

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MANAGEMENT PRACTICE
IN VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

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This thesis is based on the candidate's own work and has not previously formed a part or a whole of a submission for a degree at any academic institution or equivalent thereof.

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ABSTRACT

An exploratory case study of management practice in the
voluntary sector

by Geraldine M. Grindley

There is a growing interest in the role of the non-profit sector in the world economy. Voluntary endeavour in Ireland has had a long tradition and today makes a significant contribution to the provision of social services.

Voluntary action began as philanthropy, but with the advent of sociological and psychological research, a more professional approach developed. Within the last twenty years, the sector has begun to look at ways of increasing its effectiveness and has turned to business management theories and practice. Our study has its origins in that interest.

It is a qualitative study which explores the functioning of a major Irish voluntary organisation from the point of view of classical management theory.

We found that in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, there was little evidence of strategic planning and that it operated reactively rather than proactively. Contrary to claims made by many writers, insecurity of funding did not constitute a major planning constraint but it seemed that the attitudes of members to voluntary work and professionalism did. These same attitudes had considerable impact on the organisational character of the Society.

As a service agency the Society experiences some difficulty in recruiting members and in keeping them. We suggest that these problems are largely related to inadequate recruitment, selection and training practices in the organisation and that they could be solved by adopting a modified form of staffing practices used in business.

It was in the area of leadership that we found the most striking difference between a voluntary enterprise and a commercial one. This highlighted the existence of a special type of contract between managers and volunteer staff.

Controlling is a difficult function in the voluntary sector and in the Society. It is inevitable that where there is little planning, control will be difficult, but we suggest that this is another area affected by the members attitudes and the organisation's culture.

Apart from the findings directly related to the classical management functions, we also found that the position of paid staff in the organisation was quite different from that of volunteer workers; that there was an interesting question about the transfer of skills from paid employment to voluntary work;

and that the approach of the Society to the elimination of poverty was one which accepted a functional view of poverty.

In our final chapter, we suggest that voluntary organisations differ from business in several significant ways and this must be taken into account when looking at management theories. However, we consider that they can successfully apply the wisdom, insights and knowledge gained from research into management in the business sector to enhance the functioning of what are essentially value-based, altruistic and idealistic organisations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the research

This is an exploratory study of management in a major voluntary organisation in Ireland. The past decade has witnessed a tremendous surge of interest in voluntary action at an international level. In the United States and Britain, the voluntary sector is being used as a vehicle for the delivery of many social services funded by the government. In the rest of Europe there is an increasing interest in the role of the non-profit organisation in the economy, while in the developing nations of the world, non-governmental organisations have a major function in the search for new approaches to problems of poverty and social deprivation.

Ireland is no exception to this general trend. There is a long history of voluntary endeavour in this country which contributes to the present situation.

In addition, the researcher has a personal interest in the sector, having worked as a volunteer and a professional in it. Like many professionals working in voluntary organisations, she began by volunteering,

developed an interest in the work and finally made a career as a trainer to the sector. Initially, much of the demand for training of volunteers was in the area of leadership and helping skills, but in the last five years, the need for management training began to emerge. This led to an interest in the way in which voluntary organisations are managed.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The aim of our research is to explore the structure and operation of a large Irish voluntary organisation, from a business management perspective. It does this by examining the characteristics of not-for-profit enterprises, especially those which apply to voluntary organisations. Then it explores the ways in which a major national voluntary organisation operates, using the management functions of planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling as a framework for the study. Finally it attempts to assess the relevance and application of such theory to one major organisation in the voluntary sector.

1.3 Outline of the dissertation

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the voluntary sector in society. Definitions and typologies are presented. This is succeeded by a concise presentation of some international perspectives on the sector. The chapter concludes with a short history of voluntary organisations in Irish society.

The research methodology is described in Chapter 3.

As a prelude to the field research, an extensive review of the literature was undertaken which is presented in Chapter 4.

Before moving on to the major findings from the fieldwork, we furnish (in Chapter 5) a brief description of our case study organisation, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, to provide a backdrop to the research data.

The main findings are presented in Chapter 6 and an interpretation of these findings provides the focus for Chapter 7.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the study, recapitulating on the main points of the thesis and proffering some suggestions for future research.

Having outlined the contents of this thesis, we now move on to take a look at the voluntary sector in a general context, to set our study in broad perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR IN SOCIETY

This chapter is concerned with giving the reader an overview of the voluntary sector in society, clarifying the terminology and presenting the definitions used in the literature on the subject. It includes some typologies of non-profit organisations currently in use. Then it provides an international perspective on the sector followed by a more detailed outline of the history of the voluntary sector in Britain and in Ireland.

2.1 Overview of the voluntary sector

Voluntary organisations are not a recent phenomenon. Van Til (1988:ix) observes that "voluntary association has existed since the emergence of civilisation itself". According to Anderson (1971), who provides an overview of voluntary associations in history, they appear to have become prominent during the neolithic age, but to have declined subsequently in pre-industrial nations. The industrial revolution, with its concomitant social changes, supported a new proliferation of voluntary associations (Anderson 1971).

Currently, voluntary action is apparent on a global scale. A brief outline is provided in section 2.3 below. Before progressing to this overview, we will address the necessary task of defining the field more clearly.

2.2 Definitions and typologies

At the Annual Conference of the Association of Researchers into Voluntary Action and Community Involvement (ARVAC) in London on 7 July 1989, Tim Dartington, Head of the Management Unit of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, London, (NCVO) said that the voluntary sector has "always survived on rhetoric, the term itself being virtually meaningless".

