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**DIVERSITY AND THE PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN
VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY BY OLDER PEOPLE**

Vol. 1

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Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

July 2003

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The University of Aston in Birmingham

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Summary: The first chapter introduces the subject from a psychological and sociological perspective emphasising the basic human activity of helping those in need. Governmental prominence for policies that assist this activity is briefly discussed with special mention of the programmes that encourage volunteering. Programmes particularly directed at older people, such as the Age Concern 'Debate of the Age' are considered briefly.

An extensive review of the extant literature is the subject of the second chapter. The previous research is explored to discover the formulae used to define a volunteer. A definition relative to this research is created. Volunteering issues aggravated by the demographic situation of older people are explored. Empirical volunteer survey research by national organisations is explored to ascertain the extent and nature of the already recorded volunteer population. The penultimate section of this chapter investigates the nature of old age and the strategies that older people adopt to enjoy the benefits and contain the problems. The issue of diversity arises from consideration of the literature suggesting that, although it is an essential voluntary sector strength, it is also a further barrier for recruitment. A model of diversity is proposed.

Chapter three reviews the theoretical processes, procedures and techniques used to collect and analyse the data required to discover the answer to the research problem. An inductive approach has been adopted, though using dual quantitative/qualitative techniques. Through strict interpretation of the data a theoretical model will emerge.

Analysis of the questionnaire survey data received is the subject of chapter four. Mainly quantitative measuring techniques were adopted to ascertain the demographic and socio-economic composition of the research participants. The discovery of the agency uniqueness of volunteer profiles is the principal finding of this part of the research.

The fifth chapter is the qualitative analysis of the oral and written statements received. A content analysis of the scripts and texts provided rich data covering motivational factors. Motivational factors were the same for volunteers in the same organisation, but differed between organisations.

Finally, the analysed data is collated and discussed progressively toward a theory of diversity. The individuality of each branch of each agency is progressively described culminating in the creation of a model that infers that diversity is a barrier that aggravates all other barriers. The personal realisations of the researcher are described. The avenues of future research are briefly considered.

Key words: diversity: motivation: volunteer profile: volunteerism.

DEDICATION

**To my wife, Grace, without whose patience, encouragement and support this
Thesis would never have been completed.**

In the words of a philosopher of the Scottish Enlightenment:

‘If we take in our hand any volume ... let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning any matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion’ (Hume, 1902)

May this volume escape the flames.

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CHAPTER 1**INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT OF
VOLUNTEERING IN THE UK**

The apparent waste to society of the skills, expertise and experience of older people prompted the initial research enquiry. Further reading, as will be shown in Chapter 2, indicated that in the voluntary sector there was a perception that there were barriers preventing the full use of older volunteers. The variety of the fields of voluntary activity, the different levels of expertise within each of these fields, the mixture of full-time and part-time workers both professional and volunteer, and the individuality of motivations for this extensive activity suggested that the diversity of these forces may be a further influential barrier.

Within the parameters of the research question this Chapter sets out the broad policy context within which volunteering action is proceeding in the UK. This is achieved by providing a brief historical overview of the changing role of voluntary action and volunteering in social progress in recent times. The shifting and often uneasy relationship between the voluntary and statutory sectors forms a key theme in this regard. The increasingly favourable cast of governmental policy over the past few years has, however, brought forth a significant number of discrete policy initiatives and these are also summarised in this Chapter. The range of incentives that the Labour Government has pursued since 1997 are basically of either a financial or direct nature, designed to stimulate people either to become volunteers, or indeed, to intensify their existing commitments. Governments acting at both a national and local level are pursuing specific initiatives. Government and the voluntary sector itself are targeting particular social groups. Among these, older people and their life choices are deemed of particular significance. The social status and significance of older people in relation to voluntary action – the underpinning theme of this Thesis – is thus briefly addressed.

The discussion commences with a brief appraisal of the shifting role of voluntary action over recent UK history.

Volunteering – a Basic Social Value?

Doing something for others represents a basic social value (Gross, 1992). As such, this activity contributes to the quality of national culture. People have throughout history voluntarily combined to help each other; in farming communities, to raise a barn; in fishing communities, to contribute to the upkeep of fishermen's widows and family; in mining villages, to form the pit rescue teams; in towns and cities to constitute the fire-fighting force. From the sixteenth century onward families of wealth have voluntarily vested philanthropic amenities, such as hospitals, schools, libraries and public parks to their home town. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, groups of people voluntarily set up societies for the betterment of working people, trade unions, business and trade associations. In the early part of the twentieth century, groups of like-minded people formed associations and clubs for young people, or to pursue sporting interests and hobbies. Volunteers were active in these and many other forms of 'voluntary' organisation.

One by-product of the rapid expansion in scale and scope of social welfare policies overseen by the Labour Government of 1945–51 was the statutory take-over of many hospitals, schools and other public services. As a consequence, many voluntary agencies, associations and organisations that were devoted to public services either became defunct or were much reduced in their activities. Although most proponents of the state welfare system considered that welfare oriented voluntary organisations would gradually wither away, Lord Beveridge, considered one of the architects of the British welfare state, did not (Beveridge, 1948).

'In a totalitarian society all action outside the citizen's home, and it may be much that goes on there, is directed or controlled by the State. By contrast, vigour and abundance of voluntary action outside one's home, individually and in association with other citizens, for bettering one's own life and that of one's fellows, are the distinguishing marks of a free society' (Beveridge, 1948 p.10)

Nonetheless, the broad thrust of public policy over the early post-War period was to sequester, transfer or otherwise devalue local and voluntary assets in pursuit of statutory, professional and government-owned service provision.

The Wolfenden Report of (1978) signalled a partial reversal in the direction of public policy back towards voluntary associations and organisations. Wolfenden outlined a division of labour in which the government was responsible for the planning and provision of the principal services, with the voluntary care and welfare organisations providing the services not available under state welfare, and filling in the gaps in the public services provided. The Wolfenden Report thus depicted the value of voluntary association in largely instrumental terms, as a residual, gap-filling service function.

Since 1979, successive governments have moved away from a social welfare model based on monopolistic provision of services to be delivered through professionalized public agencies (Farnham and Lupton, 1994). Over the 1980s, as Atkinson and Savage (1994) observe, Conservative governments sought to move a broad range of public welfare systems into competitive private markets. This was intended to provide greater freedom of choice for ‘consumers’ of services, while simultaneously providing a stimulus to cost reduction. This policy also had the effect of shifting the role of the state and its agents from provider to facilitator (Atkinson and Savage, 1994). This increasingly ‘plural’ system encouraged the growth of service-providing voluntary agencies but also risked enhancing their financial dependency on central government funding. It also promoted increasingly bureaucratic organisation structures, in order to undertake the projects and services expected from them (Osborne, 1996).

Further statutory changes between 1988-90 accentuated this trend. The 1988 Education Reform Act, which introduced Local Management of Schools and thus volunteer school governors, and the 1989 White Paper ‘Working for Patients’ (implemented as the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990) both served to swell the size of the voluntary sector. This increase was not, however, always to the advantage of the individual volunteer. The greater professionalism necessary to satisfy service ‘commissioners’ or ‘purchasers’ required more and better training and a greater emphasis on qualifications, quality standards and other ‘credentials’. This led in turn to an increase in full-time paid staff and sometimes to a diminished status for volunteers. The ‘contract culture’ associated with these ‘quasi-markets’ could also create new opportunities for some (retrained) volunteers

to engage in new, more intrinsically interesting activity. However, the greater need for management control over volunteers tended to alter the organisational culture for many volunteers toward professionalism (Le Grand and Bartlett, 1993; Russell and Scott, 1997).

On balance, the increased policy emphasis on voluntary sector agencies appears to have led to an expansion in the use of volunteers in welfare and care organisations over this period. This was not systematically reflected in survey findings in an increase in volunteer *numbers*, but rather in an increase in *averaged hours of commitment*. In the 1997 National Survey of Volunteering, for example, Davis Smith observes that:

‘the increased activity by volunteers is clearly shown if we look at the average number of hours worked. In 1991 the mean number of hours spent by current volunteers on formal voluntary activity in the past week was 2.7, a figure very similar to the 2.6 hours found in 1981. However, in 1997 the mean was 4.05, which represents a significant increase in involvement. The magnitude of this increase means that the overall average number of hours volunteered, across the whole sample, has gone up from 1.4 in 1981 to 1.9 in 1997, despite the reduction in the number of volunteers’ (National Centre for Volunteering, 1998, p. 22).

The Survey also shows that volunteer involvement between 1991 and 1997 has actually decreased in the fields of voluntary activity most closely linked to the contracting out of public welfare services outlined above. In health and social care, the proportion of current volunteers decreased (from 24% to 19%), while volunteer work with elderly people fell (from 14% to 6% using the same measure).

The election of the Labour Government in 1997 and its ideological commitment to a ‘Third Way’ has brought another surge in policy support for people to become involved in voluntary activities. In a speech to the annual conference of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, sought to issue what he characterised as ‘a challenge for Britain to mark the millennium with an explosion of giving, of acts of community that would touch people’s lives’ (Blair, 1999). The Prime Minister signalled top-level governmental support for a change in social attitudes in support of people becoming more involved in their local community (Brindle, 1999). This argument represents a move beyond the instrumentalism of Wolfenden towards a recognition of the inherent contribution of

voluntary action to general social cohesion. In that sense, it represents a recognition of Gross' (1992) argument to the effect that volunteering represents precisely a basic social value. The concept of social value and its allied term, *social capital*, will be more fully evaluated in Chapter 2.

Volunteering thus has the longest of historical lineages, but is only relatively recently that explicit public policies have been framed in relation to this basic social value-adding activity. It is also (as Chapter 2 details) only recently that volunteering has received any sustained attention as an object of research endeavour.

Shifting Public Policy

The profound and multiple changes in the status and life-chances of older people pose severe tests for public policy in relation to volunteering. Current policy appears to be fundamentally enabling in nature. Measures have been proposed that, when or if implemented, will remove some of the barriers and encourage more people to become volunteers. These measures include public marketing and persuasion campaigns, fiscal incentives, changes in the legislative environment, and working with volunteer organisations to enhance access to volunteering opportunities. In 1993, the Government launched the 'Getting On' campaign, a public marketing initiative, which aimed to educate employers about the value of recruiting older people. This high profile campaign sought to raise employers' awareness of the issue and to communicate the qualities of older workers and how they can be best employed (Taylor and Walker, 1997). Hayward et al (1997) evaluated the impact of this policy initiative. They found no improvement in the employment prospects of older workers over the years following the launch of the 'Getting On' campaign and therefore concluded that this attempt at employer persuasion had not succeeded in its own terms. A majority of the employers interviewed in their research opposed any form of legislation to alter the work exit and pension rights of employees, and preferred a voluntary approach that allowed flexibility. However, while a majority also stated that legislation would be unlikely to work in practice, an even larger majority felt that legislation might improve the employment prospects of older workers. A significant majority also felt that existing equal opportunities legislation covering demographic cohorts ought to be extended to encompass age discrimination. Great emphasis has also recently been placed on fiscal measures. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, intimated in late-2000 that greater

fiscal support would be given to voluntary organisations in three ways. First, a simplified 'Gift Aid' system would remove the lower limit on gifting, thus enabling taxpayers' small cash donations to be recorded for future claim to the Inland Revenue for refund of tax. Second, the Treasury would henceforth permit the gift of shares to good causes. According to Slavin (2001), this Gift Aid scheme appears 'to have unlocked a flood of money for charitable causes'. The Charity Aid Foundation, for example, hopes to see gifts of shares to so-called good causes quadruple in size from £8m in 1999-2000 to £35m in 2001(Slavin, 2001). Third, the Chancellor outlined a £300 million series of incentives specifically designed to promote volunteering, especially among people aged over 50. The greater proportion of this money will be used to implement a 'National Experience Corps' to encourage people over 50s to volunteer in the public services. The government wants older people to pass on more of their skills and experience to young parents and children as well as helping older people in need. Brown's keynote government statement on volunteering depicted a continued growth in voluntary sector involvement in a host of policy areas.

'Increasingly the voluntary sector will be empowered to play a critical role ranging from under-five provision and preventative health, to adult learning and the war against unemployment and poverty -if that is it's choice' (Hill, 2001a, p. 1).

It is notable in this that it is a Chancellor of the Exchequer that appears to be playing such a leading role in the development of policy in this area. This may be interpreted as a signal of the importance that the Labour Government places upon volunteering.

Legal changes in redundancy and pension laws form another key part of this changing policy context. The European Court of Justice decided, in the case of Barber v. Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Group (1990) that, pension schemes that set different age thresholds for pension eligibility for males and females offends against Article 119 of the EC Directive on Social Security. This and subsequent rulings provide a justification for the government to propose to equalise state pensions at sixty-five years for both men and women. The new scheme will not start until 2010 and women's pension age will then be raised gradually to reach sixty-five by 2020. No woman aged forty-four or over in December 1993 will be affected by

the change. Those between thirty-eight and forty-three will receive their pensions at ages between sixty and sixty-five. Only those aged thirty-eight or under will have to wait until they are sixty-five.

Hill (2001c), writing on the politics of volunteering during the 2001 general election campaign, notes that both Conservative and Labour Parties were keen to harness the commitment of the faith groups to volunteering for policy ends. Both parties were proposing an enlarged and enhanced role for existing caring agencies in the provision of welfare services and both signalled a commitment to encouraging new volunteering initiatives. Although this mixed welfare system appears to work well in the USA, it may not be easily transferable to this country because of cultural and fiscal differences. Charities in the UK may have to find new ways of encouraging volunteers to come forward from among the so-called 'baby boomer' generations, if these aspirations to an enhanced role are to be met. These same 'baby boomers' are however, among the more affluent older people who may prefer to spend time travelling and pursuing their own leisure interests (Hill, 2001c)

Programmes for Volunteer Encouragement

To buttress the Prime Minister's principled commitment, the Labour Government has pursued a number of more specific measures that are designed to elevate the status of the voluntary sector in government policy making and implementation. These can, for clarity, be divided into three groups. First, there are structural reforms that are designed to improve government policy-making and relationship management with voluntary associations. Second, a series of measures are designed to impact directly on the choices that key social groups make in terms of their use time. Third, there are instruments being used to change the financial incentives underpinning individual choice.

Thus, in relation to the first of these, the Voluntary and Community Unit, established in the Home Office in May 1997 was, in 1999, upgraded to the Active Community Unit (ACU). One of its responsibilities is to ensure that the needs and requirements of the voluntary sector are taken into consideration in proposed

legislation. This is in the spirit of repeated commitments to ‘join up governmental activity’. At the same time, funding has been provided to encourage people to engage in voluntary activity. Three specific groups are being targeted by the ACU; young people; older people; and employees.

One of the earliest initiatives was ‘Welfare to Work the New Deal for Young People’. This initiative provides help and work opportunities of enduring value for those aged 18 – 24 who have been unemployed and claiming Job Seeker’s Allowance for six months or more. The skills and expertise of voluntary organisations in working with disadvantaged young people are an important resource in this programme. A more recent volunteering initiative for young people is the ‘Millennium Volunteers’ programme. The intention of this programme was to encourage young people to volunteer 200 hours of their time in their particular areas of interest, or, in the words of Weinstock (2000), young people should, –‘Build on what you’re into’, as the marketing literature for the programme suggested. It was envisaged that, after completing their period of volunteering, volunteers would continue their interest in the host organisation and become active again at some later date. The Millennium Volunteers was truly voluntary, unlike the New Deal which was mandatory for the target group.

Simultaneously with the launch of the Millennium Volunteer schemes, the government helped to promote ‘Cares Incorporated’. Based on ‘City Cares’, a programme successfully established in the USA for ten years, Cares Incorporated aims to help working people who want to volunteer by offering opportunities that are easy to access and available at times suited to the individual.

The ‘Active Communities Challenge’ is a more recent initiative aimed at corporations. The ACU together with Business in the Community, a private sector promoter of volunteering in the business community, initiated this challenge to encourage employers to give their employees a day’s paid time to undertake voluntary or community work. The National Centre for Volunteering has provided further encouragement to businesses in supporting volunteering efforts. It has produced a database of information on discrete measures that employers may pursue. These include:

- *Team challenges.* These involve groups of employees addressing a community problem or task, while building team-working skills. This has become a popular choice for companies who want to strengthen teams but not to engage in overly physical team activities.
- *Development assignments.* These are aimed at specific employees and have two very clear objectives: to complete a real project in and of value to a charity; and to develop the employee's individual skills. Assignments typically last for over 100 hours and are thus substantial in nature.
- *Secondments for transitions.* At times of major career change or in preparation for retirement, for periods of 3-24 months, a secondee joins a community organisation while remaining formally an employee of the firm.
- *Mentoring.* A one-to-one relationship underpins this scheme. It is particularly popular in the education sector, but is also of increasing significance in the voluntary sector. Mentoring is often supported at senior management level.
- *'Business on board'.* In this scheme, volunteers (often but not universally drawn from the private sector) serve as trustees on management committees of community organisations and not-for-profit bodies.
- *Match-giving.* Under this initiative, the employer matches employees' charitable contributions and participation in fundraising events.

The Labour government has also experimented in encouraging people to volunteer to augment core public services. The 'National Experience Corps' was set up in 2001 to encourage the over-50s to volunteer in the public services. The Corps, operating through nine regional centres in England, is charged with enabling older people to pass on their skills and experience to young parents and children, as well as helping older people in need. In announcing this project in 2001, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, also looked forward to more fundamental changes in the nature of the relationship between state and voluntary sectors:

‘The next five years will see the role of government shift even more from the old “directing and controlling” to enabling and empowering voluntary action (National Centre for Volunteering, 2001a, p. 4).

Another new initiative is ‘Change a Life’, which provides the opportunity for individuals to help others to break the cycle of drug misuse, rough sleeping and crime. Change a Life is based on a partnership between the government’s Rough Sleepers Unit and several voluntary organisations – including Centrepoin, Crisis, the National Homeless Alliance, and the Salvation Army. The initiative is intended to yield projects working with homeless people throughout England. People can donate their time, their gifts, or their money (National Centre for Volunteering, 2001a).

There are several partnership projects that have become possible only because of improving information technology capabilities. ‘TimeBank’, the media campaign aimed at inspiring people to volunteer their time, is combining with YouthNet UK, the organisation that has developed the national database of volunteering opportunities marketed through the Do-it web site. This initiative is designed both to enable many more people to become effective volunteers, and permit organisations to promote their volunteering opportunities (National Centre for Volunteering, 2001b).

Table 1 1: Direct Measures to Change Time-budgets

	Year Initiated	Sponsor	Nature of Project
Welfare to Work New Deal	1998	Home Office	Unemployed youth Mandatory voluntary activity
Millennium Volunteers	1999	Home Office Local Youth projects	Young people Local Volunteer projects
Cares InCorporated	1999	Business in the Community	Employees Local voluntary projects
Active Communities Challenge	2000	Home Office Business in the Community	Employees Local volunteer and community work
National Experience Corps	2001	Home Office Local Authorities	Older people Experience transfer
TimeBank	2000	Home Office BBC TV	All ages Volunteered time
Communities Action Network	1998	Home office Private sector	IT support for social entrepreneurs
Change a Life	1999	Home Office Health + Justice Authorities	Drug rehabilitation

It remains unclear exactly what impact these various discrete initiatives will ultimately have. The National Centre for Volunteering is, however, conducting research into this issue, with a view to evaluating the specific impact of these and other programmes on the voluntary sector (National Centre for Volunteering, 2001a). This evaluation is being funded through the Home Office. The immediate and ultimate impact on the volunteers and donors remains largely unexplored, however.

This panoply of initiatives is designed to make the act of community volunteering both easier and more popular. The giving of time is evidently only one part of the support that charities and voluntary organisations receive from the general public and business, however. Financial support – whether given through annual subscriptions, donations, legacies, or single project sponsorship - is often crucial to

the survival and continuation of many organisations. The welfare and care organisations that receive public funding for services provided may be advantaged in a financial sense, but there are organisations that rely heavily on these other sources of donated income.

Finally, a number of local authorities are launching initiatives to promote volunteering among their local populous. Birmingham City Council, for example, has launched a high-profile Experience Corps marketing project aimed at encouraging volunteering in relation to its personal social services function. Local people are being invited to play a befriending, counselling and service provision role in relation to older clients or clients with mental or physical disability.

The ‘Giving Age’

The phrase, the ‘Giving Age’ was first used by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, when he expressed the wish to see the new millennium mark the beginning of a new and vital attitude to giving time and money to charities and voluntary organisations (Home Office, 1998). The same phrase may also be used to describe the giving on the part of older people to charities and the voluntary sector. Giving includes, of course, time, through volunteering, as well as money. What trends are evident in relation to gifting by older people?

Recent surveys (CAF, 1997; National Centre for Volunteering, 1999) have shown that the aggregate numbers of older volunteers has declined. However, the mean hours volunteered has increased at the same time. This suggests that, over time, individual volunteers are tending to give more time in active participation. In terms of financial giving, according to CAF 1997, there has been a general decline between 1974 and 1994 for all but the two oldest age groups. There is evidence of a *generational* giving effect. As each age cohort grows older, it increases the level of giving, but not up to the same level of the previous cohort. The Charities Aid Foundation is persuaded that the declining base of people giving has been offset by the increase in the value of individual donations.

‘There has been a decline in the proportion of households giving to charity over the last twenty years, from 34% in 1974 to 29% in 1993 – 94. Among those people giving to charity, however, there has been an increase in the average real size of

donation. ... The increase in the average size of donations more than compensates for the decline in participation and, in real terms, total household donations to charitable giving have increased' (Smerdon, 1997, p. 60).

Considerable caution needs, however, to be exercised when reviewing trends in voluntary sector income. Discrepancies in data collection methods and differences in the definition of charitable organisations mean that only tentative conclusions are possible (CAF, 1997).

In parallel with the projects of encouragement for volunteering, the government has made it easier for people to give financial support to their charity of choice. From April 2000, the £250 minimum limit for Gift Aid donations was removed so that all donations will qualify for tax relief. The original 'covenant scheme', whereby supporters' gifts attracted income tax repayments at the basic tax rate for the organisation, has been merged with the 'gift aid' scheme, which allowed one-off gifts over a specific figure to also attract income tax repayment. Donations made in the form of qualifying shares and securities will also qualify for tax relief (Inland Revenue, 2000). In January 2001 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, provided a further package of financial incentives to promote greater individual involvement in voluntary activity. He committed £300 million for 2001 to the task of promoting a number of volunteer programmes. These monies would be targeted to a significant degree on older volunteers.

'Greypower'

What factors underpin this policy emphasis on older people and their giving activities? One key consideration may be the increasingly skewed age profile of many richer nations like the UK. The main indicator of this is the percentage of the population over a certain age. In Britain, it is common to consider 65 as the threshold of old age, probably because it was the traditional age of retirement and pensions for men; but for similar reasons, 60 has been used as the threshold for women. Ageing of populations is not a new phenomenon in Europe, or indeed in more developed countries as a whole. It is an inevitable consequence of the demographic transition from high to low birth rates experienced in Europe over a lengthy period from the late eighteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. Of course, demographic transition took place at different times and rates

within Europe, earlier and slower in northern and western Europe, and later and more rapidly in southern and eastern Europe. Table 1.1 gives examples of that geographical variation in the demographic transition (Clarke, 1993).

Table 1.2: Ageing in selected Council of Europe countries, 1950 – 2025

	1950	1970	1990	2025
	% total population aged 65 or over	% total population aged 65 or over	% total population aged 65 or over	% total population aged 65 or over
Denmark	9	12	16	23
France	12	13	14	21
F. Rep. Germany	9	13	15	24
Greece	7	11	14	21
Ireland	11	11	11	13
Italy	8	11	14	23
Netherlands	8	10	13	21
Norway	10	13	16	21
Spain	7	10	13	19
Sweden	10	14	18	24
UK	11	13	16	19

Source: Adapted from Clarke (1993)

The increasing percentage of older people in the population impacts on public policy in respect to pensions, social security, care and welfare provision, and health procurement. This is often seen in economic terms as a potentially negative phenomenon (Thomas, 1993). This social economic ‘burden’ is seen to arise from two sources. First, the falling proportion of the population that is economically active may face an increasing burden in terms of the tax and insurance contributions that supply the social welfare funds. Second, societies may find it difficult to support the increasing cost of provision for the maintenance of the older people. The ‘intergenerational transfer’ mechanism that underpinned national insurance systems, for example, has thus come under increasing stress in a number of advanced economies. Another aspect to the ‘burden’ is a continual rural–urban migration that

may strand older people in areas that, because of the isolation and low demographic density, have reduced community support services, especially transport provision (Sen, 1994). This issues in the so-called 'rural premium', and this additional cost impacts particularly on older, poorer households.

This so-called burden can also be considered in another way, however. With the improving health of older people, not only are the extreme health costs delayed until the last five to ten years of life, but the years immediately after the established retirement age can be economically productive (Bond, Coleman, and Peace, 1993; Herzog and Morgan, 1993). The rising standard of education of older people is another positive factor that permits a greater number of people to engage in social activities outside of the work situation and enables the retired person to have an active, constructive, and enjoyable post employment life (Jackson and Taylor, 1994). Many of the larger retail firms, such as; B&Q., Marks and Spencer, Safeway, and Sainsbury, have specifically targeted their recruitment policies toward older people because they have found them to be reliable, efficient, and loyal. More flexible recruitment and retirement policies may benefit not just the older person but also the economy and future fiscal policies for public welfare maintenance (McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988; Phillipson, 1987). The efficacy of greater employment and retirement flexibility has been recognised by the UK government. It therefore announced in February 2001 a commitment to eradicating the set retirement age. To bring UK legislation into line with a European Union directive, the government is considering exactly how it might eliminate compulsory retirement at any age by 2006 (Hall, 2001). Finally, many older people are finishing full-time work with more than one pension source. They therefore enjoy a purchasing power beyond that of earlier generations.

The accumulation of these positive factors for older people suggests that there are several bases to this concept of 'Greypower'; labour market potential; purchasing potential; voting potential, and volunteering potential. In recognition of this last factor, the Active Community Unit of the Home Office launched the 'Older Volunteer Initiative' during 1999. This seeks to improve the quality and quantity of opportunity for older people to volunteer. As part of this initiative, under the title MAVERIC (Mature Volunteers Enrichment Resources in the Community), local

authorities are being encouraged to run Employer Supported Volunteering programmes for older employees and retirees. This is a partnership venture involving the National Centre for Volunteering, the Local Government Association, RSVP (Retired Senior Volunteer Program), REACH, NAVB (National Association of Volunteer Bureaux), and local volunteer bureaux (National Centre for Volunteering, 1999).

Debate of the Age

The 'Millennium Debate of the Age', which was co-ordinated by Age Concern England, was launched in early 1998. It sought to examine and heighten awareness of the key issues that should underpin any future legislative and policy changes designed to improve the quality of life of older people. Throughout 1998 and 1999, nationwide activities with debates, regional conferences and Citizens' Juries addressed five topics, namely:

- Paying for Age – The costs of an ageing society.
- Ageing and the Future of Health and Care
- The Future of the Built Environment as society ages.
- Work and Lifestyles.
- Attitudes and Values in an ageing society.

Findings were synthesised in a final policy document, 'The Agenda for the Age', prepared during 2000 and submitted to the government for their consideration (Midwinter, 2000). The debate on 'Future Work and Lifestyles' is particularly pertinent here. It was organised under three main headings: Paid Work; Voluntary Work; and Learning. Within the section on Voluntary Work the key issues considered were:

- How to provide a new financial basis for voluntary work.
- Language and bureaucracy as potential barriers to volunteering.
- Increasing the involvement of different age groups in voluntary work.
- Attitudes to voluntary work, within the voluntary sector and government agencies.
- The potentially troubled relationship between volunteering and paid work.

- Ageism and voluntary work.

Each of these issues was considered from the point of view of individuals, society as a whole, governments, voluntary organisations, and employers. The initial background paper (www.age2000.org.uk/interim/wl/summ.htm), in addition to providing relevant information, also suggested innovative practices and procedures that might possibly encourage greater volunteer participation and, as a consequence, improve the quality of life for older people.

The following chapter expands the historical and current policy setting to show the extent of the academic enquiry into this diverse sector of activity.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This review seeks to answer the following key questions:

- What position does volunteering hold in contemporary society in the UK and the USA?
- What are the most acceptable definitions of the principal concepts of this thesis – ‘volunteer’ and ‘voluntary organisation’?
- What are the recognised barriers to becoming and remaining a volunteer?
- Are there additional barriers that older people face in the process of becoming a volunteer, compared to other demographic groups?
- Is it more difficult for an older person to continue volunteering, once they have started?
- Are there culturally inherent ageist attitudes toward volunteering, generally in society, and particularly in voluntary organisations?

The review was generated from secondary published literature, including policy reports from government and voluntary organisations. On-line searches using the key words ‘volunteer’, ‘volunteering’, ‘voluntary organisation’, ‘ageism’, and combinations of these words, provide further material. The ‘grey’ literature of voluntary organisations, especially the case study organisations, and press reports gave additional information.

There are five principal parts to this review. It begins with an exploration of the strategic social significance of volunteering in the sustenance and nurture of social relations in contemporary western societies. There follows an evaluation of the definitions that have been used to describe the concepts of ‘volunteer’ and ‘voluntary organisation’. Because the boundaries of these terms are constantly shifting, and the exploratory literature continues to expand, it is not the intention here to generate further new definitions, but instead to indicate the variety of situations in which commentators have used the concepts.

This section of the review culminates in a synthesis of available definitions that are deemed most appropriate to the current research study. The review continues with a

discussion of the key issues in volunteering that impact on the activities of the older volunteer. Emphasis has been placed on the public policy issues that influence recruitment of volunteers, and the barriers to that recruitment process.

Dissection of the data from the most influential UK national surveys of volunteering forms the fourth component of this literature review. The information has been considered in relation to volunteer profiles and the barriers, or impediments, that volunteers and prospective volunteers may encounter. Especial notice has been taken of the specific references in that literature to older people. The same themes of 'profile', 'age', and 'barriers' have been reviewed in the volunteer studies undertaken by both UK and American researchers.

The review concludes with a critical evaluation of the gerontological, psychological, and sociological literature that discusses the impacts of 'age' on the mental, physical, and cultural activities of older people. The key task has been to ascertain if these authorities indicate that 'age', *per se*, may or may not be a barrier to volunteer activity.

The Social Significance of Volunteering

One of the earliest studies of what may be called modern civil society was undertaken by Alexis de Tocqueville (in 1835 and 1840). De Tocqueville suggests that one of the components of a healthy civil society is the participation of the individual in the activities of that society. Participation is interpreted not only in terms of political activities but also in non-political action, as he observes:

'Thus the most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have in our time carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires, and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes' (de Tocqueville, 1840, p.377).

The importance that de Tocqueville ascribes to the 'associational community' is even more firmly emphasised in a later statement:

'When men are no longer united among themselves by firm and lasting ties, it is impossible to obtain the co-operation of any great number of them, unless you can persuade every man whose concurrence you require that his private interest obliges him voluntarily to unite his exertions to the exertions of all the rest' (de Tocqueville, 1840, p. 381).

It is, in this influential argument, the working together in associations and voluntary organisations that aids the function of a democratic civil society.

In a wide-ranging empirical study of political attitudes and democracy in five nations (USA, Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico), Almond and Verba (1963) returned to the same theme, when they stated that:

‘Democracy depends upon citizen participation, and it is clear that organisational membership is directly related to such participation’ (p. 318).

They went on to remark on the importance of differentiating distinct levels of citizen participation:

‘The passive member as well as the active member of a non-political organisation still differ from the individual who reports no such membership’ (p. 318).

Almond and Verba discerned three types of citizen: the active participant, the passive participant, and the non-participant. These three types equated with the active volunteer members of associations, the passive members, and the non-members. It is on the basis of this differentiation that Almond and Verba build their model of ‘civic culture’. This ‘civic culture’ is a more diffuse conception of social bonds than the influential concept of ‘social capital’ articulated by Coleman (1990).

Social capital emphasises the extent of the social interaction and individual trust between people outside of the immediate circle of family and friends. The greater the extent of the interpersonal involvement in recreational, social, political, or service activities the healthier is the community and national environment. How might social capital be activated for community development purposes? Wilson (1996) considers that community economic development at grass-roots level is projected with greater certainty if the focus is directed on the individual. She is careful, however, to link individual and collective development.

‘Focusing attention on the individual is very different from reinforcing individualism. Rather, individual change becomes a bridge to community solidarity and societal change’ (Wilson, 1996, p. 618).

Wilson sees this ‘empowerment’ of the individual as a necessary factor in the concept of social capital. In a subsequent article, Wilson (1997), commenting on the work of McDougall (1993), is more precise on the relation between social capital and community benefit.

‘The organisational infrastructure of social capital creates pragmatic skills that enable citizens to act directly to solve problems. Thus block associations, social clubs, civic groups, churches, and other grassroots groups may meet social and economic needs that increase the well-being and productive capacity of the members of a community – e.g. counselling, social services, even housing and economic development’ (Wilson, 1997, p. 747).

These associations and community service organisations cannot operate without the aid of many volunteers.

The central significance accorded to volunteering is reflected in a recent study undertaken by van den Broek and Dekker (1998). They used data from the 1990 World Values Survey to estimate the levels of civil involvement and citizen ‘activation’ in a number of western nations. While their empirical findings are of relevance and are discussed later in this review, it is their methodology that is most relevant here. Their ‘activism index’ is designed to show the overall level of citizenship engagement in the conduct of civil society. It is composed of the proportion of the population who are members of ‘civil associations’ multiplied by the proportion of those members who are *active as volunteers*. This activism index is then used to make some large-scale observations about the level of mobilisation of citizens in those societies.

This approach is based on social capital theory, and the work of Putnam (2001) in particular, illustrates the great stress now placed on volunteering as an emblem of wider citizen engagement in society. Social capital theory is a recent reinterpretation of the significance of active individual engagement in the events and projects pursued by voluntary associations and organisations. The extent to which social capital is increasing or decreasing within a community is taken as an indicator of the state of societal well-being (Putnam, 1993 et al). Putnam defines social capital as:

“features of social life – networks, norms, trust –that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives ... Social capital, in short,

refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust” (Putnam, 1995, pp. 664 – 5).

The UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has enthusiastically accepted the tenets of this theory, since it complements the proclaimed ‘Third Way’ approach to government. Giddens, an influential advocate for this Third Way suggests that it:

‘ ...refers to a framework of thinking and policy-making that seeks to adapt social democracy to a world which has changed fundamentally over the past three decades’ (Giddens, 1998, p. 26).

Blair reconciles the two concepts of social democracy and social capital in the following terms:

‘This is the Third Way – a modernised social democracy for a changing world which will build its prosperity on human and social capital’ (Blair, 1998).

In the succeeding months, the Prime Minister repeated this sentiment in various ways. In an address to the Annual Conference of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, on 21 January 1999, Blair set out plans to give the voluntary sector a higher priority in government thinking, a commitment reflected in the founding of a new Active Community Unit (ACU) at the Home Office. It is intended that the ACU will be another strand of ‘joined-up’ government that will ensure that the interests of the voluntary sector will always be taken into consideration in future construction of public policy in all government departments. The Labour Government is persuaded that the creation of a policy climate in which social capital can flourish is likely to improve the physical and mental health of active participants in community activity. This policy environment is also seeking to increase trust between individuals, thus expanding the scope for social networks of interpersonal activity. The increased social trust can foster an atmosphere for people to be more law abiding. This increased trust between people and their improved law abiding actions enhances the opportunities for economic growth.

Putnam (1995) is clearly concerned at a perceived erosion of social capital in the United States, as reflected in fewer people becoming involved in associational and voluntary activities. Hall (1999) seeks to show that a similar decrease in social capital is not so apparent in Britain. Hall takes data from a wide range of voluntary organisations as

source material. This inclusiveness is important, reflecting as it does a particular conception of social capital.

‘At the core of the conventional definition of social capital is membership in voluntary associations, which may be dedicated to a variety of purposes ranging from the recreational or social to the religious or political but should share two key features. First, they should involve their members in at least some face-to-face interaction with others, a factor of importance since it is from such interaction that the capacity for generalised reciprocity is said to follow. Secondly, they should engage their members in common endeavour, thereby nurturing capacities for collective action rather than simply self-help’ (Hall, 1999, p. 420).

This is, to all intents and purposes, a definition of a voluntary association. At the heart of the debate concerning social capital, volunteer activity and social development lie competing definitions of the voluntary associational bond. Almond and Verba (1963) give quite divergent perspectives on this to, for example, Coleman (1990). The next section explores the proliferation of definitions surrounding the terms ‘volunteer’, ‘voluntary association’, and ‘voluntary organisation’ in greater depth.

A question of definition

Given the importance of volunteering in the emerging paradigms of Third Way governance and social capital theorising, it is perhaps surprising that there are some basic and unresolved definitional issues in the literature on volunteering. Continuing ambiguity surrounds the definition of both the volunteer and the voluntary organisation. The definitions preferred by different authors would appear to reflect their wider reading of desirable structures and roles in social development. As Darvill and Munday (1984) contend, the perceptions held on the overall socio-economic roles of voluntary associations and volunteers are varied.

These differences are most marked, however, in relation to the proper contribution of voluntary associations and volunteers to welfare service provision. At one extreme, there is the view that welfare services are a basic and singular responsibility of the State (Brasnett, 1969, cited by Deakin, 1995)). A second perspective, often held by trade unionists, considers voluntary welfare organisations and their volunteers as providing inexpensive alternatives to state provision, doing so in an amateur manner, and

displacing full-time, professional staff in the process (Pelling 1987). These same organisations and volunteers are seen by other researchers as providing flexible, and more personalised services in situations that state welfare does not provide for (Cole, 1945; Webb and Webb, 1912, cited by Davis Smith, 1995). Again, these same organisations and workers may be considered as the personal and private response of a group of people exerting their freedom of choice and opting for an alternative method of handling a 'welfare' situation (Gladstone, 1979; Wolfenden Committee, 1978). Indeed, some authorities have considered the voluntary sector, together with the private sector as the principal means of providing social care and the public sector providing a back-up system for those that 'fall through the net of family and community self help' (Barclay Report, 1982; Jenkin, 1981).

Setting aside these deep ideological differences, there is no doubt, empirically, that the voluntary sector has expanded over the past two decades to manage a phalanx of public service initiatives, especially in the health and welfare sectors. Notwithstanding – indeed, in part, because of - this growth and diversification, contemporary analyses are still troubled by basic ambiguities in definition. Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) typifies this when it observes that:

‘(i)n many places, the very concept of this sector remains ill defined and the legal structures for accommodating it unformed’ (CAF,1995, p. 87).

Voluntary organisations and volunteers undertake very many and varied functions, ranging from the informal neighbourly support of other, needy neighbours, to the formal interactions of international non-profit organisations. Given this inherent diversity, it is unlikely that any one definition of voluntary activity will find universal acceptance. This Thesis focuses on volunteers working in formalised and federated non-profit organisations. Wherever possible, therefore, the following discussion centres on research that is directly relevant to, or that is rooted in these environments. Wider definitions are, however, discussed where relevant.

It is proposed that the term 'voluntary sector' will be used henceforth as the umbrella description for the diversity of actors that volunteer and for organisations that are voluntary in their nature, an inclusive approach that finds support in Osborne (1993a):

‘(The) voluntary sector (is a) descriptive term, a useful aggregation in that it describes the joint features, is able to accommodate the interdependence with all other types of organisation (which is the reality for contemporary voluntary organisations), and does not mask their heterogeneity of objectives and activities’ (Osborne, 1993a, p. 19).

The most thorough of the early attempts to form a defined vocabulary of voluntary action is to be found in Van Til (1988). Van Til begins with what is at the heart of voluntary effort, the three central strands - individual action that is not coerced which is deemed beneficial to others and is organised. The combination of these three strands in practical activity is seen as voluntary action. The action is institutionalised (organised) as volunteering within associations and organisations that have come into being outside of statutory requirement and with no aim of making a financial profit. The authoritative standards of these ideas are described as ‘freedom’, ‘volunteerism’, and ‘voluntarism’. Table 2.1 sets out these standards in a tabular format.

Table 2.1: Van Til’s Typology of Voluntary Action

Core Principle	Individual action not coerced	Deemed beneficial	Organised
Empirical Form	Voluntary Action	Volunteering	Voluntary associations and non-profit corporations
Normative Concept	Freedom	Volunteerism	Voluntarism

Source: Van Til (1988).

Van Til’s typology of voluntary activity is expanded on by Osborne (1993a, 1996). Osborne begins with three concepts, ‘voluntaryism’, ‘volunteerism’, and ‘voluntarism’. He considers each of these terms in relation to the ‘focus of concern’ (relation of individual to society), a ‘normative statement’ of the kind of society that results from their actions, and the background theory that supports each.

The typology that he generates is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Typology of Voluntary Concepts

Concept	Voluntaryism	Volunteerism	Voluntarism
Focus of concern	Relationship of individual to society	Individual action in society	Organised action in society
Normative statement	Free ('Active') society	Voluntary society	Plural society
Background theory	de Tocqueville; Etzioni	Titmus; Horton-Smith	Berger & Neuhaus; Gladstone

Source: Osborne, 1996, p. 7.

Voluntaryism is seen as the 'social principle of voluntary action'. It is the stream of group thought of uncoerced individuals who believe in assisting others for the benefit of their community. The stream of collective sentiment will be present in any society wherever there is freedom to do so. De Tocqueville's appraisal of US nineteenth century civil society is seen by Osborne as epitomising this concept. The 'active society' writings of Etzioni (1968) are regarded as an example of the social theory that may be generated from this concept.

Van Til's normative concept of 'freedom' and the emphasis in his 'core principle' on absence of coercion have both been integrated into Osborne's definition of 'voluntaryism'. Osborne's concept of volunteerism has assimilated Van Til's emphasis on 'individual action' and 'voluntary action'. This latter concept of 'volunteerism' will be dealt with more fully below.

Voluntarism, the third of these three linked conceptions of the voluntary task, is defined by Jary and Jary (1991) as:

'any theory predicated on the assumption that individual purposes, choice, decisions, etc. are a decisive element in social action' (p. 693).

Van Til's notion of 'organised voluntary action' corresponds to the 'voluntarism' of Osborne, where there is greater emphasis on the societal context. This concept may be described as a system-based perspective of organised voluntary action occurring in a pluralistic society. A voluntary association is essentially an organisation that has come into existence through the initiative of the founding members and is governed by these members without statutory interference. To provide services, it may or may not use

volunteers. Voluntarism exists where such voluntary organisations are effective on equal terms and similar conditions to public and private organisations. This pluralistic society is the context in which Berger and Neuhaus (1977) emphasise the empowerment of the people in their local communities to work with the public and private sectors. Gladstone (1979) suggests that such a pluralist attitude may be a way forward for the better functioning of the Health Service.

Osborne also observes that ‘voluntarism’ may be interpreted as a kind of organisational ‘opportunism’. It consists of organisations mobilising within a plural society in which like-minded groups of individuals can group together and further their aims, whatever they may be. It is clear, however, that the potentially divergent concerns of these plural communities of interest may issue in conflict as well as in harmony between different segments of voluntaristic activity. Thus, there are ideological dichotomies within this pluralism as revealed in the opposing pro- and anti-abortion societies and also in the anti-racism and racial purity organisations (Boyte, 1984; Pines, 1982; Van Til, 1988). These oppositions dramatically demonstrate the breadth and heterogeneity of the voluntary sector.

It is with the third of the allied concepts outlined in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, ‘volunteerism’, that this thesis is most concerned.

Volunteerism

For Osborne, ‘volunteerism encompasses the reality of the individual action in society’ (Osborne, 1998 p.9). In a more extended definition, Van Til emphasises the transactional benefits of volunteerism as a specified type of social exchange. Van Til (1988) suggests that acts that are ‘deemed beneficial for others’ is the core principle of volunteerism, and that ‘volunteering’ denotes the actual experience of undertaking labour principally for the benefit of others. The secondary research defines the concept of volunteerism in terms of a space for local action in which specific *individuals* engage in specific types of *transactions*.

‘Volunteerism is a quality of participation, which at any time in any institution empowers the individual and enriches the organisational situation in which the individual is sited’ (Van Til, 1988, p. 84).

Both Osborne's and Van Til's definitions are individualist, albeit that Van Til emphasises the organisational context surrounding volunteer action. It is then appropriate to ask what kind of individual engages in 'volunteerism', and in what kind of organisation is that individual most likely to be active? This latter question must clearly address that 'quality of participation' that Van Til emphasised in defining volunteerism.

What is a volunteer?

The debate surrounding two aspects of this question will be explored:

1. What motivates a person to become a volunteer?
2. In what terms has the concept 'volunteer' already been defined?

Why do people volunteer? is a question of motivation. In other words it concerns the internal, psychological forces that move people to overcome obstacles and become involved in volunteering. Volunteer motivational factors are complex. According to Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary 'motivation' is "a consideration or emotion that excites activity" (1961, p.697), but the Penguin Dictionary of Psychology concedes that the term is "definitionally elusive" (1985, p.454). Given these complexities motivation is not a concept that can be used as a singular explanation of behaviour. There are a large number of needs, drives, incentives, and expectations that interact to structure and produce an action or reaction. Although motivation is partly unconscious, an individual can have a specific and conscious goal that drives them to conform socially, or to seek power or status. Extrinsic motivation is the desire to perform a task that derives from rewards that are not part of the task itself, for example money, or status. Contrarily, with intrinsic motivation the rewards are part of the task itself, for example, interest, challenge arising directly from the actions undertaken. The desire to participate and belong to a group has been shown to be the most valued and enjoyable part of many individuals' lives (Maslow, 1954; Murray, 1938; Vernon, 1969).

Both Murray and Maslow produced 'Lists of Needs' that they suggested were the motivation triggers.

Table 2.3 & 2.4: Alternative Lists of Human needs

<u>Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs</u>
Psychosocial: food water etc.
Safety: freedom from threat, security.
Belongingness + love: affiliation, acceptance.
Esteem: achievement, prestige, status.
Cognitive: knowledge, understanding, curiosity.
Esthetic: order, beauty, structure, art.
Self-actualisation: self-fulfilment, realisation of potential.

Murray's List of Needs
Viscerogenic needs including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air, water, food, avoidance of danger, rest and sleep.
Psychogenic needs including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prestige and enhancement of self: superiority (ambition). • Defence of status and avoidance of humiliation. • Exercise of power or acceptance of power over others. • Affectionate relations with others: affiliation, nurturance. • Acquisition, conservance, order, retention, and constructiveness. • Cognition, to explore, ask questions, acquire knowledge.

Source: Murray (1938), adapted.

Needs based theories of motivation may provide possible explanations for some human behaviour, but there is no clear relationship between needs and behaviour. For example, the same behaviour can reflect different needs and different behaviours issue the same need (Arnold, Cooper and Robertson, 1998).

In addition, various other theories of motivation have been suggested. The needs based approaches promulgated by Murray and Maslow form a subset of a broader class of so-called Content based theories of motivation. These concentrate on *what* motivates people, rather than *how* motivation works, whereas 'process' theories focus on *how* motivation works, rather than on *what* motivates behaviour. An influential example of a process-based approach is Expectancy Theory (Vroom, 1964). This theory aims to explain how people choose which of several possible courses of action they will pursue. There are three factors that shape this choice:

1. Expectancy – 'if I tried, would I be able to perform the action I am considering?'
2. Instrumentality – 'would performing the action lead to identifiable outcomes?'

3. Valence – ‘how much do I value the outcome?’

Anderson and Moore (1978) applied this theory to help understand volunteer motivation, arguing that different sociodemographic groups participate in volunteer activities to varying degrees because of the differences in the rewards they seek.

These varying motivations are also reported by Clary et al (1996). Their analysis revealed that people with different volunteering histories exhibited different motivational patterns: unique combinations of motivations were associated with different types of volunteering activities; and motivational differences were associated with different demographic groups. Six categories of motivation or psychological functions that may be served by volunteering were identified:

- Values: Volunteering to express and act on values important to the self, for example, humanitarian values or altruistic concerns.
- Career: Volunteering to gain experience to benefit their careers.
- Understanding: Volunteering gives an opportunity to increase their knowledge of the world and develop and practice skills that might otherwise go unpractised.
- Social: Volunteering helps individuals to fit in and get along with social groups that are important to them.
- Enhancement: Volunteering allows the individual to engage in psychological development and enhance his or her esteem.
- Protective: Volunteering to cope with inner anxieties and conflicts, thus affording some protection for the ego, for example, to reduce feelings of guilt, to combat feelings of inferiority (Clary et al 1996, p.487, adapted).

In the light of the diversity of motivational drivers it is not surprising that Thomas and Finch (1990) suggest that the majority of people become volunteers almost by accident – through everyday circumstances and activities.

To understand the motivation to become a volunteer does not describe the concept of the volunteer.

Cnaan et al (1996) seek to address the ‘quality of participation’ that was described in Van Til’s discussion of volunteerism. They seek to differentiate between a wider

spectrum of transactions that they term 'voluntary activities' and a narrower realm of social action in which volunteers may be deemed to be active.

'Too often, the term (volunteer) is a catch-all for a wide range of non-salaried activities. ...Most would also agree that not all people who perform voluntary activities can be defined as volunteers. ... Thus a freely made choice per se does not make someone a volunteer. ... Given that definitions often are a social construct, it is important to understand what people mean by the term volunteer' (Cnaan et al., 1996, p. 365).

If a volunteer's actions are more than non-salaried work freely undertaken, what exactly are they? Horton-Smith is persuaded that the specific differences that mark the volunteer's social action are to be found in a gap between market and personal or moral values. He suggests that a volunteer may be understood as:

'... an individual engaging in behavior that is not bio-socially determined (e.g., eating, sleeping), nor economically necessitated (e.g., paying one's taxes, clothing one's self before appearing in public), but rather is essentially (primarily) motivated by the expectation of psychic benefits of some kind as a result of activities that have a *market value greater than any remuneration received for such activities*' (Horton-Smith, 1981, p.22, emphasis added).

This essentially utilitarian perspective may be contrasted to the subtly different definition provided by Darvill and Munday (1984) which appears to emphasise directly economic factors. They view the volunteer as:

' a person who voluntarily provides an *unpaid direct service* for one or more other persons to whom the volunteer is not related. The volunteer normally provides his or her own services through some kind of formal scheme rather than through an informal neighbouring arrangement' (Darvill and Munday, 1984, p. 3 emphasis added).

Horton-Smith emphasise the 'psychic benefit' for the volunteer, whereas Darvill and Munday highlight the value of the volunteer service 'for other persons' (and indeed, especially for strangers). Darvill and Munday also accentuate the importance of a degree of socialisation and institutionalisation of the volunteer transaction (operating through 'some kind of scheme').

In his study of blood donors in Britain and America, Titmus (1973) sought to identify the connections between altruism, individual voluntary action, and the 'good society' and his conclusions echo the utopian themes of de Tocqueville.

'In not asking for or expecting any payment of money (British) donors signified their belief in the willingness of other men (sic) to act altruistically in the future, and to combine together to make a gift freely available should they have need for it. By expressing confidence in the behaviour of future unknown strangers they were thus denying the Hobbesian thesis that men are devoid of any distinctively moral sense... (These donors) were free not to give. They could have behaved differently; that is to say, they need not have acted as they did. Their decisions were not determined by structure or by functions or controlled by ineluctable historical forces... To coerce a man is to deprive him of freedom... (and) by doing so to escalate other coercive forces in the social system which leads to denial of other freedoms and maybe life itself to other men who are biologically in no position to choose – the young and the old, the sick, the excluded and the inept as well as the sellers of blood' (Titmuss, 1973, 239).

It appears, at least, in relation specifically to the donors to the Blood Transfusion Service in the UK, that these volunteers did appear to act for altruistic ends. In this case, altruism appears to be a key characteristic of voluntary action.

This contrasting of 'social determinants' and individual altruism as the root explanation of volunteer action (Osborne, 1998) is a recurring problematic in the debate on definitions in this field. Subsequent work builds more or less directly on one or other of these three utilitarian, institutionalist or altruistic standpoints. It should be noted, however, that these core definitions either took the perspective of the organisation looking at the volunteer (Ahrne, 1994), the volunteer's self-perception (Thomas and Finch, 1990), or, finally, the perceptions of the general public towards volunteers (Cnaan et al, 1996)

These definitions suggest that volunteer activity can be motivated either by a sense of responsibility to society grounded in an awareness of the needs of that society, or because of a belief that a person should freely help other people who are in need of assistance. This distinction is emphasised in the work of Abrams et al (1989) and developed by Chanan (1991). Chanan considers that much volunteer work does not flow from free choice but is akin to very low grade employment required by the policies and practices of the formal organisations.

As already indicated the definition proposed by Horton-Smith seeks to capture the work of all ‘volunteers’, whereas Darvill and Munday limit their definition to people involved in ‘some kind of formal scheme’. They draw a distinction between informal ‘neighbourliness’ and participation structured through a formal organisation.

Thus, the good neighbour who chooses to assist another with shopping, or undertakes gardening for an elderly person is a ‘volunteer’ in Horton-Smith’s eyes but would fall outwith the Darvill and Munday definition. This illustrates the importance of definitions

Osborne’s (1998) reading of Darvill and Munday’s work provides a basis for specifying the ‘three core components of volunteering’, namely that

:

1. Volunteering is unpaid.
2. Volunteering is counter-posed to paid, often professional activity.
3. Volunteering is differentiated from informal helping (op cit, p.9).

Ahrne (1994) also offers criteria in his discussion of the issue of membership in and affiliation to voluntary associations and organisations. He identifies four factors that underpin such membership:

- *Acceptance*. ‘It is not enough to pay the membership fee. You must be accepted, and you can be excluded if you do not satisfy certain requirements,’ (p. 8).
- *Free Choice*. ‘Generally, all affiliation to enterprises is voluntary as well as affiliation to voluntary associations such as parties, trade unions or sports clubs,’ (p. 9).
- *Commitment*. ‘Voluntary membership implies strong commitment and benevolence,’ (p. 56).
- *Unpaid*. ‘Definitions of voluntary associations typically emphasise that members are not paid for their participation’ (Ahrne, 1994.p. 67).

Other commentators such as Thomas and Finch (1990) are more expansive in enumerating the characteristics of volunteer action. They identify six features, namely:

- *Giving time.*
- *Unpaid* - although expenses may be remunerated.
- *Helping people* - although helping *one* other person is usually considered to be friendliness, neighbourliness or 'being a nice person', while helping family or relatives is usually thought of as caring.
- *Involves commitment* – of the volunteer and volunteer's time, on a regular, on-going basis, being available, responsible and reliable
- *Doing something that the volunteer wishes to do*; non-coercive activity, employing choice, founded on a desire to help others, or to 'increase someone's happiness', to pay back a 'debt to society' and to achieve personal (non-financial) gain.
- Being *part of a group or organisation* (Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.24).

This enumeration of the features of the volunteer is not a definition as such, but it does suggest a form of motivation akin to that identified by Horton-Smith, namely 'doing something you want to do'. It also includes each of the components of the Darvill and Munday definition. In addition, it emphasises the importance of the intrinsic commitment of the volunteer.

Cnaan et al (1996) looked at several definitions of 'volunteer' used by institutions in the USA, including the 'President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives' (1982): from the Independent Sector, Adams (1985) and Shure (1991): the definitions used by the National Association of Counties (1990) and American Red Cross (1988): and finally, the definition used in the *Corpus Juris Secundum* (1994), a legal encyclopaedia. They also evaluated the definition set out in Horton Smith (1981). In their synthesis of these definitions, four key dimensions were highlighted: the voluntary nature of the activity; the type of recompense; the context within which the activity takes place; and, the intended beneficiary of that activity. It was found that each of these dimensions could be sub-divided into aspects that were either acceptable or unacceptable as defining a person as a volunteer. Table 2 5 replicates their summary conclusions.

Table 2.5: Dimensions and Categories of a Volunteer

Dimension	Categories
• Free Choice	1. Free will (the ability to voluntarily choose) 2. Relatively uncoerced 3. Obligation to volunteer
• Remuneration	1. None at all 2. None expected 3. Expense reimbursed 4. Stipend / low pay
• Structure	1. Formal 2. Informal
• Intended beneficiaries	1. Benefit / help others / strangers 2. Benefit / help friends or family 3. Benefit oneself (as well)

(Source: Cnaan et al. 1996)

These categories denoted with a (1) conform most closely to public and policy perceptions of the ideal volunteer, namely, an activity undertaken with free will, with no remuneration, through a formal organisational system and designed to benefit others. The categories also show, however, the wide range of possible situations in which an individual may be described as a volunteer. Cnaan et al. (1996) contended that these dimensions and categories were useful in showing how the US general public defined a volunteer, in practical terms. As a generalisation, the less broad the definition, the more likely the general public considered the activist to be a volunteer. In their conclusions they state that:

‘our analysis indicates that it is not the net absolute financial costs, the rewards alone, or the “real” contribution to society that determines public perceptions of what is a volunteer activity or who is a volunteer. ...the public considers in its perception of who is a volunteer the net costs of volunteering to the volunteer ... rather than the net benefits that accrue to society’ (Cnaan et al., p. 382).

The greater the personal sacrifice, therefore, the more likely it is that the individual is recognised as a volunteer. It may be suggested, in the light of this, that *sacrifice* is a factor in the definition of altruism and in public recognition of the volunteer.

It is not intended to provide yet another definition of ‘volunteering’, but to combine the definitions provided by Darvill and Munday (1984), with the qualification of altruism

from Titmus (1973) and the cautionary realism of individual benefit from Horton-Smith (1981). This synthesis can be interpreted thus:

- A volunteer is one who freely chooses to provide direct service to unrelated others in a formalised or organisationally structured context. Services are provided on the basis of expenses-only remuneration, but the volunteer also derives needed psycho-social benefits of a non-pecuniary kind, based on altruistic motivations and rewards.

How does this synthetic definition apply to the volunteer subjects who assisted with the current research project? They may be considered to be volunteers insofar as:

1. They freely chose to become active in their specific organisation.
2. They receive no specific remuneration for the services they produce, nor did they expect to receive any, but are reimbursed expenses, if a claim is made.
3. They belong to a formal organisation and this organisation forms the context and milieu within which their volunteering services are structured.
4. The beneficiary of the volunteering activity may not exactly be a stranger but will be non-family. The volunteers may also be considered beneficiaries in terms of the added value that they derive in terms of personal well-being and self-esteem.

Table 2.6 summarises the principal elements of this volunteering debate.

Table 2.6: Summary of Definitional Literature

Analytical Focus Paradigm	Organisation	Volunteer	Society
Utilitarian	Ahrne (1994)	-	Horton-Smith (1981)
Economic	Osborne (1993a)	Darvill and Munday (1984)	-
Altruistic	-	Titmus (1973)	Cnaan et al (1996)

What is a voluntary organisation?

Voluntary organisations are extremely diverse entities. There are a number of characteristics that, by common consent, feature in the organisation and function of these agencies. Unfortunately, as with volunteering, there is little consensus on the

definition of the specific differences between organisations. The first feature to be discussed below is *localism*.

Not all voluntary activity takes place in a local context, and not all local action is promoted by voluntary organisations, but, local voluntary organisations are the driving force behind much of the voluntary activity that takes place within communities. One recent study estimates that ‘there are more than a million voluntary organisations of all kinds in the United Kingdom’ (Elsdon, 1995, p. 3). The Home Office Local Activity Surveys (LOVAS) suggested that there were 69 different categories of voluntary organisation (Marshall, 1997). The variety of voluntary organisations may be seen in the following brief and limited selection of examples, drawn from the work of the LOVAS team:

- In the private sector, professional associations, or trade associations.
- In the public sector, schools, hospitals and libraries; religious and faith groups and their satellite activities also fall within this category. Also philanthropic voluntary service organisations such as youth clubs, Scout and Guide Associations, play-groups, nurseries, reform and campaigning groups, health and disability services.
- In the community sector, there are clubs for sports, hobbies, and leisure activities, cultural and artistic activities, associations for housing and tenants, there are self-help groups for women, men, toddlers and parents.
- The ethnic minorities have their clubs, societies, groups and associations that parallel the preceding list but are more or less culturally specific (Marshall et al, 1997).

Given this broad mix of activity, definitions often degenerate into descriptive listings, which are imprecise at best and sometimes exclude certain areas of activity that common-sense or custom and practice would certainly rule in.

Jary and Jary (1991) equate ‘voluntary association’ with ‘voluntary organisation’, even though this conflation has been challenged elsewhere (Ahrne, 1994; Harris, 1998; Osborne, 1993a). They use Pickvance’s earlier (1986) ‘common-sense’ criteria to define a voluntary *association*:

1. A voluntary association has a non-commercial (not-for-profit) orientation;
2. An association is a public organisations in the sense that, formally at least, access is open to all;
3. An association is a formally constituted organisations, and;
4. An association is non-statutory, not established by law. (Pickvance, cited in Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 693).

This definition encompasses aspects of governance together with the broader system in which the association functions. Thus, for example, it defines an association in relation to entry (and exit) conditions for would-be participants and external legal status.

Osborne (1998) also uses four criteria, but this time to define a voluntary *organisation*. These criteria concern ‘the formation, government, management, and motivation imperatives’ of a voluntary organisation. This is recognisably an organisation-focussed definition. To cite Osborne directly on this:

‘Firstly, voluntary organisations must be established by the impetus of their founding members independent of state control. Secondly, they should be governed by a management committee which is able to decide its own composition, either at the behest of its membership or by its own decisions. Thirdly, voluntary organisations must be free to manage their own destiny, rather than have it imposed by another authority. Finally, the motivation of the members of a voluntary organisation (as opposed to any paid staff) should not be based upon financial gain and is often, though not always, concerned with benefiting other people (i.e. is “other regarding”)’ (Osborne, 1993a, pp. 17 - 18).

The key differences as between Osborne’s definition of voluntary organisation and Pickvance’s criteria for a voluntary association are summarised in Table 2.7 below.

Table 2.7: Defining Voluntary Organisations and Voluntary Associations

Voluntary Association (Pickvance)	Voluntary Organisation (Osborne)
1. Non commercial, not-for-profit	1. Established by members – non-statutory
2. Open to all	2. Governed by management committee
3. Formally constituted	3. Free to manage own destiny
4. Non-statutory	4. Member motivation not based on financial gain - ‘other regarding’

There is some correspondence between these criteria, specifically

- Both use the phrase ‘non-statutory.’
- Both intimate a non-profit culture.
- Both indicate a formality of governance.

The divergences between Pickvance and Osborne are, however, more marked than the similarities. The major difference is that Osborne emphasises the voluntary organisation’s regard for others, which Pickvance does not mention. The impetus for the voluntary organisation is directed outward for the benefit of others, whereas the emphasis for a voluntary association appears to be inward, to create value for its members. Osborne (1996) further notes that the terms ‘agency’ and ‘association’; ‘exist within the overall field of voluntary organisations’ (p. 12). This difference between a voluntary association and a voluntary organisation is visible in the three case study organisations used in this thesis. The Scout Association functions for the benefit of its paying membership, whereas Age Concern and Citizens Advice Bureau operate for the benefit of those who require their services.

Free public access is not an issue for Osborne as the direction of voluntary effort is outward for the benefit of others. Conversely, for Pickvance the activity faces inward in service for the membership. Those who gain entry to the organisations can then be assumed to benefit personally from that membership, and access is thus an issue in terms of who benefits. Finally, both Jary & Jary (1991) and Osborne (1998) refer to ‘members’ of the voluntary organisation but do not distinguish the varying status of these members (for example, as volunteers versus paid subscribers to the organisation).

The Pickvance and Osborne criteria appear to enable one to differentiate between membership associations, such as Scouts and Guides, sports clubs, church congregations, and political parties on the one hand, and volunteer organisations proper, on the other. In the latter, membership, *per se*, is not required, but active commitment and participation is expected. Certainly, within the social capital literature, there are sharp if contested differences drawn on the basis of membership status (see, for example, Almond and Verba, 1963, for a discussion of passive membership).

A further issue concerns the degree of formalisation of organisational structures. These definitions apparently refer only to ‘formal’ associations and organisations. An ‘informal’ organisation is very unlikely to have a management committee. Many self-help groups and single project co-operative activities will only have a rudimentary ‘committee’; indeed, it may be that the entire ‘membership’ will together constitute ‘the committee’. In the LOVAS audits of voluntary organisations, there are some groups that do not appear to fall within either the Osborne or Pickvance definitions. For example, schools and hospitals are subject to a measure of statutory control, and some private schools and hospitals do have a profit motive. Therefore, according to these definitions, not all schools and hospitals are voluntary organisations.

A further distinction is drawn in the literature between organisations and associations that are or are not significantly supported by volunteer labour. Horton-Smith et al (1981) distinguishes between a ‘volunteer organisation’ and a ‘voluntary organisation’ in the following terms:

‘a “volunteer organisation” fulfils its function with the aid of volunteers, whereas a “voluntary organisation” will accomplish its goals through the efforts of paid staff rather than volunteers, even though volunteers are likely to be present as members of the board of directors’ (Horton-Smith, 1981, p. 27).

A ‘volunteer’ organisation is therefore significantly reliant on volunteers, whereas a ‘voluntary’ organisation has much greater flexibility in its choice of workers. These definitional distinctions are deemed important insofar as they impact on the operational culture of the agency concerned. A volunteer organisation is, in this reading, much more likely to be attuned to the specific (non-pecuniary) interests of the volunteers as a stakeholder group.

Each of the three organisations that have co-operated in this research qualify as ‘voluntary organisations’ according to the Osborne criteria. The Age Concern and Citizen’s Advice branches are staffed by paid professionals and managed volunteers and both are ‘voluntary organisations’ in Horton-Smith’s terms. The Scout Association, is a voluntary association of subscription-paying members who are committed volunteers

actively seeking to produce benefits for young people who are also members. This is then a 'volunteer organisation' according to Horton-Smith's criteria.

Table 2.8 summarises the principal differences as between voluntary associations, organisations and agencies according to a number of key organisational criteria. It also locates the three case study agencies used in this thesis against each of these organisational forms.

Table 2.8: Summary of Definitions of Voluntary Organisation

Criteria	Voluntary Organisation	Voluntary Association	Voluntary Agency
Formation	Member initiative – Non-statutory – Non-profit	Member Initiative – Non-statutory – Non-profit	Member Initiative – Non-statutory – Non-profit
Management	Local Autonomous Board of Trustees	District Council - Group Representation	Autonomous Board of Trustees
Governance	Formally Constituted	Formally Constituted	Formally Constituted
Motivation	Client Benefit	Member Benefit	Client Benefit
Background	Horton-Smith (1981) Osborne (1996)	Ahrne (1994) Pickvance (1986)	Billis and Harris (1996)
Thesis Example	Age Concern Citizens Advice Bureau Scout Association	Scout Association	Age Concern Citizens Advice Bureau

Key Issues in Volunteering

There are a number of key issues identified in contemporary volunteering studies that are of relevance to the present study. These are:

- The impact of demographic change and the balance of work- and leisure-times over the life-span.
- The challenges that broader demographic changes ongoing in western society present to the conduct of public policy in this field.
- The impacts of changes in public and government policy on volunteering labour markets.

Each of these will be dealt with in turn

Demographic and social change

In common with other developed western societies, the UK has an ageing population. In 1961, just under 12% of the United Kingdom's population were aged 65 or over; by 1994, this had increased to 16%. In contrast, the population aged under 16 fell from a quarter in 1961 to around a fifth in 1994. This trend is projected to continue, so that by 2031, those under 16 are expected to make up just under 18% of the population, while those aged 65 and over will comprise around 23% (NOS, 1996). Major factors contributing to this include the downward trend in the number of births and increasing longevity. The overall numbers of those aged 60 and over have risen by a third since 1961 to reach, in 1994, 12 million people; this is projected to continue to rise by over half to reach more than 18 million in 2031. These trends are summarised in Table 2.6 below. However, within the broad group classed as over-60, there has been a more rapid rise in the numbers of the very elderly. The proportion of the over-60s who are aged 80 and over increased from 11% in 1961 to 19% in 1994 and this is expected to increase to 22% in 2031 (NOS, 1996). As the authors of *Social Trends*, the Government's authoritative statistical compendium of demographic data, state, these projected increases have implications for the provision of pensions and health care (NOS, 1996). As shall be detailed below, these changes also have significant implications for the flow and qualities of the population of volunteers.

Table 2.9: United Kingdom Population by Age and Gender, 1961-94

Percentages of Total UK Population	Under 16	16-39	40-64	65-69	80 and over	All ages (=100%) (numbers of people, in millions)
Mid-year estimates						
1961	25	31	32	10	2	52.8
1971	25	31	30	11	2	55.9
1981	22	35	28	12	3	56.4
1991	20	35	29	12	4	57.8
1994	21	35	29	12	4	58.4
Males	22	36	29	11	2	28.6
Females	20	33	29	13	5	29.8
Mid-year projections						
2001	21	33	31	11	4	59.8
2011	19	30	34	12	5	61.3
2021	18	30	33	14	5	62.1
2031	18	28	30	16	7	62.2
Males	19	29	31	16	5	30.9
Females	18	28	30	17	8	31.3

Sources: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys; Government Actuary's Department; General Register Office (Scotland); General Register Office (Northern Ireland), cited in Social Trends 1996, p.39.

Effect of Increased Numbers of Elderly People on Pensions

'[P]ension levels are not acts of God but are instead mere creatures of the political process' (Atchley, 1976, p.125).

Volunteering is only one of a number of activities that, at the limit, compete for elderly people's fund of available time and energy. Pension levels, availability and take-up are all likely to affect the time allocation choices of this population cohort. There have been some significant recent changes to state and private pension availability that are therefore likely to impact upon volunteering trends. These are briefly evaluated below. Likewise, any flexibility in either work patterns or retirement exits may be of advantage to those who are already volunteers and affect those considering volunteering.

It would appear that volunteers are exited under the same legal procedures and terms that apply to the pensioning off of paid employees. Organisations determine the structure for volunteers in line with the pension structure of paid employees, which is why the pension literature is important in this context.

Schuller and Walker (1990) contend that more flexible work patterns for older people would make retirement exit less of a personal and social problem. A number of researchers (Parker, 1982; Schuller and Walker, 1990; and Taylor and Walker, 1997) have suggested that a flexible retirement exit package will enable people to continue work, full-time or part-time as best suits the individual, while at the same time receiving their state pension. It has been argued (Taylor and Walker, 1997) that this flexibility will not necessitate the government increasing the flat rate pension provision of beyond minimum requirements. This does not of course help those who cannot, or do not wish to, continue work after the legislated retirement age. The increase in the number of employer pension schemes is to the benefit of those who are fortunate in being within these arrangements. This still leaves those whose employer does not operate a pension scheme, mainly small employers, with little flexibility over the retirement period. The cost of operating an employees' pension scheme is likely to be

prohibitive and uneconomic for these small employers. It remains to be seen whether the new stakeholder pension scheme, which was designed with such employers partly in mind, will go some way to solving the problem (Taylor and Walker, 1997).

There is considerable opposition to the government's stakeholder pension proposals, with numerous organisations (such as State Pensions at Sixty Alliance) campaigning for state pensions for all at sixty (Griffiths and Howard, 1990).

