Centre Manager
Volunteer
Cook
3 Members

Case 10:
Centre Manager
Day Centre Organiser
Deputy Organiser
2 House Committee Members

Case 11:
Clerk to the Trustees
Treasurer
Centre Manager
4 Trustees
(one telephone
interview)

Case 6:   Case 12:
    Chairman   Association Chairman
    2 Trustees   Club Secretary/Organiser
    Centre Manager
    Day Care Coordinator
    3 Members

Additional Respondents:
    LBA Centre for Voluntary Service Deputy Director
    LBA Grants Officer
    LBA Community Care Officer
    Fieldworker for LBA and LBB, Age Concern London
    Fieldworker for LBA, Alzheimer's Disease Society
    Director, LBB Age Concern