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Voluntary Motives To Participate in Community Enterprise Activity

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Glasgow**

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Abstract

This study was concerned with the symbolic costs and benefits associated with different stages of volunteering, from the perspective of 222 participants engaged in three types of community enterprise activity across Scotland. Costs and benefits were set within a social exchange / incentive framework based on the approach of Clark & Wilson (1961). The study was mainly cross-sectional in design and involved a survey-based approach using a structured questionnaire. A related but separate longitudinal component was based on a standard measure of perceived control. The latter was used to explore the issue of empowerment amongst volunteers in general and in a follow up of 26 volunteers. The results generally showed that homogeneity does not rule across or within groups of volunteers. Community enterprise volunteers represented a distinct socio-economic grouping compared to UK populations and associated participation with a range of both costs and benefits. While volunteers were like UK groups and initially participated for mainly purposive reasons, the reasons for continuing participation and remaining involved, despite the associated costs, were instrumental and largely concerned with maintaining organisational achievement. Additionally, while people associated volunteering with a variety of benefits, those relating to perceived control and empowerment were minimal. There was no significant longitudinal evidence established for the latter construct. In contrast to benefits, while initial costs were largely opportunity related, the main costs of continued and retained participation concerned relationships with members, other volunteers and local people. Although there was significant inter-model variation in the reasons for participation at different stages, socio-demographic and organisational variables had a minimal role as moderator variables. The results were discussed in terms of previous research findings and their implications for future research.

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Abstract

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to explore the symbolic costs and benefits associated with volunteering, from the perspective of participants engaged in three types of community enterprise activity. In the UK, volunteering is a pervasive social phenomenon which in Scotland in 1992 contributed 4% to national GDP (more than the agricultural and forestry sectors combined - Scotsman 16/05/93, p.31). A growing area of the sector has been community enterprise activity. This largely developed in response to the resurgent political emphasis placed on voluntarism during the 1980's. Community enterprise was seen as one possible solution to the failure of both public and private sectors to provide effective opportunities and services to people in the most socio-economically disadvantaged sections of society.

Our interest was focused on those types of community enterprise organisation serving a membership drawn from the geographical confines of a defined residential locality. Like other types of community enterprise activity, residually-based organisations are owned and controlled by their members through a democratically elected group of volunteers responsible for their management. As volunteers, participants in community enterprise are expected to work without direct financial remuneration, often alongside paid staff employed by the organisation. They are required to regularly attend committee meetings (weekly or fortnightly), undertake training programmes and proficiently manage the socio-economic needs of themselves and their neighbours in a variety of ways (e.g. creating employment opportunities, administering savings and loans, and managing residential property). All of this in urban areas afflicted by 'hostile' economic climates with relatively high rates of unemployment, poverty and poor housing conditions.

In these respects, volunteering in community enterprise is closely associated with the achievements attributed to many of the major urban regeneration strategies currently

underway in many of our towns and cities : where professionals from the public and private sectors have formed formal partnership links with local people. It is in this sense, that participation strategies are assumed to be a 'good thing'. Recently, however, researchers have begun to question this assumption and ask, why are they a 'good thing' and for whom? Hence while we know relatively much about the policy environment that has shaped the growth of the community enterprise sector, what is often obscured are those people directly responsible for its management : the volunteers.

Interest in volunteers and features of their participation has derived from a number of areas : anthropologists have focused on the origins of what they label as 'voluntary associations' (Anderson 1973, Ross 1973) ; historians on the development of different types of voluntary activity (Gosden 1973) ; sociologists on the question of 'who volunteers' (Smith 1975) and growth in the voluntary sector (Brenton 1985) ; and political economists on policy and ideology (Wolch 1990). Conversely, psychologists have been largely concerned with the reasons why people engage in discretionary social activity for no financial remuneration. This issue, alongside the characteristic urban settings of community enterprise organisations, appears to make them unique environments in which to study the reasons for participation. It raises a number of key questions about volunteers which were pursued throughout the course of this thesis. These were as follows : who volunteers and why people in different types of activity initially volunteered and continued to do so, despite any temptation they may have had to terminate their participation.

In pursuing these key questions, an appreciable amount of attention needs to be given to what can only be described as the voluminous literature on voluntary participation. This has been subjected to a number of critical reviews which largely attack the almost complete absence of applicable and explanatory theories guiding many research enquiries (e.g. Kramer 1981). Part of the real problem, however, associated with the

field of volunteer motivation largely stems from definitional issues and the value judgements that underpin activity which varies considerably over a range of often conflicting social contexts : from the Judeo-Christian tradition of ‘good works’ represented by the parable of the equally ‘good’ Samaritan ; to ‘terrorists’ preaching alternative gospels of martyred, self-sacrifice through ‘the volunteer’ ; to participation in social movements ; to simply looking after the neighbours children.

In order to locate the types of people who volunteer in community enterprise activity and why they participate, some consideration then needs to be given to definitional issues. Therefore we begin by looking at volunteering within the context of the meanings associated with work, employment and leisure. This allows us to locate voluntarism as a leisure-based activity with close socio-psychological parallels to employment. In this sense, it may have a number important positive and negative implications for individual health and well-being. Such parallels, however, present few cast iron boundaries and no uniform socio-psychological portrait of ‘the volunteer’ outwith the general theme of investing time on an unpaid basis in some organised social activity outside the labour market. Unlike employee behaviour, however, volunteering often occurs within fragile, ephemeral environments critically dependent on the quality and quantity of discretionary human resources. Surprisingly, given the economic output of the sector, we know relatively little about its initiation and maintenance across different forms of activity.

In terms of motivation, volunteering has largely been explained with reference to the construct of altruism, alongside a range of theories of work motivation largely applicable to employees. In this thesis, criticisms of these theoretical applications helps identify an approach which focuses on the actual participatory experiences of volunteers. In this respect, current reviews have stressed the utility of a social exchange / incentive-based framework, largely derived from the seminal socio-psychological approach of Clark & Wilson (1961). Consistent with previous research

this approach views volunteering as an economic act based on exchange : where volunteers exchange time and labour market skills to participate.

Social exchange / incentive theory postulates that human action is based on self-interest and calculated to maximise personal benefits while minimising costs. Social behaviour is viewed as a tenuous contract between the individual and organisation which is in a process of continual negotiation. Unlike behaviourist learning theories, exchange theory allows people to cognitively evaluate and re-evaluate what they consider as rewards, costs, outcomes and comparison levels. This allows us to make the analogy of comparing and contrasting the exchange of voluntary effort at different stages of participation within different types of community enterprise activity. Basing the study on this approach placed participation within the dual context of costs and benefits as they referred to different stages of the participation experience. The approach recognised that, as opposed to dual-issue explanations which are largely based on the rewards for participants or the selfish *vs* selfless intention of voluntary behaviour, participation also has its costs. In order to gain some understanding of the participatory experience, consideration needs to be given to both costs and benefits as theoretical constructs, and in the context of previous research looking at different stages of participation.

Consideration of the main theoretical explanations relating to voluntary participation is the primary concern of *Chapter Two*. In this chapter, we consider the range of theoretical explanations which have characterised the field of voluntary motivation before considering its social context within the physical and social boundaries of urban residential neighbourhoods. This leads us directly onto *Chapter Three*, which outlines the previous empirical evidence on volunteer populations. Firstly, we consider individual difference characteristics and the findings of UK volunteer surveys on 'who volunteers' in order to draw comparisons with community enterprise volunteers'. We then look at studies of volunteer motivation and commitment in terms of the theoretical

framework outlined in the previous chapter. Throughout this chapter emphasis is given to the question of ‘who volunteers in what and why’. This allows us to assess the implications of research for specific organisational models of community enterprise activity, as well as, likely variations in terms of individual difference and organisational characteristics.

The organisational context of community enterprise is explored in *Chapter Four*. We look at the socio-political and historical development of the community enterprise approach, and the typical structural characteristics of each organisational model. For each of these models, we outline their characteristic features of growth, organisational structure and function. The value attached to this material concerns the important role that these characteristics may have in explaining key inter-model variations throughout the course of the later empirical chapters. At the end of this chapter we outline the aims and objectives of the present research.

Any approach to understanding social behaviour, however, does require an appropriate methodology through which to pursue the relevant questions considered by the research. The exploratory nature of some of the aims of the thesis, its comparative elements in relation to previous research and different models, helped identify such an approach in this study. We drew on the previous recommendations of those researchers on work motivation who have suggested that we stop asking about the measurable link between participation and factors such as organisational commitment and intrinsic satisfaction, and start enquiring how people actually engage in specific forms of activity. For this we adopted a survey-based approach which operationalised the potential costs and benefits of participation across different models of community enterprise activity. Methodological issues are discussed in detail in *Chapter Five*, which also provides details on the sample, apparatus and procedure followed in the course of the study.

Following an outline of our research methods, we then present a number of chapters looking at the results of the study. We begin in *Chapter Six*, by investigating the broad questions of ‘who volunteers’ in community enterprise. This is explored in terms of volunteers' socio-demographic and commitment characteristics, and their prior attitudinal orientation to participate in community enterprise. In this chapter, we compare these characteristics with corresponding UK survey findings, in order to ask whether community enterprise volunteers constituted a distinct organisational grouping and if so, what does this imply about their initial reasons to participate in community enterprise. We also focus on the issue of inter-model variation, ultimately through multivariate regression analysis and look at the implications of inter-model differences for people's reasons for participation.

Chapter Seven focuses on the issue of the perceived costs and benefits of initial participation in community enterprise activity. This chapter begins by looking closely at the volunteer recruitment process, before looking at why people became initially involved and the costs they associated with their participation. A key theme in this chapter concerns inter-model variation and the issue of how people came to be recruited into specific models, and why they opted to do so. Once we outline the initial costs and benefits of participation, we then consider key variations in terms of important categories of individual difference and organisational characteristics.

In contrast to the issue of initial participation, *Chapter Eight* investigates the reported benefits of volunteers' continued participation. We begin by exploring the extent to which purposive, instrumental, control and social benefits were an actual feature of people's ongoing experience of participation in different forms of community enterprise. In contrast, however, to simply providing evidence for their presence, we also pursue the relative salience of these categories of benefit for volunteers'. Again, we focus on key inter-model variations, followed by variations in terms of key individual difference and organisational characteristics.

Maintaining our focus on the benefits of participation, in *Chapter Nine*, we look exclusively at empowerment through the construct of perceived control. In this chapter, we look at inter-model variation but more importantly we present the results of a longitudinal study utilising a measure of perceived control. This asked whether relatively ‘new’, as opposed to established groups of volunteers, exhibited higher mean score values across the dimensions of perceived control. Differences, which could then be construed as evidence for the development of psychological empowerment.

In *Chapter Ten*, however, we move away from the issue of benefits, to look more closely at the issue of the reported costs of continued participation in community enterprise. This chapter is presented in a format similar to *Chapter Eight*.. We begin by looking at costs in terms of exploring the extent to which purposive, instrumental, control and social costs were a feature of volunteers' ongoing experience of participation in community enterprise. Similarly, in contrast to simply providing evidence for their presence, we then ask about the relative salience of these categories of costs for volunteers. Here we focus on key inter-model variations, followed by variations in terms of key individual difference and organisational characteristics.

In contrast to looking at the continued costs and benefits of participation, *Chapter Eleven* looks at perceived costs and benefits in ‘extreme’ situations. We asked whether people had ever considered terminating their participation, why they had done so, and why they subsequently had decided to remain involved in the organisation. A key distinction concerned those who actually intended to terminate their participation following their current term of office and those who had simply considered dropping out but did not intend to do so in the short-term future. We investigate the question of whether the perceived costs and benefits were different for these groups, alongside a more general interest in inter-model, individual and organisational variation. Finally the results of the previous chapters are discussed in *Chapter Twelve*. This summarises the main findings of the study in the context of previous research and their implications for future work on voluntary participation.

Chapter 2 : Theories of Voluntary Participation

Introduction

In this chapter we review the theoretical literature on voluntary participation, largely within the areas of organisational, social and community psychology, as it relates to the key questions outlined in our introductory chapter. We begin by looking at those definitions and typologies associated with volunteers and their organisational activity, before looking more closely at the topic of voluntary motivation through the main theories in the field of work motivation. This leads us to consider a social exchange / incentive-based model, which current reviews propose can be used to explain and evaluate participation, before outlining the literature on organisational commitment, leadership and group dynamics as it applies to volunteer populations. Finally, we consider the community-based context of participation in urban neighbourhoods, before outlining the implications of the above explanations for the present study.

Work, Leisure & Volunteers

Terms and Definitions

Although there has been some general agreement about what the key definitional problems are in relation to volunteers there has been less consensus as to their resolution (Smith *et al*, 1972; Smith, 1975; 1981). In the first instance, definitions are inextricably linked to specific socio-cultural contexts (Harris 1989). In the UK, volunteering is typically categorised as a help-related activity which occurs within : ‘informal’ social networks of family, friends and neighbours ; ‘formal’, independent organisations ; and the public sector (for reviews see Stubbings & Humble 1984, Van Til 1988). Consistent with this activity being a major socio-economic phenomenon undertaken in a variety of contexts (Stubbings & Humble 1984), there are a variety of value-laden synonyms to describe both the people concerned (e.g. ‘active citizens’, ‘charity workers’, ‘community activists’) and their activity (e.g. ‘volunteering’, ‘voluntary participation’, ‘voluntary work’, ‘voluntary action’, ‘discretionary participation’, ‘active citizenship’). However, deriving the essence of what we mean

by these terms is best approached through a consideration of the term 'work' and its derivatives, employment and leisure. Activity, which is generally viewed as having positive life and health outcomes. For Jahoda (1979, 1982), work was an important source of purposeful activity, which included but was not limited to employment. The latter describes a 'voluntary', formal contractual relationship based on exchanging time and effort for financial remuneration (Fryer & Payne 1986). Employment has also typically provided the context for conceptualisations of leisure use (e.g. 'free' or 'spare' time) outwith contractual employment relationships (Gershuny 1987). However, unlike 'unemployment' which means the absence of a formal employment relationship, volunteering refers to a proactive use of 'free' time. Taxonomies of time-use have typically distinguished it as a extra-labour market and extra-familial form of leisure (Smith *et al* 1980).

Leisure has also been distinguished in terms of its social psychological characteristics. For example, Kelvin (1980) classified voluntary work as interdependent (i.e. involving others) and committed (i.e. extending in time), with differences in the extent to which people construe it as a 'hobby', or having vocational characteristics similar to employment (Pearce 1993). The latter cases Stebbins (1982) described as 'serious' leisure. This involved the application of specialised knowledge and skills, which brought durable life and health outcomes (e.g. improved self-image and interaction). In this view, leisure has been seen as either a complement or compensation for employment (Argyle 1992) which enables people to construct discrete 'leisure worlds' outwith family and the labour market. However, even when viewed as quasi-employment the consequences of volunteering are usually thought to be distinct from employment:

"..not even the committed interdependent ones,..[have the] conviction of being real..There always remains the subtle but critical distinction between the ..volunteer and the professional, whereby..the same task may be leisure for one..work for another,..between..leisure as one wants and.. work as one has to.." (Kelvin 1980, p. 313)

This definition is consistent with classifications of voluntary work which give it secondary importance to employment and family-related activity (e.g. Zurcher 1988). However, central to most socio-psychological definitions of volunteering is the notion that people purposefully choose how to use their time in this way. Consistent with previous research, we define participation in the following terms:

"..the action of individuals, collectivities, or settlements insofar as it is characterised by the seeking of psychic benefits, by being discretionary in nature [not determined primarily by biosocial factors..or coercive factors (..backed by threat of physical force), or direct remuneration (direct payment)]. Smith (1975, p.247).

Firstly, this definition critically links participation to the concept of motivation. Motivation is usually applied to define people's attitudes (e.g. dispositions, aspirations and values) towards their behaviour (Allport 1954). Katzell & Thompson (1990), defined motivation as a broad construct "..pertaining to the conditions and processes that account for the arousal, direction, magnitude and maintenance of effort.." in work-related environments (p.144).

Secondly, the definition construes voluntary motives (compared to employees), as optional, non-coercive and non-remunerative. The implication is that volunteering reflects personal agency, where people choose the activities in which they would like to participate, the amount of time and effort that they invest in those activities, and set limits on the length of their participation within any one activity. However, although the definition attempts to specify the parameters of optionality and the extent of 'voluntariness' inherent in being a volunteer, it does so in such a broad way that it still allows one to describe most social and leisure-based activities without material, biosocial and physical coercion as volunteering. At both the individual and collective level the definition remains imprecise. Although people may feel socially or materially compelled to participate, so long as participation is not backed by physical force or direct remuneration they are considered to be volunteers. As Warner (1972) argues, the 'voluntariness' involved in volunteering remains unexplored by research and often simply assumes that because an activity is optional it remains unaffected by factors such

as socialisation, significant others and large scale socio-political processes. According to Smith (1981) 'voluntariness' is often a matter of degree, tempered by the extent to which individual choice is influenced by external factors.

'Voluntariness' is also reflected by the reference to volunteering as a search for 'psychic benefits'. Unlike many forms of employment which people may find physically and psychologically debilitating and unsatisfactory, as reflected in the growing literature on occupational stress and health (e.g. Mackay & Cooper 1987), freedom of choice assumes a relatively high degree of personal satisfaction from the activity in question. In this respect, choice critically underplays the notion that the activity involves no costs for people in terms of the demands and responsibilities concomitant with voluntary roles. Yet volunteering, as we shall see in later sections, like other 'serious leisure' pursuits and work-related activities, may affect family life, require the development of skills and knowledge, and necessitate the expenditure of time and effort to meet responsibilities. As Roberts (1981) has argued:

"..Freedom to choose never guarantees happiness..It merely bestows the opportunity and underlines the urgency of enquiring how individuals can be assisted to derive maximum benefit from their..choice.."
(Roberts 1981, p. 61)

As opposed to attempts to locate volunteers in terms of their socio-psychological characteristics, Stubbings & Humble (1984) emphasised context and locating volunteers by the types of organisations and activities in which they are typically found. In this thesis we are concerned with formal participation within community enterprise organisations. These are defined as voluntary-based organisations characterised by the

"..direct involvement of residents from a particular community in the initiation and control of economic activity.." (McArthur & McGregor 1989, p. 6). We are primarily concerned with organisations based within the defined physical boundaries of urban residential areas (i.e. neighbourhood-based). All future references to community enterprise participation are made in this context unless specified otherwise. The term formal is used to refer to those aspects of volunteers' activities consistent with

organisational aims (e.g. written constitutions, elected committee structures and working roles). This serves to distinguish volunteers in community enterprise (i.e. elected committee members) from their wider membership and their classification as voluntary associations. Associations are usually defined as groups with no structural features beyond a written constitution (Thompson 1976). We only use groups to refer to distinct social entities within these organisations such as volunteers, members and paid staff.

Typologies of Voluntary Organisation

The diversity of voluntary activity has been reflected through typologies classifying 'ideal' features of voluntary organisation (see Hatch 1982, Brenton 1985 for reviews). Typologies have generally stressed their independence from external control and their non-statutory, non-commercial features, whilst recognising their permeable links with both public and private sectors (Van Til 1988). However, major problems have occurred in attempts to devise mutually exclusive categories which encompass a multifaceted voluntary sector (for review see Brenton 1985).

Structurally, organisations have been found to be diverse in terms of their size, resources and decision-making processes (see Van Til 1988, Wolch 1990). Perhaps the most widely quoted functional typology is that of Gordon & Babchuck (1959), who classified voluntary organisations as expressive (satisfying members' interests), instrumental (the production of goods and services) and instrumental-expressive (both of the above). This was similar to Blau & Scott (1962), who distinguished groups on the basis on 'who' benefited from them. This criterion was later applied by Mahoney & Wardle (1983), to distinguish between 'member-benefit' and 'public-benefit' organisations. The former were those in which individual benefits directly derived from membership (e.g. access to affordable loans in a credit union, or quality homes through housing organisations). Conversely, the latter were those where the whole

community may benefit irrespective of their level of involvement (e.g. members of community businesses do not attain employment).

A major criticism of functional typologies has been their inconsistency with volunteers' personal statements about why they volunteer (Jenner 1981, Wandersman *et al* 1987, Pearce 1993). Typologies do, however, highlight an important conceptual distinction made throughout the volunteer literature by Beveridge (1948), Hatch (1982) and Brenton (1985). These authors utilised the 'who benefits' criterion as the basis to highlight divergent cultural traditions of volunteering, which link organisational goals to individual interests with implications for motivation. In this case, organisations are usually distinguished in terms of a self-help / mutual aid *vs* other dimension. The former are held to symbolise reciprocal help (i.e. where both helpers and helped benefit) while the latter involve unidirectional help (i.e. only the helped benefit). A similar distinction has been applied in prosocial behaviour between the terms co-operation and help (Argyle 1991). Although the terms mutual aid and self-help are often used synonymously, mutual aid generally refers to collective forms of self-help (Adams 1990, Curtis 1991, Orford 1992), as demonstrated in the following widely

quoted definition of a self-help organisation :

"..voluntary..structures for mutual aid and the accomplishment of a special purpose..usually formed by peers who have come together for mutual assistance in satisfying a common need..and bringing about desired social and / or personal change. The initiators or members perceive that their needs are not..met by existing social institutions.." (Katz & Hermalin 1989 p.155).

Organisational Growth & Survival

The second-half of the twentieth century has witnessed a considerable growth in mutual aid activity (Borkman 1990, Katz 1984), including community enterprise organisations (McArthur *et al* 1993). In the UK, such activities were historically associated with the early co-operative movement, friendly societies and trade unions (e.g. Gosden 1973, Pollard 1967). In contrast to the values of paternalism, middle-class beneficence and service that were historically associated with many forms of voluntarism (Prochaska

1988), mutual aid organisations have been ideologically represented as collective means of self-reliance (Smiles 1859). This is commonly thought to be achieved through attempts at changing the social status of relatively powerless, lower-class groups (Kropotkin 1902), in relation to their resources (both psychological and material) (for reviews see Zeldin 1983 and Brenton 1985).

In self-help / mutual aid activity, the political solution to the problem of ineffective resource provision has typically been to use clients as service providers (Levine *et al* 1993). In contrast to previous strategies based on 'protest' or 'pressure-group' advocacy, community enterprise has evolved within a 'community development' approach. This is concerned with the collective achievement of positive quality of life outcomes by stimulating attitudinal and behavioural change through opportunities for membership in self-help / mutual aid organisations (Perlman & Gurin 1972). Levine *et al* (1993, p.526), interpret membership of such organisations as an adaptation to the barriers that people experience in disadvantaged urban environments in gaining access to valued resources : which reflect the personal deficits that make these individuals less effective at competing with others for such resources. Smail (1993) in a critique of the individuation of power in psychology, highlighted that environmental influences played a prominent role in enabling such personal change:

"..what makes a difference to the way we are, what changes us or permits us to change, is..the influence of or access to outer resources and powers. Neither 'self' nor world can be influenced or changed by anything other than the exercise of power.." (Smail 1993, p.83).

These above views are broadly consistent with wider literature on the distinctive functions of mutual aid activity. For members, these are typically listed as the following: interpersonal / emotional and informational support ; shared life experiences and role models ; a distinctive and binding ideology ; and a means of reducing powerlessness over some aspect of the environment (for review see Orford 1992).

The survival of mutual aid organisations is, nevertheless, governed by the commitment characteristics of their members, linked to single-issue organisational goals which typically focus on immediate everyday problems, such as unemployment (Trotter 1981, Katz & Hermalin 1987). Wandersman (1981), summarised the initial organisational growth phase as involving: mobilising awareness of the organisations aims ; recruiting local members ; formally creating committee structures and roles ; defining the problem to be tackled and the means of solving it through collective decision-making. Initial growth is hypothesised to influence future membership recruitment and participation.

Although there are no generally accepted and unified theories of organisational development and change (Porras & Silver 1991), the future growth of voluntary organisations is typically described as ephemeral : characterised by an intense period of optimistic initial development followed by self-doubt and often gradual decline once organisation aims are achieved unless new goals become salient (Pettigrew 1975, Katz & Kahn 1978). To survive, voluntary organisations critically depend on the attraction and retention of volunteers to continually engage in organisational maintenance and achievement. Motives therefore have implications for organisational dynamics (i.e. time invested, group abilities, structure, work-settings, roles and leadership) and cognitive and behavioural outcomes for participants (Porras & Silver 1991). Despite the importance placed on organisational survival, few have attempted to comprehensively evaluate participation in such an apparently fragile organisational activity as volunteering (Gluck 1975). However, before we examine organisational theories of voluntary motivation, it is necessary to look at the dominant theme in the literature on volunteers. This is concerned with establishing a link between volunteering and altruism (Unger 1991), typical of accounts which have largely tended to dichotomise motives (Pearce 1983a).

Prosocial Behaviour, Altruism & Volunteers

Prosocial behaviour is largely concerned with voluntary helping behaviours intended to sustain the well-being of others (e.g. charitable donations, rescue) without restriction in other kinds of potential benefits for the actor (Rushton 1980, Eisenberg & Fabes 1991). Although early developments in the field were closely associated with studies on bystander intervention (e.g. Latane & Darley 1970), more recent developments have concerned the existence of altruism as the underlying motive for prosocial acts (e.g. Batson 1987, Bar-Tal 1984) and its link to childhood socialisation patterns, empathy and affective mood states (e.g. Grusec 1991, Eisenberg & Fabes 1991, Salovey *et al* 1991).

Despite an extensive literature, no single theory exists to explain the variety of help-related behaviour (Warren & Walker 1991). Prosocial behaviour has drawn on general psychological theories of ‘attribution’ (Weiner 1980), ‘equity’ (Walster *et al* 1978) and ‘social learning’ (Bandura 1971), alongside ‘in-house’ theories based on ‘empathy’ (Aronfeed 1968), ‘intervention decisions’ (Latané & Darley 1970), ‘social responsibility’ (Gouldner 1960) and ‘helping norms’ (Schwartz 1977). Although not directly applied to volunteers, these explanations have attempted to explain the decision to help and differential rates of helping from the perspective of both helpers and helped (for review see Smithson *et al* 1983). For example, ‘promotive tension theory’ (Hornstein 1976), explains helping in terms of an awareness of ‘we’ bonds through which people identify common problems. Where researchers have focused on volunteers this has largely arisen through their general interest in altruism, alongside a general concern to move towards more field-based studies with a view to investigating different types of helping (Smithson *et al* 1983).

A key distinction, however, is made between ‘spontaneous’ and ‘non-spontaneous’ forms of helpfulness (e.g. Benson *et al* 1980, Amato 1985). This is similar to the structural distinction between informal and formal voluntary participation. The former

is typically characterised by situations in which people have had to instantaneously decide whether to offer help to someone in distress (i.e. bystanders). Non-spontaneous situations, however, are those where people decide whether to offer continued help over time (Amato 1985). While reviews on 'spontaneous' research have provided little evidence of dispositional (as opposed to situational) factors influencing helping behaviour, volunteering is one area in which dispositional factors are thought to be important and more salient (for review see Clary & Snyder 1991).

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Originally coined by Auguste Comte to define an unselfish regard for the welfare of others (Wiske 1978), authors have argued for the existence of altruism in prosocial behaviour with reference to its ecological validity, ideological influence (e.g. 'The Good Samaritan') (Rushton 1980) and its cognitive / affective determinants (e.g. Eisenberg 1986). Sociobiological research has proposed a genetic basis for altruistic behaviour (Dawkins 1976) through the constructs of 'inclusive fitness' and 'reciprocal altruism' (for reviews see Barash 1982, Krebs 1970). Although also used to explain life threatening behaviour (e.g. heroism), many behaviours which apparently counter an individual's reproductive success are interpreted as being inherently altruistic (e.g. food sharing, infant care). Lea *et al* (1987) and Unger (1991), both linked this sociobiological model to anthropological evidence and proposed that altruistic acts are usually reserved for close kin or neighbours and greater differential helping amongst friends (Eberhard 1975, Bar-Tal 1976), for those with a shared social identity (Batson *et al* 1979) and an underlying rationale behind the 'welfare state'. In major reviews, however, authors highlight that although both cognitive (e.g. moral judgements) and affective (e.g. sympathy, empathy) components have been cited as determinants of altruistic behaviour, there is considerable disagreement concerning their respective contribution to its development and maintenance in specific contexts (see Staub 1984, Eisenberg 1986).

The notion that volunteering is primarily altruistically motivated is central to : many definitions of the phenomenon ; interpretations of research findings (e.g. Rosenhan 1970, Howarth 1976, Wiehe & Isenhour 1977, Henderson 1981, Jenner 1981, Unger 1991) ; proponents arguing for its existence as a stable personality trait (e.g. Allen & Rushton 1983, Oliner & Oliner 1988) ; and in research classifying motives in terms of a dichotomous selfish *vs* selfless orientation (e.g. Rubin & Thorelli 1984). Much of the controversy on the topic, however, has stemmed from definitional issues and the variety of behaviour that altruism has been used to explain, as well as, its metatheoretical assumptions about 'human nature'. In these respects, a number of influential reviews and studies have criticised its application to volunteers (e.g. Smith 1981, Pearce 1993).

Altruism is most commonly defined as other-directed behaviour without the expectation of personal benefit, or as an exchange in which the potential costs of maintaining behaviour outweigh its apparent benefits (Eisenberg 1986). A supporting argument is the empathy-altruism hypothesis which argues that because we are capable of knowing others mental states, we are capable of caring about their welfare for their sake and not our own (Batson *et al* 1988, Batson & Oleson 1991). Although Wispe (1986), argues that many researchers simply confuse empathy (i.e. subjective knowledge) with sympathy (relating), the above hypothesis has been used to counter the paradigm of universal egoism in psychology. This asserts that all behaviour is fundamentally self-serving (Wallach & Wallach 1983). Hence a counter argument is the aversive-arousal reduction hypothesis (e.g. Piliavin *et al* 1981, Dovidio *et al* 1990). This argues that empathically aroused helpers act to reduce their own aversive emotion to the suffering of others. In this instance, altruism is simply a special case of hedonism (Cialdini *et al* 1987). Early dichotomous accounts in prosocial research stressed ego-oriented motives and found that participation was motivated by a narrow personal interest in organisational experience, or a broader interest in organisational goals (Allport 1945, Jacoby 1966). For example, Allport (1945), speculated that individuals participated

either for ego-defence (e.g. safety, moral superiority) or ego-extension (e.g. personal development). Conversely, Jacoby (1966) emphasised that participation was a means of either extending social relationships or organisational goals.

Applied to volunteers, however, altruism clearly implies that participation is fundamentally self-sacrificial and people volunteer for no apparent personal reward (Bar-Tal 1976, Hoffman 1981). Yet to date, no empirical evidence supports this hypothesis despite all assertions to the contrary (Smith 1981). According to Pearce (1993), many simply confuse altruism with wider prosocial motives which only imply that volunteering may be undertaken to enhance others well-being without restriction in benefits for the actor. Hence others have used alternative constructs such as *prosocial orientation* (Staub 1984) and *moral obligation* (Schwartz 1977) instead of altruism. This, nevertheless, reinforces the view that volunteering is associated with value judgements and ideological influences (Uzzell 1983). As we shall see below, this is also consistent with dominant explanations in the fields of work motivation and commitment which have dealt with volunteering sometimes more by implication than design. This is despite the fact that theorists such as Etzioni (1961/1975) and Clark & Wilson (1961) developed their work using volunteer populations (Pearce 1993). As opposed to the search for some definitive reason based upon a simple conceptual dichotomy, participation has been shown to be a decidedly more complex process which often eludes a definitive answer to the 'big' question of 'why'.

Work Motivation

Basic Needs & Process Models

Research on volunteer motivation has also developed within the voluminous literature in organisational psychology through a range of theories adapted to explain work motivation at different levels of analysis. Although the primary emphasis of this literature is concerned with employee behaviour these theories have been very influential in volunteer-based research (Pearce 1993). Theories of work motivation

have generally ranged from content theories, focusing on what in the individual or environment energises behaviour, to process models which attempt to explain how behaviour is targeted and sustained. While the former have been concerned with ‘basic need’ approaches which stress biological, cultural and structural factors, the latter are more closely concerned with work-oriented attitudes, values and goals. A common feature of process approaches therefore is their attempt to relate what people value in their work to concepts such as satisfaction and commitment instead of ‘basic’ human motives. (Schein 1988).

Early theoretical attempts in ‘scientific management’ largely embodied managerial assumptions that individuals were ‘rationally’ motivated to maximise financial gain (e.g. Taylor 1911/1947). The ‘Hawthorne Studies’ (Mayo 1933, 1949, Roethlisberger & Dickson 1949) and Trist & Bamforth (1951), however, articulated a ‘human relations’ approach which illustrated how social context, group norms, social recognition and interpersonal relationships were prominent sources of social needs outside of individualistic economic models. Subsequent theories, however, were largely influenced by Maslow's (1954/1970) hierarchical ‘basic needs’ approach.

For Maslow, ‘needs’ were arranged hierarchically from the physiological to those of safety (material and interpersonal), affiliation, self-esteem and self-actualisation. In this model, the higher order needs (e.g. self-esteem) became salient only once lower order needs had been satisfied. Alderfer (1972) redefined Maslow's hierarchy into three basic categories where ‘needs’ were classified in terms of existence (e.g. physiological), relatedness (e.g. affiliation) and personal growth (e.g. self-esteem). Alderfer's categories were similar to those of McClelland's (1961, 1971) early theory of ‘achievement-motivation’, in which behaviour was directed towards meeting personal standards of success. McClelland, however, omitted Maslow's physiological dimension and outlined needs for power (e.g. safety), affiliation and achievement (e.g. self-esteem). In this approach behaviour was assumed to vary according to the

intensity of the need across different situations. However, although these theories drew attention to a variety of potentially salient motives and incorporated a developmental perspective to motivation, the evidence for hierarchical ordering has been found to be relatively weak (e.g. Wanous & Zwaney 1977).

Herzberg's (1966) 'two-factor' theory straddled 'basic needs' and process models and proposed that there were qualitative differences between the determinants of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. While satisfaction was determined by intrinsic factors (i.e. worker / job interaction), dissatisfaction was influenced by extrinsic factors (e.g. pay, administration). This approach spawned a number of derivative theories which viewed motivation and satisfaction through the structural properties of specific types of jobs. For example, Hackman & Oldham's (1976) model of job enrichment related job dimensions (e.g. skill variety, task identity and significance, autonomy and feedback) to 'critical' psychological states. The latter reflected the degree to which people experienced jobs as meaningful, involving a sense of personal responsibility and feedback on the effectiveness of their efforts. If realised, these 'critical states' resulted in highly desired outcomes for the individual (internal satisfaction) and organisation (high quality performance, low absenteeism and turnover). Parallel with these developments, other approaches to work motivation were developed in social and cognitive psychology. For example, 'expectancy' models which derived from Vroom's (1964) path-goal approach focused on the perceived consequences of actions in terms of reward and punishment (Warr 1985). Here people subjectively defined their situation and exerted effort in relation to the degree to which it was instrumental in attaining desired goals.

Work satisfaction of course is one of the oldest and most controversial topics in occupational psychology and refers to the quality of the work environment (Landy & Trumbo 1985). The concept has been associated with a range of personal (e.g. age, mental health) and situational (e.g. job status, content, supervision) antecedents, and

consequences (e.g. absenteeism). In these respects, general models of work motivation and satisfaction have provided a useful insight into exactly what it is about work in general and employment in particular, that people value relative to other sources of human activity. For example, for Jahoda & Rush (1980), employment is the most compelling institutionalised form of 'work' which satisfies 'basic' human needs through its manifest (i.e. intended) and latent (i.e. unintended) consequences. Although its manifest function is economic it has a number of latent by-products : social contact, status, activity, purposefulness, control and time structure. Although other formal and informal work-related activities outwith employment (e.g. volunteering) may also provide access to these 'latent' functions (e.g. as demonstrated by Fryer & Payne's (1984) proactive 'unemployed'), none are thought to be as compelling as employment because of its manifest function. These latent functions serve as institutional supports critical in maintaining positive mental health and psychological well-being and Jahoda's approach has been the dominant socio-psychological explanation of the generally negative psychological consequences 'caused' by unemployment (see Fryer & Payne 1986).

Close parallels exist with Jahoda's 'deprivation account and other contemporary approaches. For example, Warr (1987) outlined a nine-factor 'vitamin' model which linked a range of environmental factors to psychological well-being. Using this framework, Warr emphasised the value of employment in providing increments in the following factors : the opportunity for control, skill use and interpersonal contact ; external goal and task demands ; variety ; environmental clarity ; the availability of money ; physical security ; and valued social position. Like Jahoda's account, Warr's approach emphasises the importance of psychologicistic factors in explaining the generally detrimental psychological impact of unemployment at the expense of material deprivation and poverty. Both accounts have been criticised on these grounds as well as others (see Fryer 1986, 1991).

Reviews of work motivation, however, point to the continuing failure to generate comprehensive theories which are inclusive of both employee and non-employee populations, and which also account for participation over time on the basis of people's own interpretation of their actions in specific social contexts (e.g. Warr 1985). Pearce (1993), highlighted that while work motivation theories have largely looked at employee motivation, researchers on volunteers have largely focused on 'basic need' theories and why people initially volunteer. She pointed out that, not only have motivational theories diversified beyond basic needs approaches but there remains a relatively sparse literature on why people choose particular occupations, while the question of why people initially volunteer remains a dominant theme in the literature. In this respect, researchers on volunteers have generally ignored the issue of how volunteering is targeted and sustained over time. A related criticism is also that while process theories of motivation have at least attempted to account for sources of work dissatisfaction, studies of volunteers have been largely confined to studies of satisfaction, ignoring the demands placed upon volunteers in their organisational environments.

Social Exchange & Incentive Models of Motivation

The above discussion raises the broader question of how to evaluate participation in terms of both its positive and negative aspects. Orum (1974) and Uzzell (1983), in reviews of the political protest literature suggested that six major theories have been used to account for individual participation : role theory ; status inconsistency ; cumulative and relative deprivation ; rising expectations ; and social isolation. Role theory simply assumes that individuals value different societal roles (Bailey 1973), while the remainder are largely reductionist and assume that conflicting norms, expectations and relative deprivation generate psychological tension which causally promotes active participation (Uzzell 1983). For example, Milbrath (1965) utilised a need-based, drive-reductionist model to explain political motives which took no account of the social context of participation (Uzzell 1983).

Current influential reviews, however, highlight the suitability of applying a synthesis of elements of social exchange / incentive theory to look at questions of participation (e.g. Smith 1981, Wandersman 1981, *et al* 1987). For Emerson (1976, 1987), social exchange theory was concerned with person-environment relations and not so much a theory *per se* but a framework of embedded theories looking at social interaction from different levels of analysis along an individual-collective continuum (e.g. Ekeh 1974, Chadwick-Jones 1976, Gergen *et al* 1980). For example, while Homans (1961), explained social phenomena using the reductionist, reinforcement principles of behavioural psychology, others have focused on the emergent properties of exchange in interpersonal behaviour (e.g. Thibaut & Kelly 1959, 1978), equity (e.g. Adams 1963) and power / exploitation (e.g. Blau 1964). The purpose of conceptualising organisational behaviour as an exchange network is to emphasise the different kinds of exchanges perceived by volunteers as they affect organisational survival (Gluck 1975). Social exchange has been applied to political behaviour (Curry & Wade 1968), inter-organisational relations (Levine & White 1961), worker co-operatives (Cornforth *et al* 1988, Oliver 1984a) and more recently to neighbourhood participation (Smith 1981), looking at exchange from the perspective of participants (Wandersman *et al* 1987).

Inherent to all of the above approaches is the assumption that social interaction is sustained by individual self-interest and the rewards (or benefits) obtained from behaviour. The value placed on social interaction is described by the notion of reward-cost interdependence, which refers to the perceived comparison of self *vs* others investment of personal resources (e.g. Homans 1961, Adams 1963). Differences in interdependence patterns are viewed as responsible for phenomena such as social status, competition and co-operation, and group cohesiveness. The concept of 'distributive justice' was developed to define situations where behaviour should reflect a perceived fairness in the ratio of profits to investments (Homans 1961).

Social exchange implies reciprocity and assumes that individuals have a variety of needs, drives or goals, some of which they perceive can be best attained through participation (Gluck 1975). In this case, organisational behaviour is viewed as a series of symbolic transactions where individuals exchange resources (e.g. time) for other things that they value (e.g. love, esteem). Volunteering like other co-operative behaviours is then assumed to be based on reciprocal exchange and mutual interdependence : where volunteers respond to potential costs and benefits, and trade personal resources such as time, finance and other labour market resources to participate (Piliavin *et al* 1981, Klandermans 1984). From this perspective, volunteering also has a developmental dimension. Participation is seen as being in a continual process of re-negotiation over what people consciously evaluate and re-evaluate as the benefits and costs of participation (Pearce 1983a). This suggests that if we are to understand volunteering in community enterprise we must focus on the types of benefits and costs that people perceive characterise their participation.

Benefits are typically defined in terms of socially administered positive reinforcers (e.g. gratitude), while costs have two meanings : as socially aversive stimuli which detract from the quality of direct participation, or in the form of lost opportunities and 'benefits foregone' (e.g. wasted time) (Emerson 1976). Costs clearly imply that there are limits to what people will invest as volunteers. The greater the costs of volunteering in terms of time and performance-related demands, the less likely that people will perceive the benefits as being adequate to sustain their continued participation. In some forms of participation these costs are assumed to be greater by virtue of what is required to manage different types of organisation and activity. This assumes that people will participate on the basis of less costly courses of action and ultimately opt for those types which they perceive will maximise their benefit / cost investment.

An enduring criticism of social exchange theories, however, concerns their assumption of reciprocity and their apparent inability to explain participation for no tangible

personal rewards (e.g. altruism) (Blau 1964, Gouldner 1960). Emerson (1976) counters this with the view that however unintended, participation does nevertheless bring some form of personal return. Ng (1980) also criticises theories for their rather 'naive' assumption that alternative opportunities and courses of action are open to those in relatively powerless groups. For example, to attain better housing, jobs and affordable credit through other means outwith participation. Further problems also concern the subjective psychological utility (i.e. outcomes) derived from exchange and how to place some framework which clearly specifies the 'value' of benefits and costs, "...which has a non-arbitrary origin and unit of measurement.." (Emerson 1987, p.13). In this respect, however, social exchange has been wedded to various incentive-based approaches which incorporate its assumptions (Rich 1980) and emphasise that organisations require mechanisms to attract and sustain participation (Gluck 1975). It was how these notions of exchange and incentive operated in collective contexts that led Olson (1965/1973) to propose his theory of collective goods.

Collective Action : The Theory of Collective Goods

Olson (1965/1973) defined public goods as those that can only be provided collectively (e.g. schools, roads) and made available to all irrespective of individual contributions towards their financial cost (i.e. nondivisible). Given that individual contributions towards the cost of the good (e.g. taxes) do not ultimately effect their provision, there is hypothesised to be no *a priori* 'rational' incentive for voluntary contribution outwith individual self-interest (O'Brien 1974). Olson (1965/1973) applied similar premises to organisational behaviour and defined collective action as interest group activities designed to produce collective goods. Influential reviews in political economy (e.g. O'Brien 1974 1975, Rich 1980), sociology (e.g. Smith 1981, Oliver 1984b) community (e.g. Wandersman 1981, *et al* 1987) and economic psychology (e.g. Unger 1991) have all treated participation in neighbourhood-based organisations as forms of collective action designed to pursue collective goods.

In community enterprise, collective goods refer to goods available to all irrespective of any one individual's contribution toward securing the good (Rich 1980). Residents will benefit if everyone contributes towards providing improved services in areas such as housing. However, since collective goods are non-divisible and individual contributions do not effect their provision there is hypothesised to be no 'rational' incentive to contribute towards collective efforts to secure the good. When individuals opt for non-contribution this has been referred to as 'free riding' (Coleman 1987). For Olson (1965/1973) 'free riding' was dependent on group size, where 'group' was defined as all individuals in a relevant population (e.g. neighbourhood) with some interest in the collective good. This has been applied to non-volunteer members and potentially eligible members (i.e. residents) of a particular group (e.g. Walsh & Warland 1983, Klandermans & Oegma 1987). In 'large' groups, it was hypothesised that although free riders have no appreciably negative impact on production, the costs of participation outweigh the benefits because of a smaller share of the collective good. However, in the smaller groups characteristic of neighbourhood-based organisations, although free-riders have potentially have a greater impact on production this is outweighed by the benefits of a greater share of the collective good (Rich 1980, Oliver 1984b). Hence the idea that larger groups (e.g. towns, cities) are less likely to support collective action. Although this view has been criticised in recent reviews (Hardin 1982), it is consistent with prosocial literature on how the presence of others, influences the propensity to help (Latane & Nida 1981).

To overcome free-riders, residents must be encouraged to volunteer. This is achieved by providing them with collective incentives (e.g. better housing) available to all members and non-members regardless of their individual contributions towards securing the collective good. Not only must they value the good in order to initiate organisational participation but also perceive that the potential of achieving this is relatively high compared to the potential time and energy costs. However, since collective incentives do not overcome the free-rider problem, Olson, suggested that

residents will not participate unless organisations also offer a series of selective incentives only available to volunteers (Rich 1980). This focuses the attention on specific aspects of volunteers role-position and may include such things as social contact or status (Unger 1991). Their selectivity implies that benefits are controlled, consistent with view of collective action as a exchange network (Sharp 1978).

Olson incentive-based approach was similar to that of Gluck (1975), who also distinguished between the object and value of organisational incentives. Object referred to the distinction between incentives sought for either self or others, while value applied to incentives such as money, social contact and prestige. The latter were further distinguished between those that were tangible (e.g. financial) and intangible (e.g. prestige), consistent with Olson (i.e. tangible collective and intangible selective, incentives respectively) and the seminal incentive-based approach of Clark & Wilson (1961). The latter authors were interested in why people valued work and their attitudes towards it in relation to other activities. They proposed that people valued work for instrumental, social, and purposive reasons. Later refinements have also included the category of 'control' (e.g. Cornforth *et al* 1988), derived from the work of Etzioni (1975).

One major criticism of incentive-based approaches, however, has concerned their often ambiguous classification criteria (Gluck 1975). In this study, consistent with previous incentive-based research the following definitions of Clark & Wilson's approach hold. Firstly, instrumental motives directly refer to the provision of some good / service with direct or translatable monetary value (e.g. improved housing, collective achievement, personal influence). The common characteristic of other types of motives is their independence of individual materialism and collective organisational achievement. Hence social motives refer to the consequences of interaction (e.g. friendship, shared values and group identification) ; purposive motives refer to suprapersonal goals and the expression of important values or ideologies (e.g. helping others, organisational

identification, neighbourhood threat / need) ; and control motives refer to personal influence at a task level (e.g. learning). Within this framework participatory costs and benefits are the combination of one or more of the above categories and different organisations may be characterised by different types of motives. This framework is entirely consistent with contemporary prosocial approaches to volunteering. For example, Clary & Snyder (1991) comprehensively list volunteer motives under four primary headings : value-expressive, social-adjustive, ego-defensive and knowledge-based.

While Olson (1965/1973), was largely concerned with the initial process of participation, others have applied stage models (e.g. Gluck 1975, Rich 1980 and Pearce 1983a). Pearce (1983a), argued that when organisations recruit volunteers they appeal to what they assume to be their members reasons for volunteering. However, the very experience of participation may itself change the very reasons why people volunteer. Hence the benefits that people initially expect from volunteering are not necessarily those that become salient to them once they are volunteers. For Pearce, this shift in benefits, if not anticipated can have disastrous consequences in organisations who fail to accommodate the needs of their participants (e.g. drop-out).

In this respect, Gluck (1975), distinguished between recruitment, continuance and retention exchanges. Recruitment exchanges focused on initial volunteer attraction and the inducements which stimulate participation, and offset potential costs and alternative opportunities. Continuance exchanges, however, are applied to ongoing participation in terms of the contributions volunteers make to the organisation. These are hypothesised to represent the ways in which people strive to realise the initial benefits of participation and introduce the possibility of conflict between actual and desired contributions. As used in this study, their effect is to ultimately emphasise the benefits volunteers attain from their activity which sustain ongoing participation. Although Gluck (1975) was unclear on the distinction between contribution and retention

exchanges, we define the latter as occurring when people consider terminating their participation. This is hypothesised to occur in situations when the perceived costs outweigh the benefits (i.e. when no benefits are realised from contributions, or when benefits diminish in their desirability) (Gluck 1975).

In tandem with the general criticisms of a social exchange approach, the empirical literature on the incentives to volunteer is sparse and there remains a problem with the dual operationalisation of "costs" either as a distinct entity in themselves, or as the absence of some source of benefit (Wandersman *et al* 1987, Cornforth *et al* 1988, Knoke & Wood 1981). Much of the literature on costs is also indirect. For example, Oliver (1984b) used indirect measures (e.g. household composition) without asking respondents questions about the costs that they actually experienced. Similarly, Wandersman *et al* (1987), using Clark & Wilson's approach, did not attempt to conceptually label different sources of cost. As we shall see in *Chapter Three*, what the previous evidence clearly does not do is explore the extent to which perceived costs and benefits are an actual feature of ongoing participation and how people themselves assess the relative importance of different sources of cost / benefit.

Commitment, Absenteeism, Turnover & Volunteers

The above points are generally consistent with the literature on organisational commitment, which reflects people's willingness to invest energy within organisations over time (Knoke 1981). Volunteers are usually assumed to be very committed to their organisation because of the absence of financial remuneration involved in the decision to volunteer. Many interpret this as making them less instrumentally motivated than employees (e.g. Schaubroek & Ganster 1991). Studies in organisational behaviour, however, have looked at organisational commitment in a number of ways and reviewers have identified at least 10 alternate definitions and 29 related concepts (Mowday *et al* 1982, Morrow 1983). Here researchers have conceptualised commitment in terms of its types (e.g. Etzioni 1975), effects (e.g. Kanter 1972),

sources (e.g. Angel & Perry 1983), targets (e.g. Morrow 1983) or a mixture of these. Common to all, however, is the link with turnover : people who are strongly committed are those least likely to leave the organisation. Hence those with greater length of service (tenure) or who invest the greater number of hours (e.g. those in leadership positions) are usually conceived of as being the most 'strongly' committed and thereby potentially deriving the greatest source of benefit and cost from participation. The rationale for volunteers having relatively strong commitment is that while the positive aspects of volunteering are generally reinforced over time, negative experiences quickly lead to disaffection and drop-out (Knoke 1981).

Commitment typologies have also typically distinguished between attitudes (affective and cognitive) and behaviour (Oliver 1990). Affective commitment (e.g. Kanter 1968, Buchanan 1974, Mowday *et al* 1979) is conceived in terms of an identification with organisational goals. Conversely, Weiner (1982) concentrated on cognition and defined commitment as social responsibility. Here internalised normative pressures aligned with organisational interests and individuals become committed because they perceive it is the right thing to do. Behavioural commitment on the other hand, is largely concerned with the processes through which individuals develop commitment not to an organisation but to their own actions. These generate beliefs which sustain their behaviour (Kiesler 1971). For example, Becker (1964) proposed that based on their past investments, individuals make "side-bets" on potential future courses of action and react to the potential costs of change. Similarly, Salancik (1977) argued that individuals develop a sense of ownership over their actions and become bound to certain courses of action by the desire to remain consistent across different contexts. The more explicit, public and voluntary the behaviour, the more difficult it becomes to alter or reverse because of the greater psychological investment involved.

There is precious little literature on volunteer commitment outwith Etzioni (1961/1975) and Kanter (1968, 1972). However, there have been some studies comparing

volunteers with employees using standard measures of intrinsic satisfaction and organisational commitment, in both voluntary (O'Reilly & Chatman 1986) and labour market organisations (Bateman & Organ 1983, Smith *et al* 1983, Organ 1988, Schaubroeck & Ganster 1991). Here relatively high levels of intrinsic satisfaction have been linked to affective commitment : found to be particularly high amongst volunteers compared to employees and predictive of continued participation (Pearce 1983b). These conclusions reinforce the work of Etzoni (1961/1975).

Etzoni (1961/1975) focused on internal organisational climate and classified organisations in terms of the involvement that they elicit from members and the mechanisms used to control members behaviour (Schein 1988). He distinguished between coercive (physical threat) utilitarian (remunerative / calculative) and normative (symbolic reward, i.e. moral) organisations. Etzoni classified volunteer organisations under the latter category and argued that moral involvement meant that volunteers intrinsically valued and internalized the aims of an organisation where authority was based upon charismatic leadership or expertise. Similarly, Kanter (1968, 1972), studied the commitment antecedents in 'utopian communities' and suggested that organisations would be more or less successful in the degree to which they instilled different types of commitment in people once they had become involved as members. Kanter distinguished between : continuance commitment (i.e. the perception that individual interests are sustained by continued participation) cohesion commitment (i.e. solidarity with others) and control commitment (i.e. the exercise of group authority with a moral force). Kanter suggested that each type developed through individuals sacrificing their leisure time (continuance), taking part in symbolic group ceremonies (cohesion) and sharing normative values (control).

Although volunteers may be highly committed to their organisations and engaged in more intrinsically satisfying work roles compared to employees, this should not be taken to mean that they are not subject to external and internal work-role demands. For

example, Barron *et al* (1991) in a qualitative study of local councillors listed a range of structural, electoral, legislative, community and personal pressures on councillors. Broadly, costs may also be understood within the literature on occupational stress. This refers to a broad class of problems created by demands which tax the system (physiological, social or psychological). The literature points to a variety of work-related stressors in the form of disabling emotional or somatic health problems, minor psychological discomforts and physical ailments, which promote dissatisfaction with one's working environment and contribute to absenteeism and drop-out. Although the stress concept has been used in a variety of ways (e.g. physiological response, perceptual process), contemporary research largely endorses a model of multifactorial interaction between individual inner states / physiological conditions and environmental circumstances over time. Here research has dealt with occupational stress in relation to job characteristics and work-related factors, individual personality / behavioural factors (e.g. 'Type A' as a risk factor in coronary heart disease (CHD)) and extra-organisational social influences (e.g. family crisis, life changes and levels of social support) (Mackay & Cooper 1987).

There may be a variety of work-related demands, arising through for example, role conflict and ambiguity, job insecurity and redundancy, frustration at participation / non-participation, technological developments, the quality of interpersonal relationships with co-workers / others, and a lack of social support (Schein 1988). Studies of job-related stressors have included studies on working conditions and overload, and their impact on mental health. For employees, poor mental health has largely been related to deskilled, repetitive working roles (Kornhauser 1965, Cox & Cox 1984), and both quantitative and qualitative overload are linked with a variety of physiological and psychological symptoms such as dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, high cholesterol and CHD risk factors, such as smoking (e.g. French & Caplan 1973, Cooper & Payne 1978). Karasek (1979) also highlighted that psychological strain resulted from the amount of decision-making discretion available in working roles. Here people in high

demand-low discretion roles (e.g. assembly-line) were highlighted as a particularly vulnerable group. Likewise Blauner (1964), investigating the link between technology and work alienation, related the latter to people's sense of powerlessness over their work with its consequent loss of meaning, sense of social isolation and lack of belonging to the organisation. 'Work' which was simply a means to an end.

Though voluminous, problems with the stress literature exist because of the variability of approaches, in hypotheses and the subsequent lack of comparability between studies. Problems mainly concern eliciting causal relationships between working conditions and undesirable health outcomes. Methodological problems also arise despite sophisticated statistical modelling procedures and studies have generally failed to eliminate plausible alternative hypotheses. The latter have typically concerned the following: the socio-economic influence on disease ; the selective age recruitment of older age populations into more stressful jobs ; and survival effects, where illness serves as traction for downward mobility so that those in stressful jobs 'naturally' exhibit higher stress levels (Mackay & Cooper 1987).

Occupational stress has also been reported as responsible for absenteeism and drop-out. Absenteeism may be defined as non-attendance for scheduled work with resulting disruption for organisational maintenance activity (Brooke & Price 1989). A major focus of employee studies in this area concerns the proposition that people who are less satisfied with their work role are more likely to be absent from their jobs (Brayfield & Crockett 1955). According to Pearce (1993), absenteeism is 'rife' amongst volunteer workers which is consistent with the view that volunteering for some is not as intrinsically satisfying an activity as we may imagine, and that absenteeism reflects too many demands on participants. From the employee literature, however, some caution is warranted regarding the hypothesised link between absenteeism and work satisfaction. Reviews of employee absenteeism have generally only reported modest correlation's between job satisfaction, or other job-related attitudes and absenteeism

(Brooke & Price 1989). This has led some to conclude that the relationship is indirect or tenuous (e.g. Nicolson *et al* 1976), and there is a lack of agreement over the importance and impact of moderator variables such as social support (Hackett 1989).

In labour market organisations, while many organisational and individual precursors of dissatisfaction, intentions to quit and turnover have been identified, lack of attention has been directed at the study of people's specific reasons for leaving. Thus turnover research has shed little light on withdrawal motives (Rosin & Korabik 1991). Models of employee turnover, however (e.g. Steers & Rhodes 1978), typically stress that individual, organisational and job characteristics contribute to affective responses such as job satisfaction and organisational commitment which influence the development of thoughts and intentions to leave. Although intentions to leave are conceived to be indicative of dissatisfaction with one's work-role and may not necessarily be predictive of future behaviour, turnover research has consistently shown that an individual's intentions of leaving are the strongest predictor of the actual decision to leave (Rosin & Korabik 1991).

Seltzer *et al* (1988) in a longitudinal study of turnover in hospital volunteers found that commitment indirectly affected turnover through intentions to quit, which had direct effects on actual turnover. They suggested that the organisational commitment-turnover relationship is moderated both by motivational and situational variables. The latter were largely in the form of personal change factors (e.g. in employment status, health, mobility, family circumstances, other alternative opportunities and activities, or a reduced sense of challenge and status). Barron *et al* (1991), however, also highlight the importance of organisational factors (e.g. changes in working practices and policy). But like employee turnover, for volunteers the link between work-related satisfaction and turnover may be comparatively small (Carston & Spencer 1987).

Leadership & Member Influence

Volunteers in community enterprises form leadership groups. Katz & Kahn (1978) defined leadership in terms of an influence above the routine directives of the organisation and based on one or more types of power or authority. The latter were classified by French & Raven (1960) as reward, coercive, legitimate, competent and expert (personal). In volunteer organisations, leadership is often defined in terms of a charismatic (or expert) style (Pearce 1993). This originated in social movement research and was defined in terms of leaders' personal qualities and the role model they presented to others to engender their continued loyalty and trust (Weber 1968). Leaders may thus embody the aims of the organisation and sustain the commitment of others (Pearce 1993). In voluntary organisations, however, leadership is often not necessarily vested in any one individual but sometimes in a small core group comprised of those who invest the most time, or those who have the longest length of service (e.g. founder members). The relative persistence of not only officeholders but also of core-group leaders has been widely cited in the literature on volunteers (e.g. Sills 1957, Katz & Kahn 1978, Pearce 1980 1982), consistent with Michels (1959) assertion that they often form self-perpetuating oligarchies.

Research has also focused on commitment expressed through membership influence on organisational policy. This is based on the assumption that shared decision-making makes for more effective management (e.g. Rich 1980, Knoke 1981). In democratically controlled organisations (such as community enterprise) detachment defines the inability of members to influence organisational policy. Because organisations comprise divergent groups of vested interests, the potential for detachment exists in the power inequalities associated with hierarchical role-positions (Ng 1980, Wrong 1979). For example, volunteers may experience problems managing accountability in relation to both paid staff (Harris 1989) and members (Rich 1980). They may simply ratify staff decisions (Orford 1992) or alternatively Rich (1980), described situations where members attempted to assert influence through informal

approaches to volunteers when they felt policy was against their interests. In such cases, Payne (1982) argued that all leaders are invested with unrealistic member expectations and experience the distrust directed towards those with designated status. Members may feel that volunteers are failing to attain what they require (e.g. low tenancy rents), are more concerned with protecting their own interests and those of staff, or even that volunteers designated status may be used against them (e.g. refusing credit applications). Membership support is hypothesised to be affected by a number of factors such as their values, interaction and communication channels (e.g. who and how many people actually make decisions), organisational size and their length of operation.