“It is frequently argued that one of the main reasons for the abrupt exit from employment in later working life of many older workers is the UK's rigid state pension system. While the government has taken some small steps toward encouraging people receiving a pension to continue working, little has been done to encourage the use of gradual retirement schemes” (Government Actuary, 1994, cited in Taylor and Walker, 1997 p.316).

There is an increasing debate among government, employers, and unions about the merits and detractions of a flexible retirement programme (Hall, 2001; McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988; Taylor and Walker, 1997). Hall (2001) reports that the British Government is going to amend the current laws in order to abolish the existing rigid retirement age. Prospective anti-discrimination laws will, according to Hall, make it illegal to ban people from working for so long as they wish to do so. The UK government established a working group to address the details of the new law which is intended to ban compulsory retirement by 2006, bringing practice into line with a European Union directive of 2001.

Proponents of Alternative Work Schedules (AWS) emphasise the beneficial psychological effects of a more flexible and staged approach to managing withdrawal from the formal paid labour force. It is contended that such a gradualist and adaptive approach may also enable people to explore alternative volunteering options in a more systematic and positive manner than they do at present (Forster, 1997). It needs to be recognised, however, that there is insufficient robust empirical evidence to support this contention.

The Labour Market Position of Older Workers

Another key factor in the balance of forces that determines the potential flow of older volunteers is the level of demand in conventional paid labour markets for the services of older people. The UK has experienced a decline in the employment of older men since the 1950s. This accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s and resulted in just over three-quarters of men aged 55-59, just over half of men aged 60-64 and less than one-tenth of men aged 65 and over being economically active in 1994. A similar decline has occurred among older women, although the trend is more gradual than that for males (Guillemard, 1993, cited in Taylor and Walker 1997).

According to Trinder (1989), there are three main reasons for the decline in economic activity among older people. First, the share of older people in employment has fallen most in declining industries and rather less in industries where there has been growth. This suggests that many older people were concentrated in employment in these declining sectors. Second, older workers are both more likely to be dismissed than younger ones and less likely to find alternative employment if they are made redundant. Third, for organisations needing to shed staff quickly, it is relatively easy to negotiate early retirement for those close to retirement age (cited in Taylor and Walker 1997). Rather than demonstrating an increasing trend toward early retirement in order to enjoy a richer quality of life post-retirement, this research suggests that the major factor in explaining falling levels of economic activity among older people was a deterioration in labour demand (Casey, and Laczko, cited in Taylor and Walker, 1997, p. 307).

The evidence suggests that, over the late-1980s to early-1990s, the UK was characterised by a firmly entrenched early retirement culture. A study by Income Data Services (1995) found that over 95% of retirees were aged under 65 and two-thirds had begun to draw their pension before the age of 60 (Taylor and Walker, 1997). In many instances, retirement was at the employer's request. On the other hand, retirement after normal pension age was rare.

In more recent years, with the unemployment figures falling, and some industries claiming a severe shortage of skilled workers, it is possible that the climate in the

labour market has changed for older skilled workers. Those who wish to continue working after normal retirement age may increasingly be given the opportunity to do so.

What is, in effect, premature retirement for many older people is not a universally preferred option but is forced on many as a result of job loss and a fruitless search for re-employment (Pilcher, 1995). Such compulsorily early-retired people may lack the economic security to withdraw comfortably from the labour market. They are, however, caught between the twin pressures of an inhospitable labour market and their need to be in paid employment. Research shows that many older workers in this situation report high levels of employment commitment and poor psychological well-being (Jackson and Taylor, 1994; McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988; Pilcher, 1995). In an earlier study, Taylor and Walker (1991) analysed the qualitative aspects to the employment situation of a sample of non-working older workers. They found that many had been forced into ceasing work either through redundancy, in order to care for relations, or through ill health: many would have preferred to continue in employment. The same study found that a significant number of the research subjects had been discouraged from seeking employment and most felt that their prospects of finding work again were poor. Several felt that the only jobs open to them were part-time or extremely low paid.

Expanding Leisure and Travel Opportunities

Early studies (Alston and Dudley, 1973; Maddox, 1970; Miller, 1965) all show that the retirement episode and life after retirement can be a traumatic and dispiriting time. Older people become separated from their work colleagues and with the loss of paid work, their social life also becomes diminished. Many retirees exit because of health problems and may not have completed a full tenure of employment. They thus have a reduced pension upon which to live. Economic and cultural factors readily intertwine to produce the stereotype of an 'old person': unhealthy, with limited income, reduced social networks, presenting an increasing social problem year on year.

More current studies such as those by Cribier (1981); Palmore et al (1985); Parnes and Less (1983); and Phillipson (1987) show, contrary to this stereotype, that the improved health and fitness of many older people permits a greater range of leisure activities to be enjoyed. A round of golf can now be played more often during the week and not

relegated to the week-end or on a fine night after work: one no longer has to 'bowl alone' out of peak hours. Holidays can be taken at a time and place suitable to the individual and not restricted to the weeks prescribed by an employer or by rigid holiday schedules set by the travel industry. There are an increasing number of retired people who have a second pension in addition to the state pension, and this makes the purchase of a wider choice of leisure and holiday activities entirely feasible for many. The stereotypical older person who ceases all activities on retirement is slowly becoming an anachronism. Atchley (1976) found that 'leisure could be a legitimate source of identity after retirement' (p. 72), because many older people have friends in the same age group who retire at approximately the same time and they are then able to continue and extend these friendships through leisure activities.

Age and Educational Achievement

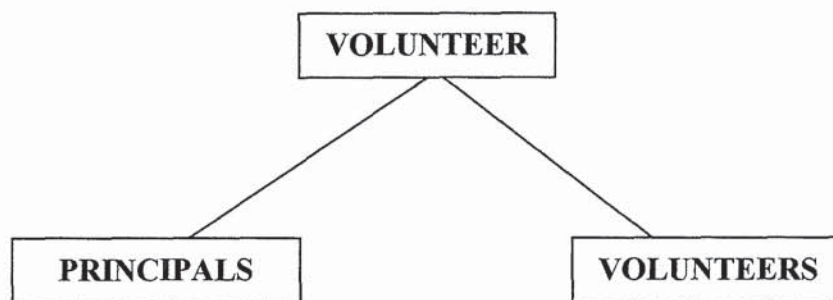
The legacy of increasingly universal educational provision over the last fifty years is reflected in the rising formal educational qualifications of the population. The spreading of qualifications to a widening segment of society is a long-term process that has been underway for the past forty years (NOS, 1996). The concept of the 'University of the Third Age' (Laslett, 1989) is designed to encourage older people to share their skills, knowledge and talents with like-minded people. The Carnegie Inquiry also interpreted the increasing numbers of older people attending adult education classes as symptomatic of a greater relish for learning among older people. The motives for this were identified as continued self-improvement, for the intrinsic enjoyment of learning, the social networking, and the continued exercising of their faculties (Carnegie Inquiry into the Third Age, 1992).

Public Policy and Volunteer Management

Figure 2.1 sets out, in the most general form, the three key stakeholders in the organisation and management of volunteer relations in volunteer agencies. The three stakeholders are:

- The *volunteer agency* itself, whose interests include the effective delivery of services to target groups in the population, and the delivery of psychological and other benefits to internal stakeholders.
- The *principal*, the user or co-producer of services of social value offered by the volunteer acting for the volunteer agency.
- The *volunteer*, whose interests encompass providing direct services to unrelated others in a formalised or organisationally structured context, who receives in return only payment for expenses but also derives non-monetary psycho-social benefits.

Figure 2.1: The Triad of Stakeholders in Volunteering Action



In Figure 2.1, the linkages between Principals and Agencies, and Agencies and Volunteers indicate lines of accountability. The Figure suggests that the ‘principal’s’ requirements and needs are only communicable to the ‘volunteer’ (often functioning as the service provider) through the ‘agency’ intermediary and its management function. The public policy power distance between ‘principals’ and ‘volunteers’ is most effectively illustrated by the ‘contract culture’ operated under the implementation of the 1990 Community Care Act.

Although a few voluntary organisations have been in receipt of government grant assistance for many years, there has been a recent and rapid formalisation of the administrative systems through which these grants are given, and a considerable increase in the scale of purchaser contracts overall. This is especially visible for services provided by voluntary sector agents in the welfare sector, especially since the implementation in 1993 of the 1990 Community Care Act. The changes in values and priorities and shifts in operational management that the rise in contracting has catalysed (Lewis, 1996; and Russell and Scott, 1997) has come to be known, in summary, as the

'contract culture' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). Darvill (1990) identified four main impacts that this contract culture would have on volunteers.

- Because bodies that provide funds to voluntary organisations will require the volunteer corps to be complementary or supplementary to the full-time paid staff, some volunteers may be excluded. This is because they may lack the necessary expertise.
- Because of this contract culture, some statutory bodies may not wish or be able to continue to provide the necessary services. If a new operator takes over the running of the excluded services, they may adopt a different organisational approach to the use of volunteers. The new management may require a greater diversity of duties, or a stricter control of time use, and either of these may discourage some volunteers.
- Because funders seek maximum value from financial support, there may be less money available to develop an existing service. Restriction on development may also mean a restriction of volunteer numbers.
- Because there are an increasing number of volunteers looking to improve or extend their skills and expertise, there may be disappointment when funders restrict the money available for training and supervision.

Darvill (1990) suggests that managers of volunteers may need to work hard to ensure that volunteer issues are taken fully into consideration when service and provider organisations enter into contracts. A contract can be negotiated by private organisations requiring volunteers, or by a statutory body giving a contract to a private organisation that sub-contracts out in turn to volunteers. Volunteers negotiating a contract on their own behalf may have to become a formal organisation to comply with legal requirements. Darvill concludes that the net impact on volunteers is indeterminate:

'(Contract) changes can have a negative or positive effect on volunteers depending on the work they do' (Darvill, 1990 p. 9).

In relation to the quality and scale of volunteer participation, Darvill identifies thirteen negative effects that have been caused by these contractual changes. These can broadly

be summarised under the four categories of diversion; loss or discouragement; tension or pressure; and cost. These are briefly amplified on below.

- *Diversion:*
 - Diversion of effort from volunteer priorities to funder priorities.
 - Diversion from 'core task' to fundraising to offset lack of financial headroom.

- *Loss or discouragement:*
 - Loss of organisational and volunteer support systems.
 - Failure to provide training and support with possible exit of volunteers.
 - Discouragement to local councillors and officers that previously advised the volunteer agency.
 - Discouragement to volunteers working in small groups, as funders may prefer to deal en bloc only with large organisations.

- *Tension or pressure:*
 - Unwanted pressure for each volunteer to accept a personal contract.
 - Staff relationships may be strained because of constricting imposed contracts.
 - Full-time staff workers may desist from their typically unpaid (that is, voluntary) components of their work because of contract pressures.
 - Requirements of the contract system may bring unexpected and unwanted pressures on management committees

- *Cost:*
 - To become competitive, a commitment is made to certain contract standards that may be hard to sustain without increasing volunteer workload
 - Despite achieving the targets and priorities set by the funder, the organisation continues to undertake unpaid but necessary activities that cannot be refused, using resources and time that could otherwise be remunerative.
 - Because of the quest for economic efficiency, organisations will not be able to afford 'non-productive' volunteers.

Darvill (1990) also identifies a number of potentially positive aspects of contracting and the changing environment that accompanies it. These also can be categorised under key headings, namely, opportunity; protection; and status.

- *Opportunity:*

- Contracting provides an opportunity to undertake a cost benefit analysis of volunteers' worth that the *status quo ante* discouraged.
- New and adventurous forms of fundraising may be required to exist in the contract culture, with spin-off benefits.
- Forward planning can be undertaken with greater confidence because of the longer three-year duration of some contracts
- It may be to the advantage of some volunteers to receive a 'semi-payment' for their services.

- *Protection:*

- A funder may be prevented from raising the stakes, or reducing support facilities because of the conditions of the contract.
- Volunteers may be protected from enthusiastic and over-dominant management committee members by the 'shield' provided by the contract.

- *Status:*

- Volunteers may become more valued because they are increasingly recognised as cost effective. This may enable them to bargain for greater support facilities.
- Advocacy may be one of the newer forms of voluntary activity that would benefit from the contract system, since the stability of the contract may attract much needed funding.
- It is possible that the stricter conditions of a contract will encourage greater participation of volunteers on management committees (Darvill, 1990).

These various positive and negative impacts highlighted by Darvill relate primarily to direct impacts on the population of volunteers. He recognises, however, that contract-driven changes may also impact on the relations between different stakeholder groups within the agency. It is possible that there will be divisions between volunteers and staff that accept the contract system, on the one hand, and those that do not, on the other.

There is the likelihood of the direct service providers becoming increasingly distant from the fundraisers, campaigners and advocacy workers that ring many volunteer organisations. This is because the former are funded under contract whereas the latter are not. It is also possible that volunteers possessing the ability and motivation to manage their own activities will be detached from other volunteers who lack these abilities and who are more dependent upon management direction. Competition for contracts may also, finally, separate management committees from self-help groups and staff that make in-house bids (Darvill, 1990).

Sheard (1992) also discusses the possible outcomes of this 'contract culture' on internal stakeholder relations. Unlike Darvill, he suggests that there would be a uniformly negative effect on both voluntary organisations and volunteers, principally when agencies and purchasers saw the outlays on volunteer support and development as being an unnecessary cost. However, Kay (1996) suggested that a positive attitude to management and a fuller understanding of the processes and out-comes of the contract procedure could maximise the benefits and reduce the deleterious effects for both organisation and volunteer. In a series of studies Russell and Scott (1997) and Scott and Russell (2001) generate still another perspective. Their empirically based research indicates mixed effects from contracting and thus confirms many of the more nuanced outcomes suggested by Darvill. Some organisations have benefited by having greater financial security but that may mean, in turn, greater dependence upon the funding authority. The improved management and legal skills required by the management boards of contracting voluntary organisations may be achieved at the expense of mission drift if not actual change in mission direction.

Their studies suggest a need for at least some organisations to review their situation within the contract culture with a view to devising alternative strategies for development. According to Scott and Russell:

'the most useful and enduring legacy of contracting may not be a legal and rational one, nor an acceptance of the primacy of market forces in the delivery of social welfare, but the renewed attention to the *social* contract" (Scott and Russell, 2001, p. 61 emphasis as in the original).

That legacy will, in their reading, be characterised by a greater understanding on the part of the contracting parties (including the voluntary sector as a whole) of the ethos, position, and potential of the voluntary organisation.

The Demand for Volunteers

Understanding the means or route through which people come to volunteering has been a recurring theme for recent research exploration (Best, 1992; Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992; Knight, 1993; Davis Smith, 1992; Thomas and Finch, 1990). This body of work has suggested certain avenues of enlistment. Primary among these are:

- Personal contact (Best, 1992, p.6; Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992, p.98; Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.29).
- Local media (Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.60).
- National media (Best, 1992, p.10).
- Organisational recruitment campaigns (Knight, 1993, p.235).

Personal contact has two further dimensions:

- Active volunteer contacts negotiated through a personal social network.
- A motivated individual contacts a chosen organisation.

Personal contact constitutes still the most direct and most effective route for recruitment, according to previous research. The other routes have recorded only limited success (National Centre for Volunteering, 1998).

Local media contacts are most often made through adverts and organisation-based news stories placed in newspapers, club or church newsletters, and on local radio stations.

National media influences volunteer recruitment in a similar way to local media but in addition through: National and international news items; and through television appeals following emotional documentaries. Recruitment campaigns even for national organisations often take the form of events arranged locally.

The concept of the ‘value chain’ is useful in appreciating the interrelated and mutually reinforcing activities that an organisation must engage in, if it is successfully to recruit and retain volunteers. The value chain is a model of the sequential activities within an organisation that produce the valued products or services of the organisation. Each activity adds value to the service or product. From that it may be suggested that the greater the competence of each activity, the greater the addition of value. The sum total of competent activities determines the effectiveness of the organisation. Two broad types of activity are distinguished. There are, first, the *primary* activities of an organisation, which in a private sector context would be made up of:

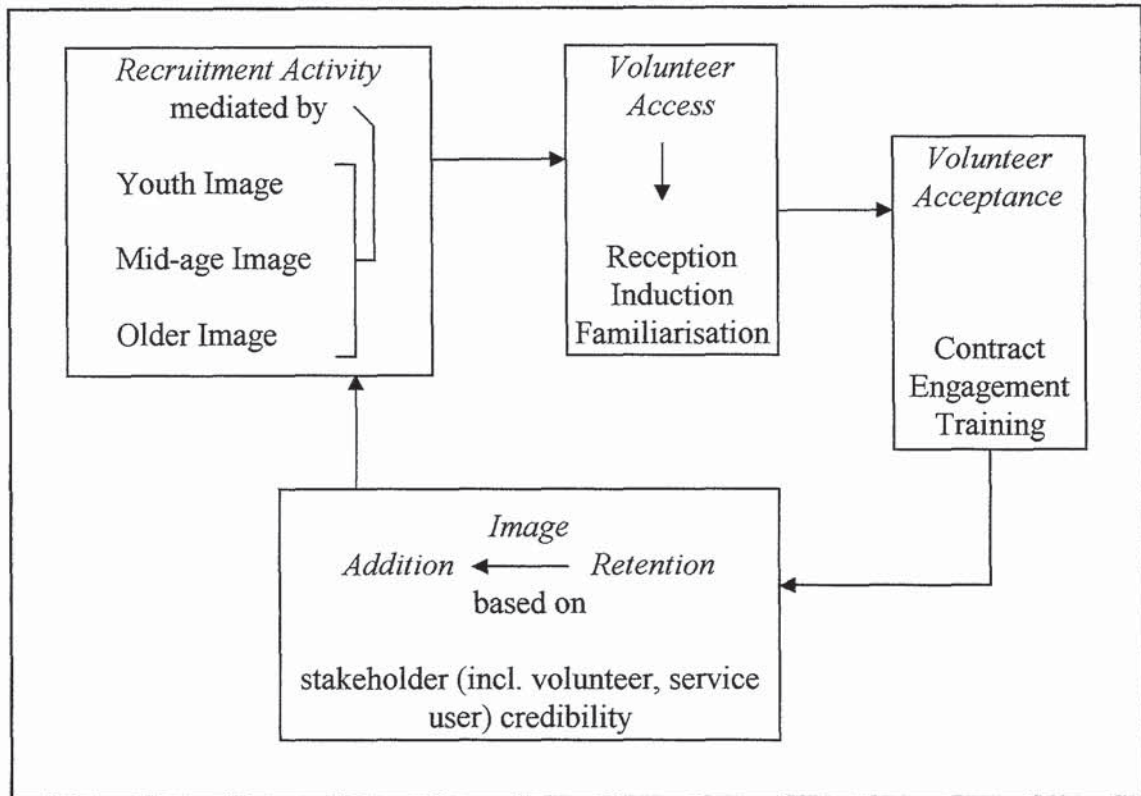
- The movement of incoming materials.
- The operation or creation of product.
- The methods of distribution of product or services.
- The marketing and sales.
- After sales service of product.

To assist the flow of product creation and disposal, a second category of activities, known as *support* activities, are required. These include:

- Organisation infrastructure.
- Human resource management.
- Technological development.
- Procurement (Johanson and Scholes, 1997).

Translating this into a voluntary sector context, the primary activities of a voluntary organisation may be deemed to consist of image creation and services to clients; and the support activities, chiefly, organisational infrastructure, and human resource management. Figure 2.2 captures what the literature suggests to be the principal components in this chain of value production for volunteer recruitment.

Figure 2.2: Generic Value Chain for Voluntary Organisations



In Figure 2.2, it is hypothesised that the three generation groups (youth, middle age and older persons) require different images of volunteer organisations to attract them to consider volunteering. Physical access to an organisation consists not only of the locational access derived from a given physical location, but also of suitable times of opening. The way in which the reception of the prospective volunteer is conducted may determine whether or not the person will continue with the application to volunteer. Once the initial application has been completed, the organisation will probably need to check the acceptability of the person, depending on the nature of the volunteer post and the human or social sensitivity of the work situation. A new volunteer should be actively inducted as quickly as possible after acceptance, and made to feel an integral part of the immediate organisation. To increase the value of the new human resource and to build this ‘acculturation’ (Davis Smith, 1996b; Dingle, 1993; Hedley, 1992; Knight, 1993), a tailored training programme can be arranged at an early date. The more the volunteer comes to identify with the organisation, the greater will be the likelihood of that volunteer remaining active. The volunteer chain has come full circle, for the enthusiastic volunteer now forms a part of the organisation’s external image.

It may be that there is a generationally specific value chain, since the same images will not attract the same generational groups. Methods of access, reception and acceptance may also need to be arranged to suit different age or generational groups. If organisations are to attract the kind of volunteer most acceptable to their requirements, the various links in the chain may need to be precisely tailored to attract that special volunteer. The mutual alignment of volunteers and volunteer organisations may therefore explain why volunteers are frequently to be organisation-specific, and why some organisations are possibly generation specific.

These points are more fully explained below.

In relation to the *attraction* of volunteers, Hedley (1992) suggests four requirements that voluntary organisations need to possess if they are to acquire volunteers, namely:

- A persuasive, coherent, positive and attractive image.
- Clear information sources that describe the organisation's aims, activities and needs.
- Provision for payment of volunteers' expenses incurred during volunteer activity.
- Provision of appropriate training and volunteer support.

An organisation's image needs to be both prominently presented to would-be volunteers and attractive to them. The provision of information about the organisation to prospective and current volunteers needs to be interesting (persuasive) and comprehensive, so that there is a clear understanding of the aims and goals of the volunteer function. The overall objective here is to reduce uncertainty on the part of the prospective volunteers. People considering volunteering will also need to know whether or not their out-of-pocket expenses will be refunded. As Hedley notes, most prospective volunteers would now expect their expenses to be paid. To ensure that they will be competent in tackling the activities for which they have volunteered, a programme of training needs to be offered, and a scheme of volunteer support should be in position. The research on supply of volunteers (see below) suggests that the one-to-one recruitment of family, friends and neighbours is the most frequent source of new volunteers. Given this, the morale, well being and motivation of current volunteers will constitute the very best of recommendations for newcomers.

In terms of retaining volunteers, Hedley (1992) identifies a need to:

- Avoid over-committing volunteers;
- Give adequate and appropriate recognition of services;
- Arrange for early but modest involvement post-recruitment and slowly to build up to optimum involvement and full and innovative use of skills and talents.

High retention ensues from such good management of the organisation and its volunteers. The evidence suggests that volunteers value belonging to a well defined and vigorous project, especially where identifiable and meaningful goals that are relevant to them have been set. They can, in short, confidently comprehend their contribution to the value creation process of the agency. The organisation, on the other hand, needs to calculate the opportunity cost of training and development of volunteers.

Cost of Volunteers to Organisations

Costs are inevitably associated with the employment of volunteers. Knapp (1990) and Knapp et al (1995) identify five specific types of expenditure, namely:

- Direct expenditure

These supply costs include travelling, protective clothing, telephones, insurance, and so on, each of which are essential for the completion of the volunteer task. These costs are usually directly observable

- Routine management costs

These are associated with the recruiting, training, organising and managing of volunteers: These, too, should be directly observable, although there is a tendency for them to be absorbed within general administration budgets.

- Congestion

A term coined by Knapp (1990) to explain the situation where beyond a certain point, additional volunteers might reduce rather than increase the overall productivity of an organisation. These diseconomies offer another reason for not assuming an infinite demand for volunteers. There is no specificity about these congestion costs, but cursory inspection would suggest that they might include management diseconomies of scale as the number of volunteers grew beyond managers' planning and personnel capabilities.

- Organisational acquiescence costs

There is a difference between paid employees, whose employment terms are contractually laid down and regulated by an exchange of consideration, and unpaid volunteers, who may feel able to come and go as they please, and over whom managers may have only limited control. If volunteers have personal or political connections with trustees or major funders, an organisation may even get diverted from its underlying aims and objectives by volunteer lobbying

- Costs of interweaving

Costs may be generated in 'interweaving' volunteers with paid staff, incurred in building up communication or teamwork between the two groups. Volunteers might work different hours, or might not be happy to accept the restrictions governing the employment of paid staff; or the paid staff might assume condescending attitudes toward volunteers because they appear less skilled, part-time, or seemingly transient. It is also possible that paid staff may be reluctant to share details which might appear to threaten the privacy of clients. They may feel themselves threatened by job losses as a result of volunteer work

Volunteers are probably not more expensive to recruit than paid staff, but they may well require different procedures and need more or different training compared to other staff. The general point that Knapp (1990) and Knapp et al (1995) makes is not whether

volunteers are administratively more or less costly than paid workers on a like-for-like basis, but that these costs exist.

The implication is that these behaviourally related costs are therefore manifest in variously damaging 'gaming' strategies between the groups concerned (Payne, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Weisbrod, 1988).

The Supply of Volunteers

Becoming a volunteer, the research suggests, is by no means a simple, uncomplicated or indeed, stress-free act, without various barriers impeding entry. These barriers may be lowered for those who are recruited by existing volunteers: these are effectively 'insiders' and their know-how may substantially reduce the search and transaction costs involved in entering what is effectively a novel social milieu for many. Once the motivation to volunteer impels the individual to act, there may also be physical barriers to overcome. These barriers appear to fall into one or more of the following categories (Dingle, 1993; Knapp, 1990; Thomas and Finch, 1990):

- The *information* factor: where can information be obtained to support the decision regarding which organisation to assist?
- The *status* factor: will a targeted voluntary organisation accept the offer of volunteering, once made?
- The *opportunity cost* factor: what level of commitment will be expected and what other prized activities might be displaced by that level of commitment?
- The *involvement choice* factor: will the activity offered by the organisation accord with what the volunteer would like to do, or is capable of doing?
- The *financial* factor: to volunteer is to give something of oneself to the organisation, whether that be time, effort, or even money. Is the giving sustainable?

Each of these will now be briefly discussed in turn.

In relation to the information factor, the international and larger national voluntary agencies enjoy high public profiles achieved through media coverage, and information

on how to access them is widely available in the public domain. Access to smaller local organisations may not be so readily achieved.

The most frequent source of information is by word-of-mouth from someone already active in the organisation; or, from someone who has already benefited from the assistance, care, or concern of that organisation (that is, a service user). As noted in Chapter 1, special appeals or events highlighted in the press and on television, like the BBC's annual TimeBank campaign, also give information designed to encourage volunteering. This information is less 'channelled' to specified individuals.

In terms of the status factor, not everyone will be suitable for every volunteer activity. If the activity is physically demanding, for example, involving outdoor youth activities, or structural conservation activities, some may be unable to cope with the exertion of the activity. Again, a specific skill may be required, and, if the organisation has no training facilities, then those without the appropriate skills will be unable to take part in that activity. The social status of an individual may be a factor, especially if that volunteer position is as a member of a board of trustees, or management.

With regard to the opportunity cost factor, the prospective volunteer will, Knapp et al (1995) suggests, weigh up the expenditure of time that will be involved in being a particular volunteer in a specific organisation. The organisation may require a greater expenditure of time than the individual can afford, either because of employment, leisure or family commitments. Extended voluntary commitment may restrict individual's enjoyment of other attractions in their life such as leisure, travel, or entertainment.

In relation to involvement choice, a prospective volunteer may not know what variety of activity is available within the organisation prior to making any approach. Would-be volunteers will come to the transaction with a mix of motivations. These include the desire to be useful; to help others; to gain some skills and experience; and, to find company and friendship. However, the organisation may have an urgent need for someone to fill a particular role which may not be suitable for that prospective volunteer. If they are the only volunteer available, they may be offered a post or activity that they had not initially considered and may be deterred from becoming involved – both then *and later*.

The financial factor can exclude or prohibit involvement. Some people offer their labour but are unable to give financially. Volunteers on low personal incomes, in particular, are sometimes discouraged by the prospective costs of travelling; telephone and stationery charges; home committee entertainment; and meals away from home. If the prospective volunteer activity is to take place during daytime, there may be the possibility of lost earnings if a current employer is not sympathetic to and supportive of employees' volunteer activity. Some potential volunteers may manage small or medium sized businesses and may seriously have to consider the cost of lost business before entering into a volunteer commitment.

There are thus a plethora of factors which, the research suggests, may impede any potential negotiation around volunteering Palmer (2000) summarises the current situation thus:

‘despite the seeming rise in the number of schemes to encourage volunteering, either through workplace schemes or trying to reach individuals, many voluntary organisations still find it hard to attract volunteers’ (Palmer, 2000, p. 2)

Being a Volunteer

A number of researchers (including, Clary, Snyder, and Stukas, 1996; Knight, 1993; Pearce, 1993; and Thomas & Finch, 1990) have evaluated the potential benefits of being a volunteer. Key benefits include: the personal satisfaction of being part of something deemed worthwhile; the sense of achievement at accomplishing a task; the friendships made and enjoyed in new social networks; being away from the house and spending time constructively; and maintaining old skills and learning new ones.

There are also and concomitantly, the pressures. Maintaining the commitment at the level requested by the organisation may initially pose no problems, but even a small change in home or personal circumstances can bring stress on the loyalty to either home or organisation. Likewise, a change in the agency's administration or new full-time professional personnel bringing novel methods of operation into the volunteer's working milieu may bring pressure to bear on the commitment to continue volunteering. The clash of volunteer and professional staff over what are seen as relatively common issues of volunteer training and job placement can be a source of friction. If there is a change in the organisation's direction, where the original aims and ideals appear

compromised by the need to survive, the volunteers may come personally to doubt their commitment.

There are also pressures involved in continuing the volunteer commitment. Many volunteers remain with an organisation for many years - it becomes, in one sense, 'their' organisation (CAF., 1995, 1997, 1998). The evidence collected by CAF suggests that they remain through all the changes because they continue to believe in the purpose of the organisation and they enjoy the company and contact with the other volunteers and staff (Thomas & Finch, 1990). It follows that there can be substantial personal, emotional conflict if the volunteer comes to a decision to desist from volunteering. The professional staff or volunteer managers also, have the difficult task of persuading volunteers to retire, or move on, when they are judged to be no longer capable of performing the volunteer job. The skill of the volunteer manager is often tested in arranging a smooth and amicable release (Dingle, 1993).

The evidence suggests, therefore, that the process of exiting from volunteering can be testing. It is not an easy decision for any of the parties involved to terminate a period of volunteer activity. The volunteer manager may be hard pressed to fill the expected vacancy - and the volunteer may feel guilty for causing the vacancy. On the other hand, the manager may see this as an opportunity to find someone with fresh vigour, enthusiasm, and initiative, while the volunteer may be relieved that an increasingly onerous commitment is ended. The volunteer will, Dingle (1993) suggests, have weighed-up the costs to themselves and the organisation before deciding to leave. Good practice demands also that the organisation should ascertain the reasons for the exit and take steps to ensure that there is no recurrence, if the reasons are organisational (Dingle, 1993). (It should be noted, however, that these essentially rationalist assumptions about cost and benefit may be rendered invalid where the strong emotional factors mentioned above come into play.)

Empirical Evidence on Key Issues in Volunteering

This section examines the available empirical evidence provided by the periodical reports from the UK national voluntary sector evaluation agencies, including the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), National Centre for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), and the National Centre for Volunteering (NCV). The evidence from these agencies is reviewed in relation to each of the key factors in the equation of the demand for, and supply of, volunteers considered in the foregoing sections. The factors evaluated here include:

- The *methodological shifts* between the national surveys, which distort the image and historical record of volunteering over the last decade.
- The *demographic imbalance* within volunteering, which has raised thus far unresolved questions among researchers (CAF, 1989; and NCV, 1998). These questions concern why people who are retired from regular paid employment are so disproportionately under represented in volunteering activity, considering that they appear to have increased available time and a wealth of experience.
- The *age segregation of voluntary work*, a factor repeatedly and clearly illustrated in each survey of voluntary activity.
- The *age and time commitment* to volunteering, which has noticeably altered over the period under review.
- The *determinants of volunteering*. The national surveys suggest a set of characteristics as the hallmark of a ‘typical’ volunteer.
- The *profile of volunteers*, a notional construct that each successive survey promotes.

These factors are now addressed in turn.

Methodological Divergence

Measuring the volume of volunteering activity with any precision is difficult. Estimates of total numbers of volunteers are greatly influenced by the definitions of voluntary work adopted and the research methodology employed (Halfpenny and Lowe 1994; Lynn and Davis Smith 1992; Matheson 1990). The discrepancies between surveys can

be significant. On the evidence of the CAF and NCV reports there, has been a gradual decline in the percentage of the UK population that engages in volunteering activity with a formal voluntary organisation over the last decade. According to the annual surveys undertaken by CAF, for the six years to 1993, the cumulative impact of this steady fall has been significant. The percentages are set out in Table 2.10.

Table2.10: Percentage of UK Population Engaged in Voluntary Activity

1987	1988 / 89	1989 / 90	1990 / 91	1992	1993
55%	30%	29%	34%	26%	21%

Source: CAF, 1995.

There are method-related difficulties with even this aggregate data. The estimate for 1987 is for the three months prior to the survey, whereas the figures for the succeeding years are for activity in the single month previous to the survey. This methodological shift may explain the extremely sharp fall in numbers over 1987–88. For the 1998 CAF report, the statistical data is drawn from National Surveys conducted by the NCV during the years 1981, 1991, and 1997. This information suggests that, in each of the respective years, 44%, 51%, and 48% of the population was engaged in formal voluntary activity. It is notable that the NCV estimate for 1991 (51%) diverges very significantly from the original CAF estimate (albeit for 1990/91) of 34%. This suggests that these estimates are extremely susceptible to methodological distortion.

The figures for volunteering derived from the General Household Survey (GHS) suggest that volunteering participation rates have reached a plateau; in 1981, the proportion of the population estimated to be engaged in volunteering is given as 23%, and 24% for both 1987 and 1991. Unfortunately, each of these three reports uses a different population base, a different chronology, and, in the earlier years, a different definition for ‘formal voluntary activity’. At best, the data supplied can only indicate general trends in numbers volunteering, hours of voluntary activity, gender, age, and economic classification of volunteers. This general observation may be illustrated in relation to gender. The gender participation rates are estimated by CAF as 47% for males and 53% for females for 1988 / 89; for 1993, 43% males and 57% females; and the 1998 report states that men and women were equally likely to volunteer (CAF, 1989/90; CAF, 1993;

and CAF, 1998). The 1981 GHS report estimates the proportion as 49% for males and 51% for females; 46% and 54% respectively for 1987; and 43% and 57% for 1991. Given the comparability problems in the data sets, all that can be defensibly generalised from this is that there is a (weak) tendency for more women to volunteer than men. The GHS figures also suggest a tendency for the percentage of men volunteering to be declining in recent years and for the percentage of women volunteering to be increasing. However, the 1998 figure shows a decrease from previous years in the percentage of women volunteering. This apparent discontinuity in the trend line may be at least as explicable in terms of methodological vagaries as in actual trends.

Demographic Imbalance

In terms of the age profile of volunteers, similar methodological issues arise. The CAF reports use differing age bases for reporting over time. Thus, the 1988/89 report gives the information reproduced in Table 2.11

Table 2.11: Percentage of Respondents Volunteering by Age
(% total survey population, United Kingdom, 1988/89)

18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
27%	35%	29%	25%

Source: CAF, 1990.

By contrast the 1993 CAF information is reported as follows:

Table 2.12: Percentage of Respondents Volunteering by Age
(% survey population, United Kingdom, 1993)

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
11%	19%	23%	19%	13%	15%

Source: CAF, 1993.

As stated, both tables 2.11 and 2.12 estimate age profile as a percentage of the survey population, whereas, in Table 2.13 below, the base is defined as the population of the

UK as a whole. Table 2.13 is taken from the 1998 CAF report, which analyses NCV data for 1981, 1991, and 1997. It uses the same age groups as the 1993 CAF report, with the addition of narrower categories (65-74 and 75+) at the older end.

Table 2.13: Percentage of UK Population Volunteering by Age

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
1981	42%	52%	60%	48%	33%	29%	n/a
1991	55%	60%	63%	60%	46%	34%	25%
1997	43%	52%	52%	57%	40%	45%	35%

Source: CAF, 1998.

These figures suggest a high degree of skewness in terms of the age profile of volunteers set against the demographic profile of the population as a whole. This observation is central to the overall direction of this Thesis and therefore merits closer interpretation. The accompanying commentary in the survey reports assists in this regard. A selection of these narratives drawn from the CAF reports of 1994 and 1995 is set out below.

‘The propensity to volunteer is highest among the 35-44 age group (27% volunteered) but then declines steadily with age, with the propensity of the 65+ age group being the lowest (15%) across all age groups. Among younger people, those in the 25-34 age group have the second lowest propensity to volunteer (17%) but those in the 18-24 age group have the third highest (20%)’ (CAF, 1994 p.32).

‘Only a minority (21%) of the 1993 IGS respondents undertook voluntary work in the month prior to interview. This is a decline on 1992, when 26% undertook voluntary work’ (CAF, 1994, p. 41).

‘Twenty-one percent of respondents to the Individual Giving Survey (IGS) said they volunteered in the previous month. This proportion compares with CAF’s 1988/89 survey, in which thirty percent of respondents said they volunteered’ (CAF., 1995, p. 12).

Although there is variation in the figures quoted when the various surveys are compared on a year-by-year basis, the general trend and overall depiction is consistent. It may be that there are differences over choice of methodology, nuances of interpretation, or presentational issues as between the different sponsoring organisations. These differences are not material in themselves, for what is at stake is the interpretation

placed upon these results by policy makers. The researchers consistently highlight the need for care in interpreting their results, especially regarding the composition of the volunteers in the voluntary organisations. The comment from NCV researchers is not unusual.

‘This survey finds environmental volunteering static or slightly in decline. However, as in the 1991 report, the same rider has to be put on the interpretation of these figures. This table is measuring the main purpose of the group or organisation with which the person volunteers, not the field of activity itself. Thus, environmental activity undertaken for example through the Scouts or Guides would not show up in the environmental figures but in those relating to Youth or children – this point is not of course exclusive to work for the environment and would be true for other areas of activity as well’ (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998 p. 42).

Unfortunately, the evidence of that heterogeneity is insufficiently explored or reported in these national surveys: the potential for untoward generalisation (or so-called ‘ecological fallacies’) therefore remains. This potential for misinterpretation can lead to skewed or poorly targeted public policy affecting the functioning of local volunteer organisations.

Different Ages for Different Voluntary Work

There is little variation over time in the nature of the volunteer activities undertaken by the various age groups. The 1994 CAF survey provides a valuable illustration and exploration of the typical range of functions that volunteers perform. For 1997, the key functions undertaken by volunteers, in order of frequency, are:

- Raising or handling money.
- Organising/helping to run an activity.
- Performing as a member of a committee.
- Providing transport.
- Representing the organisation.
- Other work or help.
- Visiting people.
- Undertaking secretarial/administration work.
- Providing other direct services.
- Giving advice/counselling to clients.

There are some interesting differences between the age cohorts in terms of the work that they typically undertake. For example, it is the older volunteer who more often visited the elderly and the sick, and acted as a church helper: younger people were much less active in these functions. Conversely, a greater proportion of younger than older people participated in sponsored events. People in the 25-44 age ranges were most active in selling raffle tickets for fundraising purposes and helping in a club (CAF 1994).

Those in the 65+ age group are less likely to be involved in raising or handling money and in organising or helping to run an event than all other age groups. A lower proportion of those in the 45-54 age group, than those in other age groups, collect or make things. Activities such as visiting people and other direct services are undertaken least by those in the 25-34 age group, while serving on a committee and advising and counselling tasks are undertaken least by those in the 18-24 age group. In contrast, raising or handling money is more prevalent among the younger volunteers, and serving on a committee is more prevalent among the older volunteers.

CAF assert that these differences reflect the different roles and activities of people of different ages in the wider division of labour in contemporary British society (CAF, 1994).

It should be noted, however, that, despite what CAF say in the above mentioned reports, they also say that the relationship between types of voluntary activity and age is very weak, with negligible variance in the proportions of the people undertaking each activity by age. The 1997 National Survey of Volunteering, on the other hand, does not comment on the proportional variance in work tasks undertaken but reports very similar relationships between types of voluntary activity and age. The pattern of relationship between activity and age as shown by the national surveys does not appear to have varied significantly over the past decade. This suggests, perhaps, that age (young or old) is not a primary barrier to active participation.

Age and Time Commitment to Volunteering

'The average hours volunteered is lowest among the 25-34 age group (10.5 hours per month). The 35-44 age group give the highest average hours (22.9). The relationship between the age of volunteers and their hours volunteered is weak and not statistically significant' (CAF, 1994, p. 32, italics added).

Year on year, most respondents to volunteer surveys invested little or no time and only a very few gave a great deal of time. The typical time committed to volunteering, averaged across all respondents, was less than one hour per person per month. In 1993, a significant minority of volunteers (41%) believed that the amount of time they volunteered was more than the amount of time volunteered by other people like themselves, (which is, of course, a logical impossibility). The typical amount of time spent volunteering was 7 hours per month (CAF, 1994).

Although the evidence suggests that the total numbers of volunteers appears to be declining in the UK, those who did volunteer gave more of their time. Between 1.4 billion and 2.4 billion hours were volunteered in 1993 - a total which has remained static through the six CAF surveys undertaken since 1987, despite declining numbers volunteering. It is notable that the highly approximate estimation here is again indicative of the empirical vagaries that attend research in this area. The authors immediately acknowledge this qualification, in the following terms:

'Despite these patterns, it cannot be predicted to more than a minor extent how much time different types or groups will give to voluntary activities on the basis of any one of their characteristics. Nor can it be inferred with any great likelihood the patterns found in the... sample will be found in the population as a whole' (CAF, 1994, p. 42).

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the approximate constancy in volunteering hours over time also invites a degree of criticism of public policy on the part of CAF:

'In spite of recent government initiatives to promote voluntary activity, it appears unlikely that volunteering has increased substantially in recent years' (CAF, 1995, p. 12).

International Comparisons of Age & Volunteering

There are differences in the pattern of volunteering between countries (Anheir, Salamon, and Archambault, 1996). Davis Smith (1995) warns that because of the differences in methodology and definitions the results of the surveys undertaken in a number of European countries are not comparable with British surveys. Perri 6 (1995) also makes this point in an introduction to a selection of the existing European voluntary sector literature which has been either written in, or translated into English. Perri 6 (1995), referring to data collected on organisation income, expenditure and numbers of members says:

‘...these kinds of data are collected infrequently, usually on a cross-sectional basis, by different types of agency for different purposes in each country, and they are invariably not collected on a comparable basis’ (6, P., 1995, p. 128)

The bibliography provided in Perri 6 indicates a growing literature on the number, nature and governance structures of voluntary organisations. Aside from specifics on the governors, there is, however, a dearth of information on the other stakeholders active within these organisations.

The 1996 CAF survey provides a limited amount of information on the comparable figures of volunteer participation for several European countries and the USA. The following tables give some indication of the extent of volunteer activity, but the warnings of Davis Smith and Perri 6 must be taken into consideration before attempting any comparative conclusions.

Table 2.14: International Comparisons of Volunteering:

Percentage of respondents who volunteered previous 12 months

Country	United States	Germany	France
%	49	13	19

Source: Anheir et al, 1996, p. 168

In Tables 2.15 and 2.16 the term ‘European’ refers to the ten countries within a two-year study co-ordinated by the Volunteer Centre UK.

Table 2.15: Proportion of European respondents who volunteered in the past year by age

Age	Up to 24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
%	25	24	28	32	27	21

Source: Davis Smith, 1996a, p. 183.

Table 2.16: Comparative figures for (A) respondents who volunteered in the past year and of (B) volunteers who volunteered at least once a month by country

Country	A	B
Belgium	32	60
Bulgaria	19	64
Denmark	28	71
Gt. Britain	34	50
Germany	18	85
Ireland	25	66
Netherlands	38	77
Slovakia	12	56
Sweden	36	64

Source: adapted from CAF, 1996, p. 183.

The most detailed source of comparable volunteering information comes from the USA. For several decades researchers in North America have analysed the many aspects of volunteer activity and produced a comprehensive literature. This review takes a selective approach to this literature, focussing on a limited number of the key texts that have researched the questions of volunteering and older people.

Researchers in the US (Crandall, 1980: Cutler, 1977: Goss, 1999: Herzog and Morgan, 1993: Trela, 1976) have reported varied findings, sometimes contradictory, on the representation of older people in the voluntary sector. Similar contrary results hold in relation to the barriers, real or perceived, encountered by older volunteers either in becoming a volunteer or while active within an organisation. For example,, Crandall (1980) suggests that the:

‘ ... percentage belonging to fraternal groups continues to rise with age group and reaches its highest level among those 75+ years of age. The same trend is seen in church organisations ...After age 65+, labour unions, sports groups, youth groups, school-service clubs, professional and academic societies,

veterans' groups, discussion and study groups, and hobby or garden clubs tend to decline in membership. ... There are marked differences by age in some of the voluntary associations. However, it is not known if the differences are caused by age or by cohort ... Traditionally, it has been believed that participation in voluntary association goes down with increasing age' (p. 364).

Cutler (1977) reported on two longitudinal studies, the first of which:

'... concluded that there is no support for the hypothesis that after age 45 there is a decline in attendance at voluntary associations. In fact, it appeared that no significant decline took place until about 80 years of age' (cited in Crandall, 1988, p. 364).

The second study by Cutler reached essentially the same conclusions. Crandall (1988) considered that Cutler's studies were important because they showed that, with regard to volunteer involvement in voluntary associations, there was a continuity and stability with increasing age of the volunteer. Cutler's (1973) study noted just this stability in volunteer behaviour over the life-cycle:

'It may be that voluntary associations have a self-selecting mechanism in which those who are adjusted, healthy, and satisfied seek the company of similar individuals' (cited in Crandall, 1988, p. 364).

Trela (1976) also found that the number of voluntary associations to which an individual belongs remains approximately constant over the life-span. However, he also observed that the mix of organisations often changes with age. Again, the conclusion is that people tend to leave job-related, civic, and political organisations for alumni, service, recreational and age-graded voluntary associations (cited in Crandall, 1988).

In a recent paper, Goss (1999) summed up the situation in the USA in the following terms.

'By virtually every conceivable measure, civic participation is on the decline in America. Volunteering is one important exception. An analysis of a newly available archive of national surveys finds that the frequency with which Americans volunteer has increased by 20% since the mid-1970s. However, nearly all of that increase is concentrated among older Americans, who are volunteering twice as frequent in the late 1990s as their same-aged predecessors did in the 1970s. Meanwhile, volunteering has decreased among middle-age adults, who once were the voluntary sector's most reliable source of donated labor. The reasons for increased volunteering among seniors remain elusive.

Tests of various hypotheses, from improved health and financial conditions to increased spare time, do not explain the explosive increase. Nonetheless, it is clear that a powerful and mysterious force is pushing seniors toward greater volunteer involvement, and non-profit groups should tap into this particularly civic age group before the Indian summer of volunteering reaches its end' (p. 378).

Goss asserts that the factors acting to increase the volunteering population of older people are not categorically established, though he does state that 'the strongest and most robust predictor of volunteerism is educational attainment' (p. 380). He does, however, cite research of an indicative nature. Among these researchers, Hodgkinson & Weitzman (1996) Auslander & Liwin (1988); Freeman (1996); Menchick & Wesbrod (1987); Romero (1987) confirm education as the substantively and statistically significant determinant of volunteering, even after other factors correlated with education (for example, income and race) are controlled. In addition, Wilson & Musick (1997) find a correlation between high incomes and volunteering, even when its correlates are controlled. It is possible that wealthy people, on average, may have greater verbal and writing skills and be more confident, lowering the psychological barriers to volunteer involvement. A further significant factor, according to Hodgkinson & Weitzman (1996), is that holding a paid job is associated with the likelihood of volunteering. Each of these predictors, education, having a good income, and holding a job, have been largely confirmed in the UK in the findings of the CAF and Volunteer Centre surveys.

Goss (1999) highlights other factors in the US research that have not, however, received much attention in the UK surveys. Thus, according to Berger (1991), the propensity to volunteer can depend upon the individual's position in the life cycle. The life cycle, according to Erikson (1965), encompasses the stages in life that the individual reaches after attaining a combination of status, education, income, and psychological experience which can influence the responses to the many life situations that can arise. In this regard, prior membership as a young person in local organisations like the Scouts or a youth club is correlated with volunteering as an adult. Both Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1996) and Wilson and Janoski (1995) identify membership of a club or church to be a frequent route to volunteering.

The Determinants of Volunteering

The various surveys that have been carried out over the past ten years in the UK, whilst differing markedly in their estimates of numbers of volunteers, are unanimous on one point: that certain types of people are more likely to engage in voluntary work than others. Davis Smith, author of a recent CAF study, goes so far as to construct a profile of a 'typical volunteer':

'A typical profile of a volunteer has been drawn up as being someone who is white, middle aged, in a professional occupation and of a relatively high income' (CAF, 1995, p. 91).

Further support for this contention comes, *inter alia*, from the *Individual Giving Survey* (Halfpenny and Lowe, 1994). This found that women had a higher propensity to volunteer than men, that activity declines with age but rises with professional status, such that higher managerial and professional persons are twice as likely to volunteer as those from unskilled manual grades.

The national surveys reviewed thus far used univariate methods to formulate their findings. The first multivariate analysis in the UK of the factors, which determine volunteering, was carried out by the PSSRU, University of Kent and The Volunteer Centre UK (Knapp et al, 1994). This more nuanced analysis confirms some of the widely accepted findings from the univariate studies but casts others in doubt.

The study found that the factors affecting the decision to participate in volunteering include the level of education, the presence of children in the household, the size of social networks, housing tenure and telephone ownership, age, income and ethnic group. However, the study found no relationship between hourly earnings (a proxy for socioeconomic status) and volunteering. The study also examined the factors that determined the level of commitment by volunteers. It found that those volunteers who were reimbursed for their expenses were more likely to volunteer regularly and put in more hours, as were those covered by insurance by the organisation for which they volunteered. Volunteers' personal motivations also had an effect on levels of commitment. Those who were motivated by the need to meet people and/or to make friends were most likely to participate regularly in volunteering, whilst those who

became involved because someone asked them to help were less likely to make a regular commitment.

The 1997 National Survey of Volunteering confirms that there is a significant consensus about who is likely to volunteer.

Barriers to Volunteering

Thomas and Finch (1990) have extensively researched the obstacles to volunteering as articulated by volunteers and non-volunteers alike. They highlight as perhaps the greatest obstacle the negative perceptions of volunteering held by people from all groups in society, both inside and outside the voluntary sector. Volunteering is often cast as 'charity work', with the volunteers exhibiting an inflated conception of their own worth. Volunteering is also depicted as entailing too great an intrusion into one's private life. The image of volunteers is further tarnished by adverse media reports of aberrant volunteers and fraudulent trustees. Thomas and Finch summarise the evidence concerning the prevalent image of the volunteer in unequivocal terms.

'Many of the non-volunteers had a negative view about the type of people who become volunteers - in particular they were "do-gooders" - and that volunteering was done for altruistic or solely for personal gain. By becoming involved themselves, they felt they too would be seen in the same way' (Thomas & Finch, 1990 p. 58).

The negative image that volunteering has acquired needs to be addressed through improved information dissemination and advertising of the volunteer organisations. As Hannagan (1992) says:

'The image of an organisation is an intangible factor that reflects the views that outsiders have of it and the quality of its services' (Ibid p.25).

Image is therefore the manifestation of the reputation of that organisation. It is very difficult to alter an established image.

In addition to finding volunteering has a doubtful image, Thomas and Finch (1990) found that many citizens would rather give money than time, preferring to pay for professional services rather than surrender their own energies. There is also often a

mismatch between people's volunteer work preferences and the activities that they see as available, such as involvement with children, elderly people, and fund-raising.

Thomas and Finch (1990) proceed to address the practical difficulties in becoming a volunteer. These are comparable to the pressures faced by existing volunteers, namely, time; commitment and over-involvement; expense; need for transport and for evening activities. They identify a concern at a perceived lack of encouragement by organisations for people to become volunteers. Quite often, it is the not knowing how to start that dissuades the potential volunteer at the outset. Even when a promising avenue opens up, there is frequently a lack of information about the range of voluntary activities available. Of course, nothing happens if people are not being asked to volunteer.

For a majority of the volunteers who participated in the Thomas and Finch study, the disadvantages that they experienced were merely seen as 'occupational hazards' and were generally compensated for by the perceived benefits of volunteering. The costs to volunteers can be pecuniary and psychic, tangible and intangible. The opportunity costs to volunteers are likely to be some of the following.

- *Foregone wages* from paid employment if volunteer time is time away from paid work which results in loss of income. This does not apply to people who are not in the paid labour force or who work a fixed number of hours (Knapp, 1984).
- *Foregone human capital benefits* of alternative work, the accumulated expertise that will improve career prospects and/or increase future earning capacity
- The *psychic benefits* of alternative work activity which generates job satisfaction.
- *Out-of-pocket expenses*: These are likely to be the most obvious costs though not necessarily the largest. Some may be immediately identifiable and reimbursable, such as travel and telephone costs. Others are not so readily identifiable, such as the need to purchase a bigger car to for taking elderly people to and from day centres, or a larger house to provide informal child-minding (Knapp, 1984; Thomas and Finch, 1990).

- The loss of alternative *unpaid work* opportunities, such as gardening or do-it-yourself, and *leisure time* (Knapp, 1984; Thomas and Finch, 1990).

In choosing whether to participate as a volunteer, an individual could be expected to weigh up these and other costs and benefits. They may not include every cost or every benefit in their decision-making. However, the basis for economic approaches to the volunteering decision is that most individuals make some effort at rational evaluation of both sides of the volunteering transaction: ‘what are the benefits of volunteering to me, my family and to society, and what are the costs?’ For some of the people involved in the Thomas and Finch study, the disadvantages were felt to outweigh the benefits, with the consequence that they exited from volunteering.

The Disadvantages of Volunteering

Table 2.17 below summarises the issues that volunteers consider can be discouraging to the fulfilment of their desire to serve. The statements in the Table are actual quotations from volunteer’s responses to the survey questions.

Table 2.17: The drawbacks of volunteering, as cited by volunteers

	1991	1997
Things could be much better organised	60	71
You sometimes get bored or lose interest	26	34
It takes up too much time	20	31
You can’t always cope with the things you are asked to do	30	30
Your efforts aren’t always appreciated	33	29
You find yourself out of pocket	31	29
Too much is expected of you	16	20
You don’t get asked to do the things you’d like to do	16	20
The organisation isn’t really going anywhere	14	16
Our help is not really wanted	8	5
n =	418	419

Notes to Table: Percentages do not add up to 100, since some respondents cited more than one drawback. Figures relate to the number of respondents who agreed, or agreed very much, with the drawbacks given.

Source: Adaptation of figures from 1991 National Survey of Voluntary Activity and 1997 National Survey of Volunteering.

A number of authors have explored the variety of events that can prevent people from realising their full potential as volunteers (Darvill, 1990; Dingle, 1993; Thomas and Finch, 1990). The problem of prioritising use of time is especially trying for volunteers. The juggling act of giving the appropriate time for work, home, and volunteering quite often issues in stress and feelings of guilt. On the other hand, overly enthusiastic volunteers are prone to over-commit. This can result in exhaustion, again spilling over into the volunteer's home life. Over-commitment may also result in task displacement: volunteers become so involved in the politics of the organisation that they involuntarily relinquish those tasks that first attracted them to volunteering. The acceptance of too much responsibility can very quickly dull the original volunteer enthusiasm: so too can unrealistic expectations of the outcomes from the efforts of the organisation.

The expense of continued involvement can be worrying. The cost of travelling to and from the organisation may not be reimbursed. Many enthusiastic volunteers do not claim all the expenses due to them because they feel it is taking something from an organisation to which they wish to give as much as possible. In some cases, the nature of the voluntary activity may not be suitable for the individual. Not everyone is comfortable fund-raising and handling money or dealing directly with the general public. Evening activities or transport requirements may debar especially older volunteers. The technicality of the job may be daunting, where initial training has been inadequate, and especially so if there is a lack of back-up support.

Finally, as Thomas and Finch, (1990) argue, a lack of appreciation from the host organisation can be very demoralising, especially for a volunteer who arrived with enthusiasm.

Non-volunteers on Volunteering

The reasons given by non-volunteers for not becoming active in an organisation mirror the same problems that confront the person who wishes to become a volunteer, though the later person sees them as barriers that may be overcome whereas the non-volunteer sees them as an impenetrable wall.

The most frequent statement ‘you just don’t seem to find the time’ may suggest that the person is too busy and will find it difficult to fit around work and family commitments. It may clash with leisure activities: it would be inconvenient. There are also likely to be potential disadvantages such as financial cost, or it might mean having to go out at night. There is also the possibility of being embarrassed by having to raise money or ask people for money. It might mean getting *over*-involved. Frequently there is a suspicion that the organisations are not using the funds raised in the best possible ways - there is a hint of misappropriation. Another suspicion is that the organisations are exploiting their volunteers as cheap labour.

The final reason or excuse for not becoming a volunteer is that they are ‘not that sort of person’. Quite often the response is from a young person who has not felt that they had ‘been touched’ by anything that would encourage them to become involved. (Thomas & Finch, 1990)

Table 2.18: Perceived barriers to volunteer activity

	Individual	Organisation	Society / Civic Community
Cultural	Selfish rather than Selfless	Lack of professionalism	‘Charity’ image syndrome
Material / Financial	Opportunity Cost	Maximum effort for minimum cost	Not financially responsible
Public Sector	Encouragement without incentive	Possibility of political bias	Rhetoric + Community Image
Private Sector	Affect on promotion prospects?	Corporate ties	Corporate Image
Voluntary Sector	Insufficient recognition	Lack of training	Insufficient image in community

The above table is very much a simplification for there are other factors that influence what is or is not a barrier. The perception depends on the relative position of the individual and the organisation within society: the position of involvement or non-involvement: the position of bias or prejudice: position of positive or negative disposition: position of pessimistic or optimistic idealism. There are also the influences of gender, education, socio-economic status, ethnicity, disability and health – and each of these factors will be affected by the age of the individual.

‘Age, gender and economic activity play an important part in determining which members of communities volunteer, a fact that is echoed in an 1996 survey of volunteering by members of black and minority ethnic communities in Britain. This survey also indicates different cultures define volunteer work differently,

applying the traditional definition – that of the majority ‘white’ culture – appears less than in the population as a whole’ (CAF, 1997 p. 11).

People do not see voluntary activities in a uniform way. For many people, particularly active volunteers, their image of volunteering is very positive and defined in corresponding terms. However, volunteering does not have a very positive image for many of the people who have little or no active experience of being a volunteer. Their recognition of the type of activities undertaken by volunteers is considerably restricted and their image of voluntary action is largely negative. Taken together such views have very considerable implications for attracting and recruiting people to take part in voluntary activities (Thomas and Finch, 1990; CAF, 1997).

Negative age perceptions

The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (1997) report on Third Age Volunteering is a very positive statement of the benefits that derive from the engagement of older people in volunteering organisations. The frustrations and tensions experienced by the participants in that study were discussed but there was no mention of any negative age statements, and no use of the terms ‘age discrimination’ or ‘ageism’. There is the same absence of mention of any form of age discrimination in the study on volunteering by Thomas and Finch (1990). In distinct contrast to the previous studies Dingle (1993) discusses the obstacles to volunteering experienced by older people and suggests that a large part of the reason why there is not a greater number of older people in volunteering is because they are not encouraged to do so. Dingle states;

‘Because of the ageist prejudices in British society – and that includes many of the people who run voluntary organisations – many older people seem to have become convinced that they are incapable of doing anything as demanding as voluntary work’ (1993, p.14).

Although he does not specifically mention volunteering or the voluntary sector Bytheway (1995) does point out that;

‘It is all too easy to associate ageism with individual attitudes, and to overlook the contribution of organisations, and other cultural aspects of society...’ (1995, p. 104).

According to Bytheway it is the staffing policies, recruitment procedures, career structures, and retirement programmes that can impose an ageist culture upon daily life and activities.

Age and Volunteering

The discussion in the previous section was of the barriers that affect all volunteers and prospective volunteers, irrespective of age. Do these barriers have an age-specific quality? There are two logical possibilities: first, it is possible that these barriers are simply exaggerated by increasing age; second, it may be that age constitutes a further and quite distinct barrier. It is also possible that age may not act as a barrier at all, but rather as an advantage. This is certainly what the secondary literature on recent demographic developments in volunteering may suggest in relation to the US.

Much of the research produced in the 1960s and early 1970s emphasised the ‘problem’ posed by older people (Macintyre, 1977). These analyses typically highlighted the increasing numbers of pensioners to be maintained, financially and medically, through inter-generational transfers from relatively fewer economically active people. Much of this discussion surrounded the effect that the retirement episode had on older citizens.

Retirement Strategies and the Use of Leisure Time

Several theories have been produced to explain how people cope with retirement. Each research (Atchley, 1972;Freidman & Havinghurst, 1954;Miller, 1965) looked principally at the lives of male workers. It does not follow that these findings can also be readily applied to female workers. Three key bodies of theory are relevant here:

- *Activity Theory*. First proposed by Freidman & Havighurst (1954) and extended by Miller (1965), this theory stated that people took up substitute activities to compensate for the loss of regular paid employment. Involvement in clubs and societies was initiated, or activities, such as gardening, DIY, or travel were taken up to fill the void of no formal daily employment.
- *Continuity Theory*. This approach is attributed to Atchley (1972). He argued that people tended to build on the activities and roles that they already engaged in prior to-retirement. For example, people became more involved in their hobbies

and the organisations associated with them. Members of clubs and societies were likely to become executive officers because they now had more time to offer to the organisation.

- *Disengagement Theory*. Associated primarily with Cumming and Henry (1961), this perspective stands in sharp opposition to Continuity Theory. Disengagement Theory focuses on the separation of the individual from the place of work caused by the retirement episode. They are now presumed to be cut off from the society of their work colleagues and they are consequently withdrawn from society in general.

Atchley (1972) criticises Displacement Theory for making the perceived rejection of older people by society seem 'natural and therefore right' (p. 135). However (as Atchley concedes) the evidence suggests that many people do want to withdraw from full-time jobs and welcome the chance to do so.

Streib & Schneider (1972) suggests a theory of *differential disengagement* wherein people's withdrawal from full-time paid labour is managed in a gradualist manner. This gradual quality may be evident in a previous full-time position being reduced to part-time engagement, or in the reduction in the pressure of full-time work over a prescribed period before final cessation. In either case, the individual enjoys a gradual introduction to retirement and is often enabled to reduce the impact of the transition from full, vigorous work engagement to more leisured use of daily time.

There are a number of other factors to be considered in the retirement decision. Atchley (1976) suggests that the prospect of a substantial reduction in income on retirement is the primary deterrent to voluntary retirement. Indeed Riley and Foner (1968) found that the need for an income was the major reason people gave for preferring work to retirement. The health of the individual is also an important factor in the retirement decision, though Streib and Schneider (1971) stated that health declines were associated with age but not with retirement. Many people wanted more leisure and free time, and very few people elect to become reclusive in retirement. The goal of most persons facing retirement is, according to Atchley (1972), to achieve a set of realistic choices

which can be used to establish a structure and a routine of life in retirement which will provide for at least a minimum of comfort.

There are social adjustments to be made after retirement. These adjustments concern such factors as acceptance of retirement, life satisfaction, morale, self-esteem, and job deprivation, and being of a specific age in number of years. According to Atchley (1976) retirement generally either produces no change in, or increases social participation. Rosenberg (1970) suggests contrarily, that retirement is more likely to produce social isolation – specifically, however, among the working class.

Class and cultural conditions appear to affect the different responses to retirement and the use of free time. Bengsten (1969) indicates that there are significant national differences in terms of what kinds of activities occupy people in retirement. Atchley (1976), looking at 1960s data for the USA, suggested that the standard of education and pre-retirement involvement in social activity determine the extent of social involvement after retirement. The higher the educational status and the greater the pre-retirement involvement, the more socially involved will be the retired person. Similarly, the lower the educational status and the lower the pre-retirement social involvement, the less social involvement will occur after retirement.

Retired people are usually looked upon as representing an income problem, which they often do, but they also provide an important income source to a community. Retired people also represent a more or less untapped resource of labour in local communities. The big difficulty at present in most communities is the prevailing attitude toward the use of the labour of retired citizens. Retired people frequently suffer as much frustration in trying to find satisfying and responsible volunteer positions as they do in finding paying jobs. In this instance, Atchley (1976) argues that prejudice robs local communities of needed talent

There is a notable shift in research attitudes in relation to retirees over the 1980s and 1990s. Gender, class and ethnicity, as well as health, according to Arber and Evandrou (1993) are important factors in determining the quality of life of people entering the so-called “Third Age” of the period between paid employment and physical dependency. On retirement, they argue, people are usually gratified to learn that their lives do not change for the worse to anything like the extent previously expected by themselves, or

by others. They demonstrate a high level of emotional resilience, evidenced in a capacity to cope with any health problems and with negative stereotyping by younger people. They also often build mutually satisfying bridges with the latter, and any loneliness that they experience tends to be due more to differences in occupational and social background than to age. Nonetheless, many young people are reluctant to interact meaningfully with older ones, whom they see as less productive and less valuable than others. This rejection may cause frustration and resentment in the latter, who then often exclude younger people from their lives or compete with them by pursuing middle-aged goals and by repressing inconvenient parts of their older lives (Glover and Branine, 1997; Vincent, 1995).

Notwithstanding such research, debate on the potential contribution of older people to social cohesion remains bedevilled by what may be seen as pessimistic or univalent concepts like the 'demographic time bomb'. In a 'time bomb' scenario, a population containing large numbers of dependent young and old people can only be supported by over-working the minority, mainly aged 25 to 40, who have jobs. This is, the research indicates (Glover and Branine, 1997; Branine and Glover, 1997), a misleading argument, for two reasons. First, it exaggerates the extent of the presumed problem. Second, the expansion in the healthy life-span of people means that the employable population is larger. In this reading, longer and healthier lives present an opportunity for people to lead more varied and fulfilling lives than was possible in the past, when few people lived significantly beyond 65 years.

Branine and Glover (1997) have been able to discern two influential, and apparently opposed, sets of assumptions regarding the future organisation of citizen's extending life-spans and the integration of work therein. These they describe as the commodification and greening theories. Commodification is a broadly pessimistic prognosis, seeing materialism and selfishness as using people up in the name of progress. Greening theories are more optimistic, suggesting that growing affluence is reducing the need for people to work for most of their life spans. Younger people would be permitted more time to learn and develop before spending the middle third or so of their lives mainly in productive activity. Older people, or "Third Agers", are permitted to withdraw gradually from energetic participation in society, while combining various

creative and fulfilling activities with passing their experience on to the succeeding generations.

As more informed social attitudes and employment patterns develop, older employees may be reintegrated into labour markets through second career and post-career employment, temporary contracts, and more focused and effective forms of training. Such devices would more fully explore the learning capacities of older people than at present (Branine and Glover, 1997; McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988).

These changes in both policy and proposals for restructured labour markets demonstrate a growing appreciation of the potential socio-economic value of older people. Vincent (1995) has argued that the role of older citizens should be re-evaluated in *moral* terms so that they come to be treated as people with valuable experience to communicate, rather than persons with no future. A culture of approaching old age as a disease or a mental infirmity is also changing. Coleman (1990) is persuaded that intellectual decline in older people is rooted in an absence of social interaction and environmental stimulation than of biology. He argues that, as people grow older, their main role should increasingly be one of 'tending the values' and 'renewing and strengthening the moral basis of their culture' (p.69).

According to Branine and Glover, (1997) a fuller understanding of the learning and work potential of older people can only be achieved on the basis of a wider reading of their *whole* life courses. In their judgement, older people are often at least as adaptable as younger ones or indeed, as their younger selves, and very often more so. Thus, there are sound psychological reasons for believing that varied and long experience helps people to adapt to change and to learn more readily and quickly as they grow older. This has obvious implications for employment at all ages

Gerontology

The previous section discussed the literature pertaining to the social roles of retired and older people. To further understand the whole life course the literature of age has also to be considered. What are the biological and psychological elements of aging? How are these influences likely to affect the process of an older person being an active

volunteer? Much of the gerontological literature considers the process of aging and the procedures required to care for the aging people. The terms 'old', 'elderly' and 'aged' need greater refinement of definition. The term 'elderly old' has been used to distinguish between the 'old' that are active and the 'old' that are inactive and requiring care. The 'elderly old' are unlikely to wish to be active volunteers. The following literature survey illustrates the extent to which older people can be socially active beyond the perceived cultural expectations.

Contemporary perspectives on elderly people are sometimes ill-informed and unreasonable, as Bond, Coleman and Peace, (1993) note.

'Ordinary attitudes expressed toward elderly people still leave a lot to be desired. Stereotypes abound of elderly people as inflexible, hypochondriacal and self-preoccupied. Such views are also held by professionals, for example those who are not prepared to undertake group-work with older people because they don't really want to listen to one another'(p.14).

In the light of such stereotypes, Stott (1981) suggests that positive images of people ageing well need to be consciously cultivated. He recognises that such images may conflict with the reality of negative behaviours on the the part of some older people. Old age, he notes, can be very difficult, and elderly persons are often introspective and critical of younger generations. Older people are particularly vulnerable to the effects of personal failure. For earlier stages in the life span, the effects of failure can be absorbed in the workplace and the family, in competing and loving, in striving and receiving comfort. In old age, however, one is often left alone, without support, without a partner, a job, a role or money to spend. It is in this isolated condition that many older people have to face infirmity. In light of this, it is remarkable that so many elderly people are well adjusted. As Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) note, this achievement passes generally without broader social recognition: indeed they bemoan that only the ageing process seems capable of inculcating that recognition in individuals.

The divergent treatment of older people was explored over 20 years ago by Carp (1969). She tested the possibility that behavioural characteristics commonly associated with old age were not in fact specific to the later years of life, by comparing a group of 350 elderly people with a similar number of college students. Her study also explored the differential responses to similar conditions across the generations. In the comparison,

the students had higher index scores for characteristics such as neurosis, negativism, and unrealistic and unfavourable views of themselves, neglect of personal hygiene, dissatisfaction, social ineptness and drug taking. She found that symptoms including unusual nervousness, irritability, depression, unaccountable outbursts of rage, personality change, apathy or withdrawal may prompt counselling and psychotherapy for the younger person. Where these same symptoms occur in the elderly person, they often do not arouse interest, but are considered normal and acceptable (cited in Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993).

The emphasis on the integrity of the lifespan is Erikson's lasting contribution and one that is vital to an understanding of old age. In order to understand older people, it is necessary to see them in the context of their whole life history. This means accounting for the problems both successfully and unsuccessfully resolved from earlier periods in life. A number of important implications flow from this approach to human development and ageing. The first is that the situations of older persons will vary according to their histories. The development paths chosen by individuals are likely to diverge the longer they live, and the more experiences they absorb. Rather than growing more alike as we age, we therefore become more individual.

A second important point is that personal development is typically uneven. It is unlikely, Erikson argues, that intellectual, physical and social developments follow the same trajectory. Indeed, the varying importance attached to these different aspects of personality may be an essential feature of the life course (Erikson, 1965). Jung captures this hypothesis using an extended metaphor.

‘We cannot live the afternoon of life according to the programme of life's morning, for what in the morning was true will at evening be a lie. Whoever carries into the afternoon the law of the morning must pay with damage to his soul’ (Jung, 1972, p.396).

In other words, the lifespan may be characterised in terms of phases, each of which has its own characteristics and potentialities which are only ignored at peril to the individual concerned.

A third characteristic of the lifespan approach is the recognition of strongly reciprocal influences as between the person and the environment. An individual's capacity to develop will be contingent on the availability of appropriate psychosocial resources. These may include, for example, nurturing parents, siblings and supportive social networks. Where these conditions are supportive, this creates the circumstances for another's successful development. There is considerable stress in this view on the fundamental interdependence of the generations, with the old needing the young as much as vice versa (Erikson, 1965).

According to Baltes et al (1977) much of Erikson's work is rooted in the earliest traditions of research and reflection in this field. This research raised the issue of 'cohort difference'. Cohort difference argues that the development of people growing up in specific historical circumstances will differ from those in another history. This thus makes 'cross-sectional' comparisons of people of differing ages at the same point in time an invalid exercise. Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) also make the point that;

... age cohort comparisons can be misleading, i.e. "young" with "adult", with "old", with "older" - young 20, adult 40, old 60, older 80' (Ibid. p.70).

The influence of a crude 'rise and fall' model (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993) of the life course has also biased the study of intelligence, such that it seeks negative rather than positive changes in later life. The evidence suggests, however, that psychological ageing is not necessarily negative. It is important to avoid the error of conflating psychological biological ageing, which by definition implies decline and deterioration. This inevitably affects psychological ageing, and much of the research on the psychology of mental ability has focussed justifiably on such deleterious changes in function. As argued above, age also brings benefits in terms of additional experience. Wisdom has been seen as a characteristic of old age in most cultures. In many situations, experience enables older people to make better judgements about life decisions than younger people (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993).

In really advanced age (among the 'super elderly'), the negative effects of biological ageing upon psychological functioning may be more evident than the benefits of experience. For the greater part of the life course, though, the gains are as likely to be evident as the losses, though there is no direct equivalence between that which is gained

and that lost. Athletic performance declines early on in adult life after the optimal levels of biological functioning are passed, but political activity often reaches its peak in later life. The prospects of further improvement are cut short by biological decline (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993). The prospects of further improvement are cut short by biological decline, as George Bernard Shaw lamented:

‘If only we were allowed to live longer to profit from life’s experience. Youth is wasted on the young’ (as quoted in Bond, Coleman and Peace, p.90).

A number of psychologists have recently begun to stress the importance of observations on human performance in natural contexts (Neisser, 1982) but most literature on ageing and performance is based on laboratory experiments and thus neglects this broader perspective on human abilities. A restricted focus on the decline of the basic function of the body and mind mechanism in advanced old age provides a very incomplete and misleading view of the relationship between age and mental ability (Bond, Coleman, and Peace, 1993).

Biological Ageing and Social Performance

‘Effects which appear age related may in reality be health related’ (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993 p.70)

Original work, by Weschler (1944) and subsequent research by Hooper et al (1984) indicates that health-related changes in individual performance appear global in nature, affecting attainment on all types of tests. Conversely, age-related changes seem to be more limited to non-verbal performance tasks; especially those requiring to be performed at speed. Test scores for vocabulary and memory for words show very little change with age, whereas certain performance skills like copying symbols or completing visual puzzles show a small but significant decline in people over the age of forty. Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) note that these – albeit minor - effects are most notable in advanced old age. They cite a number of studies:

‘... that have shown only minimal average changes in general intelligence up to the age of 70 (Kitwood, 1989; Schaie, 1990 ; Seigler and Botwinick 1979; Savage et.al.1973)’ (p.72).

While decline appears both partial and gradual, Bowles and Poon (1982) and Zacks (1982) emphasise that there are large individual differences among the elderly population. Some persons display performances on recognition tasks and active encoding strategies that are comparable to those of younger adults. Bowles and Poon (1982) repeatedly stress the need to avoid confusing the comparisons drawn between younger and older people with those comparisons drawn between the adult population as a whole and very old people. This point is also made by Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993).

‘We must avoid seeing all people over a certain age, whether it is 40, 50, 60, 70 or more as a single group’ (p.76).

An extending lifespan has generated contested changes in the nomenclature applied to age cohorts. The distancing of ‘middle-age’ groups from older age groups has tended to create a redefined middle-age. As those at the older end of the middle-age group continue to retain their mental and physical faculties for a greater number of years, so the term, ‘middle-age’ is being extended into the age ranges that were previously considered peopled only by the ‘old’ (Pilcher, 1995). The language that is used to describe older people often remains unreconstructed, however. Pilcher notes the negative, even derisory, and demeaning. nature of much commentary on older people. Terms such as ‘past it’, or ‘past their best’, or ‘past their sell-by date’ are common. There is also a particularly gendered inclination to such language, with many males’ attitudes toward older women remaining problematical (Pilcher, 1995).

The institutionalisation of such norms and values generates a more general ageism. According to Arber and Ginn (1991) institutionalised ageism is widespread throughout British culture. They give as examples, the labour market fixed retirement age barriers; the upper age limits for membership in voluntary associations; the concessions given for travel, entertainments, and entry to art galleries and places of interest. Because of the social stigma that continues to be attached to old age, many older do not wish to be considered old. Thompson, (1991) notes the subtle denial strategies adopted in this context. If asked about their age, many older people will deny the subjective reality of their years, but simultaneously highlight the manifestations of age in their everyday life. A reply like: ‘ I don’t feel old, but the stairs seem steeper’ would not, according to Thompson, be unusual. Like Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) and Pilcher (1995),

Thompson highlights the differences as between those aged less than 60-65 and those over that age. This difference issues in distinct self-perceptions. Many people are surprised that being old is not as bad as previously perceived once they have themselves passed the 60-65 threshold (Thompson, 1991).

Experience and Wisdom

It has been shown (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993; Bowles and Poon, 1982; Kypers and Bengston, 1973) that expertise can be heightened by further challenges, it can decline through lack of use, but it remains as essential a part of the individual. In some cases older people can make use of their experience to develop more efficient ways of doing a job. While expertise can distinguish a person, it can also limit him. Indeed some of the problems of old age may relate to over specialisation, and inability to pursue new ways of thinking, feeling, and behaviour required by the work place of today and current social expectations.

Social and environmental factors influencing cognitive performance

The studies from the 1970s (e.g. Kypers and Bengston, 1973) suggest that role loss as a result of retirement and departure of children from the family house is accompanied by 'ambiguous normative guidance' and 'lack of a reference group'. In other words there are no guidelines on how one should spend one's time and who one can look to as exemplars. Instead, the person becomes receptive to ageist attitudes towards elderly people as incompetent, and this leads to a slow diminishing of skills, social break-down, and adoption of society's expectations. It is suggested that what is required is the creation of strategies for avoiding self-categorisation in terms of negatively valued stereotypes. In other words there needs to be a motivation of individual interest, a maintenance of personal morale, and a sense of control over the environment in which one lives. An example of that is in when Gutman (1987) claims that in modern western society the evident strengths that older people do display are not appreciated, such as the capacity to adjust to loss, and they are not allowed to exploit their full potential.

Individual older people continue to enjoy the same interests and activities, and display the same attitudes that characterised them earlier. Differences between individuals

relate little to age, and much more to factors such as social class, education, health and environmental stimulation. It is probably misleading to search for 'types' of individuals ageing in different ways since this gives too much weight to the assumed existence of underlying stable traits of personality. A more reasonable working assumption is that patterns of ageing should be defined in multidisciplinary terms including biological and social as well as psychological processes (Palmore 1970; Maddox and Douglass 1974; Thomae 1976 cited in Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993).

Attitudes to the present and modern society

'Never ask why the past was better than the present: that is a foolish question' (Ecclesiastes 7:10).

The old have seen so many changes in artefacts, standards and values, and these changes can be disturbing to people brought up with very different values. There is a tendency to compare the past with the present and emphasising the differences rather than the similarities - the negatives rather than the positives. Such behaviour is often seen as a fault in older people and a cause for criticising the youth of today. Any acceptance of the values of modern society is tantamount to denying meaning to their own lives as they have led them (Coleman and McCulloch 1990).

According to Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993), there appears to be a moral siege in which some people are left in a no-man's-land between their own past values and the values of a new world and this leads to a failure to understand modern society and there is, in particular, a questioning of personal religious beliefs.

'...others manage to transcend the differences between past and present and achieve a sense of continuity or even of progress with which they could identify their own lives' (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993, p.101).

But such a state of harmony with a changing world does not appear easy to achieve, for example Macbeth's comment on his wife's suicide and the crashing of his ambitions, 'Life is a tale told by an idiot....full of sound and fury....signifying nothing'

Sources of self-esteem

‘People have self-worth if they value themselves and see that their life as meaningful’ (Freden 1982 cited in Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993 p.118).

Self esteem can be grounded in particular activities and interests and social responsibilities. There is a distinction between self worth and self esteem i.e. a measuring of usefulness as against life itself having meaning; e.g. one can be useless in a practical sense, but the life itself can still have meaning. The satisfaction of this ‘meaning’ can be found in every-day pursuits (Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993).

Conclusion

Most early research work on the psychology of ageing concentrated on the subject of intelligence. As a result there is a rather unbalanced picture of the changes that occur with age. This is the more so because investigations on intelligence have examined the decline in basic mechanisms, but have paid little attention to the continued development of particular areas of expertise which enable individuals to excel in many fields, such as politics and art, in later life.

Cognitive decline is not usually marked before the age of 70 and is primarily determined by processes of disease. Decline due to biological ageing *per se* is more limited and mainly affects tasks that have to be performed at speed. Social and environmental factors play an important part in encouraging and discouraging older people to maintain high levels of mental functioning. As a result there is considerable variation in capacity among people of advanced age.

Stability in outer attitudes and interests appears to characterise most people as they grow old. There does, however, appear to be a shift towards an increasing focus on inner thoughts and feelings, already evident in mid-life, consistent with the ideas of developmental theorists such as Jung and Erikson. A culture’s expectations of older people’s roles within society have a vital place in encouraging or inhibiting personality change in later life.

Psychological change with age is best understood in a life-span and multi-disciplinary context, thus taking account of formative experiences early in life as well as present biological and social circumstances. The complexity of the issues involved requires that

careful observations are made, in context, of the individual's behaviour and attitudes, paying full attention to their meaning for the individual.

Review Summary

There are specific points in the review of the literature that have specific relevance.

The social significance of volunteering was very clearly described by Alexis De Tocqueville (1840) in survey of the emerging nation of the United States. According to De Tocqueville one of the components of a healthy civil society is the participation of the individual in the activities of that society. Later writers, such as Almond and Verba (1963) returned to the same theme, stating that the functioning of national democracy depended upon the participation of the citizens in that process, and that there was a relationship between that participation and membership of volunteer organisations. It was inferred that the greater the involvement with membership organisations, the healthier was the participation in the democratic process.

The influential concept of 'social capital' articulated by Coleman (1990) encapsulated the work of the earlier writers. Social capital emphasises the extent of the social interaction and individual trust between people outside of the immediate circle of family and friends. The greater the extent of the interpersonal involvement in recreational, social, political, or service activities the healthier is the community and national environment. According to Putnam et al (1993) the extent to which social capital is increasing or decreasing within a community is taken as an indicator of the state of societal well-being. The UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has enthusiastically accepted the tenets of this theory, since it complements the proclaimed 'Third Way' approach to government.

The importance that these writers placed upon the participation of the individual and their place in voluntary organisations required precise definitions of the principal concepts. The perceptions of the purpose of volunteers and voluntary organisations are wide ranging especially pertaining to the field of social services. Brasnett (1969, cited by Deakin, 1995) suggested that social services were the responsibility of the State and voluntary organisations should play no part in their function. The perception of many Trade Unionists, as described by Pelling (1987) was that voluntary organisations were inexpensive alternatives to state provision, doing so in an amateur manner, and

displacing full-time, professional staff in the process. The opinion of Cole (1945); Webb and Webb (1912, cited by Davis Smith, 1995) was that volunteers and voluntary organisations provided a flexible, and more personalised services in situations that state welfare does not provide. The definitions preferred by different authors would appear to reflect their wider reading of desirable structures and roles in social development and reflected deep ideological differences. Despite the ideological differences there has been a considerable expansion of the voluntary sector but, according to the Charities Aid Foundation Report (1995) the defining of the actors and organisations is still 'unformed'.

Given the inherent diversity of the sector, it is unlikely that any one definition of voluntary activity will find universal acceptance.

Through the work of Van Til (1988), Osborne (1993a, 1996, 1998) the key concept of volunteerism was identified. This has been defined as local action performed by individuals for the benefit of others.

What motivates a person to become a volunteer? Beginning with the work of Murray (1938) and following through Maslow (1954) and Vernon (1969) the levels of motivation were explored to uncover the factors that may be the motivational triggers. Clary et al (1996) identified six categories of motivation or psychological functions that may be served by volunteering: Values, Career, Understanding, Social, Enhancement, and Protective. These categories have been used in the analysis of the responses made by the respondents participating in this research. There does not appear to be any single key motivational factor that triggers the voluntary action response.

The Clary et al findings bring together the earlier work of Titmus (1973) who sought to identify the connections between altruism, individual voluntary action, and the 'good society', and also of Horton-Smith (1981) who emphasises the 'psychic benefit' for the volunteer, and of Darvill and Munday (1984) who highlight the value of the volunteer service 'for other persons' (and indeed, especially for strangers). Cnaan et al (1996) considered several definitions of 'volunteer' used in the voluntary sector of the USA and concluded that the greater the personal sacrifice the more likely it is that the individual is recognised as a volunteer. It may be suggested, in the light of this, that *sacrifice* is a factor in the definition of altruism and in public recognition of the volunteer.

Osborne's (1998) reading of Darvill and Munday's work provides a basis for specifying the 'three core components of volunteering', namely that it is unpaid; it is counterposed to paid, often professional activity; and is differentiated from informal helping. The definition of volunteering adopted for this Thesis is a synthesis of Horton-Smith (1981) Darvil and Munday (1984) with Titmus (1973):

A volunteer is one who freely chooses to provide direct service to unrelated others in a formalised or organisationally structured context. Services are provided on the basis of expenses-only remuneration, but the volunteer also derives needed psycho-social benefits of a non-pecuniary kind, based on altruistic motivations and rewards.

As with the definition of a 'volunteer' there are differing perceptions of the mechanisms and structures that constitute a 'voluntary organisation'. Marshall (1997) identified 69 different categories of voluntary organisations. These organisations can be found in the private sector in the bodies such as professional associations; in the public sector there are some schools, libraries and museums; and in the life of the community there are clubs and societies, Neighbourhood Watch and similar associations.

Horton-Smith (1981) and Osborne (1986) define 'voluntary organisation' as being non-statutory, non-profit making formed by members initiative with a formal constitution, managed by a locally autonomous Board of Trustees for the benefits of clients. A 'voluntary association', according to Ahrne (1994) and Pickvance (1986) has a District Council with Group representation as the management structure and is for the for the benefit of the members. The 'voluntary agency' as described by Billis and Harris (1996) is very similar to a 'voluntary organisation' except in the management structure. Once more it is the diversity of perception that is most striking.

Several key issues in volunteering were considered. The first five issues looked briefly at the social change that is the result of the demographic shift caused by the increased number of people living beyond the retirement pension age. The overall numbers of those aged 60 and over have risen by a third since 1961 to reach, in 1994, 12 million people (NOS, 1996). These increases have implications for the provision of pensions and health care (NOS, 1996).

These changes also have significant implications for the flow and qualities of the population of volunteers. Organisations determine the structure for volunteers in line with the pension structure of paid employees, which is why the pension literature is

important in this context. There is an increasing debate among government, employers, and unions about the merits and detractions of a flexible retirement programme (Hall, 2001; McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988; Taylor and Walker, 1997). The British Government will be required to amend the current laws by 2006 in order to abolish the existing rigid retirement age and bring the UK in line with European Law.

The Labour Market position of older workers is also affected by the demographic shift. Just over three-quarters of men aged 55-59, just over half of men aged 60-64 and less than one-tenth of men aged 65 and over were economically active in 1994.

According to Trinder (1989), there are three main reasons for the decline in economic activity among older people. First, many older people were concentrated in employment in the declining industrial sectors. Second, older workers are both more likely to be dismissed than younger ones and less likely to find alternative employment if they are made redundant. Third, for organisations needing to shed staff quickly, it is relatively easy to negotiate early retirement for those close to retirement age (cited in Taylor and Walker 1997).

One of the effects of the increased numbers of active older people is their participation in the expanding leisure and travel opportunities. Early studies by Alston and Dudley (1973); Maddox (1970) and Miller (1965) showed that economic and cultural factors readily intertwine to produce the stereotype of an 'old person': unhealthy, with limited income, reduced social networks, presenting an increasing social problem year on year. More current studies such as those by Cribier (1981); Palmore et al (1985); Parnes and Less (1983); and Phillipson (1987) show that the improved health and fitness of many older people permits a greater range of leisure activities to be enjoyed.

The Carnegie Inquiry into the Third Age (1992) interpreted the increasing numbers of older people attending adult education classes as symptomatic of a greater relish for learning among older people. The motives for this were identified as continued self-improvement, for the intrinsic enjoyment of learning, the social networking, and the continued exercising of their faculties

To understand the links between Public Policy and Volunteer Management an understanding of the interrelationships of the three key stakeholders in the organisation and management of volunteer relations in volunteer agencies is required. The three stakeholders are:

The *volunteer agency* itself, whose interests include the effective delivery of services to target groups in the population, and the delivery of psychological and other benefits to internal stakeholders.

The *principal*, is the user or co-producer of services of social value offered by the volunteer acting for the volunteer agency.

The *volunteer*, whose interests encompass providing direct services to unrelated others in a formalised or organisationally structured context, who receives in return only payment for expenses but also derives non-monetary psycho-social benefits.

The public policy power distance between ‘principals’ and ‘volunteers’ is most effectively illustrated by the ‘contract culture’ operated under the implementation of the 1990 Community Care Act as shown by Kendall and Knapp (1996) and Darvill (1990) who identified four main impacts that the contract culture would have on volunteers:

- Complementary or supplementary to the full-time paid staff,
- Some statutory bodies may not wish or be able to continue to provide the necessary services.
- There may be less money available to develop an existing service.
- There may be disappointment when funders restrict the money available for training and supervision.

In relation to the quality and scale of volunteer participation, Darvill identifies thirteen negative effects that have been caused by these contractual changes. These can broadly be summarised under the four categories of diversion; loss or discouragement; tension or pressure; and cost.

Darvill (1990) also identifies a number of potentially positive aspects of contracting and the changing environment that accompanies it. These also can be categorised under key headings, namely, opportunity; protection; and status.

In a series of studies Russell and Scott (1997) and Scott and Russell (2001) generate still another perspective. Their empirically based research indicates mixed effects from contracting and thus confirms many of the more nuanced outcomes suggested by Darvill. That legacy will, in their reading, be characterised by a greater understanding on the part of the contracting parties (including the voluntary sector as a whole) of the ethos, position, and potential of the voluntary organisation.

The means or route through which people come to volunteering has been a recurring theme for recent research exploration

- Personal contact (Best, 1992, p.6; Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992, p.98; Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.29).
- Local media (Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.60).
- National media (Best, 1992, p.10).
- Organisational recruitment campaigns (Knight, 1993, p.235).

The concept of the 'value chain' is useful in appreciating the interrelated and mutually reinforcing activities that an organisation must engage in, if it is successfully to recruit and retain volunteers. Translating this into a voluntary sector context, the primary activities of a voluntary organisation may be deemed to consist of image creation and services to clients; and the support activities, chiefly, organisational infrastructure, and human resource management.

Knapp (1990) and Knapp et al (1995) identify five specific types of expenditure; direct expenditure, such as travelling, protective clothing, telephones, insurance; routine management costs, such as recruiting, training, organising and managing of volunteers; congestion, a term that include management diseconomies of scale as the number of volunteers grew beyond managers' planning; and organisational acquiescence costs arising from the limited control that managers may have over volunteers. There are also the costs of interweaving volunteers with paid staff.

The general point that Knapp (1990) and Knapp et al (1995) makes is not whether volunteers are administratively more or less costly than paid workers on a like-for-like basis, but that these costs exist.

The supply of volunteers is influenced by barriers that fall into one or more of the following categories (Dingle, 1993; Knapp, 1990; Thomas and Finch, 1990):

- The *information* factor: where can information be obtained to support the decision regarding which organisation to assist?
- The *status* factor: will a targeted voluntary organisation accept the offer of volunteering, once made?
- The *opportunity cost* factor: what level of commitment will be expected and what other prized activities might be displaced by that level of commitment?
- The *involvement choice* factor: will the activity offered by the organisation accord with what the volunteer would like to do, or is capable of doing?

- The *financial* factor: to volunteer is to give something of oneself to the organisation, whether that be time, effort, or even money. Is the giving sustainable?

A number of researchers (including, Clary, Snyder, and Stukas, 1996; Knight, 1993; Pearce, 1993; and Thomas & Finch, 1990) have evaluated the potential benefits of being a volunteer. Key benefits include: the personal satisfaction of being part of something deemed worthwhile; the sense of achievement at accomplishing a task; the friendships made and enjoyed in new social networks; being away from the house and spending time constructively; and maintaining old skills and learning new ones.

There are also and concomitantly, the pressures. Maintaining the commitment at the level requested by the organisation may initially pose no problems, but even a small change in home or personal circumstances can bring stress on the loyalty to either home or organisation. Likewise, a change in the agency's administration or new full-time professional personnel bringing novel methods of operation into the volunteer's working milieu may bring pressure to bear on the commitment to continue volunteering. The clash of volunteer and professional staff over what are seen as relatively common issues of volunteer training and job placement can be a source of friction. If there is a change in the organisation's direction, where the original aims and ideals appear compromised by the need to survive, the volunteers may come personally to doubt their commitment.

There are also pressures involved in continuing the volunteer commitment. Many volunteers remain with an organisation for many years - it becomes, in one sense, 'their' organisation (CAF, 1995, 1997, 1998). The evidence collected by CAF suggests that they remain through all the changes because they continue to believe in the purpose of the organisation and they enjoy the company and contact with the other volunteers and staff (Thomas & Finch, 1990).

Empirical evidence provided by the periodical reports from the UK national voluntary sector evaluation agencies, including the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), National Centre for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), and the National Centre for Volunteering (NCV) was reviewed in relation to each of the key factors in the equation of the demand for, and supply of, volunteers considered in the foregoing sections. The methodological shifts between the national surveys were considered to be a cause of distortion of the image and historical record of volunteering over the last decade. At

best, the data supplied can only indicate general trends in numbers volunteering, hours of voluntary activity, gender, age, and economic classification of volunteers. There is a demographic imbalance within volunteering, which has raised thus far unresolved questions among researchers (CAF, 1989; and NCV, 1998). There appears to be a high degree of skewness in terms of the age profile of volunteers set against the demographic profile of the population as a whole. This observation is central to the overall direction of this Thesis.

Although there is variation in the figures quoted when the various surveys are compared on a year-by-year basis, the general trend and overall depiction is consistent. These differences are not material in themselves, for what is at stake is the interpretation placed upon these results by policy makers. Unfortunately, the evidence of heterogeneity is insufficiently explored or reported in these national surveys: the potential for untoward generalisation (or so-called 'ecological fallacies') therefore remains. This potential for misinterpretation can lead to skewed or poorly targeted public policy affecting the functioning of local volunteer organisations.

There is little variation over time in the nature of the volunteer activities undertaken by the various age groups. The consistent pattern is that it is the older volunteer who more often visits the elderly and the sick, and acts as a church helper and it is the younger volunteer that participates in sponsored events.

The age and time commitment to volunteering has noticeably altered over the period under review. Although the evidence suggests that the total numbers of volunteers appears to be declining in the UK, those who did volunteer gave more of their time

There are differences in the pattern of volunteering between countries (Anheir, Salamon, and Archambault, 1996). Perri 6 indicates a growing literature on the number, nature and governance structures of voluntary organisations. Aside from specifics on the governors, there is, however, a dearth of information on the other stakeholders active within these organisations.

The most detailed source of comparable volunteering information comes from the USA. For several decades researchers in North America have analysed the many aspects of volunteer activity and produced a comprehensive literature.

Researchers in the US (Crandall, 1980; Cutler, 1977; Goss, 1999; Herzog and Morgan, 1993; Trela, 1976) have reported varied findings, sometimes contradictory, on the

representation of older people in the voluntary sector. Similar contrary results hold in relation to the barriers, real or perceived, encountered by older volunteers either in becoming a volunteer or while active within an organisation. For example, Crandall (1980) suggests that as age increases there is also a percentage increase in the membership of fraternal groups. Cutler (1977) reported that there is no support for the hypothesis that after age 45 there is a decline in attendance at voluntary associations. Trela (1976) found that the number of voluntary associations to which an individual belongs remains approximately constant over the life-span. Goss (1999) asserts that the factors acting to increase the volunteering population of older people are not categorically established, though he does state that 'the strongest and most robust predictor of volunteerism is educational attainment'.

The various surveys that have been carried out over the past ten years in the UK, whilst differing markedly in their estimates of numbers of volunteers, are unanimous on one point that certain types of people are more likely to engage in voluntary work than others. Knapp et al (1994) found that the factors affecting the decision to participate in volunteering include the level of education, the presence of children in the household, the size of social networks, housing tenure and telephone ownership, age, income and ethnic group. However, the study found no relationship between hourly earnings (a proxy for socioeconomic status) and volunteering.

A notional construct that each successive survey promoted was that a typical profile of a volunteer is white, middle aged, in a professional occupation and of a relatively high income.

Thomas and Finch (1990) have extensively researched the obstacles to volunteering as articulated by volunteers and non-volunteers alike. They highlight as perhaps the greatest obstacle the negative perceptions of volunteering held by people from all groups in society, both inside and outside the voluntary sector. Thomas and Finch (1990) conclude that the practical difficulties in becoming a volunteer are comparable to the pressures faced by existing volunteers, namely, time; commitment and over-involvement; expense; and need for transport for evening activities.

The costs to volunteers can be pecuniary and psychic, tangible and intangible. According to Knapp (1984) and Thomas and Finch (1990) the opportunity costs to volunteers include; foregoing wages from paid employment; giving up the opportunity

to gain human capital benefits of alternative work and the psychic benefits of alternative work activity which generates job satisfaction. Out-of-pocket expenses are likely to be the most obvious costs though not necessarily the largest. There is also the loss of alternative opportunities, such as gardening or do-it-yourself, and leisure time.

Darvill (1990), Dingle (1993) and Thomas and Finch (1990) explored the variety of events that can prevent people from realising their full potential as volunteers. Of the ten events identified seven were critical of the organisational treatment of the volunteer. Only three of the impediments were seen as personal to the volunteer. Thomas and Finch, (1990) argue, a lack of appreciation from the host organisation can be very demoralising, especially for a volunteer who arrived with enthusiasm.

The reasons given by non-volunteers for not becoming active in an organisation mirror the same problems that confront the person who wishes to become a volunteer, though the later person sees them as barriers that may be overcome whereas the non-volunteer sees them as an impenetrable wall.

The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (1997) report on Third Age Volunteering is a very positive statement of the benefits that derive from the engagement of older people in volunteering organisations. The frustrations and tensions experienced by the participants in that study were discussed but there was no mention of any negative age statements, and no use of the terms 'age discrimination' or 'ageism'. There is the same absence of mention of any form of age discrimination in the study on volunteering by Thomas and Finch (1990). In distinct contrast to the previous studies Dingle (1993) discusses the obstacles to volunteering experienced by older people and suggests that a large part of the reason why there is not a greater number of older people in volunteering is because they are not encouraged to do so. Although he does not specifically mention volunteering or the voluntary sector Bytheway (1995) indicates that it is the staffing policies, recruitment procedures, career structures, and retirement programmes that can impose an ageist culture upon daily life and activities.

Do these barriers have an age-specific quality? There are two logical possibilities: first, it is possible that these barriers are simply exaggerated by increasing age; second, it may be that age constitutes a further and quite distinct barrier. It is also possible that

age may not act as a barrier at all, but rather as an advantage. This is certainly what the secondary literature on recent demographic developments in volunteering may suggest in relation to the US.

Much of the research produced in the 1960s and early 1970s, such as Macintyre (1977), emphasised the 'problem' posed by older people. Various retirement strategies were identified for the use of leisure time.

The 'activity theory' proposed by Freidman & Havighurst (1954) stated that people took up substitute activities to compensate for the loss of regular paid employment. Atchley (1972) suggested a 'continuity theory' that suggested that people tended to build on the activities and roles that they already engaged in prior to-retirement. The 'disengagement theory', associated primarily with Cumming and Henry (1961), focuses on the separation of the individual from the place of work caused by the retirement episode. Streib & Schneider (1972) suggests a theory of 'differential disengagement' wherein people's withdrawal from full-time paid labour is managed in a gradualist manner. According to Atchley (1972), the goal of most persons facing retirement is, to achieve a set of realistic choices which can be used to establish a structure and a routine of life in retirement which will provide for at least a minimum of comfort.

There is a notable shift in research attitudes in relation to retirees over the 1980s and 1990s. Gender, class and ethnicity, as well as health, according to Arber and Evandrou (1993) are important factors in determining the quality of life of people entering the so-called "Third Age" of the period between paid employment and physical dependency.

As more informed social attitudes and employment patterns develop, older employees may be reintegrated into labour markets through second career and post-career employment, temporary contracts, and more focused and effective forms of training. Such devices would more fully explore the learning capacities of older people than at present (Branine and Glover, 1997; McGoldrick and Cooper, 1988).

Coleman (1990) is persuaded that intellectual decline in older people is rooted in an absence of social interaction and environmental stimulation than of biology. He argues that, as people grow older, their main role should increasingly be one of 'tending the values' and 'renewing and strengthening the moral basis of their culture' (p.69).

The final section of the literature review covered gerontological issues relevant to the thesis question

The terms 'old', 'elderly' and 'aged' need greater refinement of definition. The term 'elderly old' has been used to distinguish between the 'old' that are active and the 'old' that are inactive and requiring care. The 'elderly old' are unlikely to wish to be active volunteers.

According to Bond, Coleman and Peace, (1993), contemporary perspectives on elderly people are sometimes ill-informed and unreasonable. It is important to avoid the error of conflating psychological biological ageing, which by definition implies decline and deterioration. A restricted focus on the decline of the basic function of the body and mind mechanism in advanced old age provides a very incomplete and misleading view of the relationship between age and mental ability.

The decline of social performance arising from biological ageing appears both partial and gradual. Bowles and Poon (1982) and Zacks (1982) emphasise that there are large individual differences among the elderly population. According to Arber and Ginn (1991) institutionalised ageism is widespread throughout British culture.

Like Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) and Pilcher (1995), Thompson (1991) highlights the differences as between those aged less than 60-65 and those over that age. This difference issues in distinct self-perceptions. Many people are surprised that being old is not as bad as previously perceived once they have themselves passed the 60-65 threshold.

Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993); Bowles and Poon (1982); Kypers and Bengston (1973) show that expertise can be heightened by further challenges, it can decline through lack of use, but it remains as essential a part of the individual.

Gutman (1987) claims that in modern western society the evident strengths that older people do display are not appreciated, such as the capacity to adjust to loss, and they are not allowed to exploit their full potential. Palmore (1970); Maddox and Douglass (1974); Thomae (1976) cited in Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993) indicate that a reasonable working assumption is that patterns of ageing should be defined in multidisciplinary terms including biological and social as well as psychological processes

According to Bond, Coleman and Peace (1993), there appears to be a moral siege in which some people are left in a no-man's-land between their own past values and the values of a new world and this leads to a failure to understand modern society and there is, in particular, a questioning of personal religious beliefs. There is a distinction

between self worth and self esteem i.e. a measuring of usefulness as against life itself having meaning; e.g. one can be useless in a practical sense, but the life itself can still have meaning. The satisfaction of this 'meaning' can be found in every-day pursuits.

The survey of the relevant literature indicates that there is diversity in all fields of the voluntary sector that have been considered.

In the first section of the review the debate engaged upon the social significance of volunteering and displayed diverse opinions and emphases as to the efficacy and influence upon the social structure. The definitions of the fields encompassed; of the organisational governance; and of the people active within these organisations is as diverse as the individuals constructing these definitions. Within the academic community the debate centred on voluntary sector social and political policies provides diverse interpretations and consequences. The agencies responsible for providing statistical information, even when asking the same questions, apply different measuring standards and consequently the results provide diverse interpretations.

The historical continuum of research into the biological and psychological effects of age has provided an ever changing scientific and social appreciation of older people.

Each of these areas of diversity has an influence on the perceptions and options for activity of the volunteer.

In addition there are differences between organisations and branches of organisations which will be specifically illustrated by the primary research. These differences may briefly be summarised as:

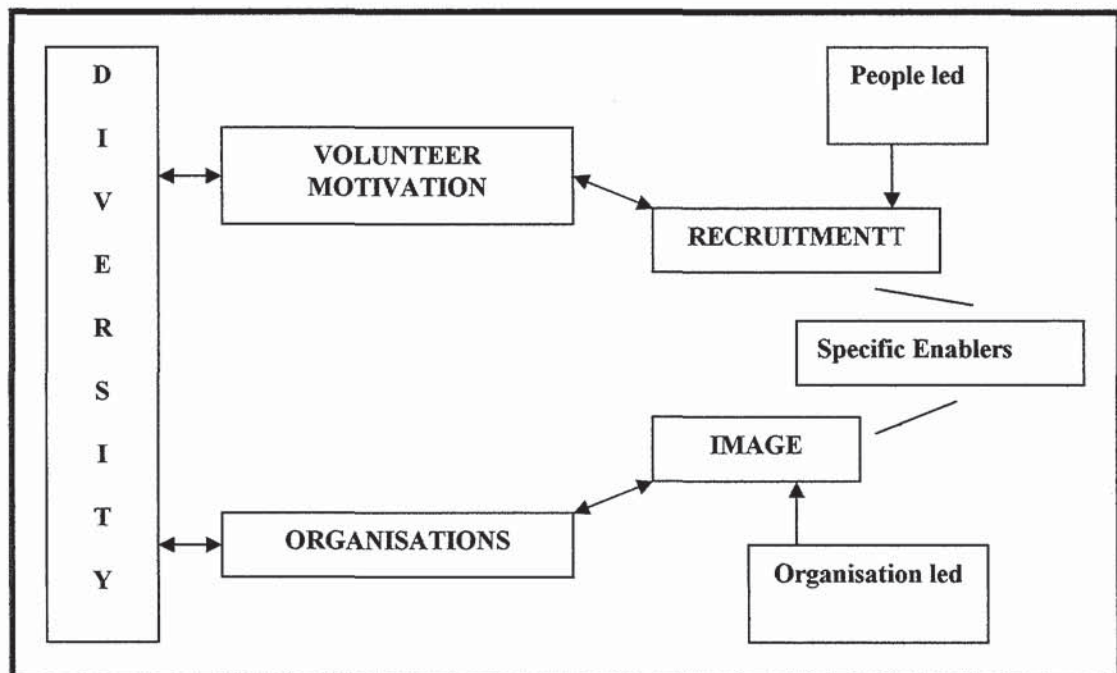
- a. The age of the organisation and the age of the branch within that organisation may affect the philosophy of that the organisation. An older organisation may have become consolidated, whereas the philosophy of a new organisation may be still developing. The ethos and volunteer culture of a mature branch is likely to be less open than that of a new branch endeavouring to consolidate its existence.
- b. Where there is an emphasis on a particular activity within each organisation it was probably for that purpose that the organisation came into existence. Branches of that organisation may become oriented toward a specific aspect of that organisational activity. A specific activity may require a specific type of volunteer.

- c. The location of the organisation, or branch of the organisation, may determine the quality and number of volunteers available. Whether the location is rural or urban; town centre or suburban, is likely to have a bearing on the ease or difficulty in attracting suitable volunteers.
- d. It is possible that the economic status of the location has an influence upon the number and quality of volunteers available. In a low wage area people may be unable to apportion time for volunteer activity as they may have a succession of employments to obtain a living wage.
- e. The recruitment process of organisations using volunteers may be determined by the culture of the present active volunteers. A closed process may possibly lead to stagnation and cloning of volunteers.

A possible theory model may be inferred suggesting the dynamic complexity of the interaction and the diversity of the influential factors and actors that have a bearing on the perceived barriers to volunteering.

The extent of the diversity suggests a model that requires to be tested further. Figure 2.3 below is the initial attempt which may be modified in the light of the findings of the primary research.

Figure 2.3: Influence of diversity on Volunteer Activity



Briefly, *diversity* influences every area of volunteer activity. In the field of *MOTIVATION* there is no single motivator that is more influential than any other. Indeed it may be that volunteering happens accidentally or because of an accumulation of events and emotions that together encourage volunteering. The process of *RECRUITMENT* is led by active individuals within the organisation, volunteers influencing another person to become a volunteer, rather than organisations gaining recruits through specific campaigns. There are numerous volunteer *ORGANISATIONS* of all sizes, national and local, in many areas of activity that require volunteers. The factor that can attract or repel recruits is the *IMAGE* of the volunteer and the volunteer organisation. The presentation of the organisations image may contribute or detract from the value of that organisation to the community. The use of upper case lettering is to indicate the importance of the factor to the person that may become a volunteer. Lower case lettering indicates an emphasis that is not total, there are other influences. This tentative model will be considered further as the research data reveals relevant information.

The structure of the theory model can be enhanced by the observations and responses of the respondents. The interpretations of indexes in the analysis of the questionnaire and the inferential process of content analysis will refine the data. The model can apply to each of the agencies though the specific influence of any single factor within the model will vary within each agency.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter sets out the analytical strategies, procedures and techniques that were deployed in the research process of this Thesis. There are generally considered to be five elements to the research process, namely:

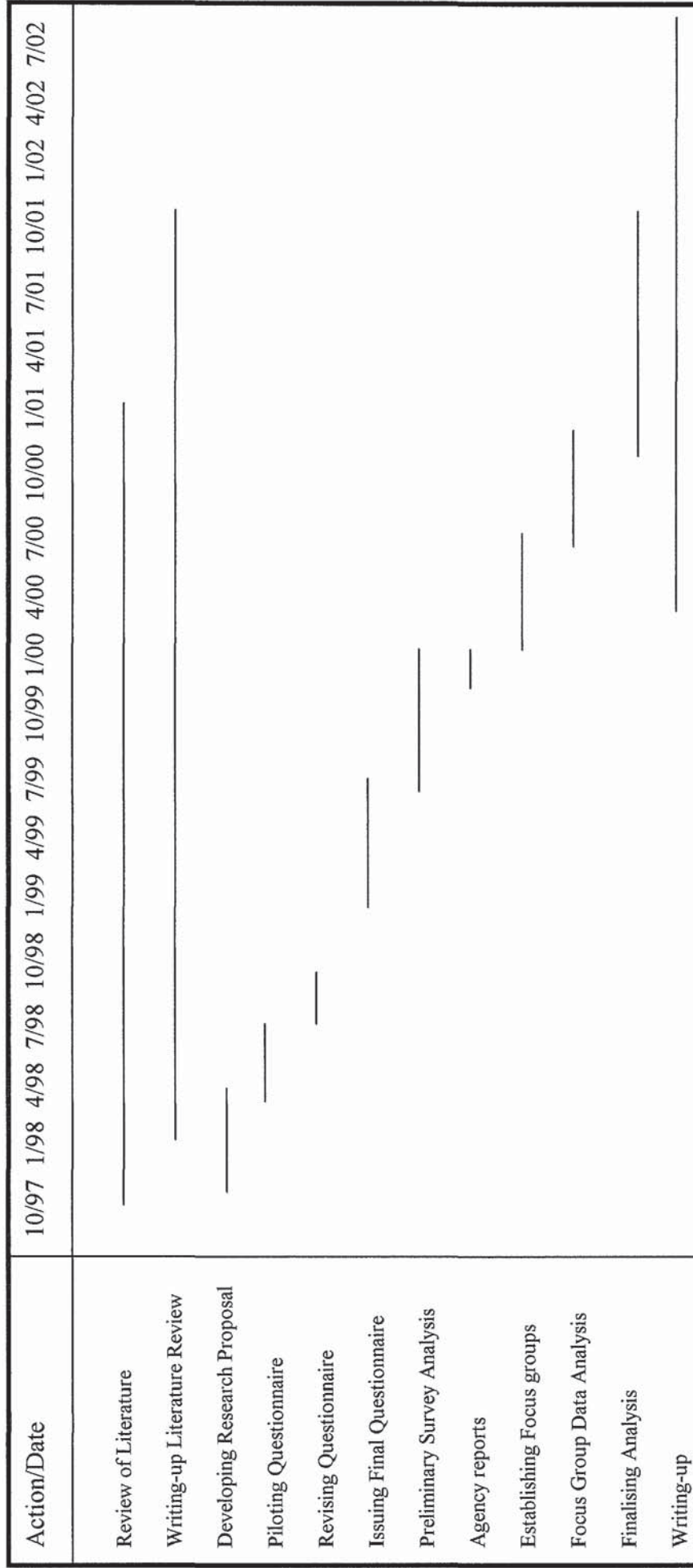
- Defining the research problem.
- Ascertaining the appropriate methodological paradigm.
- Confirming the most suitable data collection techniques.
- Adopting cogent analysis strategies.
- Confirming that the research is valid, reliable and generalisations can be drawn from the findings (May, 2001).

The first of the sections that follow outlines the key aims of the research. The research takes a detailed approach to describe and understand the motivations of volunteers and the impediments that they may encounter. It will also consider the place that diversity holds in the volunteer situation. The research strategies used in previous research in the subject area were reviewed in order to ascertain the most promising theoretical approach. The following section considers the various factors that needed to be taken into account in choosing a research design method. These include the nature of the relationship between theory and research, issues surrounding knowledge of the research subject, the supposed dichotomy of 'objectivism' and 'constructivism', the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research, and practical factors that might affect the conduct of the research in the field. These five factors are discussed relative to the requirements of this research. The nature of research problem indicated that both quantitative and qualitative data was needed.

Multiple methods of data gathering were used. The third section of this chapter explains the theoretical and practical advantages of this approach. The process of gathering data, including formulating questions for respondents, piloting these questions, negotiating access, choice and description of agencies, and practicalities in implementing questionnaire surveys and focus group exercises are appraised. The fourth section assesses the optimal processes and procedures for data analysis. Appropriate techniques were adopted for qualitative and quantitative analysis respectively, including aggregation, scaling and weighting of quantitative data, and open coding and content analysis of qualitative data. The analytic approach is in both cases, an inductive one. Finally, the concepts of validity, reliability and generalisability are explored. The details of data triangulation and respondent validation techniques used are provided.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the timescale of the research. As can be seen, several of the research tasks were pursued in parallel.

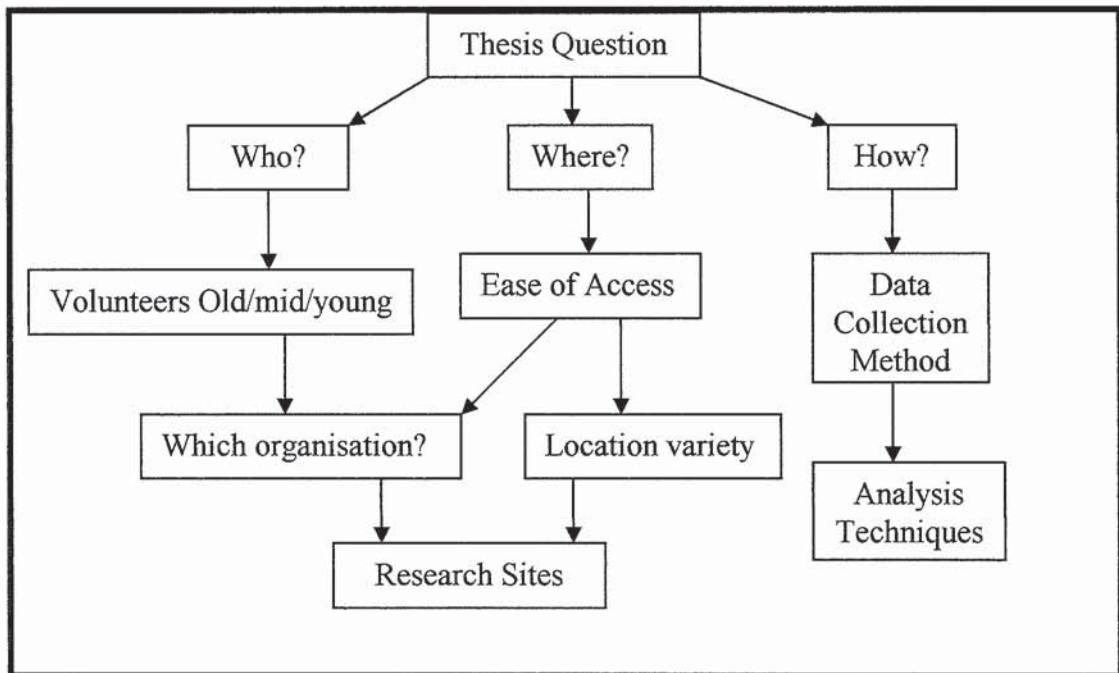
Figure 3.1 Research Time-span



The Nature of the Research Question

The aim of this study is to ascertain the nature of the barriers to participation in voluntary activity with special reference to the experiences of older people. As observed in Chapter 2, several successive volunteer surveys have shown that there are a lower percentage of active volunteers in the older age groups even though they would appear to have available time and also experience and skills to become and function as effective volunteers. It has been established by previous research that there are barriers to volunteer participation in the voluntary sector. Arising from the review of the literature it is apparent that the diversity of the various areas of volunteer activity; the diversity of interpretations, and diversity of volunteer motivation will also have to be taken into account. That diversity appeared to be a cogent factor at every stage of the volunteer activity was not appreciated until near the completion of the literature review and after the questionnaire and focus group research data had been collected and analysis commenced. The development of the problem required deconstructing the elements of the question into manageable areas for action. The most logical way of ascertaining the barriers faced by older persons engaged in volunteer work was to engage directly with the older volunteers themselves. To explore whether these older volunteers encountered unique barriers (a comparative demographic problematic), then, ideally, a wider range of volunteers of other age groups should also be asked to participate. Appropriate organisations were required to be identified by assumed volunteer age and accessible and varied location.

The following Figure 3.2 illustrates the problem development process

Figure 3.2 Problem Development Process**Key Aims of the Research**

The key aim of the research is to explore the nature of the specific impediments that may be encountered by an older person in becoming and remaining a volunteer in a formal voluntary organisation. This entails exploring:

- a. Who becomes a volunteer (and, by inference, who does not)?
- b. What difference, if any, there is as between the research sample and the abstract, generalised volunteer described in national surveys of volunteering?
- c. What the principal barriers to active participation faced by the research sample respondents are?
- d. Of these barriers, which are demonstrably affected by the age of the volunteer?
- e. Whether 'age' itself constitutes a further barrier to active participation.
- f. Is 'diversity' an overall impediment?

The choice of these specific themes arose from key outstanding research questions evaluated in the literature review, as well as claims, concerns and issues explored subsequently in unstructured conversations with volunteers and professional administrators managing volunteer staff. These latter are therefore practitioner-oriented.

The diversity factor was only realised to be important as the analysis progressed and the literature review was nearing completion.

Methodological Paradigm

The principal methodological weakness in much of the UK based voluntary sector research to date is that the analysis has been bivariate in character. It has looked only at the relationship between two defined variables, for example volunteering and age or volunteering and gender, while seeking to hold associated variables constant. It has thus failed to take into account the other factors that might simultaneously be impacting on the findings. The first multivariate analysis in the UK of the factors which determine volunteering was carried out jointly by the PSSRU, University of Kent and The Volunteer Centre UK (Knapp et al 1994). Given the primarily qualitative nature of this Thesis, multi-variate analysis was again not used, although several variables are considered in turn.

Bryman (2001) identifies the principal factors that should be considered in shaping effective social research. These include:

1. The nature of the relationship between theory and research, especially whether theory drives the research (the deductive approach) or whether theory is the result of research (the inductive approach).
2. Epistemological issues, considering the appropriate knowledge that best interprets the social world in which the research subject exists. At the heart of this epistemological debate is the continuing controversy concerning the appropriateness of the natural science research model for studying the phenomena of the social world.

3. Ontological issues focusing on the extent to which social phenomena are separate from the actors within the events or constructed primarily by the actors that initiate the phenomena.
4. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative research strategies in the social sciences.
5. The impact of values and practical or pragmatic issues on the research process.

Each factor is discussed in relation to the current research.

The Relationship between Theory and Research

Characterising the nature of the link between theory and research is by no means a straightforward matter. There are several issues at stake, but particularly important here is the distinction between deductive and inductive theory. Deductive theory critically considers a general picture of social life and then abstracts and researches a particular aspect of that social world to test the strength of the theories. Here theorising precedes research. Research then functions positivistically to produce empirical evidence to test or refute the theories. In contrast, inductive theory examines a particular aspect of social life and derives theory from the result. Research then comes before theory, alternatively put, the research seeks to generate theoretical propositions from collected data.

What is the most effective means by which the answers can be found for the research questions being asked here? It is clear that the primary research subject is the individual volunteer (though the context of the volunteering agency is also of significance). It is more than likely that the 'type' (meaning, demographic, ideological, social status) of volunteer will be highly relevant. Therefore, a method of discovering these 'types' is needed. Typologies are available from previous research. The typology used by Herzog and Morgan (1993) suggested an accompanying methodology that, with some adaptation, could be of great use. This methodology featured a questioning line that seemed capable of eliciting the required information concerning 'volunteer type'. Their typology utilised

characteristics that appear specific to the US context, and the study used statistics that had been gathered by an American government survey. The questionnaire designed for this research was constructed to obtain similar information from an English population and was tailored with this specific cultural context in mind. The attraction of the Herzog and Morgan approach was its clear sequential structure. It appeared to provide a logical platform for obtaining a balanced and holistic judgement on the profile of a volunteer. The structure was multi-disciplinary probing across areas of sociology, and psychology. It is also notable that Herzog and Morgan triangulated their survey questionnaire with subsequent interviews. The adapted methodology used here entailed:

- a. A questionnaire to obtain factual personal data from volunteers.
- b. The selection of a cohort from the volunteer respondent population to participate in focus groups to obtain qualitative motivational and psychological data.
- c. A questionnaire for non-volunteers similar to that given to volunteers.
- d. The use of focus groups to collect qualitative information from non-volunteers similar to that obtained from volunteer respondents.
- e. To provide a triangulation of methods, paired volunteer / non-volunteer respondents to complete diaries over a stipulated period. This would be designed to obtain qualitative cultural and attitudinal information on personal responses to 'volunteer issues' arising locally, nationally, and internationally in conversation, or through reading, or seen on television.
- f. The selection of voluntary organisations to represent the widest possible dispersion of volunteer contexts by age grouping. This would ideally consist of a youth organisation; an organisation that employs older volunteers and provides services for older people; and a non age-specific organisation.
- g. The differentiation of voluntary organisations in terms of the geographical localities that they serve and are located in.
- h. A multi-variate analysis of quantifiable data.
- i. A content analysis of focus group scripts.
- j. The comparison of findings of the above exercise with:

- i. The UK national findings as provided by The National Institute for Volunteering, the Charities Aid Foundation, and General Household Survey.
- ii. The findings from the USA as described by Herzog and Morgan (1993) and Goss (1999).
- iii. Other relevant secondary research as detailed in Chapter 2.

Epistemological Considerations

Epistemological rules define the nature of acceptable knowledge in a specific discipline. A central issue in this context is whether the social world can be, or should be, studied using the same principles, processes and procedures as the natural sciences. The position may be equated with positivist philosophy, which is persuaded that the only truly valid knowledge is scientific knowledge. In contrast, interpretivism suggests that the subject matter of the social sciences – people and their institutions – is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences. This interpretive paradigm of social theory and social research is most clearly represented by the works of Max Weber: The science of society seeks, in his view:

‘... the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects’ (Weber 1964, p.88).

Weberians have argued that the theoretical constructs of research should ‘simply’ reflect and utilise the same everyday constructs which people use to interpret social life. For example Schutz (1979), like Weber, argued that theoretical constructs of the social world must be compatible with the constructs of everyday life. He went further in suggesting, however, that it is not possible to theorise beyond the world of common-sense understandings about social life, towards the realm of causal explanation. It is with these considerations in mind that this research looked directly to the active participants to provide the data that may explain the causal sequences that resulted in impediments to becoming and remaining a volunteer. This entailed exploring the theories of human motivation outlined in Chapter 2. The altruism/self-

interest dichotomy partially explains the large number and variety of motivators that could influence individuals to become volunteers. It also suggests that the personal motivational conflict may aggravate the effects of cultural and organisational influences inherent in the volunteer recruitment process. This research seeks to explore these influences through actively and carefully listening to how the volunteer participants express their responses to the enquiries made in the research instruments.

Values in the Research Process

Weber (1949) suggests that it is vital for the social scientist to establish absolute separation between the statement of empirical facts established in the research about the behaviour of the human research subjects, and the researchers own practical value position. A personal judgement and an evaluation of these facts are both required, including the judgements and evaluations of the research participants on these same facts, to ascertain whether they are satisfactory or unsatisfactory. This is necessary because absolute values are a matter of faith and not of scientific knowledge (May, 2001).

‘Values do not simply affect *some* aspects of research, but *all* aspects’ (May, 2001 p.56. original emphasis).

There is a problem here. It is difficult to be objective in the research process, given the centrality and ubiquity of value judgements, both personal to the researcher and those of the research participants. In these circumstances the position of the researcher could become untenable. If the social sciences are concerned with the explication of meaning then, by necessity, the interpretation of that meaning by the researcher must intercede within the object of its enquiries.

Because of the Author’s accumulated involvement within the voluntary sector it is inevitable that the interpretation of the data in this research will be affected by value judgements and evaluations. An awareness of this dilemma encourages a risk-spreading research strategy. This means that data should be obtained from a variety

of sources and multiple methods of collection in order to counteract, to some extent, the effects of the problem.

Qualitative and Quantitative Data Collection

Qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques seemingly represent incongruent research paradigms. The distinction between them is part of the dualism that has already been shown in the debate surrounding theory and research, epistemology, and values within research. Quantitative data collection is linked to the classic natural science process that begins with a hypothesis and variables enumerated to prove or disprove that hypothesis. Qualitative data collection, on the other hand, begins with a phenomenon and the actors in that event. The data is consolidated from the words of these actors and their empathetic interpretation by the researcher. There is a range of intermediary methodological positions between these apparently polar research strategies. Indeed the research paradigms can be more fruitfully viewed as complementary. Each part of the research process, including data collection, analysis and interpretation, entails choices and decisions concerning various alternative procedures, qualitative or quantitative. More specific choices need also to be made concerning *which* qualitative and *which* quantitative ones are most appropriate (Straus and Corbin, 1998).

Both numbers and words are needed in order to reach a nuanced understanding of the world. There are three reasons for considering the linking of both methods:

- To enable confirmation or corroboration of the results of each test by triangulation.
- To elaborate or to develop analysis, providing richer detail.
- To initiate new lines of thinking through attention to surprises and paradoxes in evidence drawn from across data sets (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

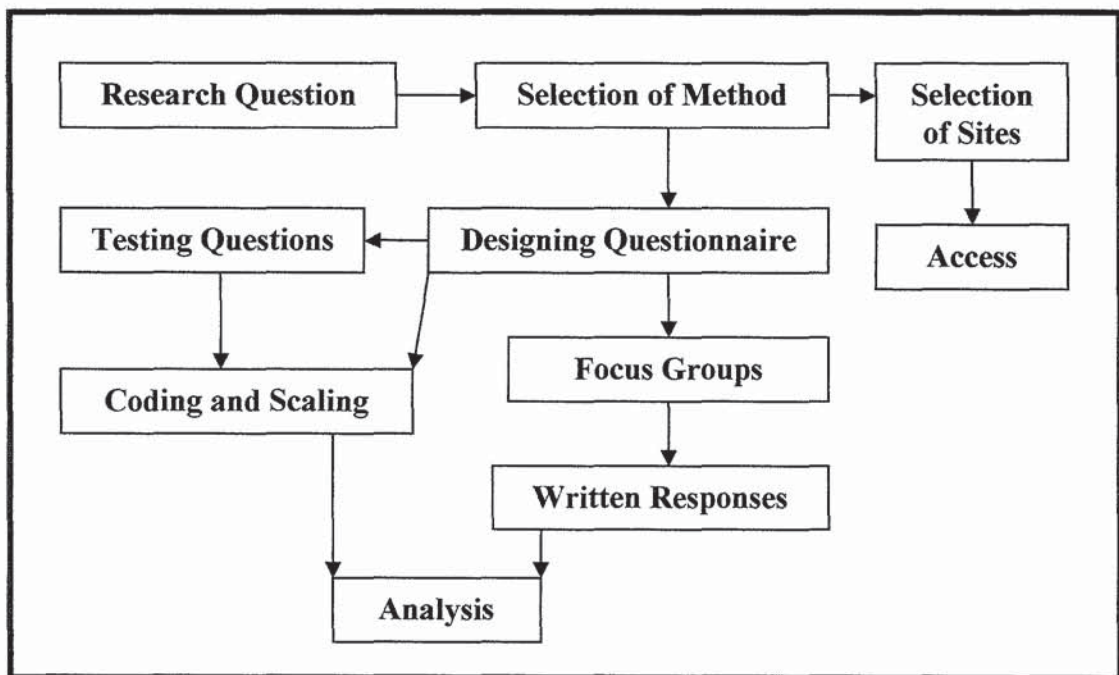
It is with these considerations in mind that a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods has been adopted in this Thesis. Positivist considerations shape the use of the questionnaire as a data collection instrument and the subsequent analysis enumerating the responses to discover the appropriate descriptors for the population

of surveyed volunteers. Qualitative methods, exploring the content and meaning of volunteer narratives, are pursued through focus groups and written statements analysed by use of content analysis.

Process of Data Gathering

Because multiple methods of data collection were to be adopted there was no strict linear progression but rather a parallel process of activities. Figure 3.3 illustrates that process:

Figure 3.3: Data Collection Process



The choice of data gathering methods is influenced by two factors:

- The nature of the research question.
- The suitability of the method for obtaining the required data.

The research question required an understanding of the identities of the participants, what motivated them in their volunteering, and what they perceived to be the barriers to that activity. There are three principal ways of obtaining this type of information:

1. Questionnaire Survey
2. Focus Group
3. Structured Interview

Of these options only the first two were used here. The structured interview can provide a rich source of information. For the lone researcher with a limited time budget, however, the number of participant respondents that could be interviewed would be insufficient for the purpose of this Thesis, which requires a sample size large enough to permit quite numerous break-outs by sub-category.

Questionnaire Survey

This was considered as the most suitable means of obtaining factual personal information for a representative sample of the volunteers within each of the participant organisations. Survey research employs a methodology that is logically analogous to that used in the natural sciences. Well designed survey research follows a common process in the testing and developing of a theory (even if that theory is only in the process of development) whereby a hypothesis will be formed. It is essential that the hypothesis can be translated into measurable data. This requires constructing an instrument that discovers that data through questioning the participant respondents. The instrument, a questionnaire, is structured to remove as much bias as possible from the research process, so that the results produced are as replicable by following the same methods. To achieve this desideratum three conditions should apply:

- Standardisation
- Replicability
- Representativeness (May, 2001).

Standardisation refers to the conditions under which the survey is conducted, specifically, the design administration and analysis of the questionnaire. As Oppenheim (1992) notes:

‘... we have to rely on the interviewer’s skill to approach as nearly as possible the notion that every respondent has been asked the same questions, with the same meaning, in the same words, same intonation, same sequence, in the same setting and so on’ (p.67).

It should be possible for other researchers to replicate the survey using the same type of sampling, questionnaire and so on. The ability to undertake further surveys following the same process strengthens the reliability and enhances the validity of the initial survey (May, 2001).

To make generalising claims, it is important that the sample is not only representative of the population under investigation but also that the findings are statistically significant, that is, whether they are larger or smaller than would be expected by chance alone. A sample is a portion of a whole group that is the population. The population is the complete community that is to be sampled from. The population of this research is all the volunteers in the participant organisations. The size of the sample needs to be sufficient to enable effective statistical analysis. The smaller the population the larger (in proportionate terms) the sample required (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992).

There are two distinct types of sampling – probability and non-probability. Probability, or random sampling, requires a sampling frame, or list, of the whole participant population. The method of sampling from the population depends on the resources of the researcher – the smaller the budget, or the limitation of time, the simpler the method. For example, multistage cluster sampling, where there may be several stages which, although providing an excellent representative sample, may take too long and cost too much. So called simple random sampling can be more than merely simple; it may not be easy to obtain a representative sample (May, 2001: Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992)

There are three commonly used non-probability sample designs: convenience samples, purposive samples, and quota samples. As the term implies *convenience samples* are obtained by selecting whatever sampling units are available. *Purposive samples* depend upon the researcher making a judgement of what is representative of the population. The chief aim of a *quota sample* is to make a selection that is as nearly as possible the same as the population; for example if the characteristics of the population are known – age, gender, ethnic group, etc. – then samples of the population can be made in the same ratio as the known characteristics (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992). As the whole population was also to be the sample the major consideration was the percentage response from the participants

There are three types of questionnaire commonly used: mail or self-completion, telephone, and face-to-face interview schedule. As the description implies the *mail or self-completion questionnaire* is intended to be sent by post to be completed (unassisted) by the participant. This is relatively cheap method of collecting data, but it has deficiencies. Once the questionnaire leaves the researcher much control is lost. Unless the respondent shares an interest in the subject of the survey the response rate may suffer. In an effort to increase the interest in this research a meeting was arranged with the ‘managers’ of each participant branch to explain the purpose of the research and the possible benefits to them. *Telephone survey* was discounted on terms of cost. The time required to complete a *face-to-face interview schedule* was the deciding factor not to use this method of data collection. The strength of telephone and face-to-face questionnaires is the close control that can be exerted on the fullness and accuracy of completion of the questionnaire. The setting, context, and observation of the respondent can also be recorded in the personal contact interview (May, 2001).

Formulating Questions

The three most common types of question are: classification questions, factual questions and opinion questions. These can each take the form of either be open or closed questions. *Classification questions* request information that is personal to the respondent; age, gender, income, and so on. Much of the research questionnaire

deployed here concerned these personal questions as the intention was to discover the type of person that volunteered.

Factual questions aim to discover information that is neither personal nor an opinion, for example, the number of rooms in a house. There are no factual questions in research questionnaire. The wording of *opinion questions* needs to be unambiguous. Each respondent needs to understand the question fully for a consistent answer to be given. In the current research questionnaire no opinions were requested on any subject.

Most questions are *closed*: a choice of specified answers is offered. To obtain richer data the respondent is offered the opportunity to supply their own answer to some of the question. It is easier to code the closed questions and the answers can be compared with greater accuracy.

To assist the analysis of the responses a numeric code was allocated to each possible answer of the closed questions. The selection of proffered choice answers requires that they should be mutually exclusive and also exhaustive. It should not be possible for someone's answer to fall into two of the categories and all possible answers should be anticipated, including 'don't know' and no response. The rigorous wording of the question is a factor ensuring as little ambiguity as possible. When people are given a list of alternatives there is always the possibility that the order of the list affects the choice. The first item in the list is most likely to be placed first in the stated choice, and the last is likely to be placed last. It would provide more reliable data if the same list in a different order was given to the same respondents at a later date.

Question Wording

It was decided that the purposes of the questionnaire were:

- To ascertain the factual details of the volunteers in a particular formal volunteer organisation.
- To capture the relationships within the following groups:
 - Gender - male / female.

- Age - within defined age groups.
- Socio-economic status.
- Employed / Non-employed status.
- Educational attainment.
- Faith / Religion
- To ascertain if any respondent had been turned down for a volunteer post.
- To ascertain the reasons for that refusal, whether on the basis of:
 - Age
 - Colour
 - Gender
 - Disability
- To explore the motivation for volunteering.
- To establish the route of entry into the voluntary organisation chosen by the volunteer.

As suggested the process of composing questions requires precise and unambiguous wording to ensure that the answers are themselves clear and free of misinterpretation. There are certain considerations that were taken into account in the wording of the questions. The following eleven points, adapted from May (2001), were followed here:

- a. Ensure that the question is specific and not too general.
- b. Use the simplest language to convey the meaning.
- c. Eschew prejudicial language to avoid, for example, being unwittingly sexist or racist.
- d. Avoid ambiguity by not using words that can have more than one meaning, or double negatives, or elide two questions into one.
- e. Eliminate vague words.
- f. Avoid leading questions that suggest the answer.
- g. Only ask questions to which the respondent is likely to know the answer.
- h. Do not presume that the respondents will follow the behaviour patterns that the researcher associates with field of research.

- i. Avoid hypothetical questions, since they tend to receive hypothetical answers.
- j. Exercise caution in the use of personal questions, for ethical as well as practical reasons. Being insensitive may terminate completion of the questionnaire.
- k. Recognise the problem of memory recall. People may not remember the information requested.

Piloting

There are two generally recognised stages in testing a proposed survey instrument, though there is no recognised sequence of this testing. The questionnaire may be shown to those who are familiar with this method of data collection to elicit their criticism and opinion. The questionnaire should be presented to a sub group of the same kind of actors as those participating in the research. The feed-back from both groups should be taken into consideration to arrive at the final survey instrument. The initial questionnaire was piloted with ACB volunteers in April 1998 (see Appendix 2), and the design was significantly altered in the light of the piloting experience. The question regarding ages of children was considered superfluous, while additional questions were considered necessary to address religious commitment and personal income, as well as a further question on date when education ceased. Positional changes of questions were made to create greater clarity and tighter thematic grouping. This amended questionnaire was sent to volunteers in the other five organisations in August 1999 (see Appendix 3). Discussion with the branch managers and district commissioners secured agreement on the number of questionnaires required and envelopes were stamped and addressed to the researcher at Aston University. The questionnaires and envelopes were delivered to each of the branch managers and district commissioners who in turn distributed them to their volunteers. The covering letter (see Appendix 4) to each participant explained the purpose of the research and the possible benefits to their organisation. The final statement on the questionnaire requested the return of the completed form within fourteen days of receipt.

Choice and Description of Agencies

The primary research explores the responses of volunteers in three national voluntary organisations together located at four different geographical sites. Given the issues raised in the secondary literature, the organisations for which respondents volunteered needed to be formal, as opposed to informal in nature, and national in scope to enable geographical comparison. As 'age' is an integral component of the research question, it was desirable that representative organisations catering for elderly people, and young clients should be selected, as well as an agency with a non-age-specific focus.

At this point in the research design process (October 1997), a fortuitous contact was made with management personnel from Age Concern Birmingham (ACB). When approached it was the professional staff that showed most interest in the thesis question and agreed to co-operate. The sought after organisation for the elderly had thus effectively nominated itself. As the researcher enjoyed strong personal contacts with the local Scout District there were reasonable hopes that with their co-operation the choice of a youth-oriented organisation might be secured. Selection of a non age-specific organisation was, however, not immediately obvious. A volunteer organisation was required that appeared to be open to volunteers from all age groups and that had a clientele that likewise covered all age groups. Following a review of a range of such organisations the Citizens' Advice Bureau (CAB) appeared to be the organisation that fitted the criteria best and was potentially accessible.

The geographical locations of two of the research sites had been determined – Birmingham and Hereford. To obtain a geographical representation of voluntary organisations the work of the Local Voluntary Activity Surveys (LOVAS) (Marshall, Woodburn and Miller, 1997) was investigated. This Home Office sponsored research group was intended to measure voluntary activity in local areas. The second report (Marshall and Marshall, 1997) set out the methodology that they used to determine representative geographical areas. Using 1991 census data they rated all 366 census districts in England on a variety of demographic, social and economic features and

then clustered them according to their similarities. This provided fourteen distinct types in which population density, level of wealth, ethnic mix, and type of housing all featured as defining characteristics. Also various demographic indices, such as an unusually high proportion of elderly people, children or one-parent families were brought within the framework (Marshall and Marshall, 1997).

Using the LOVAS list of geographic areas as a guide the following localities were selected:

- Birmingham Central - an urban area, with high ethnic minority representation.
- Hereford - rural, with low ethnic minority representation.
- Oxford – a prosperous, urban area, with significant ethnic minority populations.
- Worcester –of intermediate prosperity, containing both rural and urban zones, with significant ethnic minority populations.

Contact was made in June 1998 with the managers of the relevant CABs and Age Concern branches in these areas, and with the relevant Scout County Commissioners. After some procrastination co-operation was secured with the following agencies:

- Age Concern Birmingham (ACB)
- Age Concern Hereford & Worcester (ACH&W)
- Citizens' Advice Bureau Oxford (CABO)
- Citizens' Advice Bureau Worcester (CABW)
- Hereford District Scouts (HS)
- Oxford Spires District Scouts (OS)

Agency Profiles

The specific reasons for the choice of the particular agencies have been explained earlier in this Chapter. The purpose of this section is to contextualise the agencies

themselves. A brief overview of the national historical development of each agency will be followed by a more detailed description of the agency branches that assisted with the primary research. The literature on the composition of the voluntary sector includes typologies that categorize the agencies, organisations and groups that constitute this very diverse area of social activity and these will be referred to as appropriate.

Kendall and Knapp (1995) review the various typologies used to categorise not-for-profit organisations. They outline the principal dimensions as being:

1. By societal function
2. By method of resourcing and/or arrangements for control
3. By values, norms and motivations
4. By size and degree of institutionalisation
5. By underlying organisational purpose and way in which activities are legitimated
6. By primary fields of activity

Salamon and Anheir (1994) developed the International Classification of Nonprofit Organisations (ICNPO) specifically for a project of comparative cross-national analysis of voluntary sectors. Salamon et al. (1999), in their discussion of the methodology of the comparative project, stated that two of their conceptual challenges were

- ‘To define more precisely and more correctly what we meant by “nonprofit” or “voluntary” organisations to be sure we were examining the same phenomenon in all countries;
- To develop a classification scheme that could differentiate the various types of entities that share the resulting common features’ (Salamon et al. 1999 p.436)

A summary of the ICNPO is presented in Appendix 11 to the Thesis. The full ICNPO schedule gives specific group numbers that describe the three organisations that functioned as the test sites for the primary research, specifically:

- Age Concern – 4 Social Services; 4 120 Social services for elderly people
- Scouts – 4 Social Services; 4 180 Mainstream youth development organisation
- CAB – 7 Law, Advocacy, & Politics; 7 210 Citizens' advice bureau

In their discussion of *Group 4 Social Services* of the ICNPO Kendall and Knapp (1996) specifically highlight, as examples, Age Concern for social services for older people and Scouts as part of a wide-ranging youth development programme. The ICNPO classification has been used here to identify and group the responses to two of the questions in the survey

As there is no recognised accepted volunteer sector profile taxonomy to assist the comparison of component parts of organisations within the sector, the concepts highlighted earlier in this section, and an introductory history, will be used to give structure to the comparison of the agency profiles.

The agency profiles are given in detail in the Appendix to this Thesis:

Age Concern – Appendix 12

Citizens Advice Bureau – Appendix 13

Scout Association – Appendix 14.