Models of Voluntary Participation

Despite all of the above literature, to date, no general theory has been found to synthesise the full range of potentially influential factors into a comprehensive explanatory model of participation (Rohs 1986). Two influential attempts at doing so, however, have concerned Smith's (1966, *et al* 1980) variations of a 'Sequential Specificity Model' and Wandersman's (1981) 'Framework of Community Participation'. While the former deals solely with initial participation, the latter deals with participation as an ongoing process. Both accounts consider the same range of contextual, individual difference and socio-psychological variables as potential initial motivators of participation. Evidence on each of these factors is considered in later chapters with the exception of context. Contextually, emphasis is usually placed on the impact and role of historical, cultural, ecological and environmental factors on participation. This brings us to consider the concept of 'community' and its relevance in explanations of participation in 'community enterprise'.

Community : Territory, Interests, Identity & Attachment

To make sense of participation in community enterprises we need some evaluation of the concept of community. This provides the immediate social context for participation.

Within sociology, the term 'community' implies cohesion, of people sharing something in common which gives them the means to establish common social identities. The study of community has reflected such cohesion and the term is most often used in three different but related senses. 'Community' may describe social relationships based on physical proximity (the 'territorial community'), and group memberships in terms of beliefs (the community of 'interest') and identity (the community of 'attachment') (see Gusfield 1975, Willmott 1989).

Some problems exist, however, in clearly defining the concept because of the sheer range of its applications. This has resulted in several types of communities being identified (e.g. territory, social relationships), sometimes alongside strategic approaches defined in community terms, e.g. community development (Chavis & Wandersman 1990). Like 'altruism', the ubiquitous use of the term 'community' has made it meaningless for some and researchers have applied competing synonyms such as 'neighbourhood' to participation within smaller-sized geographical areas (Willmott 1989, p.2). In community psychology, the ambiguity generated by the 'community' label is cited as an explanation of why comparatively little psychological research has utilised the concept. This is despite the absence of available theories to guide research at this level of analysis (Heller 1989, Orford 1992, p.9). Wandersman (1981) does, however, apply the analogous concept of 'behaviour setting' after Barker (1968), to describe the complex link between the physical environment (e.g. residential area), behaviour (e.g. participation) and psychological functioning. Behaviour settings have been described as behaviour-and-milieu : those micro-level, physical and social entities which inform people's everyday experience (Barker 1968), with implications for communication, interaction and identity (Wandersman 1981).

In sociology, approaches to locating the 'territorial community' have largely examined the relationship between territory and activity (Gusfield 1975). Ecological approaches stress that territory varies by scale (i.e. size), from nation-states to entities such as

towns, districts and neighbourhoods. Definitions of 'local', however, are blurred. 'Local' may vary according to personal behaviour patterns and people may apply different scales for different purposes. The most 'local' level may correspond to their own street and beyond that to school catchment areas, political wards and town boundaries. Local, however, is not normally applied above the level of a town or district and hierarchies of locality have been classified by aggregate population size : ranging from the immediate neighbourhood (approx. : 700), to larger neighbourhoods (approx. : 3-10k), to district and town-level localities (approx. 25k +) (Willmott 1989).

Residential areas serving neighbourhood organisations have boundaries which are both physical (e.g. roads) and social (e.g. aggregate population size). The average characteristics of the latter (e.g. income) have been referred to as the human aggregate, thought to be influential in inhibiting or facilitating voluntary participation (Moos 1976, 1979). In terms of Barker & Grump's (1964) 'responsibility theory', in areas of smaller aggregate population size, there is thought to be both greater opportunity and pressure for residents to undertake participatory roles. Hence important environmental variables concern not just the number and different types of activity available to residents but also their significance. Some activities may be more salient to some residential groupings as opposed to others, even within the one residential area. For example, housing quality and crime are often issues of dissatisfaction in lower-income residential areas (Newman 1973). Indeed Michelson (1970) reported several studies highlighting that perceived homogeneity (e.g. similar class) as opposed to heterogeneity (e.g. mixed class) is a key factor in whether residents participate in neighbourhood organisations.

'Interest communities' also vary in terms of their group memberships, e.g. ethnicity, political preferences, different voluntary activities. Attempts to identify 'communities of interest' within defined residential areas have largely focused on interaction within social networks (e.g. neighbouring), and the ways in which these provide social

support (Unger & Wandersman 1985, MacMillan & Chavis 1986, Heller 1989). The concept of social network is usually distinguished from that of social support. Social networks refer to the interpersonal linkages or pattern of ties between individuals, or between groups of neighbours, based in local organisations (Unger & Wandersman 1985). These may provide links with local services through 'gatekeeping' helpers ('natural' and 'proximal') of long standing residence who have experience and knowledge of local services and facilities. Social networks, however, do not define the content of social ties and hence social support refers to the resources (e.g. material) possessed by individuals and generated between network members (e.g. neighbours) (Unger & Wandersman 1985). Social support is thought to be both integrative and interactive where people's need is dependent on their social roles, each with its own set of possible identities embedded in social relationships (Kahn & Antonucci 1980, Hirsch 1981).

In the context of neighbourhoods, research has shown that social networks are important in people's ability to organise and maintain collective action (e.g. see Tilly 1978, Snow *et al* 1980). Both formal and informal social networks have been cited as important resources for residents and neighbourhoods in ameliorating both individual and collective problems (e.g. Perlman 1979, Rich 1979a, Warren 1981, Maton 1988, Meeker 1984). Unger & Wandersman (1985) associate social networks with the following support characteristics:

- Personal / emotional: in casual social interactions without necessarily involving an exchange of goods or reciprocity amongst friends and family (Cohen & Willis 1985).
- Instrumental: 'spontaneous' help (e.g. neighbouring) in emergency situations. These behaviours are thought to be characterised by norms of reciprocity where help is dependent on individual resources (Warren & Warren 1981).
- Informational: neighbours acting as sources of referral and exchanging information to locate desired resources.

Researchers, however, do distinguish between the availability of social support and its relevance or adequacy (Cohen & Willis 1985). Several interest groups may exist within the one geographical area and there are different extents to which people may acknowledge groups and territory as part of their own social identity. This raises the question of the significance of 'community' participation for individuals. In this respect, Shumaker & Taylor (1983) utilised the concept of community sentiment. 'Community sentiment' was defined as a positive affective bond or association between the individual and their residential environment (p.223). This has largely been investigated in research concerned with the ways in which locales are imbued with personal and social meaning (identity), how people evaluate their residential area (satisfaction) and their affective investment in their local area (attachment).

Residential identity is concerned with how locales serve as sources of symbolic social interaction and communication. Previous research has highlighted how identity is embedded and expressed in the local environment. People personalise their homes, immediate surroundings and develop common symbols (e.g. neighbourhood names) and behavioural patterns (i.e. traditions) which represent a distinct identity. An identity, consistent with Cohen's (1985) view of 'community' as relational and symbolic, where "...its members make or believe they make a similar sense of things either generally, or with respect to specific and significant interests.." (p.16). Here the 'construction of community' rests in peoples' perceptions of the realities of physical and social boundaries and their expression of these through neighbouring or participation in local activities. Consequently, community participation is highly symbolised which puts an emphasis on the meanings attributed to it by its participants.

According to Cohen (1985), people assert 'community' and locality primarily in order to enhance their economic and social interests. Wrong (1979) summarised the conditions under which residents in 'powerless' groups may then undertake collective action : through an identification and commitment to values which are in conflict with

established sources of power ; and an awareness of the relevance of collective action to promote such values. It has also been suggested that longer term residence promotes greater residential identity, although studies on mobility have pointed out that new residents quickly recommit their identity to new locales (for reviews see Unger & Wandersman 1985, Hummon 1992).

The above points are also generally consistent with social identity theory. This is concerned with how individuals internalise group memberships and develop positive commitment to the salient characteristics of their group (s) and a negative approach to "outsiders" (Tajfel 1982, Tajfel & Turner 1979). According to this theory, having a social identity is simply a matter of being a member of a social group (e.g. Scots, Irish). Groups which are generally related to positive self-esteem and embedded in the individual self-concept through biases in social categorisation and comparison. This enables us to maintain identities which are positive, distinctive and secure. Substantively, this allows us think about how members of particular social groups are similar to and different from members of other groups.

Ashforth & Mael (1989) also argued that since identification reflects congruent social activities it can be readily be applied understanding organisational, community-based phenomena. They forwarded the notion of 'nested' social identities within organisations where people identify with different parts of the organisation (or wider community) depending on for example, their status. Social identities are therefore conferred upon volunteers and reflected in the different types of activities they undertake. In this respect, community enterprise organisations (like their wider 'territorial community') can be looked upon as a diverse flux of differentially salient social identities, which potentially conflict when mediated by power or status relationships between different members identifying with different social groups. A point more than adequately demonstrated in studies of intergroup conflict (e.g. Finn 1992). This perhaps explains the prominence given to perceived homogeneity amongst

participants (e.g. Michelson 1970) as well as, the 'detachment' literature which has frequently referred to antagonistic relationships between different groups of local volunteers (Plotkin 1991), between volunteers and paid professionals (Adams 1990), and between volunteers and their wider membership (Payne 1982).

Research in 'place satisfaction' has involved people's subjective judgements about the quality of their residential environment in terms of neighbourhood size, density and type (Hummon 1992). Chavis & Wandersman (1990) point out that most neighbourhood organisations are formed in response to perceived threats of physical and social deterioration. Participation may also be influenced by attachment. This is similar to socio-psychological definitions of 'sense of community', which is defined as an identification with an overarching set of social values (Sarason 1974). Until recently this latter concept has received relatively little attention (MacMillan & Chavis 1986, Newburgh & Chavis 1986a, 1986b). Unlike 'satisfaction', however, attachment has not been found to vary with neighbourhood size, density or type. Also, while some may remain satisfied with their residential environment without developing complimentary emotional ties, others may express attachment to places that they find less than satisfactory (Hummon 1992).

Wellman & Leighton (1979) identify at least three traditions of research on 'attachment' which demonstrate the existence of different types and layers of community. For classical social theorists such as Tonnies, Durkheim, Marx and Weber, increasing urbanisation meant a decline in the quality of community life (Fischer *et al* 1977). This was described by Tonnies as the movement from community groups held together by expressive social ties ('*gemeinschaft*'), to associative groups held together by instrumental objectives, such as financial remuneration ('*gesellschaft*'). Wirth (1938) argued that increasing urban size, density and heterogeneity weakened ties with neighbours and kin, and consequently diminished residential attachment. This tradition

has given community a utopian quality associated with some bygone age of pastoral intimacy between family, friends and neighbours.

Despite sparse empirical confirmation the 'decline of community' thesis has found extensive support from policy makers through programmes designed to regenerate residential areas into more expressive entities. This is despite many ethnographic studies showing that local groups persisted as important sources of sociability, social support and attachment (for reviews see Warren 1978). Even superficial social interactions between residents (e.g. sightings) may be enough to encourage attachment to place and activity (Wellman 1983). Indeed neighbour recognition and interaction have been found to be positively related to whether small voluntary organisations were formed (Wandersman & Giamartino 1980). This tradition, however, views residents as still apt to develop their own neighbourhood organisations based on common interests (Newman 1973) which provide a source of place attachment (Guest & Lee 1983). However, because most volunteering occurs within locally-based organisations, people within the one geographical area may still exhibit a stronger sense of attachment to activities in closer physical proximity to them. A general factor found to be influential in cementing attachment concerns long-term residence which seems to promote bonding by increasing local social ties and strengthening local social identities (Sampson 1988).

That people living in different residential areas will identify common interests sets the broad participatory context for the growth of community enterprise across areas of different types, population size and scale. Although different residential areas and activities within those areas function as sources of attachment for residents, a third tradition of attachment concerns the 'dispersed community' or 'community without proximity'. Here it is argued that an increased mobility and diversity of life styles alongside technological developments compete with ties to *kith and kin*. Consequently, local areas are no longer perceived as the most important source of an individual's social

network. This highlights that closer physical proximity or smaller-scale areas may not necessarily generate a greater sense of attachment, nor a consensus over definitions of common problems, their importance and how they should be tackled.

This latter description of community is consistent with a tradition of attachment research which considers the relevance and adequacy of social support based on the ability of a neighbourhood to meet individual needs. Lin *et al* (1985) argued that collective action provides the most effective social support for residents depending on whether its primary aim is expressive or instrumental. Expressive support was best provided through 'strong' (e.g. between partners) and homophilous (e.g. similar income, gender, education) social ties, while instrumental support was most effective under 'weak' and heterophilous social ties. Furthermore, as we saw in earlier sections, although residents may share interests and gain from organisational attempts to pursue common goals, this does not automatically inspire collective action, or ensure that all members or volunteers will equally contribute time and effort to organisational management (Rich 1980). In this case, urban neighbourhoods may be ultimately defined as communities of 'limited liability' where people's attachment to neighbourhood organisations varies according to the perceived symbolic costs and benefits of participation (e.g. Greer 1962, Hunter & Suttles 1972, Janowitz 1967). This places community participation squarely within an exchange framework.

Summary

In this chapter we have looked at a variety of explanations of participation. We began by looking at definitions of volunteering in the context of the meanings attached to work and leisure, where participation was largely viewed both optional and beneficial. This was also reflected in typologies of voluntary organisation which broadly distinguish between organisations in the mainstream voluntary sector and those based on mutual aid / self-help. Implicit in the idea of mutual aid was the notion of reciprocal help and that volunteers themselves derived personal benefits from volunteering. While

early attempts at explaining participation tended to concentrate on altruism and relied on self vs selfless dichotomies, a number of critical reviews have highlighted the redundancy of these approaches and stressed that the reasons for participation are relatively more diverse and complex.

Although theories of work motivation are relatively well developed they have attracted a number of criticisms. They generally fail to account for participation over time on the basis of people's own interpretations of their actions and pay little attention to the social context of behaviour. In this respect, current reviews of volunteering stress the applicability of social exchange / incentive-based models. Here theorists have tended to conceptualise participation as involving multiple motives in a three-stage process. They propose that volunteering as well as having associated benefits also has costs. Support for these positions was also reflected in theories of organisational commitment and group dynamics. These highlighted that volunteers can be conceived of as leadership groups who manage a multiplicity of often divergent interests within volunteer organisations.

Consideration of leadership and member influence brought us closer to considering contextual factors. Models of voluntary participation have stressed the importance of the environment through notions of 'community'. This concept located participation within distinct social and physical boundaries, and highlighted the perceived significance these have for people in terms of their attachment and identity. Consistent with the exchange framework, local participation may be located within communities of 'limited utility'. As we shall see in the following chapter, all of the above issues find some resonance in research on volunteer populations and it is to these findings that we now turn our attention.

Chapter 3 : Research on Voluntary Participation

Introduction

In this chapter we review the previous research findings in studies of voluntary participation as it relates to the key questions outlined in our introductory chapter and the theoretical explanations detailed in *Chapter Two*. We begin by considering evidence on the question of ‘who volunteers’ in terms of a range of important socio-demographic, attitudinal and personality characteristics before moving onto considering the influence of the recruitment process on participation. We then outline the motives to volunteer in terms of a series of distinct stages identified in social exchange / incentive-theory : recruitment, continued and retention. At each stage we evaluate evidence for both the costs and benefits associated with participation, before considering the influence of individual difference and organisational factors. Throughout the chapter, we consider the implications of the above evidence for the key questions raised in this study.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Volunteers

Investigation into the question of ‘who volunteers’ has been considered largely through retrospective studies which have compared volunteers' with non-volunteers' across a range of socio-demographic variables (e.g. Wolfenden 1978, Humble 1982, GHS 1981 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991). A second type of investigation has examined volunteers working within specific types of organisational activity (e.g. Mellor 1985, Harris 1990, Kearns 1990, 1991). In each area, researchers have typically described their samples with reference to available data on the prevalence of different socio-demographic categories in the general population, national volunteer populations, or with the lay membership (i.e. non-volunteers) of the organisation.

Dealing with the former investigation above, survey evidence (using sample sizes ranging between 2,000-23,000), suggests that voluntary participation in the UK involves approximately 23-25% or 40-50% of the general population. Studies

generally rely on self-report and those who reported that they had volunteered within one year prior to the study (Wolfenden 1978, Humble 1982, Gerard 1985, GHS 1981 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991). Differences in population estimates of the prevalence of volunteering may be attributed to definitional and methodological differences between the studies, as well as, changes in the level of volunteering over time. More on these points is outlined below.

In UK-based surveys which have utilised socio-demographic variables to distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers, participation has been found to be correlated with variables such as sex, age, social class, occupational status and household composition (Hatch & Mocroft 1977, Wolfenden 1978, Humble 1982, Gerard 1985, GHS 1981 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991). These findings have been found to be broadly consistent with comparable research in other western industrialised nations (see Almond & Verba 1963, Tomeh 1973, Smith 1975, Stubbings & Humble 1984, Harris 1990). A summary of the main UK findings, the socio-demographic variables used and comparisons - where possible - with surveys of community enterprise activity are presented under the appropriate headings below. The latter exclude community business activity because there is no published data available for these groups. Where consistent differences have been found between volunteers in different types and fields of activity with regard to their socio-demographic characteristics, these are highlighted in the text.

Sex

Despite the historical connection between volunteering and sex-role stereotypes, which emphasise the greater role played by females (see Aves 1969, Brenton 1985, Dalley 1988), sex differences are consistently reported as non-significant. They also closely reflect the sex composition of the general population as a whole (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). Table 3.1 presents data on the sex split of volunteers from UK surveys.

Table 3.1 : Sex of Volunteers from UK Surveys (%).

Survey	Male	Female	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1981	44	56	797
GHS 1987	42	58	4547
Lynn & Smith 1991	47	53	747

Where differences have been found they seem to vary as a function of the field and type of activity undertaken. Males appear to participate in more formal activity, particularly in environmental, political, trade union and sports-related areas. Conversely, females seem to be more involved in informal activity (e.g. neighbouring), particularly in educational, religious, elderly and other welfare-oriented activities (Humble 1982, Gerard 1985, GHS 1981, Lynn & Smith 1991). Regarding the type of activity undertaken, females were more involved in the activities of fundraising / handling money, while males were more likely to serve on committees (e.g. as chairpersons) and in advisory / counselling activities (Gerard 1985, Humble 1982, GHS 1981, Lynn & Smith 1991).

In the field of community enterprise, previous research has also found evidence of sex differences. Of 63 credit union volunteers based in organisations across the UK, 61% were found to be female compared to 39% male (Berthoud & Hinton 1990). Conversely, of 897 volunteers in housing associations, 30% were found to be female compared to 70% male (Kearns 1990).

Age

Research highlights that there are no significant age differences applicable to volunteers (e.g. Wolfenden 1978) and that their age distribution closely reflects that of the population as a whole (e.g. GHS 1981). Nevertheless, volunteers tend to be

concentrated within the age band 34 to 44 years (e.g. Humble 1982), with participation decreasing after age 55 years (e.g. GHS 1981 1987) and particularly after age 70 years (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). Surveys generally point out that participation is relatively low amongst younger age groups under 25 years (e.g. GHS 1981 1987), where it presumably has to compete with a greater potential range of alternative discretionary time use activities (Lynn & Smith 1991). Similarly, amongst elderly age groups over 70 years, reduced physical mobility and increased social isolation decrease the likelihood of participation (Smith & Freedman 1972). Table 3.2 presents typical data on the age characteristics amongst volunteers in UK surveys.

Table 3.2 : Age Pattern of Volunteers from UK Surveys (%).

Survey *	Age (years)						Sample Size
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
Lynn & Smith 1991	15	23	21	16	12	12	747

* GHS (1981) (1987) used different categories of age ranges

There is also a link between age and the type and field of voluntary activity. Surveys consistently highlight that younger adults of either sex were less likely to participate in religious activity compared to elderly age groups (60 years and over), but more likely to participate in activity connected with sports and children's school / education (Gerard 1985, GHS 1981, Lynn & Smith 1991). Also, age groups over 65 years have been found to be more involved in fundraising, visiting old people's homes, prison-work, hospitals and taking on committee-based work. Conversely, age groups under 35 years have been found to be more likely to be involved in providing information / advice and counselling (GHS 1981 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991).

Studies have also found a link between age and the amount of time invested in participation. They have consistently found that those in age groups over 55 years,

although making up a lower proportion of volunteers, tended to invest more time compared to younger age groups (GHS 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991).

In the field of community enterprise, previous research has also noted evidence of age trends. Berthoud & Hinton (1990) reported that 60% of their credit union sample were between 40 and 65 years. Kearns (1990) reported that 31% of housing volunteers were located between the ages of 45 and 59 years. This was the main age grouping in each respective sample.

Household Composition

Past research highlights the association between volunteering (for both sexes) and the presence of a co-resident partner and dependent children. No published evidence could be found concerning differences by type and field of voluntary activity for volunteers on these criteria (Gerard 1985, GHS 1981 1987, Lynn & Smith 1991). Similarly, no published evidence could be found concerning the household composition and partner status of community enterprise volunteers. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 respectively present figures on the presence of a co-resident partner and child dependence from UK surveys.

Table 3.3 : Co-resident Status in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey	Married / Partner	Single	Separated	Widowed	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1981	66	20	4	10	797
GHS 1987	70	19	4	7	4547
Lynn & Smith 1991	67	20	6	6	747

Table 3.4 : Child Dependence in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	None	> 1 Dependent	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1981	21	79	797
GHS 1987	20	80	4547

* Figures for Lynn & Smith (1991) were unspecified

Socio-economic Status

Past research has consistently highlighted the relationship between volunteering and employed groups. For both sexes, the employed were more likely to be volunteers compared to other groups (Humble 1982, GHS 1981 1987 Gerard 1985, Lynn & Smith 1991). Hence there is a relatively low association between volunteering in those groups with potentially more time on their hands to spend on voluntary activity such as the retired and unemployed (Lynn & Smith 1991). However, although less likely to be involved, retired groups were those found to invest proportionally greater amounts of time in voluntary activity compared to others (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). This is consistent with evidence which links greater time investment to older age groups. Table 3.5 presents figures on the participation of different employment status groups in UK surveys of volunteers.

Table 3.5 : Socio-Economic Status in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	Employed	Unempl'd	Ret'd	Housewives	Non-Empl'd	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1987	63	4	-	-	33	4547
Lynn & Smith 1991	66	5	14	11	-	747

* Figures for GHS (1981) were unspecified. Figures for 'other' categories are excluded in the table.

Regarding employment status, those in non-manual occupational categories were approximately 2-3 times more likely to participate compared to other groups (e.g. GHS 1981 1987). Differences in type and field by socio-economic status have not been found to be significant, although those in non-manual occupational categories tend to have greater experience of committee-based work (consistent with class-based patterns of voluntarism). Conversely, those in manual groups were more likely to have been involved in providing informal help (e.g. GHS 1981). Table 3.6 presents figures on the participation of different employment groups from UK surveys of volunteers.

Table 3.6 : Employment Categories in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey	Non-Manual	Skilled Man'l	Semi / Unsk'dMan'l	Sample Size(no.)
GHS 1981	56	18	26	797
GHS 1987	50	22	35	2865
Lynn & Smith 1991	47	20	16	493

Regarding income, educational and household resources, volunteers tend to be those earning above average weekly gross incomes, have at least one formal educational / vocational qualification and own their residential property. Typical figures for volunteers in UK surveys on each of the above indicators are respectively presented in tables 3.7 to 3.9 below.

Table 3.7 : Weekly Gross Income (£) in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	0-100	>100-200	>200-300	>300-400	>400	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1987	51	24	14	5	5	3762

* Figures for GHS (1981), Lynn & Smith (1991) were unspecified

Table 3.8 : Qualification Level in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	None	At Least One	Sample Size (no.)
GHS 1987	27	73	4211

* Figures for GHS (1981), Lynn & Smith (1991) were unspecified

Table 3.9 : Tenancy Status in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	Owner Occupier	Local Authority (rented)	Other	Sample Size (no.)
Lynn & Smith (1991)	74	18	8	747

* Figures for GHS (1981, 1987) were unspecified

The findings on volunteers income are consistent with socio-economic evidence above which suggests that those in lower-income groups participate in more informal activities (e.g. Stubbings & Humble 1984). This is wholly consistent with early studies of community life within urban sociology which highlighted proportionally greater rates of participation by those in middle-class groups (e.g. Klein 1965, Pahl 1989). All the previous work in this area has consistently pointed out that higher socio-economic status (whether measured by occupation, education, income, subjective class judgements or some combination of these factors) is positively correlated with higher rates of voluntary participation (for reviews see Smith & Freedman 1972, Parkum & Parkum 1980). Even in internal studies of voluntary organisations, volunteers have been identified as those with more socio-economic resources than the membership they serve and the general population at large (e.g. Oliver 1984b, Harris 1990, Kearns 1990). In the US literature, socio-economic status has been found to vary with the field of voluntary activity. Volunteers in blue-collar employment have been found to

more likely to volunteer in fraternal societies and sports activity, while the middle and upper classes were concentrated in business and professional service organisations, cultural, educational, and political pressure groups (Cousens 1964).

There have also been attempts to identify whether some socio-economic indicators are better predictors than others of volunteering. Edwards & White (1980) analysed this using multivariate regression analysis but found that due to high levels of multicollinearity they were unable to identify which ones were more important than others. Conversely, McPherson & Lockwood (1980) did a multivariate re-analysis of Babchuck and Booth's (1969) community study data and found that education was a better predictor of participation than others.

In the field of community enterprise, previous research has generally corroborated the above socio-economic trends. Kearns (1991) reported that 63% of housing volunteers were employed, 89% in non-manual occupational categories. In contrast, 4% of volunteers were unemployed, 24% were retired and 7% were housewives. Furthermore, 78% of volunteers were owner-occupiers and not tenants. No published figures were available for volunteers in credit unions.

Measures of Attachment & Sense of Community

Lynn & Smith (1991) observed that much volunteering occurs within locally-based organisations. Hence variables such as length of residence (Cook 1983), previous voluntary experience (Carr *et al* 1976) and the number of known local contacts / family living locally (Chavis & Wandersman 1990), have all been used as indicators of an individual's socio-psychological sense of attachment to a specific geographical area. Janowitz (1967, p.200-202) argued that these variables were indicative of the extent of an individual's integration into the community. Those with longer length of residence, previous voluntary experience, more local contacts and family are those who were more likely to volunteer (Lynn & Smith 1991, p.38). Consequently, there is usually a

positive correlation between longer periods of local residence and voluntary participation (e.g. Parkum & Parkum 1980). Table 3.10 presents typical local residential length figures for volunteers in UK surveys.

Table 3.10 : Length of Residence (yrs) in UK Volunteer Surveys (%).

Survey *	< 2	2-<5	5-<10	10-<20	20 +	Sample Size (no.)
Lynn & Smith (1991)	8	12	12	19	50	4547

* Figures for GHS (1981, 1987) were unspecified

The longer a person resides in a particular area the more likely they are to be aware of existing voluntary organisations within the area (Janowitz 1967). Previous voluntary experience is also interlinked with the number of local contacts and family. In this respect, however, it is not known whether knowing local people leads to becoming a volunteer, or being a volunteer brings people into contact with more local people. Both explanations are likely to apply (Lynn & Smith 1991, p.38). There is an appreciable body of evidence suggesting that those who come into contact with volunteers are themselves more likely to volunteer (e.g. Babchuck 1965). Not surprisingly, interpersonal social networks have been identified as the main source of recruitment for voluntary organisations (e.g. Snow *et al* 1980, Stark & Bainbridge 1980). Nevertheless, no empirical evidence concerning previous voluntary experience or the number of local contacts / family is available from UK surveys of volunteers (e.g. GHS 1981, 1987).

Other Socio-Demographic Differences

Ethno-religious and racial-ethnic variables have also been explored but this has mainly taken place within the US literature on voluntary participation (e.g. see Smith 1975, Parkum & Parkum 1980, Oliver 1984b). Regarding race, blacks have been found to have generally higher rates of participation than whites, while the evidence concerning

ethno-religious variables has been found to be inconclusive (Wandersman 1981). Characteristics largely ignored, however, concern the link between participation and physical health / abilities / impairments, psychophysiological capacities and previous parental participation (Smith 1975).

Attitudinal Orientations to Voluntary Work

Data consistent with the hypothesis that favourable attitudes towards volunteering in general and specific types of organisational activity increase the likelihood of participation, are available from several cross-sectional studies comparing volunteers with non-volunteers (for review see Pearce 1993). However, there is no way of knowing whether people develop more favourable attitudes because of their actual experience of volunteering, or whether these attitudes precede participation. What is clear is that any comparison between different groups of volunteers would require some knowledge of their prior attitudinal orientation to invest time in participation.

Commitment Characteristics

Once people are actually involved, how committed are they to volunteering? From UK surveys, the available evidence suggests that people only invest moderate amounts of time as volunteers. GHS (1981) lists 1.5 hr's / week as the average for their sample, while Lynn & Smith (1991), reported that the greatest proportion of volunteers spent under 1 hr / week as volunteers. No data was available for commitment in terms of volunteers typical length of service. Table 3.11 only presents typical weekly time investment figures for volunteers in UK surveys.

Table 3.11 : Time Investment (hours) in UK Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Survey *	Time (hr's / week)						Sample Size (no.)
	< 1	1-2.25	2.5-3.5	3.75-6	6.25-10	10+	
Lynn & Smith (1991)	23	15	17	13	10	7	2387

* Figures for GHS (1981) and GHS (1987) were unspecified

Personality Characteristics of Volunteers

In the field of prosocial behaviour, attempts to differentiate volunteers from non-volunteers have also taken the form of cross-sectional studies focusing on discriminating personality dimensions. The literature indicates that volunteers tend to be more extroverted, self-assured, optimistic and trusting (e.g. Smith 1966), and report higher levels of positive affect (e.g. Sills 1968). Smith & Nelson (1975) using Cattell's 16PF scale, found that volunteers were more extroverted, have less need for autonomy and had greater ego strength. Oliner and Oliner (1988) found that their sample of Jewish rescuers evidenced higher social responsibility, prosocial action orientation, internal locus of control and pain / suffering responsiveness, than comparable groups of non-rescuers. Finally, Allen & Rushton (1983) in a review of 19 published studies comparing community mental health volunteers with non-volunteers, reported that the former possessed more internalized moral standards, positive attitudes towards self and others, greater self-efficacy, more emotional stability and greater empathy. Allen & Rushton concluded that mental health volunteers had personality dimensions characteristic of an 'altruistic personality' (for review see Clary & Snyder 1991).

Review of the Evidence on 'Who Volunteers'

The literature on 'who volunteers' represents the largest body of empirical research on volunteer populations. There have been numerous replications across time and space yielding consistent results (Pearce 1993). This effectively counters the potential criticism that all these surveys offer is a 'snapshot' of 'who volunteers'. Secondly, the measures used have been relatively reliable, although as we have seen, not always consistently applied across different surveys. Where they have been applied as antecedents of volunteering they have usually been separated from those involved in the decision to volunteer (Pearce 1993). Nevertheless, a continuing criticism of surveys using attitudinal and personality measures is that they have employed measures of suspect reliability and validity, using instruments largely developed for other purposes.

Also because of their cross-sectional design it is difficult to know whether attitudinal and personality differences lead to differential rates of volunteering, or emanate from the actual experience of being a volunteer (Clary & Snyder 1991, Pearce 1993).

Many of the surveys comparing volunteers with non-volunteers on socio-demographic, attitudinal and personality variables have attracted some criticism. A major problem is that they invariably offer alternate definitions of the phenomenon in question, which limits the range of eligible activity that they consider as being voluntary-based. For example, while GHS (1981) and Lynn & Smith (1991) both considered informal and formal activity, Gerard (1985) and GHS (1987) restricted their definitions to formal organisational activity. This has led some to include political, trade union and religious participation while others do not (Gerard 1985). Likewise in those surveys of community enterprise activity, highlighted above, none included volunteers drawn solely from residentially-based organisations which form the basis of this study. Overall therefore, a degree of caution should be exercised in attempts to generalise from the findings of UK volunteer surveys, in addition to those covering particular types of activity which have used UK statistics as the basis for comparison.

More problematic, however, is that surveys invariably offer very little or no explanation of why so many people do not participate, even though their social background, attitudes and personality characteristics suggest that they should. More importantly in terms of this thesis, nor do they offer any explanation of differential participation and why people participate in one type of activity and not others (Smith 1966 1975, Wandersman 1981). In these respects, a consistent criticism of surveys is that they have been generally more concerned with the empirical demonstration of predictability rather than developing theory. Where theories have been applied this is usually done *post hoc* (Smith 1975). Hence there is a need for socio-demographic characteristics to be incorporated into theories which explain their importance for participation in the first instance (Smith 1975, p.254). The failure to do this so far has led to:

"..studies that are unsystematic or confounded in the types of variables (and therefore relationships) studied (which leads to).. difficulty in integrating information.." Wandersman 1981, p.28)

One strand of research which has been given an appreciable amount of theoretical attention in the literature concerns the consistent positive correlation found between socio-economic status and participation. Although this may be explained as an artefact of research designs which target formal (and consequently middle-class) participation, socio-psychological explanations of the phenomenon have largely focused on attitudinal and affective variables such as anomie, alienation and apathy. These are argued to be characteristic attributes of the value systems of those in lower socio-economic groups which place a barrier on their participation. Lower socio-economic groups are effectively characterised as passive (e.g. Sills 1957, Barber 1965). For Hausknecht (1962) they:

"..neither understand nor trust the community..(they have a 'misanthropic' and intolerant perception of others, combined with a fatalistic feeling that (they are) powerless to change the world (and consequently)..avoid..voluntary association.." Hausknecht (1962, p.12)

An alternative explanation, however, is found in social exchange accounts and the work of O'Brien (1974 1975), Rich (1980), Oliver (1984b) and Pearce (1993), who all argued that the failure of people to participate can be explained in terms of the high personal costs associated with participation relative to people's resources (e.g. the availability of discretionary time against the amount and length of time required by the organisation, or the perceived financial cost involved). Resources which can be inferred from people's socio-demographic characteristics. Hence structural reasons are hypothesised to be better explanations of differential participation than purely psychological ones (Oliver 1984b). Evidence for structural costs is provided by Wandersman *et al* (1987), who reported that while non-volunteers perceived that volunteers were involved for personal gain, they also rated volunteering as more costly than did volunteers. Piven (1968) highlights that people at lower socio-economic levels are also likely to lack the knowledge to manage a voluntary organisation. This suggests

that those urban areas perhaps most in need of community enterprise are those in which it may be the most difficult to attract potentially scarce human resources (Perkins *et al* 1990). In areas with lower professional skill bases and levels of formal education there may have to be a greater premium placed upon developing volunteers' skill base to overcome deficiencies in knowledge and experience.

Nevertheless, structural explanations have themselves been interpreted as reinforcing strong cultural stereotypes of the volunteer as middle and upper-income individuals who invest time and effort to help the less well-off (e.g. Hatch & Mocroft 1977). A stereotype which can be adequately contested by the many historical and socio-psychological accounts highlighting the role of mutual aid organisations tackling problems within economically deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Gosden 1973, Oliver 1984b, Rappaport *et al* 1985, Wandersman *et al* 1985, McArthur *et al* 1993). Given the characteristic urban location of many community enterprise activities, however, this raises the prospect that their volunteer groups will present a quite distinct socio-economic profile to that presented in UK surveys.

A wider problem concerns the point that structural explanations, which focus on the costs of participation and solely utilise socio-demographic variables, still do not fully explain how having access to greater resources (e.g. time) makes it easier to become a volunteer. This is especially so when they make no attempt to control for intervening attitudinal and personality variables. Despite a large volume of research no single theory exists which explains why different social groups are differentially involved as volunteers outwith an explanation based on differential social resources. As we already saw in ***Chapter Two***, this has been reflected in theories of motives within the political protest literature. Previous research, nevertheless, does indicate that when intervening attitudinal and personality variables are statistically controlled, socio-demographic variables lose their explanatory power with regard to volunteer *vs* non-volunteer differences (e.g. Smith 1975, *et al* 1980). For example, Edwards & White (1980)

considered the influence of socio-demographic, attitudinal and personality factors on participation. They found that the former only explained 8% of the variance between volunteer and non-volunteer groups.

Another criticism made of the above surveys is that they do not attempt to answer the question of what types of people participate in different types of voluntary activity (Bailey 1973). While studies have consistently pointed out that there were important socio-demographic variations between volunteers in different activities (e.g. GHS 1981 1987), few have pursued the point through secondary analysis. Their main concern has been solely limited to questions about distinctions between volunteers and non-volunteers. Given the consistency of results on this issue, the question needs to be broadened to ask 'who participates in what and why' (Bailey 1973, p.102). This tackles the need to generate data in order to support efforts to organise specific types of community organisations (Cook 1983) by looking at how volunteers in different areas and activities are demographically distinct from UK populations and each other in terms of both socio-demographic and attitudinal factors. Both may have implications for volunteer motivation.

Differential Recruitment & Interpersonal Networks

An important criticism of the above studies, as well as those highlighted in later sections on the reasons why people participate, is that relatively few have considered the influence of the recruitment process on participation. Pearce (1983b) highlights that volunteers are simply *attracted* to organisational activity. This assumes, however, that there are no barriers to participation and wholly ignores evidence highlighting that involvement varies with the availability of discretionary time (Strober & Weinberg 1980). In sociology, researchers concerned with the differential growth of large scale social movements, such as religious cults / sects (e.g. Stark & Bainbridge 1980) and peace activism (e.g. Klandermans & Oegema 1987), have provided evidence that recruitment is more influenced by factors such as proximity, personal availability and

interpersonal networks (Snow *et al* 1980). Hence the crucial issue here concerns whether differences between volunteers can be explained in terms of recruitment as opposed to attraction.

Any discussion of recruitment needs to consider the issue of barriers on participation. There are a number of constitutional and socio-political barriers to active participation which allow voluntary organisers to exercise some control over the process. An organisation's formal constitution may specify who is and is not eligible to take up active committee positions (Parkum & Parkum 1980). Although many activities may simply rely on getting as many people involved as possible (the 'shotgun approach' (Harris 1990, p.165)), they are also likely to operate selection strategies which target specific categories of individuals. Zeldin (1983, p.117) argues that the latter embody a number of underlying political assumptions which influence recruitment in such a way that participants have unequal powers to define and influence organisational objectives and strategies. Participants may be expected to accept and work within the norms and value-orientation of the recruiting community or agency. While they may be discouraged from challenging the status quo at the same time they may also be expected to contribute in ways which are not always clear to the development of structures aimed at meeting 'their needs'. 'Needs' which may be principally identified in a situation of unequal distribution of power, knowledge, skills, experience, social and political motivation.

Hence those responsible for recruitment (e.g. professionals) may only select those whose views or experiences are perceived as compatible with their own, those willing to invest an ongoing commitment (Pearce 1993), or those whose skills are deemed appropriate for the tasks required (Harris 1990). This gives precedence to those with existing voluntary experience and early organisational growth often involves those familiar with voluntary roles (Carr *et al* 1983). While these factors may serve to exclude some individuals from participation they may ensure a reasonable quality of

volunteer personnel and some organisational stability, particularly during the early stages of organisational growth. Here already established social and interpersonal factors may be important in binding people to courses of volunteering. Hence while understanding of the recruitment process, its underlying determinants, influences and outcomes is still limited (Snow *et al* 1980), previous research points to the predominant influence of interpersonal networks in volunteer recruitment (Pearce 1993). Table 3.12 presents a summary of typical findings in a number of studies on volunteers using self-report item lists to describe recruitment.

Table 3.12 : Volunteer Recruitment in Surveys of Volunteers (%) *.

Process	Sills (1957)	Gallop (1981)	Gallop (1987)	Pearce (1993)
Own Initiative	10	25	N/A	29
Approached by Friend / Neighbour	70	N/A	22	N/A
Approached by Existing Volunteer	20	44	59	N/A
Family Member Involved	N/A	29	N/A	N/A
Other Community Group	N/A	31	N/A	N/A
Knew organisation as Member	N/A	N/A	N/A	11
Founding Members	N/A	N/A	N/A	7
Personal Contact	N/A	N/A	N/A	64
Media / Advertisement	N/A	6	4	N/A

* Multiple responses were allowed. N/A refers to categories not used in survey

The predominant influence of personal contact and interpersonal influence has been corroborated in other studies (e.g. Babchuck 1965), particularly in social movement research (for review see Snow *et al* 1980). These findings substantiate attachment research where volunteers have been found to be those with more extensive local contacts. The importance of recruitment, however, is that it counters a naive view of participants as self-selecting individuals who participate on their own initiative within

some social vacuum. Some will be more available for participation because of the availability of discretionary time and the absence of countervailing networks or influences (Snow *et al* 1980). Previous research also highlights that there are likely to be important organisational variations in methods of recruitment. Recruitment may be dependent on the scale and visibility of the organisation within the local area. Hence those organisations with established premises may be more likely to attract volunteers entering on their own initiative (Pearce 1993). What is clear is that the question of ‘why people participate’ is inextricably linked to ‘how’ organisations secure their participation (Snow *et al* 1980, Lynn & Smith 1991).

Recruitment Benefits

Investigation of the initial reasons for volunteering has largely been considered through national and activity-specific survey-based approaches utilising pre-set, limited item, multiple response formats (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). Both approaches are outlined below. Some of the categories used in these studies were amended to make comparisons easier.

UK & US Survey-based Approaches

Table 3.13 presents a summary of the typical findings from UK and US national studies of volunteering asking people why they first became volunteers.

Table 3.13 : Reasons to Participate in UK and US Surveys of Volunteers (%).

Reason	Lynn & Smith (1991) *	Gallop (1981)	Gallop (1985)	IS (1988)
Had Spare / Free Time	28	8	10	9
Learn / Help Get a Job	11	11	10	9
Useful / Improve / Help Others	39	45	52	56
Knew Someone Involved	43	23	26	27
Interest in Activity	N/A	35	36	N/A
Meet People / Make Friends	25	N/A	N/A	N/A
Enjoy the Work : Feel Needed	N/A	29	32	34
Religious Concerns	N/A	21	27	22
Previous Benefit From Activity	N/A	N/A	N/A	10
Own Needs / Interests	39	N/A	N/A	N/A
Family / Friends Interests	43	N/A	N/A	N/A
Asked to Help	51	N/A	N/A	N/A
Offered to Help	43	N/A	N/A	N/A
Started the Group	5	N/A	N/A	N/A
Good at it	18	N/A	N/A	N/A

* UK Survey.

N/A : applies to items not included in survey but used in others.

Direct comparison between studies is extremely difficult because of their differential list content. Also a major methodological deficiency with each of the above studies is that little or no rationale is provided for their item content. Although Lynn & Smith (1991) included recruitment-based options consistent with previous qualitative research (i.e.

Thomas & Finch 1990), studies appear guided more by replicability than systematic theoretical design. This is consistent with criticisms already made of the literature by reviewers (Wandersman 1981, Smith 1975).

Activity-Specific Survey-based Approaches

Table 3.14 presents a summary of the typical findings from activity-specific related studies of volunteering to questions concerning why people first became involved as volunteers.

Table 3.14 : Reported Reasons to Volunteer in Activity-Specific Surveys (%) *.

Reason	Wiehe & Isenhour ('77) (Social Service)	Anderson & Moore ('78) (Social Service)	Rich ('80) (Mix)	Jenner ('81) (Children)
Belief in Org'l Purpose	N/A	N/A	-	46
Interesting Work	N/A	N/A	-	25
Friendship / Obligation	N/A	N/A	15	16
Respect for volunteers	N/A	N/A	-	14
Helping Others / Altruism**	50	75	-	-
Feel Useful / Needed	18	51	-	-
Self-fulfilment	N/A	39	-	-
Personal Development	7	34	-	-
Improve the Community	N/A	33	-	-
Required / Demanded	-	N/A	-	-
Perceived Duty	N/A	N/A	39	-
Neighbourhood Values	N/A	N/A	39	-
Protect Property Values	N/A	N/A	6	-

* surveys were based on multiple response to specific item lists. N/A : applies to items not included in the survey but used in others.

** Altruism defined as helping others.

Much of the criticism made above of national survey-based approaches can also be applied to activity-specific approaches, though the latter have not tended to operationalise recruitment issues. Additionally, few studies report reliability data or information on how they countered for any likely 'halo effects' in presentation. Nevertheless, a positive advantage of some of these approaches has been their use of verbal reports as opposed to a predetermined limited option format (e.g. Rich 1980, Jenner 1981). Both national and activity-specific approaches have, nevertheless, highlighted the prominence of certain motivational categories of personal benefits (outwith recruitment options) in their findings. Hence the most frequently endorsed categories of benefits outlined by the literature in their respective order of magnitude have concerned : the prosocial motivation of helping or service to others ; the achievement of organisational goals ; social contact ; and learning or personal development (Clary & Snyder 1991, Pearce 1993).

By far the most prominent category has concerned purposive benefits concerning the well being of others (usually generalised). Here there is the notion that volunteering is guided by normative service or ideological values which provide people with an opportunity to feel that they are contributing towards something with positive social value (e.g. in Daniels (1985) description of 'good works'). In the literature on neighbourhood participation, purposive benefits are also sometimes phrased in terms of perceived neighbourhood threat (Wandersman 1981). Responses in this category are conceptually distinct from instrumental benefits with some (in)tangible material meaning, or related to achieving specific organisational objectives (e.g. alleviating poor housing or unemployment). Regarding social benefits, these have been found to take many forms such as the enjoyment of others company (Pearce 1993), sharing common experiences (Minnis 1952), business contacts and prestige (Sills 1957) and developing friendships (Lynn & Smith 1991). For Clary & Snyder (1991), social benefits reflected volunteering's socio-adjustive function. This was prominent in accounts which conceived of participation as being controlled by social rewards and the fear of

punishment (e.g. Rosenhan 1970). This also helps incorporate information on recruitment networks since socio-adjustive reasons reflect the influences and pressure exerted by others (e.g. family, friends, other volunteers). Finally, volunteering has been found to be associated with control benefits and the opportunity to apply or learn new skills and knowledge (e.g. Jenner 1981, Clary & Snyder 1991, Lynn & Smith 1991). This category recognises the task-oriented nature of volunteer work, its formal training elements and personal growth outcomes. The latter may be used as ends in themselves, or to increase one's employment prospects.

The above evidence raises the question of whether community enterprise volunteers exhibit a similar motivational profile to others, and whether initial participation is dominated by purposive benefits. Smith (1981) argued that instrumental benefits were more characteristic of many forms of voluntarism than was appreciated by researchers. In this respect, given the aims of community enterprise organisations and their characteristic urban location and development characteristics, this may well be the case for community enterprise volunteers.

Direct statistical comparisons, however, may prove difficult because of the relatively discursive nature of the studies outlined above. There have also been a number of additional criticisms of the above approaches. Firstly, although researchers have recognised that explanations of participation may change with experience over time, a continuing feature of research is that it has failed to systematically pursue distinctions at different stages of participation (Smith 1981, Smith *et al* 1972, Wandersman 1981). This is applicable to many of the above studies. Secondly, there has been little cross-sectional comparative research, looking at whether volunteers are attracted to different types of activity for different reasons (Cook 1973, Bailey 1973, Smith 1981). Although Rich (1980) and Pearce (1983) pointed to inter-organisational differences, no further analysis was carried out to substantiate the point that volunteers in different types of activity may become involved for different reasons. As we saw earlier,

different organisational activities may attract different types of volunteer, which raises the question, do they then attract different types of volunteers for different reasons.

Recruitment Costs

There is little direct empirical evidence and much speculation on the initial costs of volunteering. These have largely been conceptualised in terms of situational factors regarding opportunities foregone and the potential of aversive events. Authors often relate these to : *social costs* through diminished interaction with family / friends and other interests (Unger 1991), working alongside unfamiliar others and the potential this may have for intragroup conflict ; *instrumental costs* concerning diminished economic potential in the labour market, possible financial outlay (Lynn & Smith 1991) and the expectation that the group will not achieve its objectives (Rich 1980) ; *control costs* concerning people's doubts about their ability to cope with the demands imposed by positions of responsibility and the uncertainty associated with new working environments (Clary & Snyder 1991) ; and finally, *purposive costs* associated with others who do not share one's own personal values (Pearce 1993).

There is no evidence on the relative magnitude of each category of cost. However, consistent with Zurcher (1968) we may expect that social and instrumental costs would probably dominate the decision to volunteer. Particularly the former, where volunteering may be in more direct competition with other discretionary activities and family commitments. Some empirical support for these propositions is provided by evidence on why people do not participate as volunteers. In this respect, Wandersman *et al* (1987) reported that 38% and 48% of members and non-members of local voluntary associations respectively, would not participate because of 'Lack of Time, Work Pressures' (p.548). Hence we may expect to find that in community enterprise activity, the initial costs of participation would be mainly social, opportunity-related costs. Especially as volunteers would have little direct experience of community

enterprise participation at this time. There may also be inter-organisational differences in terms of initial costs although no empirical findings exist to substantiate the point.

Continued Benefits & Participation

Despite an absence of longitudinal research, studies in this area have investigated the link between initial motivation and future time investment, and / or length of service (i.e. differential commitment). Only a minority of studies have reported no relationship between initial motivation and future commitment (e.g. Rubin & Thorelli 1984, Pierucci & Noel 1980). Rosenhan (1970), however, reported that fully and partially committed (i.e. time invested) volunteers were initially motivated by a concern for others and the fear of punishment respectively. Clary & Miller (1986) found evidence to substantiate this finding and that formal training programmes increased the commitment level of the latter group in comparison to the former. Additionally, Rohs (1986) reported that commitment (i.e. tenure) was directly related to social and interpersonal influence, and indirectly related to beliefs about the value of the organisation to society. Finally, Jenner (1981) reported a significant correlation between commitment and the number of hours invested. She found that the former could significantly predict the number of hours invested two years later.

Contrary to much of the literature on volunteer motives the above studies tend to assume that the reasons for involvement do not change over time with increasing organisational experience. Rohs (1986), however, provides an interesting parallel with incentive-based research which, although largely undertaken from the organisational perspective, offers some evidence that the reasons for volunteering do indeed change over time. Sharp (1978), using Clark & Wilson's (1961) typology, studied the effectiveness of various neighbourhood anti-crime initiatives and found that commitment (time invested) was highest in those organisations offering social benefits. In this context, Perrow (1970), argued that organisations offering instrumental benefits largely attracted 'limited commitment' memberships, involved simply to be eligible for

collective goods. Such memberships were more likely where organisations relied on professional staff back-up. Conversely, organisations offering purposive benefits were found to have little appeal for those who did not share the group's values, such as the perceived threat to the neighbourhood (Sharp 1978). Likewise, instrumental benefits were, in the absence of social sources, proposed to be relatively unstable continuance benefits given that individuals primarily attracted by goal attainment may be more liable to intragroup conflict over organisational aims and objectives (Pearce 1993).

Additionally, research mainly using volunteers own self-reports on limited item-options has tended to highlight the following : the stability of control benefits associated with skill use and learning ; the decline of initial purposive benefits associated with helping others, alongside a corresponding increase in social (e.g. Clark *et al* 1978, Phillips 1982, Pearce 1983a) and instrumental benefits with increasing tenure (Rich 1980, Pearce 1983a). Purposive decline was explained by the availability of other alternative outlets for the expression of values associated with helping others, or diminished threats to the local neighbourhood. Conversely, social benefits may increase as interpersonal relationships between volunteers strengthened (Olson 1965/1973, Sharp 1978, Knoke & Prensky 1982). Finally, instrumental benefits may increase as organisational aims were achieved (Rich 1980).

The hypothesis of purposive decline against social and instrumental increase has some validity in terms of organisational survival. It may reflect what volunteers perceive as the immediate short-term benefits of participation (Pearce 1983a). Although people may be initially attracted to volunteer organisations for longer-term purposive reasons, benefits may become more instrumentally and socially oriented given the necessity to actually achieve organisational aims, or as the volunteer group get to know one another better and develop more cohesive working relationships. This raises the question of what benefits characterise the continued participation of community enterprise

volunteers and whether there is evidence of any change over time in the benefits associated with participation.

As with initial participation benefits, there are also reasons to believe that substantive interorganizational differences may characterise continued participation. For example, those who have differentiated between volunteer-reliant and staffed organisations, hypothesised that purposive and social benefits may be more characteristic of the former compared to the latter organisations (Smith 1981, Pearce 1993). As we shall see in *Chapter Four*, such volunteer-staff reliance differentials apply in community enterprise.

Personal Development & Volunteers

Control benefits appear less frequently in accounts of continued participation. Although this may diminish their relative importance they remain a central feature of the aims of many forms of participation, particularly community development approaches (Perlman & Gurin 1972). Here the rationale is that individual participants must change their behaviour in response to changing work settings. This has implications for attitudinal and behavioural change (Porras & Silver 1991). A change usually referred to in terms of personal development or growth outcomes which evoke the notion of individual change in some aspect of cognitive, affective and behavioural functioning (Hopson & Scally 1980). In this respect, development is multidimensional with implications for the self-concept, interpersonal behaviour and attitudinal change through a heightened sense of new possibilities and options.

‘Life span’ approaches emphasise personal change, both physically (for reviews see Schlossberg 1978) and psychologically throughout adulthood (for reviews see Perlmutter & Hall 1985). The latter has been evidenced through early work in adult development on value change (Buhler 1935), psychosocial factors (Erikson 1959), developmental tasks (Havinghurst 1953) and morality (Kohlberg 1973). These

approaches influenced subsequent life span (the birth - death interval) and life course (discrete patterns of events and social relationships) approaches mainly through passage (i.e. transitions) and/or stage (i.e. discrete periods) accounts.

Debate continues, however, as to what exactly is meant by the concept of personal development and its distinguishing characteristics (e.g. Kaplan 1983). Two fundamental issues concern its antecedents (i.e. nature / nurture) and whether development is a process of continuous change, or a series of qualitatively discrete stages or transitions. Regarding the former issue, organismic models have emphasised hereditary or maturational factors and people's 'inherent' ability to enforce change throughout adulthood. Theories in this area typically describe change in terms of some end product, as typified in many approaches in humanistic psychology (e.g. Maslow's (1954/1970) 'self-actualisation' and Allport's (1964) 'mature personality'). In contrast mechanistic models have stressed the stability of adult life unless disturbed by important transitional life events (e.g. unemployment, divorce).

The process of personal change has, however, largely been explained through stage accounts. These describe development in terms of some prescribed normative timetable (e.g. Buhler 1935, Erikson 1959, Havighurst 1953) with change often related to chronological age (e.g. Loevinger 1976) or life experiences (e.g. Lowenthal *et al* 1975). Chronological age is treated as a fundamental variable in the literature on developmental change. Its importance is based on the premise that it is predictive of certain attitudes, values and behaviour which can be linked to particular periods in adult life. However, although providing a useful structure for the life span age *per se* does not explain behaviour (Schlossberg *et al* 1978). For example, although it was thought that problem-solving abilities atrophy with increasing age, research simply links increasing age to relatively slower information processing and not to a decreased capacity to learn (Sugarman 1986). Baer (1970) suggested that in organisational behaviour, instead of concentrating on age-related behaviour change we should be more

concerned with common patterns of personal development within different organisational settings.

Development, however, has been referred to as a construct in search of an identity (Van Den Dale 1983) and not an empirical term although often used as if it were (Kaplan 1983). Hence no matter how much data we were able to collect on the individual life cycle this would not allow us to define what is meant by development unless we were to consider everything that happens to an individual to represent the construct (Sugarman 1986). Given that this would simply reduce development to an atheoretical data collection exercise, some framework is required to define its characteristic features. In this respect, approaches to conceptualising the development of volunteers have commonly involved asking the question of what participation teaches, as well as, operationalisations of empowerment defined by the construct of perceived control.

Lessons From Participation

The first tradition of research on personal development has stemmed from literature in adult education. Studies in this area have typically been cross-sectional and focused on the issue of what volunteers learn from participation in terms of perceived practical knowledge and skills (e.g. Lackey & Dersham 1992, Lackey *et al* 1981, Whitmore *et al* 1989, Grieshop 1984). Fanslow (1982), in a survey of 14 community development consultants factored the knowledge and skills needed by participants into nine distinct areas : group dynamics, democratic commitment, self-reliance, personal responsibility, role, power structure, respect for other's opinions, knowledge of group behaviour and information acquisition. From these, 233 community development leaders identified group dynamics, personal responsibility, political power structure and respect for other's opinions as the most important learning outcomes of participation. Similarly, Grieshop (1984) studied the 'serendipitous' knowledge (9-items) and skill (7-items) outcomes for 197 volunteers in a community gardening programme. He found that 64% of respondents identified their knowledge-based outcomes as finding information

and resources (84%), agricultural issues (64%), community resources (64%), government resources (58%), working with the public (55%) and community organisation (53%). Grieshop also distinguished between knowledge and skill bases and found that 45% of participants reported skill development in terms of locating information (87%), problem solving (64%) and analysis (61%), and how to organise information (52%).

Whitmore *et al* (1989) applied a qualitative approach to the types of learning outcome from participation. They identified 259 learning statements from the content analysis of interviews with 10 community group leaders. They distinguished between internal (intragroup interaction and dynamics) and external (influences outwith the group) sources of learning, and between learning in terms of knowledge and practical skills. They found that internal group dynamics were the most important source of learning for participants, followed by external knowledge relating to group functioning and self-knowledge. Finally, Lackey & Dersham (1992) using a survey-based approach, distinguished between new and existing skills and knowledge in a study of 72 volunteers drawn from housing, environmental and job-creation activities. They found that the new (or extended) skills reported by respondents mainly concerned human behaviour (21%), government operations (16%), human relations (11%) and local politics (8%). Consistent with all of the above studies no significant variation in outcomes in terms of respondents socio-demographic characteristics was identified. Areas identified, however, as requiring further study concerned the relationship between particular types of participatory activity and their perceived learning outcomes (Whitmore *et al* 1979, Lackey & Dersham 1992).

Empowerment & Volunteers

Consistent with the view that participation has positive life and health outcomes, empowerment has largely been defined in terms of 'giving power' to the powerless (Adams 1990). Powerlessness is largely associated with disadvantaged socio-

economic conditions in which people feel unable to change aspects of their own socio-psychological functioning and their immediate environmental conditions (Wallerstein 1993). Although no measure of empowerment is currently available, seminal studies and reviews in community psychology have commonly related the construct to some aspect of perceived control (Rappaport 1987). Authors have speculated on the loss of control concomitant with environmental and social decline (Fleming & Baum 1985), and pointed to the increased sense of perceived control gained through local participation (Stone & Levine 1985, Zimmerman & Rappaport 1988). The latter authors defined empowerment as a broad multilevel construct linking individual strengths and competencies to participation. This could be applied to individuals, organisations, communities and social policies as a process where:

"..individuals gain mastery or control over their own lives and democratic participation in the lives of their community.." Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988, p.726)

This definition was derived from qualitative work amongst political activists by Kieffer (1984), who concluded that it comprised elements of efficacy, esteem and a sense of causal importance, all of which could be linked to perceived control. Empowerment developed from self-acceptance, confidence, awareness and the ability to proactively influence the distribution of resources in the community. This was broadly consistent with the earlier work of Hopson & Scally (1980) who defined empowerment as a process characterised by increasing self-reliance, where individuals gain a higher proportion of life skills which enable them to increasingly take charge of their lives (p.57). Here greater personal control was hypothesised to be the product of an overall personal development process, although there is no evidence available to substantiate the point (Lefcourt 1982).

Generally perceived control refers to expectations that we can control what happens to us. It is similar to Bandura's (1977) concept of self-efficacy which refers to an expectation that what needs to be done can be done. Having expectations of control is also associated with more effective coping in stressful situations (e.g. through

participation). This is thought to lead to better psychological and social outcomes (Baum & Vilans 1979). It may be particularly meaningful for people whose lives are regulated to a large extent by others (Rodin *et al* 1982). Studies, for example, on nursing home residents have found that control expectations had positive effects on health and longevity, while their loss was detrimental to their health (Langer & Rodin 1976). Applying such expectations to community enterprise we would expect participation to alleviate some of the difficulties associated with poor housing conditions, unemployment and poverty and provide people with some influence over important aspects of their socio-economic resources.