Demographics

To appreciate the differences between the four geographical research sites a brief description is given using the data from the 1991 Census of population. Table 3.6 is a comparative display of the population figures and economic activity of the populations of each research site.

Table 3.1 Comparative Figures for Population and Economic Activity of Research Sites

	Birmingham	Hereford	Oxford	Worcester
Total Population	961,041	50,234	110,103	81,755
Males	465,105	24,181	53,499	39,723
Females	495,936	26,053	56,604	42,032
Under 18	24	22.5	20.7	22.8
18 to pensionable age	57.9	57.8	60.5	59.5
Pensionable age	18.3	19.7	18.8	17.7
Black	5.9	0.2	2.8	0.3
Asian	13.5	0.2	3.8	1.4
Chinese and others	2.1	0.5	2.8	0.5
Males 16 – 64	293,472	15,598	35,764	26,313
Economically active	85.3	88.8	81.8	89.8
Full-time	57.8	64.3	57.6	66.6
Part-time	1.9	2.1	3.4	2.1
Self-employed	9.1	12.7	10.4	11.5
On a government scheme	1.6	1.3	0.8	1.0
Unemployed	14.9	8.5	9.6	8.7
Economically inactive	14.7	11.2	18.2	10.2
Students	5.3	4.4	12.9	4.4
Females 16-59	274,950	14,633	33,236	24,304
Economically active	65.8	70.7	69.4	72.1
Full-time	35.7	35.4	38.8	39.0
Part-time	18.2	27.0	21.5	25.4
Self-employed	2.4	3.0	4.2	3.1
On a government scheme	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.9
Unemployed	6.9	4.4	4.4	3.8
Economically inactive	35.5	29.3	30.6	27.9
Students	6.9	5.2	11.1	5.4

Source: 1991 Census of Population

Birmingham is the regional capital within the West Midlands. There is still a sizeable industrial base centred around the automotive sector, though service industries now predominate. Historical craft skills are still in evidence especially in the creation of jewellery. The city supports three universities and has a diverse cultural and artistic community including a nationally respected orchestra and

theatre. It has latterly established itself as a major international conference and exhibition centre. Birmingham's cosmopolitan population of just less than one million people has the greatest percentage (21.5%) of ethnic inhabitants of the four geographical sites selected for the current research. The city has the highest figure of unemployment (10.9% as at 1991), and the lowest proportion of self-employed persons (5.7% as at 1991).

Hereford is the principal market town of the agricultural county of Herefordshire. The two major national companies that are based in the city have farming connections, one making cider and the other poultry and food processing. There is also a healthy mix of smaller industrial and service businesses. Tourism is increasingly important for the local economy. Although there is no university in the city, both the Technical College and the Art School have an excellent reputation. Hereford has the lowest percentage ethnic population (0.9%) of the four geographical areas, but has the highest proportion of people of pensionable age (19.7%).

Oxford is pre-eminently an internationally respected university city. The once large motor vehicle industry is much reduced, but there is a substantial diverse industrial sector of medium sized businesses and a large service industry sector. Tourism has become a major factor in the local economy. Despite the considerable presence of the university colleges the city does not support a major theatre or orchestra – presumably because of the ease of access to Stratford and London. The city has twice the percentage of students (12%) in the population than Birmingham (6.1%), though, because of the very much greater overall population in Birmingham there are many more students in Birmingham – 58,623 as opposed to 13,212.

Worcester is a city that has retained many of its agricultural associations while becoming a busy centre of mixed industry and service businesses. The production of fine chinaware and pottery is not as important to the city as it once was. Worcester College is the principal centre of higher education within the counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire. Demographically the city has the lowest percentage of people of pensionable age (17.7%) of the four research sites, though it

has the highest proportion of its population economically active (80.9% as at 1991, Census of Population).

Negotiating access

This research project is dependant upon close co-operation with the volunteers of each participating organisation. Securing that co-operation was vital. To that end initial letters of explanation of the proposed research were sent in June 1999 to prospective organisations in each of the geographical sites (see Appendix 1). The letter requested an opportunity to discuss with the branch manager or (in the case of the Scouts) the District Commissioner, the feasibility of the volunteers' participation. The possible benefits in the form of information sharing were also highlighted. A prompt response was received from six of these approached. Interviews were arranged and at each meeting a semi-structured interview established the guidelines for progress with participation of the volunteers. Each volunteer manager or district commissioner requested a copy of the proposed questionnaire to ensure that it was appropriate and did not violate privacy or confidentiality. Only ACB requested any alteration to the survey questionnaire and that was at the piloting stage. All branch managers were sufficiently interested in the research to accept the offer of a copy of the preliminary findings for their branch.

Focus group practicalities

To supplement the information received from the questionnaire survey further richer data was required with special reference to volunteer motivation. Two methods were considered; structured interviews and focus groups. As the intention was to discover deeper understandings of individual motivation it was considered that a structured interview may be too restricting. It was likely that the mutually supporting atmosphere within a group of volunteers who knew each other would stimulate rich responses. The method of the focus group was therefore adopted. There are clear benefits arising from using this method of collecting data. Although there is a structure to the discussion (essentially previously intimated themes) the freedom that

the participants have encourages valuable elaboration and contextualisation. The stimulation of thought provoking comments from the other participants increases the possibility of rich research data.

The use of tapes and transcripts overcomes the lapses of memory that can occur and is superior to written minute-taking which also diverts the researcher from the key task of stimulating discussion and probing responses. The subsequent examination of the responses and speech patterns can also be repeated many times. To counter the suggestion that the researcher's value judgements influenced the analysis the tapes and transcription can be independently examined. The richest material recorded by this method is the actual quotations from the individual participants.

Focus groups can, however, present practical difficulties. The technological difficulties of sufficiently effective microphones and recorders can be overcome by pre-testing and compensating in advance for as many as possible of the deficiencies of the place of meeting. This could include, for example. The carrying of an extension lead lest power points turn out to be distant from the conference table. There is the difficulty of finding a date time and place that is suitable to all participants. This may be overcome, to some extent, by empowering the participating organisation to make the arrangements for personnel time and place. The other possible problem is shared with all forms of taped interview, namely, the transcription of the taped responses. The researcher can off-set the effect of these problems by conducting the focus group in a relaxed and friendly manner bringing enthusiasm and humour to encourage the participants to participate fully.

The purpose of using Focus Groups was:

- To ascertain the individual perceptions with regard to specific 'themes' previously highlighted by volunteers that had already completed a questionnaire. These themes were likely to include:
 - Motivation - to elaborate on the responses given in the questionnaire, to explore and critically to reappraise any rhetorical sentiments

- Exclusion - the barriers to entry and functioning as a volunteer. This was likely to encompass, in turn, the attitudes and practices that prevented or hindered volunteering within a volunteer organisation, among both volunteers and among non-volunteers alike.
- Ageism - the attitudes towards and practices of older and younger people that hindered / prevented volunteering. These practices may be manifest in organisational activity, among specific age groups or prevalent in society at large.

The close contacts that were made with Age Concern Birmingham facilitated easy arrangement of three focus groups of five people each. In consultation with the contact at ACB arrangements were made for place and time of meeting. The ACB contact asked for volunteers among those who had responded to the questionnaire. At all times the identity of those participating were unknown to the researcher, unless they individually chose to volunteer that information. The groups met on successive weeks, each individual having been informed beforehand of the themes to be discussed. After a brief introduction describing the research and the purpose of the group, each individual was asked to state their first name and briefly describe their present activity in ACB. The first theme was then briefly introduced and any questions of subject clarity were satisfied the group members in succession made their contribution. There followed a short exchange between group members and finally there was a brief summarisation. The process was almost identical for each theme and for each group.

It proved very time consuming to make arrangements with the other the agencies, however. Unless there is close co-operation with the professional management staff or the volunteer manager understands the situation and is enthusiastic it is difficult to arrange a time and place that will suit a sufficient number of people to participate in a focus group. Indeed no other further focus group was arranged.

To overcome this hurdle contact was made with each respondent who had given their name and address, to request if they would provide written responses to the themes that would have been considered in the focus groups. Several provided e-mail

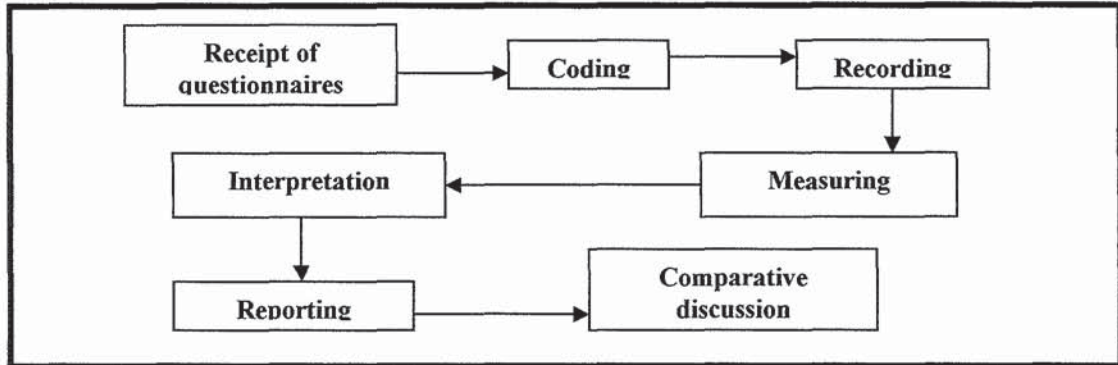
responses. It was interesting to note that the written responses provided greater detail than the e-mails and the emotion indicated was similar to that displayed in the focus groups. The response was uneven. The Age concern and Citizens Advice Bureau respondents were more co-operative than the Scout respondents.

It is plausible that the material obtained from the written submissions may be fuller, more personal, focused and detailed, than that which might have been obtained at a focus group in which the respondent may possibly have been influenced by the other participants. On the other hand it is the interaction between participants in a focus group that often provides the gems of perceptive awareness and exploratory discovery of the issue under discussion. The e-mails seemed lighter and less sensitive, but that may be simply the researcher's instinct and not valid research observation.

Process and Procedures of Analysis

The analytic approach in this research is a combination of deductive and inductive enquiry. It is deductive in the sense that there are a number of key themes and concepts under investigation that are pursued through the research process;, inductive in the degree to which themes and concepts were constructed from the data. There are two parts that broadly correspond to this duality in the analysis: first, a quantitative analysis of the questionnaire survey data, second, a qualitative analysis of the survey open-ended question on motivation, the focus group transcriptions, and the written responses.

The analytical process used in relation to the questionnaire is described in Figure 3.8 as follows:

Figure 3.8: Questionnaire Analysis Process***Receipt of the Questionnaire***

Enclosed with each questionnaire issued was a stamped envelope addressed for return direct to the Author. No follow-up letter was sent to encourage additional returns. Where respondents failed to answer questions these were identified on the analysis schedules as a '0' or 'N/A', depending on the wording of the question. Approximately 200 questionnaires were enclosed in the ACB monthly newsletter to all volunteers in April 1998. 119 questionnaires were returned, giving a 60% response rate. In relation to ACH&W, 40 questionnaires were distributed in August 1999 in the same manner as with ACB and 36 were returned. This provided a 90% response. The immediately obvious difference between the two branches of Age Concern (AC) is the large number of volunteer respondents from Age Concern Birmingham (ACB) compared to the relatively small number from Age Concern Hereford and Worcester (ACH&W). The immediately obvious difference between the two branches of Age Concern (AC) is the large number of volunteers from ACB compared to the relatively small number from ACH&W. The main reason for this difference concerns the structure of services provided by the two branches, namely:

- ACB is concerned with providing an older persons' visiting service in a densely populated conurbation.
- ACH&W is providing a respite service for home carers of the disabled who are scattered over a large rural area. It is a county-wide service, designed to fill in the territorial gaps that the urban AC branches do not cover.

There are approximately 40 volunteers at CAB Oxford (CABO) and the same number of volunteers at CAB Worcester (CABW) when questionnaires were distributed. Questionnaires were distributed in August 1999 to all volunteers by the branch managers through the office internal post system. Twenty questionnaires were returned from CABW and 23 from CABO, giving a 50% and 57.5% response rate respectively. Not all questionnaires were fully completed, but none were so incomplete as to be discarded.

In late August 1999, the Oxford District Scout Commissioner distributed 200 questionnaires at the monthly leaders' meeting. During the last week of August 1999 the Hereford District Scout Commissioner distributed 150 questionnaires by hand at the monthly district meeting. Fifty-six (37%) were returned by Hereford Scouts (HS) and 51 (26%) by Oxford Scouts (OS). One questionnaire from both HS and OS was returned completely blank and therefore discounted. It was perhaps unfortunate timing to ask scout leaders to complete a questionnaire when they were either immersed in summer camp preparations or were taking their own family away on holiday. August is not the most appropriate month for administering this questionnaire. As the questionnaires were completed during the school holiday period the usual weekly scout meeting may not have been operating and the committee meetings may not have taken place. Other volunteers may have been attending Troop or Cub camps. These factors would have deleteriously affected response rates. Hereford is a rural Scout District covering an extensive geographical area, while Oxford Scout District is on the outskirts of a large cosmopolitan university city

The first three questions in the survey referred to the activity undertaken by volunteers with their respective organisation. Questions 4 to 8 concerned activities with other volunteer organisations. Why and how a person became a volunteer was the subject of questions 9 to 12. The personal details of the volunteer were addressed in questions 13 to 28, including gender, age, family status, ethnicity, employment, income, religion, and education. The final question enquired about the mode of travel to volunteer activity.

The schedules of questionnaire analysis can be found in the Appendices, as follows:

Age Concern Birmingham – Appendix 5

Age Concern Hereford & Worcester – Appendix 6

Citizens Advice Bureau, Oxford – Appendix 7

Citizens Advice Bureau, Worcester – Appendix 8

Hereford Scouts – Appendix 9

Oxford (Spire) Scouts – Appendix 10.

Techniques Adopted for Quantitative Analysis

The methods of analysis depend upon the scale and quality of the data produced. Because the number of responses was too few, and too disparate between agencies, it was considered that no meaningful multivariate statistical analysis was possible. In order to use some statistical methods legitimately it is necessary that data are of a certain type. Broadly speaking there are three levels of measurement that can be applied: nominal, ordinal and interval. Nominal levels of measurement use numbers or symbols to classify objects or observations. These numbers or symbols constitute a nominal or classificatory scale. By means of the symbols 1 and 2, for instance, it is possible to classify a given population into males and females, with 1 representing males and 2 standing for females. Ordinal variables rank the differences in replies. For example, answers that record preferences in terms of the degree of acceptability using the continuum of the Likert scale constitute ordinal data. Ordinal scales cannot specify that the differences between each of the scores will be identical. For this purpose measurement at an interval scale is required. Taking the previous example, an interval scale could be replicated by asking respondents how strongly they feel about a topic on a scale of 1 to 10 where 10 represents the strongest expression of feeling (May, 2001; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992; Oppenheim, 1992). In the current research the measurement of the responses from the research instrument was at the lowest level, nominal, for all questions except one. The question requesting description of motivational impulse deployed an ordinal (six point) measurement system.

Coding

The copy of the survey instrument in appendix 3 sets out the nominal measurement numbers that were assigned to each questionnaire response. These coding numbers facilitated the collation of the responses that were then tabulated in an Excel computer spreadsheet. A response schedule was prepared for each agency, the same coding sequence being used for each schedule. The International Classification of Non-Profit Organisations (ICNPO), devised by Salamon et al (1999), and described earlier in this chapter, was used to code the responses to the questions that referred to the type of voluntary organisation in which the participants were active. ICNPO was also used to classify their activity in their host agency of the research site. The responses to the request for details of the nature of present and previous employment were coded using the Standard Occupational Classification Index (1996). There was a wide spread of occupations recorded. To simplify the analysis, the responses were aggregated within the nine general index groups, set out in Figure 3.9:

Figure 3.9: Standard Occupational Classification Index: General Index Groups

1. Managers & Administrators
2. Professional
3. Associate Professional & Technical Occupations
4. Clerical & Secretarial
5. Craft & Related
6. Personal & Protective Service
7. Sales Occupations
8. Plant & Machine Operatives
9. Other Occupations

Indexing and Scaling Methods

For comparative purposes, indexes are expressed in the form of a proportion a percentage, or a ratio. A proportion is defined as the frequency of observations in any given category divided by the total number of observations. That figure becomes a percentage when it is multiplied by 100. A ratio is a fraction that expresses the magnitude between two sets of numbered observations. To find the ratio between two sets of observations one is divided by the other. Indexes display the similarities and

differences between sets of frequencies which in this research are the coded responses from the questionnaire survey. The most frequent form of indexing used in this research is the creation of tables to display the percentage response of the six populations to a specific question (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992).

In the survey question eliciting the motivational impulses of volunteers a method of scaling was required. To ensure that the responses were placed in a logical continuum relative to each other and for a clearer understanding of the ranking differences a six point Likert scale continuum was adopted. Because the agency populations are unequal in size the response frequencies to the motivation question were first weighted to provide comparable data for interpretation (Oppenheim, 1992).

Techniques Adopted for Qualitative Analysis

The answers given to the open ended question on 'Motivation to volunteer' have been incorporated in Chapter 5 in a discrete section of the qualitative analysis. The data derived from the survey questionnaire, measures of income, education, sex etc., are susceptible to measurement error, but this error is miniscule when compared to the error in such variables as self-reports of reasons for volunteering. There is, for example, the problem of separating the effects of volunteering from the factors that lead to the initial decision to volunteer. It is for this reason that other sources of data were explored (focus groups and written responses). During analysis it was important to adopt a systematic means of organising and reducing the quantities of transcribed data into manageable components. The purpose of any analysis process is to arrive at an understanding of the collected data. The participants' responses to the open-ended motivation question and the focus group transcriptions and written responses were composed of words. It was the content and underlying meaning of these words that the process had to explore. The following sections explain the process adopted.

Coding

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) 'coding is analysis' (p. 156). Codes are labels that describe units of data. These units in the case of this research are words or

phrases or even whole sentences of reported speech. The designated code is representative of all reported speech data that makes the same or similar statement. Coding here is classification of reported statements. This reduces the quantity of words to manageable proportions and at the same time isolates the concepts that the coding reveals. What now is required is a process that can,

‘... discern the range of potential meanings contained within the words used by the respondents and develop them more fully in terms of their properties and dimensions’ (Straus and Corbin, 1998, p.109)

The process that enables this development of understanding is content analysis.

Content Analysis

Stone et al (1996) describes content analysis as,

‘... a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specific characteristics within a text’ (p.5).

There are several different kinds of inference that can be derived from the use of content analysis, and Janis (1965) describes ‘semantical content analysis’ as ‘... procedures which classify signs according to their meanings’ (p.33), that is counting the number of times a word occurs in the text irrespective of the context. Silverman (2001), on the other hand, suggests that content analysis should ‘not be reduced to merely counting words’ (p.123). This interpretation of content analysis requires the interpretation of respondents’ statements, contextualisation and aggregation as Krippendorff (1980) states:

‘inference is the *raison d’etre* for content analysis’ (p.55).

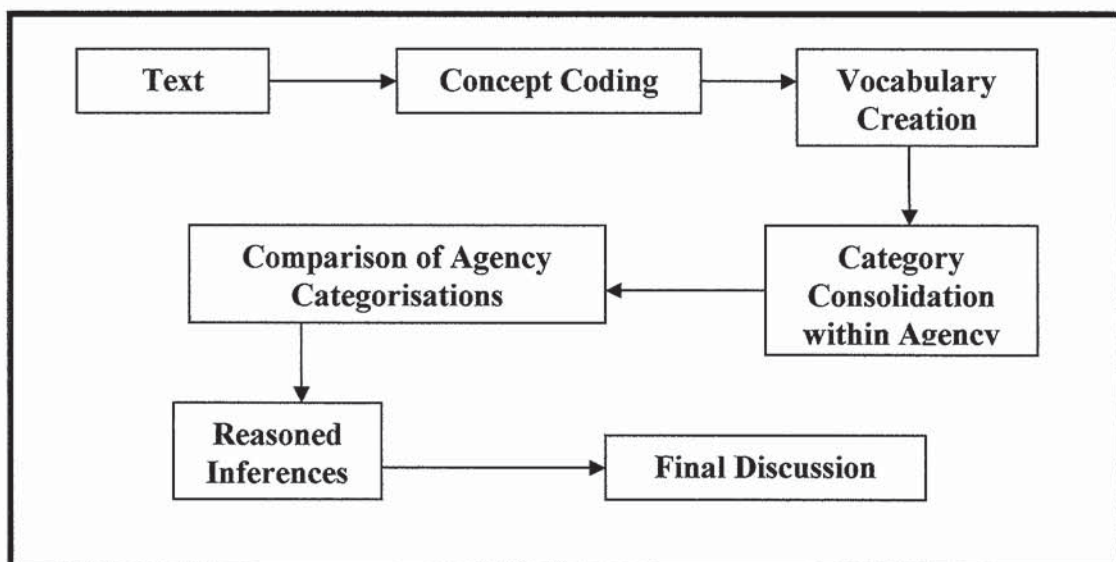
The purpose in this content analysis was to ascertain the direction of thought of the volunteer participants in relation to four themes:

- Motivation to volunteer
- Perceptions of exclusion
- Experiences of ageism

- Image of volunteering

For each theme the respondents' statements were rigorously perused to identify the conceptual words, phrases and sentences that referred to the specific theme. These selections then became the vocabularies for that theme. That process is in effect the coding of the texts. The vocabularies were consolidated under more refined descriptive categories. These descriptors were then aggregated within the six participant agencies. Finally the individual agency aggregations are compared. From comparison it is possible to make reasoned inferences. Figure 3.10 illustrates the content analysis process:

Figure 3.10: Content Analysis Process



Drawing Conclusion

Although the analytic techniques give structure and meaning to the collected data, it is the purpose of research to make sense of that data, to draw conclusions, make inferences, interpret, extrapolate and make these findings understandable and then fundamentally elicit new meaning and function. Miles and Huberman (1994) discuss the tactics that can be used for generating meaning. When looking at the structure of the collected data Miles and Huberman suggest the following tactical progression:

- Noting patterns and themes
- Seeing plausibility
- Clustering
- Making metaphors
- Counting
- Making contrasts/comparisons
- Subsuming particulars into the general
- Factoring
- Noting relationships between variables
- Finding intervening variables
- Building a logical chain of evidence
- Making conceptual/theoretical coherence (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.245, adapted)

It is not the intention to discuss each of these terms in detail. Several have a commonsensical quality and were used in an intuitive manner. This applies, for example, to noting patterns and themes, seeing plausibility, and clustering. Others terms, such as making metaphors and factoring have not been consciously or unconsciously employed here. *Counting* has most obviously been used in relation to the structuring of the questionnaire data. The creation of indexes was deployed to control the number of responses to a particular question and assist in the comparison of the responses agency by agency. Counting also enables you to see what has been collected. Indexing displays the responses in a manner that facilitates easier over-viewing of a mass of information. It is then possible to generalise from the frequency, or absence, of variables within the indexes.

The reason for researching more than one site was so that it would be possible to *making contrasts and comparisons*. The availability of data from more than one agency in more than one geographical site enriched the possibility of strong validity and reliability to the subsequent analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1998) consider the use of ‘the constant comparative method’ (p.67) that seeks out the social processes that

are immanent in and revealed through a critical examination of phenomena. Miles and Huberman describe this tactic as *subsuming particulars into the general*. The research technique of content analysis does just that; subsuming particular statements into more general categories. According to Straus and Corbin (1998) this procedure of refining from one level of data to another is a conceptual and theoretical activity.

It follows from this that the act of comparing and contrasting enables the *relationships between variables* to be noted. Once the variables, such as age, gender, educational standards, socio-economic status, and so on, have been counted, compared and contrasted between the different agencies and to some extent generalised, the relationships create scenarios that need to be recorded. There are relationships between different categories of volunteer within agencies and between agencies. For example, there is typically an empathy displayed between the Age Concern visitor and their clients that is absent in the relationship between a counsellor from the Citizens' Advice Bureau and their clients. In contrast, there is a professionalism in the performance between a CAB counsellor and their client that becomes a personal involvement as between AC visitor and client. The unique relationship differences displayed by the volunteers from each agency create a diversity that is itself a barrier for outsiders to become volunteers.

Because of the diversity within the data it is always possible to *find intervening variables*. It is often the item of data that does not appear to relate to any other that is the most interesting. Is there another piece of data that will compellingly make the link? What is the intervening variable? For example, one possible intervening variable that may inhibit older people becoming volunteers is the diversity of the voluntary sector.

The procedures set out above bring together the items of data into a more refined and manageable coherence. The next task is to arrange that data in order to arrive at a logical conclusion. Miles and Huberman describe this as *building a logical chain of evidence*. The relationships between the links in the chain have to make sense and the chain must be seen to be complete. The lone researcher is most vulnerable at this

point, since there is an inclination to see what is desired. The recruitment value chain shown at Figure 2.2 can be adapted to show the possible barriers between each link in that chain, and the processes and procedures for overcoming the barrier. The resultant chain although logical in itself would be too cumbersome to explain the point that was being made; added value – it simply would be an aid to analysis. Finally, the process has passed from dealing with observable data to inferred unobservable propositions. It is at this juncture that the research question is answered or an explanation is given for there being no answer. The pattern has been established from the collected data and it is shown that this is the pattern at several sites but at this point it is only descriptive in nature. Now, the researcher has to look and see if there is any other alternative construct that puts these facts together in the same way. The data analysis suggests that there are three principal propositions that are likely to compose this research answer:

- The diversity characterising all levels of volunteer activity is a barrier to recruitment.
- The incestual recruitment process is a barrier to increased open market recruitment.
- The age of the individual is not a barrier to volunteer recruitment.

The first proposition is demonstrated by the uniqueness of the volunteer profile of each of the six agencies. The second proposition displayed by the research data presents a possible cause of the diversity in the first proposition. The third proposition would be demonstrated, again, by the agency volunteer profiles and further justified by the content analysis of recorded responses.

Validity, Reliability and Generalization

The evaluation of the methods, techniques and interpretation of research remains a contested subject. Whereas the quantitative process of research has followed the positivist approach along the lines of standardisation of indicators and evaluation, the qualitative process has used processes that range from a near positivist approach to the ‘grounded theory’ approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is necessary to evaluate research at each step, of particular concern is that the correct data has been collected to answer the research problem; that the research instruments used did the job for which they were chosen; that the interpretation of the data was as objective as possible; and that the inferences and conclusions can be shown to emerge from the data. In the positivist research process standard tests are available the efficacy of which have been proved over time. These tests come under the description of *validity, reliability and generalisability*.

According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) and Oppenheim (1992) validity is concerned with whether the measurement used measures what was intended. A broader definition is (Jary and Jary, 1991):

‘... The extent to which a measure, indicator or method of data collection possesses the quality of being sound or true as far as can be judged’ (p.686)

There are three basic kinds of validity *content validity, empirical validity and construct validity*. Content validity is concerned with the extent to which a research instrument actually measures what it appears to measure. Thus it would be legitimate to enquire as to whether a given population has been adequately sampled to provide a true response or measurement. Content validity would here concern the use of the survey questionnaire and the focus groups and to questions within these data collection instruments. The measurement of the validity of factual data is a relatively simple issue. If the same question or measurement was used at another time in the same context and with the same participants then the result should be the same answer. The measurement of the validity of attitudinal data is more problematic (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983;

Oppenheim, 1992). There are many imponderables here: Is the respondent telling the truth: Does the respondent understand the question in the same way as the researcher: Does the question apply to that respondent in that context?

Empirical validity concerns the relations between a measuring instrument, or a questionnaire, and the measurement outcomes, or the responses. The most common test of empirical validity, predictive validity, checks the measurement instrument against some outcome that has already external validation. In other words, it can be predicted that the use of the instrument will collect the kind of data that is required. As far as the questionnaire survey is concerned accumulated experience of this form of data collection has shown it to be an accurate means of acquiring factual personal details from respondents. It was therefore, a valid instrument for collecting that form of data in the present context.

Construct validity takes on a different form when applied to qualitative analysis. Firstly, it is not simply a matter of finding indicators for a concept. There is an interplay between finding indicators and conceptualising categories

This issue is discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983).

‘This interplay derives from the inductive, reflexive character of the [research] where the process of analysis involves the simultaneous development of constructs and indicators to produce a "fit" between the two’ (p. 185).

Secondly, there is an incompatible theoretical difference. The quantitative positivist approach to analysis looks for standardisation of concept indicators, which derives from the adherence to a behaviourist process theory. The qualitative inductive approach, on the other hand, requires that concept indicators be made explicit by reference to the data itself. The explanation should include a description of how the indicator has evolved from the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Straus and Corbin, 1998).

In this research the analysis of the questionnaire survey did use standardised concept indicators but not in the analysis of the tapes and texts. The indicators were drawn from the vocabularies used by the respondents.

Two common techniques in meeting the criteria of validity are *data triangulation* and *respondent validation*. The establishment of the credibility of findings entails both ensuring that research is carried out according to the canons of good practice and submitting findings to members of the social world who were studied for confirmation that the investigator has correctly understood that social world (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). This latter technique is referred to as respondent validation.

Respondent Validation

Respondent validation is a process whereby a researcher provides the research participants with an account of the findings seeking confirmation, or otherwise, that the researcher has understood the perceptions of that participant within the phenomenon being researched.

To ensure co-operation with the agency managers it was agreed that the findings of the survey questionnaire should be available for comment. Reports were sent to agency managers as soon as possible after the completion of the preliminary analysis. The first report went to ACB during June 1999. No written response was received. Reports went to the other agencies during April 2000, and again there were no written responses. In subsequent telephone conversations the general response from agency managers indicated interest in the results and that they would be useful in future recruitment programmes. Respondent validation is not a suitable technique to use in conjunction with the reporting of factual data gathering such as that in the research survey. It is most useful in checking that conversations have been accurately recorded and understood.

No report of the ACB focus group responses was prepared or sent to the ACB branch manager as the volunteer participants did not wish their views to be known by the agency management, nor did they want separate reports to be sent to each participant.

The checking of the research findings against other sources researching the same phenomenon is described as triangulation. Respondent validation may be considered as a form of triangulation.

Data Triangulation

What is involved in triangulation is not just a matter of checking whether inferences are valid but of discovering which inferences are valid. This requires that each inference has its own validity check. If the use of diverse kinds of data leads to some conclusion one can be a little more confident in that conclusion. Triangulation takes place when different techniques are compared. The assumption is that if these methods of collecting data from different sources or the different analysis techniques provide the same data response then there is a strong reason for accepting the validity of that method, technique or response (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

The purpose in setting up focus groups was to receive further information on themes that might be perceived as barriers to becoming a volunteer, that is, information in addition to that already collected by the use of the questionnaire survey. The intention was to also engage respondents in the completion of diaries to provide individual reflections on the same themes in relation to events taking place during a prescribed period of time. Unfortunately time did not permit the pursuit of this later data collection method. The resulting inferences that were made from the questionnaire responses and the focus group transcriptions complemented each other. For example, without directly posing the question, the strongest finding from the questionnaire was that being over pension age did not inhibit becoming a volunteer provided other factors did not intervene. The focus group participants were directly asked to consider that question and confirmed the inference made from the interpretation of the questionnaire data.

Reliability

Although a method, technique or interpretation may be valid, it must also be reliable, the results are consistent. For any of these processes, procedures and inferences to

have any research value their use should time and again give the required results. Reliability means consistency. Again the survey questionnaire has been proven reliable in the collection of factual data (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992; Oppenheim, 1992).

The reliability of the focus group method of collecting qualitative data is not without its problems. These problems include, firstly, the influence of the other members on the responses given. There may be mistrust, dispute, or dislike between participants that could inhibit the honesty or the completeness of the responses. In the second place the researcher may unintentionally direct or misdirect the direction of the conversation. Thirdly, the technology may malfunction and the subsequent transcription is therefore unreliable. Finally, it is also not possible to reliably replicate the focus group process unless the proceedings are undertaken very soon after the first group meeting. The time lapse between the group meeting creates a different environment possibly influenced by intervening events. Nevertheless, if the right conditions exist at the time of the group meeting there can be interaction of kindred minds providing rich and reliable data.

Generalisability

The process of forming a judgement or making a decision that is applicable to an entire class or category of objects or phenomena is referred to as generalisation. It usually involves a process of induction and is derived from a limited number of observations and extended. For this process to operate the data needs to be of the quality from which generalisation can be made. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) the most useful qualitative research generalisations are 'analytic' not 'sample-to-population' (p.28). By 'analytic' generalisation Miles and Huberman are suggesting that the researcher should question the suitability of the data as a good example of many others; is the observation a good description of many other similar observations.

When there is congruence between the observations of the respondents from the six agencies then it can be said that there is generalisability with reference to that particular observation.

Conclusion

The reasons for the choice of methodology used were practical as well as theoretical. Practical in the sense that other research, as detailed in the literature review, had successfully used the questionnaire to provide analysable personal data of the respondents. The use of focus groups provided substantive information in the actual words of the respondents. That not all the 'live' responses were verbal, some being written narrative, was not an embarrassment but rather a further technique to provide the personal response. The alternative data collection methods, such as, participant observation or secondary data analysis did not appear to provide the 'personalisation' that was considered essential for this research.

The balance between quantitative and qualitative was determined by the nature of the data collected. That the quantitative analysis is more expansive arises from there being more actual data to analyse. The original intention was to have as even a balance as possible, where the qualitative responses of individuals could be placed alongside the factual quantitative details of that person. In the end the data collection methods elicited more detail about the types of people who volunteer than what the respondents felt, thought, and believed. The quantitative analysis of the factual data corroborated the findings of similar research, but also indicated significant differences. The qualitative analysis of the oral and written responses provided the attitudes, perceptions and values that personalised the respondents.

The key issues discussed in this chapter are summarised as follows:

- This research has sought to determine whether the perceived barriers are an impediment to becoming a volunteer in the six research sites.
- A qualitative approach was taken to discover inferences from the words and the context of these responses that lead to an understanding of the perceptions of the respondents.

- The research is inductive in process permitting the data to release the meaning of the events and situations that respondents describe. The theory is derived from the accumulation of and refinement of respondent statement.
- The multi-method and multi-site approach permits a continuum of validity that encourages reliability and the ability to subsume the general from the particular.
- The analytic techniques employed were appropriate to the data collection instruments. The questionnaire data required indexing to display the relationship of variables. The oral and written responses were interpreted by using open coding and content analysis.

CHAPTER 4**COMBINED ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS FROM ALL AGENCIES'****VOLUNTEERS****Introduction**

This Chapter analyses the data gathered from the survey questionnaire sent to each of the volunteer respondents in the test-site organisations used in this research. The collation of the factual details of the individual respondents under specific headings will indicate the strength of congregation of characteristics particular to volunteers. The product of the analysis of respondent data from each agency will indicate the differences and similarities between the volunteers of each agency. The summation will interpret the incidence of a stereotypical volunteer, if such a concept exists.

Although the open-ended questions will be analysed quantitatively, a further qualitative analysis will be given in Chapter Five.

The schedules detailing the responses to the questionnaire from the individuals who participated are in the Appendices, as follows:

- Age Concern Birmingham – Appendix 5
- Age Concern Hereford & Worcester – Appendix 6
- Citizens Advice Bureau, Oxford – Appendix 7
- Citizens Advice Bureau, Worcester – Appendix 8
- Hereford Scouts – Appendix 9
- Oxford (Spires) Scouts – Appendix 10

The information collected through the survey instrument has been arranged thematically to reflect the key research foci of the Thesis, as follows:

- *Personal and Demographic Profile of Respondents*
- *Volunteering*
- *Recruitment Motivation*
- *External Factors*

Personal and Demographic Profile of Respondents

This section sets out the demographic and personal characteristics of the respondents involved in the present survey. Key factors covered here include:

- Gender.
- Age.
- Ethnicity.
- Family background.
- Responsibility for dependents.

Gender

The most recent national statistics (CAF, 1998: National Centre for Volunteering, 1997) suggest that it is equally likely that men and women will volunteer. That finding stands at variance with the gender profile of the respondents to this survey. The figures are set out by volunteer organisation in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Gender Profiles

Gender	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Male	24	14	22	35	47	56
Female	74	81	78	65	53	44
Blank	2	5	0	0	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

In overall terms, there is a high degree of over-representation of females in both Age Concern and Citizens' Advice bureau branches. The Scout Movement branches are, however, characterised by approximate balance in participation as between genders. What factors might explain these differences?

Age Concern

It is possible that the gender imbalance arises because of the care service nature of the organisation. This may reflect a continuing cultural prejudice that depicts 'caring' to be a female attribute. Some of the additional comments in the questionnaires illustrate the fact that it is by no means solely females that undertake 'caring work'.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

The nature of much of the voluntary activity undertaken at CAB requires a high degree of expertise and experience. Given this skill requirement, it is highly unlikely that fully employed volunteers of either gender will be available in any numbers. It is then difficult to interpret exactly why appropriately skilled *female* volunteers can come forward in such numbers – unless they are active on a part-time basis in the formal labour market.

Scouts

It is perhaps surprising, given the historically gendered nature of scouting, that the gender balance of the Scout Association itself has historically been fairly even (Scout Association, 2000). This gender equality is reflected in the current survey. Female Leaders run many Cub Packs. Among the female respondents, there are Scout Leaders, Assistant District Commissioners, and both the District Commissioners. As noted in Chapter 3, since 1980, the Scout Association has been opened up to female membership. This is reflected in the gender balance of the volunteer sample here.

In general, these gender statistics may have more relevance when read in conjunction with other survey data on, for example, the reasons for volunteering, age, income, and volunteer hours.

Age

The issue of age and volunteering is a central concern of this Thesis. The respondents were therefore presented with nine age categories for completion. It should be noted that these categories are of uneven duration. The '18-24' category covers a seven year period, the next three age blocks are ten year periods, while the next four age blocks are five year periods, and the final age block is open-ended. The first four and the final categories are those used in the statistical reports provided by Charities age Foundation and the Institute for Volunteer Research. Both these institutions also use ten year blocks for the age ranges from 55 to 74, but for this Thesis these age blocks have been divided to take into account the statutory retirement age for male and female.

The vast majority of respondents were willing to give this information. ACB respondents provide a partial exception to this, with some 28% not completing this item. Possible reasons for this are set out below. Table 4.2 summarises the age profile by surveyed organisation

Table 4.2 Percentage of Volunteers Within Each Age Cohort:

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75+	Blank	Totals	n =
ACB	2	4	6	12	4	4	14	14	12	28	100	119
ACH&W	0	3	5	28	14	14	14	11	8	3	100	36
CABO	0	0	4	9	22	22	26	13	4	0	100	23
CABW	5	0	10	20	10	5	30	5	10	5	100	20
HS	7	7	25	45	4	4	4	0	2	2	100	55
OS	14	22	30	14	10	2	4	2	2	0	100	50

Age Concern

Over 61% of the ACH&W, and 48% of ACB respondents are 55 years old or more. This is not consistent with the national all-volunteer profile (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998). This variance may be due to the nature of the organisation and its service focus, which acts to attract specifically older volunteers.

The anomaly of the higher number of non-responses from ACB volunteers remains to be explained. This could be due to the design of the questionnaire. This question was located immediately after the question on children, may have confused respondents. In light of that, this item was moved to a more appropriate position in the ACH&W and other questionnaires.

Citizen's Advice Bureau

Forty-five percent of CAB volunteers are aged 65 or over. The age profile is relatively common for both men and women, though there are a greater percentage of men over 65 years old than there is of women. This provides some support to the hypothesis on the gendered nature of the CAB volunteer labour force outlined above: namely, that male volunteer professionals are only able to commit themselves to the long hours typical of a CAB volunteer after they have retired from full-time employment.

All the male volunteers at CABO are 65 years old or over. The nature of the work at the CAB requires expertise and experience, both qualities associated with older rather than younger persons. Despite the training offered to younger volunteers, it is really only

practical experience that can make the case handling process less forbidding, according to the respondents. It is claimed by the CAB volunteers that younger volunteers are often motivated by the quality of training provided by the CAB, primarily as a desirable addition to their *curriculum vitae* and an advantage for further employment. Unless they have a source of income that enables them to enjoy a reasonable quality of life it is unlikely that younger people will sustain the length of hours and commitment that CAB volunteering requires. As soon as suitable paid employment becomes available, they will cease being a volunteer.

Scouts

The spread of ages for the Scout Association is constrained by administrative rules. Thus the official Scout instructions for the administration of all Scout units, namely, 'Policy Organisation and Rules (POR) Rule 17', stipulates the minimum and maximum age limits for all appointments that have direct contact with the young people. The minimum age for a helper in the Beaver Colony or Cub Pack is 16 and the minimum age for a Venture Scout Leader is 21 years of age. The minimum ages for other appointments range from 17 to 20 years old. The maximum age for all appointments - except skills instructor - is 65 years old. There is no maximum age limit for appointment of non-uniformed administrators and advisors, though there is a minimum limit of 17 years of age.

Partly in consequence of this rule, only 10% of the respondents for both Scout Districts are over 60 years old. According to Schuller and Walker (1990) 'old age' begins at 55, if that upper age range is taken there are 14% of HS and 20% of OS volunteers are over 55 years old. At the other end of the spectrum, only 14% of HS volunteers are under 35 years old, whereas OS District has 36% of its respondents in the age range 18-34. It follows from this that the greater proportion of the respondents (70% for HS, and 44% for OS) lies in the 35-54 year old range. Many of these volunteers will also be in full-time employment and have substantial family commitments.

The emphasis placed within the Scouts on sometimes arduous physical activity requires leaders who are likewise relatively active and fit. In addition the planning of activities the controlling and channelling of youthful energies and maintenance of discipline are tasks more fitted to those of some life experience. Reflecting this, Assistant Leaders

start young and acquire experience to the point at which they may progress to Section Leaders.

There appears to be a more evenly balanced age profile in the Oxford District. It may be suggested that the HS leadership has more experienced people, but that OS District has a firm base for potential future leadership.

Ethnicity

Respondents were asked to describe themselves using one of the following ethnic titles. The ethnic descriptors used are taken from the population census of 1991. This is the standard listing used by other volunteer surveys, and this was followed that comparison of data may be made. Even so, at least some respondents exhibited exasperation at some of these categories and indeed refused to complete their response.

Table 4.3: Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
White	86	92	100	85	100	100
Black Caribbean	1	0	0	0	0	0
Black African	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black Other	1	0	0	0	0	0
Indian	3	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani	2	0	0	0	0	0
Bangladeshi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian	1	0	0	5	0	0
Born in Ireland	4	0	0	10	0	0
No response	2	8	0	0	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Recent national survey (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998) stated that white people were slightly more likely to volunteer than Black and Asian people and members of other ethnic groups. The data in Table 4.3 suggests that there are volunteer organisations where only white people are active. Secondary literature (Foster, 1997) indicates the importance of religion in volunteering by members of the black and minority ethnic communities in Britain. Many of the volunteer organisations are directly linked to the local community place of worship.

Age Concern

All of those from ACH&W that responded are white, though three people did not respond.

Herefordshire and the rural areas of Worcestershire are almost wholly white in ethnic terms, but there are significant concentrations of Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups in the urban area of Worcester City. There is therefore something of a representational gap in ethnic terms, here. Discussions with the professional staff of ACH&W reveal a commitment to addressing this problem and securing stronger links with ethnic minority groups in the locality. It is likely that they will 'network' with the formal and informal dedicated care organisations working with these ethnic groups as part of a strategy for addressing this perceived shortcoming.

Birmingham is a multi-cultural cosmopolitan city and there are ACB volunteers from non-white communities. There are care organisations within the various ethnic communities but it is unlikely that these organisations have the public policy influence or the over-all access to resources to the same extent as ACB. Nonetheless, the volunteer population of ACB remains overwhelmingly white in origin.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

The volunteers of both branches of the Citizens' Advice Bureau were all of white ethnic origin. 'Can't people born in Ireland be white?' was the valid protest of one respondent. If some clients are of a non-white origin perhaps there may be a problem. Perhaps non-white people may be deterred from requesting help.

Scouts

Again, all respondents, from both Districts, were white. There are very few non-white people in Herefordshire - less than 1% of the population (Office of Population Census and Surveys, 1991). Although OS District is on the edge of a city with a sizeable multi-racial population, the geographical area of the district does not have many non-white residents.

It is not surprising that both Scout Districts are all white. Scouting, internationally, has a national traditional ethos that emphasises and encourages what they see as the best of

national characteristics. It is possible that non-white national traditions are at variance with English national traditions. There are Scout units in the UK that do have non-white members within predominantly white Districts. There are also units that are wholly of one non-white ethnic group (Scout Association, 2000).

Family status

The secondary literature (Herzog and Morgan, 1993; National Centre for Volunteering, 1998) states that most volunteers are drawn from among those who were married or cohabiting. Higher than average rates of volunteering have been found among people with other substantial calls upon their time – such as those who were carers or had children under 15 at home. Status was divided into the following categories:

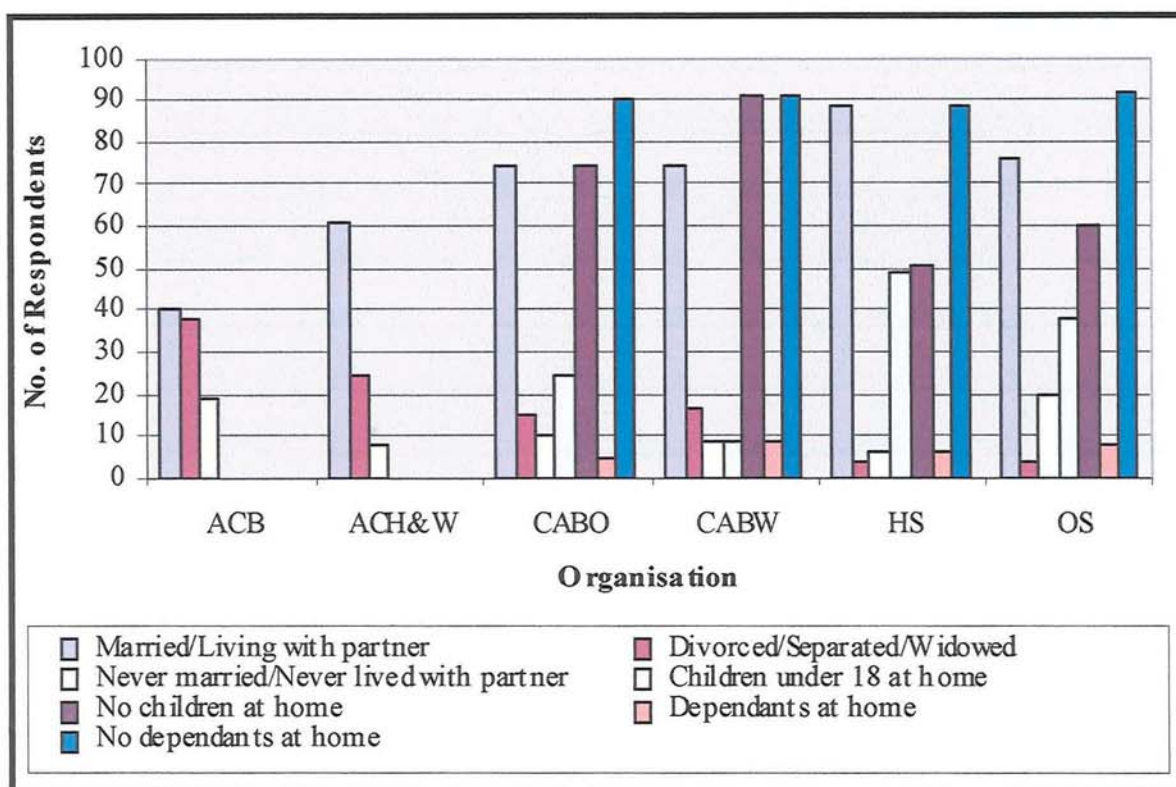
- Married/Living with partner.
- Divorced/Separated/Widowed.
- Never married/Never lived with partner.
- Children under 18 at home.
- No children at home.
- Dependants at home.
- No dependants at home.

These categories were adapted from the titles used in the Charities Aid Foundation and National Centre for Volunteering surveys.

Table 4.4: Family Status of Respondents

Status	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Married/Living with partner	40	61	75	74	89	76
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	38	25	15	17	4	4
Never married/Never lived with partner	19	8	10	9	7	20
Children under 18 at home	0	0	25	9	49	38
No children at home	0	0	75	91	51	60
Dependants at home	0	0	5	9	7	8
No dependants at home	0	0	90	91	89	92

This data, suitably aggregated, is plotted visually in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Family Status of respondents, by Agency

In overall terms, it is apparent that the familial status of the volunteers differs radically across the agencies. It is possible, in particular, that the Age Concern volunteers have no dependents or children. Volunteers of CABO and, more significantly, those of both Scout groups tend to have children living at home. These differences are reflected on more fully below, on an agency-by-agency basis.

Age Concern

There are marked differences between the two branches, and between each of the branches and the patterns emerging from national surveys (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998). The differences between the branches are:

- One third more of the ACH&W volunteers are married/living with partner than ACB volunteers.
- ACB percentage of volunteers who are married/living with partner is ten percent below the national figure, while the ACH&W percentage is ten percent higher.
- The ACH&W percentage of volunteers who are divorced/separated/widowed is seventeen percent less than the national figure.

- The percentage of volunteers from ACB who are single is twenty-one percent less than the national figure, and the AGCH&W percentage is thirty-two percent less than the national figure.

These divergent patterns may reflect the different volunteer projects that form the major activities of the branches. ACH&W provides, it will be recalled, sit-in relief to carers of disabled people of all ages, whereas ACB volunteers act mainly as visitors of older people. These differing roles impact on the volunteers in different ways. According to the ACB manager the visitors' clients are mostly older widowed women, and it is the practice to try and match the visitor with the client. The ACH&W volunteers are required to travel considerable distances to their rural clients within the two counties and therefore need to be able to drive competently. These profiles are supported by the age profiles reported above.

Several of the respondents clearly identified themselves as 'married', or 'widowed', or 'never married'. None clearly identified themselves as 'Living with partner', or 'Separated', or 'Never lived with partner'.

In relation to childcare responsibilities: only three of the ACH&W and eleven ACB volunteers had responsibility for children under the age of eighteen. As many of the volunteers were advanced in years this was probably to be expected.

Finally, only one ACH&W respondent had care of dependants at home. ACB volunteers were not asked this question.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Many of the volunteers were most particular to state that they were 'married' or 'widowed', but nobody indicated that they were 'divorced', 'separated', or 'living with a partner'.

Given the age range of CAB volunteers (89% over the age of 45) it is probably only to be expected that only a small proportion of respondents have children living at home:

similarly with dependents. Not having children or dependents to care for would appear to be a factor enabling a person to volunteer for the type of work undertaken at CAB.

Scouts

As stated above, many of the respondents have commented on their 'family' connection with the organisation. Thus, the parents of young scout members form a high percentage of the organisational leadership. Many began as helpers when their children were members and remained to become leaders, even after their young people had left the movement. In some cases there is a family progression of leadership within the movement 'even unto the third generation'. It is not surprising, therefore, that the overwhelming proportion of volunteers is married or have parenting responsibilities. This is particularly apparent in HS.

There is a possible connection between the age profile of each Scout group and the difference in the Family Status profiles. Seventy percent of the HS volunteers are in the age range 35/54, compared to 44% of OS volunteers. There are 89% of HS volunteers married/living with partner and 49% have children at home, the comparable figures for OS are 76% married/living with partner, and 38% with children at home. There is also a significant difference in the comparable figures for volunteers who are single (HS 7% and OS 20%) and the percentage of volunteers who are in the age range 18/34 (HS 14% and OS 36%).

The Scout Association is by nature a youth organisation, and people with a family connection to the local group are certainly most likely to be approached to assist. The even division, in the HS District, between those who do have children and those who do not, reflects the high proportion of volunteers in the 'family' age range. Having children is not a barrier when volunteering for youth work. Indeed having children is a positive factor for youth work.

It is very unlikely that someone who has care responsibilities would be able to give the time commitment that uniformed scout leadership involves, as Figure 5.6 graphically indicates.

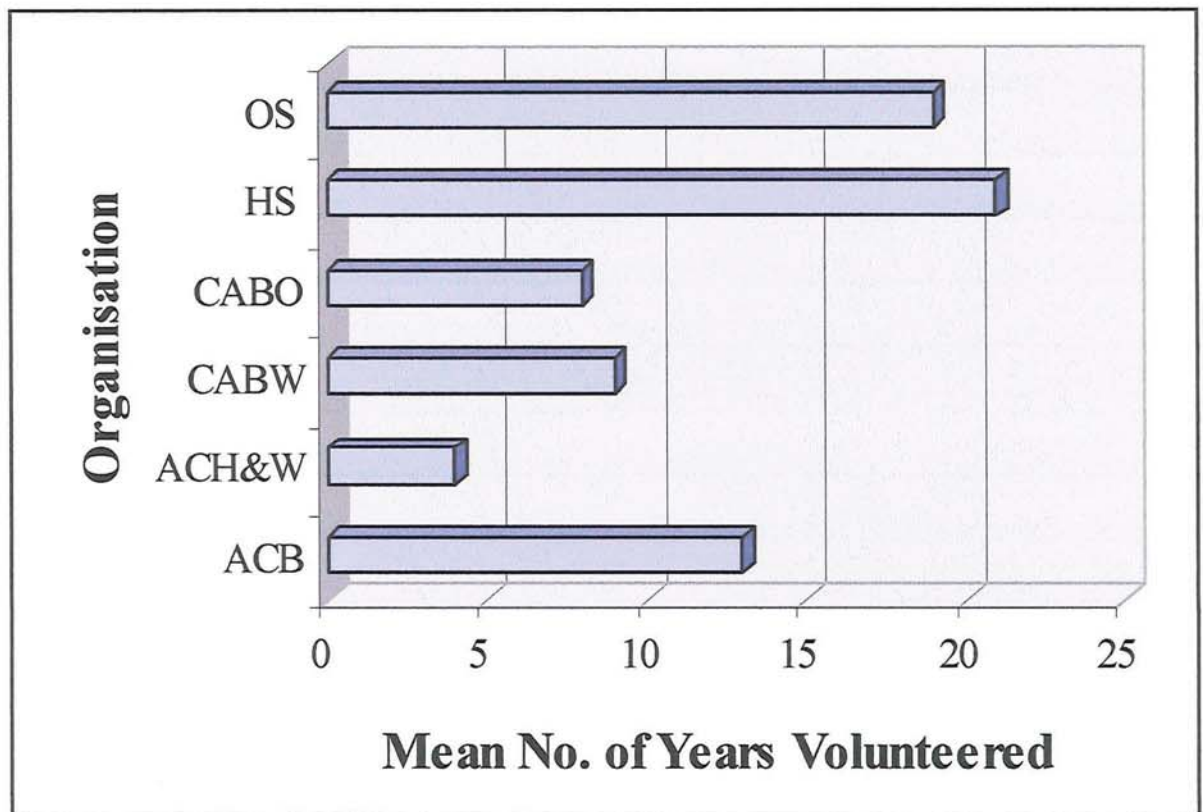
Volunteering

The basic component of the active volunteer is commitment. This is the force that activates the volunteer into a process of regular, active participation over an extended period of time. The following tables illustrate that commitment, detailing for respondents their length of service over the years and the number of hours that they assign each week to active volunteering. A full range of volunteer activities has been recorded as being undertaken by the respondents in their principal volunteer organisation. Additionally, a significant number of the respondents have been active in other volunteer organisations. The extent of their involvement with more than one volunteer organisation is also detailed.

Table 4.5: Year of Commencement – Percentage of Respondents by Agency

Year	ACB	ACH&W	CABW	CABO	HS	OS
1935-39	0	0	0	0	2	2
1940-44	0	0	0	0	2	0
1945-49	0	0	0	0	0	2
1950-54	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955-59	2	0	0	0	2	2
1960-64	4	0	0	0	2	2
1965-69	6	0	0	0	11	2
1970-74	4	0	0	0	2	4
1975-79	7	0	15	0	12	6
1980-84	3	0	5	0	14	6
1985-89	9	0	10	22	18	26
1990-94	16	5	15	30	34	26
1995-99	47	92	55	48	1	20
Blank	2	3	0	0	0	2
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	20	23	55	50

The median date of commencement has been calculated for each surveyed organisation. The median length of service is set out in Figure 4.2 below:

Figure 4.2: Median Duration of Principal Volunteer Activity

It is notable that both of the Scout Districts are exceptional, insofar as they have members that have been active for thirty or more years. This may be attributable to the youthful age at which Scout membership commences, and/or to the specific volunteering attractions offered by the Scout movement. The other organisations were founded more recently. It is not possible, therefore, to comment on their relative volunteer retention records. This relatively high level of loyalty to the Scout Association is demonstrated by the fact that 21% HS and 20% OS respondents who have been active for more than 20 years. OS District has one person who has been with the Scout Movement for 64 years and another for over 50 years, while two others have been with the Movement for more than 30 years. HS District also has very long serving Volunteers, one of over 50 years and two of over 40 years.

There are apparent differences between the two Scout Districts. A higher percentage of HS volunteers (34%) have commenced within the previous five years, while there is an even spread of volunteers in OS District who began at some point over the previous fifteen years. It is plausible to suggest that the OS District has a larger core of

experienced leaders, though this conclusion should be qualified, given the low response rate.

The most marked difference between the branches of AC is the percentage of ACH&W volunteers that have been recruited within the past five years as compared to that of ACB. This is partly the result of the recent revivification in volunteer recruitment effort at ACH&W (see Chapter 3 above) – the demand-side factor. The ‘loyalty years’ – the continuous commitment over an extended period of time - of the volunteers at ACB may be partly attributable to the moral, community, or religious obligation that many hold. This will be explored in the sections covering Personal and External Factors below.

Both branches of CAB have a high proportion of their volunteers commencing within the previous five years, 55% and 48% respectively, though each branch has a core of volunteers that provide continuity and experience. The obvious difference between the branches is the relatively high proportion of CABW volunteers that have been active for fifteen or more years.

Year Commenced With First Other Volunteer Organisation

Respondents were asked to identify whether they undertook volunteering work for any other organisation. If so, they were then requested to identify the numbers of such agencies and, for each of them, the date at which their volunteering commitment began. The results are set out in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Year of Commencement with Other Volunteer Organisation

Agency	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	N/A	Totals	n =
ACB	9(1)	1(1)	7(1)	7(3)	8(5)	68(89)	100	119
ACH&W	3(0)	3(0)	0(0)	0(3)	33(8)	61(89)	100	36
CABO	4(0)	0(0)	0(4)	0(0)	30(4)	66(92)	100	23
CABW	0(0)	5(5)	0(0)	0(0)	15(0)	80(95)	100	20
HS	2(0)	2(2)	5(2)	7(4)	20(5)	64(87)	100	55
OS	6(2)	0(2)	8(0)	0(0)	10(4)	76(92)	100	50

The bracketed figures indicate the percentage of respondents that are active in more than two volunteer organisations.

The apparent loyalty of this population of volunteers, noted above, is again indicated by the fact that just over 30% of these multiple volunteers have been working for an additional volunteer organisation for ten or more years.

There is considerable variation in the prevalence of multiple volunteering across the sample organisations.

Among the ACB respondents there is a spread of years when volunteering began with a second, and even a third organisation while continuing with ACB. There were 37 volunteers who were also active in other organisations. One respondent began with their second volunteer agency over 45 years ago! For the remaining 36 multiple volunteers, seventeen had begun with their second organisation since 1990 while the start dates for the remainder were spread over the previous 20 years. Of the 37 multiple volunteers, thirteen now worked for more than one other organisation – making at least three in total! The same person who began with ACB more than 45 years ago, commenced with her second organisation over 40 years ago. Ten of the remaining twelve multiple volunteers had commenced with their other organisation since 1990.

In relation to ACH&W: it has already been noted that volunteers' inception date is typically recent in comparative terms. It would likewise appear that these volunteers commenced volunteering with other organisations, where they did so, quite recently. Of the 14 people from ACH&W who have other voluntary commitments twelve began volunteering with their organisation within the past five years. A single volunteer had a very long-term attachment of over 30 years, and only one other had been with the other organisation for fifteen years.

All four of those that volunteered with a third organisation had begun their engagement within the past five years.

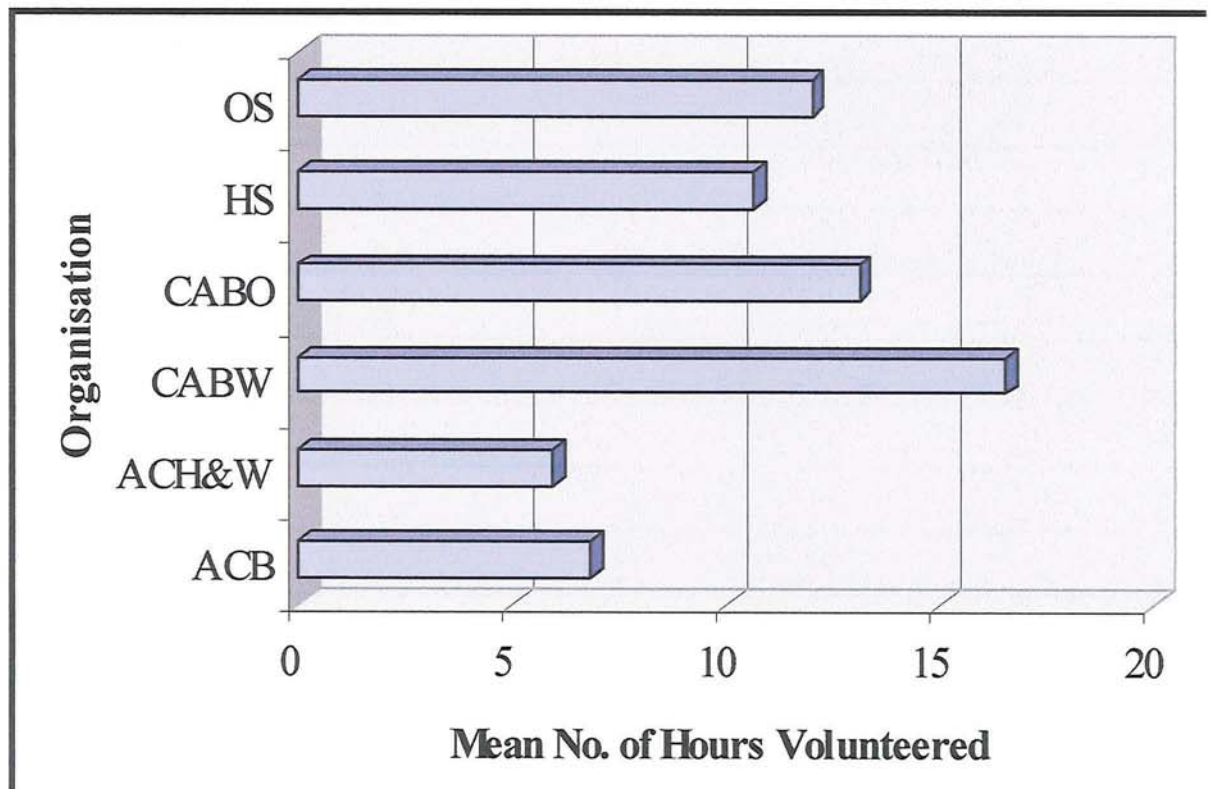
Of the eight CABO multiple volunteers, seven began this volunteering within the previous 3 years, and but one 20 years ago. One of the two people who also had a third volunteer activity began in 1985 and the other in 1994. Three of the four CABW multiple volunteers became active with another organisation within the previous five years. The other person has been active for over fifteen years for two other organisations.

Hours Volunteered Each Week

The respondents were asked to estimate the total number of hours of volunteering work donated each week for their first organisation. Although the previous section showed that a significant proportion of volunteers were loyal to their chosen organisation over a number of years, it is the number of hours contributed each week that will indicate the real time commitment of these volunteers. When the time commitment to two or more organisations is also considered, as in the next section, it suggests that some respondents have contributed as many hours to volunteer work as they did to full-time paid employment.

There was considerable variance in the time commitment by surveyed organisation, as Figure 4.3 shows.

Figure 4.3: Variance in Mean Weekly Volunteered Hours, by Organisation



There is also considerable variance in the spread of hours within these aggregated totals, as Table 4.7 illustrates.

Table 4.7: Hours Volunteered Each Week by Percentage of Volunteers

Agency	0-4 hrs	5-9 hrs	10-14 hrs	15-19 hrs	20-24 hrs	25-29 hrs	30-34 hrs	35+ hrs	Blank	Totals	n =
ACB	53	24	12	0	0	0	0		11	100	119
ACH&W	56	19	6	3	0	0	0	0	17	101	36
CABO	13	17	52	13	0	5	0	0	0	100	23
CABW	-	20	45	15	5	10	5	0	0	100	20
H S	51	15	11	5	7	2	5	2	2	100	55
O S	30	28	24	4	4	4	4	2	0	100	50

Volunteer hours cluster towards the lower end of the spectrum in the two Age Concern branches, and to a lesser extent, in CABO. There is, however, a much wider spread of values to be found in both of the Scout Districts. It is, indeed, in the Scout groups that the really extensive volunteer commitments of time cluster.

There are distinctive organisational patterns of activity over the course of the week, although there was no disaggregation of the volunteer hours by nature of task. The volunteers of both AC branches spend fewer hours each week in their visitations, than the CAB in their counselling or the Scout leaders in their youth work. These tasks represent, in each case, the primary focus of client contact and service delivery. Both Scout districts have a similar extended spread of time commitment among their volunteers. The spread of time commitment in both CAB branches is similar, although in each branch the concentration of time is between 10 and 20 hours each week. This is a high proportion of volunteered time relative to that of volunteers in other organisations. There is a considerable commitment of time required as a CAB adviser. Not only are clients advised, there is also the search for information and the assimilation of that information relative to the client. It is almost as if activity with CAB is a replacement for employment for some of the volunteers. As noted in Chapter 2, one of the main 'barriers' to continued voluntary activity is the possibility of over-involvement. Volunteers may feel pressurised to commit themselves to increasingly longer hours. On the other hand, the nature of the labour process at Citizens' Advice offices may require this high level of time commitment.

There is a similar commitment in terms of time displayed by the Scout respondents. The individual involvement can be considerable, especially considering that many of these volunteers also are employed full-time and have a family to maintain. For many volunteers, however, Scouting is a way of life, not just a volunteer activity. There is a

wide variation in the number of hours spent by the volunteers in scouting activity. As the description of individual task shows, many of the uniformed Scouters spend whole weeks in camp with their Troop, or at training courses. The non-uniformed helpers can also spend many hours with administration and fundraising for their local Group.

There is a significant difference between HS and OS District members in the hours volunteered each week. On the whole, Hereford Scouters volunteer fewer hours than their Oxford counterparts. It is possible that a greater number of Oxford groups than Hereford groups were still operating their weekly meetings during the holiday period, which could cause the distortion in the figures. On the other hand, it may be the different nature of the districts.

Hours of Volunteering With Other Organisations

Multiple volunteers were asked to gauge their hourly commitment to all of the other organisations in which they were involved. The results are set out in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: Total Weekly Volunteering Hours With All Other Volunteer Organisation – Percentage of Respondents

Primary Volunteer Organisations	0-4 hrs	5-9 hrs	10-14 hrs	15+ hrs	N/A	Totals	N =
ACB	23(11)	7	0	0	70(89)	100	119
ACH&W	22(6)	8(3)	3(3)	0	67(88)	100	36
CABO	30(9)	0	0	0	70(91)	100	23
CABW	20(5)	0	0	0	80(95)	100	20
HS	24(13)	4	5	4	63(87)	100	55
OS	12(8)	4	2	4	78(92)	100	50

Note: the figures in brackets indicate the percentage of respondents volunteering for a third organisation.

Visual inspection reveals that additional hours' volunteered are strongly clustered at the lower end of the time spectrum.

For the first of their additional organisations 28 ACB volunteers had volunteered 5 hours or less per week, and 8 more than 5 hours per week. For the second additional organisation all 13 volunteered less than 5 hours per week. Useful correlations can be made with the hours volunteered by these multiple volunteers for AC.

Of the fourteen ACH&W volunteers that are active with another organisation two did not record the number of hours volunteered. Eight of these respondents volunteered less than 5 hours each week, while three volunteered for between 5 and 10 hours each week. Only one person volunteered between 11 and 15 hours each week. Taking the four ACH&W people that volunteered for a third organisation, two volunteered less than 5 hours each week; one volunteered for between 5 and 10 hours, and the fourth volunteered for between 11 and 15 hours each week.

It is noticeable that the CAB volunteers donated relatively fewer hours for the other organisations. None of the volunteers were active for more than 5 hours per week with their other organisations.

Only from the Scout volunteers of both Hereford and Oxford are there donations of more than 15 hours to another organisation.

All seven HS respondents who were active with a second other organisation volunteered less than 5 hours per week. Similarly all 4 OS respondents volunteered less than 5 hours per week.

Despite the commitment required to be a scout leader or helper, a significant 40% of HS respondents also volunteered with other organisations, while 24% of OS were also involved with other volunteer organisations. Given the time demands made upon uniformed Scouters who are also engaged in full-time employment, it is doubly interesting that so many undertake volunteer activity with other organisations. That from almost one quarter to two-fifths of the respondents also volunteer with other organisations may suggest that voluntary activity is itself an important element in the quality of life for these people.

Nature of Voluntary Activity

This section explores the kinds of work that the volunteers of the six organisations are asked to undertake. As stated in Chapter 4, high-level Standard Occupational Classifications have been used to evaluate the data. Table 4.9 sets out the principal type of work undertaken, on a comparative basis.

Table 4.9: Nature of Voluntary Work Activity, Percentage of Respondents by Agency

Activity	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
1. Managers & Administrators	2	0	0	0	0	0
2. Professional	0	0	56	35	0	0
3. Associate Professional & Technical Occupations	3	0	0	0	0	0
4. Clerical & Secretarial	8	19	40	65	44	24
5. Craft & Related	0.5	0	0	0	0	2
6. Personal & Protective Service	62	70	4	0	51	72
7. Sales Occupations	12	0	0	0	0	0
8. Plant & Machine Operatives	3	0	0	0	0	0
9. Other Occupations	0.5	0	0	0	0	0
Blank	9	11	0	0	5	2
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

In relation to the Age Concern branches, it is apparent that ACB volunteers undertake a broader range of functions, compared with ACH&W. This may be attributable to the large population difference between the two AC areas and the greater number of volunteers involved in ACB. Despite this difference there is obviously a considerable similarity in the principal form of volunteer work - visiting and personal care. As in all volunteer organisations, the servicing of the administration is also a key 'volunteer' function (Davis Smith, 1992).

CAB volunteers' activity is concentrated almost entirely in two functional areas, which may overlap in practice: the professional activity associated with the provision of advice to clients: and clerical skills relating to administration and case management. Approximately one half of the respondents from both CAB branches considered that they regularly undertook at least two areas of activity, but even then, the work was of either a professional advisory or clerical nature. At CABO, one person described the work undertaken as being of a 'caring' nature, while another was a manager as opposed to administrator.

There is a wide variety of 'work tasks' required in any Scout Group, from the helper, who is a form of child-minder, to the skilled instruction required to teach pioneering construction or first aid. There are administrative tasks that both uniformed and lay workers perform. It is the non-uniformed individuals that mainly undertake the fundraising (Scout Association, 1995).