In psychology there have also been a variety of personality, cognitive and motivational constructs used to describe control versus lack of control : competence (White 1959), personal causation (DeCharms 1968), internal / external control (Rotter 1966) and learned helplessness (Seligman 1975). Personality theorists first operationalised the construct in terms of Rotter's (1966) concept of internal / external control. This was originally a single trait approach distinguishing between those who perceived their behaviour to either be determined by themselves (i.e. 'internals') or by outside factors (e.g. powerful others, chance). Rotter's internal / external scale generated much research which spawned a number of associated measures and subfactors. These looked at different components of I-E, the characteristics of internals and externals, and the relationship between I-E and other behavioural determinants (for review see Lefcourt 1982). Compared to non-volunteers, volunteers have been characterised as relatively more internal and information-seeking which allows them to exert more control over their environment (Phares 1978, Oliner & Oliner 1988).

Rotter (1975), however, called for the development of context-specific sub-scales and the original scale is now thought of as multi and not unidimensional (Paulhus & Christie 1981). Although not all subsequent research on personal control has looked to Rotter's scale as the definitive source of context-specific subfactors, alternatives have

appeared to generate less fruitful research (for review see Hampson 1982, Paulhus & Christie 1981). Using Rotter's scale at least four research groups have developed and applied subscales to research phenomena. One of the more successful has been Paulhus & Christie (1981) who operationalised perceived control in three specific behavioural domains (personal, interpersonal and socio-political). This has been argued to incorporate the strengths of the other attempts in the area (Paulhus & Christie 1981). The scale (further developed by Paulhus (1983) and Paulhus & Selst (1990)) therefore has some face validity in domains consistent with empowerment both as an individual and socio-political construct. It may point up important differences between for example, volunteers in different types of activities, as well as, differences between groups relatively 'new' to participation and more established volunteers.

Continued Participation & Costs

Similar to initial costs, there is little empirical evidence regarding the continued costs of participation outwith Wandersman *et al* (1987). These authors distinguished between opportunity-related and direct participation costs, and operationalised these in a 6-item option list based on Clark & Wilson's (1961) framework. At the same time, however, they completely failed to substantiate the proposed framework by not even attempting to classify costs either by category or type. This was possibly due to a failure to truly appreciate the dual nature of the cost-benefit relationship. Applying our own classification criteria retrospectively to their findings, the instrumental cost of 'frustration over lack of organisational progress, meetings and effort' was the largest source of cost. This was followed by social costs associated with 'family / other interests' and 'interpersonal conflict' with other volunteers.

In terms of social exchange / incentive theory, the costs of participation are also likely to change with ongoing experience of participation. However, unlike continued benefits there is no previous research evidence outlining any changes between initial and continued sources of cost. Nevertheless, given that costs in general can be treated

as 'benefits foregone' this allows us to introduce the possibility that costs may simply mirror continued benefits. Consequently, those perceived sources of the greatest benefit to volunteers may also be perceived as the greatest sources of cost when they become absent or foregone. In this instance, perceived costs may shift from those that are initially mainly opportunity-related (i.e. social) to those concerned with ongoing participation (i.e. instrumental). There may also be evidence of interorganizational differences in the sources of costs for community enterprise volunteers although no previous empirical findings exist to substantiate this point.

Retention : Costs & Benefits

There is an obvious sense in which retention costs and benefits may mirror those of continued participation. However, volunteers intention to terminate their participation may be such a unique event that different factors characterise the relationship between intentions to quit and subsequent retention. For example, if the data of Wandersman *et al* (1987) suggest that instrumental costs are dominant sources, then we would expect that costs in this area may be the most influential in the intention to terminate participation. Conversely, intention to drop-out may be such a unique situation that volunteers return to their original reasons for participation, or alternatively focus on the absence of those benefits which characterised their continued participation. Hence evidence showing a predominance in recruitment-based purposive benefits allied to corresponding increases in social and instrumental benefits, suggests that any of these categories may be the main source of costs for volunteers. The predominance of both social and instrumental costs influencing the intention to terminate participation alongside personal change factors was already substantiated by Seltzer *et al* (1988) and Barron *et al* (1991). For these authors retention costs arose mainly from personal change and organisational factors.

Retention benefits on the other hand may be less likely to be influenced by situational factors. People may be influenced by the reasons behind their initial or continued

participation but more substantively by social factors which bind individuals to their organisations through obligation and responsibility. Presumably this would reduce any potential dissonance between terminating their activity and leaving others with the burden of their workload.

Socio-demographic Influences on Benefits & Costs

Evidence also suggests that participatory benefits and costs are influenced by important categories of socio-demographic variables. Although studies generally report the overall prominence of help-oriented reasons, variations have been reported in terms of sex, age, employment status and type of residential area. For example, several studies report the greater prominence of : control and purposive benefits for younger and older age groups respectively (e.g. Anderson & Moore 1978, Gidron 1978, Wiehe & Isenhour 1977), for females (e.g. Flynn & Webb 1975, Jenner 1981) and those in lower status employment categories (e.g. Wiehe & Isenhour 1977). Lister (1991) reported that the costs of participation in terms of time and effort are likely to be greater for females than males given the former's greater domestic burden. Clary & Snyder (1991) have also suggested that the importance of benefits and costs may vary with one's life situation and / or stage of development, as in the case of unemployed returners to the labour market who use participation as a means of improving their employment prospects. Alternatively older age groups may use volunteering as a means of socialising or expressing important values.

Organisational Influences on Benefits & Costs

Reviews have also emphasised that participatory costs and benefits are influenced by important categories of structural and organisational variables. Here differences may arise between ; founding members and non-founding members because of the formers' greater sense of self-sacrifice in starting a new venture ; those with previous voluntary experience because of their knowledge of the benefits of volunteering ; and those who enter via different recruitment channels (Cook 1983, Rich 1980, Smith 1981). For

example, Sills (1957) classified the motives of volunteers in physical handicap organisations by their initial recruitment channel and found that while those with some direct personal experience of handicap joined through their own initiative (i.e. self-selectors), others were more influenced by personal approaches. Based on this finding, it has been suggested that those with instrumental motives are more likely to join on their own initiative while those with social and purposive motives are more likely to join through personal approaches (Pearce 1993). Similarly, there may be some variation by length of service. It has been suggested that 'newer' organisations are maintained through purposive benefits, while in 'mature' organisations social benefits were more relevant as volunteer relationships become more cohesive (Clark & Wilson 1961). This would be consistent with the earlier evidence on benefit decline.

From the commitment literature there is also the notion that those who invest more time and length of service as volunteers, experience more time and performance-related costs. This is because they are more likely to be involved in organisational maintenance activity (i.e. sustaining the participation of others) as opposed to direct organisational achievement. Pearce (1980, 1982), highlighted that leaders (i.e. chairpersons) experience more social costs in these respects. Not surprisingly, 'leaders' are those who generally invest relatively more time in the organisation compared to others. No comparable research has looked at the issue of benefits.

Summary

In this chapter we have looked at a wide variety of the research literature on voluntary participation. This has largely dealt with the question of volunteer motivation in terms of both the types of people that volunteer and their reasons for doing so. This has led to the collection of a large body of evidence on volunteer populations which not only assumes homogeneity in the types of people involved and their reasons for participation, but that the latter remain static over time. In this respect, the literature raised a number of interesting avenues for the present research in relation to community

enterprise volunteers. Firstly, whether they constitute a similar profile to UK volunteer populations. Secondly, what benefits and costs characterise their participation at different stages. On both counts there are likely to be substantive interorganizational, socio-demographic and organisational variations. Variations which may be explained in terms of those features typically associated with different types of community enterprise activity and the developing experience of volunteers. It is to this issue that we now turn our attention to in *Chapter Four* before generating specific hypotheses to guide the research.

Chapter 4 : Models of Community Enterprise

Introduction

In this chapter we outline the organisational context of participation in three types of community enterprise activity. We look at the structural features of community enterprise activity in general and in different models, and how these may be influential in shaping the benefits and costs associated with participation. Alongside the material presented in previous chapters, this serves as the basis from which specific research objectives and hypotheses can be developed to guide the research.

This chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we outline the growth and characteristics of the community enterprise sector before turning to its constituent models in terms of their respective : aims and objectives ; growth, development and external support ; organisational structure and function ; and human resource characteristics. We then look more closely at how these characteristics either separately or in combination may influence the potential costs and benefits of participation for volunteers. Finally, we outline the research objectives and hypotheses which formed the basis for the study.

Sector Growth

In tandem with the general upsurge in self-help / mutual aid activities, the past 15 years have witnessed considerable growth in the numbers of residentially-based community-based organisations. Membership ownership and control in these organisations is incorporated through a democratic structure managed by volunteers. In contrast to corresponding public and private sector community-based developments, membership control distinguishes a range of activities to which the term 'community enterprise' has been attached (McGregor & McArthur 1990).

Growth has occurred against a backdrop of UK economic problems and a recognition of the failure of both the public and private sectors to deliver important services for

people living in deprived urban areas (e.g. housing, employment and credit). In this respect, community enterprise has developed through public sector action as well as being a 'grassroots' response to people's concerns over the quality of neighbourhood life. For example, in Central Scotland, the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project, although successful in attracting employers to the area was less successful in providing local employment, particularly for the long-term unemployed. Hence the question became, could local people generate their own employment in areas which suffered from a lack of employment opportunity and indigenous business activity (McArthur & McGregor 1989).

Growth has also occurred within the broader context of a resurgent emphasis on voluntarism in welfare provision (Goodin 1986). This has attracted advocates from across the political spectrum who have generally contrasted what they believe are the key characteristics of voluntarism compared to state provision. In this respect, right-wing rationales tend to stress its importance as a local democratic forum of individual initiative (e.g. Berger & Neuhaus 1974). Although left-wing commentators have been traditionally more hostile to voluntarism because of its association with Victorian '*noblesse oblige*' and philanthropy (Brenton 1985), they have lately viewed it as a means by which people could access resources (e.g. Hain 1981). The post-1979 Conservative government placed voluntarism high on their agenda alongside public sector decentralisation and funding restrictions (Webb & Wistow 1987). This meant that the only way in which people were able to change, for example their housing conditions, was to take on the responsibility themselves (Kearns 1990). Indeed government policies throughout the 1980's consistently sought to increase individual responsibility and participation in service provision (Heater 1991) :

"..In the community we must..help people to help themselves..encourage the voluntary movement and self-help groups acting in partnership with statutory services." British Conservative Manifesto 1979 (cited by Wolch (1990))

Community enterprise, however, represented a departure from those earlier participatory strategies based on advocacy. While the latter aimed at pressurising for

legislative change or modification in existing public-sector programmes, community enterprise activity was based on a community development approach. This generally stresses that collective participation is a necessary, desirable and effective way of providing improvements at the local level (Perlman & Gurin 1972). In this respect, three sectors of community enterprise activity which have successfully harnessed local voluntary participation have concerned those in the areas of finance and credit, job-creation and housing.

General Sector Characteristics

The community enterprise sector embraces four broad types of activity : community credit unions provide low interest loans and savings ; community businesses are concerned with job creation ; and community-based housing associations and co-operatives are concerned with housing maintenance and provision. The historical links between these types of activity and voluntary provision in the UK, as exemplified through individual philanthropy and the early co-operative movement, is reasonably well documented to the extent that each model may be viewed as a contemporary manifestation of some past precedent (for example, see Gosden 1973, Tarn 1971, Prochaska 1988). In this thesis, however, we were concerned with contemporary developments solely within a Scottish context where there were reasonably sufficient numbers of initiatives from each model to justify focusing our interest within this arena.

All of the above models are legally incorporated in the 'community gain' sector of the economy. This means that their profits are re-invested in the organisation and not for private distribution. Individual enterprises may be involved in more than one commercial activity (e.g. retailing, security) and may provide non-commercial services to local people (e.g. use of premises and equipment). In principle they embody social goals which are given parity alongside their economic aims, where commercial viability provides for attainable social needs.

Membership control is vested in members who are resident within the physical and social boundaries of a defined geographical community and / or a community of interest. In credit unions and housing organisations there are relatively clear cut organisational distinctions between both these notions of 'community'. Credit unions serving interest communities are defined as 'associational' or 'employee' depending on the type of group concerned. In credit unions, these group distinctions legally constitute the organisations 'common bond' which is intended to act as counter against fraud. While an analogous 'community' classification procedure is also evident in housing activity, in community businesses such distinctions are ambiguous.

Membership may also be open to those from outside the defined residential locality of the initiative, who like local people are also eligible to serve on the various management committee structures. Eligible categories can include those living and working within the area as well as representatives from other organisations (within and outside the area) 'co-opted' onto the controlling management body. Local control, however, is usually protected by ensuring that 'outsiders' cannot exceed a controlling percentage share either of the membership or management group of the organisation. For example, in housing organisations membership eligibility criteria vary according to whether the organisation is legally incorporated as an association or co-operative, and also depending on the type of co-operative formed. For housing associations, membership is usually solely based on residence which is inclusive of both association tenants and non-tenants (i.e. other interested local people). Here there is no requirement that members be tenants nor a majority of tenants. A roughly similar situation exists in 'non-fully mutual' co-operatives except that a majority of members are required to be tenants. In 'fully-mutual' co-operatives, however, membership is solely restricted to tenants who all must be members of the co-operative (Clapham & Kintrea 1992). Hence in housing associations and non-fully mutual co-operatives there is some scope for some degree of management control by non-tenant members.

The financial commitment of members to the organisation is usually limited to a relatively small nominal share or fee (e.g. £1). Members are not legally liable for any debts that may be incurred by the organisation beyond this sum. Membership may, however, be more or less optional depending on the model concerned. In housing co-operatives and credit unions for example, in order to access to housing or credit facilities residents must first become a member of the organisation. Conversely, in housing associations, access to services is not contingent upon prior membership. A similar situation exists in community businesses in the case of representative directors. In all models the membership elects office bearers (i.e. volunteers) at annual general meetings. They provide the ongoing management of the enterprise over a specified three-year period. They are directly accountable to their membership and required to produce regular formal reports on organisational performance. Elections operate on the principle of one member one vote. Members have equal rights irrespective of their status within the organisation or their financial share holding. Nevertheless, membership rights can vary. They may allow all members to vote or serve on committees. In other instances, membership rights may be contingent upon individuals first joining an existing organisation affiliated to the enterprise.

Aims & Objectives

Credit Unions

Credit unions are co-operative credit societies whose main function is to provide members with a savings facility from which they can access to a relatively cheap source of credit from a pool of members savings. Underlying this is an emphasis on prudent financial management and 'thrift'. Their operations are governed by the Credit Union Act (1979), which restricts the following : interest on outstanding loans to members to a maximum of 1% per month ; membership to 5k ; and members savings to a maximum of £5k and loans to £10k. They have some autonomy within legal parameters and set their own loan and income distribution policies, and annual dividends to members.

Income for the credit union is generated primarily through the interest received on loans (see McArthur *et al* 1993).

Community-based Housing

Community-based housing associations and co-operatives form part of the independent (i.e. social) rented sector. They own (or lease) and manage residential property with a responsibility to rehabilitate, improve and maintain existing housing and environmental conditions. Their operations are governed under the provisions of the Housing (Scotland) Act (1988), subject to regulation by Scottish Homes. Property allocations are principally based on housing need. In co-operatives, however, while new tenants must be willing to become members of the organisation, no such stipulation applies in housing associations. All tenants retain their eligibility for state housing benefit and income is generated through a mixture of tenant rents and the annual provision of Housing Association Grant (HAG) from Scottish Homes. Tenant rents are required to be 'affordable' and tenancies may be either 'secure' or 'assured'. Secure tenancies cover those granted pre-1989 under the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987 (where rent levels are governed by the Rent (Scotland) Act 1984 and tenants retain a 'right-to-buy'), while assured tenancies cover those granted post-1989 (see Clapham & Kintrea 1992).

Community Businesses

Community businesses are trading companies limited by guarantee with charitable status, specifically aimed at creating employment (particularly for the long-term unemployed) in areas of relatively high unemployment and those with little or no indigenous business activity. Income is generated through the range of trading activities developed by the business. Separate trading activities are usually placed under the one holding company, all with an aim to providing affordable goods and services for local people. Their activities are regulated under the Companies Act (1965).

Growth & Development

Credit Unions

In Scotland, credit unions have developed from the mid-70's onwards. Figure 4.1 outlines their regional growth in Scotland up to 1st January 1991. At this time there were a total of 47 community credit union organisations in operation across Scotland, 77% of which were based within Strathclyde Region. Developments elsewhere have only occurred post-1986, which accounts for 74% of the total growth of the sector in Scotland (see McArthur *et al* 1993 for a detailed review of UK activity). Growth, however, has been almost solely restricted to urban areas (only one credit union had a rural base), in many cases has been prompted by existing church-based groups (Berthoud & Hinton 1990). The bulk of development has also occurred outwith major city boundaries. The latter only accounted for 18 (39%) organisations. Of these 17 (94%) operated within outer-city housing estates. Since 13 of these groups had been established post-1986, this has highlighted an increasing trend for credit unions to be associated with areas of known socio-economic deprivation (McArthur *et al* 1993). While the movement still retains an appreciable degree of independent control, future growth has become increasingly tied to public sector support through urban aid funding, where development has been linked to wider anti-poverty strategies. This has enabled some organisations to establish their own premises and employ paid staff.

Community-based Housing

In Scotland, community-based housing associations were initially developed in Glasgow from 1975 onwards under the initiative of Glasgow District Council (GDC) and the Scottish Development Department (SDD). They largely developed in response to deteriorating conditions in pre-1919 tenement housing in inner city areas, at a time when there was no other equivalent model operating anywhere else in the UK (Clapham *et al* 1989). Initial growth involved 6 groups and increased to 17 in 1976. Post-1976 growth rates, however, steadily declined. Although at the end of 1980 there were 31 associations operating across Scotland, their number had only increased by a

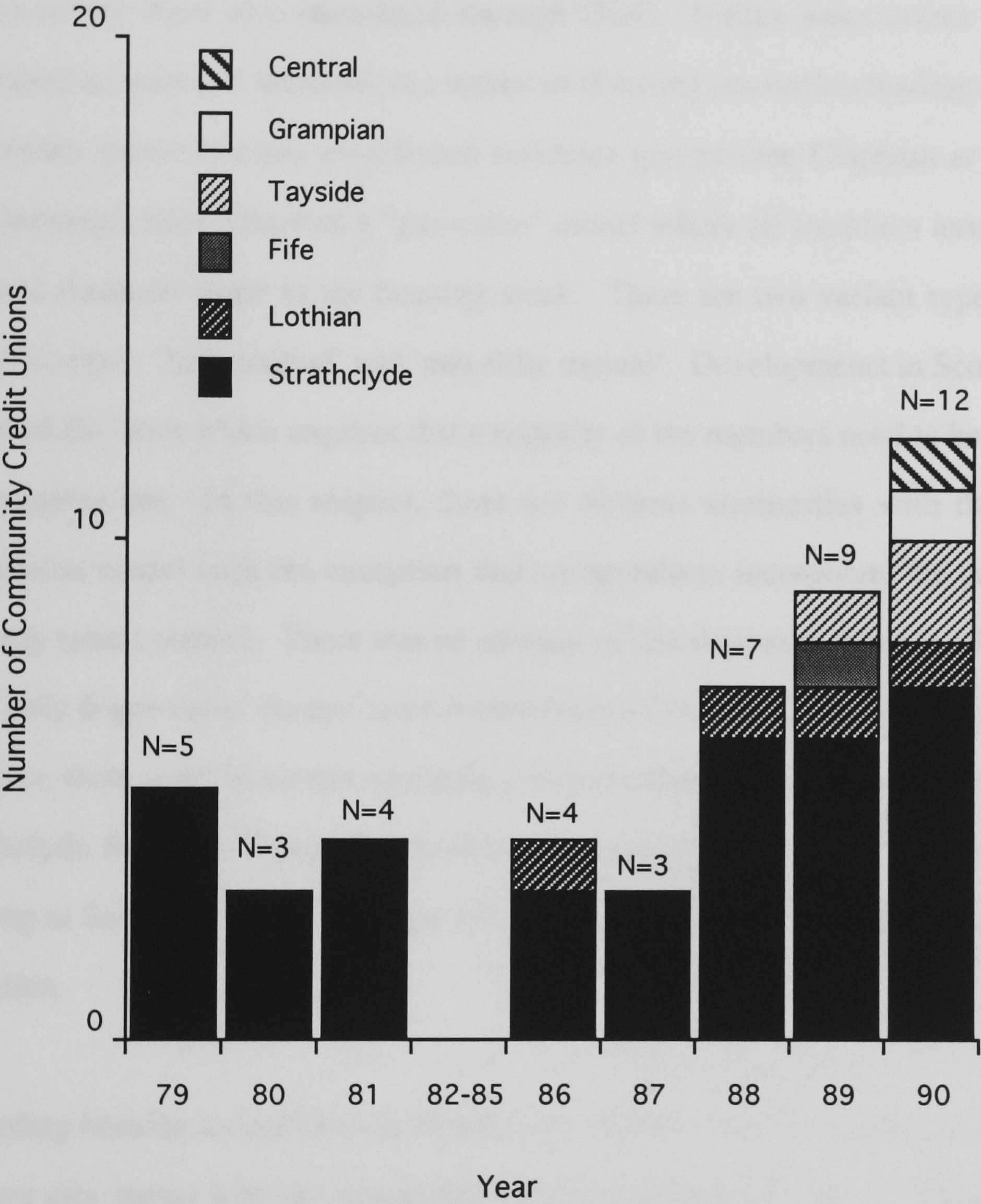


Figure 4.1: Growth of Community Credit Unions in Scotland by Region (to 31/12/90)
*Source: ABCUL (1990), NFCU(1990)

further 14 in 1990. As of January 1991 there were 45 community-based housing associations operating across Scotland (88% based in Strathclyde region). Post-1985 developments have accounted for 25% of all organisations.

Co-operatives were also stimulated through GDC. Unlike associations they were developed in outer city locations as a means of diverting renovation funding away from the private sector towards established residents groups (see Clapham *et al* 1989). Developments have followed a "par-value" model where all members have an equal nominal financial share in the housing stock. There are two variant types of "par-value" co-ops: 'fully mutual' and 'non-fully mutual'. Developments in Scotland have followed the latter which requires that a majority of the members need to be tenants of the organisation. In this respect, there are obvious similarities with the housing association model with the exception that co-operatives incorporate the principle of majority tenant control. There was an absence of developments prior to 1983 and by 1987 only 6 'par-value' co-ops were established in Glasgow. As of 1st January 1991, however, there were 14 co-ops operating across Scotland, 85% of which were based in Strathclyde Region. Figure 4.2 outlines the regional growth of community-based housing in Scotland up to 1st January 1991. At this time there were 59 organisations in operation.

Regarding housing associations in Strathclyde, 28 were based in Glasgow (26 of these in inner city areas) with the remainder based in surrounding towns. In Lothian and Tayside all groups were based within the cities of Edinburgh and Dundee respectively. These were mainly based in inner city locations with the exception of one group in each city. Regarding housing co-operatives, in Strathclyde, 8 (67%) were based in Glasgow (7 of these in peripheral estates). The remaining 4 groups operated in peripheral estates in surrounding towns with the remaining 2 organisations based outside Strathclyde region.

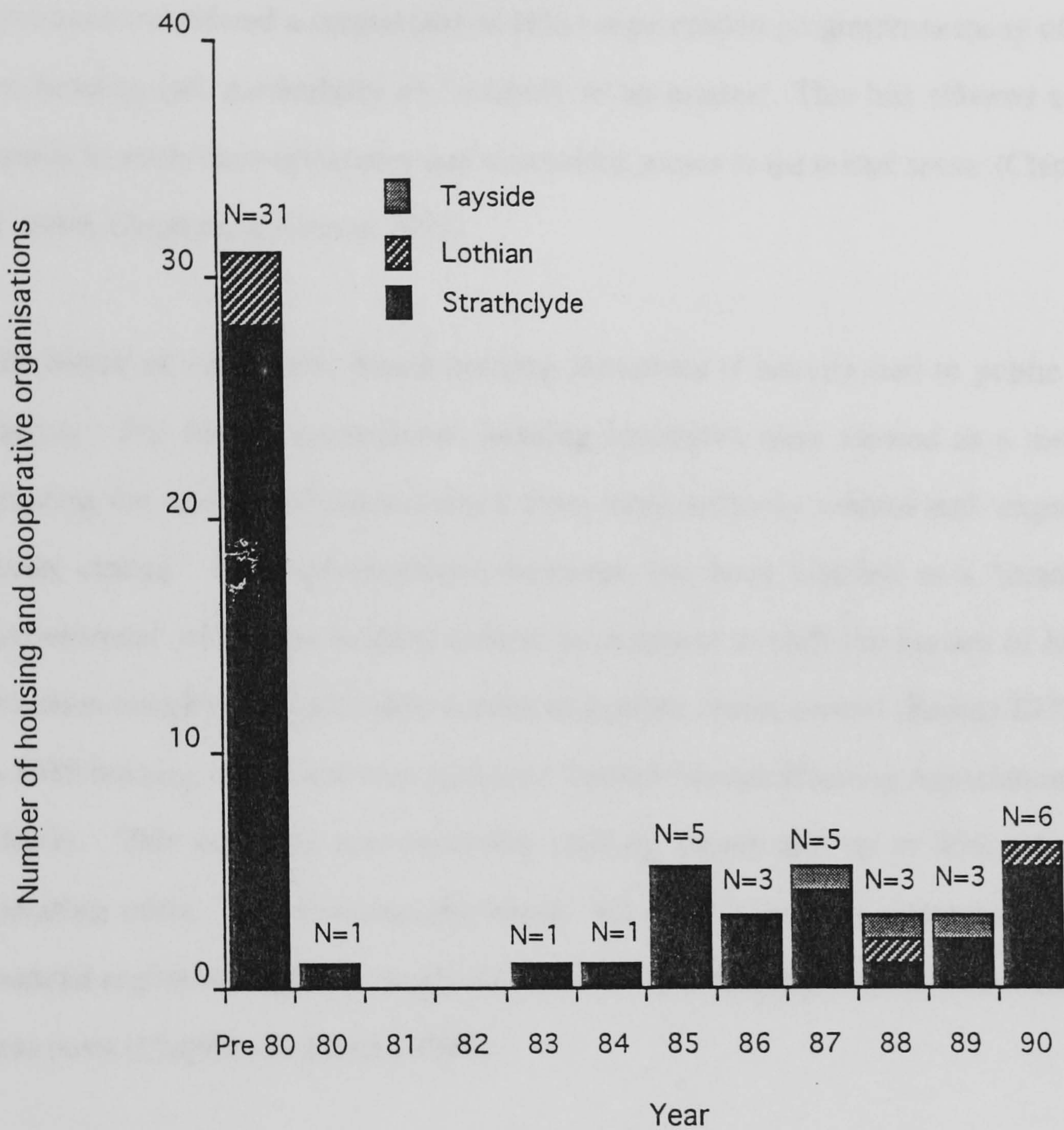


Figure 4.2: Growth of community-based housing organisations in Scotland by Region (to 31/12/90)

*Source: Scottish Homes (1990), Satsangiet *al* (1990)

As of January 1991, community-based associations and co-operatives were allegedly responsible for renovating approximately 15,000 homes in Glasgow. Their activities enabled some areas, such as Maryhill, to shed their B.T.S. (below tolerable standard) housing status (Evening Times 16/05/91, p.21). In this respect, housing initiatives have been considered a central part of urban regeneration programmes many of which are housing-led, particularly on 'difficult to let estates'. This has allowed existing tenants to retain their occupancy and maintained access to the rented sector (Clapham *et al* 1989, Clapham & Kintrea 1992).

The future of community-based housing initiatives is heavily tied to public sector support. For central government, housing initiatives were viewed as a means of ensuring the transfer of council stock from local authority control and 'expanding' tenant choice. Their development, however, has been labelled as a 'strategy of convenience' which has enabled central government to shift the burden of housing provision onto local people while constricting public-sector control (Kearns 1992). Up to 1988 housing initiatives were primarily funded through Housing Association Grant (HAG). This provides non-repayable start-up grants and up to 95% of annual operating costs. The Housing (Scotland) Act (1988), however, introduced a new financial regime with greater emphasis on initiatives finding private funding sources to meet costs (Clapham & Kintrea 1992).

Community Businesses

Community businesses were conceived towards the end of the 1970's through the impetus of the public sector Local Enterprise Advisory Project (LEAP). This aimed to create alternative employment initiatives in three deprived urban areas within Strathclyde Region (Govan, Greenock East and Ferguslie Park). Community businesses were adopted as one alternative employment strategy and initiatives in all three of the above areas were set up in 1980 (McGregor & McArthur 1990). Figure 4.3 details their growth in Scotland by region up to 1st January 1991. At this time

there were approximately 96 residentially-based community businesses operating across Scotland, 48% of which were based in Strathclyde Region. Of these, 47 (49%) were located within major city boundaries (52% in peripheral housing estates, 40% in the inner city). Overall 24 (30%) groups operated in peripheral housing estates, areas with less indigenous business activity and relatively higher unemployment rates. Post-1985 developments have accounted for 87% of the total growth of the sector in Scotland.

The future of community business is heavily tied to continued public-sector support and commercial markets. Public-sector support has come mainly from local and central government via Urban Aid and the European Social Fund. Some organisations have been specifically established to deliver local authority contracts. Funding reflects the resource-intensive process of commercial development in areas with little indigenous commercial activity by providing financial security for up to seven years (McGregor *et al* 1988). This is used to employ paid staff, establish and equip premises, develop commercially viable trading activities and provide training for staff and volunteers. Nevertheless, it also entails its own set of responsibilities requiring proper accountability, management and longer-term planning. This can place organisations at a competitive disadvantage in a commercial market as they await funding. In 1988 increased funding was sought through a share investment scheme which failed to attract the support required.

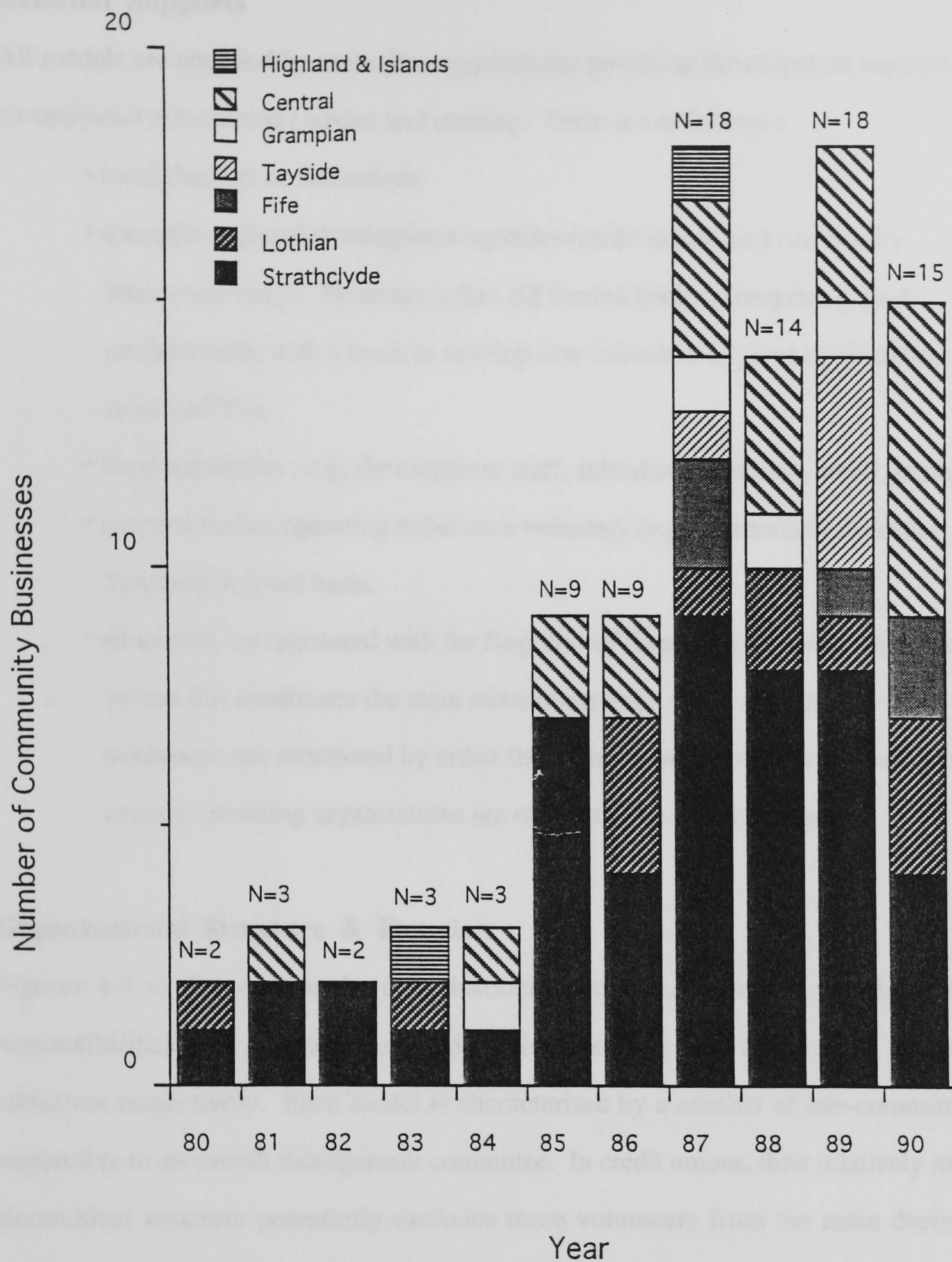


Figure 4.3: Growth of Community Businesses in Scotland by Region (up to 31/12/90)

*Source: CBS (1991)

External Supports

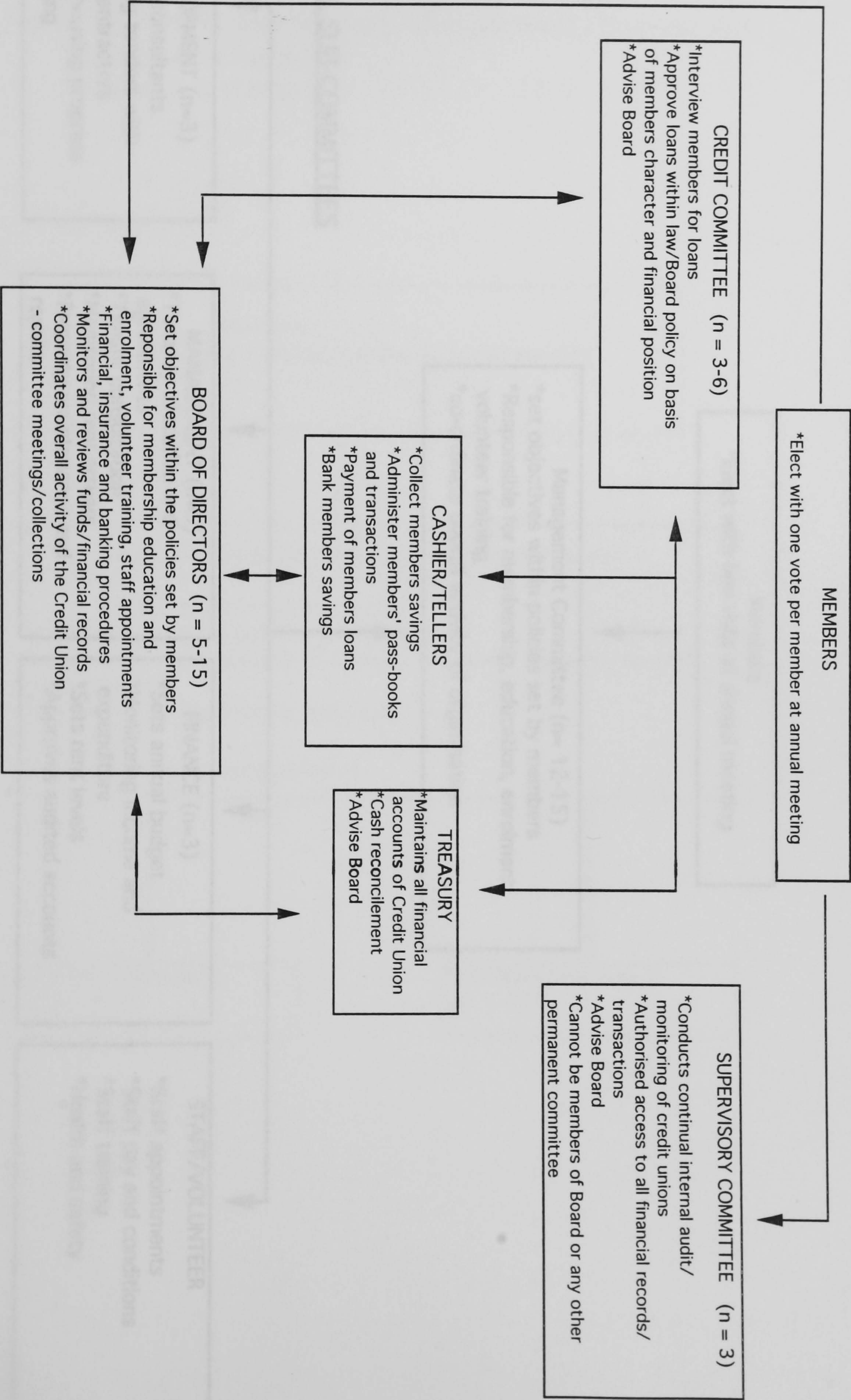
All models are attended by umbrella organisations providing development support and co-ordinated information / advice and training. There are as follows :

- local chapters or federations
- specialist regional development agencies (credit unions and community businesses only). These are urban aid funded bodies, comprising paid professionals, with a remit to develop new initiatives in areas of identified need (APT's).
- local authorities : e.g. development staff, subsidised premises, small grants.
- national bodies operating either on a voluntary (e.g. Community Business Scotland) or paid basis.
- all models are registered with the Registrar of Friendly Societies. For credit unions this constitutes the main monitoring body, while community businesses are monitored by either their grant funding body or a development agency. Housing organisations are monitored by Scottish Homes.

Organisational Structure & Function

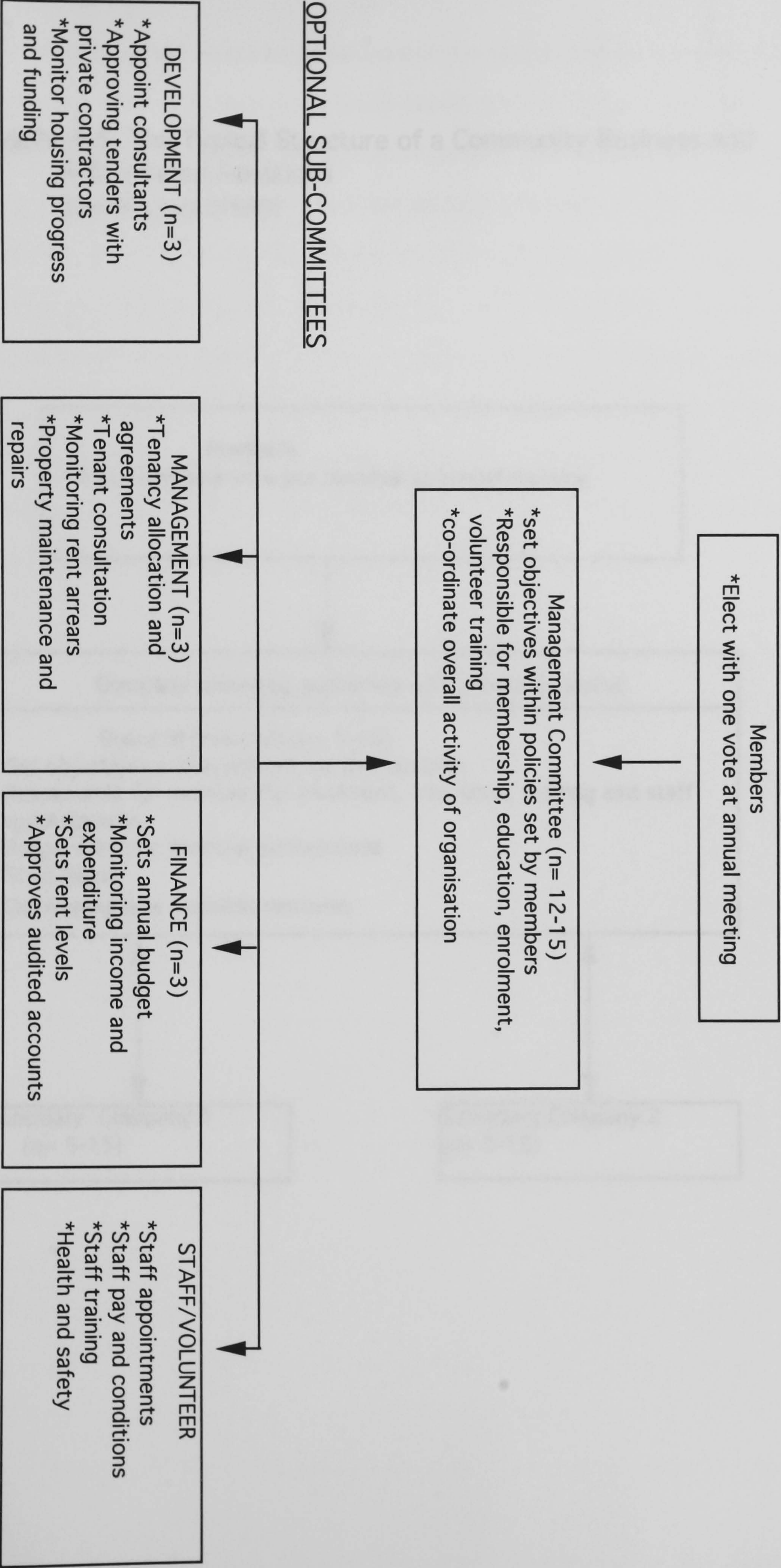
Figures 4.4 to 4.6, outline the organisational structure, function and role-related responsibilities for volunteers in credit union, housing and community business initiatives respectively. Each model is characterised by a number of sub-committees responsible to an overall management committee. In credit unions, their relatively more hierarchical structure potentially excludes more volunteers from the main decision making body. In all models, however, upper and lower limits are usually placed on the number of serving officers making up each committee. For example, credit unions and community businesses require between 6-12 directors on the main controlling board. In the latter a maximum of 9 directors must be members of the organisation, while a further 3 can be specially co-opted onto the board. Similarly, housing initiatives require 12 people on their controlling management committee. In co-operatives a majority of these must be tenants, while in associations the majority may not be tenants.

Figure 4.4: The Typical Organisational Structure of a Community Credit Union and Role-related Functions



[* arrows indicate sources of potential role-rotation]

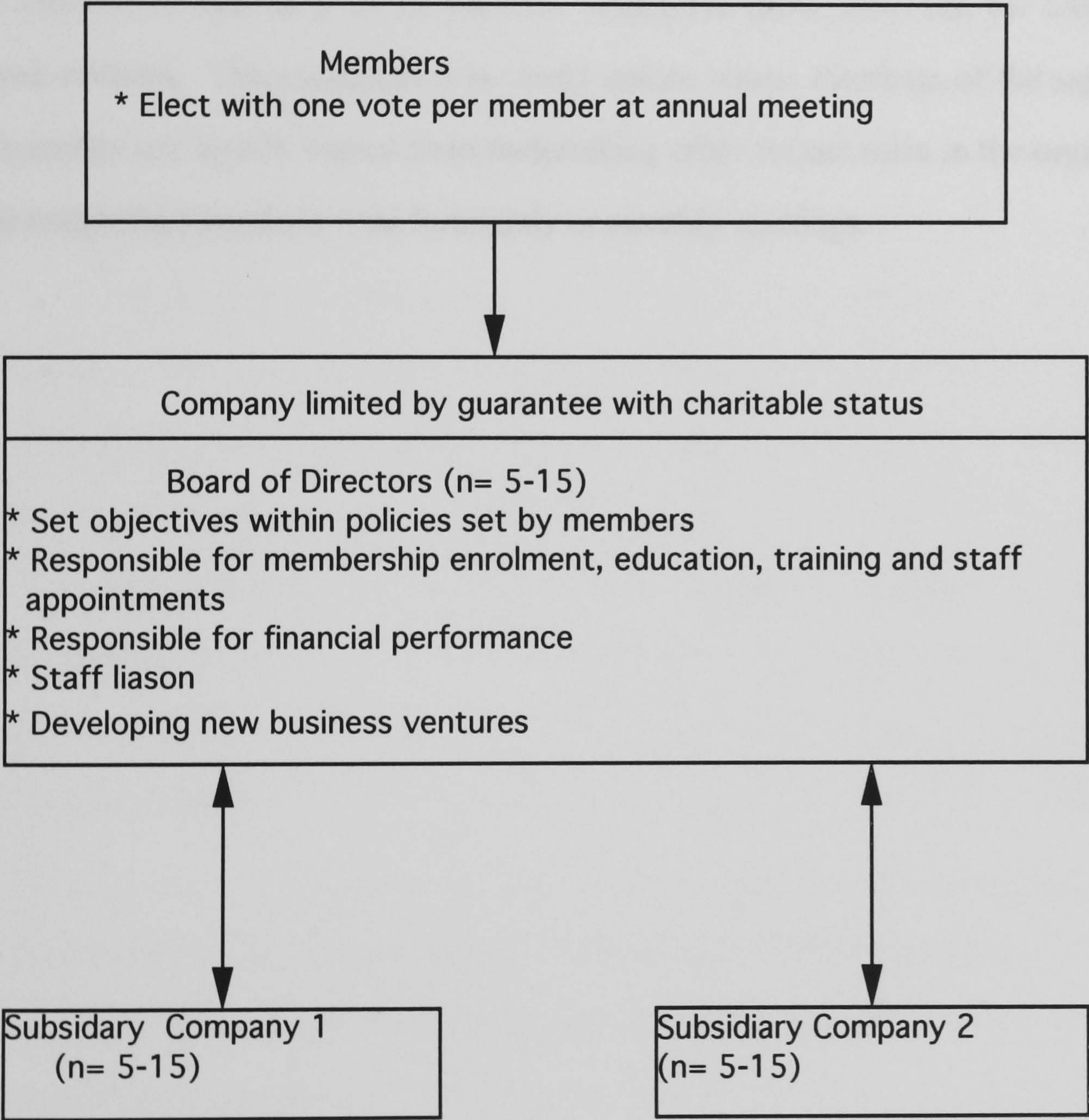
Figure 4.5: The Typical Organisational Structure of a Community-based Housing Organisation and Role-related Functions



[* arrows indicate sources of potential role-rotation]

Figure 4.6 The Typical Structure of a Community Business and Role-related Functions

Source: Laura (1990)



Each sub-committee has its own particular function and has at least one representative on the main controlling board. In credit unions these committees are enforced by legislation in the Credit Union Act (1979), while in the other models they are optional and may be based on the advice of external development bodies. Their existence may be determined by the number of volunteers available and the priorities attached to their activities at different stages in the development of the organisation. In all models committee members may serve for up to a maximum of 3 years with one third required to stand down each year for re-election. Structures allow, however, for considerable work-rotation. The exception is in credit unions where members of the supervisory committee are legally barred from undertaking other formal roles in the organisation. All committees regularly hold fortnightly or monthly meetings.

Human Resource Characteristics

Table 4.1 outlines the key human resource characteristics for community enterprise organisations from national surveys (where available) as well as from the present study.

Table 4.1 : Average Human Resource Characteristics in Community Enterprises
(No.).

Criteria *	National Studies		Present Study		
	C.Un'n 1	C.B'ness 2	C.Un'n (n=10)	Housing (n=10)	C.B'ness (n=11)
Members	385	48	357	185	59
Employees : Full-time	0.08	5	0.5	4.5	3.45
Part-time	0.04	2	0.0	0.5	0.18
Volunteers	11-15	11	14	11	9
Staff / Volunteer ratio	1:130	1:2	1:32	1:2	1:2
Volunteer / member ratio	1:26	1:4	1:22	1:67	1:59
Membership Growth Trend	-	-	Increasing	Increasing	Decreasing
Annual Volunteer Gain	-	-	1.7	0.7	0.4
Annual Volunteer Loss	-	-	1.5	1.0	0.8
Annual Drop-out Rate	-	-	11%	9%	9%

* see *Appendix I* for details on the calculation of each criterion in the present study.

1. Based on unpublished figures for 26 Scottish credit unions up to June 1989.

2. Based on details in CBS (1991).

From Table 4.1, credit unions typically involve relatively higher numbers of volunteers with less access to paid staff. They serve a large and increasing membership base. Conversely, both housing and community business organisations typically have lower numbers of volunteers, greater access to paid staff and a lower membership base. However, while the trend was towards increasing membership growth in housing

organisations, in community businesses the trend was downward. As the figures on volunteer gain / loss may demonstrate, turnover was indicative of relatively stable volunteer groups within each model. Nevertheless, credit union volunteers, serving an increasing membership base without paid staff input, face potentially higher time and performance-related demand compared to others.

Consistent across all community enterprise organisations is the relatively modest impact they have had on their residential locale in terms of their overall membership numbers. For credit unions in 1989, 47% operated in areas with aggregate population sizes of between 6-15k, while a further 27% operated in areas of over 20k residents. Similarly in 1986, community business organisations operated in areas with resident populations between 1-100k. In this respect, community businesses in terms of membership attraction have distinctly less appeal for local residents than credit unions.

Model Characteristics & Social Exchange

The profiles above have a number of implications for participation in each model. Community enterprises characteristically incorporate clearly defined economic goals which constitute the collective incentives or main instrumental reasons for participation. There may be some variation, however, in the salience of instrumental benefits within different models. In member-benefit groups such as credit unions and housing organisations there are clearly personal economic benefits to be derived from both membership and participation (i.e. low interest loans, improved housing). The converse may apply in public-benefit organisations such as community businesses which may make this less attractive for local residents. This raises the expectation of participation for personal material benefits in credit union and housing but not community business organisations. Admittedly, there may also be clear differences in how 'marginal' such personal economic benefits actually are for credit union and housing volunteers. There may be a distinct difference in attaining low interest loans as opposed, to the wholesale and 'visible' environmental change associated with improved

housing conditions. For policy makers at least it is housing and not finance or employment which forms the basis of urban regeneration strategies.

Instrumental benefits and costs may also be framed in terms of organisational goals, with different expectations for achievement within each model. Community businesses and housing organisations do not solely rely on voluntary effort which may mean that unlike credit unions, volunteers are less concerned about managing participation at the expense of achievement. These organisations may typify Pine's (1968) description of 'limited commitment' groups who are reliant on staff to provide administrative support. In these groups there is supposedly a relatively greater concentration on organisational achievement. Nevertheless, this does introduce a greater potential for competing definitions of goal achievement, arising from the greater range of organisational interest groups (i.e. volunteers, staff and members). For example, levels of intragroup conflict may be higher, particularly within housing organisations which have relatively larger volunteer and membership groups, both with a direct material interest in the organisation's economic goal.

In credit unions, however, there also exists the potential for policy decisions to be made amongst a lower proportion of volunteers. While this may be an optimal means of decision making in volunteer-reliant organisations, it may create problems in the extent to which those outside the main management group perceive they can influence organisational policy. The problem of policy influence is also evident in other models given their greater diversity of interest groups within the organisation. Nevertheless, in these models all volunteers have a potential say in shaping policy irrespective of their role-position.

There may be also some variation in the salience of purposive benefits and costs within different models. Although credit unions help more people their larger membership base would place greater time and performance-related demands volunteers. For

community business volunteers the converse should apply and the burden of helping others should be less. However, levels of volunteer-member contact should be higher in credit unions which may offset membership demands. Additionally, this may help volunteers remain in touch with members needs and result in more effective volunteer-member relations than in other models.

There may be also some variation in the salience of social and control benefits and costs within different models. Due to differential investment on the part of volunteers all models may be characterised by 'core' leadership groups. For credit unions this is a potentially more serious problem given the lack of paid professional support to underpin voluntary effort. However, whilst staff potentially ameliorate the administrative burden from volunteers, they may dilute volunteer commitment and knowledge of how the organisation practically works. Hence in 'limited commitment' groups, social costs (e.g. intragroup conflict) may be more apparent. In credit unions, the greater reliance on voluntary effort may in effect mean that volunteers have greater opportunity to form more cohesive groups, regularly reinforced through a wholesale reliance on the abilities of each other as opposed to staff. Whatever their previous experience they all need to develop some knowledge of the skills required to ensure that the organisation effectively serves members.

To be practically effective in community enterprise, volunteers must either already possess an appropriate range of skills and abilities, or the organisation itself must have the capacity to train people in the skills required to manage the enterprise. This raises questions about what training each of the models provide for volunteers. Do community businesses train volunteers to start up a business, or credit unions teach financial skills ? In theory this is the potential of each model but it is contingent not only on individual choice and ability but opportunities to do so. As we have noted above, training support has been the subject of some criticism within community business as opposed to other models.

Differences in terms of what people learn from participation may be geared to the tasks entailed by their role in each model. Generally, there may be a number of distinct differences between volunteers in each model based on functional and structural differences. Credit union volunteers' may have less potential to be involved in formalising strategic policy making goals and strategies. Their volunteers may have less exposure to a policy-related decision-making culture, often involving regular and protracted contact and negotiations with external development / regulatory bodies, local authorities, planners and private funding sources such as banks. Conversely, given the relative absence of paid staff in these organisations, credit union volunteers may be exposed to a wider range of practical skills particularly in areas such as financial management.

Outwith a task-related definition of control, the extent to which the experience of participation empowers people and generates increased expectations of control amongst volunteers may also be effected by internal organisational structure. Expectations of control may mirror what tasks volunteers perform and their organisational policy environment. Alternatively, they may reflect a much more holistic picture of people's perceptions of how participation is viewed as being beneficial for them. In this respect, there may be a link between participation and positive life and health enhancing outcomes reflected in the degree to which they perceive they are agents and in control of important everyday socio-economic events.

Research Objectives

Drawing from the strengths and weaknesses of the previous literature on voluntary participation, the present research had a number of general aims and objectives. Broadly the research was concerned with the general question of why people participate and continue to do so even in situations where they might be tempted to leave. In answering these questions we were interested in the types of people that were involved as volunteers and the symbolic costs and benefits that they associated with different

stages of their participation. This would provide data to explore the extent to which homogeneity ruled across or within different categories of volunteering. Secondly, as an extension of looking at the benefits of participation we were also interested in the issue of empowerment. This was defined in terms of people's control expectations and has potentially positive implications for life satisfaction and well-being.

Although the literature is replete with examples of the demands inherent in organisational activity and their consequences (e.g. absenteeism), the demands on volunteers has been a neglected area of research. Researchers have tended to emphasise the benefits at the expense of costs. The argument used in this study is that while this may be politically desirable in terms of attracting people into discretionary activity it ultimately detracts from an understanding of people's experiences in volunteer roles. Consequently, we are interested in trying to show that as well as being associated with a number of benefits, volunteering was also associated with a number of perceived costs.

Regarding the benefits of participation, the previous research tends to describe these for all volunteers in terms of altruism. The argument used in this thesis, however, is that even if altruism did apply to volunteers populations, homogeneity does not rule across or within different categories of volunteering. Hence although there may be a range of benefits and costs associated with different types of participation with an overlap between those associated with different organisations, some are more likely to be evident in some organisational types than others. In addition, considerable changes in the costs and benefits associated with participation may also occur over time as the developing experience of volunteers changes the reasons for its continuation. Therefore, there were likely to be differences in the reasons for participation between when people initially became volunteers and those they associate with their current involvement. And also differences between the latter and those they associate with terminating participation. Explanation of all of the above differences is likely to lie in

the nature of the differences between the organisations (e.g. their aims and their structural features) and the developing experience of volunteers.

In order to achieve the above aims we applied a social exchange / incentive based model of participation. This provided a conceptual framework for the benefits and costs associated with participation. From this we drew the following hypotheses outlined under each of the headings below.

Socio-Demographic & Attitudinal Orientation to Volunteer

From previous evidence it is likely that community enterprises will recruit a different type of volunteer compared to UK populations in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics. These differences are most likely to concern socio-economic variables although it is difficult to specify which specific characteristics will be relevant in this respect. There is also likely to be some inter-model variation although what this may be at this stage is unknown. All variations are likely to have important implications for the symbolic costs and benefits that characterise participation in community enterprise.

Initial Participation : Benefits & Costs

From previous evidence it is likely that volunteers in community enterprise will participate for different reasons compared to UK volunteer populations and groups. Although they are also likely to participate for mainly purposive reasons they are also likely to be more instrumentally motivated. Conversely, initial costs are from previous evidence, likely to be mainly social and opportunity-related, while recruitment is likely to be mainly based on interpersonal influence / contact.

There is also likely to be some inter-model variation in the initial motives of community enterprise volunteers. However, what these differences may be is unknown at this stage. In order to substantiate the argument, however, some account needs to be made for the impact of the recruitment process. Differences in this process may explain any

inter-model variation in the reasons for participation. Both socio-demographic and organisational characteristics may also have some impact on the initial costs and benefits of participation although what exactly this may be is unknown.

Continued Participation : Benefits & Costs

For all volunteers continued participation should be characterised by sources of costs and benefits across all social exchange / incentive-based categories. These should provide a critical pointer to the costs and benefits of participation across different models before looking at the relative importance of what volunteers regarded as the main sources of costs and benefits associated with their participation.

Regarding continued benefits, the previous evidence suggests that these would be mainly instrumental. If so this would represent a distinct change from the initial benefits associated with volunteering. We would expect some change between the benefits associated with initial and continued participation. These differences are likely to involve purposive decline allied to an increase in instrumental and / or social benefits. Regarding costs, previous evidence suggests that these should be direct and not opportunity-related. Possibly these may be primarily instrumental. For both costs and benefits there should also be some evidence of inter-model, socio-demographic and organisational variation. The exact nature of these differences, however, is difficult to specify at this stage.

Empowerment & Perceived Control

From the literature on empowerment we may expect that participation offers some scope for increased control or agency expectations to develop over time with increasing exposure to active participation. We might therefore expect that on a measure of perceived control 'new' volunteers may exhibit higher mean score values over time across different dimensions of control. There may also be some inter-model variation in terms of volunteers' mean score values. In this sense, because community business

and housing volunteers may have relatively more exposure to a decision-making culture we might expect them to exhibit higher mean score values along the dimension of socio-political control. Conversely, credit union volunteers may have higher interpersonal scores reflecting greater member-contact, closer volunteer working relationships and the relative absence of other potentially disruptive interest groups such as staff.

Drop-Out & Retention

There is no previous evidence suggesting the likely drop-out figure for community enterprise volunteers. Similar to UK participation rates which have remained reasonably constant (approximately 20-25%) and the turnover figures above for community enterprise models, we would expect that drop-out is relatively low. Those who consider dropping-out of participation would compare favourably with the figures for UK participation rates to ensure organisational maintenance. However, there are likely to be distinct differences between the number of volunteers who considered dropping out and those who actually intend to do so at the end of their current period of office. Given the relatively low turnover figures for community enterprise activity, we would expect that the latter group would form a distinctly lower proportion of volunteers.

Previous evidence suggests that unlike initial and continued costs, retention costs would be characterised by situational variables. These would be opportunity related as opposed to direct. This would lead us to suggest that the main source of retention costs would be social. Regarding benefits, it may be hypothesised that retention may be such an extreme situation that volunteers may return to those reasons that characterised their initial participation. In this case purposive benefits may be given greater emphasis. Whatever occurs we would expect that retention benefits would represent a distinct change from those that characterised volunteers' continued participation.

We may also expect a number of other important variations in terms of retention costs and benefits. These may concern inter-model variations as well as the influence of socio-demographic and organisational variables. More importantly there may be crucial differences between those who actually intend to terminate their participation at the end of their current period of office compared to those who have merely considered dropping out. What all of the above differences may amount to in terms of specific costs and benefits is, however, difficult to prejudge at this stage.

Summary

In this chapter we have looked at the contextual characteristics of each model in terms of a number of important developmental, structural and human resource factors. We have seen how these differences potentially lay the basis for inter-model variation in the costs and benefits associated with participation in community enterprise. Along with the material in previous chapters, this enabled us to outline some specific research objectives. This now leads us to consider how these objectives were pursued in *Chapter Five*.

Chapter 5 : Method

Methodology

In *Chapter Two* it was proposed that participation in community enterprise may be understood in terms of social exchange / incentive theory. The primary methodological task then, as far as the present study was concerned, was to identify a valid and reliable technique for measuring volunteers' attitudes and perceptions relating to their participation in different organisational environments. Ideally, given our interest in discrete participatory stages, this may have been pursued through a longitudinal design tracking same group of people from their initial participation up to the present day. This would have allowed us to look at change over time. However, the practical difficulties associated with obtaining, tracking and retaining adequate numbers of volunteers over an appreciable time period ruled out this option, along with a quasi-longitudinal approach based on matched samples.

The present research largely embodied a cross-sectional design with an in-built, quasi-time dimension based upon perceived as opposed to actual time differences. Although not incorporating a temporal dimension *per se*, cross-sectional designs simulate it through the elimination of differences between groups and/or obtaining information at one point only and then asking people about past and prospective points in time (De Vaus 1991). Of course this assumes that if we can match groups in all ways except on the independent variable it provides a reasonable basis for inferring that any differences in the dependent variable are due to the influence of the former. Cross-sectional designs, nevertheless, only allow for associative not causal inference. Ultimately they comfortably lend themselves to the criticism that they only offer a 'snapshot' of people at one point in time only. Therefore, however much we may be interested in their past experience or future intentions the results need to be placed in this context. But the real problem in any research design is that we can never be certain that we have completely matched groups, or controlled for all the relevant factors that might possibly have generated differences between them. Ultimately we are limited to trying to control for

factors which we have information about and have been shown to be relevant in previous research (De Vaus 1991).

The comparative emphasis on the perceptions of volunteers involved in different types of activity and how they compare with UK survey data on volunteers placed the onus on survey-based research. This generally investigates variation across cases and its link with related characteristics (De Vaus 1991). It is not synonymous with one particular method of data collection so long as we obtain each case's attribute on each variable. It may therefore encompass a range of both quantitative and qualitative techniques, such as in-depth interviewing, participant observation and structured questionnaires (Marsh 1982). This general style of research may be contrasted with other methods. For example, although the experimental method also compares variables between cases, variation is typically explored through an *a priori* manipulation of context.

Consistent with the majority of volunteer-related research, however, the present study was based on a positivist model. Philosophically this generally assumes that the social and natural worlds conform to causally and associatively connected 'fixed' laws (Walker 1985). Methodologically it places the emphasis on rigour, objectivity, deductive reasoning, measurement and consistency in the formulation and testing of hypotheses and explanatory theories. Although this model of scientific enquiry has attracted appreciable criticism (e.g. Walker 1985), in this study, the concern with comparative analysis within a specific theoretical framework meant that our focus was primarily quantitative and consequently set within the above philosophical and methodological framework.

The concern with comparative research placed the emphasis on survey methods based on the administration of a structured questionnaire. Compared to more flexible qualitative techniques, this approach tends to assume that the relevant dimensions

which require study are already known (Schein 1988). Consequently, this approach minimises respondent involvement by carefully prescribing reports and remaining inflexible to changes in natural discourse and interviewer judgement. Artificiality may also feature where the topic under investigation may not be amenable to measurement, or raise questions that people have never before considered. The approach therefore reflects a requirement to standardise items which may represent the least common denominator in assessing respondents' attitudes, opinions and experiences. In extreme cases, questions may be minimally applicable to respondents and researchers may only provide a superficial coverage of complex topics. Although the present study was based on the administration of a structured questionnaire which collected standardised data on volunteers in different types of organisation there was no *a priori* reason to suppose that the questions asked would be inappropriate for the target group, i.e. the questionnaire was concerned with participation and administered to volunteer groups.

A structured questionnaire format was wholly consistent with much of previous participatory research where it has been the dominant technique (Pearce 1993). However, given that any one method has inherent limitations this places a premium on methodological triangulation (De Vaus 1991). Triangulation is associated with reducing inappropriate certainty and based on an appreciation that some aspects of the results are attributable to the method used to collect the data. Consequently, different methods may be used to answer any one question in order to enhance the reliability and interpretation of results (Robson 1993). The reliance on a single method of data collection does leave this study open to the above criticism. The fact that it was, however, was partly attributable to the aims of the study, concerned as it was with asking people about their participation and looking at their aggregated responses in order to allow some comparison with previous work on volunteers. Moreover, our approach was based on a realistic assessment of the anticipated practical constraints entailed in the fieldwork. From initial discussions with other active researchers involved with these organisations the point was made that these organisations and their

volunteers were potentially over-researched. From the outset therefore we were concerned with minimising the likely demands made on volunteers and their organisations in order to ensure successful access.

There have, however, been a variety of philosophical and technical criticisms directed at structured, survey-based approaches, many of which have been described as critiques of common practise, not the method *per se* (Marsh 1982). A common criticism, for example, is that surveys embody the worst excesses of a positivistic, 'mindless' empiricism. At the expense of generating anything of worthwhile theoretical value, survey-based research has been derided as an atheoretical exercise in the collection of 'facts' dressed as statistics (Mills 1959). Given the social exchange / incentive approach behind this particular study, however, the above criticisms would seem inappropriate in the present context, as indeed Marsh (1982) argues many of these criticisms are concerning survey-based work in general.

A further criticism is that surveys are invariably accused of being inherently atomistic and reliant upon information from a sample of individuals, which can only be understood in terms of the psychological reactions of those same individuals (e.g. Mills 1959). A number of counters may be made in this respect. Firstly, there is no *a priori* reason why surveys must look solely at individuals : collective units may be used which would not be guilty of atomism even though they are based on individual respondents (Babbie 1992). Indeed even where individuals are used structural factors can still be located and incorporated as a basis for explanation. Using individuals therefore may not necessarily restrict us to purely psychological explanations but can provide a window on the mechanics of structure at a variety of levels (De Vaus 1991). Indeed the danger of restricting our focus to collectivities may be that it serves to reify social processes, suggesting that there is something tangible about them which can be understood wholly independent of individual action (Marsh 1982).

Of course making sense of social action in a valid and reliable manner is hard and surveys typically have not been very good at it to the extent that they are often accused of being incapable of getting at these aspects of social behaviour (Marsh 1982). In this view surveys, unlike qualitative techniques such as participant observation, focus on behaviour divorced from the context in which it occurs. Consequently, both behaviour and attitudes are diminished to the extent that their meaning and significance is either ignored or misunderstood (Blumer 1956). This may even be despite attempts to account for context through multivariate analysis, or the development of explanations based on interpreting behaviour in terms of its context. This raises the practical question of how surveys collect data which incorporate a semblance of meaningful explanation. An issue which is related to wider criticisms of quantitative methodologies which stress their concern with reliability rather than validity (Deutscher 1966).

Early researchers largely imported meaning from the outside using a stock of plausible explanations or from subsidiary depth interviews. However, surveys became more interesting when they began to include self-report and thereby the meaningful dimensions in the actual study design (Marsh 1982). But is it worth asking people to account for their own decisions and provide some explanation behind their actions? It assumes after all that people are able to introspect, identify and articulate the salient features of their experiences, and then explain how these affected their behaviour and the ways in which they thought about them (Hampson 1982). While Harre & Secord (1972) argued that people have unique sets of expertise and experience which can be used as the basis for explanation, this view was challenged in a review of studies on problem-solving processes by Nisbett & Wilson (1977).

Nisbett & Wilson (1977) highlighted that respondents often have difficulty in verbalising accurate knowledge on their behaviour and argued that self reports were not a valid description of how people made decisions on tasks, or attributed causality to events. For example, in prosocial behaviour a consistent finding concerns the higher

frequency of aid when only one bystander is present and the subsequent denial by respondents that aid was affected by the presence of others (Latane & Darley 1970). Nisbett & Wilson (1977), argued that people explained their behaviour using *a priori* culturally plausible theories which only sometimes coincided with actual events. They concluded that although we have access to our mental content there are areas of our knowledge, which although we feel are adequate behavioural explanations are frequently inaccurate. In this study, information which may be so taken-for-granted (i.e. reasons for participation) that it may be unrecognised by people may present particular problems in this respect.

Nevertheless, Nisbett & Wilson's (1977) critique drew a number of criticisms (e.g. Rich 1979b). Firstly, Nisbett & Wilson dealt with what they termed 'higher order cognitive processes' and therefore a small subsection of all cognitive processes (Hampson 1982). Smith & Miller (1978) also criticised the irrefutability of Nisbett & Wilson's approach using evidence for respondents greater awareness than experimenters' of the variables under consideration and the failure of these authors to make an inadequate distinction between mental content and processes. Further support for the view that actors have unique sets of experiences came from Jones & Nisbett (1972) who highlighted the situational and dispositional biases of actors and observers respectively. While actors were likely to offer contextual explanations for their behaviour, observers emphasised the personal qualities of the actors concerned. While not denying that behaviour may be influenced by (un) sub-conscious and affective factors, it seems that people do have privileged access to their behaviour if not all its determinants.

In light of the above, Hampson (1982), concluded that there are situations where self-knowledge offers a better understanding of our behaviour than observational analysis. Hence verbal reports may provide 'strong data' which is useful in revealing the ways in which respondents perceive their social world (Potter & Mulkay 1985). It then

becomes important to incorporate in our method some scope for these experiences to be articulated. In qualitative studies, researchers have tended to use rapport interviewing utilising relatively unstructured topic schedules which allow both researcher and the researched to explore the issues under consideration (Brenner *et al* 1985). In survey-based work scope is usually only made for partial accounts. Nevertheless, if our interest in this study primarily concerned volunteers' perceptions of participation, asking them directly through a series of structured questions was probably the best way of achieving this aim.

Nevertheless, Jones & Nisbett (1972) highlighted that self-reports are subject to sources of response bias and should therefore be treated with appropriate caution. A common criticism is not so much that people can 'lie' which assumes that they have underlying 'true values', but that verbal reports are subject to 'demand characteristics' about the purpose of the study (Orne 1972, Silverman 1977). For example, a major methodological dilemma in the participatory literature concerns the issue of how motivational-related questions should be phrased. Some avoid directly asking the question 'why' because it invites socially desirable caricatures of the 'good (i.e. altruistic) volunteer' (Smith 1981 p.89, Pearce 1993 p 63). Neither of the latter authors offer alternatives, although Pearce adopts the argument that motives should be 'imposed' and inferred from behaviour. Given the assumption of altruistic motives in many accounts of volunteering, however, inference becomes subject to similar criticisms levelled at those who would use self-report. Wandersman *et al* (1987) argue that asking questions of volunteers is rarely pursued outside of a few qualitative studies (e.g. Thomas & Finch 1980). The substantive point, however, is that all research situations probably engender socially desirable responses and Orne (1972) simply highlighted that at least in interviews conducted with some known purpose, the respondents ability to contribute to the research is respected. Here 'lying' or social desirability simply become part of the research method and no different from any other form of respondent cooperation.

Retrospective and Prospective Self-Report

In the present study we were interested in retrospective and prospective participation. Both introduce important additional sources of unreliability and reinforce the caution attached to a reliance on self-report. The main criticism of this type of information is that it is often not possible to obtain completely detailed answers to these types of questions (Courtenay 1978). For example, one problem we faced concerned attempting to disentangle the related processes of recruitment and motivation. Here the utility of doing so was reliant on people's capacity for the selective recall of these events. Although most people may be able to recall important or unusual occurrences they may be unable to recall the details associated with such events, or recall events outwith the period asked about ('telescoping'). This presents a clear problem because not only can we not assume that participation will retain its significance over time, but respondents may cognitively re-interpret their past experience in the light of the present (De Vaus 1991). Hence not only may respondents retrospective answers reflect individual differences in recall and the importance attached to initial participation, but also how they perceive their present experience as a volunteer.

Likewise prospective questions about future behavioural intentions also introduce a degree of unreliability. Particularly so in hypothetical situations that people know have little likelihood of occurring (Courtenay 1978). Given the transitory nature of volunteering, however, it is reasonable to assume that people have at least considered the possibility of how long they would like to participate in community enterprise. Nevertheless, prospective questions still rely wholly on the assumption that respondents can make reasonable and accurate predictions about their future behaviour on the basis of their present experience (De Vaus 1991). In this study, we were assuming that there was a reasonably close relationship between volunteers intention to terminate their participation in the future and this outcome. Although reviews of attitude-behaviour relations (e.g. Bentler & Speckart 1979), stress that future behaviour is predictable from present intentions, it is impossible to say that intentions always lead

to the stated outcome or that the intention was the cause of behaviour. All of the above points serve as cautionary warnings about extrapolating from findings based on prospective questions.

The above factors place limitations on any conclusions drawn from the results. In this respect, retrospective and prospective questions are concerned with volunteers present-day perceptions and evaluations of their past and future voluntary involvement, the reasons why they became volunteers in community enterprise and why they intended to terminate their participation. At the very least, should the results associate different reasons for involvement with different participatory stages, this should tell us that volunteers themselves perceived they had changed (Pearce 1983a).

The problems of using retrospective and prospective questions are compounded in cross-sectional survey research which is based on the likelihood of only having limited access to volunteer groups at one point in time only. This is not to say that given careful questioning it cannot be done, only that the method employed may be more or less constraining. For example, Oliner & Oliner (1988) in their study of why people helped Jews in W.W.II, employed in-depth interviews lasting several hours, in order to get at the reasons behind this behaviour some 30-40 years after the actual event. Additionally, Jenner (1981) used a follow-up study to investigate the consistency of commitment outcomes predicted in an earlier study of people's initial motives to volunteer. In this study, however, the general problems of the above types of information may be compounded by limited access and looking at volunteers at one time point only.

Conducting Interviews

A related issue concerns how we conduct structured interviews : face-to-face, postal, telephone, self-administration, or a mixed approach combining two or more of these alternatives. In this study the former option was adopted. This was done to optimise

the following advantages of this approach over others on that basis that it : ensures effective respondent cooperation and response rates ; allows the interviewer to fully cover responses to questions and answer respondent queries ; allows for complex questions, non-response and open-ended questions, while accurately following scripted instructions and sequences ; allows for some rapport with respondents and no distortion due to the influence of others ; and facilitates a multimethod approach to data collection (e.g. self-administered standard measures alongside a structured questionnaire) (De Vaus 1991, Fowler 1982).

A serious drawback, however, concerns the fact that an individual face-to-face approach is relatively costly to manage in terms of the time and effort involved. It may place practical restrictions on the ability to reach different parts of the targeted sample. In this study, however, volunteers' were based within organisations located in urban and central Scotland which minimised some of the practical drawbacks associated with this option.

Sample

Organisations

Organisations were selected for approach through a multistage method of probabilistic sampling. Given that detailed lists of volunteers were unavailable this approach primarily relied on information about organisations which was then used as a means of approaching groups of volunteers. In common with most psychological research the latter then had the choice to participate. Such 'volunteer' samples have been classified as the 'weakest' kind of sampling design because they increase sampling error and the probability of obtaining 'untypical' cases. The views of those who are reluctant to respond may be different from those who readily acquiesce. The latter tend to be those who are better educated, more sociable, with a higher desire for social approval (see Rosenthal & Rosnow 1991). The worry in our particular case was would this strategy simply attract the most 'committed' or 'helpful' volunteer. Although our initial

approach may have introduced this source of selection bias it would be naive to assume that all those who agreed to participate actually did so, or that all those who were initially reluctant did not participate. We attempted at the outset to improve generalisability by making the research as appealing and non-stressful as possible to prospective respondents. In the course of the fieldwork active attempts were made to persuade initially 'reluctant respondents' to participate. In many of these cases we were aided by staff and volunteer chairpersons so that many of these people were successfully approached. In this case, it would be a distortion to say that we solely attracted an acquiescent, 'committed' 'volunteer' sample.

Initially in order to target specific organisations the following procedure was adopted. Firstly we ascertained the total number of organisations within each model registered with their respective development bodies (Scottish Homes 1990, CBS 1991, ABCUL 1990, NFCU 1990). From these lists we identified whether organisations served a residential area, their operational sphere of influence, and a contact address and name for each organisation.

In the case of community businesses which are not listed by the type of community they serve (see also *Chapter Four*), identification of residentially-based organisations was done on the basis of their incorporated name. For example, it was assumed that 'Castlemilk CB Ltd' operated within the boundaries of the residential area of Castlemilk in Glasgow, as opposed to 'Poldrait CB Ltd' which did not correspond to any known residential location. Consequently, this method may have underestimated the number of residentially-based community businesses, limiting our focus to those organisations with a name-geographical location correspondence. Cross-checks, however, were made with appropriate development bodies in cases of ambiguity to ensure that, as far as possible, the organisations that were approached were indeed residentially-based. Using the above methods, in total we identified 202 residentially-based, community enterprise organisations. These constituted our overall sample frame.

The attempt to make reasonable comparisons between different organisations and models in operation for varying lengths of time and based within different policy environments, geographical areas of varying scale, population size and characteristics, presented a considerable problem. We initially decided to select sample organisations using three criteria to ensure, as far as possible, a reasonable basis for comparison between models. These criteria and their relative importance in the sampling design were as follows:

- the type of residential area in which organisations were based
- the length of time organisations were formally operational up to 1st January 1991.
- the total population size in the area covered by each organisation.

Regarding the type of residential area, obvious difficulties arise in attempting to standardise across a broad range of socio-economic indicators to achieve a typological match. In the first instance, we would have to decide what these indicators were, their relative importance, and their availability and reliability across different policy environments, to enable us to make appropriate judgements. For example, if we chose housing indicators this discounts the likely impact of housing initiatives in terms of improving housing standards. This may make these areas atypical. Additionally, the smaller the area the greater probability of the figures being more unreliable and subject to rapid change.

Given these considerations, it was decided to categorise residential areas by housing tenure. In the UK, areas of mainly public-sector housing are generally associated with a plethora of socio-economic problems : higher average rates of unemployment and poverty, low rates of home ownership with proportionally greater numbers of people in vulnerable social groups (McGregor *et al* 1992). For community enterprise activity two broad types of residential area were relevant : areas of mainly public-sector or socially-rented housing, and areas of mainly mixed-housing tenure. This allowed us to

account for different patterns of voluntarism as previous evidence suggested that these operated within different social groups (Hatch 1982). Initially, we split the organisations in each model using these criteria and listed them alphabetically under each heading.

We then identified how long organisations within each model had been in operation using information from development bodies and available research (e.g. CBS 1991, Satsangi *et al* 1990, Scottish Homes 1990). Each model had its own distinctive development pattern (outlined in *Chapter Four*). Sampling organisations on the basis of how representative they were of such patterns, however, would have meant that we would be comparing organisations of widely differing maturity. This would have led to inappropriate comparisons between volunteers with widely different lengths of organisational exposure to community enterprise. In this instance, it was decided to select, as far as possible, organisations who had been formally operating for similar lengths of time.

In order to condense the amount of information and ease sampling, organisations in each model under their respective tenure headings, were split by the extent to which they could be considered as ‘developing’ or ‘developed’. Although most labels describing organisational change are to some extent arbitrary, this distinction does not imply that organisational development is chronologically determined. The labels represented an attempt to conceptually distinguish between organisations who were likely to be still in the process of establishing themselves and those who could be said to have done so on the basis of their volunteers' organisational experience. In this instance, organisations formed from 1987 onwards were treated as ‘developing’, while others formed earlier were labelled as ‘developed’. This effectively distinguished between organisations whose volunteers were likely to be within their first three-year term as elected volunteers and those likely to be in their second or third terms. A direct effect of using organisational tenure criteria, however, was to effectively exclude all of

those housing organisations formed pre-1979 since there were no comparable credit union or community business organisations in operation before this period. This meant that of the original 59 housing groups, 28 were excluded from the overall sample frame, leaving a total of 174 organisations.

Regarding gross population size, ideally it would have been desirable to simply compare organisations operating within areas of equal population size. A major problem, however, concerned empirically predetermining the physical parameters of their sphere of operation. Although this may be self-evident from the incorporated name of the organisation, groups may base their operational sphere on varying boundaries (e.g. political wards, parishes). In this study, aggregate population size was estimated from 1981 census data which represented a standard and approximate approach to definition. Also, it was known that some housing organisations operated in geographical areas with relatively smaller aggregate population sizes. This presented obvious difficulties in standardisation with organisations in the other models. It was therefore decided in these cases to place the operational sphere of smaller-scale housing organisations within the reference frame of the larger residential area in which they were based. Effectively this meant that some consideration could be given to weighting organisations by the gross population size of their host residential area. Hence organisations within the aforementioned category splits were listed in terms of increasing population size in order to, as far as possible, ensure that we would be selecting organisations based in similarly sized areas.

Although there are no concrete guidelines on sample size (Rosenthal & Rosnow 1991), the initial aim was to select at least 12 organisations within each respective model. These would form the upper limits of our sample frame. On the basis of the likely numbers of volunteers thought to manage these types of organisations, this sample size was thought to be practically manageable, able to generate sufficient numbers for analysis and at the same time be relatively representative of the population of

organisations in each model. Our aim was to ensure that our sample was consistent with the above criteria. Consequently, for each model the sample base comprised 6 mixed tenure groups (3 developing and 3 developed) and 6 public -sector tenure groups (3 developing and 3 developed). Sample organisations were drawn on a probabilistic basis proportionate to the number of groups listed under each sub-category and a total of 36 organisations were initially selected (12 credit union, housing and community business organisations respectively).

In the case of any organisation refusing access it was decided that we would refer back to our sample categories and select a complementary replacement group. Problems in obtaining suitable access arrangements meant that a total 41 organisations were approached throughout the course of the study. Of this 31 decided to participate, representing an overall organisational response rate of 76%. Our sampling strategy, however, created problems in the sense that in some instances we simply exhausted the organisational numbers available in some of our sub-categories. Effectively, the fieldwork itself necessitated a reappraisal and lowering of our sample limits to what was practically available and manageable within the timescale of the research.

Given the comparative approach adopted in this study, however, we do not claim that our sample group was wholly representative of organisations in each of the community enterprise sectors, nor that their constituent volunteers were wholly representative of the population of community enterprise volunteers. Our multistage sampling framework was simply a 'best fit' approach, a means of comparing different models and their differential development within urban areas of varying type and scale. The sample characteristics of the community enterprise organisations who participated in the main phase of the research are outlined in Table 5.1, alongside the overall numbers of organisations in each respective category. The sample organisations were reasonably representative of the spread of organisations on the criteria used.

Table 5.1 : Sample Criteria by Model (no).

Sample Criteria	C. Union		Housing		C. Business		Overall	
	Sample n		Sample n		Sample n		Sample n	
<i>Type of Area</i>								
Mainly Public-Sector	5	[23]	5	[15]	5	[64]	15	[102]
Mainly Mixed Tenure	5	[24]	5	[16]	6	[32]	16	[72]
<i>Formed</i>								
Developed (pre-1987)	5	[16]	5	[14]	5	[65]	15	[95]
Developing (post 1987)	5	[31]	5	[17]	6	[31]	16	[79]
<i>Population</i>								
<5,000	2	[2]	3	[10]	3	[13]	8	[25]
5,001-10,000	3	[15]	3	[10]	3	[21]	9	[46]
10,001-20,000	3	[13]	3	[7]	3	[29]	9	[49]
>20,000	2	[17]	1	[4]	2	[33]	5	[54]
Overall Sample Size	10	[47]	10	[31]	11	[96]	31	[174]

Volunteers

The fieldwork was carried out at three distinctive periods. From October to November 1991 a pilot study was conducted to test draft formulations of the initial survey questionnaire. The main fieldwork was then carried out over a twelve-month period between January 1991 to January 1992. This was complemented by a follow-up study using a sub-section of the overall sample at a period between eight and twelve months after their original interview. Respondents at time¹ were 222 volunteer workers drawn from 31 organisations across three models : 79 from 10 credit unions ; 71 from 10 housing organisations ; and 72 from 11 community business. The overall sample

comprised 97 males and 125 females, with an age range between 18-72 years (mean=46.9 years), of tenure between 2-91 months (mean=46.2 months) whose estimated average weekly time investment ranged between 0.5-34 hr's (mean=3.19 hr's). The response rate for the overall volunteer sample was 69% (65% in credit unions, 77% in community businesses and 64% in housing).

Respondents at time² were 28 volunteer workers identified for follow-up from initial interviews at time¹. The sample comprised 20 females and 8 males drawn from 21 organisations, with an age range between 27-62 years (mean=44.4 years), of tenure between 2-11 months (mean=8.7 months) whose estimated average weekly time investment ranged between 2-16 hr's (mean=2.9 hr's). These respondents were approached via their organisations for follow-up administration of a standard measure of personal control. Deciding on the length of time between initial administration and follow-up was problematic given that no precedents existed for volunteer samples with regard to this particular scale and the construct it purported to measure. Pearce (1983a), however, argues that it often takes new volunteers at least six months to assimilate to their working role. Consequently, the time period used in this study was based on a compromise between allowing those newest to their organisation some scope to adapt to their role and the practical constraints of a programme of fieldwork. Opportunities were provided to complete the measure at the organisations premises or by post and 26 usable responses were obtained.

Apparatus

A 92 item two-part questionnaire was presented to all respondents. Items included :

- a series of structured open and closed-ended items detailing measures various aspects of volunteers participatory experience. These constituted the main body of the questionnaire. Questions were verbally administered to all respondents and their responses recorded. Details on questionnaire design are

outlined below and a full working copy of the questionnaire used in this study is presented in *Appendix II*.

- Spheres of Control (SOC) : The 30-item self-report scale measuring perceived control was originally devised by Paulhaus & Christie (1981), but updated by Paulhaus (1983) and Paulhus & Selst (1990). The scale was designed to measure perceived competence and efficacy through the expectancy for control in three distinct domains : personal (PC) ; interpersonal (IPC) ; and socio-political (SPC). Each respective sub-scale comprised 10-items. Sub-scale items were sequentially interspersed during presentation and scores measured along a 7-point response format. Paulhaus & Selst (1990) report an internal consistency alpha rating for the SOC scale as 0.8. Minor contextual changes were made on items 3 (SPC) and 25 (PC). This was done in attempt to make the scale more relevant to respondents in this study. Hence the original words ‘world’ and ‘career’ were removed and replaced with the ‘local’ and ‘work’ respectively. We regarded the former terms as an inappropriate for use with local groups and too specifically focused on employment-related issues. We chose ‘local’ and ‘work’ on the basis of their appropriateness for the present study. The scale used in this study is presented in *Appendix III* along with details on item-presentation, scoring and reliability.
- an organisational profile was developed to capture specific details about individual organisations and validate some of the issues raised in the main questionnaire. From staff or key volunteer personnel, the following details were collected : geographical sphere of operation ; origins and date of formal registration ; volunteers numbers and composition (sex, age and employment status by formal role-position, founding members) ; membership figures and

change, organisational services, premises and numbers of paid staff. This profile is presented as *Appendix IV*.

Questionnaire Construction & Design

The standard measure of perceived control was presented to respondents prior to the main section of the questionnaire. This was to avoid prejudicing completion of the former with issues raised in the latter. In the main section of the questionnaire we were essentially interested in various aspects of people's past, current and prospective future participation. We were faced at the outset with the problem of how to develop measures in the form of questions surrounding these issues, bearing in mind the difficulties associated with designs incorporating the above elements. Hence we attempted to alleviate any difficulties by clearly outlining the context of questions. For retrospective information we included appropriate additional questions surrounding the event as aids to recall and cross-checks on factual information (e.g. length of time a volunteer, average weekly time invested).

Survey-based questionnaires, however, vary in structure according to the amount of interviewer freedom to adapt questions to suit the individual experiences of respondents (Masserik 1981). Given that we were involved with people in different organisational environments, many of whom may have been unfamiliar with interview situations, a highly structured approach was adopted. Questions were arranged in temporal sequence under a range of contextually different headings. Along with the use of appropriate contingency, filters and instructions we attempted to ensure that the questions asked were relevant and provided a flow to the questionnaire. Unlike semi-structured formats, which may be respondent-led, we presented topics in their respective temporal order (i.e. past, current and likely future participation), to impose some order on respondents experiences. We also attempted to minimise any salience effects in presentation and questions inviting responses which then directly effected later ones.

Imposing order on the topics covered during interviews, however, did not mean that we were not concerned with providing respondents with some means of articulating their own responses. Unlike our standard measure, in the main body of the questionnaire, we were not concerned with the relative direction, extremity or intensity of people's attitudes measured through a semantic differential format (Babbie 1992). Instead, we were concerned with people's experiences and collecting information on their conscious reasons for involvement in as structured a manner as possible without compromising their ability to respond. Hence we incorporated a mixture of open-ended (no prespecified response options) and closed-ended questions (prespecified response options). While the former are relatively easier to code, analyse and do not discriminate against less talkative or articulate respondents, they may have insufficient range, artificially create opinions and take little account of important qualifications that people may want to add concerning their actions. This pointed to their limited use in questions where all possible answers were known and exhaustive (e.g. yes / no / don't know). This strategy had the advantage of minimising potential 'halo' effects caused by subjects only choosing the options given to them.

Closed-ended approaches, however, have also been utilised in participatory research where respondents have been provided with exhaustive short-item lists of mutually exclusive motivational categories. As we have already seen in *Chapter Three* this has generally led to studies which have then proved difficult to compare. Consistent with a number of authors in the area (e.g. Rich 1980, Jenner 1981), we adopted an open-ended approach to such questions. The main disadvantages of this approach were that it suited more articulate respondents and potentially decreased the reliability with which people could answer possibly 'difficult' questions (Fowler 1982). It was hoped that a selective open-ended approach would allow access without assumptions to those unanticipated answers provided by respondents, given the opportunity to articulate their own responses (Weisberg *et al* 1989). This also avoided the difficulties of attempting to prescribe comprehensive option-lists covering different stages of participation.

Fundamental to questionnaire design is the considerable attention that must be given to developing clear, concise and unambiguous questions (De Vaus 1991). Although there is no definitive guide to this process there are a number of general guidelines which suggest avoiding questions which are likely to confuse respondents. As much as possible, we attempted to avoid any unnecessary ambiguity arising from questions that were syntactically and semantically complex (i.e. too long, included unfamiliar words and phrases, were double-barrelled and leading, and invited socially desirable responses). At the same time, however, it was considered important that appropriate qualifications were incorporated into some questions to clearly define the frame of reference for respondents. For example, in Question 5 (see *Appendix II*) we asked, 'When you first became a volunteer in this organisation, were you already involved as a volunteer in any other community groups within the area?' Although this may appear inappropriately complex it clearly establishes the context for respondents (i.e. involvement in other local groups prior to community enterprise). Similar points can be made with respect to other questions. Questions were also presented contextually under appropriate topic headings. Given that we were asking about participation at discrete stages it was necessary to clarify context at the expense of minimal complexity.

A particular problem concerned how we would go about defining specific questions to measure the prevalence of costs and benefits outlined within a social exchange / incentive framework. The problem with the framework, however, was that in the literature each heading subsumes a number of associated themes. For example, social benefits refer to social interaction and factors such as group identification and status. Therefore we were limited to trying to identify from the available literature (e.g. Wandersman *et al* 1987, Pearce 1993), the more salient aspects of each component of the framework and then developing a series of questions which were geared to measuring the prevalence of that particular aspect. In this respect, control benefits and costs referred to aspects of skill use and development, instrumental incentives referred to collective achievement and social incentives referred to relationships with other

volunteers and paid staff. A distinct problem, however, concerned purposive incentives and the degree to which volunteers' experiences involved suprapersonal goals and ideologies. But how does one operationalise the extent to which volunteers' perceive their activity satisfies such beliefs? Our option was to concentrate on volunteer-member relations which allowed us to move away from the sterility associated with statements about why participation does or does not fulfil a particular value orientation. We decided to indirectly define purposive costs and benefits in terms of the likely 'objects' of these values (i.e. non-volunteer members of the organisation and other local people). Hence volunteer-member relations were taken as a proxy variable on the efficacy of helping.

Pilot testing is an important means of evaluating questionnaire items in order to identify redundant or ambiguous questions and gaps, refine points of detail in item wording and order, and prune the overall questionnaire to an acceptable length (Courtenay 1978). In the present study, a draft questionnaire was initially constructed and piloted in two stages using a total of 15 volunteers (5 from each model respectively). All of the nine interviews that comprised the first stage of piloting were declared tests (i.e. the respondents were informed prior to the interview that the items were being developed and that they were being asked to help improve them). At regular points throughout these interviews respondents were invited to comment on the questions asked. On the basis of these and notes made by the interviewer, changes were made to the initial draft questionnaire and applied in the second round of pilot interviews. Following this phase a number of minor textual changes were made to the finished questionnaire detailed in *Appendix II*. The measures used in this study, however, are presented below under their respective topic headings. The measures are cross referenced to specific questions listed in *Appendix II*.

Measures

Residential Characteristics : items measured local vs non-local residence factors in terms of current (Qu : 1), previous (Qu : 2) and indigenous (Qu: 3) status.

Previous Voluntary Experience : items measured the date volunteered in the community enterprise organisation (Qu : 4), their previous voluntary experience in and outwith the local area covered by their community enterprise organisation at the time of volunteering in community enterprise (Qu's 5 and 6 respectively), the benefits they derived from their previous voluntary experience, its relevance to participation in community enterprise (Qu's 7 and 8 respectively), other previous experience (Qu : 9) and general attitude towards voluntarism (Qu : 10).

Initial Membership Recruitment and Reasons: items distinguished membership recruitment from volunteering and measured date of membership (Qu : 11), recruitment channel (Qu : 12) and reasons for joining as a member of the organisation (Qu : 13).

Initial Volunteer Recruitment and Reasons: items measured the recruitment process as a volunteer in terms of time between membership and volunteering (Qu : 14), recruitment channel (Qu : 15), alternative opportunities to volunteer (Qu : 16), initial expectations (Qu : 17), perceived costs (Qu : 18) and the reasons for becoming a volunteer in the organisation (Qu : 19).

Positions / tasks : items measured volunteers current formal position(s) in the organisation, duration held, average weekly time involved and constituent tasks (Qu : 20), and the total average weekly time involved (Qu : 21).

Skills / Abilities : items measured volunteers perceptions of their relevant initial skills / abilities prior to becoming a volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 22), the

perceived impact of participation on these skills / abilities (Qu : 23), what new skills / abilities they perceived they had learned as a result of their participation in community enterprise (Qu : 24), what other things they had learned as a volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 25), the perceived impact they felt learning new skills and knowledge had on them personally (Qu : 26), other roles that they would like to undertake within the organisation (Qu : 27) and any costs of not being able to do so (Qu : 28).

Other Voluntary Participation : Items measured participation in community enterprise relative to other volunteering in other groups / organisations in terms of new (Qu : 29), relinquished (Qu : 30) and continued (Qu : 31) participation since volunteering in community enterprise and the perceived importance attached to the latter relative to other activities (Qu : 32).

Attitudes To Members : items measured the perceived need for membership participation (Qu : 33), the perceived benefits (Qu : 34) and costs (Qu : 35) associated with working for members / local people.

Attitudes To Staff : items measured the presence of paid staff (Qu : 36), their perceived role (Qu : 37) and the perceived benefits (Qu : 38) and costs (Qu : 39) associated with working alongside paid staff.

Attitudes To Other Volunteers : items measured volunteers perceptions of the current volunteer groups working relations (Qu : 40), the perceived benefits (Qu : 41) and costs (Qu : 42) associated with working alongside other volunteers.

Collective Aims / Achievements : items measured the perceived collective achievement (Qu : 43) and non-achievement (Qu : 44) of the organisations volunteer group, and what could be done to improve organisational achievement (Qu : 45).

The Impact of Participation on Family / Friends : items measured the perceived impact of participation in community enterprise on volunteer's family / friendships (Qu : 46), the perceived costs of participation on family / friendships (Qu : 47), and the costs of participation for any other current social interests (Qu : 48).

Continued Benefits, Costs and Retention : items measured the perceived benefits (Qu : 49) and the costs (Qu : 50) associated with continuing as a volunteer in community enterprise, whether volunteers had ever considered terminating their participation and why (Qu : 51) and consequently why they had chosen to remain involved as volunteer (Qu : 52).

Future Intentions : items measured whether or not volunteers intended to continue their participation beyond the duration of their current period of office (Qu : 53), and if not were there any other reasons apart from those mentioned in Qu : 49, why they would do so (Qu : 54).

◦

Personal Characteristics : items measured respondents ; age (Qu : 55), sex (Qu : 56), current employment status (Qu : 57), educational / vocational qualifications (Qu : 58), household composition (Qu : 59), household tenure (Qu : 60), partner's employment status (Qu : 61), personal and household incomes (gross) (Qu : 62). Regarding current employment status, for comparative purposes, respondents occupation was initially classified using Lynn & Smith's (1991) volunteer study which distinguished between : Professional / Managerial ; Other Non-Manual ; Skilled Manual ; Semi-Skilled Manual ; Unskilled Manual ; Retired (permanently with no remunerative income from employment) ; Looking after Home / Family (i.e. not looking for paid employment and not in receipt of unemployment benefit). The occupational definitions were wholly consistent with standard classifications used in comparable UK surveys and outlined in OPCS (1990).

Procedure

Access

To facilitate respondent participation, arrangements for interviews were designed to suit the timescale of volunteers and organisational conditions. A general introductory letter (see *Appendix VI*) was sent to the chairperson of the each respective volunteer group. This outlined the aims of the study, the main topic areas to be explored and the estimated time involved. The fieldwork was staggered with introductory letters only sent to between 3 and 4 organisations at any one time. Follow-up contacts were made with each organisation after a 1-2 week period to establish whether volunteers had consented to participating in the research, how many were initially interested in doing so and where and when interviews could be held. In the case of credit unions, follow-up contacts were made with either the secretary or the chairperson. In other models, staff members invariably dealt with the enquiries. The length of time it took to negotiate successful access, however, varied according to prevailing organisational circumstances (e.g. demands on staff and volunteers). In some, access was permitted immediately while in others it was deferred to a future date.

Ten target organisations were unable to accommodate the research. These were mainly credit union groups with a relatively smaller proportion of community business and housing organisations. In three of these cases access was explicitly refused at the first point of contact because of the existing workload on volunteers. In a further three cases, the numbers of volunteers willing to participate in the study were too small to fulfil the requirements of the research. In the remaining four cases, negotiations were prolonged to the point that the researcher was left with the impression that access was unwelcome. Invariably the organisational contact requested that further efforts were needed to secure respondent cooperation. Subsequent follow-up would, however, typically prove fruitless and further contact was terminated. In one case it was subsequently found that during this time the organisation had been legally suspended

from conducting its business. In these circumstances it was hardly surprising that access was frustrated.

In around 70% of those organisations with whom successful access was eventually agreed, the matter was alleged to have been discussed at formal committee meetings by those volunteers present. This process usually took a further 1 to 4 weeks, from the initial point of follow-up. In only three cases was the researcher invited along to these meetings to explain the research to volunteers and make future interview arrangements with all those who were willing to act as respondents. In hindsight it may have been more appropriate to have requested to attend these meetings to encourage greater participation and reduce the subsequent failure of some respondents to turn up for pre-arranged interviews. It may have made the research process appear less formal and inhibitory at the outset. In the remaining 30% of cases access was immediate. These organisations were mainly credit unions and the researcher was provided with details of where and when interviews could be held. In the case of community business and housing organisations, senior staff volunteered to solicit the cooperation of volunteers and arrange interviews with willing respondents.

There were broad differences across models in what access arrangements practically amounted to in terms of how interviews would be conducted. In credit unions, the researcher would be invited along to collection points and interview volunteers, as and when they could make themselves available during their work. In housing and community business organisations, however, staff arranged interviews. While this may have made the research too dependent on good working relations between staff and volunteers, during the research it became clear that using staff actually helped optimise respondent participation. It also allowed the researcher to establish some rapport with staff which was helpful in completing organisational profiles. Equally in other organisations negotiating initially with staff may have had an inhibitory effect,

particularly where there were signs of conflict evident from subsequent interviews with volunteers and comments made on the volunteer group by staff members.

Interview Environments

The overwhelming majority of interviews were conducted 'on-site' within the organisations premises. The availability of volunteers often varied according to the quality of this environment and the resources of the organisation. For example, most housing organisations provided tailor-made interview rooms free from extraneous disturbance. In community businesses a similar situation existed with staff usually allocating secluded office space for interviews. Fieldwork within these organisations was completed on average within the course of a 1-3 week period.

In credit unions, however, the quality of the interview environments available varied considerably which often created appreciable practical problems. Unlike other models, credit unions had limited opening hours and premises that often amounted to no more than sometimes one large room in a community centre. Fieldwork was largely limited to business hours (e.g. 2 hours per week) which invariably allowed only two to three interviews at any one time. In these environments interviewing was dependent on volunteers workload. This sometimes resulted in no interviews being conducted during visits which caused appreciable delays in fieldwork. Consequently, fieldwork in credit unions proved longer to complete and often ran up to between 6 and 8 weeks.

As interviews were largely conducted 'on-site' this may well have increased the likelihood of an unwillingness to criticise aspects of the organisation. Equally, however, the organisational environment may well have provided the most appropriate context for discussion about volunteering and facilitated responses to the issues raised. In any event, it was considered enough to leave the choice of interview environments open to respondents on the assumption that their choice would reflect where they felt most at ease participating in an interview.

Interviews

Prior to interviews all respondents were passed a copy of the standard measure and questionnaire for their interest, and reminded of the points made in the initial letter to their chairperson (e.g. about confidentiality and their right to refuse to answer questions). Here we aimed to stimulate respondent cooperation by highlighting the issues under consideration in order to allay any potential anxieties about the interview and the use of their responses. To these ends, prior to interviews, we also invited queries about the meaning of any individual questions and attempts were also made to establish some basis of rapport with each individual respondent. Although it would be naive to assume that this process was successful in stimulating cooperation, it is also important to appreciate that interviews are in their poorest sense sterile fact finding missions but instead unique pieces of social interaction with their own inherent social dynamics. That the interview may have been a source of stress for some was apparent in their responses to particular questions. For example, when asked about the impact of participation on their personal capabilities, a common precursory remark was that before their experience they would never have had the confidence to agree to be interviewed by someone coming from an academic environment.

On average the formal interview process lasted about 45-55 minutes per respondent. Interviews were for the most part highly structured except when open ended questions allowed scope for extended enquiry. In these cases we were, however, slightly constrained by our method, which left little scope for pursuing other interesting avenues of enquiry, while at the same time guiding the interview and recording responses. Perhaps a more unstructured approach using a tape recorder may have proved more fruitful but nevertheless reduced our ability to gain peoples confidence about how the information might be handled. Following each interview respondents were invited to discuss any of the issues raised during the interview or others that they felt were relevant to the research but had not been covered during the interview. Many did so and furnished valuable supplementary information concerning both how they felt

the organisation itself tended to operate, or on differences between themselves and other members of the volunteer group or paid staff. Respondents were then thanked for their time and the session ended.

Questionnaire Reliability

A reliability test was conducted to assess the degree to which questionnaire items elicited similar responses from respondents. This involved 10 respondents in the survey being re-interviewed by the researcher after a two-month period following their original interview. The proportion of agreement between responses was calculated. For the closed-ended items this was 87% indicating a relatively high level of reliability for these measures. The reliability of open-ended items was calculated subsequent to developing an appropriate coding frame for these measures.

First Order Coding & Analysis

The use of open-ended response items in a quantitative structured questionnaire format put the emphasis on content analysis. This is commonly defined as a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context (Krippendorff 1980, p.21). It is generally concerned with classifying various forms of communication into a framework of conceptual categories (Babbie 1992). For our purposes, this approach was means of reducing respondent answers into categories that were amenable to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, outwith its benefits for reliability and economy, content analysis is typically associated with a number of weaknesses. These generally concern the emphasis on reductionism and it's limitation to the recorded content of communication, compared to techniques such as discourse analysis where relatively more attention is paid to meaning. It assumes that we can accurately capture the semantic diversity of language and its levels of meaning within sufficiently broad and inclusive category labels. In this respect, content analysis, in the format of a structured questionnaire, is said to be relatively strong on specificity but weaker on depth, and ultimately no better than the system of categories it generates (Babbie 1992).

In content analysis, emphasis is given to generating response categories from the textual content of respondents answers. This is usually achieved by reducing text into a series of descriptive units which can then be collated and identified through a set of corresponding coded category labels. Codes are usually attached to 'chunks' of varying size - words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs - which share something in common. They may take the form of a straightforward category label dealing with the explicit recorded content to relatively more complex ones dealing with metaphor and meaning (Miles & Huberman 1994).

There are a number of general philosophical and technical issues involved in the construction of any categorisation scheme. Some hold that categories should be theoretically justified while others take a 'grounded' approach and argue that this process needlessly imposes the reality of the investigator on the text (Krippendorff 1980). While the former approach uses assumed and imposed categories, the latter process is inferred and uses the text of respondents to construct category schemes. In studies based on the latter, however, different schemes may arise from different sets of texts and a common criticism of this approach is that generating multiple categories requires a theory of categories which explains the range and the empirically observed variation in category schemes (Weber 1985). In essence, the debate is invariably pitched between advocates of theoretically-driven research versus grounded approaches to theory construction. In this study, however, we used the explicit recorded content to generate first-order categories which were then subsumed under imposed theoretical parameters.

There are of course a number of problematic issues involved in category construction. Firstly, one has to consider the issue of the amount of text to be analysed in order to define what should be included and excluded from the analysis. In this study, given that responses are made in the context of specific questions, limiting the analysis to those parts of text which take the form of explanation were of necessity included, while

those extraneous observations and remarks made by the interviewee were excluded. These latter comments were actually recorded during interviews to avoid any bias of selective judgement on the part of the interviewer. Respondent answers were for the most part brief although in some cases appreciable digression from the question being asked was evident. During the course of the interviews it was impossible to eliminate everything extraneous to explanation and some editing of the recorded text was conducted immediately following the actual interview.

Weber (1985) lists six common options for structuring and categorising text based on : individual words, word sense, sentence, themes, paragraphs and whole pieces of text. Each of these options may have a number of strengths and weaknesses within the context of a structured questionnaire format, limited to allow the recording of a short verbatim piece of text. Critical to our choice, however, was recognition that individuals may cite more than one reason for participation, or more generally their responses to a given question may contain a variety of information. Substantively we were concerned with tapping the diversity of individual response which would have been difficult using broad codes to cover relatively large textual units potentially masking a variety of issues.

One credible option may have been to base the analysis solely on the prevalence of individual 'key' words and senses. However, generally this option is difficult because of ambiguities in meaning. The problem is not just that one word may have more than one meaning but that it may not seem as strong an indicator of a particular category than other similar words (Krippendorff 1980). Although one solution has been to assign different 'weights' to generate first and second-order classifications, this raises the further problem of demonstrating how valid weightings can be reliably determined (Weber 1985). Furthermore, limiting the analysis to key words may be inadequate in the broader sense given that these are often omitted yet taken as implicit in the course of making verbal statements. In this study we were concerned, therefore, on open-ended

questions, with the statements which reflected those themes raised by respondents answers and using these as the basis for initially generating valid first-order categories.

Themes commonly refer to clusters of words with different individual meanings or connotations, which taken together refer to some broader issue (Krippendorff 1980). Holsti (1969), for example, defined themes in content analysis as textual units which include no more than one of each of the following : the perceiver ; the perceived or agent of action ; the action ; and the target of the action. Thematic analysis, nevertheless, still raises problematic issues. Prominent amongst these is the degree of subjective inference made by investigators in category construction. The process involves a trade-off between specificity and depth expressed in terms of the text's manifest and latent content. These correspond to low and high inference systems respectively. The former refer to themes that are actually physically present in the text, while the latter are a matter of interpretation on the part of the coder. At their most basic level high inference systems require making impressionistic judgements on, for example, the respondents hostility, and we are obviously more likely to achieve higher reliability with a low inference system (Robson 1993). In this study with the onus on those themes arising from the recorded text, coding involved making judgements on written responses. This put the onus on at least achieving a satisfactory level of inter-coder reliability.

A second issue concerned whether the categories used are held to be exhaustive and mutually exclusive, or the same piece of thematic text may be classified under a number of different category headings, each measuring a specific feature of the response. In this study, the former option was adopted in order to ensure that everything of relevance to the study could be categorised. This also had the added advantage of ensuring that our categorical variables were not confounded and we could then analyse the material without violating the independence of statistical procedures. This would have occurred if we had allowed the same piece of text to be classified in two or more

ways (Weber 1985). This approach, however, placed the onus on being able to clearly distinguish between distinct themes in order to score responses. Given the limited questionnaire format used in the study, for the most part this was relatively clear, although it should be appreciated that some responses more than others may have required more inference on the part of coders. In others, as well, we were also very much limited to a focus on the key words used by the interviewee, particularly in cases where the respondent was unwilling to elaborate to any great extent on their initial response. A useful way to look at the process in more detail, however, would be to consider some examples of responses to Question 19 (see *Appendix V*). This measure sought to get at the reasons behind people's decision to initially participate.

From the responses in *Appendix V* it was clear that a number of distinct categories could be generated around a number of distinct themes. For example, the perception that people wanted to help and the realisation that there was a recognisable need in the area for them to do so was one clearly identifiable theme (**Example 1**). Similarly, using voluntarism as a means to socialise, meet people, or get out of the house and being active was another (**Example 2**). Alternatively identifying with organisational aims as a reflection of one's own personal ideology was another identifiable theme (**Example's 3 & 4**). Problems arose, however, in what appear to be slightly more ambiguous cases, such as responses which indicated a desire to help, while at the same time, explaining that this arose from a feeling of social responsibility and obligation (**Example 5**). These cases were treated in terms of the latter on the rationale that, as opposed to acting from a desire to help *per se*, people reported that they were acting in terms of internalised normative feelings of responsibility towards others. This seemed to justify a separate theme concerned with not wanting to be seen to be refusing aid to others.

There were other clear associations. For example, material benefit was consistently associated with a desire for some form of personal influence over how that could be

achieved (**Example 6**). Consequently, these cases were treated within the category of having some personal say over the provision of collective material benefits. Furthermore, there were many cases where people gave more than one reason for their participation (**Example's 7 and 8**). In the former, the respondent expressed a perceived need for activity alongside an appreciation that the organisation would be of some benefit to others. Hence we scored this individual within two mutually exclusive categories (i.e. social and purposive) reflecting different influences on their decision to participate.

It should be appreciated, however, that content analysis even in a limited, structured questionnaire format not only relies on how articulate respondents chose to be but on the inference of the researcher. While it was relatively easy to screen for those supplementary conversational items that people made, obvious difficulties arose when only limited information was provided (**Example 9**). In this case a judgement had to be made about whether the 'help' was other or self oriented. A common sense judgement meant that we decided in favour of the former option. Consequently, in coding responses the results become set within the inference system of coders who try to make reasonable judgements about content and whether any one response could be satisfactorily included within the parameters of any one particular category or another. There were also obviously some statements which clearly did not fall into any category definitions no matter how refined we would have wished to make them. This necessitated the use of a dump category (i.e. 'other') to include the small number of issues that didn't fit the parameters of those categories already generated.

Reliability

Following the completion of the first 30 interviews with volunteers, the content of responses to each of the open-ended questions were banded into mutually exclusive categories. This formed the initial basis of a coding framework for questionnaire items. These categories were subsequently developed and refined as the fieldwork progressed

until a full draft version of coding frame was completed. There was no obvious way of calculating the reliability with which the coding frame reflected the content of the open-ended questions. Although many do not provide reliability figures for their evidence, we attempted to calculate reliability in a way similar to Livingstone *et al* (1992).

Firstly, a batch of 5 completely uncoded questionnaires were photocopied and coded simultaneously by the researcher and an independent coder using the version of the first draft coding frame. The proportion of agreement about the content of the open-ended questions was calculated. This was 85% indicating a relatively high level of agreement between both parties. Responses which formed the basis of disagreements were discussed and resolved, and appropriate amendments made to the coding frame on this basis. Once this was complete, the reliability of open-ended items was measured by comparing coding responses for 5 of the re-interviewed volunteers. Reliability was calculated on the extent to which responses could be given exact coding values. Using this method a figure of 78% was calculated, indicating a reasonably satisfactory level of reliability for these measures.

Second-order Coding & Analysis

Once the initial content analysis had been undertaken, the responses to questions on initial, continued and retained participation were subjected to a second-order analysis. This sought to map the first-order categories onto those specified by social exchange / incentive theory. In this respect, the analysis was limited to those categories which could be explicitly located within distinct theoretical parameters. At this stage the analysis was entirely theory-led and all of the statements relating to a particular theme were grouped under one of these areas consistent with our definitions outlined in ***Chapter Two***. This put the focus on being able to accurately categorise and subsume the original categories under the discrete parameters of a theoretical framework.

All interviews were fully coded and analysed using SPSS-x (2.4). The specification of the hypotheses outlined in *Chapter Four* identified univariate statistical analysis. Here the use of nominal, categorical variables was consistent with the use of one-sample chi square analysis, while ANOVA was applied to investigate differences based on interval data (Howell 1982). Where the former involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied (Miller 1975) and where overall differences were found, pairwise analysis was applied to identify the exact location of such differences. To avoid the potential incidence of *Type I* errors which increase proportionately with increasing use of chi square, a level of significance was chosen to compensate for accepting false hypotheses based on statistical probability (Howell 1982). The level of significance for chi square was set at 0.01, while the 0.05 level applied for other tests.

Chapter 6 : The Socio-Demographic and Commitment Characteristics of Volunteers & their Initial Orientation to Participate

Introduction

In this chapter we detail the socio-demographic and commitment characteristics of volunteers, and their prior attitudinal orientation to participate in community enterprise. Previous research has primarily distinguished volunteer from non-volunteer groups on the basis of their individual characteristics. It has also highlighted that different types of voluntary-based activity involve different types of volunteers (Clary & Snyder 1991, Lynn & Smith 1991). This points to the expectation that there may be important distinctions between community enterprise volunteers and UK volunteer populations, as well as, inter-model differences within community enterprise activity. This shifts the general question of 'who volunteers' to consider 'who volunteers in what' (Bailey 1973).

The main questions asked in this chapter were as follows. Firstly, how do the socio-demographic and commitment characteristics of community enterprise volunteers compare with those detailed in UK surveys? Given their organisational aims and characteristic urban locations, community enterprise volunteers may provide a distinctly different profile from the UK volunteer population, most likely regarding their socio-economic characteristics. Secondly, can different types of community enterprise volunteers be distinguished by their socio-demographic characteristics, and their prior attitudinal-orientation to volunteer? There are likely to be inter-model differences but little insight from previous research to indicate exactly what these differences may be. Finally, we were interested in the relative importance of significant inter-model differences and their implications for the likely benefits and costs of participation in different activities.

The chapter is presented in two parts. Firstly, we explore the issue of differences between community enterprise volunteers and the UK volunteer population alongside

inter-model distinctions. This is done in terms of their socio-demographic, attitudinal and commitment characteristics. A second section then deals exclusively with inter-model differences in terms of what differences, if any, were the most important in distinguishing between different groups of community enterprise volunteers.

Part One : Method

Sample

The respondents were 222 volunteers drawn from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 volunteers drawn from ten credit union, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively). The exact sample size responding to the various questions outlined in this chapter are detailed in the accompanying tables throughout the chapter. All other general sample details and issues were outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The information used in this chapter was taken from five sections of the questionnaire outlined in *Appendix II*. These sections were as follows : ‘Residential Characteristics’ ; ‘Previous Voluntary Experience’ ; ‘Initial Volunteer Recruitment and Reasons’ ; ‘Position / Tasks’ ; and ‘Personal Characteristics’. The measures used, linked to their respective questions in *Appendix II* were as follows : current local residential status (Qu : 1) ; local length of residence and locus (Qu : 3) ; previous voluntary experience within the local area at the time of becoming a volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 5) ; previous voluntary experience outside the local area at the time of becoming a volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 6) ; any other previous voluntary experience (Qu : 9) ; the benefits derived from previous voluntary activity (Qu : 7) ; prior perceptions of voluntary work for those with no previous voluntary experience (Qu : 10) ; intent and opportunity to volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 16) ; current weekly time invested (Qu : 21) ; length of time a volunteer in community enterprise (Qu : 14) ; sex (Qu : 56) ; date of birth (Qu : 55) ; current employment status and hours (Qu

: 57) ; educational / vocational qualifications (Qu : 58) ; household composition (Qu : 59) ; household tenure (Qu : 60) ; and average weekly gross personal and household incomes (Qu : 62).

The results data are organised to explore the issues outlined in the introduction. This involved univariate statistics in the form of chi square analysis, which investigates differences between categorical variables (Howell 1982). Where this analysis involved differences between categories of benefits, gross motivational categories are given in bold type, above their respective sub-categories. The cumulative figures for these gross categories formed the basis of all subsequent calculations. Also, where chi square analysis involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied, consistent with Miller (1975). The results of chi square analysis are outlined in each of the tables presented in the results section and correspond to UK survey comparisons (where this was possible) and inter-model variation. The latter are clearly labelled to avoid any potential confusion in the interpretation of results. However, where multiple response categories were involved X^2 values are presented for each respective dependent variable. Throughout the analysis the 0.01 level of significance was chosen as the level above which all differences were reported as significant. Where overall significant distinctions were identified pairwise analysis was conducted to identify the exact nature of such differences. As far as possible, only significant results are reported in the text.

Results

Sex & Age

Table 6.1 details community enterprise volunteers' responses to questions about their sex and age, against corresponding UK survey characteristics.

Table 6.1 : Sex and Age of Community Enterprise Volunteers against UK Survey Characteristics (%).

Category	All	Lynn & Smith ('91)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	44	47	40	41	53
Female	56	53	60	59	47
<i>Age (yrs)</i>					
18-24	3	15	4	6	-
25 - 34	16	23	16	13	18
35 - 44	25	21	20	32	24
45 - 54	22	16	16	25	24
55 - 64	22	12	30	18	18
65 +	12	12	13	6	17
Total Sample Size	222	747	79	71	72

Sex : $X^2=0.79$, df 1, n / s, Inter-Model : $X^2=2.89$, df 2, n / s

Age : $X^2=41.02$, df 5, p < 0.000, Inter-model : $X^2=11.15$, df 8, n / s

From Table 6.1, community enterprise volunteers had a sex, but not age, distribution consistent with previous research on UK volunteer populations. Overall, they were predominantly female (56%) and in age groups mainly between 35 and 64 years (69%). Participation was lowest amongst age groups 18-24 years (3%). While there was no significant sex variation, age differences were significantly different from UK surveys

at the upper and lower end of the range. From chi square analysis, these differences were attributable to the lower and higher levels of community enterprise volunteers in the 18-24 ($X^2=19.78$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) and 55-64 ($X^2=53.58$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) age bands respectively.

There was also some evidence of inter-model differences in terms of volunteers' sex and age patterns. Females were predominantly involved in credit union (60%) and housing (59%) organisations, while the converse applied in community businesses. In this respect, community business volunteers' had a sex profile characteristic of groups generally involved in political and trade union activity which previous research tends to associate with predominantly higher levels of male participation. Regarding age patterns, however, credit union and community business volunteers comprised a relatively older volunteer group. In these organisations the majority of volunteers were aged 45 years or over (59% respectively), while in housing organisations a small majority were under this age band (51%). While in credit unions, participation was proportionally higher in the age band 55-64 years (30%), in other models participation was greater in age band 35-44 years (24% in community business, 32% in housing). Despite these differences, however, from chi square analysis, all inter-model age variations were not significant.

Table 6.2 presents a detailed breakdown of sex-age differences amongst community enterprise volunteers.

Table 6.2 : Sex by Age Characteristics of Community Enterprise Volunteers (%).

Category	Age Band (years)						Total (no.)
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
<i>All</i>							
Male	3	11	25	22	22	16	99
Female	3	20	25	21	23	8	123
<i>C.Union</i>							
Male	3	16	25	16	19	22	32
Female	4	17	17	17	38	7	47
<i>Housing</i>							
Male	7	3	31	24	28	7	29
Female	5	19	33	26	12	5	42
<i>C.Business</i>							
Male	-	13	21	26	21	18	38
Female	-	24	26	21	15	15	34
Total Sample Size	11	55	49	51	48	8	222

Overall (6 categories) : $X^2=5.59$, df 5, n / s ; C.Union (5 categories), $X^2=6.68$, df 4, n / s ; Housing (5 categories), $X^2=4.32$, df 4, n / s ; C.Business (5 categories) : $X^2=2.08$, df 4, n / s

From Table 6.2, for the sample as a whole, there was a comparatively even age-sex split amongst volunteers, with both sexes mainly concentrated within the age band 35-44 years. In housing and community business there were slight trends towards older male groups alongside relatively younger females (older females in credit unions).