Many of the volunteers were engaged in preparation for Pack, Troop or committee meetings. Some were preparing for summer camp – respondents classified these activities as ‘Clerical & Secretarial’. Others described the actual activity undertaken; running the Troop/Pack meeting; camping; hiking, and similar events. These have been categorised by the researcher under the heading of ‘Personal & Protective Services’. The Craft & Related description covers property maintenance of the Scout meeting place.

The preponderance of activity is, as to be expected, undertaken actually with the young people, either at the weekly meeting or at specific events, e.g. competitions, outings, and camps. There are again significant differences between the two Districts in the degree of involvement of volunteers with this work area. This may, however, be attributable to the difference in the time period during which the questionnaire was completed. The HS volunteers appear to be more involved in preparatory work than the OS volunteers (44% compared to 24%) while the Oxford Scouters put more emphasis on primary activity with the Scouts (72% as opposed to 51%). This could be interpreted as Hereford Scouters preparing for camp with the Oxford Scouters still occupied holding their weekly meeting. Contrarily, these recorded patterns might reflect real differences in the expenditure of volunteers’ time.

Just over one-third of the volunteer respondents in both H and O Scout Districts only undertook one principal set of interrelated tasks at the time when they completed the survey instrument. This indicates a significant degree of task specialisation. However, this finding needs to be treated with caution. The degree of task focus may depend upon the tasks in hand in that particular month and this may determine the principal stated activity. A Scout Leader may, for example, spend part of an evening preparing the programme for the next Troop meeting. On another night he or she may attend a Leaders’ meeting to plan the Group programme for the future - a month, three months or six months ahead. On still another night the Scout Leader may attend a Group Parents’ Evening. All this is to ensure that the weekly Troop meeting and the annual camp, or succession of weekend camps and competitions, are successful. The ramification of this is that the nature of the volunteers’ task will vary significantly over time.

A clear majority of Scout volunteers had secondary and (occupationally) quite distinct tasks to perform. The secondary tasks now include management-related activity as well as the maintenance of Group property.

Volunteer Task Focus With Other Organisation

Respondents were asked the nature of the work that they undertook with their other volunteer organisations.

Table 4.10: Nature of Activity within Other Volunteer Organisations: Percentage of Respondents

SOC Activity	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
1. Manager/Administrator	3	0	4	0	0	0
2. Professional	0	0	0	5	0	0
3. Associate Professional	6 (2)	(3)	0	5	0	0
4. Clerical & Secretarial	9 (4)	19 (3)	22 (4)	5	13 (4)	10 (6)
5. Craft & Related Occupations	(1)	0	0	0	0	0
6. Personal & Protective Service	7 (3)	14	4 (4)	5 (5)	20 (7)	8
7. Sales	1	(3)	4	0	0	2
8. Plant & Machine Operatives	1	0	0	0	0	2
9. Other Occupations	2 (2)	(3)	0	0	0	2 (2)
Blank	71 (88)	67 (88)	66 (92)	80 (95)	67	76
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Note: The figures in brackets refer to the second additional voluntary organisation.

It is noted that almost half of those active with another formal organisation volunteered with an organisation similar to AC, within the Social Services group, and that just under a quarter of the people volunteered with church based groups. This indicates that it is not simply the volunteering itself that is important, but it may be the nature of the voluntary activity that is equally or more important.

The activity undertaken by the respondents in other organisations is, on the whole, similar to the nature of the tasks undertaken with their main volunteer organisation.

Seven of the multiple volunteers from ACH&W were engaged in administrative or secretarial work, and the other five volunteers were care workers, and the remaining two did not describe the nature of their other volunteer activity. In each case, the tasks undertaken were closely related to the work that they undertook for Age Concern.

Those of the ACH&W volunteers that were active with a third voluntary organisation undertook a much broader variety of jobs; shop-trolley sales in a hospital; cleaning and testing hearing aids in residential homes; treasurer; environmental labouring.

With the commitment in time required from the CAB, it is not surprising that very few of the respondents also volunteer with other organisations. The nature of the volunteer work undertaken in the other organisations is mainly within the same SOC category as that in which they are engaged at the CAB.

Of the eight CABO multiple volunteers, two also volunteered with a third organisation, and one person from CABW. The latter's task remit in the third organisation was of a 'personal care service' nature. The two people from CABO who were active in a third organisation were involved, respectively, as a clerical and a care worker. The numbers involved are small and the spread of tasks is even among the CABW respondents, and this prohibits generalisation.

All of the Hereford Scout multiple volunteers and nine from the Oxford Scout multiple volunteers have undertaken tasks in their additional volunteer organisations that are within the same SOC category as their Scout activities. Three of the Oxford Scout multiple volunteers are involved with tasks that are different from their Scout activities.

As with the Age Concern volunteers, the similarity between the task in each of additional activity and the Scouting task suggests that people who volunteer look for a specific type of work they wish to do, and consequently will only become active in organisations that satisfy that task expectation.

The Type of Other Organisation:

Table 4.11 details the general categories, as defined by the International Classification of Nonprofit Organisations (ICNO), that describe the great variety of second voluntary organisations in which the respondents were active. The figures in brackets refer to the volunteers who were active with a third organisation. The primary volunteer organisations depicted in the Thesis would be classified under the ICNO classification as follows:

Age Concern – 4 Social Services

Scouts – 4 Social Services

CAB – 7 Law, Advocacy, & Politics

**Table 4.11: Nature of Other Organisation in which Respondents are Active:
Percent of Respondents**

Type of organisation	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
1. Culture & Recreation	1	3	0	0	5 (2)	6
2. Education & Research	2(1)	0	4	0	4 (4)	4 (4)
3. Health	2 (1)	6 (6)	9	0	4 (2)	6
4. Social Services	14 (4)	8 (3)	9	15 (5)	11 (4)	8 (2)
5. Environment	0 (1)	0 (3)	0	0	0	0
6. Development & Housing	0 (2)	0	9 (4)	0	2	0
7. Law, Advocacy, & Politics	2	11	4	0	4	0
8. Voluntarism Promotion	0	11	0	0	0	0
9. International Activities	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	0
10. Religion	7 (2)	0	(4)	5	9 (4)	(2)
11. Business, Professions & Unions	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. Not elsewhere classified	1	0	0	0	0	0
N / A	70 (88)	61 (88)	75 (92)	80 (95)	61 (84)	76 (92)
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Although there is a spread of involvement by ACB multiple volunteers in several of the ICNO categories of organisations, there is a significant proportion (16% out of 30%) that are active in organisations providing services similar to those of Age Concern – Health, and Social Services. The next largest represented category, Religion, reflects the historical background (see Chapter 3) to the initial inception of the ACB visitors’ programme.

Because the numbers involved are small no generalisation can be drawn from the data provided by the multiple volunteers from ACH&W. Interestingly, four of the respondents were also active in their local Citizens’ Advice Bureau; three worked in the Volunteer Bureau; and one was also a Scout Leader.

Only four of the CABW respondents were active in a second volunteer organisation – Credit Action; Parish Council; War Pensions Welfare Service; and Ethnic Access. Only one multiple volunteer was involved with a third organisation; a church sponsored hostel. Once more the numbers are small but even so the concentration is with organisations that are categorised as Social Services.

Eight of the CABO respondents were multiple volunteers. There is no distinct concentration of involvement in any single category of volunteer organisation, although two of the respondents worked with Community Mediation groups. Mediation or

counselling is a technique used in the process of work by CAB officers. Other respondents were active on community service management committees. Interestingly, it is only this group of respondents that are involved with organisations with the word 'community' in the title, which begs the question: were the community volunteers recruited from among the CAB volunteers?

Scout respondents' involvement with additional volunteer organisations is spread quite widely across the range of ICNO categories. There is a degree of concentration in Social Service oriented organisations for both Districts. Further more, there is a cluster of the HS respondents who are also voluntarily engaged in church activities. Unsurprisingly, Social Services is the ICNO group heading under which the Scout Association would be included. The other organisations in which the Scout multiple volunteers are engaged are clearly allied to Scouting - Culture, Recreation, Education, Health, and Social service. This concentration suggests that volunteers are attracted to specific types of organisations that may satisfy their individual moral, cultural and recreational desires. It is plausible to suggest that these volunteers are exercising a high degree of selectivity here. It remains an open question as to whether the converse might hold: that some volunteer organisations will not be attractive to volunteers like these, because they may offend their moral, cultural, and recreational attitudes.

The similarity between the task focus held by multiple volunteers in their primary volunteer organisation and in their second/third other organisation suggests that people who volunteer look for a specific type of work they wish to do. By extension, they will only become active in organisations that satisfy that 'work' expectation.

Mode of Travel to Volunteer Activity:

It is hypothesised in the national surveys that accessibility may be an important factor in shaping the decision to volunteer and in mediating the search for a suitable volunteering agency (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998). Respondents were therefore asked to state the mode of travel that they routinely used to access their agency and to undertake their volunteering work (where that work is peripatetic). The results are set out in Table 4.12 below.

Table 4.12: Mode of Travel to Volunteer Activity
(%Responses by Agency)

Mode of Travel	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Car	23	66	9	55	87	62
Public Transport	44	11	48	15	2	4
Cycle	2	3	13	10	0	2
Walk	9	6	4	0	0	6
Transport Provided by Volunteer Agency	0	3	0	0	0	0
More than one mode	19	8	26	20	10	24
No response	3	3	0	0	1	2
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Having a private car is no longer the sole prerogative of the well off or of younger people.

It is interesting to see that the respondents from ACB and CABO are the most regular users of public transport – possibly because their administrative centres, which they visit regularly, are situated in the city centre and neither of the premises has a car park. The pattern of transport use is also likely to be strongly affected by the nature of the volunteer work undertaken, for example visiting care clients, or, travelling to camp sites. This is especially relevant in the more rural areas where public transport is not as immediately available as in urban concentrations. None of the agencies provided transport for their volunteers. Where a respondent used more than one form of transport they have only been recorded once in the table as ‘more than one mode’, thus ensuring the statistical correctness.

The oldest ACH&W volunteers were more likely to use public transport, but the greatest proportion used or had access to a private car. It is interesting that only one volunteer has the use of ‘provided’ transport. As none of the agencies provide transport it may be that it is provided by another member of the family or a friend. Of the 23 who used more than one method of transport, the most common combination (13%) was public transport plus walking. The relatively frequent use of public transport at ACB could be attributable to a number of (non-exclusive) factors. These include potentially short journeys for which automotive travel was uneconomic; cheapness of public transport; private transport not being an option; or even, that public transport was most

convenient. Birmingham is an urban area with a highly integrated bus system and a concentration of people without cars.

There is the difference that all the visits by ACB volunteers are within the city and public transport will be available, whereas it is very likely that public transport is not available for the rural visits made by ACH&W volunteers.

It would appear that having a car might be a useful asset for a CAB volunteer, since 55% of respondents use one to travel to their volunteer activity.

A private car would appear to be an essential tool for being a Scout leader or helper. District Leaders typically need a car to travel between Groups and local campsites. In HS District the local public transport is adequate only within the city and during daylight hours – hardly appropriate to the normal hours of troop and pack meetings. The equipment that most Scout leaders take with them to each meeting also requires a private car. The public transport in OS District is reasonably adequate, although provision in the suburbs tails off and problems are presented where equipment has to be transported.

It does follow, however, that those without either a private car, or driving licence will be at a disadvantage if they wished to be a volunteer with the Scout Movement.

Motivation for Becoming a Volunteer

Respondents were probed for their motivation in volunteering. Volunteers were given five options to this end. They were then asked to rank these options in order of relevance to them. The responses have been weighted using a five-point scale. The direction of weighting is a continuum from 5 as first choice to 1 for fifth choice.

Respondents were also permitted the opportunity to give their own reason for volunteering. Those who did give their own reason therefore had six alternative answers; the five presets, plus the open field. These responses were weighted using a six-point scale with the first priority 6 and the sixth priority 1. This further option was not given to the ACB respondents.

Given the complexity of the possible responses, they are presented on an agency-by-agency basis in Tables 4.13 to 4.19 below.

Age Concern Birmingham

Table 4.13 sets out the answers of the ACB respondents' regarding their motivation to volunteer.

Table 4.13: ACB – Volunteer Motivation

Motivator	Priority					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Aggregate
a. To help others	275	72	9	6	10	372
b. It makes me feel good	95	88	45	10	28	266
c. To meet other people	20	128	81	14	19	262
d. To get me out of the house	35	48	120	26	17	246
e. To give something back to the community	20	20	12	122	15	189

n = 89

Thirty (25%) of the 119 ACB volunteers either did not complete this item, or did not complete it correctly.

55 volunteers gave 'To help others' as their primary motivator. This factor is, by a considerable margin, the most frequently nominated first choice of response. This is recognisably an altruistic driver (Anderson and Moore, 1978; Davis Smith, 1992; Knapp et al, 1995). Two caveats need to be lodged against this response. First, it is possible that the response was biased by the fact that this was the first of the five listed alternatives presented to them. Second, it is also possible that it was chosen because it is the culturally expected altruistic response. There is a greater spread of subsequently nominated responses. According to the ACB volunteers the sequence of motivation relevance, as shown by the aggregation of the weighted responses, is in the same order as the preset alternatives, i.e. - a; b; c; d; e.

Age Concern Hereford & Worcester

Tables 4.14 and 4.15 show the responses of the ACH&W volunteers regarding their motivation. Eighteen ACH&W volunteers (49%) responded to the preset statements, and seven (19%) also gave a personal motivator. Eleven (31%) volunteers either did not respond or completed the entry incorrectly.

Table 4.14: ACH&W – Volunteer Motivation: Preset Options

Motivator	Priority					
	1 st	2nd	3rd	4th	5 th	Aggregate
a. To help others	55	8	0	4	3	70
b. It makes me feel useful	30	20	9	0	4	43
c. To meet other people	5	32	9	4	4	52
d. To get me out of the house	0	12	33	4	2	51
e. To give back something to the community	0	0	3	24	5	32

n = 18

Table 4.15: ACH&W – Volunteer Motivation: Preset and Personal Options

Motivator							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6 th	Agg
a. To help others	6	5	0	0	4	3	18
b. It makes me feel good	18	0	12	0	0	1	31
c. To meet other people	12	5	4	3	4	0	28
d. To get me out of the house	0	15	4	3	2	1	25
e. To give something back to the community	6	10	8	3	2	0	29
f. Personal reason	0	0	0	12	2	2	16

n = 7

There is no obvious clustering of responses, no singular motivation underpinning their volunteering, although the weighted aggregation of Table 4.14 suggests that ‘To help others’ has the most frequent high priority. Visual inspection suggests that respondents may simply have followed the order of the preset motivations in answering this question. The order of priority, according to the weighted aggregation is: a; c; d; b; e.

With the introduction of a personal motivator, as shown in Table 4.15, the sequence of priority alters to: b; e; c; d; a; f.

Once more there is no significant clustering of responses. Even the (rare) nominated personal reason seems to have been an afterthought as it only appears as the least frequent chosen priority, whereas a *personal* reason would be expected to be a first choice.

Citizens’ Advice Bureau Oxford

Table 4.16 shows the answers of the CABO respondents to the preset options regarding their motivation to volunteer. Ten of the volunteers (43%) responded to the five preset options and a further nine (39%) volunteers also gave a personal response as shown in Table 4.17. The four (17%) incomplete responses were discarded.

Table 4.16: CABO – Volunteer Motivation: Preset Options

Motivator	Priority					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Aggregate
a. To help others	25	16	3	0	0	44
b. It makes me feel useful	15	8	0	2	4	29
c. To meet other people	5	12	9	0	3	29
d. To get me out of the house	5	0	12	6	2	25
e. To give something back to the community	0	4	6	12	1	23

n = 10

Table 4.17: CABO – Volunteer Motivation: Preset and Personal Options

Motivator							Agg
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6 th	
a. To help others	2	5	0	0	2	5	24
b. It makes me feel good	18	10	4	3	4	0	39
c. To meet other people	0	5	8	3	6	2	24
d. To get me out of the house	18	10	0	0	4	2	34
e. To give something back to the community	0	10	24	3	0	0	37
f. Personal reason	6	5	0	18	2	0	31

n = 9

There is, again, no suggested single motivation for becoming a volunteer. Although ‘to help others’ is the first priority when the preset options are chosen, it is the least preferred option when there are six options. Even when a personal motivator has been offered it is not the prime driver, only one volunteer making that response their first choice. The sequence of motivator priority preference is as follows:

Five motivators: a; b; c; d; e.

Six motivators: b; e; d; f; a; c.

Citizens’ Advice Bureau Worcester

Thirteen (65%) of the CABW volunteers answered this question. Seven (35%) responses were incomplete and therefore rejected. Of the volunteers who did respond seven prioritised the five preset options, Table 4.18, and six also gave their personal motivator as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.18: CABW – Volunteer Motivation: Preset Options

Motivator	Priority					Aggregate
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	
a. To help others	20	4	3	0	1	28
b. It makes me feel useful	10	0	0	2	4	16
c. To meet other people	0	16	3	2	1	22
d. To get me out of the house	5	4	12	0	1	32
e. To give something back to the community	0	4	3	10	0	17

n = 7

The weighted responses indicate that the strongest preset driver is ‘To get me out of the house’.

Table 4.19: CABW – Volunteer Motivation: Preset and Personal Options

Motivator	Priority						Aggregate
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6 th	
a. To help others	0	10	0	0	2	3	15
b. It makes me feel good	24	0	0	0	2	1	27
c. To meet other people	6	10	8	0	2	0	26
d. To get me out of the house	6	0	8	3	4	0	21
e. To give something back to the community	0	5	8	6	2	0	21
f. Personal reason	0	5	0	9	0	2	16

n = 6

The sequence of driver priority is as follows:

Five preset motivators: d, a, c, e, b.

Five preset and personal motivator: b, c, d, e, f, a.

The responses of the CABO volunteers suggest, again, that there is no single, unifying motivation or impulse to volunteer. One respondent also stated that none of the suggested reasons were relevant.

Although six of the total twenty-three CABO respondents gave a sixth personal ‘other’ motivation for volunteering, none of them considered it their first choice. These extemporised choices again reveal an interesting variety of reasons for volunteering.

The following statements are illustrative of the variety of responses:

- ‘To express Christian love.’
- ‘Experience.’
- ‘To keep the grey matter working.’ This was an often-repeated theme.

- ‘For personal satisfaction and widening of my own interests - solely.’ This too was suggested more than once.

These responses are indicative of four motivating drivers:

Emotion

Materialism

Intellectualism

Self-esteem

There is very little that can be generalised from the small number of CAB responses summarised in Tables 4.16 to 4.19, beyond the following observation. The basic driver for most CAB volunteers appears to be *individualistic* in nature. Many CAB volunteers are motivated by a desire to help individuals (with a total of nineteen first and second choices) but are generally less concerned with a wider community interest (a response that commands only a total of six first and second placed choices) - whatever ‘community’ means in this context, to them.

Further credibility for this conclusion is provided by the extemporised responses. The most common such response is one that emphasises continuing mental stimulation for the volunteer – a clear self- rather than other- centred motivator. It would be valuable to repeat this exercise with the same group but to rearrange the options. This would test the strength of these responses.

Hereford Scouts

A total of forty (73%) Hereford Scout volunteers of the total sample of fifty-five answered the question on their motivations for volunteering. Not everyone completed correctly this question and 13 responses had to be discarded. Two respondents did not answer the question. Twenty-three volunteers (42%) responded to the five preset options, and seventeen (31%) also gave their personal motivator. The findings are set out in Tables 4.20 and 4.21.

Table 4.20: HS – Volunteer Motivation: Preset Options

Motivator	Priority					
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	Agg
a. To help others	75	4	3	0	6	88
b. It makes me feel useful	30	4	3	2	14	53
c. To meet other people	10	28	36	0	2	76
d. To get me out of the house	0	52	27	2	0	81
e. To give something back to the community	0	4	0	42	1	47

n = 23

Table 4.21: HS – Volunteer Motivation: Preset and Personal Options

Motivator	Priority						
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6 th	Agg
a. To help others	42	0	0	0	0	10	52
b. It makes me feel good	30	25	4	3	6	2	70
c. To meet other people	30	15	12	0	8	2	67
d. To get me out of the house	0	30	24	0	8	1	63
e. To give something back to the community	0	15	28	3	10	1	57
f. Personal reason	0	0	0	45	2	1	48

n = 17

The weighted responses do not indicate an over all single motivating driver, although, ‘To help others’ is the strongest of the preset drivers. The introduction of the personal motivator rearranges the priority sequence but indicates that the personal reason is the least important motivator. The sequence of priority is as follows:

Five preset motivators: a, d, c, b, e.

Five preset and personal motivator: b, c, d, e, a, f.

Oxford Scouts

Forty-one (82%) of the total sample of the Oxford Scouts answered this question. There were nine (18%) incomplete responses that were not used. Of the volunteers who did answer this question 52% responded to the five preset options and 30% also gave their personal motivator. Tables 4.22 and 4.23 record their responses.

Table 4.22: OS – Volunteer Motivation: Preset Options

Motivator	Priority					
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	Agg
a. To help others	75	16	3	2	5	101
b. It makes me feel useful	20	24	21	2	8	75
c. To meet other people	30	20	21	4	6	81
d. To get me out of the house	0	40	27	6	4	77
e. To give something back to the community	5	4	6	38	3	56

n = 26

Table 4.23: OS – Volunteer Motivation: Preset and Personal Options

Motivator	Priority						
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	Agg
a. To help others	24	5	0	0	4	8	41
b. It makes me feel good	54	15	4	0	2	1	76
c. To meet other people	6	0	24	3	8	3	44
d. To get me out of the house	0	10	16	9	12	0	47
e. To give something back to the community	6	35	12	6	4	0	63
f. Personal reason	0	10	4	27	0	3	44

n = 15

The priority sequence of the responses is as follows:

Five preset motivators: a, c, d, b, e.

Five preset and personal motivator: b, e, d, c, f, a.

The strongest motivator, when only the preset factors are considered, is ‘To help others’. The respondents who also gave a personal motivator have a very different priority sequence for the preset motivators with ‘It makes me feel good’ as the strongest motivator and ‘To help others’ as the least important. The aggregated responses do not indicate a single definite motivating reason for becoming a volunteer in the Scout Movement, although ‘To help others’ is the first choice for those who responded to the preset options, and ‘It makes me feel good’ is the first choice for the respondents who also gave a personal motivator.

The seemingly ambiguous choices of the stated alternative reasons may be explained by the personal reasons given for belonging to the Scout Movement. Several respondents gave a personal reason but did not include it in their order of priority. The following statements show the wide variety of personal motivators:

- ‘My sons were all involved in the Scouts.’
- ‘To give youngsters something out of life...’
- ‘Because it gives something to the members of my family.’

- ‘To pass my skills and knowledge I learnt in Scouting to others.’
- ‘To see the enjoyment and fun I can give to the children...’
- ‘To further my experience with children ... ‘
- ‘My activities complement my work as a teacher...’
- ‘To learn new skills’
- ‘Enjoyment.’
- ‘I love scouting and I wanted to stay in it.’
- ‘Because I have grown up with scouting in my blood.’
- ‘No other volunteers to do something I considered socially important.’

These responses can be arranged into four groups:

Intergenerational

Materialistic

Emotional

Communitarian

The words ‘enjoy’ or ‘enjoyment’ occurred considerably more than any other word, 14 times from the Hereford respondents, and 4 times from Oxford respondents. The terms are used in two ways. To personally ‘enjoy’ the activity of scouting, and to appreciate the ‘enjoyment’ of those engaged in the activity.

A unique aspect of the scout respondent’s statements is the desire to pass on to future generations the material and emotional benefits of being a scout. It may be said that this aspect of motivation is close to ‘altruism’. Rushton and Sorrentino (1981) suggested four possible explanations for altruism:

1. Genetic inheritance – altruistic behaviour towards one’s kin has the effect of preserving ones genes in common.
2. Cognitive development – moral reasoning and the ability to ‘take the role of the other’ increase with age.
3. Social learning – involves learning from others by observation and modelling.
4. Prudential behaviour – helping others is likely to encourage reciprocal action from them.

Although there is seldom any genetic connection between scout leader and young person, the other three explanations are close to the actions of the Scout volunteers.

Although the foregoing tables do not indicate an outstanding single motivator to volunteer, it is interesting to note that there are definite tendencies in the choice of volunteer motivators, as Tables 4.24 and 4.25 shows:

Table 4.24: Prioritised Motivators by Agency: Preset Options

Agency	Priority				
	1 st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
ACB	A	b	c	d	e
ACH&W	A	c	d	b	e
CABO	A	b	c	d	e
CABW	d	a	c	e	b
HS	a	d	c	b	e
OS	a	c	d	b	e

Table 4.25: Prioritised Motivators by Agency: Preset and Personal Options

Agency	Priority					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
ACH&W	b	e	c	d	a	f
CABO	b	e	d	f	a	c
CABW	b	c	d	e	f	a
HS	b	c	d	e	a	f
OS	b	e	d	c	f	a

Note: a = To help others; b = It makes me feel good; c = To meet other people; d = To get me out of the house; e = To give something back to the community; f = Personal motivator.

In conclusion volunteers' motivation is driven by a wide variety of factors that are altruistic as well as materialistic, emotional as well as rational. It is difficult to determine any single strong motivator that influenced any of the questionnaire respondents. It is probable that a single motivator is insufficient to drive a person to volunteer. A sequence of motivational circumstances may be necessary, for example, time, opportunity, interest, and capability. The perceived absence of a single factor may restrict the desire to become a volunteer.

Volunteer Recruitment

The means or route through which people come to volunteering has often been a theme for research and past findings (Best, 1992; Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992; Knight,

1993; Davis Smith, 1992; Thomas and Finch, 1990) have suggested certain avenues of entry; primary among these are:

- Personal contact (Best, 1992, p.6; Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992, p.98; Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.29)
- Local media (Thomas and Finch, 1990, p.60)
- National media (Best, 1992, p.10)
- Organisational recruitment campaign (Knight, 1993, p.235)

Personal contact has two dimensions:

- Active volunteer contacts through personal network
- Motivated individual contacts organisation

This is still the simplest and most effective route for recruitment, according to previous research. The other routes have recorded only limited success (National Centre for Volunteering, 1998)

Local media contacts are most often through adverts and organisation news stories in:

- Newspapers
- Club or church newsletters
- Local radio

National media influences volunteer recruitment in a similar way to local media but in addition through:

- National and international news items
- Television appeals following emotional documentaries

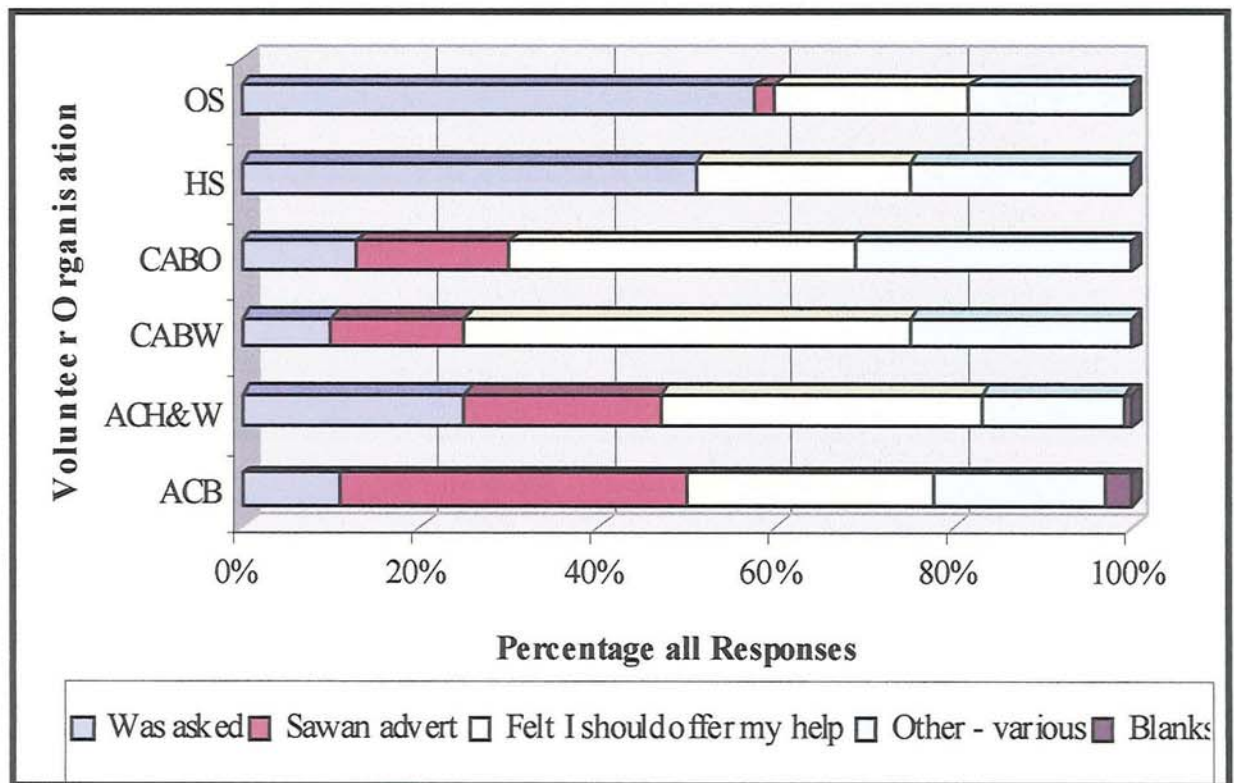
Recruitment campaigns even for national organisations are often events arranged locally.

These options were considered when framing the question line for the current survey. They were presented with three preset choices. The volunteers had options for answer and opportunity to give their own comment. The responses are set out for all of the agencies on a percentage basis in Table 4.26 below.

Table 4.26: Recruitment Route for Volunteers (% Response by Agency)

	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Was asked	11	25	13	10	51	58
Saw an advert	39	22	17	15	0	2
Felt I should offer my help	28	36	39	50	24	22
Other - various	19	16	31	25	25	18
Blanks	3	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

The recruitment is more graphically illustrated by Figure 4. 4 below:

Figure 4.4: Recruitment Routes, by Agency

There are some clear differences in the recruitment patterns across agencies. In broad terms, word-of-mouth is a markedly more important recruitment mechanism for the two Scout groups than for the other four agencies. Conversely, open-market mechanisms are of greater significance for the two Age Concern branches. These distinctions are suggestive of quite distinct labour markets – internal versus occupational labour markets - as described by Doeringer and Piore (1971)

These responses are now appraised on an agency basis.

Age Concern

There are apparent differences in the effective recruitment channels as between the two branches. ACB volunteers were more likely to be attracted by advertisement, while more ACBH&W volunteers responded to personal solicitation. This may be a reflection of the different composition of the two volunteer groups: as indicated above, the ACB volunteers were relatively longer serving, compared to the recently reformed ACH&W branch. The older ACB volunteers are city residents travelling more frequently on public transport and seeing the adverts on the vehicles; whereas the ACH&W volunteers are scattered through out the county and use their private cars for transport. The ACB volunteers also have the very good local newspapers in which also display these adverts. The adverts seen by 39% of ACB volunteers were not only in the local press but also in their church newsletters. There appears to be a healthy social network of ACH&W volunteers, in that 25% were asked. It may be an indication of the positive attitude of volunteers that 28% of ACB volunteers, and 36% of ACH&W volunteers made the initial move and offered their help. There seems to be no best method of attracting volunteers into Age Concern.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Contra Age Concern, a significant proportion of CAB volunteers (50% for CABW and 39% for CABO) are primarily self-selecting and effectively self-starting. This may reflect a high level of personal self-confidence on the part of this cohort. The secondary research suggests that the most frequently successful method of recruitment of volunteers is by personal appeal to the individual - 'ask them' - but the evidence from CAB shows a diverging pattern of active 'volunteering of services' (CAF, 1990).

The elective comments are numerous and add much to this emerging picture of the CAB volunteer.

Interpersonal comments:

- 'Had an aunt who used to work for CAB.'
- 'Daughter who has used CAB suggested it.'
- 'In the past had known CAB voluntary advisers.'
- 'Heard about CAB from friends while still working.'
- 'A friend of my wife (retired CAB worker) made the suggestion.'

- ‘Heard about it from other people.’

Intrinsic interest comments:

- ‘I was looking for something useful to do after my retirement.’
- ‘I retired early but still felt I wanted to work. I wanted something useful and interesting to do. I don’t need to do paid work.’
- ‘Wanted to find something worthwhile to do.’

Individual response

- ‘Asked to distribute advert just before retired from teaching.’

Person to person contact with someone who had already had contact with the CAB seems very important. However, in this case, that contact is just as liable to be with a service user as with a volunteer. Similar patterns are evident in other organisations.

Scouts

Most scouting leaders and helpers are recruited by personal approaches made by another who is already active in the movement (51% of Hereford and 58% of Oxford respondents). The scouts reliance on this single channel of recruitment is greater than in any of the other agencies. The freetext comments reveal that there is a strong intergenerational and lifetime recruitment dynamic, a frequent progression from being a Boy Scout to an adult leader/helper. The following extemporised comments illustrate this user-volunteer linkage:

- ‘Two sons in scouts.’
- ‘I have been a scout since six years old, therefore once leaving Venture Scouts stayed on as a Leader...’
- ‘Natural progression from being a scout’
- ‘Family always involved in Scouting and Guiding.’
- ‘Pack was [likely] to close - my son was involved’
- ‘Went up through all the sections’

It is common for parents to become involved because their children are members of the Movement. Equally as often, volunteers had been drawn into what they perceived to be a crisis situation:

- ‘The Group needed help’.
- ‘No one else came forward’.

- ‘The Pack was going to close’.

Frequently, these volunteers (primarily parents) have remained active and enjoyed the experience for many years.

Offer of Volunteer Services Refused

This question was designed to explore whether there was any obvious barriers to being accepted as a volunteer. In general, very few of the respondents had experienced a refusal of a volunteer offer.

Only two ACH&W and three ACB volunteers had been turned down for a volunteering post – none from Age Concern itself. One ACH&W person was turned away because the time of day for volunteering conflicted with the hours of full-time work. The other ACH&W volunteer had not been considered suitable for a counselling post in a different organisation.

One of the three ACB volunteers was turned down because there was no volunteer vacancy. The other two were not certain of the reason – but one hypothesised that her ethnic background may have underpinned the refusal. None suggested either age- or skill-related causes. It is plausible to speculate here that a refusal is a sensitive episode for the volunteer, and that the lack of an explanation is likely to prove especially damaging.

In relation to the Citizens’ Advice Bureau volunteers, three people answered this question and, of these, only one person had offered their services to another volunteer organisation and been turned down. This volunteer speculated that the refusal was based on their being new in the locality in which the organisation operated.

None of the Scout respondents had been turned down by any organisation for which they had volunteered. This may be a comment upon the quality of the people who are accepted as volunteers for the Scouts. The Scout Association has for most of its history had a system in place that screened the potential leaders before permitting them to have contact with the young people. In recent years, this system has been reinforced to comply with tightening statutory legislation of contact with children. All of the respondents had obviously successfully passed through this screening process, so that it is plausible that they would also pass muster with other volunteer organisations. It could

also be that any other organisation for which a ‘scout’ volunteered would accept the integrity of that person simply because they were already a member of the Scout Movement: a ‘halo’ effect.

External Factors

As set out in Chapter (Methodology), survey respondents were asked to provide details of key aspects of their social and working lives.

- Employment.
- Incomes.
- Religious affiliation and beliefs.
- Education attainment levels.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, these are each considered in the secondary literature as important external factors in shaping the volunteering choice.

Employment

The national volunteer surveys produced by Charities Aid Foundation and The National Centre for Volunteering state that:

“People in paid employment were more likely to volunteer than those who were outside the labour market such as the permanently retired and the unemployed. However, retired people gave more hours per week than those in paid jobs” (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998, p.26)

The following section analyses the survey data to test this hypothesis.

Responses to this question were obviously affected by the number of volunteers that are beyond the normal age of employment. To assist comparative understanding of the analysis Table 4.27 gives an agency-by-agency profile indicating the percentage of volunteers below and above the statutory pension age.

Table 4.27: Volunteers Below and Above the Statutory Pension Age: % by Agency

Age Range	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Females 18/59	24	47	35	35	45	38
Males 18/64	5	3	0	15	45	54
Females 60+	33	36	43	25	7	6
Males 65+	9	11	22	20	2	2
Females Blank	18	0	0	5	0	0
Males Blank	11	3	0	0	0	0
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

As a general comment it will be noted that the two Age Concern branches differ in age profile with ACH&W volunteers being evenly divided between under and over pension age, while ACB has nearly twice as many over pension age as under that age point.

The CAB volunteer age profile is again different and also the branches differ from each other. CABO similarly to ACB has almost twice as many volunteers over pension age as below that point, while CABW like ACH&W is evenly balanced between over and under statutory pension age.

The greatest difference is the marked similarity of both of the scout pension age profiles in that there is almost a total absence of volunteers over pension age. This is only to be expected because of the active nature of the Scouting programmes and the organisational rules, as stated in Chapter 3.

Respondents were asked to state their current employment status. Status for the individual was defined as the sum total of the following factors:

- Full-time paid employment.
- Part-time paid employment.
- Unemployed.

Of equal interest is the issue of the recent employment history of those who were without the paid labour market. An understanding of that history was found by analysing the responses to the following information request:

- If unemployed or part-time employed when last employed full-time:
 1. Less than two years ago.
 2. More than two years ago.
 3. Never.

Table 4.28 gives the aggregate results.

Table 4.28: Employment Status: % Response by Agency

Employment status	ABC	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Currently F/t employed	7	11	0	5	54	70
Self-employed	0	0	0	0	9	0
Currently P/t employed	7	19	9	5	24	14
Currently not employed	84	64	91	90	13	16
No response	2	6	0	0	0	0
F/t less than 2 years ago	9	11	13	15	2	6
F/t more than 2 years ago	59	64	87	65	25	20
Never F/t employed	3	0	0	0	4	2
No response	19	8	0	15	5	2
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

There are interesting variations in these aggregated findings by agency. Each organisation has a distinct pattern. These variations are analysed below.

Age Concern

There were two volunteers from each of the AC branches that did not answer this question.

Only 16 (14%) of the ACB volunteers and 11 (30%) of the ACH&W volunteers were in the paid labour market, 8 volunteers from ACB and 7 from ACH&W were employed part part-time.

Turning now to the employment history of those who were not in full-time employment at the time of the survey: of those volunteers that were currently not in the paid labour market and those who were employed part-time (ACB 91% and ACH&W 83%) two-thirds and more had not been in the full-time labour market for over than two years.

Citizen's Advice Bureau

Because of the considerable time commitment required from a CAB volunteer, it was perhaps only to be expected that very few volunteers would also be in paid employment. Indeed, only two of the twenty CABW respondents were in paid employment - one part-time, the other full-time. Of the nineteen people who were either not employed or in part-time employment, three had been in full-time employment within the previous two

years, with a further thirteen employed full-time more than two years ago. Four respondents declined to answer this question.

Again, only two of the twenty-three CABO respondents were in employment, all on a part-time basis. Twenty of the 23 volunteer respondents were last in full-time employment over 2 years ago, and the other three less than 2 years ago.

Scouts

Those who have no paid employment include University students, housewives and the retired.

The scout employment profile is considerably different from that of the other two agencies. Of the fifty-five Hereford scout volunteers only seven are not in the paid labour market. Of the forty-eight other respondents, five are self-employed, thirteen are in part-time employment, and the remaining thirty are in full-time employment.

There is a similar employment profile for the Oxford scout volunteers. Forty-two of the fifty respondents are in the paid labour market; thirty-five in full-time employment, and seven in part-time employment.

Turning to the employment history of the scout respondents who were either not employed or employed part-time when completing the survey: of the twenty Hereford volunteers, one was in full-time employment less than two years before, fourteen more than two years ago, two were never employed full-time, and three did not respond to this item.

In the case of the fifteen non-employed and part-time employed Oxford respondents: one did not respond to this item, one was never employed full-time, ten were employed full-time more than two years ago, and three less than two years ago.

Nature of Present or Previous Employment

Respondents were asked to state the:

- Nature, including job title of previous paid work, either full- or part-time.
- Estimated average number of hours worked each week in the previous month.

This question line was designed to test the hypothesis, promulgated by the national surveys that the propensity to volunteer declines sharply across occupational grades,

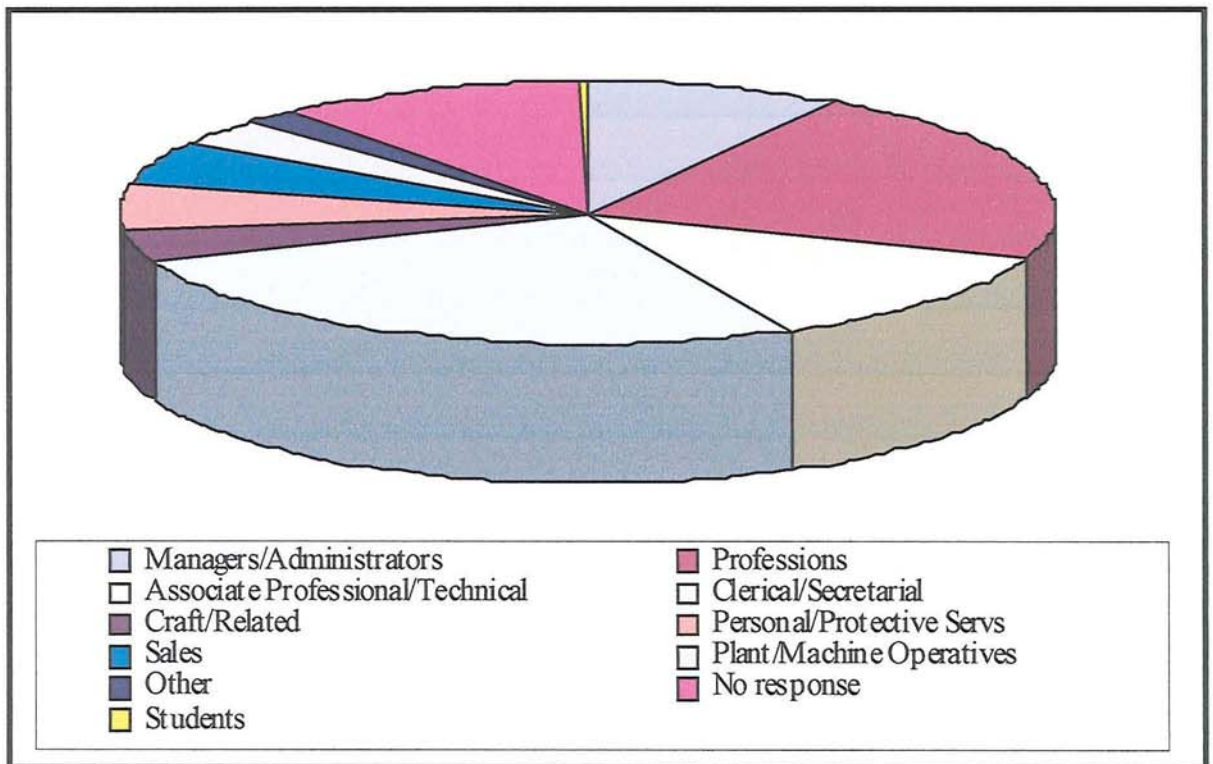
from upper managerial and professional to the unskilled manual (CAF, 1990: CAF, 1994; The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998).

Table 4.29: Volunteers' Occupational Background

Occupational Status (SOC First-Digit Groups)	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Managers + Administrators	4	6	13	5	11	14
Professional Occupations	8	14	43	25	22	18
Associate Professional + Technical Occupations	11	8	18	15	13	8
Clerical + Secretarial Occupations	27	33	18	40	13	26
Craft + Related Occupations	2	0	0	0	11	12
Personal + Protective Service Occupations	6	14	4	0	7	2
Sales Occupations	6	3	0	5	13	6
Plant + Machine Operatives	2	3	4	0	2	8
Other Occupations	8	0	0	0	2	2
No response	24	19	0	10	6	4
Students	2	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n	119	36	23	20	55	50

The aggregate picture is set out in Figure 4.5 below. The largest single fraction of the respondent volunteers was drawn from the clerical and secretarial occupational group. The second highest represented occupational group were professional in background. More generally, a significant majority of the volunteers hail from professional, managerial and associated 'white collar' occupations. Only 12.8% in total were drawn from occupational groups V to VII – broadly speaking, 'blue collar' backgrounds.

Figure 4.5: Occupational Backgrounds of Aggregated Respondent Group
 (% all respondents)



n = 303

Age Concern

The greatest number (32 respondents or 27% of the total) of ACB volunteers come from an administrative, clerical or accountancy background. Social service professionals constitute the next highest group, with thirteen (11%) of all respondents drawn from this background. There is a wide range of historical skills and expertise available to Age Concern. Further inspection reveals, however, that, in their AC, work many of the volunteers are active in areas different to their previous or current paid employment. This indicates, at least in the case of AC, that volunteering does not necessarily involve using one's employment and career skills in the voluntary organisation.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

In the case of the Citizens' Advice Bureau respondents there is a predominance of the full-time employment expertise being used in the voluntary organisation. Twenty-one (92%) of the CABO volunteers, and seventeen (85%) of the CABW volunteers are recruited from the 'white collar' sectors. However, there is a difference in the balance between professional and clerical between the CAB branches: CABO having twice as many volunteers as CABW from the professional ranks. CABW, on the other hand, have twice as many volunteers from the clerical and secretarial occupations. The intellectual rigour of the CAB activities may be a possible perceived barrier to many people who doubt the value of their educational qualifications.

Scouts

For scouting volunteers, the wide spread of career experience reflects the variety of activity skills that are required in the Scout Movement. Although the professional and clerical occupations predominate (HS, 59%; OS 66% of all respondents), the craft, manual and sales occupations are well represented (with 35% of Hereford and 30% of Oxford respondents falling within this occupational group). This suggests a higher degree of socio-economic and occupational 'balance' within the volunteer leadership than the comparative picture for the other agencies.

The contention of the national surveys, that the propensity to volunteer declines sharply across occupational grades, from upper managerial and professional to the unskilled manual, is not entirely borne out by the findings of this survey. Both Age Concern and Citizens' Advice Bureau data tend to confirm the national survey hypothesis, but the Scout data gives the picture of a generally balanced attraction for all occupational groups. It may be that because the Scout volunteers tend to be from younger cohorts that they have not yet attained the peak of their economic status, as have the older cohort volunteers within the Age Concern and Citizens' Advice Bureau.

Weekly Paid Work Commitment

According to national surveys there is no clear pattern in relation to hours in paid employment and the number of hours engaged in active volunteering. A full-time paid employee working 40 hours in the week is just as likely to be actively volunteering as a part-time paid employee working only 15 hours in the week (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998).

The respondents who were in paid employment at the time of the survey were asked to state the number of hours worked in a week during the previous month. This information has been compared with the number of hours given to volunteering by these same respondents. Those volunteers that have neither full-time nor part-time employment did not respond to this question.

**Table 4.30: Number of Paid Hours Worked per Week
(% respondents in paid employment)**

Hours' paid employ per week	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
0 to 5hrs per week	9	3	4	5	2	0
6 to 10hrs per week	3	3	4	0	4	0
11 to 15hrs per week	1	3	4	5	2	4
16 to 20hrs per week	2	8	14	0	9	2
21 to 25hrs per week	2	3	4	5	4	4
26 to 30hrs per week	3	3	0	0	2	2
31 to 35hrs per week	2	3	0	0	5	4
36hrs + per week	7	19	4	5	62	66
Blanks	71	55	66	80	10	14
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Overall the results display a sharp polarisation as between those active in the paid labour market and those who are not. There is little evidence from this cohort of the uptake of more flexible working patterns. Looking across the agencies, the clustering of full-time (36+ hours' per week) working in the two scouting branches confirms comments above regarding the distinct occupational status of scouting volunteers.

Looking at each agency in turn:

Age Concern

Sixteen of the ACH&W respondents (45%) stated that they had undertaken paid work in the previous month. There is a concentration of full-time and intermediate working-hours categories. For ACB, there is some clustering of paid work at the very lowest end of the duration spectrum.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

There is some apparent variance between the two CAB branches. The Oxford City Branch has a notable clustering of volunteers working intermediate (16-20) durations, a situation that does not hold in Worcester. Although only two volunteers from each branch had previously stated that they were in paid employment, eight people from CABO and four from CABW responded to this question. This divergence may possibly be due to volunteers' distinction between 'paid work' and 'paid employment'. It is possible that some are in 'paid work' self-employed, as opposed to 'employed'. The numbers in paid employment are too small in both AC and CAB agencies to provide any effective generalised comment on the comparison of the time commitment, and therefore no comparative tables have been created.

Scouts

Two-thirds of the Scout respondents work 36 or more hours each week.

These full-time employees have also committed themselves to active participation in an organisation that is demanding of both time and energy. This suggests that there may be considerable congestion in time use. Table 4.31 below shows the hours of employed work compared with the hours of volunteer activity.

**Table 4.31: Comparative Paid and Volunteer Time Commitment
(by % of respondent)**

OS n = 50	<5 Hrs.	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35+	Blank
Paid full-time	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	64	0
Paid part-time	0	0	4	2	4	0	2	2	0
Volunteer hours full-time	18	12	22	6	2	2	2	6	0
Volunteer hours part-time	6	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Volunteer hours non-employed	4	6	2	0	2	0	0	2	0
HS n = 55									
Paid full-time	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	60	0
Paid part-time	0	4	2	7	4	2	0	0	2
Volunteer hours full-time	31	14	4	5	4	4	5	0	0
Volunteer hours part-time	7	4	4	0	0	0	0	5	0
Volunteer hours non-employed	7	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	0

Six (12%) of the OS that have full-time paid employment of 35 or more hours also volunteer 20 hours and more each week. Indeed three of these volunteers were active for more than 35 hours in the week prior to the completion of the survey. Although there is a clustering at the lowest end of the duration spectrum, there are also fourteen (28%) respondents that were active in the scout groups between 10 and 20 hours each week. This would appear to be considerable time congestion, although the other evidence from the survey indicates that this is certainly not the perceived reality for these volunteers. Despite the relatively extended time commitment there would appear to be considerable personal benefit, or satisfaction, arising from scouting activity. This is corroborated by the frequent use of the adjective 'enjoyment', when giving their reasons for volunteering.

When Last Period of Full-time Employment

This question was asked to test the national surveys (CAF, 1997; The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998) hypothesis that those who had been out of the labour market for the longest period of time and those who had only just left it were the least likely to be involved in voluntary work.

Those respondents that were not employed at the time of completion of the survey were asked to state whether it was more or less than two years since they had last been employed full-time. The response percentages are calculated on the number of

volunteers not employed full-time when completing the survey. The results are as shown in Table 4.32 below.

Table 4.32: Last Period of Full-time Employment

	ACB%	ACH&W %	CABO %	CABW %	H %	O %
Less than two years ago	10	12	13	16	5	20
More than two years ago	63	72	87	68	78	67
Never	4	0	0	0	11	7
Blank	23	16	0	16	6	6
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	111	32	23	19	18	15

The pattern is very much the same for all the agencies; of those not employed full-time at the time of the survey, a significantly large number have not been in the full-time labour market for more than two years. This result needs to take account of two factors: firstly, that both the branches of AC and CAB have significantly high numbers of volunteers outside the labour market by reason of their age: and secondly, the greater proportion of the volunteers from both the Scout districts are in full-time employment.

Looking at the results agency by agency:

Age Concern

One hundred and eleven of the 119 ACB volunteers had not been in full-time employment at the time of the completion of the survey. Twenty-six (23%) of these respondents did not answer this item. There were seventy (63%) respondents who had not been in the full-time labour market within the previous two years. It should be noted that only 33 (28%) of the 119 ACB respondents are in the age range 18-59.

Of the 32 ACH&W respondents that were not in the full-time labour market only 4 (12%) had been employed full-time within the last two years and 23 (72%) employed more than two years ago. Five of the volunteers not in the full-time labour market did not complete this item. The respondents in this branch of AC are evenly divided between those most likely and those unlikely to be in the labour market – 50% in the age range 18-59, and 50% in the age range 60-75+.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Only three (13%) of the 23 CABO respondents who answered this question had been in full-time employment within the previous two years. The remaining 20 (87%) respondents had not been in the full-time labour market for more than two years. Once again it is considered that the age profile of the branch has a considerable bearing on the pattern of the responses, fifteen volunteers (65%) being in the age range 60-75+ and therefore most likely not to be in the labour market.

There is a similar pattern in the responses from the 19 CABW respondents. Three volunteers (16%) failed to respond to this question. Only three (16%) of the respondents had been employed full-time within the previous two years. For the remaining 13 (68%) it had been more than two years since they had been in the full-time labour market. The age profile of this branch of CAB is only slightly different from that of CABO – there being 11 (55%) in the age range 60-75+ possibly outside the labour market. The interesting difference is that CABW have seven (35%) volunteers in the key employment age range 18-54, although only one in full-time employment, compared to 3 (13%) of CABO volunteers and none in full-time employment.

Scouts

Only eighteen (33%) of the fifty-five Hereford Scout volunteers, and 15 (30%) of the Oxford Scout volunteers were not in the full-time labour market at the time of completion of the survey.

Fourteen of the HS respondents – 78% of those that responded to this question – had been in the full-time labour market more than two years ago and only one respondent less than two years previous. The two HS respondents who had never been employed full-time are students.

It is a similar pattern of response from the OS volunteers. Only three of the respondents to this question had been in full-time employment within the previous two years, and 10 – 67% of the respondents – more than two years ago.

Volunteers' Incomes

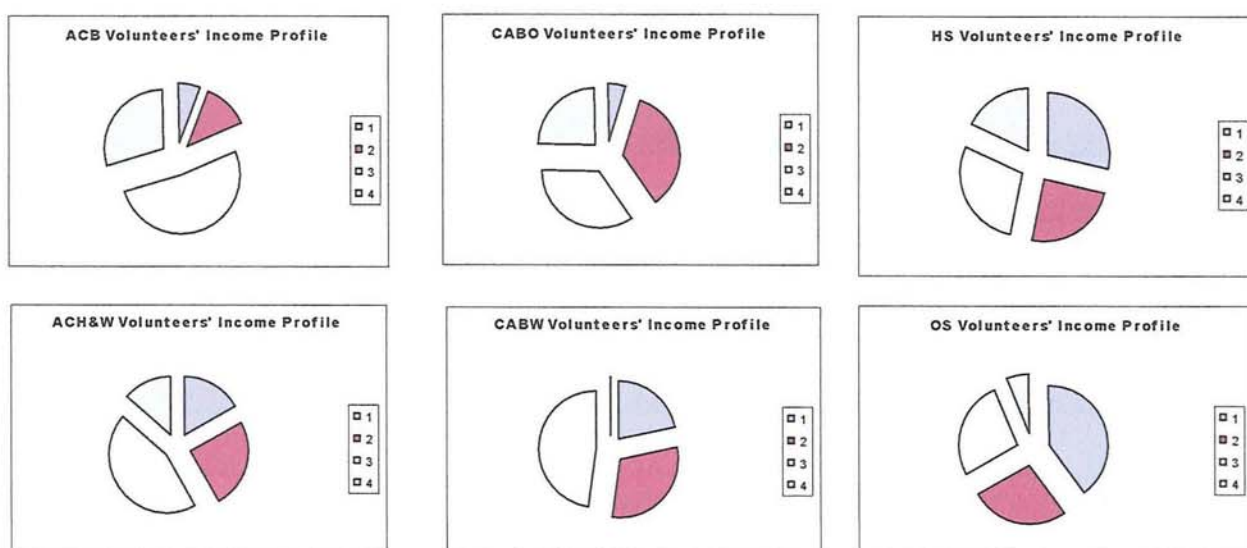
There is always great sensitivity in individuals answering questions regarding their incomes. Income is nonetheless an important issue, as previous research makes clear (Gerard, 1985; Knapp, et al, 1995; The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998). It was therefore decided to frame a question with only broad income intervals. The chosen intervals were: less than £10,000 per annum; between £10,000 and £19,999; and more than £20,000. The results are set out on an agency basis in Table 4.33 below.

Table 4.33: Personal Annual Income

Income	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
More than £20,000	6	17	22	5	29	40
Between £10,000 and £19,999	13	25	30	35	24	26
Less than £10,000	51	44	48	35	29	28
Blank	30	14	0	25	18	6
Percentage Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

The comparison of the annual income of the respondents from each agency is more graphically illustrated in the following charts.

Figure 4.6: Comparison of Respondents' Personal Annual Income by Agency



The most significant factor that the charts show is the high percentage of respondents that have an annual income of less than £10,000 – 51% of ACB; 44% of ACH&W; and 48% from CABW.

It is interesting to note that the average gross annual earnings for 1999 was £20,000, and one of the measures that defines poverty is a household receiving below half-average income (Office for National Statistics, 2000; Cole, 1999). This is possibly a reflection of the income of the pensioners that form the greater number of the volunteers, many of whom would have little addition of income to their Retirement Pension. As cohort ages advance this pattern may shift, as older persons' incomes are augmented by career pensions and savings. This may require the addition of a question on investment income in any future questionnaire on this matter.

It is notable that the high proportion of volunteers' low incomes is at odds with the general trend suggested by national surveys of volunteers that people with an income of more than £25,000 were more likely to volunteer (The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998).

Age Concern

Thirty-six (30%) ACB people did not respond. Of the 83(70%) that did respond only 7 (6%) had an income of more than £20,000; 16 (13%) had between £19,999 and £10,000; while the greater proportion 60 (51%) received less than £10,000 in the previous 12 months.

There are thirty six respondents from ACH&W of which five (14%) did not answer this item; six (17%) received annual income of more than £20,000; nine (25%) received between £19,999 and £10,000; and sixteen (44%) received less than £10,000 in the previous twelve months.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Of the 23 CABO respondents 6 (25%) did not answer this item. Only one respondent (5%) received an annual income of more than £20,000. Of the remaining 16 (70%) respondents 8 (35%) received between £19,999 and £10,000 and 8(35%) received less than £10,000.

All twenty of the CABW respondents answered this question. Five (22%) respondents received income of more than £20,000 in the previous twelve months. Six (30%) received income between £19,999 and £10,000. The remaining 9 (48%) respondents received less than £10,000 in the previous twelve months.

Scouts

As most of the Scout respondents are employed full-time and are also professionally and technically skilled, it is not surprising that there is a high percentage of volunteers that have incomes of £20,000 or more.

Ten (18%) of the fifty-five Hereford Scout respondents did not answer this question. Sixteen (29%) of the volunteers received an income of more than £20,000 in the previous twelve months. Thirteen (24%) received an annual income of between £19,999 and £10,000, and the remaining sixteen (29%) received an annual income of less than £10,000. The even spread over the three personal income groups in the Hereford District may reflect the wage levels of this rural area which will be lower than in more urban towns and metropolitan cities.

Only three (6%) of the fifty Oxford Scout respondents did not answer this item. Twenty (40%) of the respondents received an annual income of more than £20,000: thirteen (26%) received income of between £19,999 and £10,000; and fourteen (28%) received annual income of less than £10,000.

To draw more meaningful conclusions from the income data, the family status and the spending commitments of each respondent would need to be considered. A woman living with her husband or partner may only have a personal income of less than £10,000 but her husband or partner may earn much more.

Religion and Volunteering

Volunteers were asked to describe their religious belief and were given the options from five main faith groups, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh. The religious categories were taken from the 1991 Population Census (Office of Population Census and Surveys, 1991) and can thus be considered as a standardised taxonomy. The options of an open ended description of an 'other' faith group and 'no religious persuasion' were also offered. At the request of Age Concern the Protestant faith group was identified under specific denominations.

A relatively high percentage of surveyed volunteers declare a religious inclination, considering that only about 10% of the general population in England admit to a regular

religious commitment (Churches Information for Mission, 2001), although about 45% of the population of the UK record allegiance to a religious persuasion (National Office for Statistics, 1998). The extant research literature does indicate that there is a correlation between religious belief and volunteering (Belah et al, 1996; CAF, 1994; Davis Smith, J., 1992).

Table 4.34: Volunteers' Religious Persuasion: % Response by Agency

Religious Persuasion	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Protestant	65	78	43	60	82	74
Roman Catholic	10	11	0	0	11	4
Muslim	3	0	0	0	0	2
Hindu	2	0	0	0	0	0
Sikh	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	4	5	0	0
No Religious Persuasion	12	3	53	35	4	18
No response	7	8	0	0	3	2
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Age Concern

Given the heredity of Age Concern in church visitation groups (see Chapter 3 above), this concentration of ACB volunteers attesting a religious faith is perhaps not surprising. Equally notable, however, is the fact that, of the six agencies whose volunteers were surveyed, only ACB has respondents drawn from any non-Christian faith.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

The highest percentage of all volunteer respondents having no religious persuasion (agnosticism; humanism; atheism) is to be found in each of the CAB branches. The information on motivation that was discussed above suggested that CAB volunteers were inclined to be very much less altruistic than other respondents. The strongly non-religious volunteer orientation may also point in that direction.

Scouts

It is not surprising that the vast majority (93% from Hereford and 78% from Oxford) of Scout volunteers bear a religious belief, considering that the Scout Promise asks the member to give the first duty priority to God:

‘On my honour I promise to do my duty to God...’ (Scout Association, 1995 p.5)

What is perhaps surprising, in the light of this explicitly theistic commitment, is that there are any volunteers with no religious persuasion – and, in the Oxford Branch, nearly one-fifth of respondents are non-religious.

Respondents were also asked to state if they would describe themselves as regular committed worshipping members, or simply nominal adherents that used the facilities of the faith for specific life events such as christening or baptism of children, marriage, and funerals.

It is only when strength of religious commitment is added that the full significance of this factor is understood.

Table 4.35: Volunteers’ Religious Status: % of Respondents by Agency

Religious Status	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Committed	48	44	22	35	40	36
Nominal	33	42	30	25	51	52
No response	0	3	0	0	2	0
Totals	81	89	52	60	93	88
n =	96	32	12	12	51	44

Age Concern

The Age Concern responses suggest that that the volunteers in this agency are more committed to their religious belief than the volunteers of the other four agencies in the survey.

Although some background in religious doctrine appears to be a significant factor, commitment to that belief system does not appear to be as strong a factor in volunteering. The general moral standard, the consideration for others that a religious belief may encourage may be the underlying factor rather than the active response to the obligation required by the tenets of that faith.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

In the light of what has been stated above regarding the CAB respondent motivation drivers it is not surprisingly that the religious commitment is the lowest of all the agencies – 22% for CABO and 35% for CABW.

Scouts

The question on commitment provides further insight into the religious orientation of the Scout respondent cohort. The measure of commitment was not fully articulated in the questionnaire and the response will depend upon how each individual assessed their definition of 'commitment'. If commitment is taken as simply regular attendance at church, however, the 'nominal' response of 51% for Hereford and 52% for Oxford, which is very much greater than in other organisations, is surprising considering the primary duty indicated in the Scout Promise explained above.

Volunteer Educational Attainment

Respondents were asked to state the year they ceased full-time education. The national surveys of volunteering state that those with higher educational qualifications are much more likely to be involved in formal voluntary work than those who left school at an early age (CAF, 1994: The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998).

Table 4.36: Year ceased full-time education

Year	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
1935-39	6	8	0	5	2	2
1940-44	10	8	4	5	0	2
1945-49	8	8	4	10	0	4
1950-54	4	14	14	25	4	0
1955-59	4	14	26	5	4	12
1960-64	3	17	26	10	5	4
1965-69	4	8	4	5	16	8
1970-74	2	3	9	15	22	12
1975-79	2	3	9	10	13	10
1980-84	2	0	0	0	11	10
1985-89	2	3	0	0	4	8
1990-94	3	3	0	0	0	14
1995-99	3	0	4	5	5	6
Student	0	0	0	0	5	0
Blank	56	11	0	5	9	8
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Age Concern

Of the fifty-eight (48%) ACB volunteers who did respond to this item forty-two (35%) completed their education more than thirty years ago.

Similarly twenty-five (69%) of the ACH&W volunteers had ceased full-time education over thirty years ago, before the explosion of IT and other technology, and before the full benefits of the 1944 education reforms could be realised.

Citizens' Advice bureau

It is also the case that in CAB branches more than 50% of the volunteers ceased their full-time education more than thirty years ago.

Scouts

The Scout volunteers are younger than the volunteers of the other four agencies and have, in the main, completed their full-time education within the previous thirty years.

By cross-referencing the data of Table 4.36 above, with the age of each respondent it is possible to ascertain the approximate age when full-time education ceased as shown in Table 4.37. Because of the large number of ACB respondents who either did not state their age cohort, or did not give their educational qualifications, or did not state the date they ceased education, it is not possible to give a definitive consideration of their educational history.

Table 4.37: Respondents' Age at Time of Ceasing Full-time Education: % by Agency

	Student	< 16	16-18	19-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	Blank	Totals	n =
ACB	0	16	20	11	2	0	0	0	51	100	119
ACH&W	0	28	44	14	0	3	0	0	11	100	36
CABO	0	5	13	61	13	4	0	4	0	100	23
CABW	0	15	35	40	5	0	0	0	5	100	20
HS	5	5	37	33	5	0	4	0	11	100	55
OS	0	20	40	26	4	2	0	0	8	100	50

It is interesting to note that each branch has a different age cessation pattern, although both the CAB branches have markedly higher percentages of their volunteers ceasing in the age ranges 19-35, which correlates with the pattern of education qualifications shown in Table 4.38 below. With the exception of ACB each branch had one volunteer who completed a course of full-time education after the age of thirty-five.

Respondents were also asked to give their highest Equalification. The aggregate series for all respondents' educational qualifications is graphically represented in Figure 4.7 below.

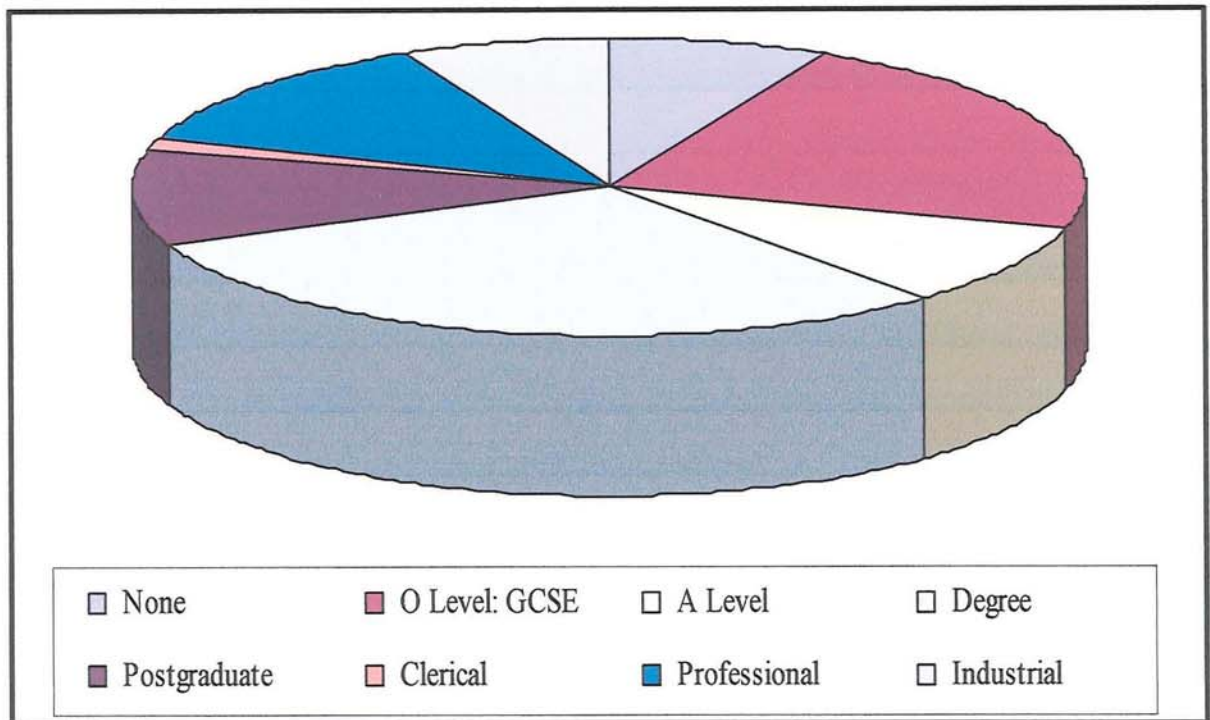
Figure 4.7: Aggregate Qualification Levels, All Respondents

Figure 4.7 shows a strong correlation with the professional and managerial occupational profile of the respondent group noted above at Figure 5.6. Visual inspection of qualification against age indicates that the high concentration of degree and post-graduate qualifications in the two CAB branches is among the older volunteers who completed their full-time education more than thirty years ago.

Table 4.38 summarises the responses by agency, where evidence of a high degree of skewness is visible.

Table4.38: Respondents' Highest Educational Qualification

Qualification	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
None	16	14	0	0	5	4
O Level: GCSE	18	22	9	15	25	24
A Level	5	3	13	10	4	10
Degree	8	19	48	40	22	16
Postgraduate	2	3	30	10	4	6
Clerical	4	0	0	0	0	2
Professional	4	8	0	15	24	14
Industrial	8	3	0	5	5	14
Abroad	1	0	0	0	0	0
No response	34	28	0	5	11	10
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	119	36	23	20	55	50

Age Concern

In general terms, AC volunteers enjoy the lowest average educational attainment levels of the three agencies surveyed. This is particularly evident in the case of ACB. Because many of the ACB volunteers (40%) were born more than 65 years ago their educational experience preceded the Education Acts of 1944 and subsequent years. Forty-one people did not respond to this item, but it cannot be assumed that they did not have any qualifications. Of the 41 ACB volunteers who did not respond, 25 were aged 55 years old or older; 11 did not give their age but other indicators suggested that six of them were likely to be over 55 years old. Once more, the age of the volunteers affects the statistical response to the question and the results, for this agency, do not coincide with the national generalisation regarding volunteer educational standard - that those with higher educational qualifications are much more likely to be involved in formal voluntary work than those who left school at an early age (CAF, 1994: The National Centre for Volunteering, 1998). It is possible that age can act as a barrier to full participation where educational qualification is a consideration when accepting people for voluntary engagement. It is possible that this potential 'barrier' will disappear over time as more people enter further and higher education.

Again the fact that 28% of ACH&W respondents did not indicate any educational qualifications does not necessarily mean that they had no qualifications. Of the ten that did not reply, one gave neither age nor the date ceased full-time education; one was aged between 45 and 54 but gave no date for ceasing education; three were 60 to 64 and ceased education during the early 1950s; three were 70 to 74 and ceased education in the early 1940s; the remaining two were over 75 and left school in the late 1930s. It is probable that at least eight of this group did not have educational qualifications.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

The extraordinarily high percentage of volunteers (50% of respondents for CABW, 78% for CABO) with university qualifications is indicative of the high intellectual attainment that is required to become a successful CAB volunteer.