From chi square analysis, however, all age-sex differences were found to be non-significant.

Household Composition & Tenure

Table 6.3 presents volunteers' responses to questions on their household composition and tenure, against corresponding UK survey characteristics.

**Table 6.3 : Household Composition and Tenure of Community Enterprise
Volunteers Against UK Survey Characteristics (%).**

Category	All	Lynn & Smith	GHS ('87)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>Co-Resident</i>						
Married / Partner	73	-	70	75	75	69
Other	27	-	30	25	25	30
<i>Dependence</i>						
None	68	-	20	73	65	65
> 1 Dependent	32	-	80	27	35	35
<i>Tenure</i>						
Owner-occupier	25	74	-	30	13	33
Local authority / rented	45	18	-	62	13	60
Independent-rented /						
Other	30	8	-	8	75	7
Total Sample Size	222	747	4547	79	71	72

Co-Resident : $X^2=0.89$, df 1, n / s, Inter-Model : $X^2=0.66$, df 2, n / s

Dependence : $X^2=269.39$, df 1, $p<0.000$, Inter-Model : $X^2=1.65$, df 2, n / s

Tenure : $X^2=174.98$, df 1, $p<0.000$, Inter-model : $X^2=107.75$, df 2, $p<0.000$

Housing vs C.Union : $X^2=71.91$, df 2, $p<0.000$, Housing vs C.Business : $X^2=68.67$, df 2, $p<0.000$

As a whole, community enterprise volunteers had a co-resident (but not dependence) profile, consistent with previous research on UK volunteer populations. As we know, the latter studies tend to link volunteering with the presence of a resident partner and dependent children (e.g. GHS 1981, 1987). Our findings, however, are largely consistent with the earlier evidence on age and age-sex profiles, where community enterprise volunteers (both male and female) were largely concentrated in middle-aged groups. Although we can say little about how supportive these familial relationships were of participation, the evidence suggests that at the very least the absence of demanding child dependencies increases the potential to invest time in discretionary activity.

In terms of housing tenure, however, while UK surveys associate volunteering with appreciably high levels of home ownership (Lynn & Smith 1991), this only applied to 25% of our sample. The majority of the latter were public sector tenants (45%). Compared to UK survey figures, community enterprise volunteers had significantly lower levels of home ownership ($X^2=63.56$, df 1, $p > 0.00$), higher levels of local authority ($X^2=53.58$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) and independent-rented ($X^2=57.84$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) tenancy. We may assume that these volunteers were from social groups largely untouched by the 1980's momentum towards a property owning democracy.

Divergent inter-model housing tenure trends were also evident. Only 13% of housing volunteers were owner-occupiers compared to 30% and 33% of credit union and community business volunteers respectively. In this respect, housing volunteers were predominantly independent-sector tenants (75%) compared to higher levels of local authority tenure amongst volunteers in other models. From chi square analysis, inter-model differences were found between : housing and community business volunteers ($X^2=68.67$, df 2, $p > 0.00$), attributable to local authority ($X^2=22.04$, df 1, $p > 0.00$), and independent-rented ($X^2=40.6$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) tenancy ; and between housing and credit union volunteers, attributable to local authority ($X^2=23.55$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) and

independent-rented ($X^2=42.74$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) tenancy. These findings were hardly surprising given that membership of a housing organisation often involves a formal change in tenure status away from local authority control.

Socio-Economic Characteristics : Employment, Income & Qualifications

Table 6.4 outlines volunteers' responses to questions about their current employment status, against corresponding UK survey characteristics.

**Table 6.4 : Employment Characteristics of Community Enterprise Volunteers
against UK Survey Characteristics (%).**

Category	All	Lynn & Smith ('91)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>Employed :</i>	46	66	47	45	47
<i>Employment Category :</i>					
Non-Manual	29	31	30	20	39
Skilled Manual	3	14	2	5	1
Semi / Unskilled Manual	14	21	15	20	7
Housewife	15	11	13	17	15
Retired	17	14	18	13	21
Unemployed	22	5	23	25	17
<i>Hours</i>					
Full-time (30 + hrs / week)	79	86	78	72	85
Part-time (< 30hr's / week)	21	14	22	28	15
<i>Sample Size</i>	103	494	37	32	34
Total Sample Size	222	718	79	71	72

Status : $X^2=69.35$, df 1, $p < 0.000$, Inter-Model : $X^2=4.38$, df 2, n / s

Category : $X^2=14.31$, df 1, $p < 0.000$, Inter-Model : $X^2=10.08$, df 2, n / s-

Hours : $X^2=2.11$, df 1, n / s, Inter-model : $X^2=1.82$, df 2, n / s

In contrast to previous research on UK volunteer populations (e.g. GHS 1981 1987), community enterprise volunteers were mainly drawn from non-employed groups (i.e. the retired, unemployed and housewives, who comprised 54% of volunteers). Only 46% of community enterprise volunteers were employed and 22% unemployed, compared to the figures of 66% and 5% respectively, cited by Lynn & Smith (1991). In these respects, those in groups with potentially greater discretionary time use available to spend it as a proportion of the day as a volunteer within the area, constituted the greatest percentage of community enterprise volunteers. All community enterprise models attracted broadly similar proportions of these generally less economically successful groups. Interestingly, community businesses involved comparatively less of those with whom they were most directly concerned, i.e. the unemployed (17%). Significant differences between community enterprise and UK surveys were attributable to the lower and higher levels of employed ($X^2=13.97$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) and unemployed ($X^2=53.04$, df 1, $p > 0.00$), associated with the former. For the employed, differences between the two surveys findings, were attributable to the higher levels of skilled manual volunteers in UK surveys ($X^2=8.43$, df 1, $p > 0.005$). Like the evidence on volunteers' housing status, their occupational distribution may be hardly surprising given the urban locations in which these organisations tend to operate.

There were also significant inter-model differences in terms of volunteers' employment category but not in their overall status or hours. In terms of category, housing organisations were composed of relatively higher proportions of those in manual employment categories. Those with potentially lower levels of the organisational and management skills, achievement levels and information resources usually associated with non-manual groups (Wrong 1979). Nevertheless, inter-model differences were only found to be attributable to differences between housing and community businesses volunteers ($X^2=10.68$, df 1, $p > 0.005$). Regarding this finding, however, no further specific categorical differences were found to be significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 6.5 outlines volunteers' responses reported gross income and qualifications, against corresponding UK survey characteristics.

Table 6.5 : Weekly Personal and Household Incomes (gross), and Qualification Levels of Community Enterprise Volunteers, Against UK Survey Characteristics (%).

Category	All	GHS (1987)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>Weekly Gross Personal Income (£)</i>					
0 - 100	64	51	63	70	58
101 - 200	22	24	22	24	22
201 - 300	8	14	11	3	11
301 - 400	5	5	4	3	8
401 +	1	5	-	-	1
<i>Sample Size</i>	222	3801	79	71	72
<i>Weekly Gross Household Income (£)</i>					
0 - 100	32	-	30	31	33
101 - 200	37	-	33	45	33
201 - 300	18	-	20	17	17
301 - 400	13	-	16	7	14
401 +	1	-	-	-	3
<i>Sample Size</i>	222	-	79	71	72
<i>Qualifications</i>					
None	54	27	52	58	53
At least one	46	73	48	42	47
<i>Sample Size</i>	222	4211	79	71	72

Personal Income : $X^2=18.47$, df 4, $p<0.005$, Inter-Model : $X^2=7.46$, df 3, n / s

Household Income : Inter-Model : $X^2=5.55$, df 3, n / s

Qualifications : $X^2=75.96$, df 1, $p<0.000$, Inter-model : $X^2=0.58$, df 2, n / s

Although responses to income-related questions should be treated with an appreciable degree of caution due to the sensitivity usually associated with these issues (Fowler 1982). By taking the results at face value the following points may be made. In comparison with previous research, a higher proportion of community enterprise volunteers were grouped within the lowest personal income banding (64% compared to 51% in GHS 1987). These figures are consistent with their housing status and occupational profile. They also compare favourably with national average income data. In Scotland in 1989, the average personal income per head of population was reported as £96 per week (CSO 1992). Regarding household income levels, 69% of community enterprise volunteers reported weekly household incomes at or below £200 per week. Like the figures for volunteers' personal income this data also compares reasonably well with national average household income figures. In Scotland in 1990, this was reported as £120 per week (CSO 1992). Interestingly, it should be apparent that at least 32% of our sample reported incomes below this average.

From chi square analysis, significant differences were found between the figures for personal income and previous research. Specific differences, however, were not at the 0.01 level of significance and are not reported. All inter-model differences regarding both personal and household incomes were not significant.

Regarding qualification levels, compared to the level of volunteers in UK surveys who held no formal educational and vocational qualifications (20% in GHS 1987), the corresponding figure for community enterprise volunteers was 54%. This figure was consistent for volunteers in each community enterprise model where the majority held no formal qualifications. These findings taken in isolation, may simply be indicative of the age and occupational status of our sample allied to changes in the type of qualifications available within the education sector and the labour market. Nevertheless, our figure for the lack of formal qualifications was over twice that cited for UK volunteer populations (GHS 1981, 1987). Community enterprise

organisations therefore appear to be largely represented in terms of their formal qualifications by relatively low achievement groups. Again, this is consistent with earlier socio-economic indicators on housing, employment and income. From chi square analysis, differences between our findings and previous research were significant. These were attributable to the lower level of formal qualifications reported by community enterprise volunteers.

Community Attachment : Residence & Previous Voluntary Experience

The relative strength of the affective bond that people potentially have with their local area has been measured through their residential characteristics (Lynn & Smith 1991). Table 6.6 outlines volunteers' responses to questions about their residential status, length of residence and residential locus, against corresponding UK survey figures. Regarding the length of local residence, the threshold categories below were used to compensate for small cell counts which would have disallowed any statistical comparison with the UK study and between the models in the present study. This threshold also had the added advantage of being the most effective discriminatory marker to highlight existing differences between those in housing organisations and others.

**Table 6.6 : Residential Status, Length and Locus of Community Enterprise
Volunteers against UK Survey Characteristics (%).**

Category	All	Lynn & Smith ('91)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>Status</i>					
Local	94	-	95	96	90
Non-Local	6	-	5	4	10
<i>Length (yrs)</i>					
< 20	40	50	28	60	35
20 +	60	50	72	40	65
<i>Locus</i>					
Always Lived in Locality	31	-	48	11	32
Moved (back) to Locality	69	-	52	89	68
Total Sample Size	222	747	79	71	72

Status : Inter-Model : $X^2=1.75$, df 2, n / s

Length : $X^2=7.05$, df 1, $p< 0.01$, Inter-Model : $X^2=18.10$, df 2, $p< 0.01$

Housing vs C.Union : $X^2=71.91$, df 2, $p< 0.000$

Housing vs C.Business : $X^2=68.67$, df 2, $p< 0.000$

Locus : Inter-Model : $X^2=23.71$, df 2, $p< 0.000$

Housing vs C.Union : $X^2=23.41$, df 1, $p< 0.000$

Housing vs C.Business : $X^2=9.00$, df 1, $p< 0.005$

The overwhelming majority of community enterprise volunteers had local residential status within the geographical area in which their organisation was based (94%). This was a consistent feature in all models and may demonstrate the relatively high level of local involvement in the community enterprise sector as a whole and in different models.

Regarding length of residence, however, 60% of community enterprise volunteers reported that they had lived within their current residential area for a period of at least 20 years or more. This finding is higher than that cited by previous research (50% in Lynn & Smith 1991) and significant differences were found between previous research and the current study in this respect. This highlights that our sample was comprised of less mobile groups, consistent with their socio-economic characteristics. Also, having local residential ties of 20 years or over, was relatively more prevalent within credit union (72%) and community business (65%), as opposed to, housing organisations (40%). From chi square analysis, significant inter-model differences were found between those in the former groups and those in housing.

Inter-model differences were further compounded by findings on whether community enterprise volunteers had always resided in the local area covered by their respective community enterprise organisation. In this respect, 31% of community enterprise volunteers reported that they had never been resident outwith their current locality. Again this was more prevalent feature within credit union (48%) and community business (32%), as opposed to, housing organisations (11%). Significant differences were subsequently found between housing volunteers and those in other models on this measure. Consequently, we may expect that people's sense of local identity would be stronger amongst credit union and community business volunteers.

The comparatively poorer figures for housing organisations on both their length and locus of residence may be explained by a number of factors. Firstly, achieving the external aims of housing organisations may tend to make participation by what may be described as, 'indigenous' residential groups, less likely if these very aims involve attracting new residents to the local area. This is likely to be appreciably magnified in housing organisations operating within relatively smaller scale local areas which also reduces the likely number of 'indigenous' residents available for participation and increases the pressure on smaller numbers to do so. This would be especially so if the

housing conditions characteristic of the local area prior to the initiative starting up meant that it had a relatively transient population with high population turnover.

In terms of their residential characteristics, if previous voluntary activity can also be taken as a measure of people's likely level of affective attachment to their current local area, then we may expect housing organisations to attract those with comparatively lower levels of prior voluntary experience within their current local area. Table 6.7 illustrates community enterprise volunteers' responses to questions about the extent of their prior voluntary experience within and outside their current local area at the time that they became volunteers in community enterprise activity.

Table 6.7 : Previous Voluntary Experience of Community Enterprise Volunteers
Prior to Participation in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
<i>In local area (no. of groups)</i>				
None	45	44	61	31
1	55	56	39	69
2	33	28	22	50
3 or more	18	14	15	26
<i>Outside local area (no. of groups)</i>				
None	72	73	65	76
1	28	27	35	24
2	10	9	8	14
3 or more	3	3	3	3
<i>Overall Previous experience</i>				
Yes	63	66	52	71
No	37	34	48	29
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

Experience Inside Local Area (yes vs no) : Inter-Model : $X^2=13.03$, df 2, $p < 0.005$

Housing vs C.Business : $X^2=13.03$, df 1, $p< 0.000$

Experience Outside Local Area (yes vs no) : Inter-Model : $X^2=2.57$, df 2, n / s

Overall Experience (yes vs no) : Inter-Model : $X^2=5.77$, df 2, n / s

From Table 6.7, 55% of community enterprise volunteers had prior voluntary experience in at least one voluntary activity based within the local area in which their respective community enterprise organisation was based. This was in contrast to a relatively lower figure of 28% for volunteers with prior experience outwith their current

local area. In each area and across all models, however, volunteering declined with increasing numbers of activities. Hence the largest portion of community enterprise volunteers reported that they were involved in at least one voluntary activity prior to their involvement in community enterprise.

There were distinct inter-model differences in the level of previous voluntary experience amongst volunteers. Community business volunteers reported the highest level of prior voluntary experience in their local area at each level of activity. Also proportionally more credit union volunteers had experience of at least one voluntary activity in their current residential area than their housing counterparts (56% compared to 39%). Nevertheless, these differences were reduced when the question of how many were involved in two, or three or more, activities was considered. Similarly, although housing volunteers reported the highest proportion of prior experience outside their current local area (35%), these differences decreased as the number of activities increased. Nevertheless, of those who had no experience of any voluntary activity whatsoever, the proportion was highest among housing volunteers (48%) and lowest among community business volunteers (30%). In this respect, housing organisations were the most successful at attracting new participants to volunteering and consequently the least successful at involving those with some prior experience of volunteer roles.

From chi square analysis, significant inter-model differences were found in the level of prior voluntary experience within the local area but not outside it or overall. These were found to be attributable to differences between community business and housing volunteers and can probably be best explained with reference to their residential characteristics. Hence we may have expected that higher levels of indigenous and longer term residence would mean higher levels of previous local voluntary participation. Inter-model age differences, however, may confound this expectation in this sample given that older and not younger age groups are those who generally volunteer.

Table 6.8 outlines the responses of volunteers with some previous voluntary experience, to questions about the kind of activities that they were involved in prior to their participation in community enterprise. Typologies are grouped under four broad functional categories. These were as follows : welfare (e.g. children's, OAP, youth groups), resource (e.g. community centre committees) self help / mutual aid (e.g. trade union, political parties) and church / charity-related activities.

Table 6.8 : Type of Previous Voluntary experience of Community Enterprise
Volunteers (%).

Type of Activity	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
Church / charity	8	15	7	2	1.24
Self Help / Mutual aid	39	31	42	45	8.62
Resource	6	4	2	9	
Welfare	48	51	49	44	1.24
Total No. of Responses	317	101	90	126	
Total Sample Size	139	52	37	50	

The previous participation experience of community enterprise volunteers was mainly derived from welfare (48%) and mutual aid (39%) activities. Inter-model differences, however, mainly concerned the 15% of credit union volunteers with experience in church / charity-based activity and the comparatively lower proportion with experience in mutual aid activity (31% compared to 42% and 45% of housing and community business volunteers respectively). These differences can probably best be explained by differential development patterns associated with starting up these groups. For example, the prominent role of the churches in the development of credit union activity (Berthoud & Hinton 1990). From chi square analysis, however, all inter-model variations were found to be non-significant.

Considering the above evidence, differences may be indicative of a reliance within credit unions and community businesses on already established social networks of experienced volunteers. This may counter the somewhat naive impression of volunteers as constituting free-standing 'self-selecting' groups. Moreover, there may be important positive implications for group dynamics and management, associated with more socialisation and habituation to the volunteer role within established networks. In the context of a defined residential area where volunteering is undertaken by a minority, those with previous voluntary experience potentially had established network relationships with organisers of community enterprise.

Outcomes of Previous Voluntary Experience

One way of assessing volunteers' attitudinal orientation to participate in community enterprise activity is to consider the type of outcomes attributed by those with previous voluntary experience from their respective activities. Table 6.9 illustrates the responses of those community enterprise volunteers' with previous voluntary experience to the question, what gave them satisfaction from doing voluntary work in these types of activities ?

Table 6.9 : Benefit Outcomes Reported by Community Enterprise Volunteers with some Previous Voluntary Experience (%).

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Purposive</i>					1.38
Helping others	38	41	34	38	
Sense of Satisfaction / worth	16	17	18	11	
<i>Instrumental</i>					0.62
Sense of personal achievement	18	13	18	19	
<i>Control</i>					0.003
Use / maintain skills / abilities	2	3	-	1	
Learned new things / abilities	7	6	5	7	
<i>Social</i>					0.57
Active / met people	20	18	23	22	
Total No. of Responses	217	75	54	88	
Total Sample Size	139	52	37	50	

All community enterprise volunteers reported positive satisfactory outcomes from their previous voluntary experience. Purposive and social sources of satisfaction were cited most frequently, accounting for 54% and 20% respectively of responses, followed by instrumental (18%) and control (9%) benefits. This was a consistent pattern for ‘experienced’ volunteers across all models of community enterprise. Being able to help others through volunteering was the single most cited purposive response (38% of all volunteers). This was followed by the social benefit of being active outside the home and meeting others (20%) and a sense of personal achievement (18%). From chi square analysis, however, no inter-model differences were significant.

Table 6.10 outlines the responses of those community enterprise volunteers, with no previous experience of volunteering, to the question, what did they think of being a volunteer doing voluntary work before they became involved in community enterprise ?

Table 6.10 : Perceptions of Voluntary Work by Community Enterprise Volunteers with no Previous Voluntary Experience (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
Helpful / caring	19	29	19	22	1.89
Sense of satisfaction / worth	21	22	21	17	0.19
Not interested / too busy	35	34	36	35	0.04
Exploitative / unpaid	14	12	13	22	0.002
Other / Don't Know	6	2	11	4	
Total No. of Responses	111	41	47	23	
Total Sample Size	83	27	34	22	

Those volunteers with no prior voluntary experience before community enterprise largely associated participation with opportunity-related costs concerning the potential time involved : 35% reported that prior to community enterprise activity they were too busy with employment and / or familial commitments to consider participation. Demand-related costs were referred to by those who linked volunteering to exploitation. Here participation was perceived as a means of providing services without having to pay the financial costs commensurate with the time and effort involved (14%). Nevertheless, the main proportion of responses to this question were positive. Participation was associated with helping others (19%) and giving people some sense of intrinsic worth and satisfaction (21%). From chi square analysis however, no inter-model differences were significant.

Interest in Volunteering in Community Enterprise

Table 6.11 outlines all volunteers' responses to the question, would they have taken on some other form of voluntary work if they had not had the opportunity to do so in community enterprise ?

**Table 6.11 : Intent to Volunteer in any Voluntary-based Activity Prior to
Becoming a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).**

Intent	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
No	75	76	75	75
Yes	23	23	23	24
Don't know	2	1	3	1
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

Intent : Inter-Model : $X^2=0.4$, df 2, n / s

The majority of community enterprise volunteers reported that they did not intend to get involved in any (other) voluntary activity at the time they became involved in community enterprise activity (75%). Positive responses to this question were only reported by 23% of all volunteers. Furthermore, from chi square analysis, all inter-model differences were found to be non-significant.

The above findings alongside those in the previous section mean that although many ‘new’ volunteers had expressed favourable attitudes towards volunteering and experienced volunteers had attained positive satisfactory outcomes from other voluntary activities. Those who were actually actively seeking to volunteer on the basis of their attitudes, or prior experiences of, volunteering only constituted a minority of community enterprise volunteers. This point should be remembered when we consider recruitment factors in later chapters.

Commitment Characteristics

Table 6.12 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, what was the total average weekly time spent as a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 6.12 : Average Weekly Time Spent as a Volunteer in Community Enterprise against UK Survey Characteristics (%).

Time (hours)	All	GHS ('87)	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
< 1	6	23	5	6	8
1-2.25	24	15	11	32	29
2.5-3.5	23	17	30	15	22
3.75-6	23	13	30	20	19
6.25-10	16	10	15	17	15
10 +	8	7	8	10	6
Sample Size	222	2387	79	71	72

Hours : $X^2=50.98$, df 5, $p < 0.000$, Inter-Model : $X^2=15.91$, df 10, n / s

The largest portion of community enterprise volunteers invested on a weekly average between 1 and 2.25 hours in community enterprise activity (24%). This compares favourably with UK survey figures which showed that the largest proportion of UK volunteers were involved for on average less than 1 hour / week (GHS 1987). From chi square analysis, significant differences were found between the two volunteer groups, attributable to the higher and lower proportions of UK volunteers in time bands, < 1 hour ($X^2=34.59$, df 1, $p > 0.00$) and 3.75-6 hrs / week ($X^2=8.41$, df 1, $p > 0.005$).

Regarding inter-model differences, higher proportions of credit union volunteers invested relatively more time in participation compared to volunteers in other models :

53% of credit union volunteers invested over 3.75 per week, compared to similar figures of 47% and 40% for housing and community business volunteers respectively. This obviously reflects the comparatively greater reliance on volunteer input in credit union, as opposed to, other organisational models. From chi square analysis, however, inter-model differences were not significant.

Table 6.13 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, how long they had been volunteers in community enterprise activity ?

Table 6.13 : Length of Service of Community Enterprise Volunteers (%).

Length (years)	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
< 1	12	16	10	10
1-3	48	44	45	57
>3-6	30	30	34	26
>6-9	9	10	11	7
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

Length of Service : Inter-Model : $X^2=4.20$, df 8, n / s

The greatest proportion of community enterprise volunteers had been involved for between 1 and 3 years (48%). The figures largely reflect our initial organisational sampling criteria where 60% of the sample were in their first formal term of office, compared to 30% and 9% in their second and third terms respectively. From chi square analysis, inter-model differences were not significant.

Part Two : Introduction

In section one, we contrasted inter-model differences across a range of socio-demographic, commitment and attitudinal variables. In this section, however, we were concerned with question of which of these variables were the most important in predicting those significant inter-model differences found above.

Part Two : Method

Sample

The sample was as outlined in the corresponding part of the method section presented at the beginning of the chapter.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The measures were as outlined in the corresponding part of the method section presented at the beginning of the chapter. The independent variables used were those inter-model differences that were found to be statistically significant in the previous section. The issues raised in this section, however, identified the application of multivariate statistical analysis to determine the relative importance of each variable in explaining inter-model differences. The application of multivariate regression analysis in this context is recommended by Cohen & Cohen (1975) and has been similarly applied in previous studies of voluntary participation (e.g. Perkins *et al* 1990).

Two regression models were constructed to contrast volunteers in each participatory model of community enterprise activity. No model was constructed for a comparison between community business and credit union volunteers on the basis that there were no significant differences identified between these two groups in Part One. In order to determine the amount of overall variance accounted for by each independent variable these were entered into regression equations in a stepwise fashion. As opposed to a method of simultaneous entry, a stepwise approach countered the lack of an *a priori*

theoretical basis for predetermining the order of variable entry. It also controlled for the presence of multicollinearity between the predictor variables.

Multicollinearity is an unavoidable consequence of using variables likely to be highly interrelated (e.g. demographic data). Although Edwards & White (1980), highlight that there is a lack of a consensus of what exactly constitutes dangerous levels of interdependency (p.63), it would have proved difficult if we had simultaneously entered the variables. Although this may have been countered by the block entry of discrete combinations of predictor variables, Sullivan (1974, p.251) points out that such a procedure apart from involving the arbitrary construction of block variables, also necessitates that each block contain approximately equal numbers of indicators per construct. This is necessary to ensure that no one block of indicators has the potential to account for a greater percentage of the variance in a given dependent variable than any other. Hence the greater number of variables in any one block, relative to others, the greater the chance of accounting for a larger proportion of the variance in the dependent variable (Edwards & White 1980). Given the relatively small number of independent variables available this method was not adopted in our approach.

Furthermore, since we were primarily dealing with dichotomous and polytomous categorical variables, this meant that prior to entry in the regression equation each variable needed to be transformed into an interval measure. This was done using a dichotomous format of dummy variables (i.e. 0,1 format) in a manner recommended by Cohen & Cohen (1975). This meant that in the case of polytomous variables, such as tenure, all possible variable transformations were placed in a dummy format bar one. The results of each regression analysis are presented in the appropriate tables in the text. In each analysis the dependent variable used was the model of community enterprise activity. Hence in both the comparisons presented in this section, housing organisations were coded as one, while the other organisation used in the analysis was coded as zero. The statistical definition of all dependent and independent comparator

variables are presented in the respective tables. In each table, the variables not in the equation are given in italics below the main variable under consideration.

Results

Comparison between C.Union and Housing Volunteers

Table 6.14 shows a stepwise regression for the comparison between credit union and housing volunteers.

Table 6.14 : Stepwise Regression of C.Union vs Housing Inter-Model Variables

Variables Entered (C.Union =0, Housing =1)	beta	F	r ²
Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)	- .157	54.086	.267
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .197	-2.821	
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .340	-5.226	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .571	7.353	
Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)	- .670	120.868	.449
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .099	-1.150	
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .262	-4.475	
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .157	-2.031	
Length of Residence (<20yrs=0,>20yrs=1)	-.289	13.505	.083
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .325	-3.642	
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .479	-6.848	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.641	10.086	
Locus (other=0,always lived locally=1)	-.387	26.086	.149
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .484	-7.400	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.617	10.530	
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .115	-1.290	

Here the negative signs on the beta and F values were consistent with the statistical definition of the dependent variable and the direction of the effect. It was found that the four independent variables under consideration had r² values accounting for the

following percentage of the variance between the dependent variables : independent-rented tenure (50%) ; local authority tenure (27%) ; length of residence (8%) and locus (15%).

Comparison between C.Business and Housing Volunteers

Table 6.15 shows a stepwise regression for the comparison between community business and housing volunteers. As above, the negative signs on the beta and F values were consistent with the statistical definition of the dependent variable and the direction of the effect. It was found that the five independent variables under consideration had r^2 values accounting for the following percentage of the variance between the dependent variables : independent-rented tenure (41%) ; local authority tenure (22%) ; length of residence (10%), locus (11%) and previous voluntary experience (4%).

Table 6.15 : Stepwise Regression of C.Business vs Housing Inter-Model Variables

Variables Entered (C.Business =0, Housing =1)	beta	F	r ²
Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)	- .467	22.057	.218
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .225	-2.263	
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .285	--2.989	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.644	4.997	
<i>Voluntary Experience (local) (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .125	-1.250	
Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)	.638	54.407	.407
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .037	.375	
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .170	-1.916	
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.008	.066	
<i>Voluntary Experience (local) (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .160	-1.883	
Length of Residence (<20yrs=0,>20yrs=1)	-.319	9.000	.102
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .244	-2.112	
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .460	-4.178	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.621	6.361	
<i>Voluntary Experience (local) (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .201	-1.917	
Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)	-.336	10.111	.113
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .433	-4.538	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.590	6.654	
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .214	-1.853	
<i>Voluntary Experience (local) (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .177	-1.694	
Voluntary Experience (local) (no=0, yes=1)	- .195	3.123	.038
<i>Length of Residence (< 20 yrs = 0, > 20 yrs = 1)</i>	- .323	-3.085	
<i>Locus (other=0, always lived locally =1)</i>	- .327	--3.122	
<i>Independent-sector Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	.629	7.380	
<i>Local Authority Tenure (no=0, yes=1)</i>	- .447	-4.462	

Discussion & Conclusions

The results broadly supported the hypotheses outlined in the introduction to the chapter. Not only were there significant differences between UK volunteers and those in

community enterprise, but also inter-model differences within the latter. Regarding the former, there were a number of consistencies with UK surveys. Like the latter, community enterprise volunteers were predominantly female, had a resident partner, and were in *full-time* employment. Significant differences concerned the absence of volunteers in age groups below 25 years and a higher proportion of those in age groups 55-64 years, the lack of dependent children and the proportionally greater time investment of community enterprise volunteers. Age differences were interesting in the sense that older age groups tend to be those with less dependants and consequently those who tend to invest more time as volunteers (Lynn & Smith 1991). This would be especially important for groups such as credit unions where there tends to be a distinct lack of staff back-up. Yet although these groups invested more time in participation compared to others the differences were not significant. Taking these factors in combination (alongside socio-economic differences such as the higher numbers of the unemployed involved in community enterprise), the implications may be that opportunity-related costs (e.g. on family and friends) are a less salient feature of the participation experience of community enterprise volunteers, compared to volunteer groups in general.

A second category of socio-demographic differences concerned a range of socio-economic indicators (i.e. housing tenure, employment, personal income, and level of qualifications). It was found that community enterprise comprised higher levels of those who lived in public or socially-rented accommodation, were unemployed and in manual occupations. Consequently, community enterprise volunteers were also found to have significantly lower personal incomes and levels of formal educational qualifications. That such groups were involved in community enterprise was consistent with the characteristic urban location of these groups and their associated development characteristics.

In the case of credit union and housing volunteers, the above evidence sets up the proposition that there were marginal economic benefits for volunteers to be derived from participation. These may be attained in a context where people largely volunteer to ensure access to resources to compensate for low income levels and poor living conditions. Additionally, the evidence may also emphasise the importance of training and personal development structures to compensate for lower levels of educational and vocational achievement. What is more apparent, however, is that because we seem to be dealing with different types of volunteers in community enterprise, volunteering in these activities may be initiated and maintained for different reasons than those usually described for volunteer groups in general.

To the extent that community enterprise activity can be said to involve those groups who would not normally get involved in volunteering (i.e. those from lower socio-economic backgrounds), it was interesting that intent to volunteer in community enterprise activity was only reported by 23% of the sample. This may suggest that community enterprise does indeed appear to involve those who may not otherwise volunteer. However, when we consider data on the reported levels of prior voluntary experience a different picture emerges which makes this explanation relatively more problematic. Previous research has tended to ignore the significance of this latter criterion even as a measure of attachment. For our sample, however, community enterprise was found to involve a relatively high percentage of volunteers, already involved in other local voluntary-based activities prior to their participation in community enterprise. This applied to 63% of volunteers overall and the differences between the figures for experience within and outside the local area may be viewed as an empirical confirmation of Lynn & Smith's (1991) observation that the majority of volunteering is locally based. Hence although community enterprise volunteers did appear to be socio-economically distinct from UK volunteer populations they also tended to be those with some previous voluntary experience. Not only does this suggest that community enterprise volunteers were already familiar with voluntary roles

but that their initial recruitment was largely characterised by interpersonal contact and influence, and not some process built on free-standing self-selection and individual initiative.

There are, nevertheless, some cautionary qualifications to be placed on the evidence in this chapter, especially given the associated weaknesses of using retrospective information, and the fact that we have applied it alongside current information on volunteers' socio-demographic characteristics. For example, what people viewed as the benefits of participating in previous activities, or their views of working in volunteer roles may to a large extent be adversely coloured by their present experience. Similarly, the reporting of people's types of previous voluntary experience may be highly selective and subject to bias' in recall. It should be borne in mind that both attitudes and their socio-demographic characteristics may have been very different at the time prior to people's participation as volunteers in community enterprise.

There are also a number of competing explanations for the differences between our sample and UK surveys. Firstly, these differences may have arisen because the comparison was inappropriate. This may have been due to weaknesses in the latter approaches who tend to use alternate definitions of volunteering and alternate classifications of socio-demographic categories. The comparison groups we used were mainly GHS (1987) or Lynn & Smith's (1991). Although our approach may reflect some of the same weaknesses of these studies, the categorical classifications were consistent. Both of these approaches were satisfactory in so far as their definitions of volunteering were general enough to cover a wide range of activities including informal and formal activity, committee-based work and gave respondents the opportunity to cite other relevant activity (see GHS (1987), p. 3. Lynn & Smith (1991), p.16 & 138). The comparison was therefore appropriate.

Much the same argument may be said to apply in considering the question of whether our comparison was appropriate on the basis of time (after all differences in the gross levels of personal income mirror a changing socio-economic environment, not 'real' income differentials *per se*). Here the argument is relatively more complex but it should be apparent that the closer our comparisons were over time then the more reliable we might imagine the differences to be. In this respect, the majority of the above comparisons were made using Lynn & Smith (1991). On these grounds it is not therefore unreasonable to suggest that our comparisons were indeed appropriate.

A further explanation for the above differences may be that they are due to differences in the scope of our sample compared to surveys covering the UK as a whole. The argument may be that our results simply reflect overall 'national' differences in patterns of volunteering between Scotland and the UK as a whole, as opposed to, differences between UK volunteers and those engaged in a form of mutual aid / self-help activity. For example, this may be reflected in the fact that the income data for the sample was reasonably comparable with Scottish national data. Furthermore, the lower incidence of home ownership in Scotland compared to other parts of the UK is reasonably well documented. On these criteria at least, community enterprise volunteers may not be distinguishable from their contemporaries in Scotland as a whole. This remains a plausible alternative hypothesis not open to statistical elimination given that national differences between Scottish-based volunteers and their respective counterparts elsewhere in the UK are not detailed to any great extent in UK surveys. Indeed the only figures available on this issue concern the overall frequency of participation in different national and regional domains. Given the lack of available evidence on differences in national patterns of volunteering we are largely assuming that our results generally reflect class-based differences between volunteers in mutual aid and the mainstream voluntary sector. This would be entirely consistent with the results, which suggest that community enterprise attracts less mobile and less economically successful groups. Groups who generally participate in lower numbers than others.

As opposed to comparisons between the study sample and UK surveys, inter-model differences mainly concerned housing tenure and residential attachment characteristics. Compared to others, housing organisations involved comparatively lower levels of those with local authority tenure, of local 'indigenous' residence and length of residence above 20 years. From a regression analysis of inter-model differences, support was given to Bailey's (1973) general contention that more concern should be given to the question of 'who volunteers in what', as opposed to simply differentiating between volunteer and non-volunteer populations. Regarding housing volunteers, the finding that tenure characteristics were the most important discriminating factors from regression analysis was hardly surprising given that a change of tenure may accompany membership of housing organisations. In this respect, the findings may be explained in terms of the aims of these organisations but they are also interesting in that they may be indicative of the potential economic benefits to be derived from participation. What we may find, therefore in later chapters, is that such differences underlie inter-model differences in the reasons for volunteering. It may well be the case that different types of volunteers place particular emphasis on the direct or indirect material benefits to be gained through participation.

A second category of inter-model differences between housing volunteers and others concerned their attachment characteristics, in terms of residence (locus and length) and previous voluntary participation. Attachment differences explained 23% and 25% of the total variance between housing volunteers and those in credit unions and community businesses respectively. What these differences may indicate is that those in credit union and community businesses, potentially had a greater range of more established local contacts within the locality based on greater local knowledge and experience in the area. Consequently, they were likely to have a relatively stronger psychological sense of identification and attachment to their local area compared to their counterparts in housing. Although people may very quickly identify with new residential locales

(Hummon 1992), the above points are further substantiated by the relatively higher levels of prior voluntary experience in the locality within credit union and community business organisations. This is even despite the fact that this factor was not ultimately found to statistically differentiate between volunteer groups. There may be a number of important implications for management associated with these differences. For example, it may be that those with greater residential attachment, identification and local voluntary experience tend to form more stable organisational entities in terms of the interpersonal and collective dynamics between volunteers, and between volunteers and their wider membership or staff. In terms of participatory benefits what this evidence may suggest is that volunteering in the latter organisations may be characterised by more social and purposive reasons relating to benefits for the area and those residents living in the locality.

In conclusion, bearing in the mind the context of the research design and the caution attached to using retrospective information, community enterprise volunteers were different from UK volunteer populations in terms of important categories of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Questions exist, however, in terms of whether these differences can be explained in terms of 'national' differences, or in terms of the particular type of voluntary activity under consideration in this study. In the absence of supporting evidence for the former argument the weight behind the latter makes this appear the more likely explanation. Furthermore, differences were found in terms of 'who volunteers in what'. Different types of community enterprise activity involved different types of volunteers in terms of their housing tenure and local attachment characteristics. Differences which may be largely explained in terms of the development characteristics associated with the models themselves and the areas in which they were based. These may underpin important variations in the reasons for participation. The evidence sets up the expectation that there may be further differences in the benefits associated with participation by community enterprise volunteers

compared to UK populations and between volunteers engaged in different models. It is with these concerns in mind that we now turn our attention to *Chapter Seven*.

Chapter 7 : Recruitment & the Initial Benefits & Costs of Participation

Introduction

In this chapter we outline the recruitment process of community enterprise volunteers and the benefits and costs that they attributed to their initial participation in community enterprise. Previous research suggests that recruitment factors are inextricably bound up in the broader question of ‘why’ people volunteer (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). Hence differences in recruitment pathways may well explain any inter-model differences in ‘why’ people initially volunteered. Previous research also highlights that the reasons for participation are influenced by important categories of individual difference and organisational variables (e.g. Gidron 1978, Carr *et al* 1983).

The main questions asked in this chapter were as follows. Firstly, how do community enterprise volunteers compare with national and activity-specific volunteer populations in terms of their initial recruitment pathways, and the benefits and costs of participation? We would expect that initial membership attraction would be primarily based on instrumental reasons, while volunteer recruitment would mainly be reported in terms of social networks and interpersonal influence. Also, although initial costs would be likely to be primarily social and opportunity-related, volunteers would mainly participate for purposive reasons. The likelihood is that the latter would mainly be expressed in terms of a desire to help others. Secondly, we were interested in whether different types of community enterprise volunteers could be distinguished in terms of initial recruitment, costs and benefits? Although we would expect some inter-model variation the lack of previous evidence on the issue makes it difficult to specify the exact nature of such differences. Thirdly, we were interested in whether there was any evidence of variation in the initial costs and benefits of participation in terms of important categories of individual difference and organisational characteristics. Although we would expect some variation, the exact nature of any differences are difficult to specify.

The chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we outline the evidence on the volunteer recruitment process. This was broadly measured in terms of why volunteers initially became members of community enterprise organisations, how membership led to volunteering, the reported time between becoming a member and a volunteer, and the perceived costs associated with the decision to volunteer. We then consider the question of why people decided to initially become volunteers in community enterprise. A final section then deals with the respective influences of socio-demographic and organisational characteristics on the perceived costs and benefits associated with volunteering.

Method

Sample

The respondents were 222 volunteers from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 volunteers drawn from ten credit union, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively). The exact sample size responding to the various measures reported in this chapter are detailed in the relevant tables accompanying the text. All other general sample issues and details are outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The information presented in this chapter was taken from two sections of the questionnaire outlined in *Appendix II*. These sections were as follows : ‘Initial Membership Recruitment and Reasons’ ; and ‘Initial Volunteer Recruitment and Reasons’. The measures used, linked to their respective questions in *Appendix II* were : initial membership benefits (Qu : 13) ; length of time before becoming a volunteer following initial membership (Qu : 14) ; initial volunteer recruitment channel (Qu : 15) ; perceived initial costs (Qu : 18) and benefits (Qu : 19) of participation in community enterprise.

The results data are organised to explore each of the issues raised in the introduction. This involved univariate statistics in the form of one-sample chi square analysis, which investigates differences between categorical variables (Howell 1982). Where this analysis involved differences between categories of costs and benefits, gross motivational categories are given in bold type above their respective sub-categories. The cumulative figures for these gross categories formed the basis of all subsequent calculations. Also, where this analyses involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied, consistent with Miller (1975). The results of chi square analysis are outlined in each of the tables in the results section and correspond to overall inter-model differences. The 0.01 level of significance was chosen as that above which all differences were reported as significant. In the case of multiple response categories, X^2 values were based on inter-model differences in the responses within each respective dependent variable. Where significant inter-model differences were found, subsequent pairwise analysis was conducted to identify the exact location of such differences. As far as possible, only significant inter-model results are reported in the text with the exception of statistics for multiple response categories.

Results

Membership Benefits

Table 7.1 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, for what reasons did they first become members of their respective community enterprise organisation ?

Table 7.1 : Volunteers' Reported Initial Reasons for Membership of
Community Enterprise (%)

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Purposive</i>					
Identified / Liked Aims of Organisation	28	19	16	50	23.81 *
<i>Instrumental</i>					
Improve Own Finances / Housing	34	45	52	5	32.96 *
<i>Other</i>					
To Volunteer / Establish organisation	37	36	31	44	2.03
Total No. of Responses	336	125	113	98	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

C.Union vs C.Business, X² = 43.56, df 1, p < 0.005

Housing vs C.Business, X² = 55.11, df 1, p < 0.005

From Table 7.1, the largest proportion of community enterprise volunteers reported that membership was secondary to the decision to volunteer and establish the organisation (37%). Nevertheless, an appreciable number viewed membership as directly or indirectly economically beneficial (34%). As we may have expected these were predominately credit union and housing volunteers. This would be consistent with these organisations offering indirect, material benefits for members. Community business volunteers on the other hand were primarily purposive about their reasons for membership. This was expressed in terms of a perceived personal identification with

primary organisational aims. Significant inter-model variations concerned these differences which largely reflect the utility of the membership function between models.

Time Interval Between Membership and Volunteering

Table 7.2 outlines volunteers' responses to the question of how long after they became a member of the community enterprise organisation, did they become a volunteer ?

Table 7.2 : Volunteers' Reported Time Interval Between Becoming a Member to Becoming a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%)

Time Interval	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
Founding Member	57	60	51	60
Volunteered When Joined	23	23	17	27
1-6 months	9	10	14	7
> 6 months	11	8	18	7
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

$X^2 = 9.37, df\ 6, n / s$

Responses were largely consistent with the evidence in Table 7.1. From Table 7.2, our sample of community enterprise volunteers largely comprised founding members of the organisation (57%) and those who had subsequently become volunteers when they joined as members (23%). The relatively high proportion of founding members may substantiate the point that the organisations in this study although relatively ‘young’, comprised relatively stable volunteer groups characterised with low turnover rates amongst volunteers (see *Chapter Four, Table 4.1*). This applied across all models of community enterprise. From chi square analysis, inter-model differences were not significant.

Volunteer Recruitment Channels

Table 7.3 outlines volunteers' responses to the question of how they became a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 7.3 : Volunteer Recruitment in Community Enterprise (%)

Channel	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
Appeal at Public Meeting / AGM	18	15	24	14	3.63
Approached by Friend / Family Member	18	20	14	20	1.86
Approached by Other Volunteer	23	24	24	22	0.03
Approached through Other Group	14	12	12	18	2.28
Approached by Professional	6	6	6	6	-
Own Initiative / Approached Group	17	18	16	16	0.12
Other	5	5	5	5	
Total No. of Responses	311	100	103	108	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

From Table 7.3, volunteers' were mainly recruited through interpersonal approaches and influence (61% overall). Broad organisational appeals for volunteers (18%) and self-selection through individual initiative (17%) were noticeably less prominent recruitment pathways. Personal approaches were mainly made by already existing members of the volunteer group (23%), friends / family members (18%) and through established volunteer networks (14%). Direct approaches by professionals were reported less frequently, perhaps highlighting the greater credibility and efficacy attached to local social network contacts in recruitment. Inter-model variation was relatively minimal, although higher frequencies of housing volunteers' were recruited through public appeals. This may have reflected the relatively 'weaker' attachment characteristics of this group of volunteers (see *Chapter Six*) and the point that people

relatively new to an area are likely to have less established local social networks. Nevertheless, no significant inter-model variations were found.

The Initial Costs of Volunteering

Table 7.4 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, did they see any drawbacks in becoming a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 7.4 : Reported Potential Costs of Initially Volunteering in Community Enterprise (%)

Potential Cost	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
<i>None</i>	42	35	40	51	1.26
<i>Social</i>					
Restrict Family life / Interests	14	15	15	12	2.33
Restrict Social life / Interests	12	14	13	9	1.26
<i>Control</i>					
Able to Cope with Responsibilities	18	23	18	12	3.96
<i>Instrumental</i>					
Organisation Wouldn't Achieve Aims	14	13	14	16	0.06
Total No. of Responses	258	92	85	81	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

From Table 7.4, 42% of volunteers reported that they had associated their initial participation with no sources of potential cost. Not surprisingly, this was relatively higher in the responses of housing (40%) and community business (51%), as opposed to, credit union volunteers (35%). Credit unions may have represented a more problematic type of activity in which to recruit given the lack of professional administrative back-up available and the reliance on volunteer effort.

For the sample as a whole the highest reported source of potential cost concerned social and opportunity-based factors. These concerned the perceived restrictions on familial and leisure time activity (26%). This was followed by control costs, concerning the fact that the volunteer role in community enterprise was a departure from people's previous labour market or voluntary experience. Some thought that they would simply be unable to cope with the tasks and responsibilities involved in being a volunteer (18%). This was a feature in all models but particularly in credit unions where the demands and responsibilities on volunteers' would have been perceptibly greater. Instrumental costs were associated with the view that the organisation would fail to realise and achieve its primary aims (14%). In these respects, volunteers, reported that they had questioned the utility of their initial participation. This may have had something to do with the types of areas in which community enterprise activities were based (i.e. characterised by relatively low indigenous skill bases), and a perceived uncertainty about the longer-term survival of voluntary activities. Inter-model differences, however, were not significant.

Initial Benefits of Volunteering

Table 7.5 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, for what reasons did they first become volunteers in their respective community enterprise organisation.

Table 7.5 : Volunteers' Reported Initial Reasons for Volunteering in Community Enterprise (%)

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Purposive</i>					5.87
Help Others / Saw Need in the Area	26	31	26	22	
Satisfaction / Worthwhile Activity	18	13	12	28	
Identified with Aims of Organisation	16	14	12	22	
<i>Instrumental</i>					21.16 *
Personal Say / Influence	7	2	17	3	
Help Get a Job / Work Experience	1	2	1	1	
<i>Social</i>					4.37
Be Active / Meet Others	13	20	8	11	
Social Responsibility / Obligation	7	5	13	4	
Influence of Friends / Family	5	5	6	4	
<i>Control</i>					0.18
Learn New Skills	3	5	3	2	
Use Existing Skills	3	3	4	3	
Total No. of Responses					
442					154
145					143
Total Sample Size					
222					79
71					72

From Table 7.5, volunteers reported that they were primarily influenced to initially participate by purposive (60%), as opposed to social (25%), instrumental (8%) and control (6%) benefits to volunteer. In terms of magnitude, the relative ordering of benefit categories was similar across all models. The largest purposive benefit

concerned the opportunity to help others and the potentially positive impact people wanted the organisation to have for other people living in the local area. In this context, 'others' were identified as volunteers' own family members, or those in vulnerable groups such as the 'poor', children and adolescents. People saw their initial involvement as a means of establishing a successful organisation that could be used as an effective building block for future generations in the local area.

Another purposive response concerned the perceived sense of personal satisfaction derived from participation in what respondents described as worthwhile activity. This involved the desire to serve some useful purpose through voluntarism. Respondents in this category reported that they had anticipated, or previously experienced, a number of meaningful outcomes from participation. This was reported in terms of personal enjoyment and the enhancement of their own self-image. This was the primary purposive response reported by community business volunteers (28%), perhaps on the basis of their relatively greater previous voluntary experience in the local area (see *Chapter Six*).

A final category of purposive response was a personal identification with the primary aims of the organisation (16%). This was the second most frequently reported response reported by community business volunteers (22%), compared to those in credit unions (14%) and housing (12%). Organisational aims were described from quite different standpoints. Community business volunteers referred to the adverse economic and socio-psychological impact of local unemployment. In this context a community business was viewed as a positive step towards alleviating such conditions, albeit on a small-scale. This was also sometimes justified from volunteers' own personal and largely negative experiences of unemployment. For credit union volunteers, however, organisational aims were described with reference to the enhanced financial access that people had (regardless of their own financial position) to affordable credit. Volunteers invariably stressed the egalitarian ethos of a credit union

and the potential it provided for local people to manage their immediate and longer-term financial circumstances. Finally, housing volunteers endorsed their organisational entity as a means of changing their own housing conditions and the poor environmental appearance and image of their local area.

Social benefits constituted the second largest category of reasons for participation (25%). The largest benefit concerned the opportunity to be physically active outside the home environment and meet other local people (13%). Housing volunteers, however, were more keen to stress social responsibility / obligation (13%). This referred to the view that they felt that they had to participate as a means of countering the 'apathy' of other local people. According to these respondents, although the latter benefited materially from the organisation they largely remained unwilling or unable to participate as volunteers. That this factor was reported more frequently within housing organisations may be explained by the relatively smaller-scale areas in which they tend to be based. In this respect, these volunteers appeared to rely more so on Oliver's (1984b), rationale for volunteering which states that "...If you don't do it nobody else will.." (p.614). This would be consistent with the wider organisational and prosocial literature which has stressed how individual responsibility for helping is diffused in the presence of increasing numbers of others (Latane & Darley 1970). In this sense, volunteers attributed their own involvement to the failure of 'free-riders' to take some sense of responsibility for the provision of mutually beneficial services. Volunteers were also influenced by immediate family and friends to become involved (5%). This reflected the direct role played by interpersonal influence in the decision to volunteer. The process was described in two main forms. Firstly, through social comparison processes which involved making judgements about who else was involved and their respective abilities and personalities. Secondly, through simply being 'volunteered' by one's family and friends.

The largest instrumental reason for volunteering concerned the opportunity to influence decisions affecting local services. This was largely absent from the responses of those in credit unions and community businesses, while for housing volunteers it comprised 17% of responses. Nevertheless, consistent across all models was the relatively low prominence given to participation for control reasons (6%). Volunteers in this category perceived participation either as an opportunity to learn how the organisation operated, develop skills of intrinsic value (and possibly increase their labour market potential), or alternatively utilise their already existing skills / abilities to help the organisation. The low frequency of responses in this category may reflect their relatively low achievement and employment characteristics outlined in *Chapter Six*.

There were significant inter-model differences in the initial perceived benefits associated with participation. These concerned the higher level of instrumental reasons reported by housing volunteers compared to those in credit unions ($X^2=11.64$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and community businesses ($X^2=13.33$, df 1, $p < 0.005$).

Socio-Demographic & Organisational Influences on Costs & Benefits

Analysis was conducted on the influence of a number of socio-demographic and organisational variables on the reported costs and benefits of initial participation. The socio-demographic variables considered were sex (male vs female), age (< 45 years vs > 45 years), employed status (yes vs no), area (mainly mixed vs mainly public), previous voluntary experience (yes vs no), residence (indigenous vs non-indigenous) and length of residence (< 20 years vs > 20 years). Conversely, the organisational variables considered were founding members vs others and recruitment (own initiative vs organisational appeals vs personal approaches). However, none of the above variables were found to have a significant influence on the initial costs and benefits associated with participation.

Discussion & Conclusions

The results present a varied picture of the process of initial voluntary participation. They contested and supported a number of the hypotheses outlined in the introduction to this chapter. Firstly, contrary to our expectations, community enterprise volunteers were initially attracted to membership of their respective organisations, not as we suspected for instrumental reasons, but mainly to establish the organisation in the local area. For this sample, formal membership was largely a secondary consideration, contingent upon people having already taken the decision to volunteer. Although it was likely that instrumental reasons may have been behind the decision to become a member, from what we already know of volunteer / non-volunteer differences in the literature, this may not have been the case. In this sense, volunteers were likely to have been distinct from their wider membership, or non-volunteer populations in general either in terms of their resources, personality characteristics or attitudes towards participation. Nevertheless, inter-model differences on this measure concerned the finding that housing and credit union volunteers were significantly more instrumentally oriented than their counterparts in community businesses. This would be consistent with the extent to which these organisations formally incorporated the notion that there were direct economic benefits to be gained from membership.

In many respects the above findings were an empirical confirmation of those existing organisational typologies which differentiate between member and public-benefit volunteer organisations (e.g. Mahoney & Wardle 1983). Here those types of organisations which offered material benefits attracted an appreciable portion of volunteers as members on the expectation that they also would have access to these benefits. More importantly, this set up the expectation that volunteers perceived that they had some personal economic stake in the activities of the organisation from the standpoint of their own membership. It may have important implications for maintaining participation both in the short and long-term, or in their response to and awareness of the interests of their wider membership and other local residents. At the

very least, it set up the proposition that volunteering in credit unions and housing organisations may have been initiated and subsequently maintained as a means of ensuring access to sources of direct or indirect material benefits.

Attraction to membership as a means of volunteering, or through an identification with organisational aims was also reflected in the data on length of time between membership and volunteering, and in volunteers' reported recruitment channels. Significantly, 80% of community enterprise volunteers reported that they were either founding members of the organisation, or had volunteered at approximately the same time as they had become members. The data may possibly reflect both the developmental stage of the organisations sampled in the study and their relative stability compared to other organisations, or other types of voluntary activity. As we know from previous chapters, volunteering is often a fragile form of activity with organisations having relatively short-term survival rates (Pearce 1993). In this respect, volunteers in community enterprise were not over exposed to the potential benefits provided by their respective organisations as members. This may have important implications for their relations with their membership or other volunteers on aspects of service delivery.

The findings on volunteers' recruitment channels largely substantiated previous research which has pointed to the predominance of local social networks, personal contacts and interpersonal influence, as opposed to general organisational appeals for volunteers and individual initiative (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). These findings substantiate the point that volunteer recruitment appeared to be locally negotiated. A process based on shared social networks and contacts. This point was also suggested by the earlier evidence in *Chapter Six* on people's attachment characteristics. It seems to suggest a 'selective' approach to recruitment operating amongst these organisations as opposed to Harris's (1990) 'shotgun' approach, which relies on getting as many people involved as possible in the organisation. In other studies the

predominance of interpersonal networks in recruitment has also been interpreted to suggest that local volunteers are those with more extensive personal contacts within their local area, or that those who come into contact with volunteers are themselves more likely to also become involved (Pearce 1993). Although both these explanations may underpin the above findings in this chapter, we can ultimately offer no evidence to this effect in relation to community enterprise volunteers. It was, nevertheless, interesting that housing volunteers reported relatively higher levels of recruitment through organisational appeals. This may reflect their generally 'weaker' attachment characteristics (see *Chapter Six*) and a lack of local volunteer contacts, or alternatively the efficacy of general appeals in this type of activity relative to others. In the former case, participation may have provided the means through which people, relatively new to living in an area could go about improving and maintaining their residential environment while, at the same time, getting to know more about the area itself and the people living there as their neighbours.

Volunteers' also associated participation with a variety of personal costs. Although there has been precious little previous empirical work conducted on this topic, the results supported our original hypothesis and suggested that the initial costs of participation in community enterprise were mainly reported in terms of opportunity-based, social costs around the theme of 'benefits foregone'. While we can offer no evidence as to how and in what ways people evaluated the impact of such costs, that volunteering was an 'uncertain' decision was confirmed by the other perceived costs mentioned by respondents. In this instance, volunteering was considered an investment whose potential impact is evaluated alongside other important sources of activity. These reflected the perceived uncertainty of voluntary-based organisational environments at both personal and collective levels. Not only did people question their own ability to cope with the responsibilities entailed by participation but also the perceived collective efficacy of volunteers to achieve formal organisational aims. These findings may be generally consistent with Pearce's (1993), general description of

volunteering as based in 'uncertain' and fragile environments. 'Uncertain' because people felt that they were breaking new ground in terms of their own experiences, or that they should remain sceptical in the face of their preconceptions about volunteer-based activity in general (i.e. that groups have a relatively high likelihood of failure for one reason or another).

In contrast to membership benefits, people reported appreciably different reasons for actually becoming a volunteer. Nevertheless, the difficulty with much of the information presented in this chapter is that it was largely retrospective. If we had interviewed the same group of volunteers at the time of their initial participation we may of course have found a quite different set of results. The problems with this type of information are magnified in this chapter because we were also retrospectively dealing with the closely related processes of recruitment and attraction. For example, respondents may have experienced appreciable difficulties in not only remembering the events themselves but actually concretely distinguishing between the discrete but related processes of recruitment and their reasons for participation. A number of authors have stressed this difficulty (e.g. Tilly 1978) and despite the fact that in this study both issues elicited different response sets, appropriate caution should be attached to the questions on recruitment and attraction.

Leaving these difficulties aside, the reported reasons for initial participation were generally consistent with those cited in national and activity-specific studies. As with volunteer populations in general, community enterprise volunteers reported that they initially participated for purposive reasons largely based on service and the desire to help others (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991, Pearce 1993). Not only are these responses taken as characteristic of the difference between volunteer groups and those in the labour market but they are consistent with the wider social stereotype of 'altruistically' helping volunteers. Nevertheless, undermining this cosy picture of 'helpers', yet consistent with the suggestions of Smith (1981), was the appreciable prominence also

given to social and instrumental reasons for participation. The former reflected the fact that participation in community enterprise, like other forms of voluntary-based leisure activity in general, was important because it gave people a social outlet outside the family and labour market.

Instrumental reasons reflected not so much a self-oriented perspective but the importance attached to gaining some measure of influence over the distribution of local resources in the context of collective participation. Although this factor could be argued to underlie most forms of participation, was it really surprising that this factor was so salient in community enterprise? After all, we are speaking about people largely drawn from vulnerable socio-economic groups coping with everyday problems in the context of poverty, unemployment and poor housing. Problems that many of us simply associate with ‘others’. That people from these groups exhibit a desire to influence their immediate socio-economic circumstances should be hardly surprising. Perhaps the real surprise was that they were less salient and only really apparent amongst housing volunteers compared to others. Whilst participation for community business and credit union volunteers largely concerned purposive responses, an appreciable proportion of the responses of housing volunteers were concerned with the desire for some personal say in their own housing conditions. Ultimately, this may reflect the primary importance attached to housing issues in the process of urban regeneration relative to others as we had previously suggested in *Chapter Four*.

Given the lack of significant differences on recruitment pathways we can rule out the explanation that the above inter-model differences in the reasons for participation were due to differences in ‘how’ people became involved. What we cannot rule out, however, is the hypothesis that these differences may be due to the ‘types’ of people recruited. As we already know from *Chapter Six* there were appreciable ‘attachment’ differences between housing volunteers and those in other models. Differences which may explain those differences in ‘why’ different types of people

became involved. Consequently, housing volunteers may simply be more instrumentally oriented given their ‘weaker’ attachment characteristics. Generally, however, the results supported the view that different types of community enterprise activity attracted people for different reasons based on the differential attraction of the activities concerned as opposed to differential methods of recruitment.

Finally, we also hypothesised that socio-demographic and organisational factors may influence the costs and benefits associated with initial participation. Although previous research had reported or alluded to differences in terms of these characteristics (e.g. Gidron 1978, Lister 1991), the present findings failed to support these propositions. In this respect, different types of people perceived no differences in the initial costs and benefits that they associated with participation. Although this may be seen as somewhat surprising, it may well reflect a number of factors such as the particular characteristics of our sample, or alternatively the relatively small sample base used in the study.

Our conclusions should be placed in the context of the research design and the relatively large emphasis in this chapter on a retrospective approach with all of its attendant problems for reliability. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the problems and methodological weaknesses associated with the information we were using, we were able to draw the following conclusions. Firstly, that similar to previous research volunteers in community enterprise were primarily recruited through local social networks largely based on interpersonal contact and influence. This probably pointed to fact that participation was mainly a locally negotiated process where interpersonal factors were important in mobilising participation. This would also be consistent with the previous evidence on residential attachment and local voluntary experience outlined in *Chapter Six*. Social processes therefore underlay initial voluntary participation which was found to be primarily influenced by value-related purposive benefits and opportunity-related social costs. Both of these findings were largely consistent with

previous research. Regarding benefits, however, significant inter-model differences were found. As opposed to service-oriented benefits, housing volunteers also got involved on the expectation of the likely instrumental benefits arising from participation. These inter-model differences may be explained by differences between different groups of volunteers or the perceived importance of some activities over others. Overall, they were due to the differential attraction as opposed to recruitment. Unlike the much of the evidence looking at volunteer vs non-volunteer populations, we were able to provide some assessment of the impact and influence of recruitment factors. Therefore, in tandem with the earlier evidence presented in *Chapter Six*, as well as different activities involving different types of volunteer, people were also attracted to different types of activity for quite different reasons. Finally, initial participation was not found to be mediated by individual difference or organisational characteristics. This was inconsistent with previous research and may reflect weaknesses in our sample such as the relatively low numbers of people involved in the study.

The evidence therefore pointed to initial participation being associated with a number of costs and benefits which varied in terms of the type of activity under consideration. As we have seen from previous evidence, however, there is often an assumption that participation is a static process where the reasons for being a volunteer remain unchanged over time. This raises the question of whether the reasons for participation in community enterprise concerns were perceived to have changed in line with the developing experience of volunteers. It is this issue that we now turn our attention to in *Chapter Eight*.

Chapter 8 : The Benefits of Continuing to Volunteer

Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the benefits of volunteering in community enterprise by considering the question, why people continued to volunteer. Benefits are defined as those symbolic rewards which are important in maintaining continued participation (Wandersman *et al* 1987). The previous literature on the benefits of participation suggests that they may be distinguished into four main categories consistent with those outlined in a social exchange / incentive perspective. These are thought to have important positive implications for individual health and well-being.

There were a number of issues pursued in this chapter. Firstly, we were interested in exploring the extent to which different categories of benefits were an actual feature of the experience of participation. Hence we initially utilised a limited definition of benefits which solely concentrated on what the literature suggested were the main features of our social exchange / incentive categories. Purposive benefits were defined in terms of the opportunity to serve members and local people ; social benefits were defined in terms of interpersonal relationships with other volunteers and staff ; control benefits were defined in terms of the opportunity to strengthen and extend knowledge and skills ; and instrumental benefits focused on the achievement of organisational aims (Sharp 1978, Smith 1980). We then assess the relative importance attached to benefits overall and the issue of what was the main source of benefit for community enterprise volunteers. The expectation would be that although volunteers would report benefits in all categories, continued participation would be mainly characterised by instrumental benefits, possibly concerning organisational achievement.

Secondly, we asked, could different models be distinguished in terms of their reported benefits? If all models involved similar sources of benefits, we would expect that there would be no inter-model differences between volunteer groups. Thirdly, could different types of volunteers experience different benefits based on their socio-

demographic and organisational characteristics? Although we would expect that continued benefits may be influenced by these factors, the exact nature of such differences is difficult to specify. Finally, we consider whether the benefits of continuing to volunteer were different from the initial reasons cited for participation? Here we would expect that purposive / expressive benefits would decline alongside an increase in instrumental benefits for the sample as a whole and in each model.

The chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we outline the benefits of volunteering under each of their respective headings. We then outline the relative weight given by volunteers to each of these areas by considering the overall question of ‘why volunteers continued their participation’. Finally, we consider differences in terms of important categories of socio-demographic and organisational characteristics and their respective influence on continued participation, as well as, differences between the continued and initial benefits which characterised participation.

Method

Sample

The sample comprised 222 volunteers drawn from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 drawn from ten credit union, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively). The exact sample size responding to the various questions outlined in this chapter are detailed in the relevant tables accompanying the text. All other general sample issues and details were outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The information used in this chapter was taken from the following sections of the questionnaire outlined in *Appendix II* : ‘Skills / Abilities’ ; ‘Attitudes To Members’ ; ‘Attitudes To Staff’ ; ‘Attitudes To Other Volunteers’ ; ‘Collective Aims / Achievements’ ; and ‘Continued Benefits, Costs and Retention’. The measures used,

linked to their respective questions in *Appendix II* were as follows : benefits of serving members (Qu : 34) ; benefits of working alongside, other volunteers (Qu : 41) and paid staff (Qu : 38) ; strengthened existing skills / abilities (Qu : 23) ; developed skills / abilities (Qu : 24) ; acquired new knowledge (Qu : 25) ; perceived collective achievements (Qu : 43) ; the overall continued benefits of volunteering (Qu : 49) ; and the initial benefits of participation (Qu : 19).

The results are organised to explore each of the issues raised in the introduction. These questions involved univariate statistics in the form of one-sample chi square analysis which appropriately investigates differences between categorical variables (Howell 1982). Where this analysis involved differences between categories of benefits, gross motivational categories are given in bold type above their respective sub-categories. The cumulative figures for these gross categories formed the basis of all subsequent calculations. Also where this analysis involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied, consistent with Miller (1975). The results of chi square analysis are outlined alongside each of the tables presented in the results section and correspond to overall inter-model differences. The 0.01 level of significance was chosen as that above which all differences were reported as significant. In the case of multiple response categories, X^2 values were based on inter-model differences in the responses within each respective dependent variable. Where significant inter-model differences were found, subsequent pairwise analysis was conducted to identify the exact location of such differences. As far as possible, only significant inter-model results are reported in the text with the exception of statistics for multiple response categories.

Results

Purposive Benefits

Table 8.1 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, what benefits did they get from serving the membership of the organisation / local people ?

Table 8.1 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Benefits of Serving Members / Local People in Community Enterprise (%).

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
None	35	15	45	44	26.27 *
New Friends / Acquaintances	24	30	23	21	2.33
Thanks / Appreciation for Effort	26	42	16	20	23.38 *
Recognising Common Interests	13	12	13	13	0.007
Other	2	1	3	2	
Total No. of Responses	307	106	103	98	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* p < 0.005

From Table 8.1, the largest perceived purposive benefit for community enterprise volunteers concerned members / local people's appreciation of volunteer effort (26%). This was indicative of volunteers feeling that members actually recognised their status. This may have represented a mutual awareness of what was involved in providing the service offered by the organisation. For credit union volunteers, with their potentially greater levels of regular volunteer-member contact, it was perhaps not surprising that they reported more positive responses in this category (42%), compared to housing (16%) and community business (20%) volunteers. Although for the sample overall, 35% of responses reported that there were no associated benefits at all, these were

reported relatively more frequently by housing (45%) and community business (44%) volunteers.

From chi square analysis, inter-model differences were significant. Differences between credit union volunteers and those in other models were attributable to the reporting of purposive benefits overall and also members thanks / appreciation : housing ($X^2=18.66$, df 1, $p < 0.005$), and community business's ($X^2=9.16$, df 1, $p < 0.005$).

Social Benefits

Table 8.2 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, what benefits did they get from working alongside other volunteers in the group ?

Table 8.2 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Benefits of Working Alongside Other Volunteers in Community Enterprise (%).

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X^2
None	7	5	10	7	2.02
Education / Learned New Things	23	20	21	27	1.45
Established New Friends / Acquaintances	51	55	50	47	1.34
Recognising Common Interests	18	20	18	17	0.26
Other	1	-	1	2	
Total No. of Responses	271	109	81	81	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

From Table 8.2, volunteers were more likely to report benefits derived from other volunteers than members. Only 7% of responses reported that volunteers derived no perceptible benefit whatsoever from working alongside others of comparable status in

the organisation. The main benefit concerned the establishment of new network friendships and acquaintances within the volunteer group (51%). A further 23% reported education benefits describing the use of others as role models and drawing upon their skills and experience to promote their own learning. Finally, 18% of volunteers described interpersonal benefits in terms of a sense of common interest, of a belonging and identity with others who shared similar attitudes and values in promoting the development of the organisation. In the above respects, inter-model differences were marginal and from chi square analysis were not significant.

As opposed to working alongside other volunteers, Table 8.3 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, what benefits did they get from working alongside paid staff?

Table 8.3 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Benefits of Working Alongside Paid Staff in Community Enterprise (%).

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
None	1	-	1	1	
Education / Learned New Things	6	5	6	6	0.02
Relieve Workload / Voluntary Effort	24	30	20	23	0.002
Expertise / Ensure Group Functions	38	36	41	38	0.15
Volunteers Could not Cope	32	30	33	33	2.60
Total No. of Responses	207	21	97	86	
Total Sample Size	159	16	71	72	

From Table 8.3, the benefits of working alongside paid staff, compared to other volunteers, were relatively more task-oriented. There was little or no sense from volunteers that they had established relatively close friendship ties with staff given that

they reported the main benefits of the latter largely in terms of their positive practical impact on organisational functioning. Perhaps volunteers in this respect responded to the role and status of paid staff. Nevertheless, only 1% of responses reported no benefits whatsoever from working alongside paid staff. Of those who reported that they derived some benefit, responses were mainly reported in terms of the professional expertise of the latter in ensuring that members received a good quality of local service (39%). A further 32% of responses concerned the inability of volunteers to cope with the ongoing demands of members without staff back-up. In this respect, staff were seen as relieving the potential demands and limitations of voluntary effort (24%), but at the same time were reported to be of relatively low educational benefit for volunteers (4%). In this latter respect, staff may have reduced or alleviated the perceived necessity for volunteer training, compensating for a relatively low volunteer skill base.

Inter-model differences were marginal. Given that relatively few credit union organisations employed paid staff the comparative analysis only applied to differences between housing and community business volunteers. From chi square analysis (excluding responses in 'None' category) none of these differences were significant.

Control Benefits

Table 8.4 illustrates volunteers' responses to the question, had they strengthened those skills they felt they already possessed, since becoming a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 8.4 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Development of Existing Skills / Abilities through Volunteering in Community Enterprise (%).

Strengthened	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
Yes	26	32	25	20
No	72	65	73	79
Don't Know	3	4	3	1
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

$X^2=5.07$, df 2, n / s

From Table 8.4, 26% of community enterprise volunteers' reported positively, that participation had strengthened their existing skill base, compared to when they first became volunteers. However, here we were essentially relying on the assumption that there were no appreciable differences in the extent to which volunteers could identify and articulate their existing skill base, as well as, the extent to which they undertook any available training. Nevertheless, positive responses to the question of skill strengthening were reported more by credit union (32%), as opposed to, housing (25%) and community business (20%) volunteers. This was perhaps consistent with the relatively greater dependence on volunteer effort in these organisations compared to others. This potentially places a greater onus and necessity on training, and being able to proficiently handle members demands. Despite such differences, however, from a chi square analysis (excluding responses in 'Don't know' category), inter-model variations were not significant.

As opposed to a strengthened skill base, Table 8.5 illustrates volunteers' responses to the questions, had they learned any new skills / abilities from participation, and if so, what new skills / abilities did they think they had learned as a result of being a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 8.5 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Development of New Skills / Abilities in Community Enterprise (%)

Skill / Ability	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Developed</i>					
Yes	70	71	77	61	
No	30	29	23	39	
<i>Total Sample Size</i>	222	79	71	72	
Developed : X ² =4.59, df 2, n / s					
<i>Type</i>					
Relate / Understand Others	21	18	24	22	1.31
Read / Understand / Write Figurework	17	33	4	13	* 42.99
Planning / Evaluation	17	4	22	23	* 22.96
Communicate / Assert Opinions	13	12	14	14	0.23
Assess Needs of Members / Staff	9	11	12	4	5.42
Interviewing	9	11	12	5	4.20
Find Information / Resources	7	5	6	9	1.52
Use / Understand Computer Technology	4	4	4	4	0.14
Other	3	1	3	6	
<i>Total No. of Responses</i>	398	142	139	117	
<i>Total Sample Size</i>	222	56	55	44	

* p < 0.005

From Table 8.5, 70% of community enterprise volunteers reported the development of at least one new skill attained through participation. The percentage reporting

development was appreciably higher in credit union (71%) and housing organisations (77%), as opposed to those in community business (61%). However, from chi square analysis these inter-model differences were not significant.

Regarding the types of skills reported to have been developed through participation, for the sample as a whole, this was largely concentrated within four main categories. These concerned the ability to relate / understand others (21%), read / understand / write figurework (17%), plan / evaluate (17%), and the ability to communicate and assert personal opinions (13%). Not surprisingly, however, there was some degree of inter-model variation in developed skills, which was consistent with the task requirements of volunteers in each model. For credit union volunteers, skill development largely concerned figurework (33%). Conversely, a greater proportion of community business and housing volunteers reported that they had developed planning and evaluative skills (24% and 22% respectively).

From chi square analysis (excluding responses in 'Other' category), significant inter-model differences in skill development were found. Here differences between credit union and housing volunteers were attributable to read / understand / write figurework ($X^2=35.88$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and planning / evaluation skills ($X^2=18.34$, df 1, $p < 0.005$). Similarly, differences between credit union and community business volunteers, were attributable to read / understand / write figurework ($X^2=16.04$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and planning / evaluation ($X^2=17.02$, df 1, $p < 0.005$).

Inter-model differences may be explained in terms of the differential requirements of organisational role-positions in each model. Figurework and numeracy are integral to the financial role of credit union organisations, relying for the most part solely on volunteer effort. In other models paid staff may remove much, if not all, of the basic financial administrative burden from volunteers. Similarly, in the potentially less hierarchically structured settings characteristic of community business and housing

organisations, volunteers potentially achieve greater access to actual strategic decision making structures which set policy goals. In these respects, the differences in skill development may broadly reflect the relative importance attached to tasks in different types of organisational settings, allied to the structural make-up of different models.

As a follow up on the issue of new skill development, Table 8.6 illustrates volunteers' responses to the questions, had they learned other things (outside of skills / abilities) from participation and, if so, what had they learned as from being a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 8.6 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Acquisition of New Knowledge in Community Enterprise (%).

Knowledge Acquisition	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
<i>Learned</i>					
Yes	60	66	58	56	
No	40	34	42	44	
<i>Total Sample Size</i>	222	79	71	7	
<i>Type</i>					
Activity-specific Issues :					
Credit / Housing / Job-Creation	31	28	32	33	0.41
Local Politics	15	6	18	21	6.54
Human Behaviour	13	22	8	9	7.28
How to Lead / Manage Group	11	14	8	10	1.32
More Patient / Tolerant of Others	11	9	14	10	1.12
Community Resources / Initiatives	10	14	8	9	1.65
How to Make Decisions	8	6	11	9	1.04
<i>Total No. of Responses</i>	198	78	62	58	
<i>Total Sample Size</i>	121	52	41	40	

From Table 8.6, 60% of community enterprise volunteers reported that they had learned something new from participation. Figures for volunteers in each model were roughly comparable and from chi square analysis inter-model differences were not significant. Regarding the types of things volunteers reported that they had learned, responses were largely concentrated within six main categories. These concerned special issues such as the uses of credit, housing processes (i.e. planning, construction and design issues) and business development (31%). The other salient categories were local politics (15%), human behaviour (13%), how to lead / manage groups (11%), tolerance and listening to others opinions (11%), and knowledge of other community resources (11%).

There was some evidence of inter-model variation in the type of knowledge / skills learned, consistent with the differential role requirements in each model. A greater proportion of credit union volunteers reported acquiring greater knowledge of other community resources and voluntary initiatives (14%), and themselves from interpersonal interaction (22%). This may be an outcome associated with a lack of familiarity with the type of service entailed in community enterprise, or indeed of the higher frequency of regular member-volunteer / volunteer contact in credit unions. Correspondingly, a greater proportion of community business and housing volunteers reported relatively higher levels of political awareness (21% and 18% respectively). Volunteers in this category felt that they had increased their awareness of political mechanisms and processes at the local, regional and national level. Here the relatively greater influence of public-sector bodies behind the set up and ongoing support of these activities may give volunteers in these settings a greater insight into these environments. This would amount to an exposure to an external political dimension in organisational affairs. Coupled with a less hierarchically structured setting characteristic of community business and housing organisations, this exposure involves more volunteers. However, despite such variations, from chi square analysis, inter-model differences in responses were not significant.

Instrumental Benefits

Table 8.7 shows volunteers' responses to the question of what they thought that the volunteer group had achieved so far in the local area.

Table 8.7 : Volunteers' Perceptions of Organisational Achievement (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
Provided Service / Improved Environment	59	52	55	70	8.73
Fostered Community Spirit /					
Reduced Social Problems	18	18	25	12	6.16
Stimulated Local Interest	23	30	20	18	5.02
Total No. of Responses	337	116	128	93	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* p < 0.005

From Table 8.7, the majority of community enterprise volunteers reported that their organisation had provided improved local services / environment (59%), either in terms of access to credit, housing or employment. Outwith community businesses, however, volunteers were also more likely to report responses in terms of reducing social problems / creating more of a community spirit, by bringing local people closer together, and stimulating local interest in the organisations activities. Responses in the former category included reducing previous levels of crime-related problems, such as burglary, drug-dealing, debt problems and unemployment. On the other hand, ‘local interest’ reflected the overall numbers of local people who had joined as members.

There is an obvious sense in which the above responses reflected the characteristic features of each models development. Community businesses have typically lower membership numbers, which goes some way to explaining their relatively lower

proportion of responses regarding local interest. Alternatively, the dependency of credit unions on generating an active local interest in terms of high membership numbers gives some credence to volunteers' reporting a relatively higher proportion of responses in this category. Similarly, the immediate ‘visibility’ of housing redevelopment in the physical environment and the control over tenancy arrangements, effectively means that housing volunteers felt they had gone some way to enforcing the wider scale social change necessary to reduce previous levels of crime, housing voids and turnover. However, despite variations across models, from chi square analysis, no significant inter-model differences were found in volunteers perceptions of their collective achievement.

The Overall Benefits of Continued Volunteering

Table 8.8 illustrates volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main reasons that they continued to participate as volunteers in community enterprise ?

Table 8.8 : Volunteers' Reported Reasons for Continuing to Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Purposive</i>					15.19 *
Help Members / Local People	34	43	20	37	
<i>Social</i>					15.10 *
Active / Met New People	17	27	12	10	
<i>Instrumental</i>					48.22 *
Achieved organisational Goals	35	17	48	44	
Personal say / influence in decisions	6	2	15	2	
<i>Control</i>					2.54
Improved Skills / Abilities / confidence	7	10	5	6	
Total No. of Responses	354	134	110	110	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* p < 0.005

From Table 8.8, community enterprise volunteers' reported that they were primarily influenced to continue to volunteer by instrumental (41%), as opposed to purposive (34%), social (17%) and control (7%), benefits. Instrumental benefits were the largest category reported by housing (63%) and community business (46%) volunteers. This was in contrast to those in credit unions for whom purposive benefits took relatively greater precedence (43%).

The largest instrumental benefit concerned achievement of primary organisational goals (35%). Responses in this category were reported more so by housing (48%) and community business (44%) volunteers (17%). While community business volunteers referred to collective achievement in terms of the actual numbers employed by the organisation through its various trading activities, housing volunteers, referred to the 'visible' structural changes brought about by environmental redevelopment and the reduction in socio-economic problems such as crime.

For credit union volunteers, the most frequently reported source of benefit related to their perceived ability to help members and other local people (43%). This outweighed the lower frequencies of responses in this category in other models, particularly in housing (20%). A further source of benefit concerned social factors and the opportunity to be active outside the home environment and establish new social contacts and friendships. This was reported by 27% of credit union volunteers compared to 12% and 10% of housing and community business volunteers respectively. Volunteers in this category reported that their role had expanded their network ties and brought them into contact with a variety of people : other volunteers working in the local area and beyond ; neighbours ; and professionals working within and outside the local area.

Control benefits were only reported by 10% of credit union volunteers. Volunteers in this category reported that participation had given them a new sense of their own capabilities and more confidence in themselves.

From chi square analysis significant inter-model differences were found in the perceived benefits of continuing to volunteer. Differences between credit union and housing volunteers were attributable to purposive ($X^2=10.90$, df 1, $p < 0.005$), social ($X^2=6.86$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and instrumental benefits ($X^2=41.38$, df 1, $p < 0.005$). Similarly, differences between credit union and community business volunteers were attributable to social ($X^2=9.02$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and instrumental benefits ($X^2=16.14$, df 1, $p < 0.005$).

Socio-demographic & Organisational Influences on Continued Benefits

From chi square analysis, no socio-demographic influences were found with respect to variables concerning sex (male *vs* female), age (<45 years *vs* > 45 years), employed status (yes *vs* no), area type (mainly mixed *vs* mainly public), or other current voluntary experience (yes *vs* no). A similar picture emerged concerning the organisational influences of length of service (< 3 years *vs* > 3 years), role-position (chairpersons *vs* others), and time invested (< 3.5 hrs/ week *vs* > 3.5 hrs/ week).

Initial vs Continued Benefits

Table 8.9 shows the total chi square values for the comparison between initial and continued benefits for community enterprise volunteers and by model.

Table 8.11 : Summary of Chi square Values for the Comparison of Initial and Continued Benefits of Volunteering in Community Enterprise and by model.

Benefit	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
Purposive	49.46 *	5.46	18.48 *	25.40 *
Instrumental	112.72 *	17.72 *	48.00 *	54.60 *
Social	7.74 *	0.18	7.86 *	3.74
Control	0.04			

* $p < 0.005$

From Table 8.9, there were significant differences found between the initial and continued benefits of volunteering in community enterprise, and differences between volunteers in each model. These differences are outlined under their respective headings below and refer to the change from initial to continued benefits.

Community Enterprise Volunteers

Differences were found to concern the higher frequency response of instrumental benefits, and the lower frequency response of purposive and social benefits.

Credit Union Volunteers

Differences between were found to concern the higher frequency response of instrumental benefits. Purposive benefits declined but this was not significant.

Housing Volunteers

Differences between each category were found to concern the higher frequency response of instrumental benefits, and the lower frequency response of purposive and social benefits.

Community Business Volunteers

Differences between each category were found to concern the higher and lower frequency response of instrumental and purposive benefits respectively.

Discussion & Conclusions

The findings supported a number of the hypotheses outlined in the introduction. Firstly, purposive and social benefits were found to be predominantly represented in terms of mutually supportive relationships between the wider membership and volunteers, and between volunteers themselves. This was in contrast to the task-oriented relationships which characterised volunteer-staff relations. As mentioned in *Chapter Five* in this chapter we were using volunteer-member relations as a proxy

for value-oriented, purposive benefits. To the extent, however, that purposive benefits were significantly higher amongst credit union, as opposed to, volunteers in other models, the explanation may be based on the resources available to different groups of volunteers in different models. Credit union volunteers, relying almost solely on their own efforts appear to maintain a closer ongoing relationship with their membership which brings perceptible rewards through members' gratitude for the service provided. In this respect, they perceived that their efforts were actually acknowledged and supported by members.

Regarding control benefits, participation in community enterprises was associated with appreciable levels of skill development and knowledge acquisition in areas similar to those cited for other types of community participation (e.g. Lackey *et al* 1992). Also consistent with previous research was the finding that much of this learning was apparently 'serendipitous' (e.g. Grieshop 1984) and concerned learning outwith the main issues of community enterprise, e.g. housing, finance and business development. Our findings largely confirmed previous research in this area which has tended to narrowly concentrate only on volunteers in leadership positions (e.g. Lackey 1992, Whitmore 1989, Fanslow 1982). In this study, however, the extent to which community enterprise participation required people to develop new skills and knowledge was identified by volunteers in all models.

Assuming that there were no appreciable inter-model differences in the extent to which they were able to identify and articulate what they perceived they had learned, the results may confirm the idea that different community-based environments promote and engender different learning outcomes. After all inter-model differences did not concern whether volunteers had learned new skills, rather the types of skills and knowledge themselves. These appeared to be broadly consistent with the role-related requirements placed on volunteers within each model. That credit union volunteers were distinct from others probably points once more to the reliance on volunteer effort in these

organisations. This should place a greater premium on these volunteers (as a whole or as ‘core’ groups) undertaking regular practical training in order to maintain the service to members. What is particularly interesting, however, is when we place skill and knowledge-based differences in the context of what people have to do when they ‘rely’ on themselves to provide their own services. In credit unions, new skills were distinctly more task-oriented compared to other models where learning was distinctly more social and political which may reflect the type of external policy environment surrounding voluntary activity in these areas. As we saw in *Chapter Four* both housing and employment-related activities have figured prominently in the changes surrounding the welfare economy in the UK over the past decade or so. It is perhaps then not surprising that people who previously may have depended on established public-sector bodies for service provision may have to take more cognisance of the local, regional and national political environment that affects their activity.

Regarding instrumental benefits, volunteers thought their organisations had currently achieved, or were achieving their primary external aims. Consistent with our original hypothesis, although there were no inter-model differences found in this category, instrumental benefits were found to be the most important source of benefit in terms of the overall question of ‘why’ people continued to participate. This finding was consistent with the suggestions of previous research and literature reviews (Smith 1980, Wandersman *et al* 1987). Like our earlier findings in *Chapter Seven*, it contradicts the picture of altruistically helping volunteers and there is an obvious sense in which it has some validity in terms of organisational survival. After all, if community enterprise organisations fail or are seen to be failing to achieve their limited primary aims, their longer-term chances of survival are jeopardised. To the extent that volunteers perceived these aims were being achieved, participation as a means to solving local socio-economic problems, was perceived as successful and the main type of reason that volunteers thought reinforced their continued involvement.

Significant inter-model differences were found, however, in terms of the overall benefits of continued participation. As opposed to those in housing and community business organisations, credit union volunteers were primarily influenced by purposive and social benefits. Consequently, the inter-model differences may be viewed as an exemplar of Piven's (1968) differentiation between limited and non-limited commitment groups. The former referred to staff-resourced groups comprising volunteers whose commitment is limited to achieving 'narrow' organisational goals. On the basis of the our evidence this certainly seemed to apply as far as housing and community business organisations were concerned. This may have important implications for the costs of participation in these models. After all, instrumental benefits are cited as 'unstable' forms of continuance commitment in the literature because of the contested nature of organisational aims (e.g. Pearce 1993). Consequently, there may well be some conflict over aims in these organisations.

The results may also be interpreted within the context of the findings on the differences between the initial (see *Chapter Seven*) and continued benefits associated with participation. The evidence confirmed previous research and the hypothesis of purposive decline alongside an increase in instrumental benefits (e.g. Clark *et al* 1978, Pearce 1983a). Social benefits also declined which was surprising but this only applied within housing organisations. In this respect, in housing and community businesses the importance attached to those underlying values which initially promoted participation declined. The results suggest that in organisations with an appreciable staff presence, purposive and social benefits have a less important role to play in sustaining participation. This would be consistent with organisations in which staff not volunteers provide direct member services. Hence direct opportunities or outlets for purposive expression attained through directly 'helping' others declined. Conversely, in credit unions where volunteers themselves directly provided member services instrumental benefits may be less salient compared to purposive and social benefits. Why social benefits only declined within housing organisations is unclear, particularly

as this did not occur in other ‘limited commitment’ activities such as community businesses. It may have something to do with the particular individual difference characteristics of housing volunteers (e.g. ‘weaker’ residential attachment) outlined in *Chapter Six*, a system of poor volunteer and volunteer-member relations, or some other factor.

The above results should, however, perhaps not be interpreted in terms of some radical shift in how volunteers viewed the meaning attached to their participation. After all, retaining a narrow interest in achieving organisational goals may be just as good a way of providing a service or helping, compared to maintaining a strong belief in helping others. The above results should also be placed in the context of the weaknesses associated with our method and the actual type of information being used in the study. A major problem concerned the fact that we were essentially comparing information that was on the one hand retrospective in nature and information set in the current context of the study. In this respect, we were comparing information that was by its very nature subject to quite different sources of bias, although we attempted to counter these factors as far as possible. Consequently, the above evidence should not be taken to indicate that the actual experience of participation causally changed volunteers' reasons for being involved, nor that they explicitly said so. Simply that on the basis of the information provided, there was evidence to suggest that volunteers themselves perceived that they were involved for different reasons now than they were when they first became involved. Consequently, the results can be understood in terms of the developing experience of volunteers.

Finally, none of the socio-demographic or organisational variables suggested by previous research to moderate the benefits of volunteering significantly did so in community enterprise. This was also the case in *Chapter Seven*. This may seem surprising, particularly as we expected participation to offer quite different benefits for different sub-groups (e.g. leaders vs others, older age groups vs younger age

groups). The results suggest that participation in community enterprises offers distinct and perceptible benefits for all, irrespective of their socio-demographic characteristics and their organisational role-position. These may be considered somewhat problematic findings, particularly those concerning the organisational characteristics of time invested, role-position and length of service. These findings suggest that those who invest more time, are involved over a longer period and who occupy leadership role positions, perceive no appreciably different benefits compared to their counterparts who invest less in the organisation in terms of time and responsibility. This may be interpreted as setting up the proposition that time and effort (as operationalised in the above organisational categories) makes absolutely no difference to the overall benefits associated with continued participation. This is contrary to the suggestions of previous research which has found evidence of socio-demographic and organisational differences (e.g. Pearce 1983a, 1984). Why this may have been the case is unclear. Perhaps it may have had something to do with our relatively small sample size, or the characteristics of our sample of volunteers. Alternatively, it may be related to our method and we could have confirmatory results using semantic differential scales to measure the extent to which different groups benefited from participation. What would be interesting, however, in the light of these results is to see whether a similar situation exists with regard to perceived costs.

In conclusion, bearing in mind the limitations of the research design, continued participation was found to be characterised by sources of benefits for volunteers across all categories of social exchange / incentive theory. Overall, it was mainly characterised by instrumental benefits although there were appreciable inter-model differences between credit union volunteers and those in other models. These concerned the persistence of purposive benefits in the former. Appreciable differences were also found between the initial and continued benefits associated with participation. Evidence was found for purposive (except in credit unions) and social (housing organisations only) decline, allied to an increase in instrumental benefits. These results may be

explained in terms of the typical features associated with 'limited commitment' groups and the particular characteristics associated with different models of activity. They substantiated the suggestions of previous research in organisational theory concerning the shift in benefits associated with participation. Although these results may not be interpreted as suggesting that participation causally changed the reasons for its continuance, at the very least they suggest that volunteers perceived the reasons for their involvement had changed. Hence they can be understood in terms of the developing experience of volunteers and the characteristic features of different models. Finally, socio-demographic and organisational variables were found to play a minimal role in influencing the perceived benefits of continued participation. This was contrary to those findings reported by previous research. Here the implication was that there were no substantive differences in benefit outcomes between those who invested more time, energy and responsibility in the organisation.

Chapter 9 : Perceived Control and Empowerment

Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the issue of perceived control and empowerment amongst volunteers in community enterprise through cross-sectional and longitudinal evidence. A key feature of many forms of community-based participation is the hypothesised link with the construct of socio-psychological empowerment (e.g. Adams 1991, Hopson & Scally 1980). This has been defined as a multilevel construct which links individual and collective strengths, and competencies to participation (Zimmerman & Rappaport 1988, p.726). Typically empowerment has been operationalised in terms of personal efficacy and control. Participation may enhance people's expectations for control and be beneficial through the longer-term relief of stress and the promotion of positive health (Rodin *et al* 1982). The above definition of empowerment was consistent with operationalisations of perceived control developed by Paulhaus & Christie (1981), Paulhaus (1987) and Paulhaus & Selst (1990). These authors propose looking at perceived competence and efficacy through expectancies for control in both individual and collective domains : personal (non-social), interpersonal and group, and socio-political influence.

The main question asked in this chapter was, do volunteers in community enterprise activities develop expectancies for control which offer evidence of socio-psychological empowerment? In the first instance, it may be that volunteers have different control expectancies based on their experience of volunteering in different models of community enterprise. These provide different training programmes and opportunities and require people to invest differential amounts of time in participation. For example, given their different structural and development characteristics we may expect that credit union volunteers (in more hierarchically structured organisations and in a sector largely still independent from public sector control) may exhibit significantly lower mean score values than volunteers in other models on the socio-political dimension of perceived control. Similarly, given their with higher levels of volunteer-member contact and self-

reliance, volunteers in credit unions may exhibit higher mean scores on dimension of interpersonal control.

Secondly, it could be argued that empowerment is more likely to be found amongst those with the least exposure to participation in community enterprise. Establishing this point, however, requires that two main propositions are fulfilled. Firstly, that less experienced volunteers would exhibit significantly lower mean score values than more experienced groups across all dimensions of perceived control. This would raise the expectation that there may be some potential for development in the former group and distinguishes which distinguishes them from their more experienced peers. Secondly, and more importantly, we would also expect that less established volunteers would then exhibit significantly higher mean score values across all dimensions of perceived control over time. It may then be argued that this would offer evidence of empowerment in community enterprise activity.

This chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we outline the control profile of the overall sample, followed by the profile for volunteers in different models. We then present cross-sectional evidence for differences between less established and established volunteers before looking at longitudinal evidence from the results of a follow-up study with those in the former group. For the purposes of this study less established volunteers were defined as those, at the time of their first interview, who had up to a maximum of one-year's formal voluntary experience in community enterprise activity.

Method

Sample & Procedure

The overall sample comprised 222 community enterprise volunteers drawn from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 drawn from ten credit union, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively).

From initial interviews, 28 volunteers from the overall sample group were identified as less established volunteers and were consequently selected for a follow-up (20 female, 8 male) administration of the measure of perceived control. Between 8-12 months following the initial interview, those in the latter group were contacted again via their organisations to establish whether they were still volunteers (all were) and whether they would be willing to complete the standard measure. Respondents were given the option to complete the standard measure either on a one-to-one basis with the researcher at the organisations premises or by post. All chose to do so by the latter method and 26 usable questionnaires were returned. All other general sample details and issues were outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

Perceived control was measured using the Spheres of Control Scale (SOC). This is a 30-item self-report scale originally devised by (Paulhaus & Christie 1981, Paulhaus 1983) but recently updated by Paulhaus & Selst (1990). Details on scale development, validation and its research applications within specific population sub-groups were given by Paulhaus & Selst (1990). The scale was designed to measure perceived competence and efficacy through the expectancy for control in three distinct domains : personal (PC) ; interpersonal (IPC) ; and socio-political (SPC). Each scale comprised ten separate items which were sequentially interspersed during presentation. Scores were measured using a 7-point response format ranging between options of ‘totally inaccurate’ to ‘totally accurate’. Paulhaus & Selst (1990) report an internal consistency alpha rating for the SOC scale as 0.80. The scale used in this study as well as the updated version proposed by Paulhaus & Selst (1990) are both presented in *Appendix III*. This provides further details on item presentation, layout and scoring procedure.

In this study, minor contextual changes were made to item (9) on the PC scale (Paulhaus & Selst (1990)). This was done in an attempt to make the scale more relevant to a volunteer sample group. Hence the word ‘career’ was removed. Not only

was this regarded as inappropriate to use with older age groups with presumably diminished career aims but it also tended to focus personal efficacy on employment, as opposed to, work and leisure related activity in general. As a consequence we chose to replace ‘career’ with the relatively more general term of ‘ work’.

The predictions outlined above identified univariate statistical analysis. Differences between mean scores were analysed using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), consistent with Howell (1982). The 0.05 level of significance was chosen as that, above which, all differences would be treated as significant.

Results

Table 9.1 outlines the score range, mean values and standard deviations for the sample as whole for each dimension of perceived control.

Table 9.1 : Mean Score Values and Standard Deviations for the Overall Sample.

Scale	Possible Score Range	Mean (n=222)	Standard Deviation
PC	10-70	51.65	9.86
IPC	10-70	50.83	8.64
SPC	10-70	51.88	10.98
SOC	30-210	154.36	9.81

From Table 9.1, community enterprise volunteers exhibited a relatively consistent scoring profile across all three dimensions of perceived control. Their mean value score (154.36) was indicative of a moderate degree of internality. In combination with scores on each discrete dimension, the profile reflected a group who perceived themselves as moderately competent on personal, interpersonal and socio-political levels.

Mean score values were also found to be highest on the dimension of socio-political competence. This possibly reflected the influence that volunteers perceived they had over events within their local residential area through participation in community enterprise.

Inter-Model Differences

Table 9.2 outlines the mean score values and standard deviations for established and less established volunteer groups along each dimension of perceived control.

Table 9.2 : Mean Score values for Community Enterprise Volunteers by Model in terms of Perceived Control.

Measure	C.Union (n=79)	Housing (n=71)	C.Business (n=72)
PC mean	51.84	51.49	51.61
IPC mean	51.68	50.70	50.12
SPC mean	51.23	52.26	51.99

F= 0.49, n / s

From Table 9.2, socio-political control had relatively higher mean score values amongst housing and community business volunteers. The converse applied amongst those in credit unions who exhibited higher mean score values on the dimensions of personal and interpersonal control. Despite such trends, however, overall inter-model differences were not significant.

Established vs Less Established Volunteers

Table 9.3 outlines the mean score values and standard deviations for established and less established volunteer groups along each dimension of perceived control.

Table 9.3 : Mean Score Values for Less Established vs Established Volunteers.

Measure	Less Established (n=28)	Established (n=194)
PC mean	51.41	51.89
IPC mean	50.29	51.37
SPC mean	51.11	52.66

F= 0.68, df 25, 193 n / s

From Table 9.3, the mean score values for less established groups, although lower than those for more established groups, were found to be not significantly different across any of the dimensions of perceived control. In this respect, less established volunteers felt that they were equally as competent in controlling personal, interpersonal and socio-political events compared to their more established counterparts. Hence, there was no significant evidence found to substantiate the proposition of a developmental potential in perceived control for less established volunteers.

Development of Perceived Control

Table 9.4 outlines the test, re-test mean scores and F value for less established volunteer groups at t1 and t2.

Table 9.4 : Mean score values for Less Established Volunteer Groups at t 1 and t 2 in terms of Perceived Control.

Measure	Time 1 (n=26)	Time 2 (n=26)
PC mean	51.39	51.52
IPC mean	50.41	51.28
SPC mean	51.01	51.87

F = 0.37, df 25, n / s

From Table 9.5, although the mean score values for PC and SPC showed small increases in value from t¹ to t², differences between less established volunteers at both points in time were not significant across any dimension of perceived control. Hence there was no appreciable evidence found to substantiate the proposition of development in perceived control over the time period of the study for less established volunteers.

Discussion & Conclusions

From the results, none of the hypotheses outlined in the introduction were substantiated by the findings. Firstly, no appreciable differences were found to exist between volunteers in different community enterprise activities. This meant that although we may have supposed that different types of community enterprise activity generated different expectancies for control amongst their volunteers the evidence did not support this proposition. Although we found that those in credit union organisations exhibited higher and lower mean score values on the dimensions of interpersonal and socio-political control respectively, these scores were not significantly different from their counterparts in housing and community business. Hence although we thought that

potential organisational differences in housing and community businesses in the level of exposure to political and decision-making processes, may have generated differences in the expectancies for socio-political control this was not reflected in the scale applied in this particular study. This was also despite the finding in *Chapter Eight* concerning the relatively greater reporting of political learning and awareness amongst these volunteers compared to their counterparts in credit unions.

Furthermore, it was found that there were no appreciable differences in the mean score values for 'new' and more established volunteers, or for the former group's development of control expectations, beyond slight increments in mean score values, over time. Given that our time interval for test / re-test was relatively long we may be tempted to rule out the explanation that the lack of differences was attributable to this factor. Nevertheless, although this factor cannot be ruled out and may explain the lack of significant differences alongside weaknesses in the sample (e.g. low numbers), it may also be our understanding of the empowerment construct applied to the investments people make in volunteering that may be at issue in this case.

One assumption of the empowerment construct concerns development potential and the premise that people are initially at some 'powerless' stage from which they become more powerful through participation. In this respect, however, we almost discount the significance of other events and influences which may also presumably act to shape people's perceptions of control. One explanation for the lack of significant findings may be that the volunteers already perceived themselves as 'powerful'. This would be consistent with the evidence on personality differences between volunteers and non-volunteers which points to the latter as a relatively more internal group (see Clary & Snyder 1991). The issue here is essentially whether participation makes people more in control, or are those who volunteer already in 'control'. While the former explanation suggests that there should be differences between 'new' and 'established' volunteers, the latter suggests that there should be none. The evidence in this study suggests that,

for this sample, the latter explanation may be more applicable. A suggestion which has pessimistic overtones for professional organisers of participation who typically lay emphasis on the former type of message above. A better understanding of the empowerment issue, however, may come from studies which specifically look at differences between potential groups of participants before people volunteer, or studies contrasting volunteers in radically different fields of activity.

Another explanation for the lack of significant differences either in terms of empowerment 'potential' or 'development', may be that psychological change itself is not as instantaneous as we may like to imagine. It is reasonable to suggest that change may be a function of the role-position of less established volunteers. In this respect, while the process of role-socialisation may be relatively short, empowerment outcomes may take appreciably longer to identify. Consequently, further research using larger samples in a more stringent longitudinal design which also incorporates a control group of established volunteers, may be required to fully establish the relevance of the empowerment construct as it applies to volunteers in community enterprise.

Alternatively, a different light may be shed on the results from the standpoint of a critique which questions the individualistic assumptions employed by psychology to explain what are socially complex processes. For example, Smail (1993), argues that power is a concept often ignored by psychology which concentrates on what happens 'inside' the individual, at the expense of its social manifestations and explanation. In this respect, why should we expect groups who are generally thought of in terms of 'the powerless', to perceive themselves as more powerful, and at the individual level more in control of their everyday lives on the basis of a minimal investment in one or other forms of community participation activity? This argument may act as a counter against over-idealistic expectations about what these types of activity are able to achieve for the individuals concerned.

Finally, it should be noted that the theme of this and earlier chapters has largely been the concern with the question of why people think they benefit from participation. A key feature of our approach, however, also stressed that participation was likely to be costly for those directly involved in its management. It is to this issue that we now turn our attention to in *Chapter Ten*.

Chapter 10 : The Costs of Continuing to Volunteer

Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the perceived costs associated with continued volunteering in community enterprise activity. Costs are defined as those difficulties created by time and performance related demands on volunteers which detract from the quality of their participation, and as 'benefits foregone'. The previous literature on participatory costs although sparse suggests that there are a number of costs associated with participation (Wandersman *et al* 1987). These may have important negative implications for individual health and well-being.

There were a number of issues pursued in this chapter. Firstly, we were interested in exploring the extent to which different categories of costs were an actual feature of the experience of participation. Similar to **Chapter Eight**, we initially utilised a limited definition of costs which concentrated solely on what the literature suggested were the main features of social exchange / incentive categories. Purposive costs were defined in terms of the perceived difficulties arising from serving members / local people ; social costs were defined in terms of difficulties with other volunteers, paid staff and from the impact of participation on family, friends and other competing social interests ; control costs were defined in terms of any perceived difficulties in extending knowledge and skills ; and instrumental costs focused on the difficulties in achieving collective aims. We then apply a more open-ended definition of costs in order to assess the relative importance attached to costs overall and the issue of what were the main sources of cost for community enterprise volunteers. The expectation would be that although volunteers would report costs in all categories, continued participation would be mainly characterised by instrumental costs.

Secondly, we look at whether different models were characterised by different sources of cost for volunteers. Although we expected some degree of inter-model variation the exact nature of such differences were difficult to specify. Finally, we look at whether

perceived costs were influenced by important categories of socio-demographic and organisational variables. Although we would expect that although continued costs may be influenced by these factors, the exact nature of such differences is difficult to prespecify.

This chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we explore the extent to which our limited definitions of costs were a feature of participation. We then outline the relative importance of what volunteers regarded as the main source of costs characteristic of their participation in community enterprise. Finally, we consider differences in terms of important categories of socio-demographic and organisational characteristics.

Method

Sample

The sample comprised 222 volunteers drawn from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 drawn from ten credit unions, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively). The exact sample size corresponding to the various questions outlined in this chapter are detailed in the relevant tables accompanying the text. All other general sample issues and details were outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The information presented in this chapter was taken from the following sections of the questionnaire outlined in *Appendix II* : ‘Skills / Abilities’ ; ‘Attitudes To Members’ ; ‘Attitudes to Staff’ ; ‘Attitudes To Volunteers’ ; ‘Collective Aims / Achievements’ ; ‘The Impact of Participation on Family / Friends’ ; and ‘Continued Benefits, Costs and Retention’. The measures used linked to their respective questions in *Appendix II* were as follows : costs of serving members / local people (Qu : 35), costs on family / friends (Qu : 47) and other social interests (Qu : 48) ; costs of working alongside, other

volunteers (Qu : 42) and staff (Qu : 39) ; difficulties of not being able to take on new roles / learn new skills (Qu : 27) ; non-achievement of collective aims (Qu : 44) ; and overall sources of costs (Qu : 50).

The results data are organised to explore the issues raised in the introduction. These questions involved univariate statistics in the form of one-sample chi square analysis which appropriately investigates difference between categorical variables (Howell 1982). Where this analysis involved differences between categories of costs, gross motivational categories are given in bold type above their respective sub-categories. The cumulative figures for these gross categories formed the basis of all subsequent calculations. Also, where this analysis involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied, consistent with (Miller 1975). The results of chi analysis are outlined under each of the tables presented in the results section and correspond to inter-model differences. The 0.01 level of significance was chosen as that above which, all differences were reported as significant. In the case of multiple responses categories, X^2 values were based on investigating inter-model differences in the responses within each respective dependent variable. Where significant inter-model differences were found, subsequent pairwise analysis was conducted to identify the exact location of such differences. As far as possible, only significant inter-model results are reported in the text with the exception of statistics for multiple response categories.

Results

Purposive Costs

Purposive costs, like their corresponding benefits in *Chapter Eight*, were defined in terms of volunteer-member relations (used as a proxy variable for people's value-orientation towards others). Table 10.1 shows volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main difficulties they faced, serving members / local people in community enterprise ?

**Table 10.1 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Main Difficulties Associated with
Serving Members / local People in Community Enterprise (%).**

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
None	7	6	5	10	2.59
Lack of Public Interest as Members	21	18	13	32	9.02
Accountability / Responsibility	23	19	30	19	4.98
Negative Stereotypes	16	16	18	15	0.99
Non-Participation by Members	26	35	25	19	6.89
No Thanks / Appreciation For Effort	7	6	8	6	0.35
Total No. of Responses	296	96	99	95	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

From Table 10.1, the main difficulties identified with serving members / local people concerned non-participation (26%), being held accountable and responsible (23%), a lack of public interest (21%) and negative local stereotypes of volunteers (16%). Responses varied between volunteers in each model. While community business volunteers were mainly concerned about the lack of public interest, reflected in the characteristically relatively low membership figures associated with these organisations (32%), the main problem identified by credit union volunteers concerned membership

non-participation (35%). This latter finding would be consistent with the relatively greater reliance on voluntary effort characteristic in these organisations. Although non-participation in general was not necessarily linked to a perceived need for more help, volunteers largely described it in terms of apathy (particularly those in housing). The latter were distinctly critical of the values associated with these 'apathetic' others, describing them as self-seeking and only concerned with taking the material benefits of the community enterprise service without wanting to share its responsibility:

"..when they (members) join we ask if they would be willing to serve on the committee..they think they won't get the house if they say no..that's all they're interested in, getting the house.." (Housing, Chairperson).

Conversely, the largest problem identified by housing volunteers concerned the level of accountability / responsibility involved in being a volunteer (30%). This referred to a perceived dissonance between membership demands and organisational service provision. In community enterprises as a whole volunteers reported having to reject credit applications, justifying tenancy rents, defend the quality of housing provision and laying off employees, as areas in which they had received criticism from members and other local people. Criticism often voiced informally (e.g. during conversations on the street) and aggravated by poor staff-member relations (members were perceived to be reluctant to approach staff). In all community enterprise models, volunteers attributed this situation to members failing to understand the organisational constraints placed on their organisational role, while at the same time being primarily concerned with maximising their own economic self-interest.

In housing organisations, the higher frequency of responses in this category may reflect the higher profile attached to housing activity, allied to a characteristically less frequent system of volunteer-member contact. 'Accountability' was perceived as a greater problem here than in credit unions who largely operated without an appreciable staff presence. This, however, may have been offset in community business organisations by their smaller memberships, or aggravated in housing organisations which operated

over smaller-scale geographical areas. Consequently, volunteer activity would be perceptibly more visible to members :

"..They (members) don't get involved but they complain, coming up to you in the street or going to your front door..they don't understand that we can only do so much..we refer them to the office but they don't like the staff so we're stuck with it.." (Housing, Chairperson)

Difficulties were also expressed concerning negative local stereotypes of the volunteer group. This again may reflect a poor system of volunteer-member contact or a lack of local awareness about the role of the organisation, resulting in members confusing the status of volunteers and staff, or dissonant volunteer-member value systems. Whatever the perceived cause, volunteers reported encountering scepticism about their motives for participation which ran contrary to those wider societal stereotypes of the 'good volunteer'. Instead of being concerned with the interests of members, volunteers perceived they were characterised by some as concerned with maximising their own economic self-interest.

"..folk say that we must be getting some kickback (money) from this..I don't think they understand why we do it.." (C.Business, Chairperson)

Despite the above differences, from chi-square analysis, overall inter-model differences were not significant.

Social Costs

Table 10.2 shows volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main difficulties they faced, working alongside other volunteers in community enterprise ?

Table 10.2 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Main Difficulties Associated with Working Alongside Other Volunteers in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
None	13	13	11	15	5.89
Minor Disputes	49	51	38	60	3.11
Intragroup Conflict	25	18	41	15	18.06 *
Differential Participation	13	18	10	11	7.93
Total No. of Responses	258	94	89	75	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* $p < 0.005$

Similar to *Chapter Eight*, as volunteers were more positive about their peer group than members, so they were slightly less critical of other volunteers than members. Only 13% reported no difficulties associated with other volunteers. Difficulties were expressed mainly in terms of minor interpersonal / committee-based disputes (49%), intragroup conflict (25%) and differential participation (13%). Of these, interpersonal / committee-based disputes were reported by the majority of credit union (51%) and community business (60%) volunteers. Housing volunteers, however, identified intragroup conflict as the main problem faced (38%). In this case, volunteers referred to persistent personality clashes over internal policy issues affecting the development of the organisation. This is what seemed to distinguish responses in this category from more ‘minor’ disputes. Conflict was invariably described in terms of the differential priority given by different people to the organisations economic versus social aims.

Akin to 'apathetic' members, volunteer conflicts were attributed to ideologically-based value clashes within the volunteer group and the inherently selfish nature of others motives and intentions :

"..they (volunteers) are always arguing about what to do apart from housing..they don't understand that anything that we do has to be paid for..they don't think of what people here really want, just themselves.."
(Housing, Secretary)

Credit union volunteers were more likely report on the differential participation of other volunteers (18%). This was associated with increased workload demands and referred to in the context of its effects such as frequent job rotation to cover up for 'temporary' and persistent' absentees. This ultimately led to a description of organisations as managed by a 'core' group of volunteers. In credit unions this would be consistent with their almost sole reliance on voluntary effort, where differential participation effectively diverted effort towards sustaining participation at the expense of direct organisational achievement.

From chi square analysis, overall inter-model differences were significant. They were attributable to differences between housing volunteers and those in credit unions ($X^2=9.78$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and community businesses ($X^2=10.96$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) in terms of the higher level of intragroup conflict reported by the former.

A further potentially serious conflict situation within the diverse interest groups involved in community enterprise concerned volunteer-staff relations. Table 10.3 shows volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main difficulties they faced, working alongside paid staff in community enterprise ?

Table 10.3 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Main Difficulties Associated with Working Alongside Paid Staff in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
None	75	100	60	64	0.20
Poor Staff-Member Relations	8	-	17	7	4.10
Control of Policy / Management	8	-	10	15	0.80
Discourage Member Involvement /					
Mistrust of Volunteers	9	-	12	15	0.17
Total No. of Responses	172	16	81	75	
Total Sample Size	222	16	71	72	

From Table 10.3, the majority of community enterprise volunteers identified no difficulties with current staff. Although this applied to all credit union volunteers, caution should be exercised about this finding because of the general scarcity of staff in these organisations. Where problems were identified, however, in housing organisations these mainly centred around poor staff-member relations (17%). This was consistent with earlier evidence on volunteer-member relationships which were claimed to be aggravated by poor member-staff relations. Conversely, in community businesses, staff were mainly felt to have an unwelcome controlling influence on the organisations management and policy (15%). Responses also included the view that staff encouraged an element of local mistrust about volunteers' motives and acted as a disincentive on membership participation (8%). Again, this was partially consistent with earlier evidence on volunteer-member relations. Because of the appreciably low numbers of credit union volunteers who worked alongside staff, comparisons with other models would be difficult to justify. From a chi square analysis, however, inter-

model differences between community business and housing volunteers were not significant.

Table 10.4 shows volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main difficulties of being a volunteer in community enterprise for their family life / friendships outside the organisation ?

Table 10.4 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Effects of Volunteering in Community Enterprise on their Family / Friends (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
None	71	68	71	75	0.99
Neglect Family / Friends	26	29	27	22	1.21
Don't know	3	4	2	4	
Total No. of Responses	233	83	75	75	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

From Table 10.4, volunteers largely reported that participation was structured around family commitments and not vice versa. This demonstrated the importance of familial activity over participation. Hence the majority of community enterprise volunteers reported that participation had no detrimental impact on existing familial relationships and friendships (71%). Where participation was reported to have had an adverse impact this was mainly described in the form of minor interpersonal disputes with partners caused by the failure to share the domestic workload, spend time with children and missing out on family-based events (26%). From chi square analysis (outwith responses in the ‘Don't know’ category), inter-model differences were not significant.

Table 10.5 shows volunteers' responses to the question, are there any other activities (e.g. hobbies, interests) that you would like to do but can't because of your participation as a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 10.5 : Volunteers' Perceptions of the Effects of Volunteering on Other Interests / Hobbies (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
No	85	86	84	86
Hobbies / Interests	8	8	8	7
Other Voluntary Activity	7	6	7	7
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

$X^2=0.32$, df 4, n/s

From Table 10.5, the majority of community enterprise volunteers reported that participation did not conflict with other social interests (85%). In contrast to the sometimes adverse impact described by volunteers of participation on familial relationships, only 15% reported that there were alternative things that they would like to do instead of being a volunteer in community enterprise. This may reflect some disenchantment with participation and raises the question of how community enterprise organisations retain the participation of those who may want to leave and do other things. However, inter-model differences were marginal and not significant.

Control Costs

Table 10.6 shows volunteers' responses to the question, were there any other things that they would like to do as a volunteer (e.g. learn new skills, take on new tasks) in community enterprise but could not do at the present time ?

Table 10.6 : Volunteers' Perceptions of New Things that they would like to Learn in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
No	54	46	58	58
Yes	46	54	42	42
Total Sample Size	222	16	71	72

$\chi^2=3.19$, df 2, n/s

From Table 10.6, the majority of community enterprise volunteers reported that there were no other things that they actively wanted to learn or do through their participation (54%). In light of the discretionary nature of voluntary activity perhaps they felt that they were already doing enough. Positive responses were, however, largely concerned with investing more time in volunteer training and taking on tasks centred around membership recruitment and volunteer training. These responses were distinctly higher for credit union volunteers (54%) reflecting the characteristic reliance on voluntary effort in these organisations. From chi square analysis, however, inter-model differences were not significant.

Instrumental Costs

Table 10.7 shows volunteers' responses to the question, were there any things that they felt that the volunteer group should have achieved by now, but had not ?

Table 10.7 : Volunteers' Perceptions of Organisational Non-Achievement in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
None	34	29	37	35	1.45
Better Member Service / Provision	22	19	20	26	1.93
Recruited More / Better Volunteers	10	19	7	5	15.40 *
Larger Membership / More Local Interest	19	20	17	19	0.34
Stimulated Other Community Groups	6	5	8	5	1.15
Improved Policy / Support	6	5	9	5	1.92
Other	3	3	2	4	
Total No. of Responses	319	109	100	110	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* p < 0.005

Despite an appreciable level of demand by community enterprise volunteers to take on new things, this did not mean that volunteers perceived that they had failed to achieve their collective organisational aims. From Table 10.7, only 34% of volunteers reported that there was nothing the organisation could, or should, have achieved but had failed to do so. Of those who reported that there were things to be achieved these mainly concerned improved service provision (e.g. premises, longer opening hours, better quality housing, more job opportunities) (22%), a larger membership / more local interest (19%) and more recruitment of volunteers able to cope with the responsibilities of volunteering (10%). The largest source of non-achievement for community business

and housing volunteers concerned better service provision (26% and 20% respectively). Conversely, for credit union volunteers this concerned larger membership / more local interest (19%). In these latter organisations, however, more responses were reported in the category of 'more volunteer recruitment' (17%), consistent with earlier reports of differential participation in this group. From chi square analysis (excluding responses in the 'other' category) inter-model differences were only significant concerning the recruitment of more and better able volunteers. Responses in this category were reported more frequently by credit union volunteers compared to those in community businesses ($X^2 = 8.46$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) and housing ($X^2 = 7.23$, df 1, $p < 0.005$). They may be best explained on the basis of the formers' relatively greater reliance on volunteer effort and were generally consistent with previous evidence on differential participation.

The Overall Costs Of Continued Participation

Table 10.8 shows volunteers' responses to the question, what were the main difficulties experienced as a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 10.8 : Volunteers' Perceptions of Main Difficulties Experienced as a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
<i>None</i>	14	15	15	13	0.24
<i>Purposive</i>					7.39
Accountability / Responsibility	16	12	25	12	
Lack of Public Interest as Members	10	8	1	21	
Negative Stereotypes of Volunteers	12	10	10	16	
<i>Social</i>					16.65 *
Differential Participation	15	27	11	6	
Intragroup Conflict	12	10	19	7	
<i>Instrumental</i>					2.53
Non-Achievement / Frustration of Aims	20	17	18	25	
Total No. of Responses	311	105	99	107	
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72	

* p < 0.005

From Table 10.8, the main overall costs of participation, reported by volunteers, were purposive (38%), as opposed to, social (27%) and instrumental (20%). Volunteers reported no control-based costs. Purposive costs constituted the largest set of costs for housing (36%) and community business (49%) volunteers. However, while the largest reported purposive cost for housing volunteers concerned membership accountability / responsibility (25%), community business volunteers reported purposive costs mainly

in terms of a lack of local membership interest in the organisation (21%). Conversely, those in credit unions attributed relatively more importance to social costs (37%). These mainly concerned differential participation (27%). Housing volunteers also reported appreciable levels of social costs (30%), with 19% of responses concerning intragroup conflict.

From chi square analysis, significant inter-model differences were found in social costs. These differences were found to apply between community business and credit union volunteers ($X^2=15.24$, df 1, $p < 0.005$).

Socio-Demographic & Organisational Influences on Perceived Costs

There were no socio-demographic influences on the costs of volunteering in terms of the following variables : sex (male vs female), age (< 45 years vs > 45 years), employment (yes vs no), type of area (mainly mixed vs mainly public) and other current voluntary experience (yes vs no). Differences were found, however, with respect to organisational influences. Table 10.9, presents a summary of the total chi square values for each organisational comparison of the overall continued costs of participation for community enterprise volunteers.

Table 10.9 : Summary of Chi Square Values for the Comparison of Organisational Characteristics by the Overall Continued Costs of Volunteering.

Variable	Continued Costs			
	None	Purposive	Social	Instrum'l
Length of Service (<3 yrs vs >3 yrs)	0.55	0.30	5.31	0.40
Role-Position (chairpersons vs others)	1.80	2.70	8.78 *	2.68
Time Invested (< 3.5 hrs vs > 3.5 hrs / week)	3.76	3.33	10.13 *	5.73

* $p < 0.005$

From Table 10.9, only those organisational variables relating to role-position and time invested were found to be significantly influence the costs of continued participation. Further details on each of these findings are presented under the appropriate headings below.