Scouts

There is an even spread of qualifications among the Scout respondents. Twenty-nine percent of Hereford and 34% of the Oxford respondents attaining GCSE, O and A level standard: degree and postgraduate qualifications had been received by 26% of Hereford respondents and 22% by Oxford respondents: career oriented qualifications had been received by 29% of Hereford respondents, and 30% by Oxford respondents. The table indicates that a wide spread of skills and expertise may be of great benefit to the Scout leadership teams.

Conclusion

The analysis of the questionnaire data has indicated that it is unlikely that there is one stereotypical person that volunteers. The most likely situation is that there is a convergence of personal attributes with motivations that are attracted to an organisational activity. In such a scenario the number of combinations is probably considerable. Such diversity of possible 'types' of volunteer may be a voluntary sector two-edged sword. On the one hand the diversity of possible volunteers is a strength enabling flexibility and variety. On the other hand it may be an impediment to the prospective volunteer looking for their particular niche.

In this final section the overall qualities of the cohort will be summarised. Firstly relative to the specific themes as stated at the beginning of this chapter, and secondly on an agency-by-agency basis following the same themes.

Personal and Demographic Profile of Respondents

- Only within the Scout agencies is there a gender balance. The other four agencies all have a greater number of female volunteers – a ratio of 3:1.
- Each of the three volunteer organisations has a distinctive volunteer age profile. There are similarities between the profiles of Age Concern and CAB in that there is an equal percentage of volunteers either side of age sixty. In the case of Scout volunteers 90% are below the age of sixty.
- All agencies are predominantly white, with only ACB having more than one volunteer from another ethnic group. Three of the agencies had no volunteers from another ethnic group.
- The family status profile of volunteers is different for each organisation. The family status profile of the volunteers in each of the branches within the organisation is similar.
- None of the Age Concern volunteers had either children or other dependants living at home. Less than 25% of CAB volunteers had children at home, and less than 10% had dependants at home. At least 38% of the Scout volunteers had children under the age of 18 at home, but less than 10% had other dependants at home.

There are distinct differences between the volunteers of each agency, except with reference to ethnicity. Because there are also minority ethnic volunteer organisations that parallel the mainstream, predominantly white, organisations it is not an unexpected finding. Ethnic cultural and religious differences may encourage such separation, but it may be that such separation limits the financial and public policy benefits that are received by the mainstream organisations. Here again diversity can be both a strength and a weakness. There is flexibility and dynamism in diversity, but there is also separation and unnecessary competition for financial and physical assets.

Volunteering

- Commitment is a basic component of the active volunteer. This was demonstrated most notably by both of the Scout branches having 10% of their volunteers that had been active for more than thirty years. Each of the other agencies had a strong nucleus – between 35% and 97% - of volunteers that had been active for the previous ten years.
- Commitment is also measured by the number of volunteered hours of engagement each week. All agencies exceeded the mean of five hours volunteered each week by their volunteers, while for four of the agencies the mean exceeded 10 hours each week.
- Commitment was also shown by the dedicated small number – at least 14% but not more than 37% - of volunteers from each of the agencies who were also active with other volunteer organisations.
- The nature of volunteer work undertaken by the volunteers differed with each organisation. Clerical and secretarial work featured for each agency, from only 8% with ACB to 65 % for CABW.
- The need for a private car depends not only on whether the public transport is more available, or more economic, but also on whether equipment needs to be transported. Peripatetic care visitors with clients in a rural area with limited public transport; Scout leaders transporting equipment need the use of a private vehicle.

The commitment of the volunteers of each agency is consistent, with little significant variation. Only in the mode of transport required to conduct their

volunteer activities is there any difference that requires comment. The nature of the activity dictated that only those with use of a vehicle were able to volunteer as care relief workers with Age Concern Hereford and Worcester. Uniformed Scout Leaders may also be very limited in their effectiveness without the use of a vehicle. The location of the volunteer site appears also to be a factor that determines whether public transport is a viable option for travel to and from the voluntary activity. If the volunteer's residence and the voluntary activity are within the same community there appears to be no limitation as far as transport is concerned, but if the activity or the volunteer are in a rural location the need of a private vehicle seems necessary. This limits volunteering to those with access to private transport.

Recruitment Motivation

- There is no single motivating factor for becoming a volunteer that is common to all respondents, though there is a tendency for the volunteers of each agency to share similar motives for becoming active in that organisation.
- The routes by which volunteers were recruited also differed according to the agency concerned. Overall two routes were equally most frequent with each agency – one-to-one invitation by already active volunteers, and personal direct approach to a local branch offering services.
- Only nine respondents from a total of 303 had the experience of being refused acceptance as a volunteer. None of the respondents considered that the refusal was because of their age.

The significant finding is not that there was no one single volunteer motivational trigger, but that there is similarity of motivation of volunteers in the same organisation that differs between organisations: This and other aspects of motivation are considered in more detail in Chapter Five of the Thesis.

The initial research question contemplated that 'age' might be a barrier additional to those that previous research had identified. The limited response to this question indicates that, for these respondents at least, 'age' was not a barrier. Those respondents who were over 65 years old, being active volunteers, obviously did not find their age a barrier. Many of the respondents had grown older in the long service of their organisation and would be unlikely to consider their age a negative factor.

External Factors

- The volunteers from four of the six agencies did not conform to the employment pattern that the national surveys suggest – that people in paid employment were more likely to volunteer than those who were outside the labour market.
- The employment profile of the respondents followed the age profile very closely. More than 80% of Age Concern and CAB volunteers were not in the paid labour market, whereas, more than 80% of the Scout volunteers were active in the paid labour market.
- The largest single fraction of respondent volunteers was drawn from the clerical and secretarial occupational group. The second highest represented occupational group were professional in background. These groups accounted for just over 50% of all respondents.
- The national survey suggestion that the propensity to volunteer declines across occupational grades is not entirely borne out by the volunteer responses..
- The overall results display a sharp polarisation as between those active in the paid labour market and those who are not. There is little evidence from this cohort of the uptake of more flexible working patterns.
- Of those not employed full-time at the time of the survey, a significant number have not been in the full-time labour market for more than two years.
- A high percentage of respondents have an annual income of less than £10,000. In 1999 the national average gross annual earnings was £20,000. One of the measures that define poverty is a household receiving below half-average income. This situation is at odds with the national survey suggestion that people with an income of more than £25,000 were more likely to volunteer.
- A relatively high percentage of surveyed volunteers declare a religious inclination. Of the six agencies only ACB has respondents drawn from any non-Christian faith.
- The volunteer age profile of each agency to a large extent determined the education profile. Fifty percent of the volunteers from four of the agencies ceased their full-time education more than thirty years ago.
- Each branch has a different a different education age cessation pattern.
- There is a strong correlation of the education qualification levels with the professional and managerial profile of the respondent groups.

The predominant finding from the data in this section is the incongruity with the national survey generalisations in regard to volunteers and the labour market. It would appear that bias toward older respondents in this research has affected the comparison. Similarly that same bias has affected the comparison of the annual income received. Even within a single volunteer organisation, there is branch diversity in the volunteer profile.

Although all the volunteers who took part are active in national organisations there are specific differences between the branches of each organisation. This finding may be construed to indicate that volunteer typology is defined by branch characteristics rather than by organisation indicators. The diversity extends down to the branch and is not simply organisational, or demographic, or cultural, but is a flux of each factor with the other.

Age Concern Volunteers (Appendices 5 and 6)

Because the questionnaires prepared for the two AC branches were slightly different from each other, it is possible that the comparative conclusions may not be as full or as revealing as would be wished. What may be inferred is that:

- ACB is a long established branch and ACH&W is a relative recently re-formed branch.
- ACB has a relatively higher proportion of male volunteers than ACH&W.
- ACB has a higher percentage of volunteers over 65 years old (40%), whereas ACH&W has 33%. Conversely, 56 % of ACH&W are in the 45-64-age range, and only 20% of ACB volunteers are in that age group. ACB has 12% of their volunteers from the 18-44 age group while ACH&W only have 8% from that age range.
- There are differences in marital status. Sixty-one percent of ACH&W volunteers are married or living with partners, whereas 40% of ACB volunteers are in this category, and there are significant differences in the other demographic categories, too.
- ACH&W maybe characterised by a relatively closed internal recruitment network, whereas ACB appears to be relatively open to outside sources of volunteer supply.
- There is a striking contrast in the use of the private car. Sixty-six percent of ACH&W (rural) volunteers use a private car to travel to their volunteer activity,

whereas only 23% of ACB (urban) volunteers use a car. There is also a difference in use of public transport. Forty-four percent of ACB volunteers use public transport compared to only 11% of ACH&W volunteers.

- There are considerable differences in the income levels. Forty-two percent of volunteers in ACH&W are in the highest income range, compared to only 6% of ACB volunteers. 51% of ACB volunteers are clustered in the lowest income cohort, whereas, only 17% of ACH&W volunteers fall into this category.

These two branches of Age Concern display several of the factors that illustrate the diversity of the voluntary sector at the level of volunteer activity.

There is the contrast of the mature established branch with a large corps of long committed volunteers, and a relatively new branch with the majority of the volunteers having been recently engaged.

There is also a demographic difference which may arise from, either the difference in the nature of activity, or from the recently formed branch attracting younger volunteers. The difference in location of activity has influenced the volunteer response. Because there is considerable travelling involved in the rural relief care work of ACH&W access to a private car is a necessity, whereas, the visitation service provided by ACB is within the urban community of the volunteer's residence and there is limited travelling that can be accomplished by using public transport.

The difference between income levels of the branch volunteers can be equated with their demographic differences and is illustrated by the high percentage of ACH&W volunteers owning a private car compared to the percentage of car ownership of ACB volunteers.

Citizen's Advice Bureau Volunteers (Appendices 7 and 8)

- There are significantly more female than male volunteers, 65% at CABW and 78% at CABO.
- Eighty-seven percent of CABO volunteers are over 55 years old, whereas, CABW have only 60% over 55 years old.
- CABO volunteers are all white. CABW has only one non-white volunteer.
- There are 75% of CABO respondents that are married/living with partner as are 74% of CABW respondents.
- Only 9% of CABW respondents have children of under 18 years of age at home, whereas, 25% of CABO respondents have that responsibility.

- All of the CABO respondents have been recruited within the previous fifteen years, whereas, 15% of CABW respondents have been active for twenty-five years.
- Thirty-five percent of CABW respondents are active for 15 hours and more each week, compared to only 18% of the CABO respondents.
- CAB volunteer activity is concentrated almost entirely in two areas that may overlap. All of the CABW respondents are engaged in either a professional or a clerical and secretarial capacity. Four percent of CABO respondents describe their work as Personal Services; the remaining 96% are either professional or clerical and secretarial.
- Fifty-five percent of CABW respondents use a private car to travel to their volunteer activity, compared to only 9% of CABO respondents. Conversely, 48% of CABO respondents use public transport, whereas, only 15% of CABW respondents use that mode of transport. Two factors are involved: there is less traffic congestion in Worcester and the use of a private car is easier: and, car parking facilities are absent at the Oxford office, but are available at Worcester.
- There is no single, unifying motivation for volunteering. The basic driver for most CAB volunteers appears to be individualistic. The most common extemporised response is one that emphasises continuing mental challenge.
- CAB respondents were most likely to offer their expertise to the local branch. Thirty-nine percent CABO and 50% CABW respondents contacted the local office and offered their services. Only 13% CABO and 10% CABW respondents were recruited through a one-to-one request.
- Sixty-five percent of CABO and 45% of CABW respondents are over retirement pension age.
- Over 90% of the CAB respondents were not in the full-time labour market at the time of the survey. Over 65% of the CAB respondents who were not in the full-time labour market were last in full-time employment over two years previously.
- Fifty-six percent of CABO and 30% of CABW respondents had a managerial/administrative or professional career background.
- Forty-eight percent of the CABO and 38% of the CABW respondents receive a personal annual income of less than £10,000. An income of £20,000 per annum is received by only 5% CABW and 22% CABO respondents.

- The highest percentage of all volunteer respondents having no religious persuasion is to be found in each of the CAB branches: 53% in CABO and 35% in CABW.
- The CAB branches have markedly higher percentages of their volunteers ceasing full-time education in the age ranges 19-35: 74% of CABO and 45% of CABW respondents.
- An extraordinarily high percentage of CAB volunteers have university qualifications: 78% of CABO and 50% of CABW respondents

It is the similarities between the two CAB branches that are most marked, but similarities that are not prominent in the volunteer profiles of the other two agencies. The strongest branch similarity that is also a difference between agencies is the motivation to become a volunteer. The personal satisfaction of the volunteer is most important. The continued use of their professional and intellectual expertise after cessation of full-time employment is the main driver to join CAB. This aspect will be considered in greater depth in Chapter Five of the Thesis.

The predominant same route in both branches to becoming a volunteer is an initial approach from the individual, but this method is, in the main, different to that of the other agency volunteers. These CAB volunteers offered their professional expertise and experience.

There are differences between each of the CAB branches. It is likely that these differences derive from the histories of each of the branches as shown in Appendix 13. The Oxford branch came into existence as early as 1940, whereas, CABW opened relatively recently in 1975. This effect of the different histories is seen in the higher percentage of CABO volunteers that have been active for a considerable number of years. That the time commitment each week is less per volunteer in CABO may be the result of several factors; more staff available to spread the work load; a smaller case load; or it may be that the longer established branch has evolved a work ethic that does not require volunteers to extend their hours of commitment.

One of the consequences arising from the location of the volunteer activity site is the incidence of the use of public transport. The volunteers at the city centre CABO have the problem of traffic congestion with the related parking difficulties but have the option of an adequate public transport system. The CABW volunteers, on the other

hand, have office parking available and therefore use their private cars to travel within Worcester and only use the public transport to a limited extent.

Scouts (Appendices 9 and 10)

There are many close similarities between volunteers in the two Scouting Districts, especially in comparison to the heterogeneity found in Age Concern.

- A balanced gender profile.
- Eighty percent of the volunteers of the volunteers are less than 55 years old. There is an organisational policy to retire uniformed leaders at 65 years old. There is no maximum age limit for non-uniformed volunteers.
- There are no non-white volunteers in either Scout District.
- A powerful loyalty is evident, manifest in a number of characteristics, including:
 1. Long service.
 2. The long hours of commitment, especially striking given the employment status of most volunteers.
- The broad range of scouting activities undertaken, regardless of gender.
- The necessity of a private car for often physically oriented and customarily peripatetic
- The fundamentally altruistic motivations for volunteering.
- The variety of full-time paid work undertaken by the volunteers.
- The religious steeping (but not necessarily the current commitment) of volunteers.
- The diverse range of educational qualifications.

There are a few differences.

- Eighty-nine percent of HS respondents are married/living with partner, compared with 76% of OS respondents. Only 7% of HS respondents are single compared to 20% of OS volunteers.
- Forty-nine percent of HS volunteers have children under 18 years of age still living at home, whereas, the figure for OS respondents is 38%.

As shown in Appendix 14 the Scout Association is a members association which creates a distinct difference between this agency and the other two participating agencies. Another difference that is explained in greater detail in Appendix 14 is the long history of the organisation. Although the Association originated in 1908, Scouting began in

Hereford in 1912 but the consolidation of the Oxford (Spires) District was only during the early 1980s. This difference in the District histories may be the root cause for some of the differences between the two Scout Districts, such as longevity of active membership. The demographic differences between the two districts may arise from any one of three factors or indeed from a combination of any of these factors, namely: Age of district, as explained above: Location, Hereford is a rural district, Oxford is a suburban city district: Economic status of the location, Hereford has no large industrial complexes, also, professional and business incomes are less than available within the Oxford area.

One of the significant differences between scout volunteers and the volunteers from the other agencies is the family successions where young people continue in the Movement that their parents were previously active. This method of recruitment results in a cloning of members.

The strong similarity between both Scout districts arises from the structuring of the management and annual programme that is laid down in the Association Handbook, Policy Organisation and Rules. The nature of scouting activities is so very different to that of the other co-operating agencies that it is no surprise that the volunteer typology shows striking demographic differences.

CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

In the previous chapter specific facts that constituted the persona of the individual were collated to identify the profile of a volunteer. This Chapter analyses the data obtained from three qualitative sources: focus groups, written responses, and answers to an open-ended question in the questionnaire survey to attempt a clearer understanding of the motives and perceptions of the barriers to becoming a volunteer.

The findings from the questionnaire issued to the volunteers in the three co-operating agencies indicated, in aggregate, the demographic and personal characteristics of the respondents and the overall volunteer profile of the respective agencies. The probable cultural, economic and organisational barriers that volunteers encountered were also highlighted. These barriers were obviously not insurmountable, since the respondents were actually functioning as active volunteers within the co-operating agencies. The limited number of open-ended questions in the survey instrument was designed to enable the volunteers to give their uniquely individual responses.

In addition to the open-ended survey questions, other qualitative data on specific themes was obtained initially through focus groups and subsequently by written individual volunteer responses. A detailed description of the process of collecting the focus group data and the written responses has been provided in Chapter Three. The analysis that follows will examine verbal and written responses of the respondents under four key themes:

- Motivational factors:
- Exclusion Processes:
- Experiences with Ageism:
- Information Availability:

The choice of these specific themes arose from the ideas discussed in unstructured conversations with volunteers and professional administrators managing volunteer staff, and from the Literature review.

‘Motivation factors’ are highlighted because the literature on faith and other motivational drivers suggests that there were certain motivational structures that support

persevering behaviours and these may assist in the surmounting of any institutional or sociological barriers to volunteering, as Clary et al (1996) say:

“[Volunteering] is a question of motivation. In other words, it concerns the internal, psychological forces that move people to overcome obstacles and become involved in volunteering activity (p.486).”

‘Exclusion processes’ are a manifestation of volunteering barriers that may have been encountered even by active volunteers. Research into the discrimination against prospective or active volunteers because of class, colour, creed or disability is not part of this Thesis. Exclusion because of educational standard or economic status may be linked to the age of an individual, and is therefore part of this enquiry.

“Involvement in all types of voluntary work is influenced by, among other things, income, education, age and occupational status (Knapp et al, 1995, p. 7).”

‘Ageism’, as a barrier, was frequently mentioned in conversation by the respondents, but rarely acknowledged as existing within any of the agencies in which they were active. In the words of Bytheway (1995):

“Ageism is about age and prejudice. But it is not simple. It appears in all sorts of situations and affects people of all ages (p. 3)”.

Finally, ‘Information availability’ is widely considered to be a form of market failure that can afflict volunteering processes and thwart putative volunteers’ efforts at involvement. The promotion of organisation image and the value of the volunteer for the benefit of the community are often seen as ambiguous or vague.

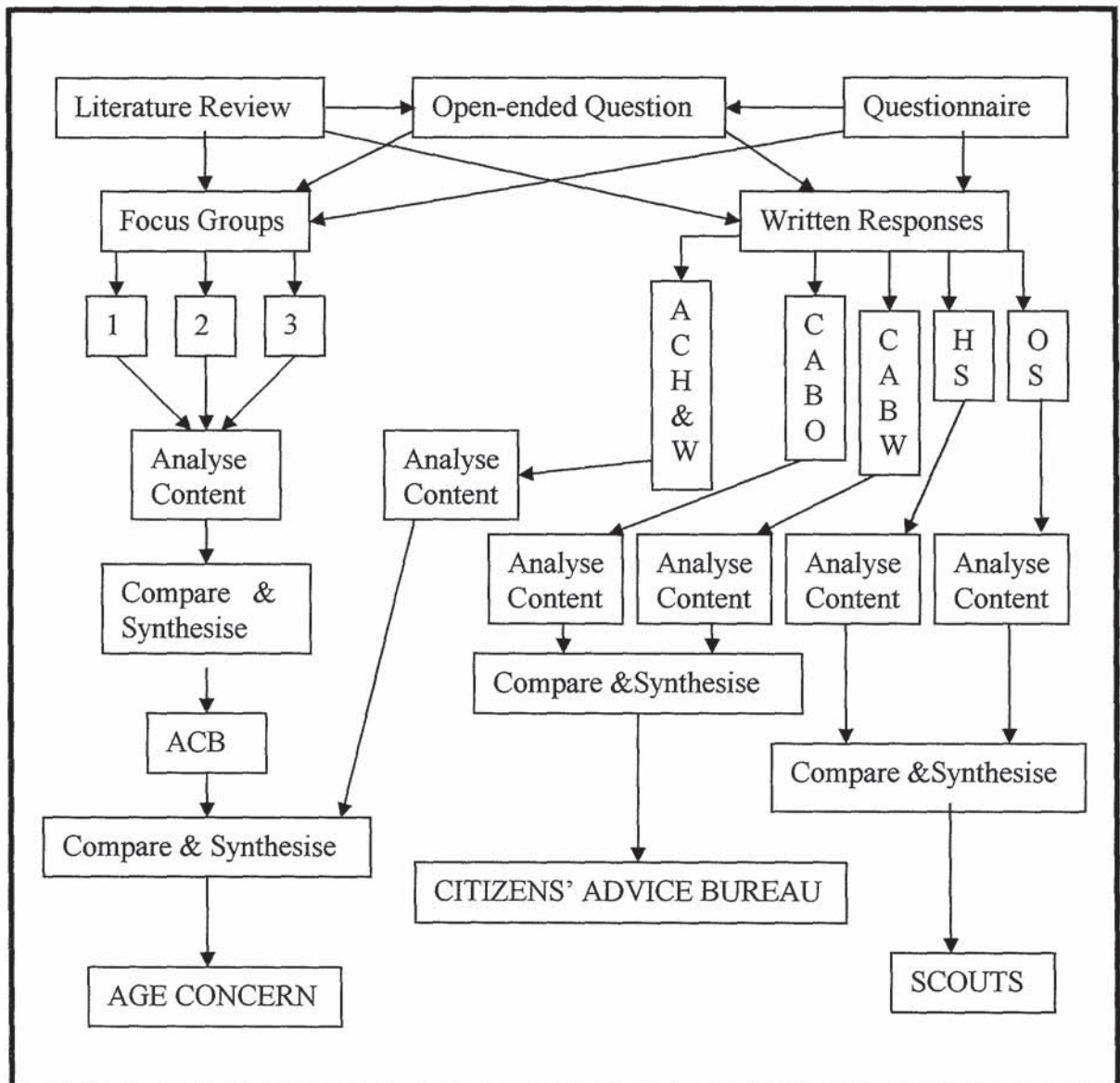
“Promotion is a process of communicating to both target customers and the general public, and to internal audiences, such as public bodies and government agencies who control funds, boards of governors who provide management, and to employees who need to understand and to support the organisation (Hannagan, 1992, p.154)”.

Within each of these central themes, the volunteer responses will be grouped by agency. The content of the responses obtained will be interpreted by grouping concept-words and phrases to indicate the substantive area of focus and explore the dimensional range along which the properties of concepts vary. This ‘open coding’ analytical process discovers in the research data the identity of the concepts and their properties and

dimensions (Straus and Corbin, 1998). A central idea in content analysis is that the many words of the text are classified into much fewer content categories, in a synthesising process (Weber, 1990). Each category may consist of one, several, or many words. To arrive at an understanding of the buried meaning in the statements of the respondents, the procedure set out by Schofield (1997) has been followed. Here three levels of content analysis have been undertaken; firstly, selection and manually counting of the significant phrases to obtain a vocabulary; secondly, grouping of these phrases into 'content categories'; and finally, an analysis of the underlying meaning of the textual sources, using the content categories as the starting point. The process of analysis will be the same for each of the four themes of enquiry.

The analysis process is described in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1: Qualitative Analysis Process



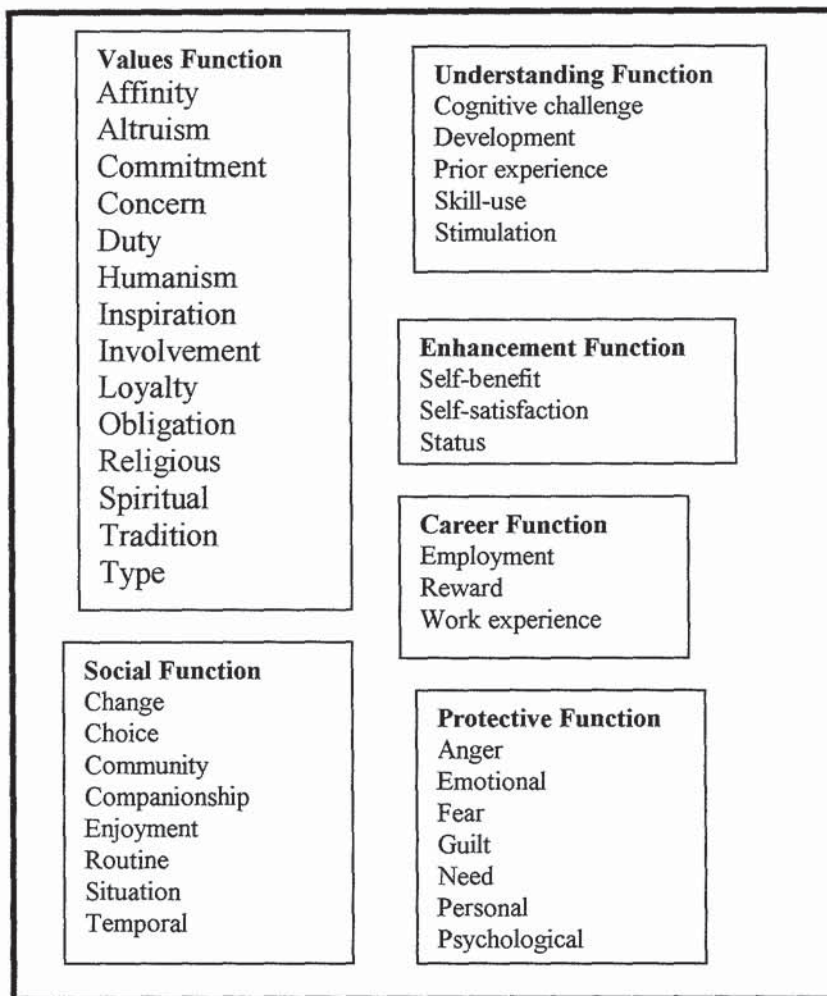
Motivational Factors

In Chapter 2 the various theories of motivation were discussed. The theories of Murray (1938) and Maslow (1954) suggested a hierarchy of motivational triggers that produce active responses in the human life course. Some of the words and phrases used in their 'needs lists' are echoed in the statements of the respondents. Similarly the factors that shape volunteer choice as expressed in the Expectancy Theory of Vroom (1964) are evident in some of the respondents' statements. The descriptive depth of the six 'identifiers' of motivation that were created by Clary et al (1996) were widely reflected in the volunteer's responses (as shown in Fig. 5.1).

The 'identifiers' created by Clary et al appear to comprehensively contain the optimum number of motivational triggers that have been identified by previous researchers. For this reason these identifiers have been adopted as key categories for this analysis. Using the actual words and phrases provided by the respondents, vocabularies were created for each of these key categories. The vocabulary response frequency within a category will indicate the strength of that category as a motivational influence on the respondents of that organisation.

The first Figure display for each organisation will reduce the words and phrases of the responses to meaningful content categories. The second Figure display will aggregate these categories within the 'motivation identifier'.

The survey questionnaire asked the respondents why they did voluntary work and they were given five alternative answers to be placed in order of personal relevance. The analysis of that question is given in the previous chapter. An opportunity was given to make a sixth personal response. The focus groups and those who provided written responses were also asked to elaborate on their questionnaire answers.

Figure 5.2: Motivation Identifier and Content Vocabularies

The following comments expand and explain each of the six identifiers that Clary et al confirmed as motivation descriptors. The vocabularies that the respondents used to describe their motivation to become volunteers have also been briefly defined.

- **Values**
People participate in volunteer work to express and act on values important to the self.
- **Altruism**
Volunteers have a concern for the welfare of others rather than for themselves.

- ***Affinity***
The type of client and the volunteer activity associated with the desired or experienced voluntary work is something for which the respondent has a close feeling, empathy and understanding.
- ***Commitment***
The individuals are prepared to invest their time and energy despite their age.
- ***Concern***
There is a desire to help those who are perceived to be in need.
- ***Duty***
This is a feeling that 'one ought to' be involved. The normative commitment is seen to work in conjunction with affinity, a faith conviction, or a family tradition.
- ***Humanism***
This is a concept that describes any action or system that primarily promotes human interests and rejects the supernatural.
- ***Inspiration***
This is the effect that the ethos of an organisation or project has to actively engage the volunteer.
- ***Involvement***
There is a desire to become immersed in the volunteer activities.
- ***Loyalty***
The volunteer has been actively committed to the aims and purposes of the organisation for many years.
- ***Obligation***
In this situation there is the sense of repaying a debt of gratitude for the services previously provided by the organisation.
- ***Religious***
The faith precepts encourage active commitment to the organisation or project.
- ***Spiritual***
The inner beliefs of the volunteer require participation in the activities of the organisation
- ***Tradition***
The family history is one that encourages volunteering activity. This may induce certain receptivity to volunteering appeals.

- ***Type***

The assertion here is that there is a certain class of personality that tends toward volunteering. The characteristics of that 'type' are not clearly (or, indeed, non-dichotomously) defined in the discussion. However, individual features of the volunteer 'type' would include, for example a traditionalist orientation, sense of duty, concern, commitment, affinity, or need for challenge.

- **Career**

People engage in volunteering work to gain experiences that will benefit their careers.

- ***Employment***

The individual considers the volunteer activity as an extension of their career.

- ***Reward***

The respondent's employer permitted engagement in volunteer activity as a benefit for work well done.

- ***Work experience***

Engaging in volunteer activity was considered as part of the learning process that increased the career potential.

- **Understanding**

People view volunteer work as an opportunity to increase their knowledge of the world and develop and practice skills that might otherwise go unpractised.

- ***Challenge***

There is attraction in attempting something new, such as volunteering, a quality that is classed as irresistible.

- ***Cognitive challenge***

The individual views volunteering as an opportunity to maintain the stimulation of their intellectual capacities.

- ***Development***

Volunteering was seen by some respondents as a means to continue expanding their skills and expertise.

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- ***Experience***
Previous social roles have given the individual experience that will be of use in the volunteer capacity. Such roles identified by focus group attendees include caring for a relative, or working in a health care environment.
- ***Prior Experience***
Previous work related skills were seen as being relevant to the activities of a specific volunteer organisation.
- ***Skill-use***
This is very similar to the previous descriptor but relates to non-work related skills.
- ***Social***
Volunteering helps individuals to fit in and get along with social groups that are important to them.
- ***Change***
The individual is looking for an alteration in their life routines.
- ***Choice***
Volunteering is attractive to some because it signals the exercise of discretion; is activity freely entered into – rather than at the orders of an employer.
- ***Community***
The individual believes that as part of their civic involvement lies in volunteer activity.
- ***Companionship***
To volunteer is to be part of a group of friendly like-minded people that may lead to other social activities.
- ***Enjoyment***
The individual experiences satisfying pleasure in participating in volunteering activity.
- ***Routine***
Volunteering was part of every-day family life, and had been for a previous generation.
-
-

- ***Situation***
Events in the life of the respondent have created space in which the individual has the opportunity to choose another role to fill that space.
- ***Temporal***
Spare time usually arises out of some event factor or changed circumstances in the normal routine of life. This category is linked very closely with the first category of 'situation'.
- ***Enhancement***
Volunteer work serves the purpose of allowing the individual to engage in psychological development and enhance his or her esteem.
- ***Self-benefit***
Voluntary activity enables others to appreciate the personality and skill of the volunteer and promotes a personal feel-good factor.
- ***Self-satisfaction***
There is a pleasurable self-contentment in voluntary activity.
- ***Status***
Being seen to be involved in volunteer activity can increase the personal standing of the individual.
- ***Protective***
People engage in volunteer work to cope with inner anxieties and conflicts, thus affording some protection to the ego.
- ***Anger***
The perception of injustice, inequality, or incompetence drives the individual to voluntary activity that opposes these perceptions.
- ***Emotional***
There is a feeling that a debt has to be repaid or a feeling of guilt that not sufficient has been done in previous years.
- ***Fear***
The individual is apprehensive about being alone and believes that becoming a volunteer will provide contacts can relieve the alarm.
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- ***Guilt***
Becoming a volunteer relieves the sense having wronged others. There is a sense of being responsible for the injustice to or suffering of others.
- ***Need***
Some of the respondents wish to belong to something bigger than themselves, or to feel fulfilled in active service, or to believe that they are socially valued.
- ***Personal***
A few respondents became active because a member of their family 'volunteered' or committed them for tasks in the organisation.
- ***Psychological***
Emotional responses vary according to the circumstances of the respondent, but there are some commonalities. An intimation of frustration at not being able to work, a dislike of apathy in others, a dislike of the perceived selfishness of their lifestyle, all appear to act as triggers to volunteering.
- ***Method***
This is not so much a form of motivation but rather, a trigger that enables that motivation to be expressed. Respondents identified particular approaches to recruitment under this heading.

Age Concern Birmingham Focus Groups

Three focus groups contributed to provide this data. The process of conducting the focus group is fully detailed in Chapter 3. The following Figure 5.3 arranges the key responses within categories. The numbers in brackets are the frequency of identical responses.

Figure 5.3: Aggregated Vocabulary and Respective Content Category: ACB

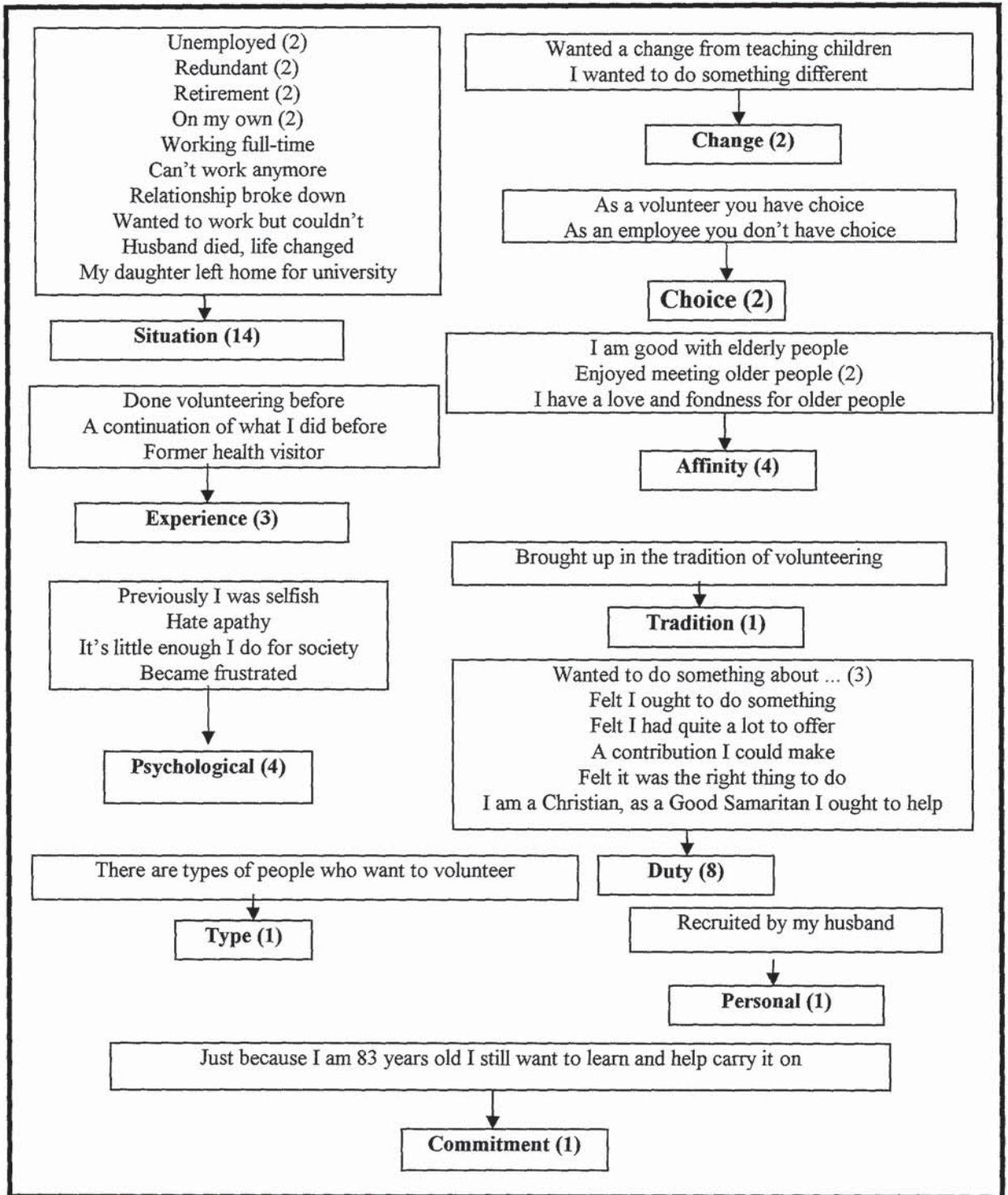
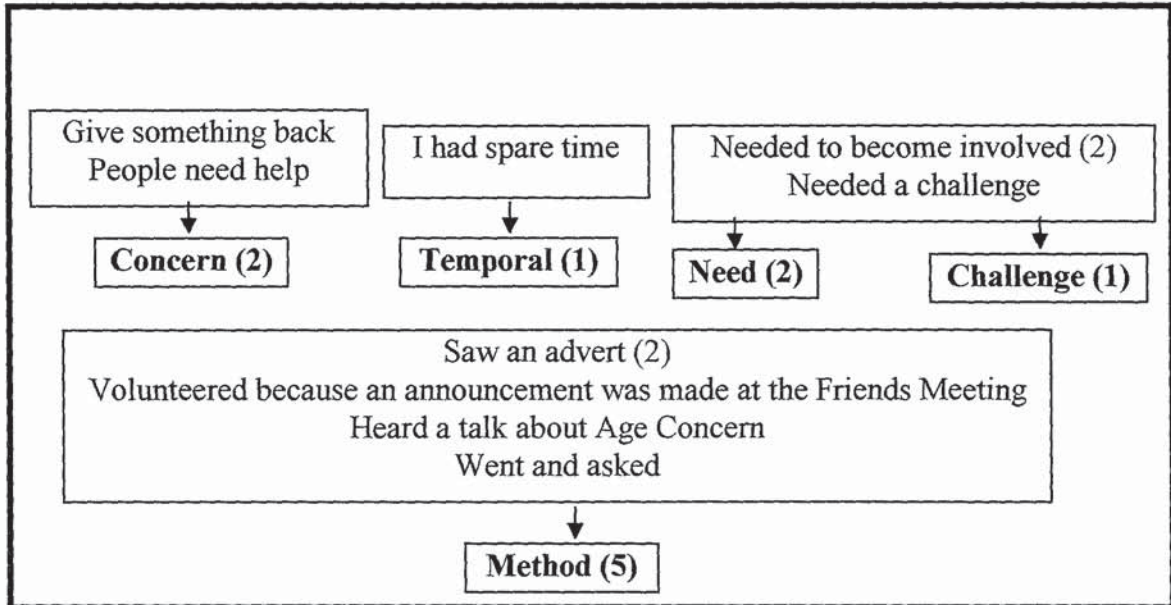
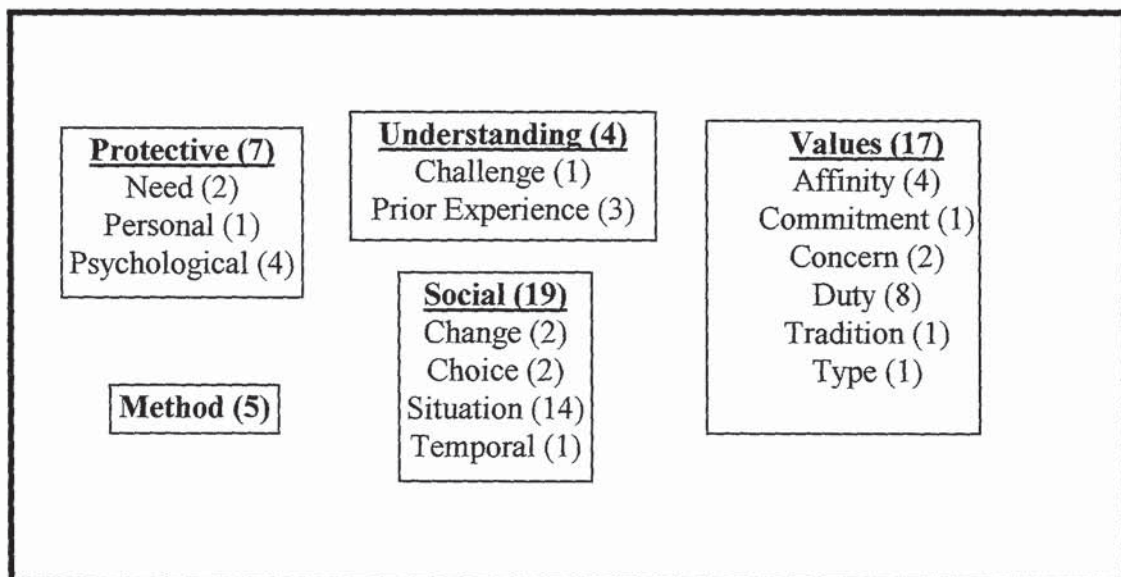


Figure 5.3: Aggregated Vocabulary and Respective Content Category:**ACB (continued)**

The ACB focus group content analysis aggregation in Figure 5.4 provides a rich fund of discursive evidence that permits a fuller analysis of the identified causal categories.

Figure 5.4: Content Categories Aggregated within Motivation Functions:**ACB Focus Groups**

There is no single motivational category, apart from 'situation', that describes the source of volunteering impetus. 'Situation', as previously briefly explained, simply

defines the life events that made it easier for the individual to become a volunteer. If these events are discounted, the weight of evidence suggests that 'values' is the most meaningful influence upon the respondents becoming volunteers, with 'duty' the most frequently mentioned category.

Responses to Open-ended Survey Question

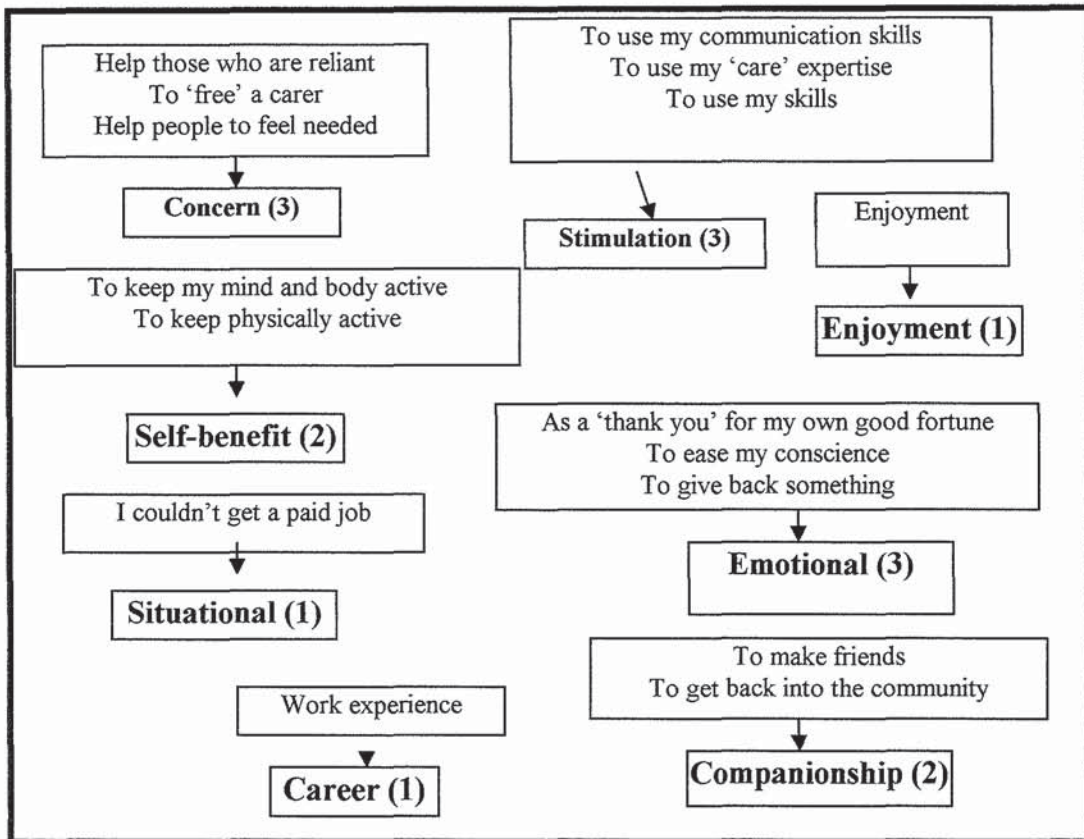
This next section displays and discusses, by volunteer organisation, the responses to the 'motivation' open-ended survey question.

As with the analysis of the focus group responses the first Figure displays the vocabulary used by the respondents which have been aggregated within a content category. These categories then been aggregated under appropriate motivation identifiers as shown in the second Figure.

Age Concern (H&W)

Sixteen of the respondents from ACH&W provided answers to the motivation open-ended survey question. The aggregation of the responses is shown in Figure 5.5 below.

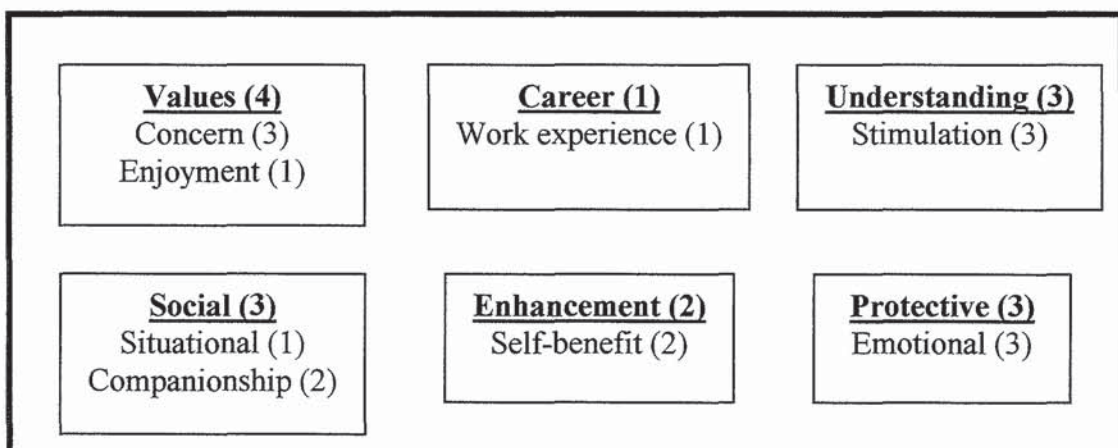
Figure 5.5: Age Concern H&W: Content Categories and Vocabulary



No specific category is dominant. The categories are aggregated as in Figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5.6: The Aggregated Content Categories within Motivation Identifiers:

ACH&W

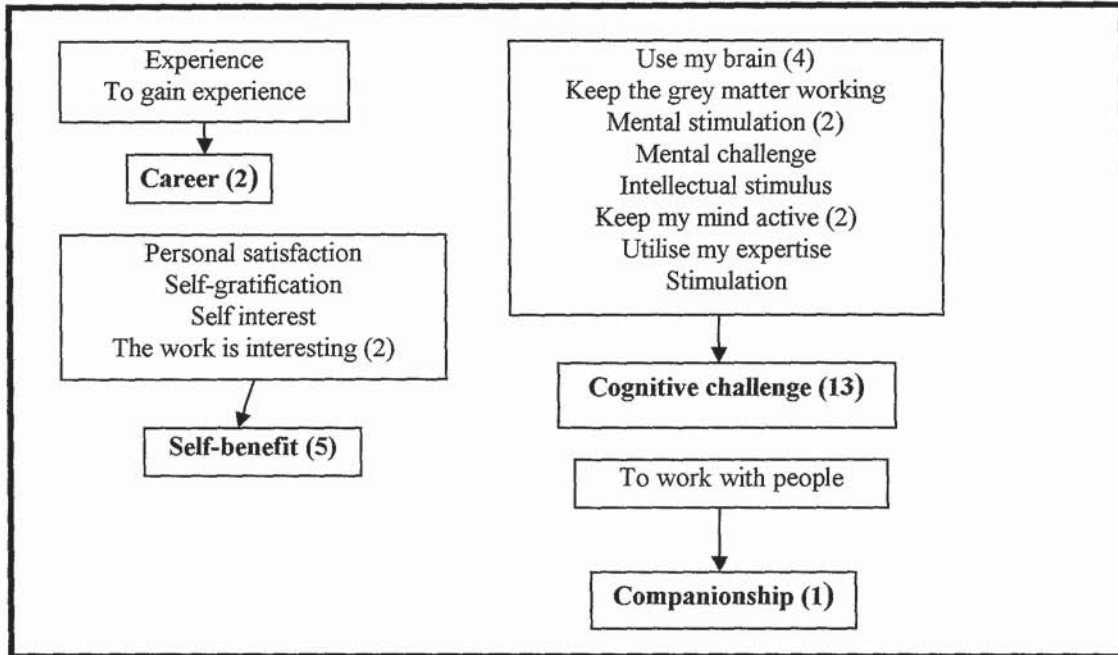


The responses from the ACH&W respondents are spread over all six motivational categories, whereas, only four of the categories contained all the ACB responses. For three of the ACH&W respondents becoming a volunteering was a conscious choice as a

means to improve their personal situation or career prospects. These motivational responses were not exhibited by ACB respondents.

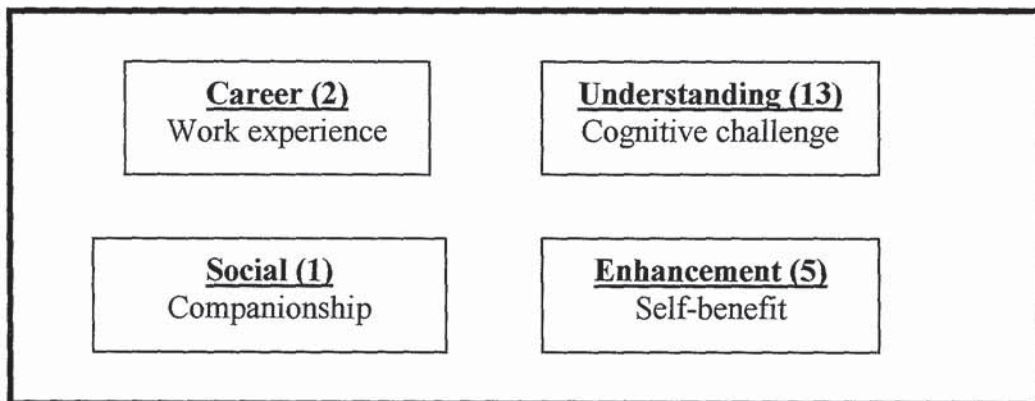
Citizens Advice Bureau

Figure 5.7: Vocabulary and Content Categories: CAB



It is the intellectual stimulus of the CAB work that has attracted most of the respondents to become volunteers. All of the categories refer to the personal advantages that may be derived from volunteer activity. The aggregation of the content categories within the motivation identifiers is displayed in Figure 5.8 below.

Figure 5.8: Aggregated Content Categories and Motivation Identifiers; CAB



Only four of the six identifiers are necessary to describe the motivations of the respondents from CABO and CABW. The overwhelming majority of CAB respondents became volunteers to satisfy their need to maintain a challenge to their intellectual capacities. It is worth noting that none of the CAB respondents appear to have been motivated by any of the triggers within the ‘values’ category.

Scouts

Forty-nine Scout respondents, from Hereford and Oxford, completed the open-ended question and described their personal motivation stimulus as shown in Figure 5.9 below.

Figure 5.9: Vocabularies and Content Categories: Scouts

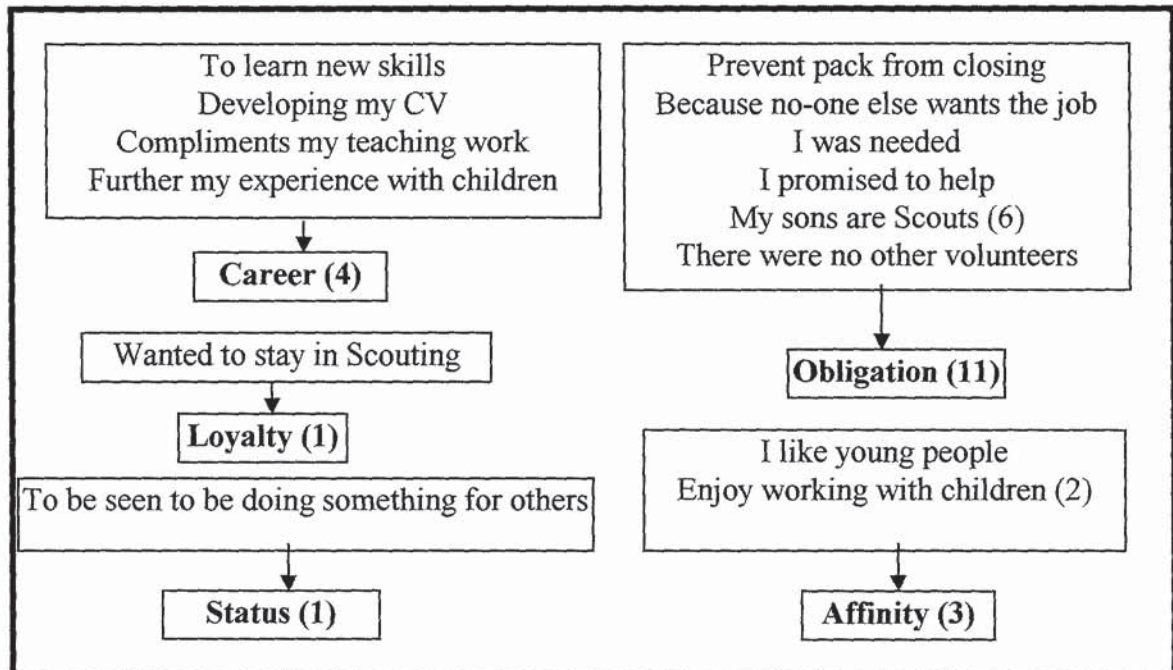
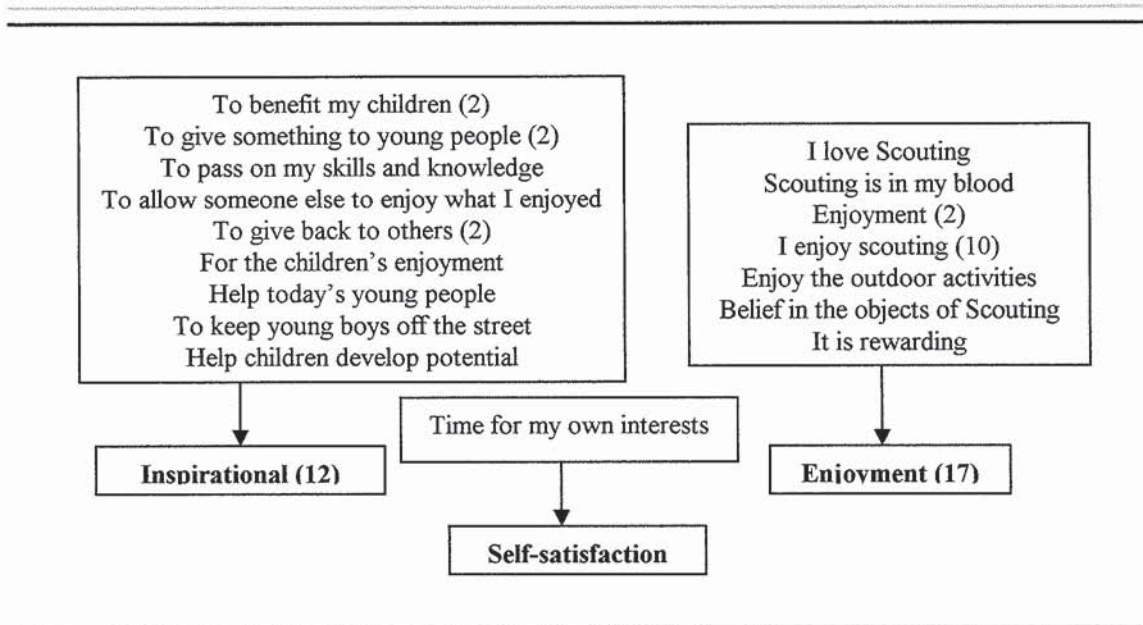
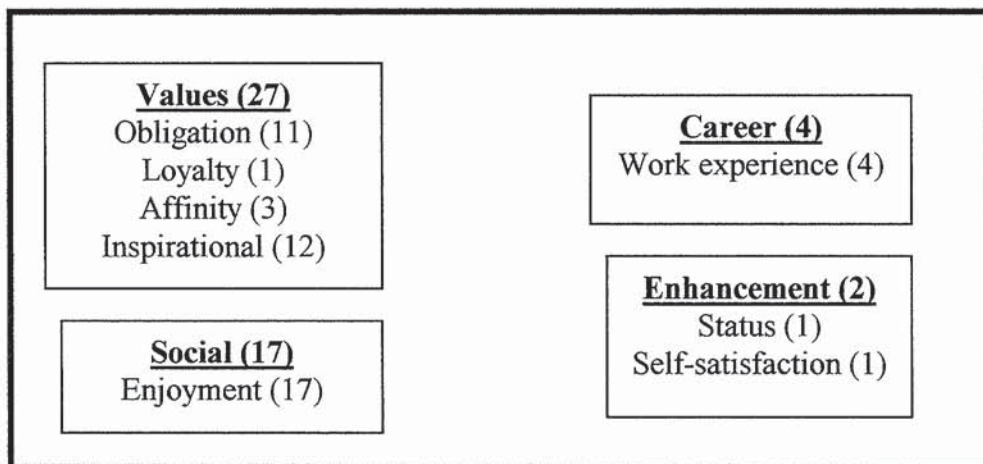


Figure 5.9 (continued)

It is significant that the Scouting volunteers use the words ‘enjoyment’ and ‘enjoy’ frequently and very much more often than any of the volunteers from the other agencies. The aggregation of the content categories into the six key motivation categories is shown in Figure 5.10 below.

Figure 5.10: Aggregated Content Categories and Motivation Identifiers: Scouts

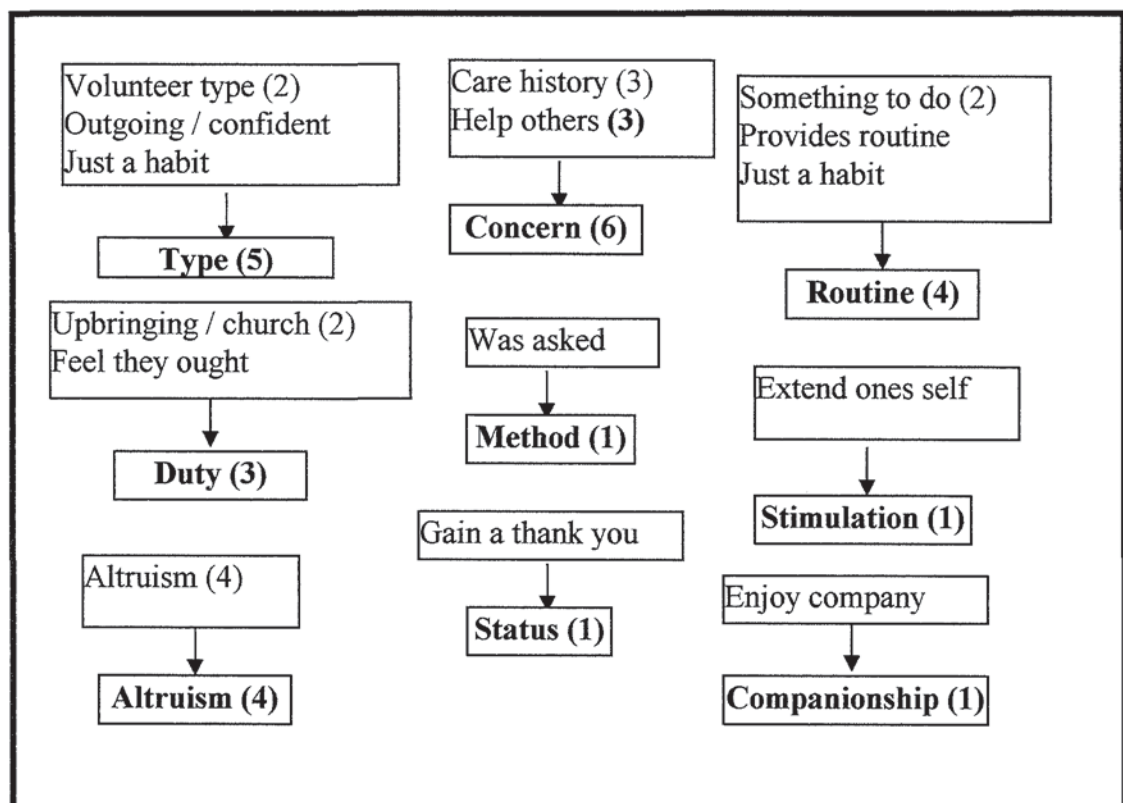
More than 50% of the Scout respondents indicate that they are motivated by ‘values’ that are partly inspired by the ethos of the organisation and partly by a recognition that

they are repaying the organisation for the benefits and enjoyment that they received organisation

Written Responses

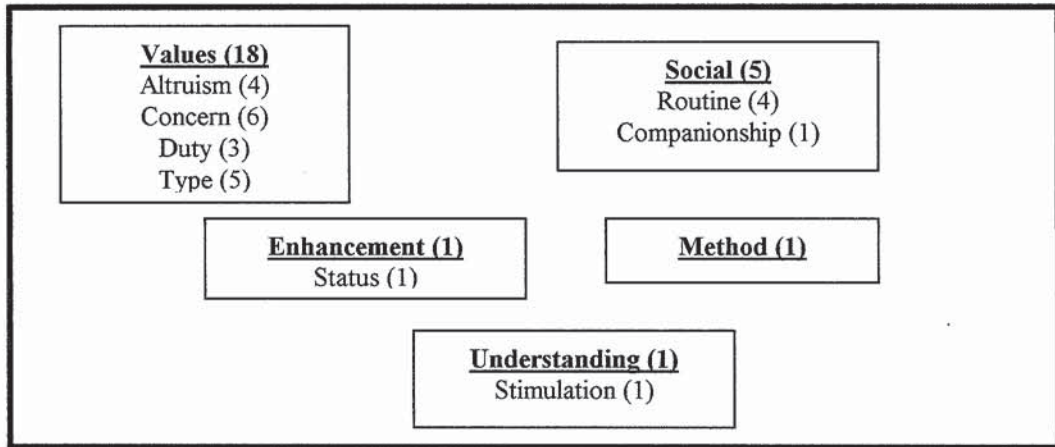
The written responses have been analysed in the same way as for the focus group and open-ended questionnaire answers. The Figures and comment follow the same sequence within each organisational presentation.

Figure 5.11: Vocabularies and Content Categories: ACH&W



Once more there is no clear single category that can be described as the reason that respondents, this time from ACH&W, engage in volunteer activity. The aggregation of the content categories within the motivation identifiers are exhibited in Figure 5.12 below.

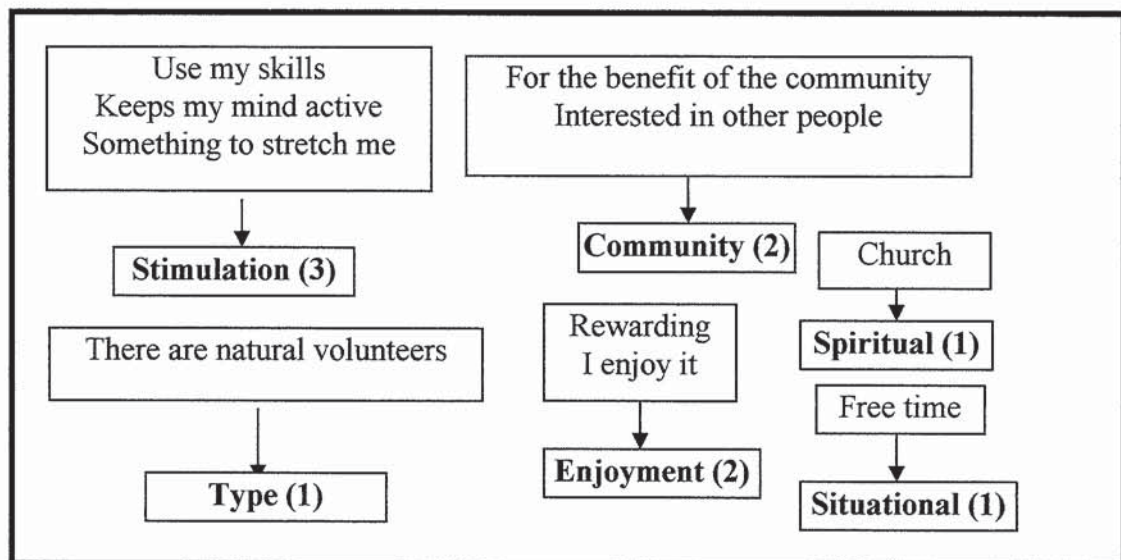
Figure 5.12: Aggregated Content Categories and Motivation Identifiers: ACH&W



When all the categories are brought together under their respective identifier it is clear that compassion and care for those in need has the greatest influence on the ACH&W respondents' decision to volunteer.

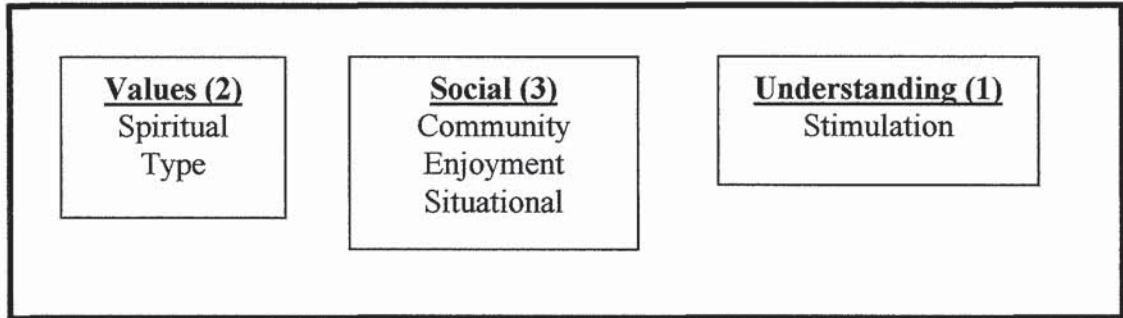
Ten CAB respondents provided written responses. The vocabulary used to describe their motivations and the content categories of the aggregated vocabularies are displayed in Figure 5.13 below.

Figure 5.13: Vocabulary and Content Categories : CAB



There is no single clear content category that describes the nature of the motivation that led the CAB respondents to become volunteers. The aggregation of the content categories within the motivation identifiers is shown in Figure 5.14 below.

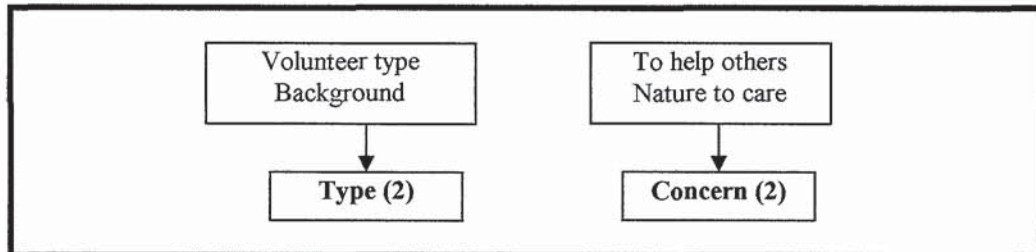
Figure 5.14: Aggregated Content Categories and Motivation Identifiers: CAB



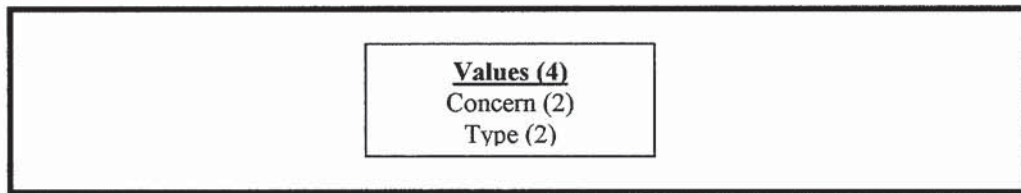
The numbers of responses in this segment of data are insufficient to determine any clear motivation identifier. Only when all the data segments are brought together will there be the possibility of arriving at any conclusion.

Only four Scout volunteers provided written responses. Figure 5.15 shows the vocabulary used and the relevant content categories.

Figure 5.15: Vocabulary and Content Categories: Scouts



No generalisation can be determined on this very small number of responses. The aggregation of all the segments of data will provide a sufficient number of responses. The Aggregation of the content categories within the relevant motivation identifier is displayed in Figure 5.16 below.

Figure 5.16: Content Categories and Motivation Identifiers: Scouts

All of the content categories are within the ‘values’ motivation identifier’.

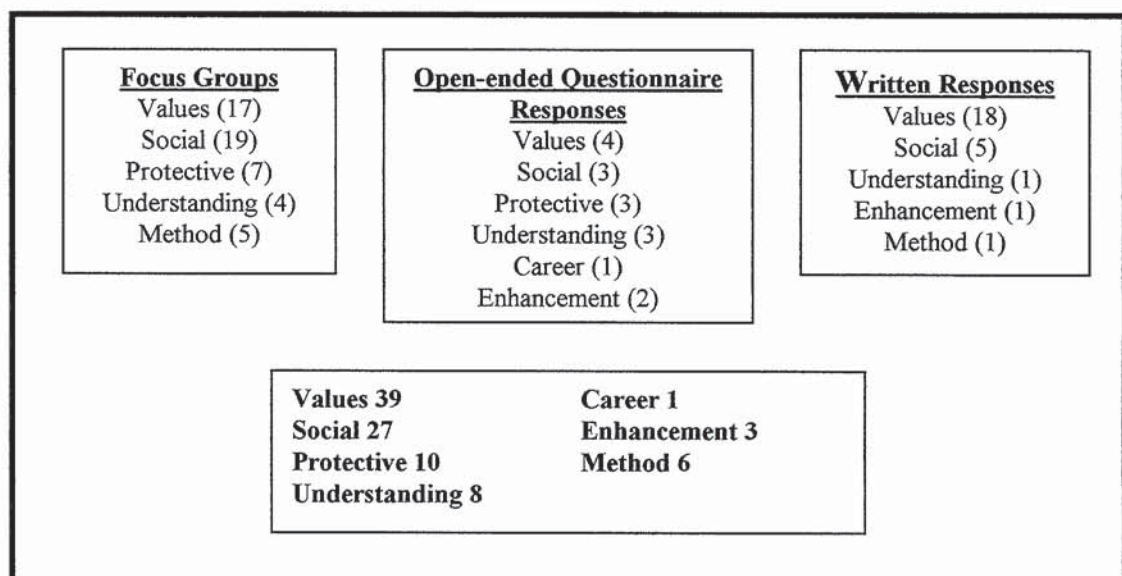
Aggregation of Motivation Identifiers

This next section compares the motivation identifiers that have been revealed by merging the segments of analysis of the sources of data on an organisation by organisation basis.