Role-Position

For community enterprise volunteers, role-position costs were identified within credit union organisations. Here differences were attributable to social costs ($X^2=7.41$, df 1, $p < 0.01$). These had a higher frequency amongst those in primary leadership positions compared to others.

Time Investment

For community enterprise volunteers, time investment costs were identified within credit union organisations. As above, these were also attributable to social costs ($X^2=9.26$, df 1, $p < 0.005$). They were reported more frequently amongst those who on average reported that they invested over 3.5 hours per week.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results confirmed a number of the hypotheses outlined in the introduction. Firstly, volunteers reported costs under all categories of social exchange / incentive-based headings. Purposive costs, like their corresponding benefits (see *Chapter Eight*), were explored in terms of volunteer-member relations. This was used as a proxy label for 'other' value-oriented beliefs. These were largely reported in terms of membership non-participation, accountability / responsibility, and lack of public interest. Responses which represented some degree of perceived conflict between the interests and value systems of volunteers and members. At the very least they were an indication of how the former perceived the latter to be both critical and unsupportive. In this respect, the downside of helping others was that volunteers perceived their efforts as non-reciprocated, misrepresented and undervalued. Our findings are perhaps hardly

surprising given that we knew (see *Chapter Four*) that voluntary-based activities generally attracted comparatively little active interest from members not overly keen to share the responsibilities of managing local services. As far as many community enterprise volunteers were concerned, members and others appeared content to allow existing volunteers to invest in the pursuit, if not always the construction and definition, of the organisation's goals.

Membership criticism may well be related to the differential importance attributed to the economic nature of collective goods in different types of community enterprise activity. It was particularly interesting to note that members, as well as some volunteers, were criticised for contributing from a narrow self-oriented perspective based on their own economic self-interest. Comments which set the basis for contrasting definitions of what may be meant by the 'common good' and stoke the embers of the altruistic argument. Perhaps these were the criticisms of individuals whose initial reasons for participation were also primarily purposively, value-oriented. Alternatively, if only to highlight the sterility of the altruistic argument, they may also be the claims of those whose own self-interest is being opposed.

The above evidence was consistent with previous reports in the literature on volunteer-member relations. Membership sanctions were reported as operating informally in such away that volunteers were made aware of members interests. Presumably this was an attempt to ensure that the organisation did not deviate too much from them and pursue antithetical goals to the latter's interests. Volunteers had to justify what the organisation was doing which is important given that part of the ideology and rhetoric surrounding these types of organisation stresses their concern with locally-defined needs. Needs which themselves may be many and varied within the one residential community. Volunteers it seems can't be too distanced from the interests and values of those they represent (Rich 1980) but many did not always welcome such accountability. Perhaps because the burden of participation was perceived as rarely shared amongst volunteers

and members. The fact that some found it a problem was cited by those housing volunteers who would have preferred that members approached staff. A finding which may be explained with reference to the role of social identities in communities. It may be that taking on a formal organisational role confers a new social identity and status upon volunteers, which ultimately serves to distinguish them from their neighbours. Hence becoming a volunteer effectively changes the context of existing social relationships between neighbours. In this instance, it appeared that, from the standpoint of volunteers, they may have felt that members and others looked upon them not so much as neighbours, but in more formal institutional terms as a 'landlord', 'banker' and 'employer'. Someone who could exert an appreciable degree of influence on their environment and their quality of life.

Compared to members, volunteers were distinctly less critical of their fellow co-participants. Nevertheless, social costs were reported mainly in terms of intragroup conflict (over organisational aims and policy) and differential participation. These findings were of course consistent with a relatively large body of evidence on voluntary-based organisations (e.g. Katz & Kahn 1978, Wandersman 1981). The incidence of intragroup conflict in general, however, may reflect the propensity for schism within community enterprise groups, as well as, further exemplify the divergent interests which seem to characterise residually-based participatory activity. Interestingly volunteer-staff difficulties were reported less frequently, which runs contrary to much of the literature pointing to the often antagonistic working relations between these groups (e.g. Adams 1992). This may be an artefact of particular types of volunteer-based activity, or a particular phase of an organisations development. Whatever the explanation, at the time of this study in these community enterprise groups, staff-volunteer relations were not reported as significantly problematic. Indeed we may contrast their low associated costs with the evidence in *Chapter Eight* regarding their perceived benefits. Regarding purposive and social costs in general, it appeared that many of the costs reported by volunteers in these categories concerned

their relations with other members / local residents and fellow volunteers, and not outside professionals.

Housing volunteers reported higher levels of intragroup conflict compared to those in other models. While this may be put down to interpersonal and personality factors between volunteers, other individual, structural and organisational elements may also have played a role. For example, the ‘stronger’ residential attachment characteristics reported by credit union and community business volunteers in *Chapter Six* may have mitigated against conflict through more established interpersonal and working relationships. Also factors such as the prominence of housing issues, allied to the relative physical proximity of volunteers and members may just simply exacerbate problems over the direction of the group. Alternatively, imposed changes in the funding levels supporting these organisations (see *Chapter Four*) may have exacerbated conflict by putting additional managerial pressure on groups to operate within increasingly constrained fiscal parameters. After all, conflict was invariably mentioned in the context of affordability between those who wanted to be seen to manage the group within present financial constraints and those who see the group as having a wider remit to tackle social needs.

The incidence of intragroup conflict in housing organisations, where it was cited as the largest source of social cost, presents an interesting parallel with the earlier evidence from *Chapter Eight* highlighting the prominence of instrumental benefits in this group. As we know from the literature, instrumental benefits are thought to be ‘unstable’ types of continuance commitment given that they focus on ‘narrow’ organisational goals (Pearce 1993). It seems that in housing organisations these goals were more strongly contested than in other organisations, which raises the question of their impact on rates of drop-out amongst volunteers in this group.

Overall, the direct costs of organisational participation were more predominant than opportunity-based costs associated with family, friends and other competing social interests. One has to be aware, however, that this finding may like the results overall, simply reflect the lack of such problems and opportunity-based costs at the time of study. Alternatively, it may be consistent with the evidence in *Chapter Six* where community enterprise volunteers were found to have potentially more time for discretionary activity (i.e. through less dependants and being in non-employed groups) than UK samples of volunteers. Nevertheless, our evidence does runs counter to previous literature which highlights the salience of opportunity-based sources (e.g. Wandersman et al 1987). It may be that while familial, fraternal and social activity-related costs have a role in influencing ongoing participation in community enterprise, this may be no different to their influence on other areas of leisure activity. In this respect, their adverse influence may be intermittent and only apparent at times when participation becomes *too costly* and starts to consistently and adversely detract from other important social relationships and activities. Alternatively, given the private and often sensitive nature of these types of disclosure, our approach may have been slightly inappropriate. After all, if we were singularly interested in the impact of volunteering on family and one's social life, it would have been more prudent to consider the issue from the standpoint of those it presumably effects (i.e. other family members).

Control and instrumental sources of costs were less frequently cited. Their relatively low prevalence may well reflect the general adequacy of overall support provision for volunteers from within the organisation (i.e. staff and other volunteers) and externally through structured training programmes and support bodies. However, as we did not specifically pursue the issue of external supports with volunteers, we may well be overstating the case here given some comments in *Chapter Four* on the adequacy of most external group support structures. Certainly volunteers did not perceive control costs as a prominent source of detraction from participation. Perhaps they felt that they were investing enough time and effort as it stood. For those in housing and community

businesses, at the very least, they would have been able to rely on staff to compensate for any perceived shortcomings. Although a rather similar picture also emerged regarding instrumental costs, there were significant differences between credit union and community business volunteers in terms of the former's desire for more volunteer recruitment. This was consistent with the evidence on the problem of differential participation which was more frequently cited by credit union volunteers as a social-based cost. Previous evidence from Wandersman *et al* (1987), on continued participatory costs, however, cited instrumental costs as the major source for their sample of volunteers. Certainly our findings ran contrary to what little research has been carried out in this area.

Consistent with the evidence on costs within each category of social exchange, overall costs were mainly identified as purposive and social. There was also evidence of inter-model variation, consistent with the view that different types of volunteers perceive their participation to involve different sources of cost. Significant differences concerned social cost differences between credit union and community business volunteers. They concerned the higher incidence of differential participation reported by the former, which was broadly consistent with the greater reliance on voluntary effort in these organisations. Differential participation, however, concentrates responsibility for the organisation's management even moreso within the confines of a select group of volunteers. This has obvious implications for organisational achievement, where time and effort have to be diverted towards sustaining the participation of volunteers at the expense of efforts towards maintaining the organisation's formal service aims (Schein 1990). It also has obvious implications for decision-making within the group and the sanctions available on the managerial behaviour of volunteers. Almost certainly it would place the onus on more 'charismatic' styles of leadership and management in these organisations, in order to compensate for a lack of formal staff supports and sustain discretionary participation over time.

Why credit union volunteers did not more strongly criticise membership non-participation, as opposed to, differential participation by other volunteers was particularly interesting. It may be simply that volunteers attribute more criticism to those with equal or approximate role-status (i.e. other volunteers) who do not participate as their status implies they should. Alternatively, the more regular volunteer-member contact in credit unions and the benefits entailed for volunteers (as we saw in *Chapter Eight*) may serve to deflect from any substantive criticism of members by volunteers.

Regarding the findings on the influence of socio-demographic and organisational characteristics, only those organisational variables on volunteers' role-position and time investment were found to influence perceived costs for credit union volunteers. This was in contrast to the evidence in *Chapter's Seven* and *Eight* on the impact of these variables on perceived benefits. Nevertheless, these findings do partially substantiate previous research, which found that those in leadership positions (i.e. those who invested relatively more time in the ongoing management of the organisation), reported higher performance-related costs (e.g. Pearce 1983a 1984, Oliver 1984). In credit unions, it was perhaps not surprising therefore that social costs, largely in the form of differential participation, distinguished the two respective groups. This would potentially have a greater depreciative impact on leaders compared to others. Although there is some confusion over what exactly is meant by 'charismatic' forms of leadership which is associated with a range of behavioural and personality characteristics. If credit unions rely more on such a style than others then, at the very least, it would necessitate that leaders lead by example. By investing more time and effort it appears that they do.

In conclusion, bearing in mind the context of the research design, participation in community enterprise was associated with various sources of perceived costs. These were found to be direct as opposed to opportunistic, although this may be like the

results in general and an artefact of a cross-sectional research design. In terms of evaluating the overall impact of costs on participation, however, community enterprise volunteers mainly reported these as purposive and social. While the former was described in terms of volunteers relationships with members and other local residents, the latter concerned the negative impacts of differential participation and intragroup conflict. Inter-model differences were also found to be significant. Compared to their counterparts in housing and community business organisations, credit union volunteers reported appreciably higher sources of social costs. These differences may be explained in terms of the relative lack of staff support and administrative back-up in these organisations compared to others. While differential participation was perceived as costly, this mainly applied to those in leadership roles in credit unions. This finding was consistent with previous research evidence on those in voluntary leadership roles. Volunteering in community enterprise was therefore perceived as costly, which varied in type across different models. The question which then arises is are there situations in which participation becomes too costly for volunteers? It is to this issue that we now turn our attention to in *Chapter Eleven*.

Chapter 11 : Intended Drop-Out & Retention

Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the question of what factors were associated with retaining participation in community enterprise. Retention is defined as situations where the perceived costs of volunteering potentially outweigh, or at the very least balance, the perceived benefits of continuing to participate (Gluck 1975). These situations have obvious implications for whether people continue their involvement. However, given that none of the people interviewed had actually terminated their participation, one possible way in which retention could be investigated within an active sample was to look at the following issues. Firstly, whether volunteers had considered whether to terminate their participation, their future intention to do so, and why they had done so but had subsequently remained as volunteers.

The main questions asked in this chapter were as follows. Firstly, what was the proportion of community enterprise volunteers who had considered dropping out and how many of them actually intended to do so following their current period of office? Estimates of potential turnover may be derived from UK participation and model-specific turnover rates (see *Chapter Four*, Table 4.1). From this evidence we would expect that those who had considered and those who intended to drop out would constitute between 10%-25% of the sample. We would expect the former group to be in excess of this range as many would be likely to have at least considered the issue at some stage. Secondly, what were the main reasons associated with considering terminating participation? Previous research suggests that intentions to quit may be primarily influenced by opportunity-related, social costs (e.g. changes in family circumstances) and situational factors (e.g. age, mobility) (Seltzer *et al* 1988). Thirdly, why did people remain involved in situations of potential drop-out? We would expect that benefits would be primarily instrumental possibly regarding maintaining organisational achievement. Also we were interested in whether the costs and benefits of retention were different for volunteers who actually intended to quit at the end of

their current period of office compared to those who did not. We would expect that there would be some differences although these are difficult to identify beforehand.

Furthermore, we were interested in inter-model differences in terms of retention costs and benefits? In these cases we would expect that if all forms of volunteering in community enterprise involved similar sources of retention costs and benefits that there would be no significant differences between different groups of volunteers. Also, we considered whether volunteers perceived different sources of retention costs and benefits based on their socio-demographic and organisational characteristics. We would expect that retention may be influenced by these factors although exact differences were difficult to specify. Finally we asked, were retention benefits different from the continued benefits of volunteering? Although we would expect differences these were difficult to identify beforehand.

This chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we consider the questions of how many volunteers had considered dropping out and whether they actually intended to do so following their current term of office. Secondly, we look at why volunteers had considered dropping out and whether their reasons for doing so were different for those groups who subsequently intended to drop-out and those who did not. We then consider the question of the benefits that those who had considered dropping out identified as important in sustaining their involvement. Then, as above, we look at whether the reasons for remaining were different for those groups who intended to drop-out as opposed to those that did not. For all of these questions consideration is also given to the potential influence of socio-demographic and organisational variables on drop-out and retention. Finally, we consider the question of whether retained benefits were distinct from the continued benefits of participation.

Method

Sample

The respondents were 222 volunteers drawn from 31 community enterprise organisations across Scotland (79, 71 and 72 drawn from ten credit union, ten housing and eleven community business organisations respectively). The exact sample sizes responding to the questions covered in this chapter are detailed in the relevant tables accompanying the text. All other general sample issues and details were outlined in *Chapter Five* on the methods adopted for the study.

Variable Measurement & Analysis

The information presented in this chapter was drawn from the following sections of the questionnaire outlined in *Appendix II* : ‘Continued Benefits, Costs and Retention’ ; and ‘Future Intentions’. The measures used, linked to their respective questions in *Appendix II* were as follows : consideration of and reasons for considering drop out (Qu : 51) ; the benefits of staying involved (Qu : 52) ; future intended participation (Qu's 53 and 54) ; and the continued benefits of participation (Qu : 49).

The results data are organised to explore the issues outlined in the introduction. These questions involved univariate statistics in the form of one-sample chi square analysis which appropriately investigates differences between nominal, categorical variables (Howell 1982). Where this analysis involved differences in between categories of costs and benefits, gross motivational categories are given in bold type above their respective sub-categories. The cumulative figures for these gross categories formed the basis for all subsequent calculations. Also, where this analysis involved 2 by 2 contingencies, Yates correction was applied, consistent with Miller (1975). The results of chi analysis are outlined alongside each of the tables presented in the results section and correspond to inter-model differences. The 0.01 level of significance was chosen as that above which, all differences were reported as significant. In the case of multiple response categories, X^2 values were based on investigating inter-model differences in

the responses within each respective dependent variable. Where significant inter-model differences were identified, subsequent pairwise analysis was conducted to identify the exact nature of such differences. As far as possible, only significant inter-model results are reported in the text with the exception of statistics for multiple response based categories.

Results

Considering Drop-Out

Table 11.1 outlines volunteers' responses to the question, had they ever considered giving up their active formal role as a volunteer in community enterprise ?

Table 11.1 : Volunteers' Reporting that they had considered Dropping out of Participation as a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).

Drop-Out	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
Yes	54	47	62	54
No	46	53	62	46
Total Sample Size	222	79	71	72

$X^2 = 3.52, df\ 2, n/s$

A majority of community enterprise volunteers had considered dropping out of participation (54%). However, while this only comprised 47% of credit union volunteers, it applied to the majority of those in community business (54%) and housing organisations (62%). Despite such variations, however, inter-model differences were not significant.

None of the socio-demographic and organisational variables used were found to influence intention to drop-out. The socio-demographic variables considered were as

follows : sex (male *vs* female), age (< 45 years *vs* > 45 years) employed status (yes *vs* no) and area (mainly mixed *vs* mainly public). Conversely, the organisational variables considered were length of service (< 3 years *vs* > 3 years), role-position (leaders *vs* others) and time invested (< 3.5 hrs/week *vs* > 3.5 hrs/week)

Intended Drop-out

For those who had considered dropping out of participation, Table 11.2 outlines their response to the question, what did they intend to do within the organisation at the end of their current period of office ?

Table 11.2 : Volunteers' Reported Intended Future Participation (intention to drop out) of Community Enterprise (%).

Drop-Out	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business
Yes	21	22	18	23
No	79	78	82	77
Total Sample Size	120	37	44	39

$X^2 = 0.31, df\ 2, n/s$

Only 21% of those who had considered dropping out of participation, reported that they actually intended to do so at the end of their current period of office. This amounted to a figure for the sample overall of 11% who intended to terminate their participation following their current period of office. This rate of intended drop-out was reasonably similar across all models and inter-model differences were not significant.

We also looked at the influence of socio-demographic and organisational variables on intention to drop-out in the short and long term. The variables considered were the

same as those outlined in the earlier section. None of these were found to have a significant bearing on the results.

Reasons For Considering Drop-Out

Of those who reported that they had thought of dropping out of participation in community enterprise, Table 11.3 outlines their responses to the question, why they had thought of doing so ?

Table 11.3 : Volunteers' Reported Reasons for Considering Dropping out of Participation as a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).

Drop-Out Reason	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	X ²
<i>Purposive</i>					1.69
No Help from Members / Local People	17	14	23	14	
<i>Social</i>					1.54
Intragroup Conflict	17	16	21	10	
Differential Participation	12	19	9	10	
More Time to Family	15	14	15	17	
More Time to Other Interests	5	4	5	5	
<i>Instrumental</i>					0.61
Failed to Achieve Aims	6	4	4	10	
Lack of Personal Say / Influence	5	7	5	5	
<i>Situational Variables</i>					2.21
Age / Poor Health	18	16	17	21	
Other	6	7	2	10	
Total No. of Responses	141	45	54	42	
Total Sample Size	120	37	44	39	

Overall, the main reasons for considering drop-out were social (49%). For housing volunteers social costs mainly concerned intragroup conflict (21%), while differential participation was the largest social factor cited by those in credit unions. Situational factors were also prominent (24%). In community businesses, the largest single reported single cost factor concerned age / health related reasons :

"..I had a heart attack from doing too much of this and other things..the doctor told me that if I didn't stop some of them, I may have another one.."
C. Business, (Male 56 years).

From chi square analysis, however, there were no significant inter-model differences between the reported costs associated with considering dropping out.

Table 11.4, outlines summary statistics for the comparison of socio-demographic variables with reasons for drop-out.

Table 11.4: Summary statistics of socio-demographic categories with reasons for drop-out

Variable	Reasons for Drop-Out (4 categories)
Sex (male vs female)	6.56
Age (< 45 years vs > 45 years)	16.95 *
Employed Status (yes vs no)	8.02
Area (mainly mixed vs mainly public)	5.08

* p < 0.01

From Table 11.4, the only significant socio-demographic influence on drop-out concerned chronological age. These differences concerned the higher reporting of situational costs such as age / health by age groups over 45 yrs ($X^2=7.27$, df 1, $p < 0.01$). This was consistent across all models. Small sample sizes of the groups in each category, however, prevented further detailed analysis. Conversely, all organisational

influences on the costs associated with drop-out were not significant. The variables considered were the same as those in earlier sections.

Intended Drop-Outs vs Others

Table 11.5 outlines a summary of the chi square statistics for a comparison of the intention to drop-out against the reasons for considering drop out.

Table 11.5 : Chi Square Value for Intended Drop-out (yes vs no) by Reasons for Considering Drop out.

Variable	Reasons for Considering Drop-Out (4 categories)
Intention to Drop-Out (yes vs no)	9.43

From Table 11.5, those who intended to drop-out at the end of their current period of office did not report significantly different reasons for considering doing so compared to others.

Retention of Volunteers

For those volunteers who had considered dropping out of participation in community enterprise, Table 11.6 outlines volunteers responses to the question, why they had not done so ?

Table 11.6 : Volunteers' Reported Reasons for not Dropping Out of Participation as a Volunteer in Community Enterprise (%).

Retention Reason	All	C.Union	Housing	C.Business	χ^2
<i>Purposive</i>					0.21
Enjoy Helping Others	10	9	12	9	
<i>Social</i>					0.32
Enjoy Socialising / Meeting Others	6	6	4	7	
Social Responsibility / Obligation	13	15	13	11	
<i>Instrumental</i>					0.07
Maintain Organisational Achievement	62	61	62	64	
<i>Control</i>					0.002
Enjoy Tasks / Learning	9	9	10	9	
Total No. of Responses	161	54	52	55	
Total Sample Size	120	37	44	39	

Overall, the main benefits of remaining a volunteer were instrumental (62%). Continuing the organisations achievements constituted the single largest reason for continuing to volunteer in all three models of community enterprise activity. Participation was retained on the basis that people wanted to ensure that the developments that they had established were going to be maintained in the future :

“..We've had the TV people here telling us what a great job we're doing..there's plenty people around to pat you on the back, but when I think about giving it up, I'm worried it may go back to what it was like before..we don't want that..” Housing Secretary

Social benefits mainly concerned a feeling of social responsibility / obligation towards other volunteers (13%). In this case, people wanted to leave but felt that they had a responsibility to remain involved until a suitable replacement was found :

"..I couldn't let the others down..the chairman said that he would look for someone else..it is difficult to find people willing to do it.."
C.Union, Credit Committee Member

Retention was also characterised by purposive reasons concerning the continued opportunity to help others (10%), and control reasons concerning the enjoyment derived from tasks and learning new things (9%). Despite inter-model variations these differences were not significant. Similarly, none of the socio-demographic and organisational influences (outlined in earlier sections) on retention were significant.

Intended Drop-Out by Retention

Table 11.7 outlines a summary of the chi square statistics for a comparison of intention to drop-out by the reasons for remaining a volunteer.

Table 11.7 : Summary Chi Square Value for the Intended Drop-Out (yes vs no) of Community Enterprise Volunteers by the Benefits of Remaining a Volunteer.

Variable	Benefits of Retention (4 categories)
Intended Drop-Out (yes vs no)	12.69 *

* p < 0.01

From Table 11.7, significant differences were found in terms of benefits of remaining a volunteer for groups who intended to drop-out in the short as opposed to long-term. These differences concerned the appreciably higher level of social benefits ($X^2=7.9$, df 1, $p < 0.005$) reported by those who intended to drop-out following their present term of office. Small sample sizes within each group, however, prevented further detailed

analysis of intra-model comparisons. Nevertheless, given that the largest social factor concerned responsibility / obligation then we may assume that people did not want to leave in the short-term mainly for these reasons.

Retained vs Continued Benefits

Table 11.8 outlines a summary of the chi square statistics for the comparison between retained and continued sources of benefit.

Table 11.15 : Summary Chi Square Value for the Comparison Between Retained and Continued Benefits of Participation in Community Enterprise.

Category	All	C.Union	Housing	C. Business
Purposive	12.70 *	10.62 *	10.22 *	8.74 *
Instrumental	16.80 *	16.00 *	0.003	2.48
Social	0.02			
Control	0.21			

* p < 0.005

From Table 11.8, comparisons of retained vs continued benefits were significant for community enterprise volunteers as a whole. In terms of the overall sample differences were found to be due to the higher and lower reporting of instrumental and purposive benefits respectively. Within-model differences are reported under the headings below.

C.Union

Differences were attributable to the higher and lower reporting of instrumental and purposive benefits respectively.

Housing

Differences were attributable to the lower reporting of purposive benefits.

C. Business

Differences were attributable to the lower reporting of purposive benefits.

Discussion & Conclusions

The results presented in this chapter supported a number of the hypotheses outlined in the introduction. Firstly, consideration of drop-out applied to the majority of community enterprise volunteers (54%). A figure which was over twice the ceiling of the projected range estimate for drop-out (i.e. 25%). However, although the majority of volunteers had considered terminating their participation, only 21% of this group also reported that they actually intended to do at the end of their current term of office. In this respect, those who actually intended to drop-out only comprised 11% of our overall sample. This figure compares reasonably well with the basement level of the projected range estimate for drop-out and also with those figures on the actual drop-out rates of community enterprise volunteers presented in *Chapter Four* (Table 4.1). In this instance, we can have a reasonable degree of confidence not only in the efficacy of our measure but also our findings. We therefore have reasonable grounds to suspect that those who intended to drop-out following their current term of office would actually do so. In this case the figures for intended drop-out further substantiate the notion that the volunteer groups within community enterprise organisations, were reasonably stable and comprised those who remained involved beyond their first and even second periods of office (see *Chapter's Six* and *Seven*).

Some qualification of the above findings is necessary, however, before we proceed further. It should be apparent that we only asked those who had considered dropping out whether they intended to terminate their participation at the end of their current period of office. Although there was no concrete link to suggest that those who had considered terminating their participation would also be those who were most likely to quit, we decided to solely concentrate the issue of intention to quit amongst this group. The aim was to avoid asking people questions about issues they had perhaps never

considered. This was in the hope of obtaining reasonably reliable answers to the questions of whether they then intended to terminate their participation and why they thought they would do so. At the time of the interview we cleared up the issue of whether these would include those whose period of office was formally coming to an end. Ultimately however, we may have missed gathering data on those hadn't considered dropping out in the past but still might do so in the short-term future. After all, some people are likely to have placed firm limits on the length of their participation. Generally this meant that we lacked the information to enable us to compare those who had considered dropping out and why they wanted to do so, and the reasons why volunteers overall might have terminated their participation. This would have allowed us to explore more fully the issue of whether the costs associated with retention were different from those associated with continued participation in *Chapter Ten*. We were therefore limited in our analysis to those who reported that they had actually considered the issue as opposed to an exploration of whether these individuals cited reasons that were different from what others would have reported.

That the costs associated with drop-out were primarily social and situational supported our second hypothesis concerning the relative magnitude of each cost-based category. This data partially confirmed the assertion by Seltzer *et al* (1988) that the intention to terminate participation is largely mediated by personal change factors and hence opportunity-based costs. Nevertheless, direct organisational costs were reported more frequently compared to personal change, opportunity-based factors. The latter only constituted 20% of reported costs for community enterprise volunteers as a whole. This figure also compared favourably with the earlier evidence in *Chapter Ten* on the perceived impact of participation on family and friends. Overall, however, internal organisational factors were of more importance in influencing drop-out.

Situational factors mainly concerned with chronological age / health worries were also found to influence the costs associated with considering drop-out. Here situational

costs were significantly reported more by those age groups over 45 years. This was perhaps hardly surprising, given that a consistent finding of survey evidence on volunteer populations has detailed declining participation with increasing age (e.g. GHS 1987). Our findings in this sense, may be taken as evidence that in community enterprise, as in other forms of volunteering, increasing age / health worries were associated with increasing doubt over the perceived efficacy of future participation.

The finding that considering drop-out was dominated by social costs was interesting for a number of reasons. Outwith personal change factors, direct organisational costs were still more important than any others in mediating drop-out. Factors which were consistent with the main costs mentioned earlier in *Chapter Ten*. Firstly, this suggests that while interpersonal factors such as group norms and cohesion may be important in positively binding people to groups, they also have a major role to play (in the context of intragroup conflict and differential participation) when volunteers considered drop-out. These factors it seems were perceived as 'too costly' for volunteers which reinforces their prominence in *Chapter Ten*.

Given that social factors played such a prominent role in drop-out, we may then have expected that people would be reluctant to do so on the basis of important purposive values based on the desire to help others. This proposition was, however, disconfirmed in that instrumental benefits were the main source of retention. Volunteers largely opted to remain involved to maintain past and potential future levels of organisational achievement. Retention in this context may be linked to sustaining and protecting past personal investments in the organisation. This was consistent with our original hypothesis in the introduction to the chapter and the view that propagating organisational survival would be the most prominent source of retention for volunteers.

A further finding concerned the lack of significant inter-model differences in both the costs and benefits of retention. In this respect although volunteers were involved in

different types of community enterprise activity there were no appreciable differences in why they considered dropping out of those activities. It appears in this sense that volunteers in different organisational settings perceived similar sources of retention costs and benefits. This stands in direct contrast to inter-model comparisons in earlier chapters where there were distinct differences in the benefits (*Chapter's Seven* and *Eight*) and costs (*Chapter Ten*) associated with participation.

Regarding the influence of intended drop-out on retention costs and benefits, only the latter varied by the actual intention to terminate participation following their current period of office. Regarding costs, although there were good reasons to suppose that drop-out would be different for those who intended to do so in the short as opposed to the longer-term, that there was no evidence found to substantiate the point was surprising. This may reflect on the weakness of our small sample size, or the influence of other unaccounted for variables. For example, there is the possibility that drop-out was also mediated by people's planned length of commitment. Hence although we assumed that drop-out is primarily influenced by perceived costs, people may place limits on the length of their participation which diminishes the significance attributed to sources of cost. This factor places a secondary emphasis on costs and acts as a confounding variable on the data.

Regarding retention benefits, however, it was found that volunteers' who actually intended to quit following their current term of office, were retained for appreciably different reasons, compared to those who did not. The former chose to remain for appreciably higher levels of social benefits. These mainly concerned feelings of responsibility and obligation to their peers in the volunteer group. This was a testament to the power of interpersonal and group, identification and adherence factors in binding people to courses of organisational behaviour despite them actually wanting to leave. These findings demonstrate how, like recruitment in *Chapter Seven*, terminating participation appear to be a socially negotiated process and in this sense an artefact of

the role and experience of volunteers. Hence, those who had some understanding of the problems faced in attracting sustainable voluntary effort in marginal communities were at the same time less likely to put the organisation in the position of having to find immediate replacements through their departure.

There are, however, a number of cautionary points associated with the above findings. These mainly concern the prospective nature of the information on volunteers' actual intention to quit following their current term of office. Although previous research in organisational behaviour cites intention to quit as a relatively reliable measure of people's actual behaviour (Rosin & Korabik 1991), we can never be wholly sure that this would also apply to our sample. There always exists the possibility that volunteers may have been expressing discontent in the interview situation which would not be translated into their longer-term behaviour in the organisation. Nevertheless, the consistency between our measure and the reported figures for drop-out in each model gives us some confidence in the efficacy of the measure.

Outwith the above concern, significant changes were also found in the reasons why volunteers retained, as opposed to, continued their participation. Overall these changes were due to the higher and lower reporting of instrumental and purposive benefits respectively. From further analysis, however, both these differences only applied to credit union volunteers. For the others only significant purposive decline was evident. It should be remembered, however, that volunteers in these latter models had already cited relatively high levels of instrumental responses with regard to continued benefits. This may have reduced the likelihood of finding a significant difference when it came to considering differences with retained benefits. For community enterprise volunteers therefore, it appeared that purposive benefits were less important for volunteers when it came to considering terminating their participation but remaining a volunteer. Where they did consider 'others', this was in the context of other volunteers and the

organisation. This gives further credence to the point made above regarding the relative importance attached to organisational survival in community enterprise.

Again, as in similar comparisons of this nature in *Chapter Eight*, we should be particularly careful about over extrapolating from the results comparing continued and retained benefits. After all, we are essentially comparing information from two different groups (i.e. the sample as a whole compared to those volunteers who had thought of terminating their participation). While the former were asked about the reasons why they continued to participate in the present day, the latter were asked why they continued to participate when they had already considered terminating their participation. In this respect, not only may important individual differences between the groups explain the variation but retention is set within a retrospective time frame and subject to the attendant sources of selectivity and bias associated with this type of information. Similar to our argument in *Chapter Eight*, the results should not be taken to indicate that volunteers actually retain their participation for different reasons than they continue it. Rather that in situations where the perceptible costs are assumed to be relatively high, they reported distinctly different reasons at this stage.

Regarding socio-demographic and organisational influences, in only one instance were these were found to influence the costs or benefits associated with the retention process. For both retention costs and benefits, neither consideration of, or intended drop-out, were significantly influenced by important categories of socio-demographic or organisational characteristics. Hence the costs and benefits were similar for different sexes, employment groups and volunteer-experience groups, as well as, those who invested different amounts of time, effort and responsibility as volunteers. While these results along with others outlined above, may have been influenced by our relatively small sample size which obscured the likely influences of these moderating variables on the retention process. In the case of organisational variables the findings imply that those who invest most time, have been involved for the longest time and occupy higher

role-positions, considered terminating their participation and remaining a volunteer for much the same reasons as their other organisational counterparts.

In conclusion, bearing in mind the weaknesses associated with the research design and retrospective and prospective information, we are able to draw the following conclusions. Firstly, the actual intention to drop-out was found to correspond to 11% of the sample, which compared reasonably well with figures in UK surveys and model estimates of volunteer drop-out in *Chapter Four*. Consideration of drop-out was mainly associated with social costs which were largely related to direct participation and not opportunity-based. Where situational factors were, however, found to play a role in retention this applied to age groups above 50 years. Regarding costs, no differences were found between those groups who intended to drop-out either in the short or long-term future. Retained participation was primarily associated with instrumental benefits and different for those groups who intended to drop-out following their current period of office. Here social reasons, mainly concerning social responsibility / obligation, served to sustain the immediate commitment of those who intended to drop-out in the short-term. This was taken as evidence for the power of group norms in binding people to courses of behaviour. It implied that retention was a socially negotiated process which took account of the impact of drop-out on others. Finally, appreciable differences were found between the retained and continued benefits of participation. Here the trend was mainly towards further purposive decline alongside increases in instrumental reasons. These results were placed in the context of the premium placed on organisational survival within community enterprise organisations.

Chapter 12 : Discussion & Conclusions

Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the results of the thesis in the context of their limitations and their implications for future research on voluntary participation. The study set out to pursue a number of aims within the context of participation in community enterprise activity. Firstly, we were interested in the types of people that were involved as volunteers and the symbolic costs and benefits that they perceived were associated with different stages of their involvement. This provided data that could be used to explore the extent to which homogeneity ruled across or within different categories of volunteering. Secondly, as an extension to looking at the benefits of participation, we were interested in the issue of empowerment. This was defined in terms of people's control expectations and has potentially positive implications for life satisfaction and health.

In pursuing the above aims, the present study was unique in a number of respects. Principally it recognised the complexity and diversity of participation, and focused on costs and benefits in terms of social exchange / incentive theory at three different stages of participation. As we saw in *Chapter Two*, the dynamic and evolving experience of participation has been given relatively low prominence in previous accounts. Particularly those which have sought simply to dichotomise motives (e.g. Allport 1945, Jacoby 1966), or indulged in the search for some definitive experimental answer to the metatheoretical question of whether humans are by nature inherently altruistic or self-serving (e.g. Rubin & Thorelli 1984). Even when such diversity has been amplified researchers have also often failed to firstly, differentiate between volunteers in different types of activity, and secondly, pursue the issue that volunteering, like other leisure-based forms of quasi-employment, places demands upon its participants. Furthermore, unlike many previous research enquiries, we were keen to conceptualise motivation within broad categories derived from available theories which attempt to explain the participation process. In contrast, all of the above points were embodied in the present

study which was placed within the context of a social exchange / incentive theory of costs and benefits, based on Clark & Wilson's (1961) approach to organisational motivation.

In *Chapter Two* we saw how motivation could be looked upon as a series of perceptions and evaluations surrounding the costs and benefits of maintaining particular courses of behaviour. We noted the ambiguity surrounding conceptual classifications of costs and benefits within incentive-based approaches, particularly the relatively sparse literature on voluntary costs (Wandersman *et al* 1987). Where researchers have focused on participation therefore, they have largely done so by looking at its associated benefits, with all their potentially positive implications for life satisfaction and well-being. While benefits have an obvious policy relevance for recruitment such a myopic focus has tended to obscure the demands of participation and the adverse impact these have on volunteers. The literature has generally ignored much of the relevant organisational material on issues such as stress and absenteeism. In this study, however, appropriate recognition was given to these issues.

Throughout the thesis we also made a number of important distinctions not often fully accounted for in previous research. Firstly, similar to Wandersman *et al* (1987) we distinguished between those costs based on personal sacrifice and 'benefits foregone', and those direct costs that were related to participation within the context of work-role demands. We also distinguished between the structural features of the initial recruitment process and the perceived benefits of initial participation. More importantly and similar to a number of authors (e.g. Gluck 1975, Smith 1981, Pearce 1983a, Wandersman *et al* 1987), we looked upon the reasons for participation as a stage process. We distinguished between three discrete areas of benefits and costs (initial, continued and retained), and looked at the influence of both socio-demographic and organisational variables on participation. In addition, in *Chapter's Two* and *Four*, we looked closely at the social context of participation in community enterprise activity

through the socio-psychological concept of 'the community', as well as, the characteristic organisational features and contexts of different community enterprise models, and how these may explain inter-model variation in participatory costs and benefits. Explanation of all of the above differences were likely to lie in the nature of the differences between the organisations and the developing experience of volunteers. Consequently, the present study presented a unique picture of volunteering from the perspective of participants themselves.

This chapter is presented along the following lines. Firstly, we outline the general methodological limitations and weaknesses of the study before considering the results in greater detail. We then outline the main conclusions that can be drawn from the thesis and point out a number of potential avenues that could be pursued in future research on voluntary participation.

Research Weaknesses & Limitations

Before reiterating and discussing our results in greater detail it would be appropriate to fully consider some of the more important methodological weaknesses and limitations associated with the present study. These have an appreciable bearing on our discussion of the results and the conclusions that we may wish to draw. Firstly, there is the issue of methodological design. Although some form of longitudinal design would have been preferable, we were limited to a cross-sectional study which incorporated quasi-time distinctions and all the attendant limitations entailed in this approach. Consequently, instead of looking at participation as a process which was ongoing alongside the research where people evaluated and re-evaluated their reasons as to why they were volunteers at different and points in time, the study relied on looking at the initial, continued and retained reasons associated with participation. As opposed to being able to say that the actual reasons for participation changed over time, we are limited to statements that participation was associated with change and that people on

the basis of self-report perceived their reasons for being volunteers had changed (Pearce 1983a).

A further problem concerned the time lags involved in the actual fieldwork process. As this was conducted over roughly a one-year period, responses may have been tailored to suit volunteers' particular workload demands which were variable throughout the year. For example, in credit unions, members' demands for loans were appreciably higher during the summer and Christmas periods than at other times during the year. Similarly, demands on volunteers are greater approaching their organisation's annual general meetings and at times when formal accounts have to be submitted to their respective monitoring bodies. Hence the costs and benefits of participation may simply reflect the differential impact of seasonal demands and events.

A second criticism may come from those who might be tempted to criticise all survey-based approaches as positivist, 'scientific' exercises, useful for nothing more than the pursuit of an empty 'mindless' empiricism. Marsh (1982), made a number of pertinent counters in these respects with regard to survey-based work which we highlighted in *Chapter Five*. For our purposes two elements were particularly salient. Firstly, we applied a theoretical framework to our approach which obviated the latter criticism above. Secondly, we included a 'meaningful' dimension in terms of providing scope for limited self-report. This allowed people to express their own experiences in their own language and words, as opposed to, their imposition by the researcher. Unlike the majority of studies on volunteers and survey-based work in general, we paid due attention to the issue of validity and people's own experiences of being a volunteer.

Using self-report, nevertheless, raised its own set of criticisms and weaknesses. Foremost among these was the problems it raised for how we would then go about analysing the information. In our case we used content analysis. This relied on using a limited amount of recorded information and the generation of mutually exclusive

categories of response. By its very nature content analysis relies on a theory of categories which is essentially reductionist because it assumes that we can accurately distil the full semantic diversity of language into mutually exclusive categorical labels. Although problematic, our limited response questionnaire format probably aided this exercise and made the process relatively easier to manage. Nevertheless, despite the fact that we conducted appropriate reliability tests we can ultimately never be wholly certain, given the subjective nature of the process, that our category descriptions are the only ones which could cover the information and were the 'best fit' available for the data.

Further methodological concerns concerned the reliance on a single method of research, the use of retrospective / prospective information and the sampling design. The former reflected the practical demands of the fieldwork and lowered the likelihood of reducing inappropriate certainty for our results. Nevertheless, this may not be as problematic as we would imagine. To all intents and purposes, our aim was to look at why people participated from their perspective and not others. A relatively more troublesome issue, however, concerned the use of retrospective and prospective questions given the weaknesses entailed in using both these types of information. However, we highlighted where this applied and it is probably overstating the case to dwell on these issues any further beyond their acknowledgement in this section (a more extended discussion was presented in *Chapter Five*).

A distinct problem in the above respect, however, occurred in the material presented in *Chapter Six*, regarding volunteers' socio-demographic characteristics and prior attitudinal orientation to volunteer. Here we mixed volunteers' current socio-demographic and commitment characteristics with variables attempting to measure their reported prior attitudinal orientation to participate. Outlining the sample in such a way had a number of obvious practical benefits for the research. It highlighted important inter-model differences which had a bearing on material presented in later empirical

chapters, and allowed a free-standing comparison with UK survey findings. Nevertheless, the material on prior attitudinal orientation was retrospective and should not be taken to imply that these attitudes and previous voluntary experience caused participation in community enterprise to the level of commitment outlined in the chapter. This takes us on to consider our sample frame.

Sampling has obvious implications in the extent to which we would imagine our results to be generalisable across the wider field of community enterprise and amongst populations of volunteers in other types of activity. Regarding the former, there were important sources of bias in our multistage selection process which meant that our sample was not necessarily wholly representative of the total population of volunteers in each of the three types of community enterprise activity. After all, not all of the population of housing organisations for example were considered within our sampling framework. This was limited to groups in formal operation from 1979 and beyond. Secondly, given that there was no formal definition of residentially-based community businesses, we were limited to those that essentially appeared as if they were, although we also consulted with various development bodies on this aspect. In this respect, our sample like any other may be taken as representative only of the aggregation of organisations that composed the original sampling frame. Here we attempted to compare three different models in terms of three important criteria : the type of residential area in which these organisations were typically found, the length of time they had been formally operational and the population size of geographical area that they served. For comparative analysis therefore our sample was as representative as it could have been in the context of the above criteria.

A potentially more problematic issue in sampling was respondent self-selection. This reflected the fact that identifying the population of community enterprise volunteers at the start of the research was itself an empirical question. Did this mean, however, that we only attracted the most committed or helpful volunteers? Certainly using this

approach increased the likelihood of gaining access to those who may have been untypical of the population of community enterprise volunteers, thereby amplifying the likely sampling error. In this respect, the study was typical of the majority of psychological research which relies on such 'volunteer' samples (Rosenhan & Rosnow 1991). Nevertheless, by attempting to speak to as many volunteers within the each organisation and by making our initial approach as flexible and appealing to people as possible, this sample bias was minimised.

Regarding sample size and the distribution of overall sample numbers across each model of community enterprise activity, it may be thought that an overall sample of 222 volunteers represented an 'acceptable' number of respondents. Nevertheless, this did raise some problems in our statistical analysis when categorical variables required to be further broken down in order to make intra-model comparisons. In these occasional instances we were faced with the problems of sometimes working with relatively 'small' numbers of cases using a statistical method of analysis (i.e. Chi Square) which was not ideally suited to dealing with such scenarios. This effectively meant that in some instances categories themselves had to be treated broadly to aid the analysis.

Furthermore, regarding the above references to the problems associated with the method of analysis and operationalising the costs and benefits of participation, a number of points can be made. Perhaps some greater use of a limited response-option format using semantic differential scales may well have proved beneficial in a number of respects. It may have allowed us to have built in some bigger scope for a postal survey in order to diminish the often exhausting demands made during the fieldwork phase of the study. It may also have ensured that a more 'robust' statistical approach could be applied to look at similar categories of costs at different stages of the participation process. Nevertheless, given that standardising across different stages was likely to have proved difficult and the largely exploratory nature of much of the

material covered in the thesis, these considerations are possibly less important than those others mentioned above.

Finally in this section, it would do well to reiterate the point previously made in *Chapter Five* that responses refer to specific questions outlined in the questionnaire detailed in *Appendix II*. Consequently, the results should be placed in terms of the context of these questions and the issues that these were trying to elucidate. Importantly, a pilot study was conducted within each of the models of community enterprise activity prior to the main fieldwork in order to resolve any problems in the presentation and wording of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, we would do well to remember that our questions even after this process of development may have been far from ideal. The substantive point, however, is that the results should be seen in terms of the questions being asked and it is to these that we now turn our attention.

Who Volunteers & Initial Participation

In *Chapter Six*, we found that there were important similarities and differences between volunteers in community enterprise, and those detailed in previous research on UK volunteer populations (e.g. Lynn & Smith, GHS 1981, 1987). Differences which were largely consistent with our original hypotheses. Similar to UK populations, community enterprise volunteers were predominantly female, living with a resident partner and in *full-time* employment. However, there was a significant absence of participants in younger age groups and those with dependent children. This was consistent with their relatively older age profile and potentially meant that our sample invested relatively greater amounts of time as volunteers. This was confirmed by the results. Assuming that our particular sample was not unduly comprised of overly 'committed' volunteers, this suggested the predominance of direct, as opposed to opportunity-related costs (i.e. costs which could be related to characteristics of different models). This applied in relation to continued and retained costs in *Chapter's Ten* and *Eleven* respectively. Additionally, the evidence indirectly pointed to a potentially

lower importance attached to control benefits. Previous research largely associates these benefits with relatively younger employed and unemployed age groups using participation to enhance their labour market prospects (Gidron 1978). As we saw, however, in *Chapter's Seven* and *Eight*, control benefits, in the form of skill use and development factors played a relatively minor role overall in cost and benefit considerations at different stages of participation. This was wholly consistent with previous research which points to their relatively low prominence amongst volunteers (Clary & Snyder 1991). Although this was consistent with the age characteristics of the sample it seems that even in activities based in deprived urban areas, which in principle should provide people with enhanced labour market potential, realising this potential through participation played a minor role for volunteers.

Given their characteristic urban location and organisational development profiles, community enterprise volunteers were distinct from UK populations in terms of their socio-economic characteristics (housing tenure, employment status and category, personal income and levels of formal educational and vocational qualifications). These socio-economic differences were consistent across a whole range of indicators compared to their differential significance in studies comparing volunteers and non-volunteers (e.g. Edwards & White 1980). The evidence suggested that community enterprise activity was characterised by a different socio-demographic *type* of volunteer compared to UK groups (e.g. Lynn & Smith 1991). They were largely from groups who do not typically volunteer. Yet despite this, the volunteers in this study were relatively experienced in voluntary roles within their local area and beyond. Community enterprise attracted relatively low levels of 'new' volunteers and where it did so this largely applied to housing groups. This was hardly surprising given that these groups were largely based in areas characterised by previously high levels of residential turnover (particularly those groups based in peripheral housing estates). Nevertheless, although they were located in areas in which recruitment is described as difficult, like most volunteer-based activity, community enterprise relied on those

experienced in voluntary roles. This can be explained in terms of the characteristic development of community enterprise which seems to rely on using other established local groups as the basis for initial recruitment. Using established volunteers has the advantage of concentrating recruitment efforts initially amongst those who already volunteer (i.e. amongst those who may be more likely to also invest time in community enterprise).

These findings, nevertheless, should be placed in the context of the scope and general weaknesses attributed to the research on UK populations. These weaknesses mainly concern the latter's often alternate definitions of volunteering, and their failure to differentiate between informal and formal activity (e.g. GHS 1981 compared to GHS 1987), and between volunteers in different activities. This is despite the obvious difficulties involved in compiling definitive typologies of volunteers and their organisations. Although our results may reflect some of these same weaknesses, there appeared at least to be a satisfactory basis for arguing that in terms of the classifications and definitions used by UK surveys and how consistent these were with the approach in this study, using them as a comparison group was appropriate. A relatively more troublesome argument, however, concerned the geographical coverage of the present study and what we could then infer from a comparison with UK surveys.

One explanation for the above differences may have been that they simply reflected overall national differences in patterns of volunteering between Scotland and the UK as a whole. Hence community enterprise volunteers may not be distinguishable from their contemporaries in Scotland. This remains a plausible alternative hypothesis which is not open to elimination particularly when national differences, if they exist between Scottish-based volunteers and others in the UK, are not outlined to any detailed extent in UK surveys (outwith one solitary reference to the relatively lower numbers of people volunteering in Scotland (see Lynn & Smith 1991)). Given the lack of any detailed evidence on national differences we are therefore left to assume that these differences

reflect social 'class' and not 'nationality'. The weight of evidence tends to support the former argument.

The findings mean that in a similar way to the class-based distinction between mutual aid / self-help and other forms of voluntarism (e.g. Zeldin 1983, Brenton 1985), community enterprise volunteers based in Scotland were distinct from UK survey populations because they represented a different socio-economic group. Differences which opposed to the argument that they represented divergent national patterns of participation, may be explained in terms of the characteristic urban locations in which community enterprise activity has developed. This was reflected in the types of people who were then eligible for membership of these organisations and became involved as volunteers.

The above socio-demographic differences implied that community enterprise volunteers were also attracted to community enterprise activity for quite different types of reasons compared to UK volunteer populations. However, as we saw in *Chapter Three*, direct statistical comparisons with previous research would have proved extremely difficult to manufacture given the extraordinarily variable list-option formats that have characterised previous studies in this area. Comparisons in this respect have to be largely speculative and inferential, and in *Chapter Seven* we looked more closely at the process of initial participation in community enterprise.

Although we were dealing with retrospective information in *Chapter Seven*, we found that despite differences in the *types* of volunteer between our study and UK populations, the reported process of initial participation was largely consistent with previous research in a number of important respects. Like the latter group, initial participation in community enterprise was mainly reported in terms of purposive benefits (see Clary & Snyder 1991, Pearce 1993). These largely reflected the opportunity to express important values and beliefs through helping others. This

finding was also consistent with the wider body of literature on volunteers in the field of organisational, community and social psychology which compares volunteers and their organisations to employees. This has consistently stressed the former's moral or value-related orientation, compared to the latter's emphasis on direct financial remuneration (e.g. Etzioni 1961, Kanter 1972, Pearce 1993). An emphasis on purposive reasons for participation was also consistent with those aspects of what is termed affective commitment in organisational psychology (e.g. Kanter 1968, Buchanan 1974, Mowday *et al* 1979). This is invariably taken to be synonymous with high levels of intrinsic satisfaction and the representation of voluntarism as a meaningful and worthwhile social activity (Pearce 1993).

Although we were not explicitly concerned with the intended 'objects' of these values (i.e. self or others), purposive responses mainly concerned 'helping others'. While it may be tempting to speculate that this aspect represented the presence of an altruistic motivation amongst volunteers. It should be apparent that given our earlier argument on the redundancy and difficulties associated with this type of approach that, similar to Pearce (1993), we would contend that these findings demonstrated at the very most a prosocial orientation amongst volunteers.

Participation in community enterprise was also geared to the acquisition of material resources. This factor was evident in the evidence presented in *Chapter Seven* on the reasons behind membership and initial participation, where housing volunteers stressed indirect material benefit through changes to their housing conditions. It was also apparent in *Chapter's Eight* and *Eleven* on the continued and retained benefits of participation through the importance attached to achieving primary organisational aims. These were all consistent with much of the recent literature in community psychology and anthropology which proposes that neighbourhood participation is geared to achieving improved socio-economic resources (e.g. Cohen 1985, Unger & Wandersman 1985, Wandersman *et al* 1987)

Emphasis on these factors (either in terms of individual material gain or collective organisational achievement) was consistent with the above discussion on 'who volunteers' and why these types of people may participate (i.e. to facilitate access to improved socio-economic resources). These responses are generally thought of as contrary to those societal stereotypes of the 'good volunteer' and the overwhelming majority of empirical research on volunteer populations. The presence of these types of responses may not just be unique to volunteers in community enterprise. Where they have also been evident has been in organisational studies of employee prosocial behaviour (e.g. Schaubroeck & Ganster 1991). This may go some way towards reinforcing the parallel between the two types of activity and groups, and thinking about volunteer participation in similar terms to employees.

Regarding volunteer recruitment, we found that consistent with a large body of previous research (see Pearce 1993), community enterprise volunteers mainly initially participated through recruitment channels based on local social networks (i.e. interpersonal contact and influence). Little emphasis was given to direct organisational appeals and self-selection in the recruitment process. This substantiated the demographic evidence in *Chapter Six* on their local residential attachment characteristics, demonstrating the general point made by previous research that social networks are important in a neighbourhood's ability to organise and maintain collective action (Tilly 1978, Snow *et al* 1980). Hence recruitment was largely reported in terms of a locally negotiated process set within the context of people's existing social ties. This was entirely consistent with the typical development characteristics of these organisations where recruitment may initially rely on attracting already experienced volunteers from other local groups.

These findings on recruitment were also consistent with an initial emphasis on people's personal qualities and character as opposed to 'shotgun' approaches based on simply attracting as many people as possible (e.g. Harris 1991). There are a number of

advantages associated with selective strategies. They may be the most optimal method of attaining people whose commitment may be reinforced by established and existing social network ties. Most notably these advantages concern the improved basis for social support provided by established social ties (Unger & Wandersman 1985), and the potentially greater stability associated with 'selected' groups in what is a 'fragile' form of organisational activity. Established social ties may serve to bind people together at an early phase and ensure their continued commitment through subsequent stages of organisational growth. As an additional testament to their power they were likely to have been important influences in mitigating against drop-out (see *Chapter Eleven*).

Generally, however, the findings distort the naive picture of participation as based upon some free-standing process which can be explained without recourse to a wider social context in which people somehow 'naturally' self-selected for participation. As we already know this view assumes that there are no political, social or interpersonal barriers to active participation. A view which contradicts the notion of participation as based on an inherently unequal distribution of power. After all those who participate are not simply just those who want to, but those who are deemed 'acceptable' to organisers of participation (i.e. professionals, 'leading' volunteers). A power over selection which was likely to be instantiated in the local recruitment pathways reported by community enterprise volunteers'. These presumably served to select not only those who have the available time but those who were prepared to work within existing social, political and individual agendas (Zeldin 1983, Pearce 1993).

Initial costs were found to be mainly opportunity-related as we would have expected from those with largely no previous experience of community enterprise participation. In this respect, initial costs concerned 'benefits foregone'. This notion is similar to Kanter's (1968, 1972) description of continuance commitment which develops through personal sacrifices in leisure time. The findings confirmed the notion that volunteering

across all models was initially perceived to conflict with other potential discretionary activities and family commitments. Not only was this consistent with leisure-based notions of volunteering which emphasise its secondary importance to employment and familial commitments (e.g. Zurcher 1988), but also the 'uncertainty' attributed to voluntary environments. These were particularly 'uncertain' in cases when people questioned their ability to cope with the demands entailed by participation.

It was also interesting that financial reasons were not cited as initial costs by volunteers although they were drawn from mainly less successful socio-economic groups. The possibility exists that at the actual time people volunteered financial considerations were present and it's simply an artefact of our method that they were not reported. This reason is after all often used to explain the relatively poorer participation rates of lower socio-economic groups (e.g. GHS 1987). That financial worries did not feature in the reported costs of volunteers may be because of the localised nature of community enterprise participation, or the perceived abundance and adequacy of support structures. However, perhaps more importantly as we saw above, many became members of these groups and participated because they actually sought to improve their own socio-economic resources and those of others. In this respect, people perceived these interests were actually being addressed by community enterprise. This may have offset individual concerns about the personal financial costs of participation.

A further issue in *Chapter Six* also concerned inter-model variation. It was expected that different models would comprise different types of volunteers. This is a point understated by previous research and consistent with Bailey's (1973) contention that more concern should be given to the question of 'who volunteers in what and why'. In these respects, *Chapter Six* highlighted that significant differences concerned volunteers' tenure and residential attachment characteristics. From multivariate regression analysis, tenancy was the most important differentiating characteristic. This finding was hardly surprising given that membership of a housing organisation may be

concomitant with a change in tenure status. A status which could along with public-sector tenancies also be grouped under a 'social rented' category. Using our tenancy classification, however, was interesting to the extent that it pointed up distinctions which could then be said to underlie inter-model variations in the instrumental reasons associated with initial, continued and retained participation. In these respects, housing volunteers were distinct from others in terms of an important aspect of their socio-economic resources reflected in the importance that they attached to achieving collective organisational goals.

Inter-model variation also concerned the 'weaker' residential attachment characteristics of housing volunteers. These factors explained 23% and 25% of socio-demographic differences between housing volunteers and those in credit unions and community business respectively. Although studies on social mobility point out that new residents may quickly recommit their identity to new locales, longer-term residence and natality may promote greater awareness of a shared social identity and values (e.g. Unger & Wandersman 1985, Hummon 1992). Longer-term residence and natality are associated with established social ties which engender a potentially stronger sense of local identity (Sampson 1988). Shared values and identity are both thought to be important for 'powerless' groups undertaking concerted collective action (Wrong 1979).

To some extent, however, these differences in attachment factors may have reflected the differential developmental context of different models. This meant that housing groups were reliant on potentially greater numbers of relatively 'new' residents and consequently they involved more 'new' volunteers. This would be particularly so in areas characterised by previous high levels of residential turnover. Also the typically smaller sizes of areas in which housing organisations were based meant that there would be more pressure on residents to undertake active participatory roles in this type of activity. The prosocial literature on helping (e.g. Latane & Darley 1971) and Barker & Grump's (1964) 'responsibility theory' stressed this factor. In smaller areas there is

less human resources available and consequently a greater pressure on residents to participate. There were a number of implications arising from the above findings notably the improved basis for social support amongst groups of established residents with experience of local voluntary roles.

The earlier reference to exercising appropriate caution with our findings when it applied to retrospective questions was particularly appropriate in the attempt to disentangle the closely related processes of motives and recruitment. Researchers on social movements have pointed to the influence of recruitment factors as central to understanding the link between how people volunteer and why they do so (e.g. Tilly 1978, Snow *et al* 1980). In *Chapter Seven*, however, before dealing with inter-model variations, it was important to recognise the interactive nature of structural and socio-psychological variables. We therefore sought to differentiate socio-psychological attraction from the volunteer recruitment process. Although it is obviously difficult to disentangle motives from recruitment retrospectively, any failure on our part to do so would have ultimately meant that inter-model differences could be explained by differential recruitment. Failure to consider the influence of the former has been a consistent weakness in the work of researchers comparing volunteer vs non-volunteer populations (Kearns 1990). It applies equally well to comparisons between volunteers where inter-model variation may be due to differences in *how* people participate.

In this study there were no important inter-model variations in terms of the recruitment process. This effectively meant that any inter-model variations in the reported benefits participation could not be explained in terms of differential recruitment procedures operating across different models (i.e. differences in how volunteers 'select' and are 'selected' to participate). Variations, however, may still be explained by the *type* of people recruited so that we could have expected that housing volunteers with different tenure and 'weaker' attachment characteristics would participate for different reasons compared to others.

From *Chapter Seven*, the evidence substantiated the argument that different types of volunteer activities attracted volunteers for different types of reasons. There were significant inter-model variations which largely concerned housing volunteers reporting significantly higher instrumental responses compared to the purposive reasons reported by others. It is in this respect that the inter-model differences in terms of 'who volunteers' in *Chapter Six* become interesting. It may be argued that the latter were consistent with differences in the reported benefits of initial participation. Although mainly purposively oriented, housing volunteers were instrumentally motivated to participate in community enterprise activity as a means of achieving access to improvements in their housing conditions. Conversely, in other models those with potentially stronger residential identification and attachment reported their initial participation mainly in value-expressive terms, associated with the value of community enterprise for others and the local community in general.

In this respect we were starting to get behind those broad, seemingly clear cut, conceptual distinctions outlined in the literature about not only what it may mean to be a volunteer in different types of activity but to be a volunteer compared to an employee. Prominent theories of work motivation, such as Jahoda's (1979) 'deprivation' approach and Warr's (1987) 'vitamin' model, stress direct material reward as being the prime motivation for entering the labour market. Yet the above findings highlighted that some housing volunteers themselves also participated for indirect personal material gain. The fact that no direct remuneration was involved may or may not be important, as the point that these volunteers in comparison with others perceived their initial involvement as being indirectly materially beneficial to them. When we reflect on the initial reasons for participation therefore, what we see is a rather diverse picture of perceived benefits and costs characterising the initial involvement of different groups of volunteers. Costs implied that some level of personal sacrifice in terms of time with family and friends was entailed for volunteers in all three models. However, whilst some housing volunteers, like employee groups perhaps, may have viewed such

sacrifice as having personal material benefits, most viewed it alongside their personal value-orientation defined mainly in terms of responding to the socio-economic needs of others.