Age Concern

The following Figure 5.17 brings together the synthesis of the analysis of the data obtained from:

- Three ACB focus groups
- Responses by ACH&W volunteers to the open-ended question on motivation
- Written responses from ACH&W volunteers

Figure 5.17: Aggregation of Age Concern Motivation Identifiers

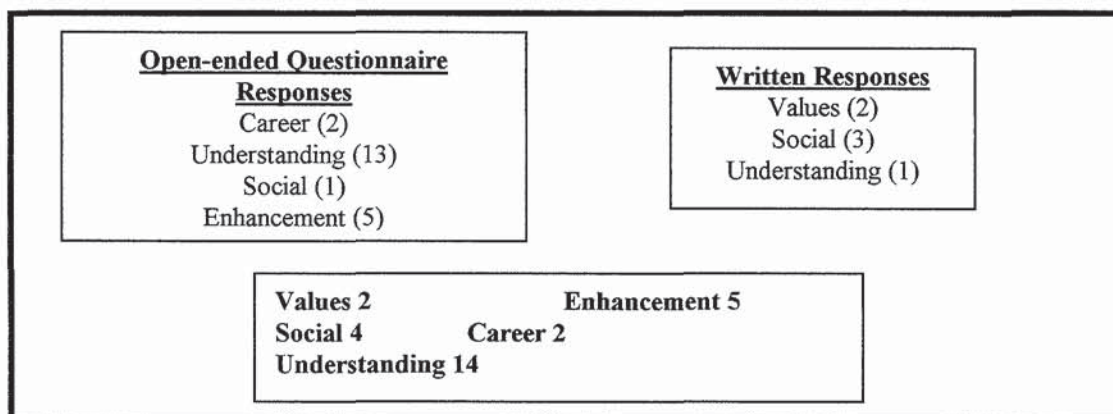
The ‘values’ identifier clearly describes the nature of the AC respondents’ motivation to volunteer is. These respondents recognise the importance of principles of responsibility and compassion toward others who can benefit from their services as volunteers. The second identifier, ‘social’, includes many cases of life events creating an opportunity to become a volunteer. The opportunity had obviously been appreciated and accepted.

Citizens’ Advice Bureau

Figure 5.18 below displays the aggregation of the motivation identifiers synthesised from the information obtained from both the Oxford and Worcester Branches of CAB:

- Answers to the open-ended motivation question in the research survey
- Written responses to the theme of ‘motivation’

Figure 5.18: Aggregation of CAB Motivation Identifiers



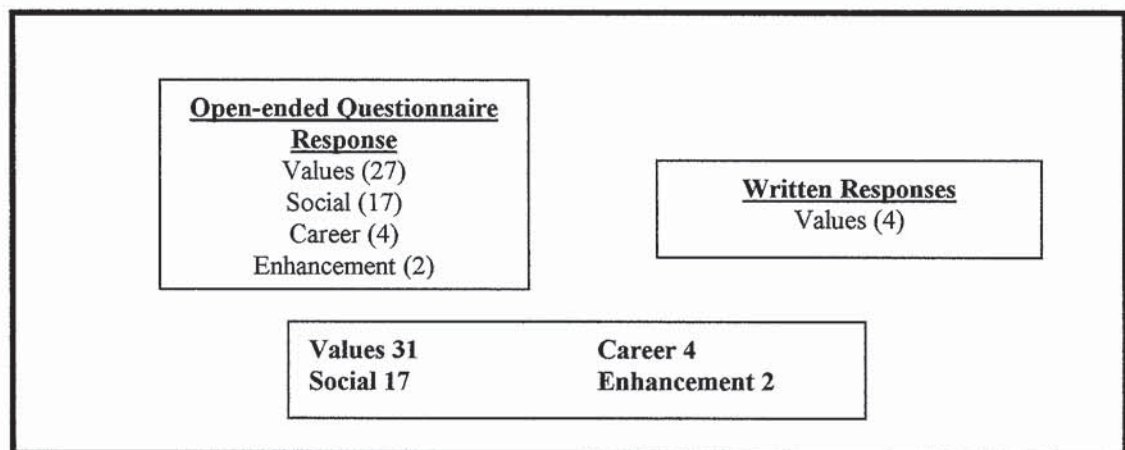
There is one clear motivation identifier, ‘understanding’. These respondents have volunteered with the CAB because it provides them with the intellectual challenge that maintains their mental well-being. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents described their motivation to volunteer in the terms of the ‘protective’ identifier. This may indicate that there is self-confidence and no lack of self-esteem among these volunteers.

Scouts

In Figure 5.19 the aggregation of the motivation identifiers of the respondents from the Hereford and Oxford Scout Districts is displayed. The information was obtained from:

- Answers to the open-ended survey question on motivation to volunteer
- Written responses to the theme of ‘motivation’

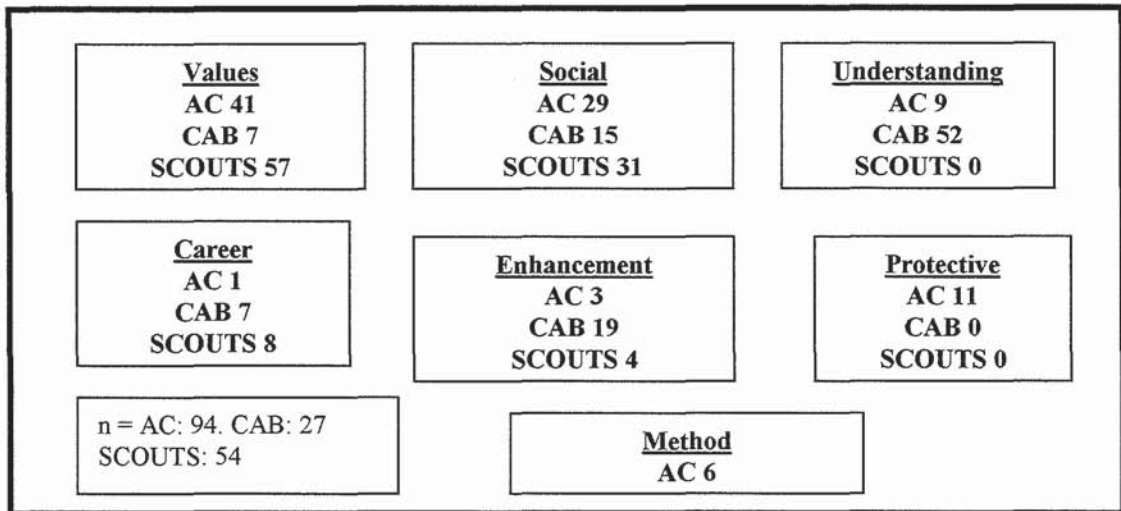
Figure 5.19: Aggregation of Scout Motivation Identifiers



A single clear motivation identifier emerges from this synthesis of information. The nature and character of the Scout Movement encourages volunteers to continue from youthful membership through to adult leadership. There are two aspects of the second most common motivation identifier, ‘social’.

- An indication that the volunteer activity is enjoyed
- In some circumstances parents of young members of the Movement feel an obligation to render assistance.

The final aggregation of motivation identifiers compares the indicators between the agencies as shown in Figure 5.20.

Figure 5.20: Motivation Identifiers Compared % by Agency

Comparative Comments

Although this analysis indicates that both the AC and Scout respondents were similarly motivated to become volunteers, it is the differences between the respondents that are most interesting. All six of the motivation identifiers were described by the AC respondents, but the CAB respondents did not use any of the categories that described the ‘protective’ identifier, and the Scout respondents did not use any of the vocabulary or categories of ‘protective’ and ‘understanding’ identifiers.

Ten (11%) of the AC respondents described their motivation to become volunteers in the terms of the ‘protective’ identifier. These were respondents who became volunteers because they needed the activity to confirm to themselves their worth to society; indeed, they needed the comfort and compassion of the voluntary activity of visiting in much the same way as those whom they visited. It may be conjectured that no respondent from either CAB or Scouts needed their volunteering activity in the ‘protective’ manner that comforted these AC respondents.

The other notable difference between the respondents from the three organisations is the large number of the CAB respondents who volunteered for self-benefit, either as an intellectual challenge or as means of maintaining professional expertise, whereas no Scout respondent and only three out of ninety-four AC responses described motivation in these terms.

A further difference is the composition of the aggregation of volunteer motives that come within the 'social' identifier. The greater number of the AC respondents are within this category because of the life events or personal situations at the time becoming volunteers, whereas the Scout respondents are within this category because they enjoyed scouting activities.

Many people, as Thomas and Finch (1990) point out, appear to become volunteers almost by accident, and, possibly, as a consequence, seldom give one clear reason for becoming a volunteer. According to Clary et al (1996):

“... volunteering consists of several actions and decisions about actions (volunteering in one specific time period; volunteering over time; and type of activity in which to engage), and different motivational and demographic variables may be relevant at one individual action point and not at others. Thus the actual contribution of the motivational perspective to our understanding of volunteerism becomes clearer as we consider the variables in the broader context of the actions that are involved in volunteering (p.501)”.

Reflecting on the statements made by the respondents it is interesting to note that the variety of response confirms the comment by Clary et al.

The respondents who participated in the AC focus groups often gave more than one reason for becoming a volunteer. The following statement, made by a former Health Service worker, is typical:

“I became unemployed so had the spare time and had some experience so I volunteered.”

There are three elements in that sentence: unemployed, time, experience. Without the event of unemployment, there would have been no time to deploy the experience. Even when unemployed, if there had been a call on time assigned to a higher priority, (for example, the nursing of a disabled relative), then there would again be no chance to use the episode of unemployment to volunteer in an organisation. The element of experience, skill, or knowledge creates the confidence that propels the individual either to offer service, respond positively if approached, or permits the individual to recognise the opportunity that a recruitment offer presents.

In this archetypical case the lack of employment suggests a space or gap that may need to be filled by another life-role. It may be that a prospective volunteer is a person looking for another life-role, an individual, moreover, with time, a relevant interest, skill, experience, or knowledge that can be used in the specific volunteer activity. It is tenable that the absence of any one of the three elements would inhibit the possibility of that person becoming a volunteer. Perhaps the key element is 'time' and how the individual prioritises their time budgeting. The guidelines for prioritising time may be influenced by moral, spiritual, political, or selfish principles.

Exclusion Process

It was considered that 'exclusion' was a comprehensive concept that contained the elements that constitute a 'barrier to belonging', for example, to a voluntary organisation. The focus group participants and the volunteers who provided written responses were asked to consider what barriers there were, apart from those usually listed – ill health, lack of time, too old, too young, lack of skills, financial costs.

The process of content analysis will be the same as in the previous section. From the respondents' words and phrases a vocabulary is created. The vocabulary is then synthesised into descriptive categories which form the basis of further interpretation.

The following is the dictionary of the vocabulary used in the content analysis.

- ***Acknowledgement deficit***

It is considered that the volunteer is not valued sufficiently by the organisation that they assist and by the people they serve.

- ***Barriers absent***

There is no awareness of any form of exclusion.

- ***Challenge event***

Any obstacles to becoming a volunteer are seen as events to be overcome.

- ***Choice indecision***

There is awareness that something needs to be done or someone needs help, but there is doubt and hesitation on how to proceed.

- ***Clique opposition***
Within an organisation there is a group of activists who, consciously or unconsciously, resist the inclusion of others not in their group.
- ***Culture deficit***
Volunteering is not in the social programme of some sections of the community.
- ***Commitment deficit***
The individual is not prepared to promise time and energy to volunteering.
- ***Confidence deficit***
The individual lacks self-belief in their ability to become a volunteer.
- ***Discipline deficit***
The individual does not wish to be governed by the rules and regulations requiring specific methods of undertaking volunteer activity.
- ***Economic constraint***
It is suggested that young people are restricted by study and work, and others earn insufficient to afford the luxury of volunteering.
- ***Event fear***
Various situations arising in the course of volunteer activity cause apprehension and even fear because the individual feels inadequate to deal with them.
- ***Family conflict***
Within the family of the individual there is little or no support for volunteer activity, and no allowances are made to make volunteering easy to undertake.
- ***Generational conflict***
There is a perception among older people that younger people are difficult to work with, or they have no desire for mutual co-operation.
- ***Health deficit***
Ill health restricts anyone from becoming an active volunteer, but, as health deteriorates the restriction upon volunteer increases. There is a perception that as age increases health deteriorates.
- ***Information deficit***
There is a lack of understanding about volunteering that is exaggerated because communication outlets are unknown.
- ***Insider v outsider conflict***
The members of an organisation are reluctant to accept that new recruits should be wholeheartedly welcomed. There is an overlap with the definition of 'clique'.

- ***Insurance rejection***
The business insurance companies have serious doubts about accepting risks that may arise in the course of using volunteer labour. In many cases there is failure to accept risk for volunteers older than the statutory pension age.
- ***Management failure***
The volunteer recruitment process is not sufficiently flexible or imaginative to attract a response, having to rely too heavily upon one-to-one invitations.
- ***Media prejudice***
There is a perception that certain sections of the press and television belittle and scorn volunteer activity.
- ***Mobility constraint***
Some of the premises used by the organisations have access difficulties for people with physical disabilities.
- ***Negative adaptability***
Some people are not flexible enough in attitude to be acceptable as volunteers.
- ***Negative image***
The perception of non-volunteer individuals is that volunteering is either boring or inappropriate.
- ***Personal rejection***
Body hygiene and cleanliness are required to be acceptable volunteers.
- ***Political objection***
It is the philosophic argument that there should be no necessity to require the need of volunteers. All existing volunteer services should either be provided by the government or by private enterprise.
- ***Skills deficit***
Lack of education and business and social expertise is seen as a deterrent to becoming a volunteer.
- ***Time-budgeting***
A fully engaged family and business life does not permit any space for further activity such as volunteering.
- ***Unsocial hours***
Volunteering is seen as an evening activity which inhibits individuals who do not enjoy being out of their house during the hours of darkness.

The sequence of analysis is as follows:

- ACB Focus group responses
- ACH&W written responses
- CAB written responses
- Scout written responses

The first Figure will aggregate the vocabulary within the descriptive categories (Fig. 5.21). These descriptive categories will be further synthesised in the second Figure using the terms identified in Table 2.18 in Chapter 2. The frequency of entries within each category will indicate the importance of that form of exclusion. The final section of the analysis will be a commentary on the results of the content analysis

Age Concern Birmingham Focus Groups

Figure 5.21: Age Concern Focus Groups Exclusion Process Vocabulary and Content Categories

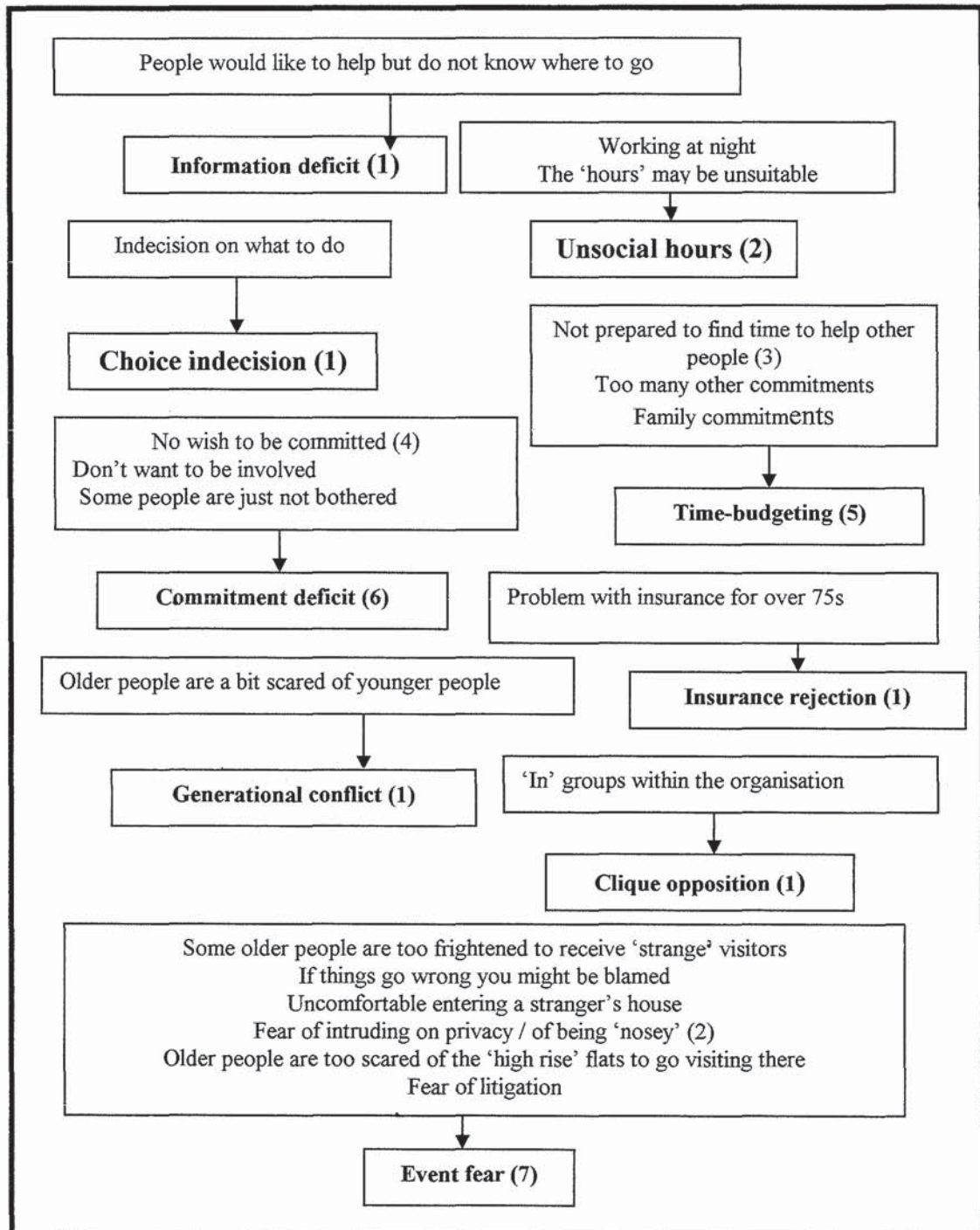
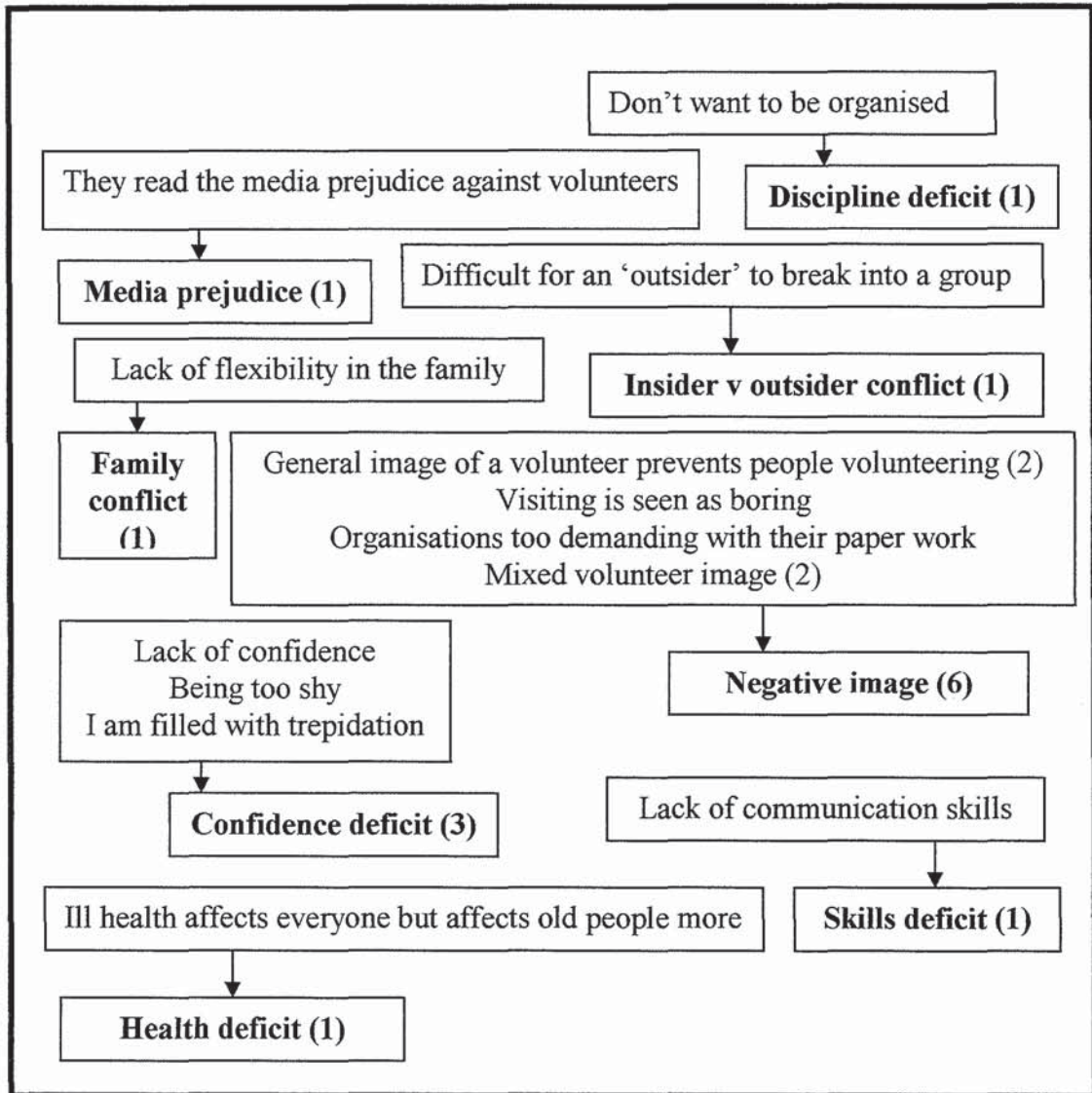
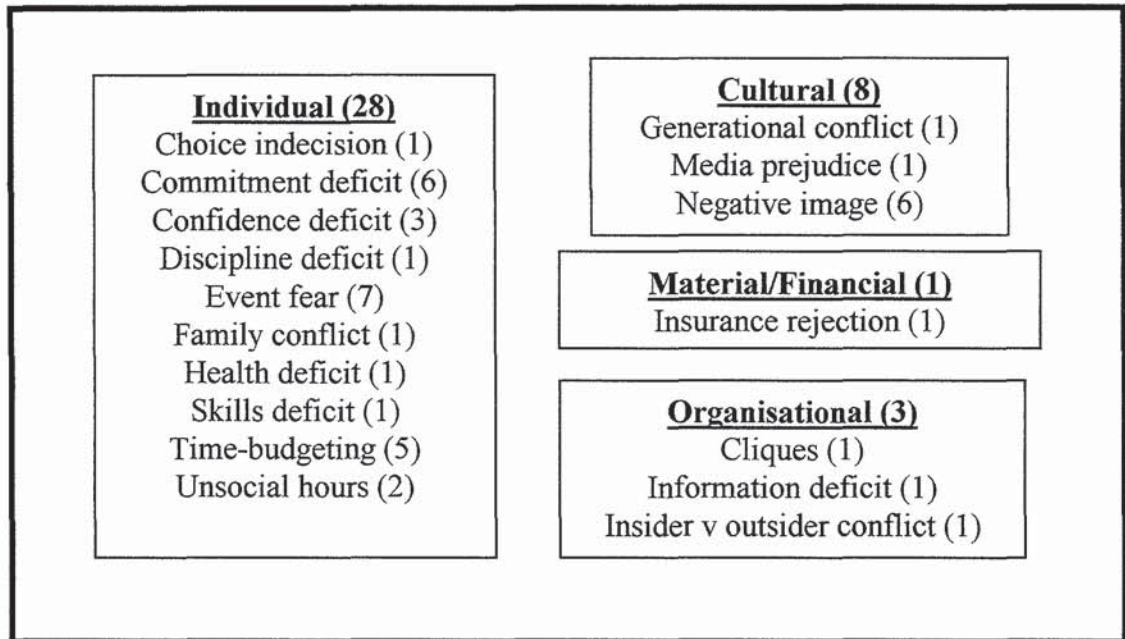


Figure 5.21: (Continued)

It became obvious during the focus group meetings that the image factor exercised the minds of all the participants. It was for this reason that Information Availability was included in the themes offered to the volunteers submitting written responses.

The aggregation of the content categories within the broader terms of perceived barriers is displayed in Figure 5.22 below.

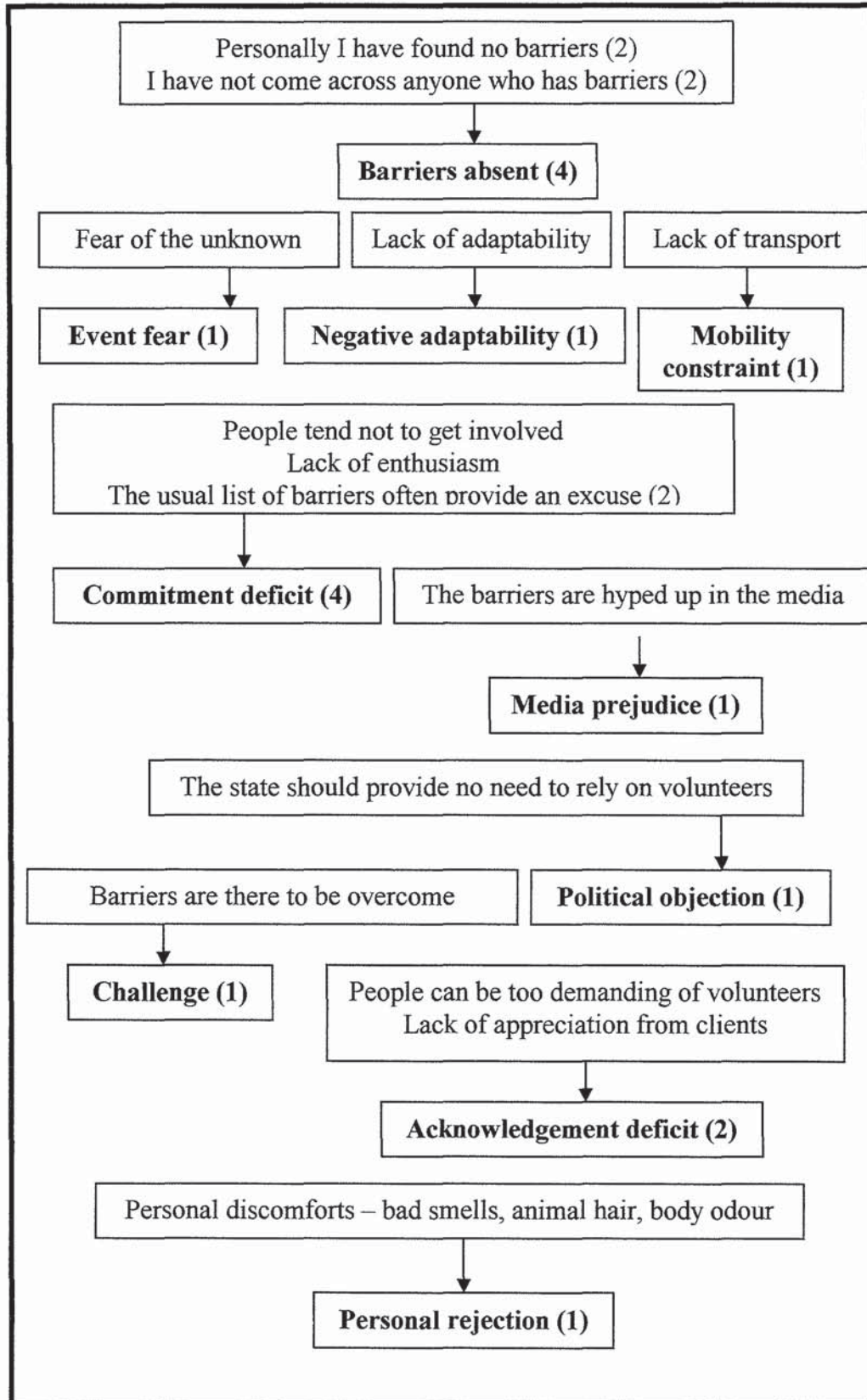
Figure 5.22: Aggregation of Exclusion Content Categories within Perceived Barrier Classifications: ACB



The overwhelming predominance of the Individual classification of perceived barriers indicates how very personal the event of becoming a volunteer is. The decision to become a volunteer affects not only that person but also the immediate family. There is a strong psychological element to individual perceptions of the areas of exclusion when making the decision whether or not to become a volunteer. Lack of self esteem or lack of self-confidence is indicated in the first five categories of the individual classification.

Age Concern H&W Exclusion Written Responses

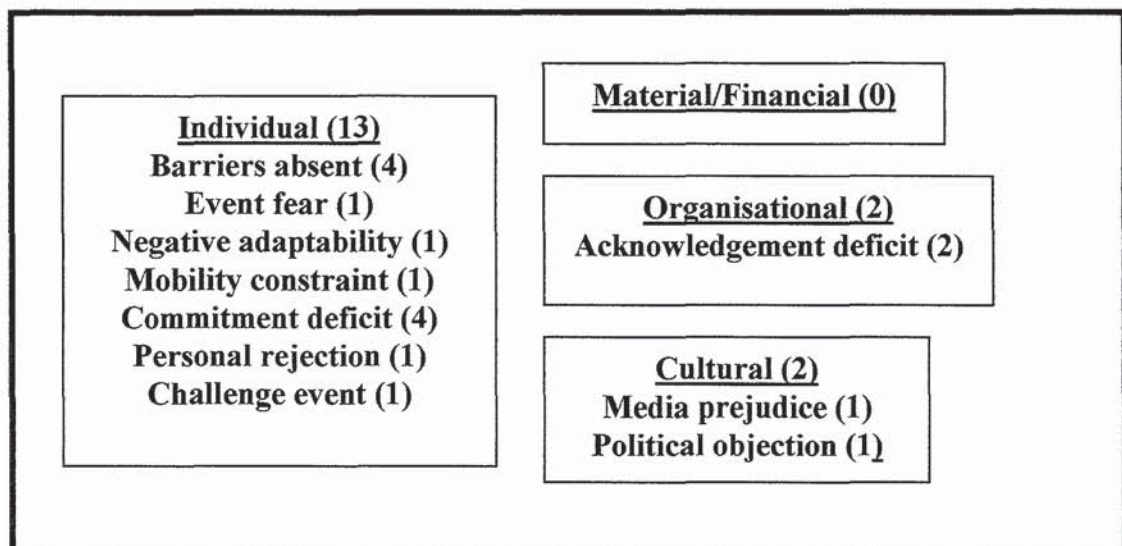
Written responses were received from eight volunteers. The synthesis of the vocabulary used with the content categories is displayed in Figure 5.23 below.

Figure 5.23: Age Concern H&W: Written Responses: Vocabulary and Content**Categories**

There is a variety of situations, attitudes and perceptions that ACH&W respondents consider to be areas of exclusion to becoming a volunteer. Indeed four of the respondents had not witnessed any problems either for themselves or any other person. The general perception of four other respondents was that people excluded themselves by not being willing to make commitment becoming involved.

In Figure 5.24 the exclusion content categories are synthesised within four of the perceived barrier classifications shown in Table 2.18 in Chapter 2.

Figure 5.24: Aggregation of Exclusion Content Categories within Perceived Barrier Classifications: ACH&W

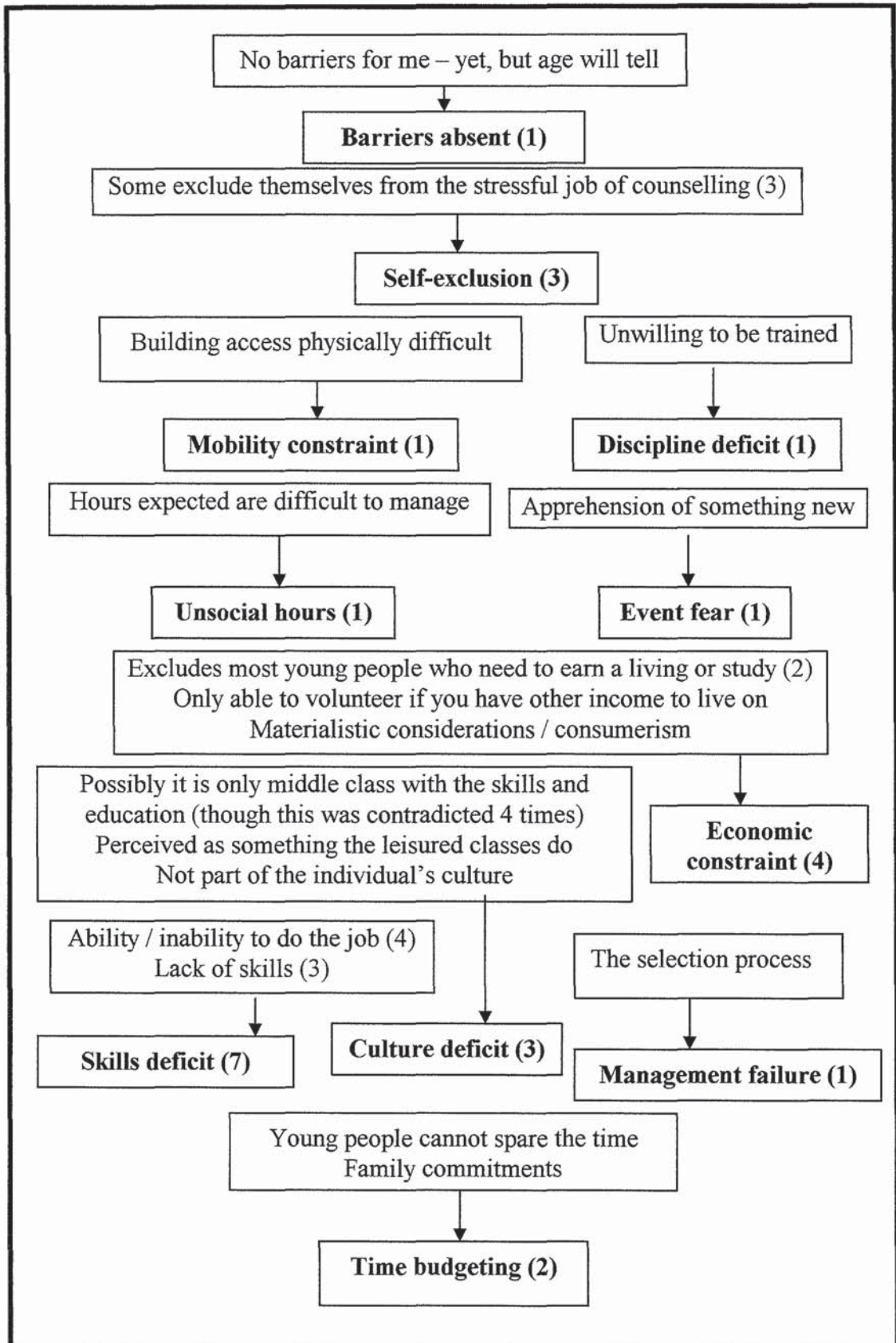


It is considered by these ACH&W respondents that the attitudes and perceptions of possible recruits are the greatest barrier to actually becoming actively committed to volunteering.

Citizens' Advice Bureau Exclusion Written Responses

Nine CAB respondents, three from Worcester and six from Oxford, describe the nature of volunteer exclusion that they have encountered. The vocabulary used by the respondents and the content categories that flow from the vocabulary is shown in Figure 5.25 below.

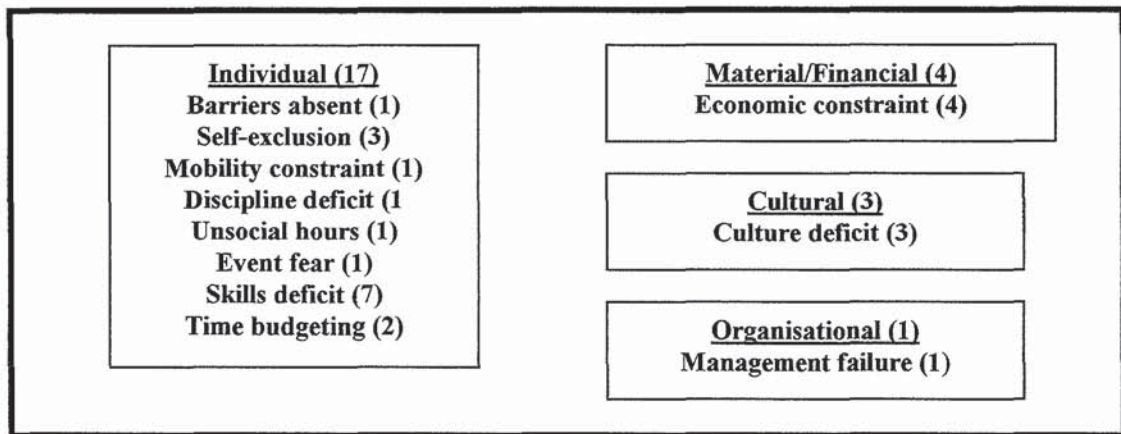
Figure 5.25: CAB Written Responses Vocabulary and Content Categories.



The most common reason given as a barrier to becoming a volunteer is ‘skill deficit’, which logical considering the standard of expertise or education that is required to be a counsellor with the CAB.

Figure 5.26 displays the aggregation of the content categories within the four barrier classifications discussed in Chapter 2

Figure 5.26: Aggregation of Exclusion Content Categories within Perceived Barrier Classifications: CAB



There are some of the same categories in the ‘Individual’ exclusion classification as have been described by the respondents from Age Concern. The interesting categories are in the other three classifications. ‘Economic constraint’ is surprising if it is the practice of organisations to repay out-of-pocket expenses. As the CAB counsellors volunteer many hours during the normal working day they consider that this activity can only be possible if the volunteer has another personal income to maintain house and board.

In the previous motivation section some of the respondents considered that there was a special ‘type’ of person who was attuned to volunteering. Here we have CAB respondents saying the opposite in the ‘culture deficit’ category, that there is a type of person whose way of life that does not include being any part of the volunteering community.

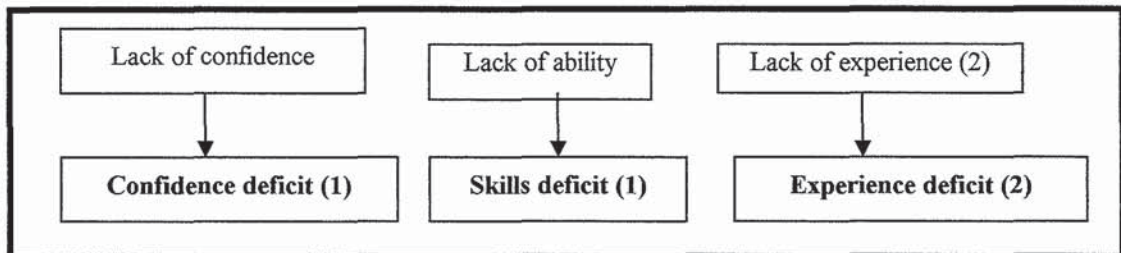
Although only one respondent suggested that the recruitment process was a possible area of exclusion, it is interesting that it is from a CAB respondent. This respondent considers that the management of volunteer organisations are too dependent upon the active volunteers recruiting friends and family members, and considers that

organisations should advertise specific posts followed by properly vetted personnel interviews.

Scouts Exclusion Written Responses

Only four Scout volunteers responded to this item. The vocabulary used and the aggregation of that vocabulary is shown in Figure 5.27 below.

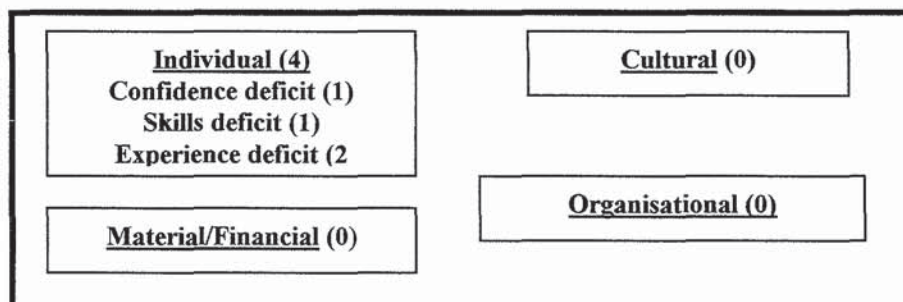
Figure 5.27: Written Responses: Vocabulary and Content Categories: Scouts



The only new response is suggesting that experience is needed to be a volunteer. This may be another way of saying that only a former scout can be a scout leader.

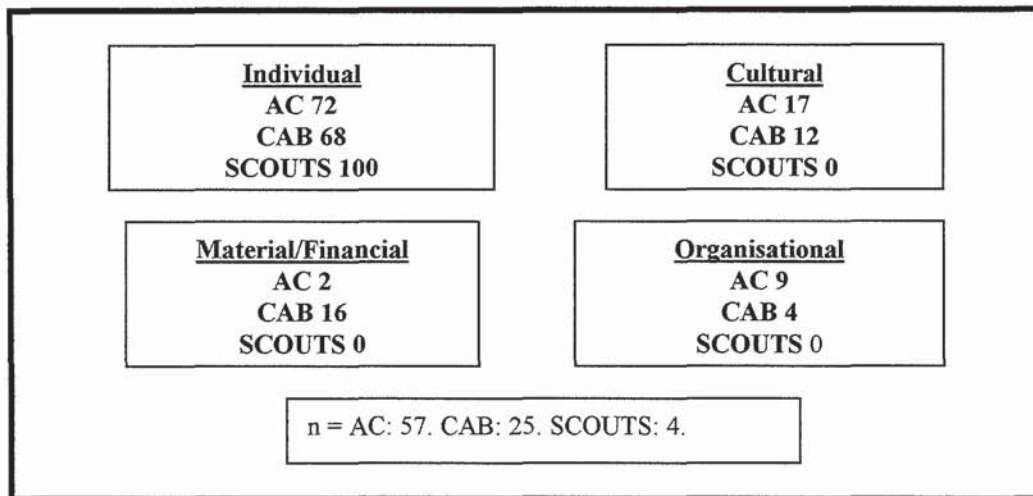
These content categories have been brought into the exclusion classification described in Chapter 2. The result is described in Figure 5.28 as follows.

Figure 5.28: Aggregation of Exclusion Content Categories within Perceived Barrier Classifications: Scouts



No generalisation or valid comment can be made from this small amount of data. Each of the Scout responses indicates that it is an absence of some personal quality that may be a barrier to becoming a volunteer.

The aggregation by agency of the four exclusion factors is displayed in Figure 5.29 below.

Figure 5.29: Aggregation of Barrier Classification Indicators % by Agency

The small number of Scout responses all included in a single exclusion indicator distorts the distribution profile of that indicator, although, in this case, not the overall description of exclusion. The respondents from all agencies are totally in agreement that the greatest barrier that an individual has to becoming a volunteer is some facet of their personality, some practical personal shortcoming. Speculation may question whether a similar enquiry completed by agency professionals or non-volunteers would arrive at the same opinion.

Experiences with Ageism

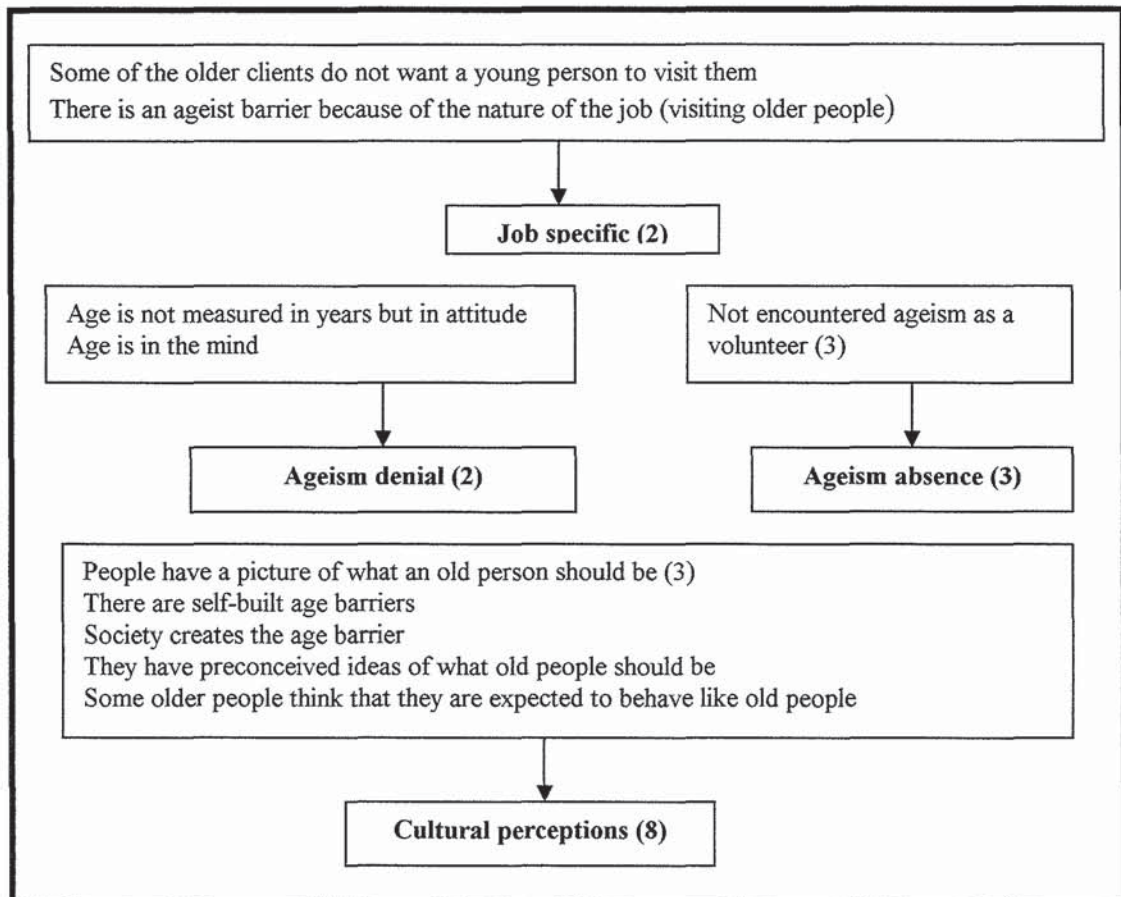
There is a possible dichotomy in the presentation of the volunteer situation regarding age. As shown in Chapter 2 there are reports and studies that do not mention a problem of ageism (The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1997: Thomas and Finch, 1990) and study that indicates that there is a culture of ageism the in the voluntary sector (Dingle, 1993). It was therefore considered that further data should be gathered upon whether or not volunteers had encountered ageism.

The process of analysis follows the same pattern as in the sections discussing 'motivation' and 'exclusion'. There is no theoretical ageism structure within which these content categories can be placed. A comparison of categories will be made on an agency basis

Age Concern

The results of the ACB focus groups' discussion are displayed in Figure 5.30 as follows.

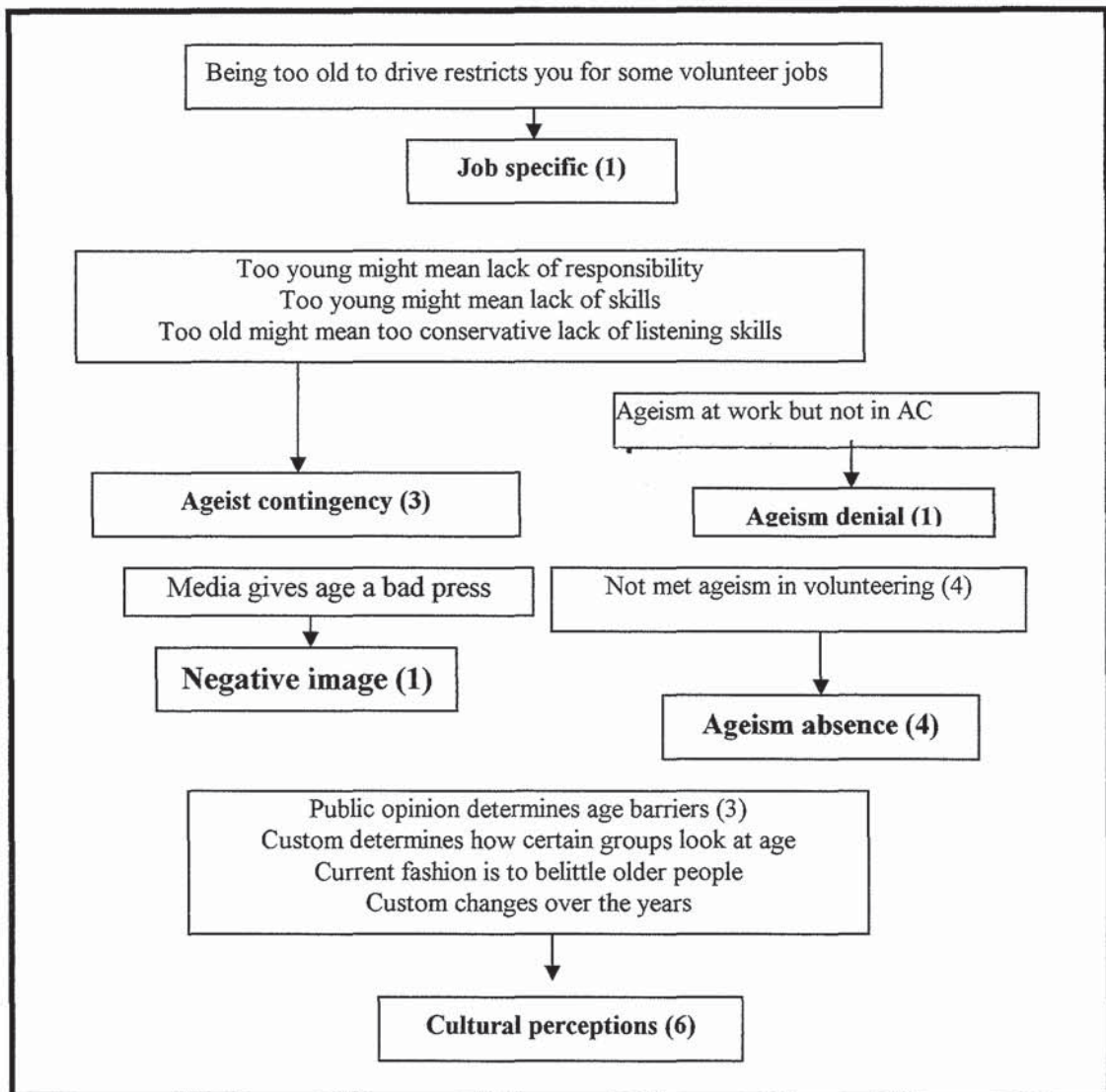
Figure 5.30: Age Concern Focus groups: Ageism Vocabulary and Content Categories



The category 'ageism myths' describes how the respondents consider other people react toward older people. There was very little discussion of this theme as none of them had actually experienced any ageist event while volunteering.

The ACH&W written responses again indicated little or no experience of ageism within the organisation. The analysis of the volunteer responses is shown in Figure 5.31, as follows;

Figure 5.31: ACH&W Written responses: Ageism Vocabulary and Content Categories



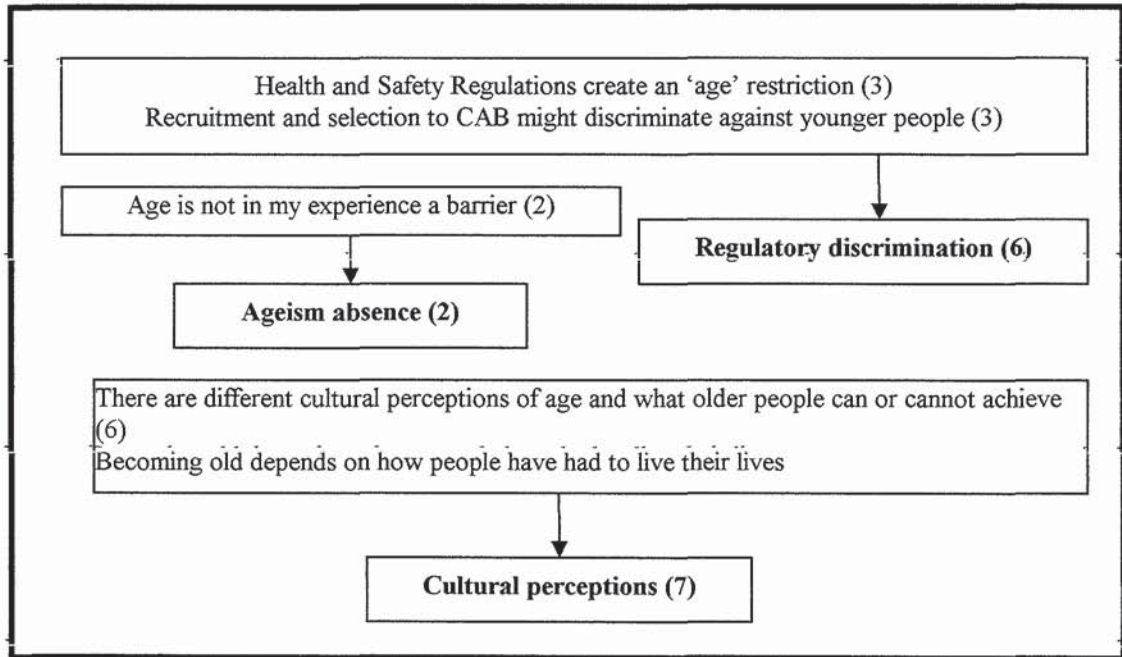
Once again the most common statement is how the respondents perceive that other people behave toward the older generation. There is no indication that these respondents have a personal opinion on this subject. It may be considered that there is a desire not to be seen as party to this form of discrimination within their own organisation. All respondents acknowledged that ageism, in one form or another was present in society, but not where they were active.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

There were fifteen responses from the CAB volunteers of Oxford and Worcester describing their experience of ageism. Perhaps because of their greater awareness of the

public services these respondents acknowledged that systems in society created situations where there was discrimination. The vocabulary used and the resultant content categories are described in Figure 5.32 as follows:

Figure 5.32: CAB Written Responses: Ageism Vocabulary and Content Categories

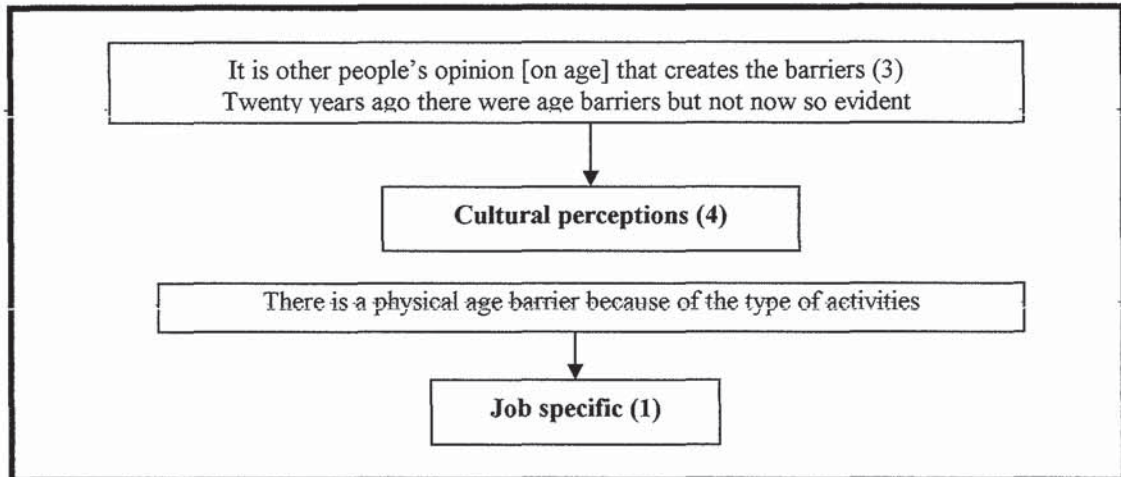


The small number of responses does not allow any generalisations to be made. Although these respondents appreciated that the structures in society can be discriminatory, they are equally aware that some social attitudes may also cause unconscious ageist situations. At least one respondent realised that ageism does not only happen to older people, but that youth can also be prone to discrimination.

Scouts

Only five responses on the theme of ageism were received from the Scout volunteers. The form of response is very similar to that of the respondents from the other two agencies. Figure 5.33 presents the ageism vocabulary and content categories.

Figure 5.33: Scouts Written Responses: Ageism Vocabulary and Content Categories

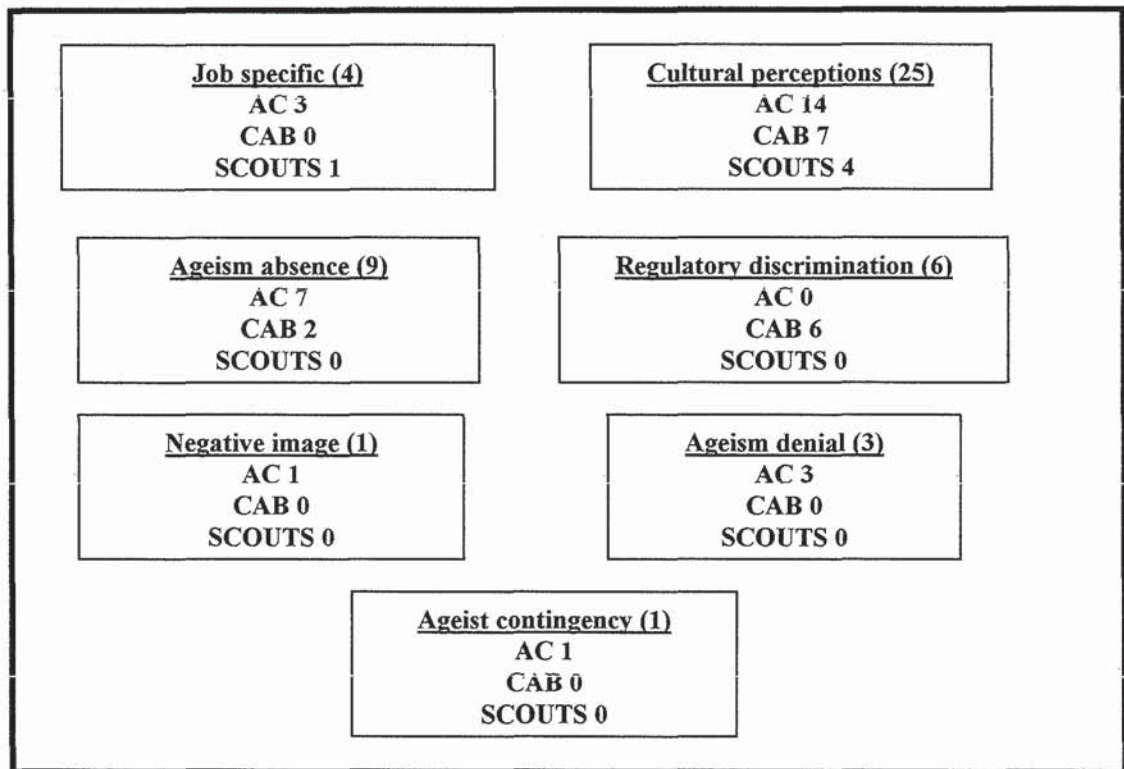


With so small a response it is not possible to effectively generalise. There is no indication that age discrimination has been experienced in their volunteering activities. As with the respondents from the other agencies the greater number of statements refers to the attitudes of other people, and do not describe their own attitudes.

Comparative comments

In each of the agencies there is a tendency among the respondents to discuss this subject in the third person as though it was not relevant in their volunteering activities; it was a form of behaviour that referred to other people and not to them. There were a few admitted experiences of age discriminations in the paid labour market, especially after having become redundant, but these statements were quickly followed by a disclaimer of any such experience as a volunteer. Some reported second-hand experiences in other volunteer organisations, but not in their agency.

Overall there is no admission of actual experience of ageism within the agencies in which the respondents are active. Figure 5.34 presents the aggregation of the ageism content categories by agency.

Figure 5.34: Aggregation of Ageism Content Categories by Agency.

There is a very clear statement that ageism is seen to be a social attitude manifested in the actions of other people, but not experienced by the respondents. These findings confirm the dichotomy, as discussed in Chapter 2, that some people do not experience ageism in the voluntary sector, but do perceive that there is cultural age discrimination.

Information Availability

When holding the Age Concern focus groups it was evident that the volunteers considered that there was a possible lack of information available to enable prospective volunteers to make meaningful decisions about their direction of enquiry about how to become a volunteer. Even when the information was obtained about how to become a volunteer there was the information describing the activities of organisations was very variable. The major national organisations were effective in projecting their image, but the smaller trusts, charities and volunteer organisations provided minimum information. The doubts of these respondents about the effectiveness of information dissemination reflect the findings of Thomas and Finch (1990) that were discussed in Chapter 2.

To ascertain if this was a perception that the volunteers co-operating with this research held a further theme, 'Information Availability' was offered to the volunteers from ACH&W, CAB and Scouts. The respondents from ACB who took part in the focus groups have already given their opinions on this subject when discussing the 'Exclusion Process'. The ACB respondents considered that a lack of information from organisations and poor public and media image could be factors contributing to disappointing results from volunteer recruitment projects.

The respondents providing written responses were asked to describe how and where they would obtain information about becoming a volunteer. In addition they were asked if the information obtained was easily accessible and sufficient to encourage them to become a volunteer.

Age Concern H&W

Eight volunteers from ACH&W provided written responses to this theme. The following is a schedule of the sites where the respondents indicated that prospective volunteers could find information.

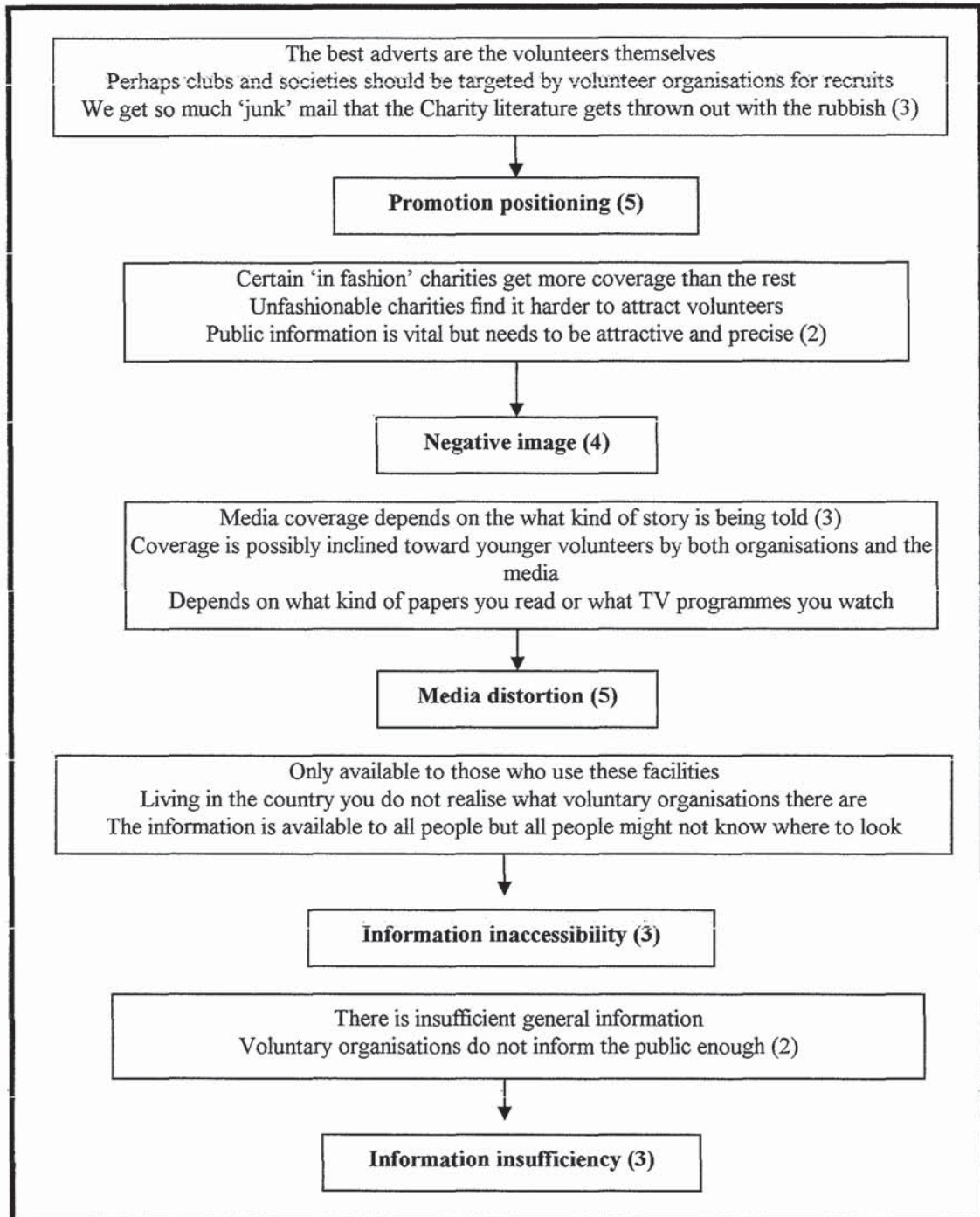
Council Offices
Health Care Centre (2)
Hospital
Library (3)
Local newspaper
National papers
Surgeries
The net
TV
Volunteer bureau

Two of the respondents considered that if young people were to be informed then information should be displayed in sports centres, clubs, and similar places where young people congregate. Although all respondents were aware of information sites, they acknowledged that non-volunteers may not know where to find relevant information. Three respondents suggested that although information was available it was not accessible to everyone. For example, only those who have access to a computer can use the Net; only those who frequent the library will know where to find relevant information.

The vocabulary and content categories are presented in Figure 5.35 as follows:

Figure 5.35: Information Availability: Vocabulary and Content Categories:

ACH&W



There is an even spread of concern in the responses, with some practical suggestions for the improvement for publicity promotion. The following discussion will explore the possible latent meaning in each of the content categories

- ***Promotion positioning***

The respondents are active care visitors and the organisation publicity of which they are possibly most obviously aware is directed at their client public. It is not very likely that they would be involved in recruitment drives. Charity mail shots are considered to be 'junk' not because of the content or the packaging, but because of the sheer volume received.

- ***Negative image***

The charities very visibly supported by the annual TV twenty-four hour spectacular quite often seem to be receiving disproportioned support at the expense of less photogenic or less obviously emotive organisation. It is perhaps because the image of these lesser charities is not impressive enough to attract the bigger sponsors.

- ***Media distortion***

On the one hand there are particular sections of the media that delight in the volunteer that commits a misdemeanour, or the organisation overspends, while, on the other hand, there are voluntary sector stories that are overcharged with emotion.

- ***Information inaccessibility***

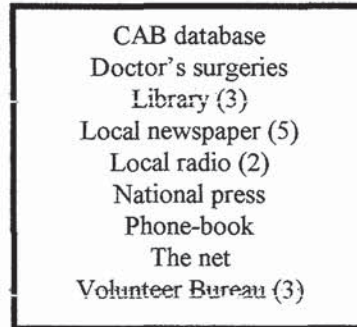
The obvious illustration of this situation has already been stated above – only the people with access to a computer can use the Net – but there others; only those who are able to use the library have access to all the information held there, for example, the partially sighted; or those who have reading difficulties. Similar scenarios can be imagined for each of the information sights that the respondents suggested.

- ***Information insufficiency***

Sufficient information should be presented to ensure that there is no ambiguity of understanding the purpose; that there is no doubting the capability to provide the service; and the excitement of performance is not overstated. To make that full presentation may be financially a burden.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

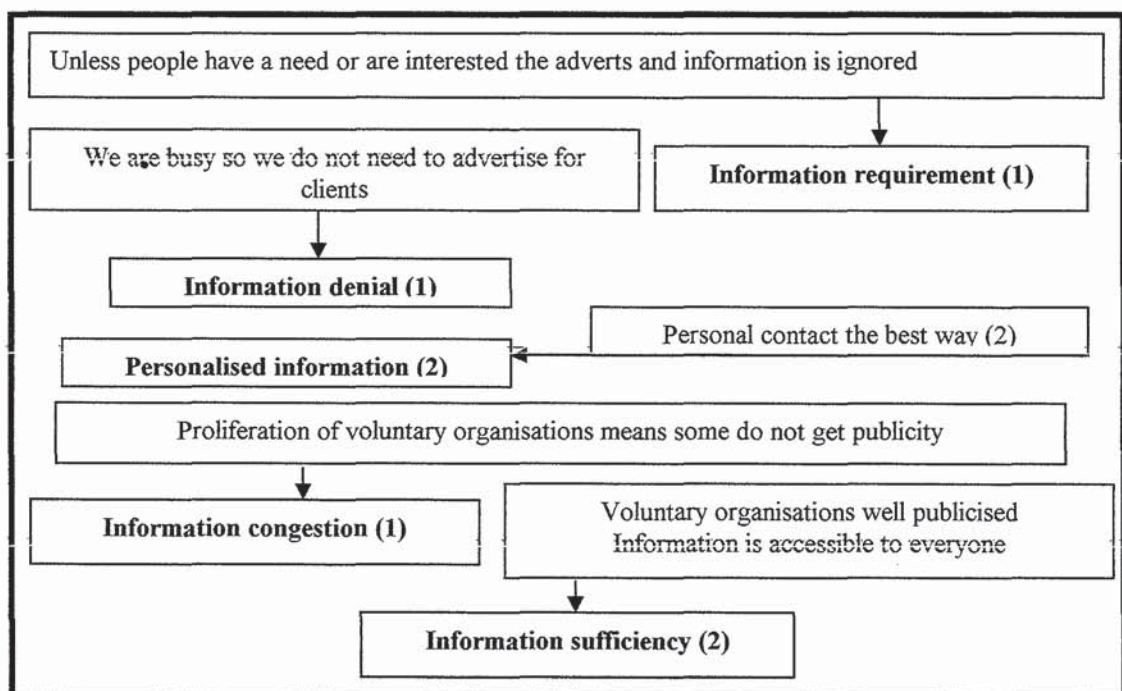
Five respondents from CAB Oxford and three from Worcester gave their written responses to the theme of Information Availability. The following is a schedule of the sites that the CAB respondents suggest as places that provide voluntary organisation information that may assist prospective volunteers.



As with the information sources provided by AC respondents some of the sites are available only to specific people, for example the CAB database. Similarly only those aware of the Volunteer Bureau would use that source. It is interesting that none of the Oxford CAB respondents mentioned the Volunteer Bureau but each of the Hereford and Worcester CAB respondents gave the Volunteer Bureau as their first place of contact. Nobody mentioned the recruitment organisation REACH that specialises in looking for professional and executive type volunteers.

In figure 5.36 below the content of the small number of responses are analysed.

Figure 5.36: Information Availability: Vocabulary and Content Categories: CAB



Each of the content categories will be further discussed to suggest the possible underlying meaning

- ***Information requirement***

Although the respondent is correct in stating that adverts are only read by those seeking information, surely it is the sole purpose of volunteer information dissemination – to inform those who need to know.

- ***Information denial***

This respondent has considered publicity from the position of the organisation and their clients. There does not appear to be any intimation that recruitment advertising for volunteers is necessary.

- ***Personalised information***

It was not clear from these responses if the reference was to recruitment or information about the organisation. There was no indication that other forms of publicity were inappropriate or unnecessary.

- ***Information congestion***

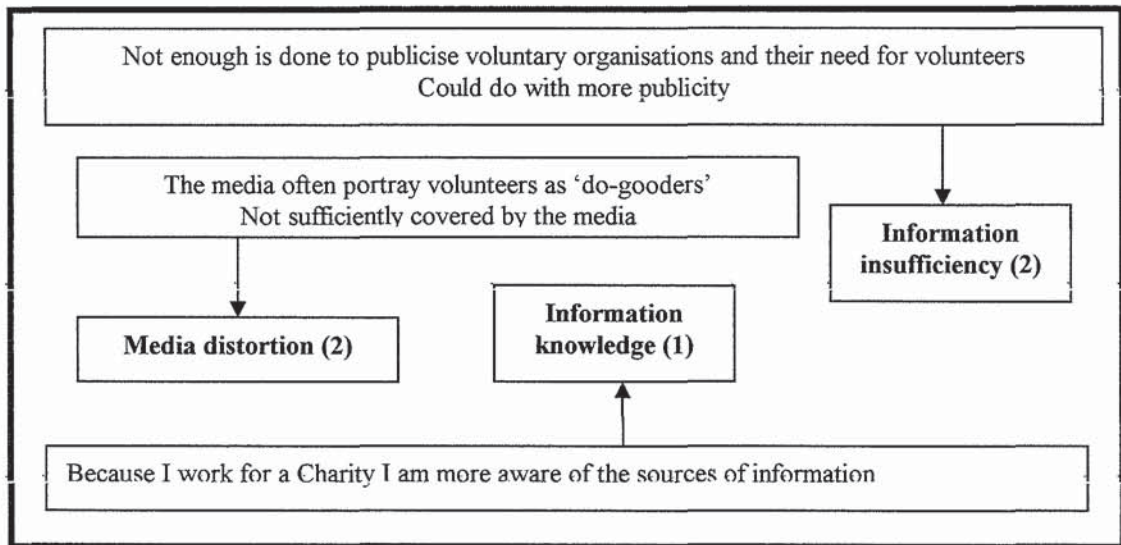
The suggestion here is that media images, charity mail shots, fundraising campaigns from a multiplicity of organisations so overwhelm the individual that there is confusion and indecision.

- ***Information sufficiency***

Surprisingly these respondents consider that there is no information problem. That is a minority view.

Scouts

Only two volunteers responded to this theme and neither suggested any information sites. The vocabulary and relevant content categories are presented in Figure 5.37 as follows.

Figure 5.37: Written Responses: Vocabulary and Content Categories: Scouts

The following discussion of the content categories indicates the possible underlying meaning of the responses.

- ***Information insufficiency***

There is a realisation that only with increased publicity and recruitment campaigns is there the possibility of involving more people in the Scout Movement

- ***Information knowledge***

Being a participant certainly positions the individual to receive information from that particular organisation, and be aware of the internal needs, therefore, more able to personally recruit others.

- ***Media distortion***

The media image of a Scout Leader has in the past has been more of a caricature than an asset to the community. There appears to be a desire that increased publicity should portray amore positive image that can benefit the local young people.

Comparative comments

Because of the small number of responses it is not intended to support any specific generalisations with meaningless percentages of response.

Taking the schedules of information sites first it is interesting, if not unexpected, to note that the responses refer to information sites that reflect the nature of the services

provided by the volunteers – surgeries, care centre, and hospital by AC; and internal database and Council offices for CAB.

Age Concern

Doctor's surgeries (2)
 Health Care Centre (2)
 Hospital
 Library (3)
 Local newspaper
 National papers
 The net
 TV
 Volunteer Bureau

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Council Offices
 Library (3)
 Local newspaper (5)
 Local radio (2)
 CAB database
 National press
 Phone-book
 The net
 Volunteer Bureau (3)

There are no great surprises in the sites mentioned. Perhaps the more interesting are the omissions. One of the ACH&W respondents did suggest additional places where information could be displayed, such as, sports clubs, fitness centres and similar places. There are other public places that attract large numbers of people that have notice boards, for example, supermarkets, shopping centres, and market halls. The other surprise is that the Volunteer Bureau is the only volunteer recruitment organisation mentioned. Certainly the Bureau is the only organisation that will have a local presence – the other organisations (such as REACH; RSVP) being more city-based or more easily contacted through the NET.

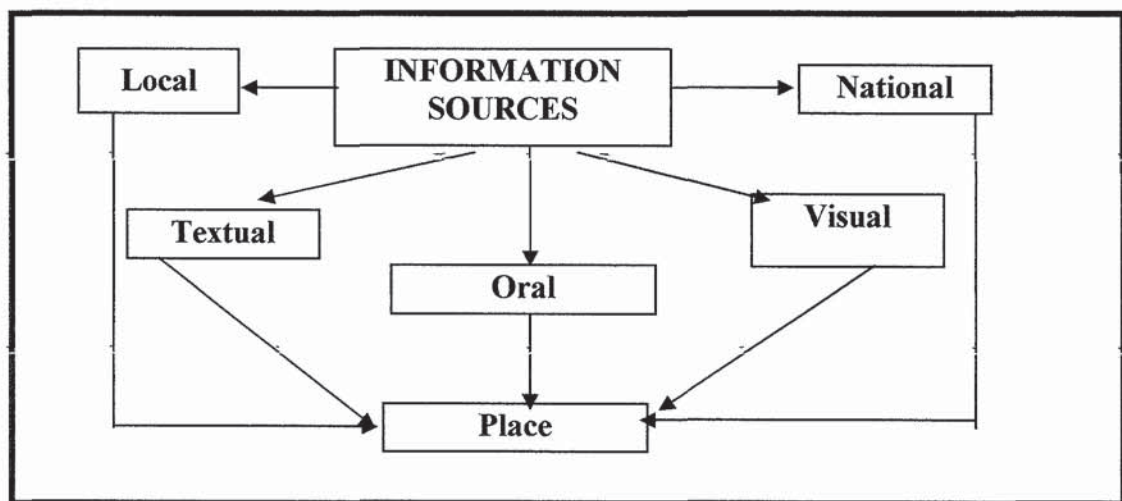
The remaining aspects of 'information availability' – accessibility and quality – drew varied responses that do not suggest a coherent pattern that is peculiar to any single organisation. There are within each organisation respondents who intimate that the supply of information is neither enough or of sufficient impact. At the same time there are respondents who consider that sufficient information is available to everyone, but access to the information may be restricted to the people who have the correct equipment or who habitually use certain public buildings and their services.

The various media outlets are given a mixed reception. On the one hand they figure prominently in the sites that provide valuable information. On the other hand, they are accused of misrepresenting volunteers and the voluntary sector.

From the statements of all the respondents it would appear that it is the positioning of the information that is most important. The respondents were all volunteers therefore were aware already of some of the sources of information, at least for their organisation. At the same time they were aware that not all people had the same desire to become volunteers or have an interest in voluntary organisations. Several respondents suggested that other information sites should be explored, especially those places that the most active people frequented, such as sports clubs, health clubs.

Figure 5.38 represents the importance of the actual positioning of information.

Figure 5.38: The Centrality of Information Placement



For voluntary organisations the presentation of information is similar to part of the process that any good business would adopt to market their goods or services. The four P's of marketing – product, price, place and promotion – also apply to voluntary organisations. Using these terms in a slightly different way it could be said that the voluntary sector should promote its activities as cost effectively as possible to the relevant people in the most appropriate place. In this context 'appropriate' means the site where the greatest number of people will have access to the information.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the reported statements of volunteer respondents in four areas that influence the process of becoming a volunteer: motivational factors, exclusion processes, experiences of ageism and information availability. During the analysis, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the data collected the influence of diversity has become increasingly more relevant. The four themes of research being analysed in this chapter have been considered in the light of 'diversity' as well as the respondents perceptions of barriers. A reading of the Literature Review in Chapter 2 will show that each of the four themes influence the perceptions of individuals in the process of becoming and remaining a volunteer.

Motivational factors

The first theme is, for the individual, the most important. The impetus to become a volunteer can be emotional – a desire to help; it can be practical – to learn a skill; psychological – a lonely person looking for friendship. There is some difficulty in distinguishing between the motive 'to volunteer' and the motive 'to continue volunteering'. No attempt has been made to separate the two forms of motivation. Indeed it is possible that the respondents may not have considered that there was any difference. More data was collected for this theme than for the other three themes because there was the information from the open-ended questions, in addition to the focus group transcripts and the written responses. The number of respondents providing information was as follows: Age Concern 94; Citizens' Advice Bureau 27; Scouts 54. The adoption of the specific factors of motivational influence identified by Clary et al (1996) has given structure to the analysis of this theme. These factors are Values: Social: Protective: Understanding: Career: Enhancement.

The Values function encompasses the attributes that are described by words such as affinity, altruism, commitment, concern, duty, humanism, inspiration, involvement, loyalty, obligation, religious, spiritual, tradition, and type. These words are from the vocabulary of the respondents. It is the diversity of expression that is interesting. Not all volunteers have the same values but all volunteers have values important to them which are expressed in their attitude to volunteering. It is interesting to note that it is the Scout (57%) and AC (41%) respondents who consider this factor as the most important. Only

7% of CAB respondents used any of the 'values' vocabulary. For many Scout and AC respondents volunteering is a means of giving something back to the society that gave them so much.

The Social function can be described as: Life events such as retirement, unemployment, and bereavement which create available time. This was a factor that influenced all respondents but especially those from AC. The respondents again showed a wide range of vocabulary to describe this aspect of their motivation to volunteer using words such as; change, choice, community, companionship, enjoyment, routine, situation, and temporal. Each of these words can be illustrated by brief scenarios; they wished for a change to their daily routine; volunteering gave them a choice of activities; the activity gave them an opportunity to give something back to the community; they received the companionship of other volunteers; it was for the enjoyment of the activity; their personal situation, such as bereavement, provided the time and there was a need for the company of others. For 31% of the Scout respondents it was the 'enjoyment' of the activity that motivated them to continue being active in the organisation. It was the life events that created the situation which enabled 29% of the AC respondents to volunteer.

The vocabulary used to describe the Protective function explains some of the mixture of emotions that motivate people to become volunteers; anger, emotional, fear, need, guilt, personal, and psychological. There is the anger of the person who considered not enough was being done; the fear of being alone so became a volunteer to find companionship; need to be active; the guilt of being privileged; and the unexplained use of the words personal and emotional.

Neither CAB nor Scout respondents considered this a factor that influenced their motivation, though 11% of AC respondents acknowledged that the emotional self-benefit was an influence in their decision to become a volunteer. It is possible that the Scout and CAB respondents had greater self-confidence and therefore none of these personal emotional and psychological factors were significant for them.

The Understanding function as a motivational trigger elicited words and phrases such as; cognitive challenge, development, prior experience, skill use, and stimulation. This is a vocabulary of the intellectual. It is the professional expertise and knowledge that are the assets of the individual being offered voluntarily to the organisation. It was the

CAB respondents (52%) who considered this the most important function as a motivational trigger. Volunteering gave them an opportunity to use their skills and expertise and maintain the intellectual challenge that ceased when full-time employment ended. This may be considered an excellent illustration of role replacement after attaining pensionable age. In contrast no Scout respondent considered this function as a motivational influence. The different approach may be because the CAB respondents considered their voluntary activity as 'work', whereas, the Scout respondents looked upon their volunteering as 'an enjoyable way of life'.

It is possible that the Career function may be of more importance in other voluntary organisations but this is a very weak factor as a motivational trigger for the respondents to this research. None of the organisations received the benefit of any of the schemes that encourage employee release to assist voluntary organisations. As a high percentage of both AC and CAB respondents were not in the labour market this motivation function had little or no influence. Only from the Scout respondents (8%) was there any indication that volunteering may have an influence on their career. The vocabulary only provided two words and one phrase; employment, reward, and work experience. The response received indicated that it was a positive addition to the personal CV for future employment to show that one was an active volunteer.

The vocabulary generated by the Enhancement function indicates that this refers very much to personal self-perception; self-benefit, self satisfaction, and status. Neither the AC nor the Scout respondents considered this to be a function that influenced them in their motivation to become a volunteer. A significant number (19%) of the CAB respondents identified this as their motivational trigger. Volunteering with the CAB enabled them to maintain the intellectual stimulation that made them feel useful and continue their professional standing. This function, together with the Understanding function, described the principle attitude of volunteering for CAB respondents. The volunteering was for their personal benefit. This is in direct opposition to the attitude of the AC and Scout respondents who considered that their volunteering was for the benefit of others, the AC clients and the youth in Scouting.

Only AC respondents (6%) suggested that the method or manner in which they were introduced to the agency was influential in becoming a volunteer. There is a possible

confusion here between method of recruitment and motivation. It is likely that the individuals felt obliged to comply with a request for help from a member of family or friend. On the other hand, it may be that the method of recruitment made the individual 'feel needed'.

It is evident from these findings that the motivation to volunteer is not a simple process. The decision is most likely to have been a combination of any of the functions described in this section, but other personal factors and circumstances will also have had an influence. These factors and circumstances were described in the findings of Chapter 4. The motivational factor could only operate if the individual had the time available to volunteer, and did not have other family responsibilities that had a greater time priority. The prospective volunteer, quite possibly, did not take much time to analyse their feelings as to why they might volunteer. The multiplicity of motivational combinations is another segment of the model of diversity that illustrates the complexity of volunteering.

Exclusion Processes

The barriers to becoming and remaining a volunteer have been discussed in Chapter 2. It is possible that organisations and people are now more aware of these impediments and can overcome them if there is a will to do so. The findings of Chapter 4 confirm that these barriers have not changed. In the questionnaire most of the respondents indicated that they had little difficulty becoming a volunteer. The focus group and written answer respondents also indicated that they did not perceive any impediments to becoming a volunteer. Most of the statements in this section refer to the respondents' perceptions of 'other people' and their self-created exclusion.

The responses have been aggregated under four general headings: Individual, Material/Financial, Cultural and Organisational. Although the response from AC (57) and CAB (25) volunteers was reasonable, unfortunately there was a very low input from the Scout (4) volunteers.

A small number of AC and CAB respondents considered that there were no barriers to becoming a volunteer.

Some form of self-exclusion was the most frequently mentioned barrier. The Individual criteria had three aspects; personal fear; specific personal deficits; and lack of

commitment. The most frequently mentioned personal fear was fear of failure; failure to cope with the nature of the work and failure to integrate with the other volunteers. There was also the fear of going out at night when most of the organisations were active. The individual deficits considered as barriers were mainly skills and educational. Only if a certain educational standard had been attained was it possible for a CAB volunteer to undertake the training to become an adviser or counsellor. There is an element of condescension in these CAB responses.

All of the Scout respondents considered that the only impediments to becoming a volunteer were the lack of skills, experience and confidence. This attitude is engendered by the incestual recruitment process of the Scout Groups. It is considered that the only acceptable leaders are those who have grown up in the Movement.

There was a general feeling among the AC respondents that the lack of commitment, or community spirit was a contributory factor to many people not volunteering.

Sixteen percent of the CAB volunteers considered that financial or material considerations were a significant negative influence to becoming a volunteer. When pressed for details the response was indeterminate. According to the CAB respondents non-volunteers considered that you needed to be well dressed or have a car to be able to volunteer. Only one person mentioned the anomaly involving individuals receiving State Benefits. It appeared that not even the CAB volunteers were aware of the particular problem that some volunteers faced of having their Benefits reduced, or even terminated, if they were in receipt of expenses payments from the voluntary organisation for which they were active.

Strikingly neither the AC nor the Scout respondents mentioned financial or material considerations as a possible barrier. In unrecorded conversation with both AC and Scout volunteers they indicated that if expenses were incurred it was always possible to have them reimbursed. Very often no claim for expenses was made because the costs were considered a personal contribution to the organisation. To this extent those prospective volunteers, who knew of this financial attitude of active volunteers, could be deterred if their personal finances were not sufficiently robust to sustain the expense of being an active volunteer.

The CAB respondents considered that Cultural factors were influential in the attitude of people to becoming a volunteer. Twelve percent of CAB respondents stated that

volunteering was not part of the culture of some sections of society. This absence of volunteering from personal culture as a cause of exclusion is, according to these respondents, only to be found in 'in certain classes of people'. The respondents were not willing to be more specific. Once more there is a sense of 'them and us'; those who volunteer and those who do not volunteer. This appears to be a confirmation of the perceived typical volunteer – middle class, well educated, economically comfortable.

The Organisational factor was not considered by many of the respondents as a significant barrier to becoming a volunteer. The only aspects that were considered as possible barriers were organisational image and the insufficient organisation recognition of the commitment of active volunteers. Neither the CAB nor the Scout respondents consider that the structures and processes of the organisation in which they were active was any form of barrier to attracting volunteers. Only nine percent of AC respondents made any comments under this theme and these were the two negative aspects mentioned above.

The meagre response to this theme is surprising considering the catalogue of negative statements related in the Literature Review. It may be that the research of 1970s and 1980s impelled some positive response from the voluntary sector organisations that used volunteers. The management and treatment of volunteers may have improved over the past decade.

Experiences of Ageism

Implied in the original research question was the possibility that 'age' could be an additional barrier for the prospective volunteer. As Chapter 2 progressed it became apparent that volunteering differed, from any other sector of the labour market in the ability to use the skills and expertise of older people. Indeed there were organisations that specifically catered for older people and the use of their abilities. Rather than a barrier 'age' might, in selected cases, be a positive advantage. Outside of the specifically age oriented organisations the question of ageist attitudes did continue to persist. The recent governmental policy proposals may considerably alter the recruitment and employment practices of the labour market, both paid and voluntary. As the respondents made their comments before the policy proposals were announced

their perspective may be indicative of the perceptions that the public policy implementation may encounter.

The number of respondents providing comment for this theme is not large: Age Concern 29; Citizens' Advice Bureau 15; Scouts 5.

Approximately a quarter of those who did respond to this theme did not consider that there is any ageism in their volunteer organisations. Just over one fifth of the respondents stated that there is no ageism in the voluntary sector. This is not an unexpected finding considering most of those that did respond were themselves over pensionable age and active volunteers in organisations that attracted the older person.

Only four out of the forty-nine respondents stated that there is ageism in the paid labour market. From a group of predominantly older people this is slightly surprising. Perhaps these respondents accept the retirement philosophy of the labour market and do not consider the process as ageist. Nearly half of the CAB respondents identified regulatory ageist discrimination. Principally these respondents were referring to all the structures and systems that had age limitations: pensionable ages, insurance age limitations. Nobody identified the practice of some sections of the Health Service that practice 'age rationing' of services.

The strongest statement from more than half of the respondents from all three organisations is that ageism is a cultural perception. There was no extensive explanation given to confirm this impression. Generally it was implied that after reaching pension age society expected older people to 'rest' and not have any other inclination to be active in the community. The respondents themselves dismiss this attitude but maintain that their active volunteering has been questioned by neighbours and friends.

Information Availability

In the global economy 'image', and the placement of that image, is so very important. This is reflected in the plethora of style magazines for young people of both sexes, and consumer niche magazines for older people. It is therefore surprising that only twelve respondents commented on this theme: Age Concern 8, Citizens' Advice Bureau 8, and Scouts 2. Contradictory responses were received. Ten respondents stated that there is insufficient information or if sufficient it is inaccessible, whereas, four respondents considered that there may even be a congestion of information. The definition of

‘Image’ may possibly not mean the same thing to the older respondents as it does to an organisation promotion officer.

There are two principal issues. One is the image that any organisation presents to the public outside that organisation. This is the image the media presents and the perception of that image by the public. Seven respondents identified media distortion of the image of the volunteer and the voluntary sector as a disincentive to becoming a volunteer. The big stories and the big organisations receive the publicity – it attracts listeners, watchers and readers but negligibly attracts volunteers. Respondents also suggested that there was an imbalance of negative as opposed to positive media coverage. Negative media image is considered by all respondents as a major deterrent to people becoming volunteers.

The second issue is the information provided by volunteer organisations to encourage recruits. Three out of eight CAB respondents agreed with the Scout respondents that there is insufficient information available to encourage the public to become volunteers. On the other hand, both Scout respondents considered that there is ample in-house information.

The positioning of information is particularly mentioned by 5 respondents but in passing also by several other volunteers. The recruitment information is normally displayed on communal sites where the impact is often lost in the multitude of other advertising. It was suggested that more imaginative and profitable sites may be youth clubs, sports clubs and places where young people meet.

Through out this chapter the many and varied comments are further evidence of the diversity of ideas and perceptions pertaining to volunteering that are held by active participants. There is no single clear motivational factor that urges anyone to become a volunteer. Indeed the act of becoming a volunteer may be a combination of personal factors influenced by the availability of time, the nature of the activity involved, and the location of that volunteer activity.

What is apparent is the difference of emphasis and perception between the organisations and, to a limited extent, between branches of organisations.

The most striking finding is the congregation of different motivational triggers within organisations. For the AC volunteers it was the opportunity to serve others who need help, whereas the CAB volunteers were volunteering for their self-benefit to maintain

skills and expertise. The Scout volunteers were again different from the other two agencies, for they were motivated both by the desire to pass on to other young people the enjoyment and skills that they had learned and to continue their own enjoyment of these activities. There is no significant motivational difference between the branches of the same organisation. This finding implies that different motives direct people to different activities. The findings also very clearly illustrate that motives are not simply altruistic or selfish but are combinations of factors. This diversity of motivation will be developed in the final chapter. This specificity of motivation raises the question whether it may be that each organisation will have a specific mix of motivational triggers that encourage active volunteers.

The findings from the theme of exclusion again distinguish between the organisations but not between the branches. It was only the professional respondents from CAB that indicated the financial barrier. It was both the CAB and the Scout respondents that emphasised the skills deficit as a barrier. In each case the perception of that form of exclusion may derive from their understanding of the needs of a prospective volunteer in that organisation. From this it may be possible to conclude that for each organisation there will be a specific perception of what factors constitute barriers or forms of exclusion. This finding will influence the model of diversity.

A significant proportion of all respondents stated that, in their opinion, ageism was a cultural construct. The single difference between organisations was that AC and CAB respondents acknowledged that ageism existed elsewhere but not in their organisation. Only one Scout respondent indicated that there may have been ageism within the Scout Movement in previous years, but not now. It may be concluded that ageism within the voluntary sector will depend very much upon the cultural attitude of the individual volunteers. Further, it may be surmised that institutional ageism is unlikely within volunteer organisations. This theme will not be included in the final model of diversity.

The final theme, information, again drew contradictory responses. On the one hand the Scout respondents stated that there was sufficient information within the organisation to assist prospective volunteers it did not reach the public; and on the other hand the CAB respondents stating that there was insufficient information to assist the public to become volunteers. The AC respondents were more concerned with the distorted media image of volunteers and voluntary organisations. It is possible that the varied voluntary activities depicted by the media may, in some cases, create a negative reaction in the

public opinion toward volunteer recruitment. This, according to the Scout Association, is one of the reasons that there is a present difficulty in recruiting leaders. Images can attract or repel. Each organisation projects a different image. This will be considered in the construction of the model of diversity.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The initial research question arose from the premise that there are barriers to be overcome by older people wanting to becoming volunteers. It is generally inferred that since older people no longer are in full-time paid work they therefore have time available to use their skills and expertise as volunteers. The various national surveys, as considered in Chapter 2, indicated that people over 55 years old are under-represented as volunteers relative to their numbers in the population of the UK, and they are indeed the lowest represented volunteer age group. Why does this situation exist? The secondary literature (Knapp et al, 1995; Knight, 1993; Thomas and Finch, 1990) discusses at length the recognised barriers that can impede the process of becoming a volunteer. The principal problem areas and the actors involved have been summarised in Table 2.18 of the Literature Review. The primary research here has confirmed that these already recognised barriers are still in existence, in one form or another, in the recruitment processes of formal volunteer organisations.

It is possible that older people do not want to be volunteers for very personal reasons or they have been volunteers for many years during their 30s to 50s and now wish for something different, holidays, time with family and so on. But it is also possible that there is an obvious factor that has always existed in the voluntary sector the influence of which has not been fully realised.

As the Literature Review progressed and the research analysis proceeded there was the realisation that there was another significant factor. This research suggests that diversity is such a factor. Diversity, not simply as numbers of people who volunteer but of the motivations that prompted these people to volunteer; not only the number and nature of the organisations involved but of the uniqueness of the branches within these organisations.

It has been the intention of the previous chapters to show that the multitude of variety that is an essential part of the dynamism of the voluntary sector may also be an impediment to the open entry for any prospective volunteer. The findings from the analysis of the research questionnaire have shown that the volunteer profiles of the participating agencies are unique to each branch. It was also indicated that one of the

factors creating the unique profiles arises from an incestuous recruitment process. The analysis of the motivations of the respondents indicated that there was no single motivational trigger for all volunteers but that there was a convergence of motivations that was unique to each organisation.

The qualitative analysis of the statements of the respondents referring to the exclusion process, experiences of ageism and information availability indicates that these factors have some influence in the volunteer motivation process. The findings indicated that there is diversity of perception that separates the volunteers of one organisation from another.

This chapter will use these elements of diversity to construct a model that attempts to explain the interaction of the elements of this phenomenon.

The first section will start with the tentative model described in Chapter 2 and expand the original explanation. The elements of diversity from the findings of Chapter 4 will be introduced to the tentative model in the next section. In the third section the summation of the qualitative analysis will be incorporated to give still greater detail to the final model. The conjectured implications that the model has for public policy and volunteer recruitment will be discussed. In the penultimate section what was learned as a researcher will be explained. Finally, there is a brief presentation of the research that may develop from this thesis.

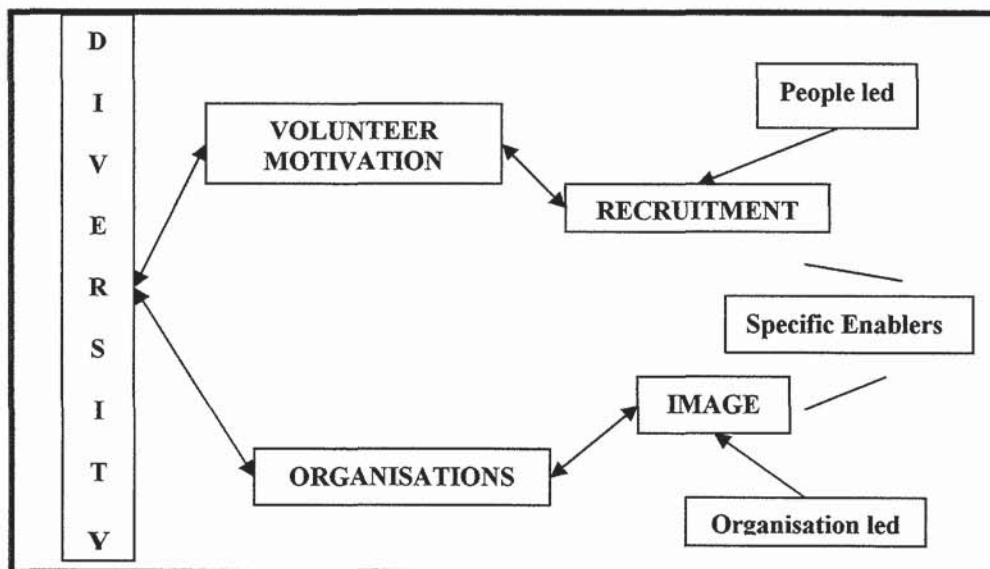
A Tentative Model Revisited

During the process of compiling the Literature Review it was noted that there were frequent indications that there was no single definition of concepts that satisfied all researchers. The variety of organisations, the many different activities, and the different social groups involved as volunteers all appeared to indicate a very complex and dynamic sector of community life. The factors within this complexity continued to multiply as the review of literature progressed. Initially the list of factors was loosely arranged in categories to attempt an understanding of the inter-relationships between the factors. The purpose at this point in the analysis process was to see how these factors affected the perceived barriers, especially for older people. During the review of the gerontological and ageism literature it was realised that the problems an older person had in the voluntary sector were very little different from those elsewhere. Age itself

was not another barrier, but the barrier may be the complexity of the issues that are involved in becoming and remaining a volunteer.

There were different definitions for 'volunteer' and 'voluntary organisation'. There were many different motivational triggers. There were different perceptions of the elements that defined volunteer activity. Then there were the unknown numbers of voluntary organisations (approximately one million) that were categorised in an estimated number (70) of fields of activity. The numerous barriers to becoming and remaining a volunteer were well documented in the literature and these impediments were confirmed by the primary research. Each of the factors appeared to be connected to each other. For example, to become a volunteer a person required time, opportunity, motivation, access to an organisation, and acceptance by the organisation. To continue as a volunteer required that the individual was committed to the activity, and gave agency satisfaction, but also to receive personal reward (e.g. enjoyment, fulfilment). In addition other factors relating to the voluntary organisation, the nature of the activity, the location of the organisation, the economic status of the location, and the method of recruitment each have an influence on the circumstances of the volunteer. All these factors cannot be shown in a single model; therefore all inclusive generalisations are required. The following Figure 6.1 is the initial attempt.

Figure 6.1: Influence of Diversity on Volunteer Activity



In the following brief explanation it is very apparent that this is an incomplete model. There will be development as the chapter progresses. The use of upper case lettering is to indicate the importance of the factor to the person that may become a volunteer. Lower case lettering indicates an emphasis that is not total and there are other unspecified influences. DIVERSITY is the all encompassing factor that influences the

other four elements of the model. The diverse forms of MOTIVATION influence the individual reaction to the various methods of RECRUITMENT. The most frequent method of recruitment is one-to-one, that is, **people led**. The many ORGANISATIONS present their IMAGE in a variety of situations that can be interpreted in either negative or positive manner. The voluntary image presented to the public is the responsibility of the organisation, that is, **organisation led**. The public policy initiatives that create recruitment programmes and the financial provision of assets to provide an attractive image are **specific enablers** that attract volunteers. The enthusiastic commitment of volunteers and the apparent benefit to client and active worker are **specific enablers** that encourage personal recruitment. The direction of influence is indicated by the arrows; a double arrow connector symbolises that the factors stimulate each other; a single arrow director indicates the influence is only one way. The unconnected lines suggest that the influence is problematic and there are possibly other factors that also have undetermined strength of influence.

Among the missing elements from this initial model are the **dichotomies of location**; rural/urban; affluence/deprivation. To include all the factors and elements in the model will create an intricate structure that would likely be unintelligible. The present model is too simplistic and requires an excessive amount of explanation to provide comprehension. It may be that a succession of interconnected models is the ultimate method of description of the diversity of influential factors and elements that may act upon a prospective volunteer.

Volunteer Profiles and the Model

The analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrated that there is no single stereo-typical volunteer but there is a typical type of volunteer for each organisation, and indeed for each branch of an organisation. Even though there is a difference in volunteer profile between branches there is no one social group that provides the volunteers for a single organisation. Members/volunteers are from each of the social groups, though not evenly. The volunteer's demographic profile is the first part of this element of the model.

Age Concern

ACB has a relatively higher proportion of male volunteers than ACH&W principally this is due to the ACB visitor service including 'handymen' available for simple domestic repair and garden work. The nature of the activity to some extent determines the gender of the person, though there are males who do visiting at both AC branches.

It is possible that, as for the gender balance, the difference is the result of different areas of volunteer activity, house visiting of older people attracting the older volunteer and the more peripatetic carer relief service being more suitable for the volunteers who still use their cars regularly. It may be, on the other hand, that because of the relatively recent re-formation of ACH&W there are no long serving older volunteers.

Birmingham is a multi-cultural cosmopolitan city and there are ACB volunteers from non-white communities. There are care organisations within the various ethnic communities but it is unlikely that these organisations have the public policy influence or the over-all access to resources to the same extent as ACB. Nonetheless, the volunteer population of ACB remains overwhelmingly white in origin. Channel marketing may perpetuate this as like talks to like. The one-to-one asking of friends and family to become volunteers is likely to continue the predominance of white people within this organisation. Both branches of AC operate Minority Ethnic Projects but apparently lack the ethnic origin staff that would assist greater community integration. In discussion with the manager of ACH&W (Prail, 1999) that branch was considering working alongside sister organisations in the various ethnic communities.

It is possible that the absence of children and dependants enabled these people to become AC volunteers. Some of the AC volunteers became active because they had at one time had received similar help to what they now were giving.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

There is a link between there being significantly more female than male volunteers at CABW than at CABO and more CABO volunteers being over 55 years old than at CABW. Because the principal volunteer activity of advisor or counsellor requires professional expertise males appear to only become volunteers after they have ceased their full-time occupation. This leaves a gap that is filled by women with the relevant expertise.

CABO volunteers are all white and CABW has only one non-white volunteer. If there are clients from other ethnic groups, then the organisation may need to address any taint of institutional racism. With the volume of students of all ethnic groups now going through the universities it is possible that time will eradicate the ethnic imbalance in volunteer organisations such as CAB which require volunteers with a high standard of education and/or professional training. One method of easing this problem may be by arranging links with 'sister' ethnic organisations that undertake similar advisory work, as AC appears to be attempting.

Scouts

Only within the Scout agencies is there a gender balance. Three of the other agencies all have a greater number of female volunteers – a ratio of 3:1. The engagement of female volunteers began very early in the history of the Scout Movement (see Appendix 14). In earlier years women were predominantly leaders working with the youngest boys. Now women are active at all levels of leadership. There is a broad range of scouting activities undertaken, regardless of gender. It will be found that there are more female than male Beaver and Cub Scout Leaders. There are more male than female Leaders in the other sections of the organisation. At least 38% of the Scout volunteers had children under the age of 18 at home, but less than 10% had other dependants at home. It is to be expected that a significant proportion of the scout leaders are from families with children since many of these leaders were recruited as parents of young members of the organisation. Because a commitment to leadership in the organisation can be time consuming it is very unlikely that anyone with other dependants requiring attention at home would consider volunteering, except perhaps in a very limited capacity.

It is not surprising that eighty percent of the volunteers are less than 55 years old. Much of the youth training programme is understandably and energetically active. It follows that a certain physical energy is a required and that usually is found among younger adults. There is an organisational policy to retire uniformed leaders at 65 years old, but there is no maximum age limit for non-uniformed volunteers.

There are no non-white volunteers in either Scout District. In the organisation profile in Appendix 14 there is an explanation that mixed ethnic scout groups function effectively just as there are groups that are wholly of other ethnic membership.

Because the scout groups all function within the same rules and regulations the administration structure is uniform throughout the organisation and the individual

Because the scout groups all function within the same rules and regulations the administration structure is uniform throughout the organisation and the individual districts operate in very nearly the same manner everywhere. If there are any differences they are likely to emerge from the geographical site and the economic condition of that site. It is possible that the leaders, if recruited from parents, will reflect the social conditions of their community. The two participating research districts are from approximately the same type of social community, except one is urban and the other mixed urban and rural.

These differences are possibly linked to the geographic position of each district. It is likely to be easier to retain young people in the relatively vibrant city of Oxford than in the quieter city of Hereford. The young single people will be available for leaders in Oxford while Hereford probably depends more on the support of married adults for their leadership pool.

Summary

Each of the three volunteer organisations has a distinctive volunteer age profile. There are similarities between the profiles of Age Concern and CAB in that there is an equal percentage of volunteers either side of age sixty. In the case of Scout volunteers 90% are below the age of sixty. The family status profile of volunteers is different for each organisation. The family status profile of the volunteers in each of the branches within the organisation is similar. All agencies are predominantly white, with only ACB having more than one volunteer from another ethnic group. Three of the agencies had no volunteers from another ethnic group. Only within the Scout agencies is there a gender balance. Three of the other four agencies all have a greater number of female volunteers – a ratio of 3:1.

Figure 6.2 shows the extent to which the principal demographic factors form the structure of the individual organisation and branch volunteer profiles. There is similarity between branch volunteer profiles within organisations but there are distinct differences between organisation volunteer profiles.

Figure 6.2: Demographic Volunteer Profile

	ACB	ACH&W	CABW	CABO	HS	OS
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Male	Balanced	Balanced
Mean Age	60	58	61	57	40	29
Children at home	0	0	25%	25%	49%	38%
Married/Partner	40%	61%	75%	74%	89%	76%
Formerly married	38%	25%	15%	17%	4%	4%
Never married	19%	8%	10%	9%	7%	20%

There are strong similarities between branches within the same agency, but there are distinct differences between the agencies at each level of the profile. This difference, it may be inferred, illustrates that there is a certain kind of person that volunteers for a specific type of organisation. The other possibility is that each organisation requires a certain type of person as a volunteer. Again the possibility is that the profile is simply the result of the recruitment process, particularly if the main route is one-to-one invitation.

A further factor can be added to the model; **demographic difference**, and this is linked with both the volunteer and the organisation.

External Factors: Employment, Income, Religion and Education

These are factors that to a large extent determine the status of the individual within the community. Each of these factors may interact with the others. The standard of education may determine the nature of employment that, in turn, may define the economic standard of living and even religion may be relevant to social acceptance. Together with the demographic factors they create a sociological construct of the volunteers in each of the agencies.

Age Concern

More than 80% of Age Concern and 64% ACH&W volunteers were not in the paid labour market indicating that there were about 20% more of the ACH&W respondents that were in employment. This was to be expected according to the age range pattern. Approximately one third of the respondents from each branch was or had been

employed within the clerical and secretarial grades. There was an even spread over the other employment categories. There are considerable differences in the income levels between the two branches with 17 percent of volunteers in ACH&W are in the highest income range, compared to only 6% of ACB volunteers. 51% of ACB volunteers are clustered in the lowest income cohort and 44% of ACH&W volunteers fall into this category.

The respondents of both branches are predominantly Protestant, with 10% Roman Catholic and two of the ACB respondents are Muslim. Less than half of the respondents stated they were committed to their faith. Surprisingly 72% of the ACH&W respondents ceased their education before they were 19 years of age, while it was exactly half that percentage for ACB. On the other hand 51% of ACB respondents did not answer this question. Less than a third of AC respondents had O or A Level qualifications and there were four volunteers that had higher education qualifications.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Of the three organisations it is the volunteers from CAB that come predominantly from a single social class. This is demonstrated by the greater number of volunteers with higher educational qualifications and who have had managerial and professional careers.

As has been already said this sample is too small to make generalisations, but certain issues are evident.

The CAB respondents conform, in the majority, with a stereotypical national volunteer profile, being white, female, middle-class, well educated, and financially comfortable. The volunteer profile that is suggested by the most recent national volunteer survey reviewed in Chapter 2 (The 1997 National Survey of Volunteering) suggests that: Age 45-54; equally male or female; an annual income of more than £25,000; from the profession / managerial socio-economic group; education completed after the age of 21; white; married or cohabiting; in paid employment; access to a car; good local social networks. The CAB volunteer profile differs in age, gender balance, and paid employment. Whether or not there are good local social networks among the CAB volunteers was not tested in this survey.

The commitment and the intellectual standard required for CAB activity may deter some prospective volunteers. This too may be the cause of a significant turnover in retaining volunteers. The high standard of education of the CAB volunteer is obvious. Unless the training provided by the organisation is thorough and has intellectual breadth

it is very likely that 'education' will be a barrier to those who do not have 'recognised qualifications', but have experience and intelligence and would like to become a volunteer with CAB.

Another aspect is more controversial. In a multi-racial community it is possible that the mix of volunteers needs to be considered. If there are clients from other ethnic groups then the organisation should avoid the charge of institutional racism. With the volume of students of all ethnic groups now going through the universities it is possible that time will eradicate the ethnic imbalance in volunteer organisations such as CAB. One method of easing this problem may be by arranging links with 'sister' ethnic organisations that undertake similar advisory work.

The final issue can also be sensitive. Requesting details of private income can be misunderstood. It is the respondents' right and privilege to abstain from declaring personal income, if they wish to do so. It is not the amount of income of the individual that is being studied but the economic and social group to which a number of people belong. Respondents are perfectly correct when they say that it is 'My income is none of your business', but then the researcher is not interested in their personal income, only in the overall picture that may be shown by all the incomes.

Scouts

The members/volunteers of both Scout districts are more widely representative than the other agencies.

Although there are similarities there are significant marginal differences. It is in the percentage differences of the similarities that lies the real interest. For example, over 65% of volunteers from both Districts became involved in the years 1985-99, but over 33% of H District respondents volunteered in the period 1995-99 compared to just 20% of O respondents. Yet O District has the greatest percentage of 18-24 year old volunteers, the age group from which it would be expected that the newest volunteers would come.

The greatest similarity may, paradoxically, be the cause of the apparent differences. The method of volunteering, and the comments on how individuals became involved in scouting, is identical in each District. The greatest proportion is recruited internally. Existing leaders recruit from the Venture Scouts, and parents of scout members, ensuring that the character and culture of a Group or District is self-perpetuating.

The greatest differences are: The age mix, the family status, and responsibility for children, incomes, and modes of travel. Mode of travel is most likely to be affected by

the rural / urban dichotomy, as may be also the incomes. Rural public transport is not available to any great extent at the times and in the places where rural Scout Groups meet. The wage differentials between rural and urban employers may be the cause of the income differences shown in the survey. The remaining three differences, age, family statuses, responsibility for children, are interlinked. The age profile of District O shows a greater number of young unmarried and older married volunteers, i.e. the people who have not yet or do not now have children at home, whereas, District H has the greater proportion of married volunteers with children from the 35-54 age group.

As commented elsewhere, it may be because of the point in the Scouting calendar that some these marginal differences appear. If the questionnaires were completed in May or October it is possible that the marginal differences would disappear, or other differences would appear. The factual personal details would remain the same; the only difference would possibly be in the nature of scouting activity and the hours of volunteering undertaken.

Despite having the same aims, aspirations, organisational structures, and programmes, there are significant differences between the Districts in the profile of the human actors, the volunteers. Because of the volunteer autonomy, and the limits of the available recruitment networks, i.e. from former scouts and parents of scouts, these differences will continue. It is suggested that the self-perpetuation may be a barrier to encouraging the involvement of potential volunteers from outside the Scouting brotherhood - only those who are already in contact are approached.

Summary

The volunteers from four of the six agencies did not conform to the employment pattern that the national surveys suggest – that people in paid employment were more likely to volunteer than those who were outside the labour market.

The employment profile of the respondents followed the age profile very closely.

The largest single fraction of respondent volunteers was drawn from the clerical and secretarial occupational group. The second highest represented occupational group were professional in background. These groups accounted for just over 50% of all respondents.

The national survey suggestion that the propensity to volunteer declines across occupational grades is not entirely borne out by the volunteer responses..

The overall results display a sharp polarisation as between those active in the paid labour market and those who are not. There is little evidence from this cohort of the uptake of more flexible working patterns.

Of those not employed full-time at the time of the survey, a significant number have not been in the full-time labour market for more than two years.

A high percentage of respondents have an annual income of less than £10,000. In 1999 the national average gross annual earnings was £20,000. One of the measures that define poverty is a household receiving below half-average income. This situation is at odds with the national survey suggestion that people with an income of more than £25,000 were more likely to volunteer.

Respondents are perfectly correct when they say that it is 'None of your business', but then the researcher is not interested in their personal income, only in the overall picture that may be shown by all the incomes.

A relatively high percentage of surveyed volunteers declare a religious inclination. Of the six agencies only ACB has respondents drawn from any non-Christian faith. A relatively high percentage of surveyed volunteers declare a religious inclination, considering that only about 10% of the general population in England admit to a religious commitment (National Trends, 1990). The extant research literature does indicate that there is a correlation between religious belief and volunteering (Belah et al, 1996; CAF, 1994; Davis Smith, J., 1992). Although that Davis Smith only suggests a 10% of volunteers have a religious involvement, this research shows that all six agencies have at least 40% of volunteers acknowledging a religious faith, and four agencies showing 75% and over.

The volunteer age profile of each agency to a large extent determined the education profile. Fifty percent of the volunteers from four of the agencies ceased their full-time education more than thirty years ago and were therefore unable to benefit from the expansion of higher education in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Each branch has a different a different education age cessation pattern which parallels the volunteer age profile. There is, as expected, a strong correlation of the higher education qualification levels with the professional and managerial profile of the respondent groups. The profiles recorded in this research indicate a broader educational range among volunteers than that reported by the National surveys of previous years.

It is possible that the individuality of each branch is continued by the internal recruitment net-work. This branch uniqueness may be a barrier to the recruitment of

potential volunteers outside the local net-work. On the other hand, specific organisations may attract a specific type of volunteer.

No table of comparison has been provided here as it would only duplicate what is already in Chapter 4.

The external factors volunteer profile differs substantially between organisations though less significantly between branches of the same organisation thus providing another element of the model: **organisation unique sociological volunteer profiles.**

Volunteering

This sub-section discusses the activity of volunteering; the hours committed the involvement with other organisations and the nature of the voluntary activity undertaken.

Age Concern

As described in the agency profile in Appendix12 ACB is a long established branch and ACH&W is a relative recently re-formed branch, consequently, it is not surprising that the data indicates that volunteers have been active with ACB for a greater number of years. Almost one third of the ACB respondents have been active volunteers for more than 20 years. It can be inferred that these volunteers were content in their volunteering or perhaps it is only a comfortable habit which permits socializing with other people.

One third of the respondents from both ACB and ACH&W were active volunteers with other organisations. Certainly, when this factor is considered along with the number of hours volunteered, there is an indication that these respondents consider volunteering as an important part of their every-day life.

There is a striking contrast in the use of the private car. Sixty-six percent of ACH&W (rural) volunteers use a private car to travel to their volunteer activity, whereas only 23% of ACB (urban) volunteers use a car. There is also a difference in use of public transport. Forty-four percent of ACB volunteers use public transport compared to only 11% of ACH&W volunteers. The urban/rural dichotomy is part of the reason for this difference. Birmingham has an effective public transport system, whereas, the rural districts are not served so well by public transport and the system would be inadequate to be of use to a peripatetic care worker travelling to the villages of Hereford and Worcester.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

There is nothing strikingly different between the two branches of CAB within this section. Although CABO began in 1940 all of the respondents have been recruited within the previous fifteen years, whereas, in the case of CABW nearly a fifth of the respondents have been active for twenty-five years. This is a reversal of the situation in the other two agencies where the longest serving volunteers were in the longer established branches.

There is one factor that separates the CAB volunteers from the AC volunteers and which they share with the Scout volunteers, time commitment. For a significant number of the CAB respondents the volunteer hours engaged with clients could be comparable to a reasonable day's work when in paid employment. Taken together with the reasons given for volunteering (see next sub-section) it may be considered as a strong example of role replacement theory.

CAB volunteer activity is concentrated almost entirely in two areas that may overlap. All of the CABW respondents are engaged in either a professional or a clerical and secretarial capacity, with only one person from CABO describing their work as Personal Services.

More than half of CABW respondents use a private car to travel to their volunteer activity, compared to only three out of twenty-three of CABO respondents. Conversely, just under a half of CABO respondents use public transport, whereas, only three out of twenty of CABW respondents use that mode of transport. This may be because there is less traffic congestion in Worcester and the use of a private car is easier, also, car parking facilities are absent at the Oxford office, but are available at Worcester. There is a consensus of opinion that the public transport operation in Oxford is more frequent and serves the outlying areas better than the service in Worcester.

Scouts

There is little difference between the two scout districts, but there are factors that are unique for Scout volunteers. The very wide variety of volunteer tasks within the local Scout unit is likely to require multi-skilled people. As has been shown elsewhere in this research many of the scout leaders were themselves former members of a scout group. They had absorbed the training and skills and therefore their experience was a vital

factor in their acceptance as a volunteer. A powerful loyalty is evident, manifest in a number of characteristics, including long service and long hours of commitment, which is especially striking given the employment status of most volunteers.

Both these attributes are shared with other agencies, though no other agency displays both. Many of the ACB volunteers have long service but the hours of volunteering are no greater than average. The volunteers from CAB occasionally work longer hours than Scout volunteers but there are no long serving volunteers. Loyalty is a characteristic that will appear in the later section on recruitment.

There is necessity for the use of a private car for often physically oriented and customarily peripatetic activities. The vehicle is not simply a means of transport to the volunteer activity but also a carrier of equipment. Perhaps, if only for environmental reasons, the Scouting Leadership should consider the transport situation and problems of their existing and potential volunteers.

Summary

Figure 6.3 illustrates the differences between the agencies by comparing the principal elements of volunteering that have been previously discussed.

Not all the differences recorded are the result of volunteer influence. The **historical involvement** of each organisation is a prominent factor. The dichotomy of long established and more recently formed branches is fully recorded in the Agency Profiles provided in Appendices 12, 13 and 14.

Figure 6.3 does show one striking organisation similarity – the percentage of volunteers that are active as volunteers in other organisations. Perhaps this may be an indication that these active volunteers consider their involvement to be an important part of their way of life – their contribution to the maintenance of the fabric of the community in which they live and work.

Figure 6.3: Comparative Volunteering Characteristics

	ACB	ACH&W	CABO	CABW	HS	OS
Year Branch Originated	1970	1993	1940	1975	1912	1980
Years of commitment	%	%	%	%	%	%
Five+	16	5	30	15	34	26
Ten+	12	0	22	15	32	32
Twenty+	11	0	0	15	14	10
Thirty+	12	0	0	0	19	10
Multiple volunteering	%	%	%	%	%	%
	32	39	34	20	36	24
Mean hours volunteered	6	7	13	17	10.5	12
Mean hrs. vol. other orgs.	3 (2)	4 (6)	2 (2)	2 (2)	5 (2)	6 (2)
Nature of vol. Work	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Professional</i>	0	0	56	35	0	0
<i>Clerical/ Secretarial</i>	8	19	40	65	44	24
<i>Personal Services</i>	62	70	4	0	51	72

Commitment is a basic component of the active volunteer. This is demonstrated most notably by ACB and both of the Scout branches having a significant percentage of their volunteers that had been active for more than thirty years, though each of the other agencies had a strong nucleus of volunteers that had been active for the previous ten years, apart from the relatively recently re-formed ACH&W.

Commitment is also shown by the dedicated small number of volunteers from each of the agencies who are active with other volunteer organisations. Several of the Scout and AC volunteers and one CAB volunteer are also active in their local church. As may be expected the lowest percentage participation in other organisations are CAB and Scout volunteers, since they tend to engage for a relatively longer number of hours in their principal volunteer organisation.

Commitment is also measured by the number of volunteered hours of engagement each week. All agencies exceeded the mean (as recorded by the national surveys) of five hours volunteered each week by their volunteers, while for four of the agencies the mean exceeded 10 hours each week. The long hours volunteered by the CAB respondents suggest that volunteering is a form of replacement activity – replacement of previous professional career. This may be inferred as a means of retaining a measure of personal status. In the case of Scout respondents the long hours are ‘enjoyed’. The

activity is ‘a way of life’ for some of the Scout leaders. Therefore although the respondents of two agencies both volunteer long hours the purpose is very different.

The **nature of volunteer work undertaken** by the volunteers differed with each organisation, though, clerical and secretarial work featured for each agency. The context in which volunteering is undertaken is different in each agency. AC volunteers are, mostly, carers. It is possible that they need to be friendlier, more compassionate toward their clients than the volunteers from the other agencies. The CAB volunteers, on the other hand, may need to be more positive, firmer, and encourage confidence in their ability to solve a problem. The Scout leaders, it is inferred, may need to show enthusiasm for the activity and technical skill in passing on their knowledge. The need for a private car depends not only on whether the public transport is more available, or more economic, but also on whether equipment needs to be transported. Peripatetic care visitors with clients in a rural area with limited public transport and Scout leaders transporting equipment need the use of a private vehicle.

A further three factors can be added to the model; **historical involvement, commitment and nature of activity**. The first element only affects the organisation but it the age of the branch can determine the volunteer ethos of the branch which in turn may regulate the incestuous quality of the recruitment. The nature of the activity can influence the intensity of the commitment, as is illustrated by the volunteers of CAB and the Scouts. The nature of the activity certainly can be an attraction for recruits.

Recruitment Motivation

Motivation is already an element in the model but it is not obvious from that single label what that description includes. The many motivational factors that influence an individual to become a volunteer are explored in the analysis of motivation in chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis. The findings that have been considered most influential from each chapter have been brought together in this sub-section.

Values

This is the factor that influenced the greatest majority of the respondents from AC and the Scouts but it was not so influential with CAB respondents. For the AC respondents it was the care and concern for their clients that motivated them. For many Scouts it is a means of giving something back to the Movement that gave them so much.

Social

Life events such as retirement, unemployment, and bereavement created available time which, in turn, created the opportunities for a significant number (29%) of AC respondents to become a volunteer. Scouts (31%) *enjoyed* their volunteer activity as a way of life.

Protective

Neither CAB nor Scout respondents considered this a factor of influence. Emotional self-benefit within the Protective factor is influential for 11% of the AC respondents.

Understanding

Fifty-two percent of CAB respondents considered this the most important factor. Volunteering provided an opportunity to use their skills and expertise and maintain the personal intellectual challenge. None of the respondents from the other agencies considered this factor influenced their decision to volunteer.

Career

This is a relatively weak factor for all respondents with only eight percent of the Scout respondents considering it influential. Career-benefit, intellectual maintenance and status are the weakest influences for AC respondents.

Enhancement

Nineteen percent of CAB respondents stated this as the most important factor because volunteering permitted the maintenance of professional skills.

Method

Only AC respondents (6%) suggested that the method or manner in which they were introduced to the agency was influential in becoming a volunteer.

It appears that it is the motivational factor that defines the type of volunteer that each agency receives. Although there are many motives given by the respondents for their

decision to become a volunteer it can be shown that certain motives direct individuals into a specific kind of volunteer organisation. The following sub-section illustrates the motives of three different types of volunteer; a carer, a counsellor and a youth leader.

Age Concern

ACH&W maybe characterised by a relatively closed internal recruitment network, whereas ACB appears to be relatively open to outside sources of volunteer supply. This is indicated by a greater number of the ACH&W volunteers having been recruited through one-to-one approach of existing active volunteers, whereas there is a significant number of the ACB volunteers were recruited through volunteer recruitment programmes advertised in the local press. Several of the older ACB respondents were part of a Methodist church visiting team that was absorbed by Age Concern over twenty years ago. These volunteers considered it part of their 'Christian duty' to visit the old and house-bound.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

No single clear motivating factor emerged from the preset options. The personal statements that self-benefit and maintenance of intellectual challenge were important motivational triggers are the most interesting revelations from this theme. Perhaps it is not simply a single motive that prompts a person to volunteer their services. Such factors as opportunity, available time and serendipity may be more influential than the individual is aware.

Scouts

As with the other agencies no single motivation factor is recognised as the most important. The preset option 'To help others' was chosen most often but that may be because it was the first of the list or it was an umbrella phrase that covered many other nuances of the words 'help' and 'others'. There is a desire among these respondents to pass on their skills and enjoyment to the young members of the Scout Groups.

Summary

There is no single motivating factor for becoming a volunteer that is common to all respondents, though there is a tendency for the volunteers of each agency to share similar motives for becoming active in that organisation.

It is the vocabulary used by the respondents that distinguishes each from the other. AC respondents used 'care' and 'concern' which were not used by the other respondents. Similarly CAB respondents described their motivation in terms of 'self-benefit' and 'maintenance of skills and expertise' phrases not used by either AC or Scout respondents. The Scout respondents were the only ones to use the word 'enjoyment' to describe their motives to become volunteers. The phrases such as 'a way of life' and 'give to the young people the enjoyment I had' were frequently used to describe the reasons for becoming Scout Leaders. These distinctive differences of vocabulary illustrate very different volunteer motivation typologies that are agency specific. Another element can be added to the model; **agency specific motivation typology.**

The routes by which volunteers were recruited also differed according to the agency concerned. Overall two routes were equally most frequent with each agency – one-to-one invitation by already active volunteers, and personal direct approach to a local branch offering their services. The AC respondents did not use any one method of recruitment significantly more than any other, the three main routes being one-to-one, local newspaper adverts and direct offering of services giving an **open recruitment** method. A greater proportion of CAB respondents directly offered their services than in the other two agencies, though one-to-one was also significant as a method of recruitment which may be described as a **mixed recruitment** method. It is the Scout respondents that illustrated a **closed method of recruitment** in which the older young people are almost 'groomed' to become the future leaders. Also the parents of the young members are encouraged to become volunteers in the local group.

These recruitment methods add a further element to add to the recruitment label of the model; **agency specific recruitment methods.**

Exclusion Processes

Most responses in this section refer to the respondents' perceptions of 'other people' and their self-created exclusion. The headings used to give structure to the responses are; Individual, Material/ Financial, Cultural and Organisational. The number of respondents for this subject did not enable a balanced assessment but there are indications of agency differences.

Age Concern

Four AC respondents considered that there are no barriers to becoming a volunteer. As they had become volunteers they saw no reason why others could not also volunteer.

The perception of approximately half of AC respondents is that the greatest barrier is the negative self-image of non-volunteers, such as lack of confidence and lack of appropriate skills. The fear of failing in the volunteer situation is part of the negative personal attitude. None of the AC volunteers suggested that there were any financial or material barriers to becoming a volunteer and only a small number of volunteers considered that there was a negative cultural attitude toward volunteering. Nine percent of AC respondents suggested that volunteering commitment is not sufficiently acknowledged by organisation management.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

One CAB respondent considered that there are no barriers to becoming a volunteer. Only the CAB volunteers (16%) considered that there was a financial/material impediment to becoming a volunteer, and only one respondent mentioned the negative influence of Benefit Agency treatment of expenses payments received by volunteers. CAB respondents (12%) considered that volunteering was not part of the culture of some sections of society.

Scouts

There were no responses from Scout volunteers under this heading.

Summary

There is a distinct difference in the responses from the AC and CAB volunteers. The AC emphasised the individual negative attitudes whereas the CAB volunteers were the only group to consider financial/material considerations as an impediment to becoming a volunteer. It may be that the caring AC visitor is more likely to consider first the emotions of the person, whereas, the CAB advisor is more likely to first consider the material situation surrounding the person. Although both AC and CAB respondents did consider that there was a section of the public that had a negative cultural attitude to volunteering there was a difference in the tone that was not expressed in words. The AC respondents were annoyed and sorrowful but the CAB volunteers were condescending. It is surprising that so few of the respondents intimated that the organisational attitude was an impediment to volunteering, considering the long list of negative voluntary

organisation behaviour recorded in Chapter 2. It is possible that volunteer managers are now much more careful and considerate in their treatment of their volunteers as valuable assets.

The further elements to add to the model are; **personal negative attitude** and **financial/material restrictions** with a much weaker influence of **negative organisational consideration of volunteers**.

Experience of Ageism

The concept of ageism was, initially in this research, considered possibly to be a significant factor that older prospective volunteers would encounter. It has been discovered that volunteers and professional staff in voluntary organisations are very aware of the possible problem but do not consider that it is present in the organisation that they represent. The response from the volunteers was limited, but the assertions were unequivocal.

Age Concern

Approximately half of the respondents stated that ageism is a cultural perception. The remainder of the respondents stated that there is no ageism in the voluntary sector.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

Six out of thirteen respondents identified regulatory ageist discrimination. Again this indicates that the CAB volunteers, because they are active in a public policy advisory organisation, are very aware of the possible regulatory impediments. More than half of the respondent considered that ageism is part of cultural perception.

Scouts

All of the Scouts who responded considered that ageism depends on the cultural perception of the individual.

Summary

The respondents only strongly identified ageism as a cultural perception and not as anything specifically inherent in volunteering organisations. As such it cannot be included as an element of the model.

Information Availability

This theme was initially included in the focus group programme to discover if there was sufficient public information being provided to encourage volunteering. The respondents enlarged the discussion to include the image projected by volunteers and voluntary organisations.

Age Concern

The positioning of information was particularly mentioned by respondents and they considered that sites such as youth clubs, sports clubs and places where young people meet should be targeted for volunteers. What most concerned the respondents was the negative image of volunteering presented by the media which they considered to be a major deterrent to people becoming volunteers. This negative image, according to the respondents, is partly caused by distortion of the material presented and partly by the inability of the voluntary organisations to use the media effectively.

Citizens' Advice Bureau

The CAB respondents also emphasised the negative media image as a major deterrent to people becoming volunteers. There was a disagreement about the amount of recruitment information available with half of the respondents indicating that there was insufficient knowledge for and communication with the public and the other half stating that there may even be a congestion of too much information.

Scouts

Negative media image is considered by all respondents as a major deterrent to people becoming volunteers. Again respondents identified the distorted media image of the Scout Movement as an impediment to recruitment from outside the organisation. The respondents considered that there is insufficient information made available to the

general public to encourage volunteers although there is ample in-house information. Because the most common and fruitful recruitment route is from within the Movement it is not surprising that the volunteers made these responses. In the local newspapers the reporting of Scout events is low key and infrequent. The national press are far more likely to be interested in the behaviour of the wayward Scout Leader than in the success of the International Camp. The fault may lie as much with the Scout Movement as with the media perceptions.

Summary

The contradictory response by the CAB respondents suggests that **availability of recruitment information** to the public is irregular and may be locally controlled. All respondents considered that such information can be an important factor in recruitment of volunteers and it is therefore another element in the model.

The emphatic condemnation of the media presentation is possibly unreasonable considering that there is massive coverage for most of the large national and international voluntary organisations. It is the smaller less spectacular organisations that do not appear to receive the same recognition. The standard of the local media presentation may be the responsibility of the local organisations rather than the press, radio and television. The volunteer **Image** is of considerable importance and **distorted image** will be an impediment to recruitment.

Model

There is no effective simple model that will illustrate how diversity accentuates the already existing barriers that occur in the process anyone pursues to become a volunteer. Indeed a model could be designed to explain each factor of the following equation model. The inclusion of 'age' as a factor increases the complexity still further. The known barriers have been discussed in the second chapter of the thesis. In general terms these known barriers (B) are organisational (O), cultural (C), and personal or psychological (P). The 'age' factor (A) has been shown to be present in each of the areas of volunteering impediment. This can be illustrated in the following manner:

$$(O + C + P) + A = B$$

By adding the dimension of diversity (D) the equation becomes:

$$[(O + C + P) + A] + D = B.$$

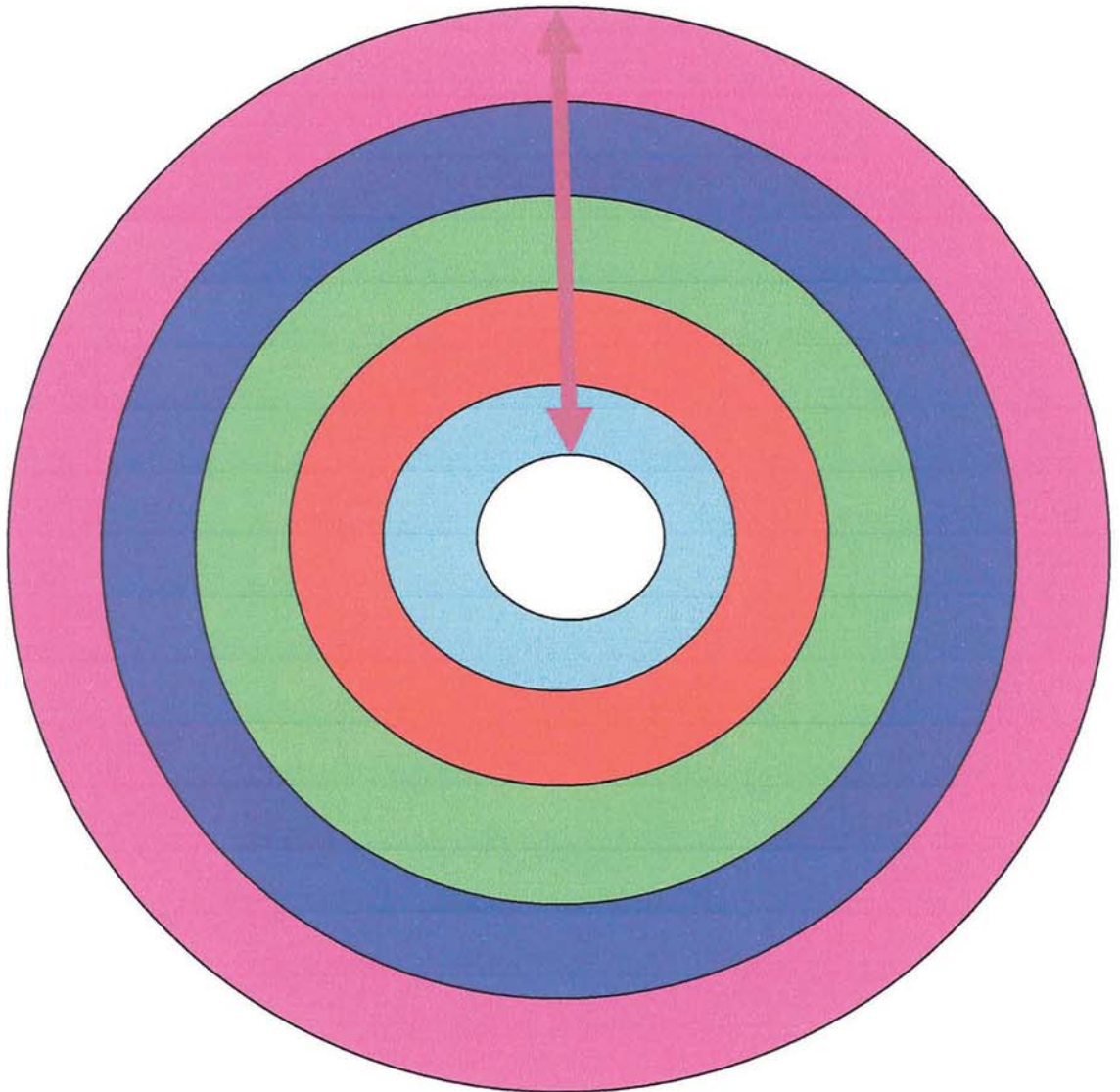
This equation is insufficient and indistinct.

The inter-related complexity of the voluntary sector inhibits the effectiveness of any model designed to explain one aspect of the sector. There will always be one factor, at least, that has been omitted. The first tentative model was too simplistic. This chapter has accumulated thirteen elements but the structure of the original model is unable to sustain these additions. It is considered that all the elements can be accommodated within the circle of diversity under six headings as follows:

1. **The Volunteer** to include: Demographic difference: Commitment: Personal negative attitude.
2. **The Branch** to include: Branch specific recruitment methods: Availability of recruitment information
3. **The Organisation** to include: Organisation unique sociological volunteer profiles: Nature of activity: Organisation specific motivation typology: Negative consideration of volunteers.
4. **Dichotomies** to include: Location: Economic status
5. **History** to include the evolving organisation and branch.
6. **Cultural perceptions** to include: Financial/material restrictions: Distorted image.

The following nest of concentric circles, Figure 6.4, is more able to accommodate all of the elements.

Figure 6.4: Diversity and Volunteering



Diversity is the outer rim of the outer circle that encompasses all other elements. The straight double-arrow connector symbolises that diversity influences all levels of volunteer activity through to the volunteer at the centre and each of the circle passes diversity to the others.

1. **The Volunteer** has a unique personal profile which is influenced by all the surrounding elements.
2. **The Branch** method of recruitment creates a unique volunteer profile. The Branch also is influenced by all that it is surrounded.

3. **The Organisation** activity is unique and is a specific motivational trigger. The organisation is influenced by the surrounding elements
4. **Dichotomies** of place and economics have a direct bearing on the volunteer, the Branch and the Organisation.
5. **History** includes the process of branch and organisation growth from commencement to current maturity. Time permits the creation of settled procedures and group ethos. History can also include the effect of statutes and regulation.
6. **Cultural perceptions** influence the image that is created by the volunteer, the organisation and the media. Perceptions of costs and benefits are influenced by cultural expectations.

Figure 6.5: Legend for the Model

	THE VOLUNTEER: UNIQUE PERSONAL PROFILE
	THE BRANCH: UNIQUE VOLUNTEER PROFILE
	THE ORGANISATION: UNIQUE ACTIVITY
	DICHOTOMIES: ECONOMICS + LOCATION
	HISTORY: PROCEDURES + ETHOS
	CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

Policy Implications

Since diversity affects all levels of activity any policy, whether local or national, will require to be flexible enough to accommodate the specific uniqueness of the separate elements that the policy encompasses. The evidence of the findings suggests that recruitment is a process that can be most effectively handled at branch level. On the evidence of this thesis the resources required for any recruitment programme should be

channelled through to branch level. The effectiveness of top-down national recruitment programmes has been disappointing, relative to the costs incurred, therefore it may be that low cost local programmes should be given priority where the effect of diversity is greatest.

In a more general aspect the consequences of diversity may mean that communication should be more often a two-way channel from the Branch to the Head Office rather than one way directives. The further the controlling head is from the hands and feet of action the less the head actually understands the requirements for effective implementation of organisation policies. Although that is a management truism it is also a corollary of diversity.

Self Discovery

So many aspects of this research have been a voyage of discovery.

Perhaps the hardest learned lesson is the necessity to manage the time available to eliminate the cliff edge experience of submission date. The hours of incomprehension wasted when the answer could be obtained from those who have completed a thesis. At these moments of stagnation it is time well spent to continue reading around the problem. On at least two occasions the solution to the problem was suggested during the reading of another student's work. Listening to the work-in-progress of other students can sometimes stimulate the lines of thought that can lead to a solution of a problem.

Initially there is a necessity for flexibility of thought to permit refinement of the research question. The most surprising discovery arose when the Literature Review was almost finished and the analysis of primary data was well advanced. To pursue the new thought at the expense of the original question was eminently acceptable because the discovery suggested a line of analysis and conclusion that had not appeared in the literature of previous research. The discovery seemed so obvious as a solution that it was surprising that there was no previous mention in the literature. The great fear is that it is not a discovery but an oversight of a line of research.

The further the journey into the reading and the analysis the more it was realised that there was still many other paths of enquiry that could be explored. The expansion of the subject horizons inferred that what was known was only a fraction of the possible extent of the subject knowledge. To travel these other paths is a temptation that had to be resisted.

The gifts of serendipity should always be accepted for they are often priceless.

Future Research

Because there was an imbalance of agencies and research sites in this present research the first future research should be to replicate the general methodology used here either for one agency in four or more different sites, or four or more agencies in one research site. Ideally it would be most interesting and rewarding to research four or more agencies in four different sites. The results would certainly either confirm or confound this thesis. If the conclusion of this thesis is correct then only when all agencies on all sites have been researched will we truly understand the voluntary sector.

The other area of research that was considered but not undertaken was a similar questioning of non-volunteers to uncover the reasons for antipathy toward volunteering. It may be that what is seen by active volunteers as a cultural perception is an historical and philosophical antagonism generated by only a certain section of the community. The difficulty may be to find a sufficient number of non-volunteers willing to co-operate with the researcher.

The research of a similar question could be undertaken with former volunteers. Because of the increasing incidence of corporate volunteer sponsoring it is possible that the findings from this research will provide a requiem for altruism.

Another avenue of research that may uncover further understanding of the voluntary sector is an historical approach to all the agencies in a single site. This, to a certain extent, has been done by Stephen Yeo (1976) in his study of voluntary organisations in Reading.

The model used in this thesis is a simplification of a super-model that may cover several pages. It would be enlightening for that super-model to be completed.

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