Continued Benefits of Participation

In *Chapter Eight*, we looked at the benefits of continued participation, defined in terms of those reasons why volunteers continued to participate at the time of the research (Gluck 1975). The results confirmed our original hypotheses, that consistent with previous research (e.g. Smith 1980, Phillips 1982, Pearce 1993), the continued benefits of volunteering in community enterprise activity would be predominantly instrumental and that there would be evidence of differences in the reported initial benefits of volunteering in terms of purposive and social decline.

From *Chapter Eight*, the evidence showed that community enterprise volunteers attained benefits across categories of social exchange which were mainly related to relationships with members, other volunteers and the achievement of organisational aims. That volunteering was reported to provide access to these categories of benefits is interesting given their relevance to wider theories of work motivation. For example, there are strong resonance's between our findings and those factors covered in Jahoda's (1979) 'latent functions' and Warr's (1987) 'vitamin' approach. In both these accounts they are thought to be critically important for the maintenance of positive psychological health and well-being. This should not be taken to suggest that, similar to these latter theories, we are stressing psychological as opposed to material factors as an explanation for participation amongst what were after all relatively disadvantaged social groups (see Fryer & Payne 1986). Indeed in *Chapter's Seven*, and *Eleven* much of the evidence on volunteers' motives also emphasised instrumental factors.

There was significant inter-model variation in terms of the overall benefits of continued participation. These differences were not comprehensive but solely applied to

differences between credit union volunteers and those in other models. Compared to housing volunteers the former predominantly cited purposive and social, as opposed to instrumental reasons for continued participation. Compared to community business volunteers they were less instrumental and cited more social reasons. These differences were explained in terms of the characteristic structural features of each model and the supports available for participation.

The explanation for the above finding is that volunteer-reliant organisations may depend on participants continuing to be highly effectively committed in order to maintain organisational goals. They may remain effectively committed because volunteers themselves provide member services and consequently directly 'help' others. Nevertheless, similar to our findings on initial participation in *Chapter Seven*, community business volunteers were indistinguishable from those in credit unions in terms of their reporting of purposive benefits. Hence where limited commitment groups were also public-benefit organisations, reliance on staff in community businesses may not necessarily dilute the importance attached to purposive benefits. What may also have been important is that in volunteer-reliant organisations such as credit unions purposive incentives were complemented by social benefits.

Social benefits reflected the relevance and adequacy of volunteer and volunteer-member networks defined in terms of social support amongst groups of residents with established social ties (Cohen & Wills 1985). This touches on Kanter's notion of cohesion commitment which in credit unions, as perhaps in other types of volunteer-reliant organisations, ameliorates demands on volunteers through the development of some kind of affective solidarity between members and volunteers. In credit unions this may be symbolised through the regular contact with other volunteers and members during the weekly cycle of collection times. For these reasons, social and purposive benefits were important in sustaining participation for these volunteers.

In addition the evidence on benefit decline showed that neither purposive and social decline were a significant feature of the change between initial and continued benefits for credit union volunteers compared to those in other models. Although we should exercise appropriate caution with this type of evidence at the very least it showed that volunteers themselves perceived such a change in their reasons to participate. The results also have validity in terms of what we may think organisations have to do in order to functionally develop and survive. Consequently, they may be explained in terms of the relative importance attached to achieving and maintaining primary organisational goals once people are actually working as volunteers. Goals which may be less readily realised in the context of relatively poorer organisational resources. Consequently, instrumental factors were less evident amongst credit union volunteers.

Benefit decline may be related to the differential context between initial and continued benefits. Hence in *Chapter Seven* whilst initial motives were mainly purposive, these affective types of commitment may have declined because the overriding necessity to maintain the achievement of the primary organisational aims in the economically 'hostile' environments associated with community enterprise. Alternatively, given the hypothesised link between purposive values and intrinsic work satisfaction, it may be that over time volunteers in housing and community business organisations simply became less satisfied with volunteering as they developed a practical appreciation of what it entailed and demanded of them.

According to Piven (1968), in 'limited commitment' groups purposive and social factors become less important in sustaining participation because in these models staff administer member services. Consequently, purposive decline may have occurred as a result of a reduction in the number of opportunities or outlets for its expression (e.g. Olson 1965, Knoke & Prenskey 1982, Pearce 1993) in these types of organisation. This was in contrast to the situation in credit unions where volunteers occupy 'frontline' roles in service delivery (i.e. through their roles they directly help others).

Consequently, purposive and social factors were relatively more important in supporting participation in credit unions compared to others.

These differences may have important implications for the commitment characteristics associated with volunteers in different models. As we already know the predominance of instrumental benefits is associated with 'limited commitment' groups. These tend to concentrate on 'narrow' primary objectives and consequently they have a tendency to be 'unstable' organisational entities prone to schism and intragroup conflict over organisational policy and aims. How 'unstable' the housing and community business groups in this study were as a result is discussed in the section on costs below.

Empowerment & Perceived Control

While the relatively low prominence given to control benefits, in the form of skill use and development, may have reflected the particular age or employment characteristics of our sample, control benefits were also linked with the issue of empowerment (e.g. Zimmerman & Rappaport 1988). *Chapter Nine*, looked more closely at this issue, applied in terms of Paulhus & Selst's (1990) operationalisation of perceived control. We looked at whether participation was characterised by inter-model differences and longitudinal differences between relatively 'new' and established volunteers. It was found that whilst volunteers as a whole exhibited their highest mean score values on the dimension of socio-political control, which perhaps reflects the policy-related environment attached to activity like community enterprise, no significant inter-model variations were found. Similarly, whilst volunteers, as a whole, exhibited moderate degrees of internality, no longitudinal evidence was found to substantiate the argument that 'new' participants exhibited significantly different mean score values compared to established groups, or that the former increased their control or agency expectations over time.

This evidence may be taken to indicate that at the same time as volunteers gave a relatively low prominence to control benefits in sustaining their initial and continued participation, the quality of life and health outcomes associated with control expectancies did not substantiate the point that participation appreciably empowered 'new' volunteers. One explanation for the lack of significant findings may be that the volunteers already perceived themselves as 'powerful'. This is entirely consistent with the evidence on personality differences between volunteers and non-volunteers which point to the former as a relatively more internal group (see Clary & Snyder 1991). The issue here is essentially whether participation makes people more in control, or are those who volunteer already in 'control'. While the former explanation suggested that there should be differences between 'new' and 'established' volunteers, the latter suggested that there should be none. The evidence in this study suggests that for our sample the latter situation was more applicable. A suggestion which has pessimistic overtones for professional organisers of participation who typically lay emphasis on the former type of message above in promoting community development structures.

Perhaps the lack of significant findings had something to do with the characteristics of this particular sample, or the view that it is simply enough to become a member to become 'empowered' through these organisations. For example, if membership is taken as synonymous with increased agency and control expectations then, would there be a rationale for speaking of empowerment beyond becoming a nominal member of a community organisation? This argument along with our findings presents an interesting counter to much of the literature promoting the desirability of active participation in 'community development structures' as a means to empower people from lower socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Perlman & Gurin 1972, Adams 1991).

Conversely, our whole approach to the empowerment issue may be criticised because of its inherently individualistic assumptions about the location of power. Smail (1993) provides a powerful criticism of psychology's general lack of emphasis on power as a

social construct. According to Smail (1993), the notion of power in psychology has failed to go beyond interpersonal social relations which consequently places serious limitations on the explanatory role of the theories it has produced. Given our approach, should we really have expected individual developments in perceived control within the context of people's limited investment within one type of community-based activity? Or should we have expected that community enterprise because it simply gives people the means to provide some service actually makes the 'powerless' more in control of those socio-economic events that shape their everyday lives? The issue is obviously debatable but for our purposes it serves as an important qualification on the results.

Continued Costs of Participation

While many investigations of voluntary participation have been concerned with the question of why participation is a 'good thing' (Wandersman *et al* 1987), *Chapter Ten*, investigated the demands placed on volunteers as a feature of their continued participation. As in *Chapter Eight*, which looked at the continued benefits of participation, it would have been interesting to attempt to provide some statistical comparison between initial and continued costs. However, as we previously mentioned in the earlier section on research limitations, this was not possible because of the method applied in the research which left this option closed to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, in this chapter evidence was found to substantiate the point that volunteering in community enterprise was associated with sources of costs across all categories in our social exchange framework.

Continued voluntary participation in community enterprise activity was found to be characterised by appreciable sources of costs for volunteers. These were found to be related to their work-role demands as opposed to personal sacrifices concerned with 'benefits foregone'. This finding was inconsistent with previous evidence in the area which has highlighted the primacy of opportunistic costs (e.g. Wandersman *et al* 1987). For our sample, however, these findings were entirely consistent with what we

would imagine as the implications of having an older age profile of volunteers mainly from non-employed groups with less dependent children (as outlined in *Chapter Six*). An emphasis on direct participation may of course have been an artefact of the design and also reflected the kinds of demands being placed on our particular sample at the time of the study. Conversely, it may have something to do with the particular kind of voluntary-based activities we were investigating which seem to require as we know from *Chapter Six*, relatively higher levels of time investment from volunteers. Alternatively, it may be that opportunistic costs are an inherently intermittent feature of volunteering and only evident at certain ‘critical’ periods. For example, when people first participate, or when too much participation starts seriously detracting from the quality of relationships with family members, or involvement in other sources of leisure-based activity.

Whatever the explanation, the most important of these sources of work-role demands for volunteers were found to be purposive (defined in terms of volunteer-member relations) and social (e.g. differential participation, intragroup conflict). These findings contradicted previous research which has highlighted the salience of instrumental sources in terms of the non-achievement of aims (e.g. Wandersman *et al* 1987). This contrast may be indicative of a number of characteristic features of community enterprise activity relative to others in the voluntary sector. For example, it may have meant that the relatively wealthy resource-access afforded to community enterprise organisations has enabled them to move relatively quickly towards sustained organisational achievement with relatively less difficulty than many other types of voluntary organisation. Consequently, these types of activity are generally well supported and have a better chance of surviving in the short term at least.

These results may also be understood in terms of the localised nature of the community enterprise activities themselves and the potential this may give for regular formal and informal face-to-face meetings between volunteers and members. As we saw in

Chapter Two, volunteering in the context of a residential community confers a social identity upon volunteers. This may serve to distinguish them from their neighbours and membership. Although in Cohen's (1985) view, community may be asserted to further people's economic and social resources, this may underplay the extent to which volunteering actually engenders status differences between neighbours within that same community and membership group. Status differences which may have served as the basis for conflicting views about how participation was being managed. Consequently, the results may be taken as confirmation of the view that volunteering in community enterprise occurs within the context of a divergent mix of competing social identities and vested interest groups (Adams 1991, Orford 1992). Competing interests which reflected the lack of social support given to volunteers by their peers in the management group and members in general.

Assuming that the explanations above have some validity and that they effectively shift the onus from instrumental sources of costs to others, the results of *Chapter Ten* presented an interesting parallel with the continued benefits of participation in *Chapter Eight*. While the benefits of continued participation were mainly related to maintaining organisational achievement, the main costs referred to how social and purposive sources of work-role demands detracted from the quantity and quality of sustained participation. The results provided an interesting parallel with those on benefit decline in *Chapter Eight* particularly the diminished importance attached to purposive and social reasons for participation over time.

As opposed to volunteer-staff relations which were less antagonistic than suggested by the previous literature (e.g. Adams 1993), the results showed that the main costs for volunteers lay in their relationships with their immediate neighbours (i.e. members and other local people whose interests they collectively purport to serve and represent). Volunteers often described members in terms similar to Coleman's (1987) description of 'apathetic free-riders'. 'Free riders' who at face value take the material benefits of

the collective good without responsibility for its provision. This is consistent with the evidence showing that volunteers attributed perceptibly more costs to serving members / local people than to other volunteers. Even those who, similar to 'free-riding' members, put less effort into the organisation.

The findings confound those rather comfortably cohesive assumptions surrounding some of the meanings we attach to the term 'community'. Assumptions which not only give little credence to power and status relationships within its network ties but ultimately underline the 'fragility' of housing, credit and employment activities when they are managed on a 'local' voluntary basis. In Payne's (1982) view, volunteers become invested with unrealistic expectations and consequently experience the distrust directed towards those with designated status. Members may have felt that volunteers were failing to achieve their collective aims, or more concerned with protecting their own narrow personal and organisational interests and those of staff. In the highly localised context of community enterprise this seemed to be reflected (particularly in housing groups) through informal membership approaches and an avoidance of staff.

Volunteers therefore occupied a very 'visible' role, consistent with the view that participation may change the content and relevancy of network ties between neighbours. Hence volunteers may be perceived not so much as 'neighbours' but as local 'institutional' figures in the guise of 'bankers', 'landlords' and 'employers'. Consequently, they are held accountable for organisational actions which at times were seen to impinge on an 'apathetic' membership's economic self-interest in obtaining a 'fair' share of the collective good.

Allied to the above view of neighbourhood organisations as involving alternate and sometimes conflicting interest groups, volunteers also reported appreciable levels of intragroup conflict. This was mainly reported in terms of disputes over the direction of policy as opposed to direct organisational achievement and was particularly evident in

housing activities compared to others. Given the reported propensity for schism amongst community groups in general (Pearce 1993), it would perhaps have been surprising if our study picked up no resonance of conflict between volunteers in terms of organisational policy. Conflict mainly concerned the dilemma of how to prioritise limited financial resources, represented in the distinction between pursuing social vs economic aims. This situation may have been exacerbated, particularly in housing groups, through a combination of factors.

Firstly, it may have arose because of their characteristic organisational structure and the type of commitment that this seemed to engender in participants. As we already knew from *Chapter Eight*, housing volunteers like others mainly participated for instrumental benefits. These are hypothesised to be ‘unstable’ types of commitment reasons in that individuals primarily attracted and sustained by goal attainment may be more liable to intragroup conflict over organisational aims and objectives (Pearce 1993). This seemed to describe the situation in housing groups with their ‘limited commitment’ memberships, where social benefits were also less pronounced. That housing volunteers were more prone to these type of conflict may have been exacerbated because of their generally ‘weaker’ attachment characteristics which made these groups less cohesive entities.

Conflict may also have been exacerbated through the regulatory fiscal controls exerted on community enterprise organisations by central government through monitoring bodies. This may create uncertainty which for some meant that they felt that they could no longer achieve what they originally wanted or expected. In this respect, people's original expectations may become detached from the cold reality of participation which may then generate problems with their continued commitment. This highlights how those people who, in ideologies of volunteering outlined in *Chapter Four*, are thought to serve as intermediaries between the wider society and their local membership, may be caught in a struggle to balance competing demands. This may be

particularly so in housing activities which seemed to be a relatively more politically prominent activity in neighbourhood participation than credit or employment. For example, at its worst the costs of volunteering in community enterprise may involve a damage limitation exercise in trying to justify the impact of externally imposed policies (e.g. through changes in HAG levels) to members. Having to raise rent levels or impose redundancies as well as damaging volunteer-member relations and causing internal rifts within the organisation, may ultimately have a detrimental impact on the longer-term aims of urban regeneration strategies. For example in housing activity, higher rent levels instead of attracting new residents may effectively serve to exclude low-income earners from housing leaving these areas comprised of those on benefit or income support.

The above results also mirror some of the previous literature on volunteers, notably the work by Barron *et al* (1991) which pointed to the pressures generated by community members on local councillors. Allied to demands placed on volunteers by their membership, costs also emanated from the perceived burden of participation placed on the 'responsible' and 'accountable' few amongst the volunteer group. Differential participation may be akin to a lack of social support in carrying out tasks. It is analogous to absenteeism where this is defined as non-attendance with resulting disruption for organisational maintenance activity (Brooke & Price 1989). Absenteeism is said to be rife amongst volunteer populations (Pearce 1993) and generally held to be indicative of the extent to which the activity is satisfying and rewarding (Brayfield & Crockett 1955). However, amongst employees only modest correlation's support this premise (Brooke & Price 1989). Amongst volunteers, however, absenteeism may simply reflect the level of competing external demands on people's time irrespective of the satisfaction and reward associated with the activity (i.e. not everyone can participate all of the time). Our results seem to confirm a similar view that volunteering in community enterprise was also characterised by this phenomenon. This places the onus on increased attention to organisational maintenance through 'core group'

management and 'charismatic' leadership, a recurring feature of the literature on volunteers (e.g. Sills 1957, Katz & Kahn 1978, Pearce 1982).

Demands also varied across different types of activity and in *Chapter Ten* the evidence substantiated significant inter-model differences in the reported costs of continued participation. Credit union volunteers were found to be distinct from others in terms of their relatively higher reporting of social sources of costs (reported mainly in terms of differential participation). This was consistent with the volunteer-reliant profile of these organisations and the relatively poorer level of organisational resources available to volunteers. In this respect, where the benefits of continued participation largely concerned the achievement of organisational aims, in those organisations with less available supports the contrasting costs concerned differential participation. This presumably placed a pragmatic emphasis on 'core group' management or 'charismatic' leadership to substitute for deficits in voluntary support. In these types of organisations leaders may well have to be seen to lead by example and invest more time in order to engender the continuing loyalty and trust of others. This potentially perhaps made credit union leadership a relatively more demanding exercise, which was confirmed in the findings on organisational influences on reported costs.

Given the above evidence it seems that akin to many forms of employment, participation may not be as inherently satisfying or rewarding an activity as one would like to imagine. Nevertheless, the wider literature on volunteers continues to be strangely inflexible in the extent to which benefits are highlighted at the expense of costs. Ultimately, although this serves a useful political purpose in recruiting volunteers, the evidence showed that volunteering was perceived as demanding. Costs which may be thought of as synonymous with what in other contexts would be labelled as occupational 'strain'. They may be thought of as 'stressors' which have an important bearing on people's quality of life and health. Indeed recent evidence in the stress literature highlights that social factors are critically important in determining the

‘stressful’ nature of life events. How ‘stressful’ these costs actually were for the individuals concerned and the relative impact that they may have had on their health and well-being was, however, beyond the scope of the present study. Presumably, it would depend on people's intrapersonal and extrapersonal resources (Stroebe & Stroebe 1985).

Retention : Costs and Benefits

In *Chapter Eleven*, there was an interesting numerical parallel which could be drawn between those volunteers who had thought about terminating their participation and UK rates of participation (see *Chapter Two*). We found that about one-fifth of community enterprise volunteers had considered terminating their participation at one time or another, though caution should be placed on this figure because of selective biases in recall. Nevertheless, those who actually intended to drop-out at the end of their current term of office only comprised 11% of all volunteers (approximately half the UK rate for participation). In this sense, intended drop-out only comprised a minority of volunteers confirming earlier findings and the view that the organisations in this study, though relatively ‘young’ were, nevertheless, reasonably stable entities. In this sense the majority of who shouldered the costs of participation were likely to continue to do so in the longer-term future.

There is a distinct dearth of literature even amongst employee groups, on withdrawal motives (Rosin & Korabik 1991). Drop-out and retention, however, may be far more contentious issues in volunteering, particularly in community enterprise given its localised nature and the potential difficulties this creates in securing ‘suitable’ replacements. This is particularly so in the context of relatively small residential areas where there are less human resources available. Although volunteers may develop what Salancik (1977) described as ownership of their actions which makes drop-out hard to perform because of the psychological investment already involved. In this study the reasons volunteers considered dropping out mainly concerned sources of

work-role (differential participation and intragroup conflict) and opportunity-related social costs in the form of personal change factors (e.g. health, family commitments). This was similar to Seltzer *et al* (1988) who suggested that the organisational commitment-turnover relationship is moderated by motivational and situational variables, the latter largely in the form of personal change factors (e.g. health).

The role of situational factors in drop out, however, may be an artefact of the age and the low-level employment profile of our sample. As opposed to the argument that the associated costs or conditions of participation cause drop out, like the literature on occupational stress (e.g. Mackay & Cooper 1987) there are a number of competing explanations. In community enterprise there may well be, as our evidence does suggest, a selective age recruitment of older populations. This added to the effects of socio-economic influences on disease makes it impossible to suggest that these associated costs were actually caused by participation.

In stark contrast to both initial and continued stages of participation there was no inter-model variation in retention costs and no variation between those who actually intended to drop-out at the end of their current period of office *vs* those who did not. This suggested that for our sample the costs of retained participation unlike other stages were similar across different types of activity. This only applied to those who reported that they had considered drop-out as opposed to the sample as a whole and we should remember the qualifications in this chapter regarding comparison groups and what we could infer from these findings. Nevertheless, the findings were contrary to our original hypothesis and suggested that those who actually intended to drop-out in the short-term were not distinct from those who did not. It seemed that costs were general and not context-specific. Nevertheless, differences were found when it came to the issue of retention benefits.

Similar to costs, those volunteers who considered dropping out were retained for instrumental reasons in terms of the benefits associated with maintaining organisational achievement. There were no significant inter-model variations. People in different types of activity who considered dropping out, remained involved to sustain collective organisational achievement. However, unlike retention costs it was found that retention benefits were different for those who intended to drop-out at the end of their current term of office *vs* those who did not. Here the former were found to report higher levels of social influences compared with the latter group. These differences may simply have reflected differences between those who got initially became involved or continued their involvement for these very same reasons. Nevertheless, unlike retention costs, these differences provided evidence for the strength of existing social ties and levels of support between volunteers reported in terms of the normative social pressures of responsibility and obligation. Findings which echoed Weiner's (1982) cognitive definition of organisational commitment. These factors served to retain those volunteers who may otherwise have simply left the organisation and passed their workload onto the remaining group members. Like recruitment in *Chapter Seven*, retention was a socially negotiated process set within the context of maintaining social support for the benefit of other volunteers.

In *Chapter Eleven*, for volunteers as a whole, the reported benefits of retained participation were distinct from the reasons for continued participation. The weakness of this comparison, however, was that we were essentially comparing two different types of groups (i.e. the sample as a whole *vs* those who had considered drop-out). Consequently, differences between these stages may reflect individual differences between the groups under analysis. Significant differences, however, were found in terms of the significantly higher and lower reporting of instrumental and purposive responses respectively. In these respects, when people considered drop out they relied less on their perceived values or social obligation to others, as opposed to, the value attached to organisational achievement in order to sustain their involvement. Again this

may lend weight to the relative strength of instrumental benefits, not simply as they relate to organisational survival but for any indirect material benefits that this entailed for volunteers themselves. This would be particularly applicable to member-benefit organisations such as credit unions and housing organisations. Here the findings were general and applied across all models.

Individual Differences : Costs & Benefits

Individual difference characteristics were found to influence the perceived costs but not the benefits of participation. However, there was a general absence of significant findings concerning the influence of these variables. This suggests that their influence upon participation, as it applied to this particular sample, was far less important than we may have supposed from looking at previous accounts (e.g. Anderson & Moore 1978, Gidron 1978, Lister 1991). This situation was additionally surprising given that these variables are highlighted in the field of work motivation in general to influence work satisfaction (Landy & Trumbo 1976).

In the present study, however, in terms of the range of variables that we considered, neither benefits nor costs were different for different social groups. For example, younger volunteers participated for much the same reasons and reported sources of costs which were no different to those reported by their older counterparts. This was also the case for sex and employment status variables. What may be behind the lack of significant findings is unclear. It may reflect the relatively small sample numbers, or weaknesses in the research design. Alternatively, we may have not covered all the relevant moderating variables and consequently missed other important factors such as socialisation, parental or familial influences.

Nevertheless, individual difference variables did significantly influence retention costs. Perhaps not surprisingly those volunteers who reported situational reasons for considering drop-out were those from older age groups. This was explained in

Chapter Eleven, as being consistent with the reduced participation rates typically associated with these groups in general. Drop out amongst older age groups is typically explained in terms of worries over future physical health and mobility (Smith 1975).

Organisational Variables : Costs and Benefits

Similar to individual difference characteristics, structural organisational characteristics were found to play an influential role in differentiating the costs but not the benefits of participation. This was consistent with the work of O'Brien (1974, 1975), Rich (1980) and Pearce (1983a, 1984), who all point to the utility of using these variables to explain non-participation in terms of costs. Partly, the general lack of significant findings on these variables may reflect the limited range considered in this study although we attempted to cover all those listed as relevant in the previous literature. Nevertheless, we could also have considered the population size of local areas in which initiatives were based or alternatively, how long the organisations had been formally operational. In the first instance, however, total population size may reflect the pressure to participate and membership potential, as opposed to the actual burden of membership demand. Hence there was no *a priori* reason for thinking that differential population numbers would have influenced the perceived costs and benefits for volunteers in a similar way to actual membership numbers. Secondly, length of organisational duration was almost wholly covered under the auspices of the comparison between volunteers with different lengths of tenure within community enterprise organisations (i.e. volunteers with over three years experience generally derived from 'older' and developed organisations, while those with under three years experience derived from 'younger', developing groups).

Regarding initial benefits, however, our findings ran counter to those of others concerned with the influence of recruitment channels (e.g. Sills 1957) and whether volunteers were founding members (Cook 1973, Rich 1980). Similarly, regarding the

benefits of continued and retained participation the findings indicated that there was no variation in terms of volunteers' role-position, length of service or the amount of time invested in community enterprise participation. Taken as a whole, the evidence suggested that no matter how long they had served, what positions they occupied and how much time they invested, none of these factors influenced the perceived benefits of participation in the sample group. Similarly regarding costs, the evidence suggested that volunteers who entered the organisation through different recruitment channels, or who got involved at different stages of organisational development did not do so on the basis of perceiving different sources of costs. Admittedly this evidence was rather surprising and it may reflect weaknesses in our sample base or study design. Alternatively, we may have simply missed other potentially influential variables.

Organisational variables were found to influence the reported costs of continued participation. In *Chapter Ten*, social costs were found to be significantly higher for those volunteers in credit unions who occupied chairperson roles and invested more time relative to others. In this context, our findings were not surprising. Given that social costs for volunteers in this model were mainly reported in terms of differential participation this would have had a relatively greater impact within credit union organisations. These results confirmed Pearce's (1983a, 1984) evidence that the perceived costs are greater for those in leadership positions - who tend to also be those who invest relatively greater amounts of time - largely as a result of the failure of others to contribute to management. The evidence in this study may extend the previous literature because it suggest that these costs were more likely to arise in volunteer-reliant groups relative to others.

Work, Leisure & Volunteering in Community Enterprise

The results overall may be viewed in the context of what people valued about working as volunteers in community enterprise. In this respect, costs and benefits may be construed as symbolic of the satisfaction placed on participation with all the attendant

implications this may have for aspects of people's quality of life, health and well-being. There were close parallels between the positive and negative organisational experiences of community enterprise volunteers and those we would normally associate with employees. This was consistent with a view of volunteering as a form of 'serious' leisure-based activity with relatively close socio-psychological parallels to employment. As outlined in *Chapter Two* one of the keys to understanding this parallel may rest in the distinction between employment and volunteering, and in the extent to which the latter is conceived of as socially and psychologically optional, while the former in theories of work motivation is described as psychologically 'compelling' (e.g. Jahoda 1979). The issue that this seems to raise is the degree of 'voluntariness' associated with participation. This applies not only to those types of organisations which have formed the basis for this study but to the field of volunteering in general.

According to Warner (1972), 'voluntariness' remains largely remains unexplored by research. Part of the problem exists at the level of definitions of volunteering which allow one to describe most leisure-based activities as volunteering, so long as no direct financial remuneration, or biosocial or physical compulsion is involved (Stubbings & Humble 1984). At its most individualistic this implies that 'volunteering' exists in a psychological vacuum unaffected by structural factors and large-scale socio-political events and processes. Yet throughout this particular study these factors were integral to our explanation and certainly reflected in volunteers' self-reports. What would be interesting is speculation based on these reports and what we know of each model, as to the 'voluntariness' involved in community enterprise. The questions that should be borne in mind here are what happens if people either do not have the option of participation, or alternatively simply do not participate?

For theorists such as Jahoda (1979), volunteering should be less compelling because of the absence of direct financial remuneration. Yet this fails not only to account for the primary material rationale behind many forms of voluntarism, but the diverse range of

activities encompassed within the voluntary sector and divisions between divergent class-based ideologies of voluntarism (see Brenton 1985, Zeldin 1983). As we already know, the latter are reinforced in surveys of 'volunteers' which tend to exclude 'working class' forms of participation. It stands in direct contrast to those who view 'voluntarism' in mutual aid as vehicle for the acquisition of better social and material resources (e.g. Cohen 1985, Wandersman *et al* 1987, Levine *et al* 1993). Indeed as a testament to the strength of just how 'compelling' these activities may be, we can point to their continued organisational growth and to their organisational stability as reflected in the tenure and commitment characteristics of their volunteer groups.

One of the real paradoxes in the findings was the view of participation as a means to improve one's own personal socio-economic resources (particularly for housing volunteers and less so for those in credit unions), or alternatively, wanting to help improve the socio-economic resources of others. We can also point to the importance given to maintaining collective organisational achievement even in situations where people considered terminating their own participation. Hence because an activity may not directly contribute individual material benefits but still bring improvements in the quality of housing conditions, provide an alternative to costly credit sources and stimulate local employment, may not make it any the less materially 'compelling' or beneficial for people in those communities covered by community enterprise. Therefore it becomes difficult to begin to conceptually assess differences in the 'compulsions' involved in participation. An argument which serves to effectively blur the apparently clear cut distinction made by Kelvin *et al* (1980) between employees and volunteers, and respectively "...filling leisure as one wants and one's work role as one has to.." (p.313).

In established theories of work motivation, particularly the approaches of both Jahoda (1979) and Warr (1987), the problem may well be that they over emphasise psychologistic factors in explaining the distress caused by job loss, as opposed to

material factors and relative poverty (Fryer 1986). Analogously, the individualistic connotations of 'voluntariness' may play the same role for the volunteers' in this study. It may critically mask the fact that there were any tangible alternative avenues and opportunities available to people living in environments characterised by poor housing, high levels of unemployment and debt, other than to participate. Participation which at the very least ensured that they could achieve minimal standards of service and acceptable improvements in the quality of their everyday life. This in 'communities' largely abandoned by the public and private sectors in terms of their minimal everyday service needs.

The above discussion, however, raises Goodin's (1985) 'moral' question, of whether it a 'good thing' that people in the poorest and most disadvantaged sections of society should be expected to shoulder responsibility for services in areas many of us simply take for granted. This raises a host of political questions concerned with providing some rationale for or against the applicability and prominence of voluntarism in these areas of the local economy. As part of wider urban regeneration strategies, a positive view is that through community enterprise, marginalised communities have been able to improve the socio-economic climate of their area. The argument has merit if we accept that housing organisations have had an appreciable environmental impact, community businesses do create jobs in 'blackspots' and credit unions enable 'affordable' consumerism. Conversely, the counter argument may be that as the professionals failed to find solutions to the problems of urban decline they simply invested their energies in showing others how to do what they were unable to manage. Consequently, although community enterprise is relatively well supported by the public sector, potential longer-term problems exist for those models heavily dependent on this source of support should current spending levels be further reduced. In this situation housing organisations may be less effective 'strategies of convenience'. Community businesses on the other hand rarely succeed after their period of initial development funding. Given their high post-support failure rates and the lack of market interest in

these organisations, they would be even more of a 'weak and expensive' form of job creation. Similarly, although credit unions are internationally successful their success is ultimately based on the financial power of their members. Consequently, credit unions in disadvantaged communities would have even less financial 'muscle'. These are obviously contentious issues with no easy answers.

If we are also interested in asking about what the evidence in this study says about the wider debate on the mixed welfare economy and the role of 'active citizens', then we have shown that although people valued their participation and viewed community enterprise as a viable alternative to other approaches (e.g. compared to public-sector housing strategies, or the role of mainstream banks), it involved appreciable costs for volunteers. Costs which largely reflected the lack of social, interpersonal and organisational supports for participation. They largely arose because the burden of participation is never truly shared : between volunteers who differentially participate, and between volunteers and their membership who contested organisational aims and policy. In this sense, the question of whether or not we believe participation is a 'good thing' becomes secondary to a more pragmatic concern with minimising the costs for volunteers.

Lister's (1991) argument in relation to female vs male opportunities for participation, was that there were more costs for the former group which made it difficult for them to participate. Costs and barriers which run contrary to most of the value judgements associated with the field of mutual aid which largely rest on the rather idealistic notion that these activities are about people coming together to tackle their own problems in new ways. The stark reality is that participation, even if serious efforts are made to reduce the impact of its perceived barriers and costs, and even when participation constitutes a socio-economic necessity for marginalised communities, would still only be about some of the people continually taking on the responsibility for the provision of collective goods. And amongst these some more than others will shoulder more of the

costs. In this sense given the relative stability of community enterprise organisations and the persistence of their leadership groups (see *Chapter Seven*), there may be some credibility in the assertion that they are in Michels (1959) terms, self-perpetuating oligarchies. Ironically, they may be so of pragmatic and opportunistic necessity rather than design, and to expect anything else is simply to delude ourselves about the fundamentally optional nature of voluntarism. This is despite the ‘community’ based meanings of the labels we to attach to the activity (e.g. ‘Community Participation’, ‘Active Citizenship’).

The preceding discussion stresses the point that it may be not so much a case of looking at Robert's (1981) maxim of ‘benefit maximisation’ as opposed to how the costs of participation can be effectively managed. This issue is inextricably linked to the provision of supports in order to reduce the burden of participation. Understanding costs may promote a greater understanding of the potential barriers that volunteers themselves perceive they experience in trying to effectively manage socio-economic activity. This has implications for how their activities can be better supported by policy and professional organisers of participation. In this sense there are a number of practical policy points arising from the study which merit some attention. These are discussed in the following sections.

Evaluating The Social Exchange Approach

It was proposed that the above approach would serve a valuable purpose by providing a framework to understand the reasons attributed to volunteering in community enterprise. There were a number of identifiable advantages in adopting and adapting a theoretical approach based on social exchange / incentive theory. These can be largely understood in the extent to which the framework helped towards achieving the aims of the study outlined in *Chapter Four*.

Firstly, it allowed us to develop a piece of research which avoided any recourse to the concept of altruism. This approach has invariably been applied to volunteers in the search for an answer to the question of whether people are ultimately self-serving or selfless. Our argument, however, throughout the study has been that this approach has been largely redundant in terms of its inability to enable an practical exploration and understanding of people's experiences as volunteers. In contrast to the largely abstract and sterile debate on altruism therefore, we were keen to treat volunteering like other forms of organisational phenomena as having both positive and negative elements. These were symbolic of the extent to which participation was satisfactory with consequences for people's well-being. This study actively pursued the notion that volunteering, as well as, having certain associated benefits also placed its own set of demands on those concerned. The previous literature had highlighted the utility of the approach and though few have actively pursued it, we were keen to look at how the framework could be practically applied to understand the experience of volunteering. Its application was valuable in structuring the fundamental socio-psychological mechanisms underlying participation by bringing them into a framework which provided scope for developing specific hypotheses about participation in different models. The use of the approach augmented and clarified our understanding of voluntary participation in community enterprise in a number of important respects.

Firstly, the framework adequately captured distinct but inherently tautological notions of cost and benefit in terms of three conceptually discrete stages of participation. Using it we were able to investigate the notion of homogeneity across and within different types of volunteer activity. In this respect, we were able to empirically demonstrate that there were significant differences in the reasons behind participation and that the explanation for these differences was likely to exist in the nature of differences between organisations (i.e. in their aims, contexts and structural features) and the developing experiences of volunteers. In this respect, given the typical descriptions of the voluntary sector being composed of a diverse variety of groups and interests it was

surprising that so little attention had been paid to the issue in previous research. There were, however, strong indications from the previous literature on volunteers that all of the above points would be substantiated but correspondingly little empirical evidence under the auspices of the one study.

In particular the problem of conceptualising and operationalising costs had proved decidedly problematic for a number of previous studies. Most had systematically failed to define, categorise and exhaustively look at the issue beyond statements that, "...there are costs in volunteering.." (e.g. Wandersman 1981, p.181), which diminishes their effectiveness. They tended to wholly circumvent the issue altogether, or simply limit the concept to the role of missed external opportunities in order to understand the nature of the personal sacrifice being made to participate (e.g. Wandersman *et al* 1987). Yet costs in this study largely arose from demands inherent in the actual experience of participation and referred to a variety of social, interpersonal and organisational factors. We were able not only to look at different notions of cost within the one encompassing framework but costs at different stages. Although the results in general may be an artefact of a cross-sectional method there is some scope for pursuing these issues further and establishing how and when opportunistic costs are salient, and their impact on participation within different groups and activities. The value attached to this material is the implications it has for 'cost management' policies and practices.

Further positive notes may arise in favour of the social exchange approach when one considers the practical elements of a social exchange approach. As demonstrated in this study, the dual cost-benefit aspects of the theory could be applied either separately or in tandem, to further our understanding of the many faces of voluntarism and its settings. It may open up new avenues of comparative research looking at how individuals evaluate their participation in different forms of activity, e.g. those based within their local area compared to others based outside immediate neighbourhood boundaries. This would be entirely consistent with a new directions in prosocial behaviour towards

studies looking at different forms of helping outside the laboratory (Smithson *et al* 1983). However, what is perhaps most crucially required is further elaboration of participation as a dynamic process where people continually evaluate and re-evaluate the reasons behind their involvement. This could ideally be achieved through case-study longitudinal research. Alternatively, the dual elements of the theoretical framework could explore the issue of the management of participation from the perspective of those in different interest groups. We could also consider why, for example, people become involved in other new avenues opened up to voluntarism such as ‘governance activity’ (e.g. school boards, enterprise councils), or contrast the perspectives of representative directors on voluntary boards (e.g. professional organisers, public-sector officials) compared to others.

Additionally, using the framework research could also investigate the largely unexplored issue of the perceived barriers to participation and evaluate why some people become involved while others remain inactive despite the opportunity to become involved. Consequently, the present study also points towards new avenues of research investigating differences between volunteers and non-volunteers. Traditionally this area has probably been over researched in terms of simply comparing two respective samples of people in each category and looking for differences which may explain why one group participates. What would be interesting would be trying to differentiate volunteers from non-volunteers in terms of a social exchange framework. As we noted in the literature review, the absence of applied theory has been a major criticism of the literature focusing on volunteers vs non-volunteers. Correspondingly, attention could also be paid to the issue of why some activities are perceived as more attractive or more costly to some volunteers than others in persuading them to invest time and effort. Alternatively, we could also focus studies on single-issues such as empowerment and how the rhetoric of the community development approach focusing as it does on engendering attitudinal and behavioural changes has some real bearing on the lives of the ‘objects’ of such change

In the above respects, one can also see how the approach might be profitably developed as a measure to evaluate participatory outcomes. There is scope to develop a cost / benefit profile at the level of both individuals and organisations. This could be used to evaluate and predict quality of life outcomes for people at distinct stages of their participation which would allow, for example, professionals working with volunteer groups to periodically assess both the type and quality of their human resources. After all if we know why a person is involved as a volunteer such a profile could be used in an attempt to maximise the benefits at the expense of the costs. This is one area that we wholly failed to adequately capture in our approach and quantify. It would have been interesting, for example, to have obtained a measure of when volunteers were participating in situations where the perceived costs outweighed the benefits. We operationalised retention costs and benefits which was the closest this study could get to the issue. It would have been more fruitful, however, if we could have been able to look at retention in the case of those who were subsequently identified as participating from the perspective of perceived cost.

At a very practical level therefore, such profiling and evaluation could profitably be used by organisations to identify particular problems amongst their volunteer group, or problems amongst particular groups of volunteers. Profiling could then identify a need for intervention either by volunteers themselves, or professional organisers and development bodies who after all pump appreciable financial resources into areas managed and maintained by volunteers. For example, a particular problem amongst small or 'limited commitment' groups may be their propensity for internal fracture and schism, or as this study found, conflict between different members of the volunteer group and between volunteers and their membership. It is these particular problems identified through profiling which could form the basis of intervention strategies dealing with improving internal communications, involving members more in the daily

activities of the organisation, developing training and encouraging the expression of differences to look at how problems may be minimised.

Future research on participation in terms of a social exchange / incentive framework, however, would do well to take a better account of the following factors. There is an appreciable degree of scope for the development and testing of frameworks of benefits and costs which clearly and unambiguously articulate the parameters of each conceptual category. This was particularly evident in this study when it came to initially attempting to operationalise each conceptual category of costs and benefits in terms of its more salient reference points, e.g. instrumental costs and benefits referring to the achievement of collective aims. It was also apparent when we focused on the costs of participation and encountered the poverty of explanatory literature on the topic despite its recognised importance for any understanding of the participation experience. Our analysis in this sense, despite its limitations, clearly highlighted that volunteering was associated with a number of key areas of cost and benefit for volunteers. In this respect, opportunities are open for future theoretical development in the area of social exchange to promote the continued refinement and validation of a framework.

Conclusions

On the basis of the above discussion and bearing in mind the methodological limitations and weaknesses of the present study, we are able to draw the following conclusions. Compared to UK volunteer populations, community enterprise attracted a different *type* of volunteer in terms of their socio-demographic and commitment characteristics. Compared to the former, the latter involved people from older age groups in lower socio-economic bands who generally invested greater amounts of discretionary time in participation. These differences were explained in terms of the characteristic types of urban areas in which community enterprise activity tends to be based.

Although there was no substantive differences in the reasons for initial participation between community enterprise volunteers and those UK and activity-specific surveys,

significant inter-model differences were found. These largely concerned the level of reporting of purposive, instrumental and social costs and benefits at different stages of people's participation. Regarding benefits, while those from volunteer-reliant organisations such as credit unions largely continued to participate for purposive reasons, in limited commitment groups such as community businesses and housing organisations, people mainly participated to sustain collective organisational achievement. This also applied in situations when people considered terminating their participation.

Correspondingly, the costs of participation in community enterprise were largely direct as opposed to opportunistic. The main overall costs of continued participation were purposive and social. The latter were particularly salient when people considered terminating their participation. Hence the costs of participation could mainly be understood in terms of the demands placed upon volunteers by members and other volunteers. These impacted differentially in different models. There were significant differences in the higher incidence of social costs in volunteer-reliant organisations such as credit unions compared to others.

Regarding the issue of empowerment, no evidence was found to support the argument that different activities generated different expectancies for control amongst volunteers', or that 'new' volunteers increased their levels of control over time. Additionally, socio-demographic moderators were found to play a relatively minimal role in explaining participation outwith retention costs, while organisational variables were only found to have an influence on continued participatory costs. These findings may point to the modest impact of these variables in explaining participation, or alternatively to weaknesses in the sample or research design.

Consequently, the evidence generally showed that homogeneity did not rule across or within volunteer populations. Participation could therefore be construed as a dynamic

process where people in different activities appeared to volunteer for different reasons at different stages. The explanation for these differences could mainly be found in the nature of the differences between the organisations (e.g. their aims and their structural features) and the developing experience of volunteers.

Finally, it was argued that the above results could be set in the context of a social exchange framework. Although precise manifestations of the framework require further elaboration, the potential for clarifying our understanding of the organisational experiences of volunteers seemed to be supported by the evidence. In this sense, the framework appears to merit further refinement and elaboration.

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APPENDIX I : HUMAN RESOURCE CHARACTERISTICS

In *Chapter Four*, (Table 4.1), calculations for each criterion in the present study were done on the following basis :

Membership : average of totals reported in Qu.14 (1991) (*Appendix IV*).

Employees : average of totals reported in Qu.16 (*Appendix IV*).

Volunteers : average of totals reported in Qu.9 (*Appendix IV*).

Volunteer / Member Ratio : average of totals reported in Qu.14 (*Appendix IV*)
divided by average of totals reported in Qu.9 (*Appendix IV*).

Membership Growth Trend : Compiled by comparing the membership figures of each organisation in 1990 (*Appendix IV*, Qu.14) with current figures at the time of the study. Where increases were reported these were assigned a positive value (+1), while decreases were assigned a negative value (-1). The average trend for each model was based on the total sum of values for each of its respective organisations.

Annual Volunteer Gain : compiled by averaging the total no. of volunteers who had become volunteers in the past year in each organisation (Qu. 11 , *Appendix IV*).

Annual Volunteer Loss : compiled by averaging the total no. of volunteers who had dropped out over the past year in each organisation (Qu. 11 , *Appendix IV*).

Annual Drop-Out Rate : Volunteer loss as a % of the total no. of volunteers.

APPENDIX II : VOLUNTEERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Organisation _____

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Do you currently live in the local area covered by this organisation's activities ?

Yes 1 No 2 (If YES go to Q.3)

2. Have you ever lived in this area ?

Yes 1 No 2 (If No go to Q.4)

If Yes, then how many years in total ? _____

3. Have you always lived in this area ?

Yes 1 No 2

If NO, then how many years in total ? _____

PREVIOUS VOLUNTARY EXPERIENCE

Could I ask you to think back to when you first became a volunteer in this organisation and tell me:

4. When did you first become involved as a volunteer in this organisation ?

_____month _____year

5. When you first became a volunteer in this organisation, were you already involved as a volunteer in any other community groups within the area (i.e. the area covered by the credit union / housing / community business organisation) ?

Yes 1 No 2

(If YES, list type and no. of groups)

6. When you first became a volunteer in this organisation, were you already involved as a volunteer in any other community groups outside the area (i.e. the area covered by the credit union / housing / community business organisation) ?

Yes 1 No 2

(If YES, list type and no. of groups)

If NONE in Q. 5 / 6, go to Q.9

7. What kind of satisfaction did you feel that you got from doing voluntary work in these community groups, prior to becoming a volunteer in this organisation ?

8. Did your previous experience as a volunteer in these voluntary groups / activities help you in any way, when you first became involved as a volunteer in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, then how did it help ?

Now go to Q.11

9. Did you have any previous experience as a volunteer in any groups / activities before becoming a volunteer in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2

(If YES, list type and no. of groups)

Now go to Q.11

10. What did you think of being a volunteer and doing voluntary work before you became involved in this organisation ?

INITIAL MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT & REASONS

11. When did you first become a member of this organisation ?

_____ month _____ year

12. How did you become a member of this organisation in the first place ?

13. For what reasons did you first become a member of this organisation ?

INITIAL VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT & REASONS

14. Could I ask you how long it was after you first became a member of this organisation, that you then became involved as a volunteer ?

_____months

How long have you been a volunteer in this organisation ?

_____months _____years

15. How did you come to get involved as a volunteer in the first place ?

16. Would you have taken on some other form of voluntary work in any other community group / activity, if you had not taken the opportunity to do so in this organisation ?

17. When you first became a volunteer in this organisation, what did you expect that would involve on your part ?

18. Did you see any drawbacks in becoming involved as a volunteer in this organisation at that time ?

19. For what reasons did you first become involved as a volunteer in this organisation ?

POSITION / TASKS

20. List of current positions held (e.g. director, chairperson of committee, cashier, etc.) from the earliest to the present day :

i). Position : _____

Duration held : _____years

Average weekly time involved (during previous month) : _____hrs

Tasks :

ii). Position : _____

Duration held : _____years

Average weekly time involved (during previous month) : _____hrs

Tasks :

iii). Position : _____

Duration held : _____years

Average weekly time involved (during previous month) : _____hrs

Tasks:

iv). Position : _____

Duration held : _____years

Average weekly time involved (during previous month) : _____hrs

Tasks :

21. Total average weekly time involved (during previous month) ? : _____hrs

SKILLS / ABILITIES

22. What kinds of skills and abilities do you think that you brought to this organisation when you first became a volunteer ?

- i)._____
- ii)._____
- iii)._____
- iv)._____
- v)._____
- vi)._____

23. Have any of these skills and abilities been strengthened or developed as a result of being a volunteer in this organisation (Take each in turn) ?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, then what are they ?

24. Have you developed any new skills / abilities through being a volunteer in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, then what are they ?

i)_____

ii)_____

iii)_____

iv)_____

v)_____

vi)_____

25. Are there any other new things that you have learned through your involvement as a volunteer in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, then what are they ?

26. Has developing new skills / abilities and learning new things made any difference to how you now see your own capabilities ?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, in what ways ?

27. Are there any other things that you would like to do as a volunteer in this organisation at present but can't (e.g. learn or develop skills, take on new tasks, etc.).

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

If Yes, then what are these ?, If No, go to Qu :

28. What difficulties does not being able to do these things create for you as a volunteer in this organisation ?

OTHER VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

29. Have you become involved as a volunteer with any other community groups / activities since you have been involved as a volunteer in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2 If Yes list groups. If No then continue.

i)

ii)

iii)

iv)

v)

30. Have you dropped out or cut back on your involvement with any community groups / activities since you became involved as a volunteer in this group?

Yes 1 No 2 If YES list groups. If No then continue.

i)

ii)

iii)

iv) _____

v) _____

31. What other community groups / activities are you currently involved with apart from this organisation ? **(If none, then go to Q.33)**

i) _____

ii) _____

iii) _____

iv) _____

v) _____

32. How does your work in these other groups compare with what you do in this organisation (e.g. more worthwhile, enjoyable, demanding etc.)

ATTITUDES TO MEMBERS

33. Would you like to see more of the members getting involved as active volunteers in this organisation than actually do at present?

34. What benefits do you get from serving members and other local people as a volunteer in this organisation ?

35. What are the main difficulties or problems you experience as a volunteer serving members and other local people in this organisation ?

ATTITUDES TO STAFF

36. Does this organisation employ paid staff?
Yes 1 No 2 If YES continue. If NO go to Q.

37. What role do paid staff play in the running of this organisation ?

38. As a volunteer, what do you think are the main benefits for you, in working alongside paid staff in this organisation ?

39. As a volunteer, what do you think are the main difficulties caused by working alongside paid staff in this organisation ?

ATTITUDES TO OTHER VOLUNTEERS

40. How would you describe the working relationships between the current group of volunteers in this organisation ?

41. What benefits do you get from working alongside the other volunteers in this organisation?

42. What are the difficulties that you face as a volunteer working alongside the other volunteers in this organisation ?

COLLECTIVE AIMS / ACHIEVEMENT

43. What do you think that the volunteer group has achieved so far within the area ?

44. Are there any things that the volunteer group could or should have achieved by now but has not ?

45. What do you think could be done (by you or anyone else) to improve the group's ability to achieve its aims?.

THE IMPACT OF PARTICIPATION ON FAMILY / FRIENDS

46. How would you describe the effect that being a volunteer in this organisation has had on your family life and existing friendships (outside this organisation) ?

47. What are the main difficulties created by being a volunteer in this organisation, for your family and relationships with other friends outside the organisation ?

48. Are there any things that other things that you would like to do (e.g. pursue other hobbies or interests) but can't because of your involvement as a volunteer in this organisation ?

CONTINUED BENEFITS, COSTS & RETENTION

49. What would you say are the main reasons that make you want to continue to be a volunteer in this organisation ?

50. What would you say are the main difficulties or problems that you are up against working as a volunteer in this organisation ?

51. Have you ever considered giving up your volunteer role in this organisation ?

Yes 1 No 2 If YES, then ask WHY ? IF No, go to Qu.53

52. What is it that keeps you involved at these times, despite these difficulties ?

FUTURE INTENTIONS

53. What do you intend to do at the end of your current period of office ?

54. Why are you going to do or why would you like to do these things (apart from any reasons given above) ?

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

55. Date of Birth: _____

56. Sex: 1 Male 2 Female

57. Current employment status: _____

If Employed, how many hours / week do you work? _____

If unemployed, retired or sick / disabled:

(i) How long? _____months

(ii) Previous Employment _____

58. Educational / Vocational qualifications:

None	1	HNC	8
Apprenticeship	2	HND	9
YTS Certificate	3	Diploma	10
City and Guilds	4	Degree	11
‘O’ levels	5	High Degree	12
Higher or ‘A’ level	6	Professional Qualification	13
ONC	7	Other (specify _____)	14

59. Household Composition :

Single adult / children (under 16)	1	Couple / no children	6
Single adult / children (over 16)	2	Two (+) separate adults	7
Couple / children (under 16)	3	Retired / living alone	8
Couple / children (over 16)	4	Retired couple	9
Single adult / no children	5	Other (Specify _____)	10

60. Household status:

Owner Occupier	1	Private Landlord	3
Local Authority	2	Other (specify)	4

61. If living with partner or spouse then is that person working at present?

F / T	1	P / T	2	N/A	3
-------	---	-------	---	-----	---

62. Personal Income (Gross £) : _____week

Household Income (Gross £) : _____week

APPENDIX III : SPHERES OF CONTROL

The measure used in the present study was as follows :

Instructions

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements .Read each statement carefully and once you have considered whether you agree or disagree with the statement, record a number from 1 to 7 which best reflects your opinion .

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all true			Uncertain			Very true

- 1. I can usually achieve what I want when I work hard for it. _____
- 2. * In my personal relationships, the other person usually has more control over the relationship than I do. _____
- 3. By taking an active part in political and social affairs we, the people, can control local events. _____
- 4. Once I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work. _____
- 5. I have no trouble in making and keeping friends. _____

6. The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.

7. * I prefer games involving a bit of luck over games of pure skill. _____
8. * I'm not good at guiding the course of a conversation with several others.

9. * It is difficult for us to have much control over the things politicians do in office. _____
10. I can learn practically anything if I set my mind to it. _____
11. I can usually develop a close personal relationship with someone I find appealing. _____
12. * Bad economic conditions are caused by world events that are beyond our control. _____
13. My major accomplishments are entirely due to my hard work and ability.

14. I can usually steer a conversation towards the topics I want to talk about.

15. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. _____
16. * I usually don't set goals because I have a hard time following through on them. _____

17. * When I need assistance with something I often find it difficult to get others to help. _____
18. One reason we have wars is that people don't take enough interest in politics.

19. * Bad luck has sometimes prevented me from achieving things. _____
20. If there's someone I want to meet, I can usually arrange it. _____
21. * There is nothing we, as consumers, can do to keep the costs of living from going higher. _____
22. Almost anything is possible for me, if I really want it. _____
23. * I often find it hard to get my point of view across to others. _____
24. * It is impossible to have any real influence over what big businesses do.

25. Most of what will happen in my work is beyond my control. _____
26. * When attempting to smooth over a disagreement I sometimes make it worse.

27. * I prefer to concentrate my energy on other things rather than solving the world's problems. _____

28. * I find it pointless to keep working on something that is too difficult for me.

29. I find it easy to play an important part in most situations. _____
30. In the long run we, the voters, are responsible for bad government on a
 national and local level. _____
-

Total Score _____

PC Score _____

IC Score _____

SPC Score _____

Negatively-keyed items (those with asterisks) are reversed during scoring (i.e. 7=1, 6=2, etc.). The three separate scores are calculated by summing the ten items for each subscale. Items should be intermixed before administration (Paulhus & Selst 1991).

Cronanbach's alpha reliability = 0.68, test re-test reliability = 0.83

APPENDIX IV : ORGANISATIONAL PROFILE

Organisation : _____

Interviewee (s) :

Name _____ Position _____

Name _____ Position _____

Area covered _____

1.

Describe step by step, how and why the group came about and was started in the local area ?
2.

Describe step by step, how, once a steering committee was formed the group then proceeded towards registration / incorporation (e.g. training provided) ?

3. What sort of people were involved at this stage and were there any changes in the group up until registration / incorporation ?

4a. When was the group :
started _____mth _____Yr
registered / incorporated _____ mth _____Yr

4b. What was the total membership at registration _____

5. For CB's : What enterprises and separate trading divisions are currently operating within the Community Business ?

	Name	Started (yr)	Activity
i)			
ii)			
iii)			
iv)			

6. For **credit union** and **housing groups**, in year 1990-91.

	Credit Union		Housing
Income generated (£)	_____	Income generated (£)	_____
Membership Dividend (%)	_____	No. Houses	_____
No. of loans made	_____	Origin	_____
Total loans made (£)	_____		

7. In what ways has the volunteer group changed since registration / incorporation (e.g. in the sort of people involved) ?

8. How many current volunteers were part of the original steering group ? _____

9. Current Volunteer Group

Position	no.
Directors / Management committee	
Other comm's / Sub's committees	
Total	

10. Sex / Age Profile :

a) Directors / Management Committee (no.)

	<25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Male							
Female							
Total							

b) Others (no.)

	<25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Male							
Female							
Total							

11. What numbers of :

new members joined in past 12 months: _____

volunteers dropped out in past 6 months: _____

new volunteers started in past 6 months: _____
12. How many of the current volunteer group regularly attend group meetings :

i) >once per w'k _____

ii) at least once per w'k _____

iii) < once per w'k _____
13. How many

i) current members : _____

ii) members at last AGM : _____
14. Membership No's (at successive AGM's)

1991 _____ 1987 _____ 1983 _____ 1979 _____
1990 _____ 1986 _____ 1982 _____ 1978 _____
1989 _____ 1985 _____ 1981 _____
1988 _____ 1984 _____ 1980 _____

15. Premises :

i) Previous (location / occupancy period)

ii) Current :

a).Type :

b).Ownership status :

c).Opening Hours :

h).Satellite Points (no.) :

16. STAFF (no.) :

Position	Male	Female	F / T	P / T	Local	Total
Managerial						
Admin./Sec'l.						
Other						
Total						

17. Main support groups / agencies, that the group has access to ?

i) _____

ii) _____

iii) _____

APPENDIX V : SAMPLE RESPONSES

In *Chapter Five* , examples were as follows :

Example 1

"..I thought I would be helping someone do something for themselves and not get left behind.

I can't work again but I wanted to see young kids get work.."

(Male 54 years, C. Business)

Example 2

"..I was in the house for years and felt useless. I needed something to do, get out and

meet people.." (Female 48 years, C.Union)

Example 3

"..I actually worked in Kibbutz in Israel years ago and really liked the idea of a co-op, it just

appealed to me and I thought I'd go and get involved.."

(Male 35 years, Housing)

Example 4

"..I saw it as fulfilling my Christian beliefs and simply helping where I could.."

(Female 51 years, C.Union)

Example 5

"..I struggled to get disabled facilities for my kids in the house but when I moved here the

people here were so good about it, they helped me. When they were looking for people I

felt that I should help out, I should do something for them.."

(Female 36 years, Housing)

Example 6

"..I wanted something decent because my house was literally a midden..I wanted something

better for myself and the kids and getting involved was one way of ensuring that I got what

I wanted as opposed to what other people would give me.."

(Female 53 years, Housing)

Example 7

"..(I wanted to do something that was going to get me out and about..I've done voluntary work for years and a lot of it can be a waste of time.) [I liked the idea of creating jobs for people, it seemed a good thing..]."

(Male 55 years, C.Business)

Example 8

" [I was years in the house bringing up the kids and I wanted out and about again.] [I also wanted to do something that would help me get a job I used to work in a bank before I was married so it was a way getting back into touch again and showing people that I hadn't gone to hell..]" (Female 33 years, C. Union)

Example 9

"..I just wanted to help, I can't explain it any more than that, I just wanted to help.."

(Female 41 years, C.Union)

APPENDIX VI : GENERAL LETTER

Dear

I am writing to you in connection with a research project being carried out in the Department of Social and Economic Research at the University of Glasgow.

I am a full time research student at Glasgow University conducting a study of local volunteers in three types of community organisation. The focus of the study is on community credit unions, housing co-operatives and associations, and community businesses. For each group I am interested in finding out about the experience of volunteers, the sort of work they do and the pressures, demands and rewards associated with playing an active role in the community.

Ideally, I am hoping it will be possible to interview around 8 or more volunteers in your organisation. I would be able to carry out these interviews at a time and place that suit the people involved. I have prepared a questionnaire for this purpose which will take about 30 - 45 minutes to complete.

I very much hope that your organisation will be able to help. The work would be carried out as soon as can be arranged, but I wanted to write to you in advance to give your organisation an opportunity to consider this request.

I am convinced that the results will prove extremely useful in generating a better understanding of the growing area of voluntary activity in community initiatives. Hopefully it will also generate practical recommendations about how local groups can best be supported in their work.

I will contact you over the coming week or so. In the meantime, best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Robert Stewart