It is certainly true that there are many terms in use to describe the sector and that there is a wide range of definitions. In the United States the nomenclature "non-profit", "not-for-profit" and "third sector" is widely used. In Britain, where different criteria are used to define the sector, names such as "the voluntary sector", "voluntary organisations", and "charities" are used. However, as the extent of co-operation between scholars and practitioners in the US and Britain increases, the terms are now becoming universal.

To put the voluntary, non-profit, or third sector into perspective we examine some classifications of organisations in general.

Presenting an overall organisational typology, Katz and Kahn (1978) divide organisations into four categories. The first consists of productive or economic organisations which are concerned with the creation of wealth or the manufacture of goods, at three different levels. The first level includes farming and mining, the second, manufacturing and processing and the third, service and communications.

The second category consists of maintenance organisations. Their purpose is the socialisation of people in their roles in other organisations and in society as a whole. Examples of such organisations are schools and churches. They may have first level maintenance functions such as education, indoctrination and training, or second level restorative functions such as health and welfare activities, institutions of reform and rehabilitation.

The third category includes adaptive organisations, which create knowledge or develop and test theories, or apply information to existing problems. Examples of this type of organisation would include universities and research

organisations and those concerned with artistic endeavour, such as ballet companies and orchestras.

The final category includes organisations with a managerial or political function which are involved in adjudication, co-ordination or control of people, resources and subsystems. Examples of such organisations include the State, pressure groups, trade unions, professional organisations and penal institutions.

Turning to the voluntary sector, in the United States non-profit organisations are defined as those organisations in the national economy which are not primarily motivated by profit and which exist mainly to render a service (Anthony & Dearden 1980, Grayson & Tompkins 1984). Such organisations are to be found in all of Katz and Kahn's categories except the first, indicating the wide range of the voluntary sector.

In another attempt to classify organisations, Levitt (1973:49) defines society in terms of corporate institutions. He claims that to divide society into two sectors, "the private sector" describing business, and "the public sector" describing all else, is to ignore a large sphere of activity and coins the term, "the third sector" to cover those organisations which "do things

(that) business and government are either not doing, not doing well, or not doing often enough" (Levitt 1973:49).

VanTil (1988:3) also uses the term "the third sector". He divides organisations into three sectors: the business, the governmental and the "third or voluntary sector". He sees the role of the third sector as "articulating and mediating the crucial boundary between the State and the economy in contemporary society". The concept of mediation is also introduced by Gladstone (1979:101) quoting Berger and Neuhaus (1977), who define voluntary organisations as "those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life".

Carey (1989) adopts a 2-sector division of non-profit organisations, public and voluntary non-profits. The public sector consists of public bodies, government departments, public corporations (nationalised industries) and local bodies (concerned with transport, leisure, libraries) and the voluntary sector is made up of voluntary organisations, mutual aid groups, special agencies and funded charities, all of which have charitable status.

This description of the voluntary sector approximates closely to the attempts by social administrators in

Britain to define and categorise the sector. Such attempts are based on a classification of the methods of delivery of social services (Wolfenden 1978). This definition divides social services into four branches, namely, education, housing, social security and personal social services. It regards these services as being provided by four major sectors which it calls the informal, the statutory, the commercial and the voluntary (Hadley and Hatch 1980). The informal sector is differentiated from the voluntary in that it is not organised and the commercial sector is different from the voluntary in that it would have as its primary objective the generation of profit, whereas a voluntary organisation may engage in trading or may charge nominal fees, but its primary goal is to provide the service.

A US definition of voluntary organisations as structured, formally organised and relatively permanent groupings (Smith and Freedman 1972) which are involved in advancing an interest or achieving some social purpose (Van Til 1988) comes close to the narrower British definition and to Sills' (1978) definition of what he calls a voluntary association.

Van Til (1988) includes "non-profit corporations" in this definition, and these organisations are similar to British charities in that they are publicly chartered and tax

exempt. In the US Charities' Register the corporations are divided into "philanthropies", which provide support to other such groups and "service-providing non-profit organisations", whereas the British definition would classify all such organisations as charities.

Perhaps the essential difference between the non-profit sector and the voluntary sector may be summed up in a description of voluntary organisations as "non profit distributing" and "of public benefit", which excludes "public schools or private hospitals which cater for the rich"(Brenton 1985:9).

Voluntary organisations are staffed by volunteers, but may also employ paid workers. Volunteering is defined as "uncoerced helping activity that is engaged in not primarily for financial gain and not by coercion or mandate" (Van Til 1988:6) and which a person does "either for enjoyment in the short-term and/or commitment to some longer-term goal that is not merely a manifestation of bio-social man, sociopolitical man or economic man" (Smith et al 1972:163). Loeser (1974:1) defines volunteering as "the free giving of one's time and talents for work deemed socially or politically beneficial".

Having defined the terms commonly used we now move to examine some of the efforts to classify voluntary

organisations. There have been many attempts to develop typologies in the United States, Britain and mainland Europe. These are based on a distinction between statutory and voluntary provision of services, between different types of voluntary organisations and descriptions of what they do.

Johnson (1981) describes a number of attempts to classify voluntary organisations according to function and Brenton (1985:11) extends this as follows :

- * the service-providing function e.g., Barnardo's, Citizens' Advice Bureau
- * the mutual aid function e.g., Cruse (the widows' association), Alcoholics Anonymous
- * the pressure group (or advocacy) function e.g., Child Poverty Action Group, National Council for Civil Liberties
- * the resource function eg. National Youth Bureau, National Council for Voluntary Organisations
- * the coordinating function e.g., National Federation of Housing Associations, NCVO

Many voluntary organisations combine more than one of these functions.

Smith et al. (1988) and the National Centre for Charitable Statistics (1984) have devised typologies which arrange voluntary non-profit organisations in the sector into

eighteen sub-categories, using various criteria. These categories are quite specific and useful in trying to define and describe voluntary organisations for the purpose of this study.

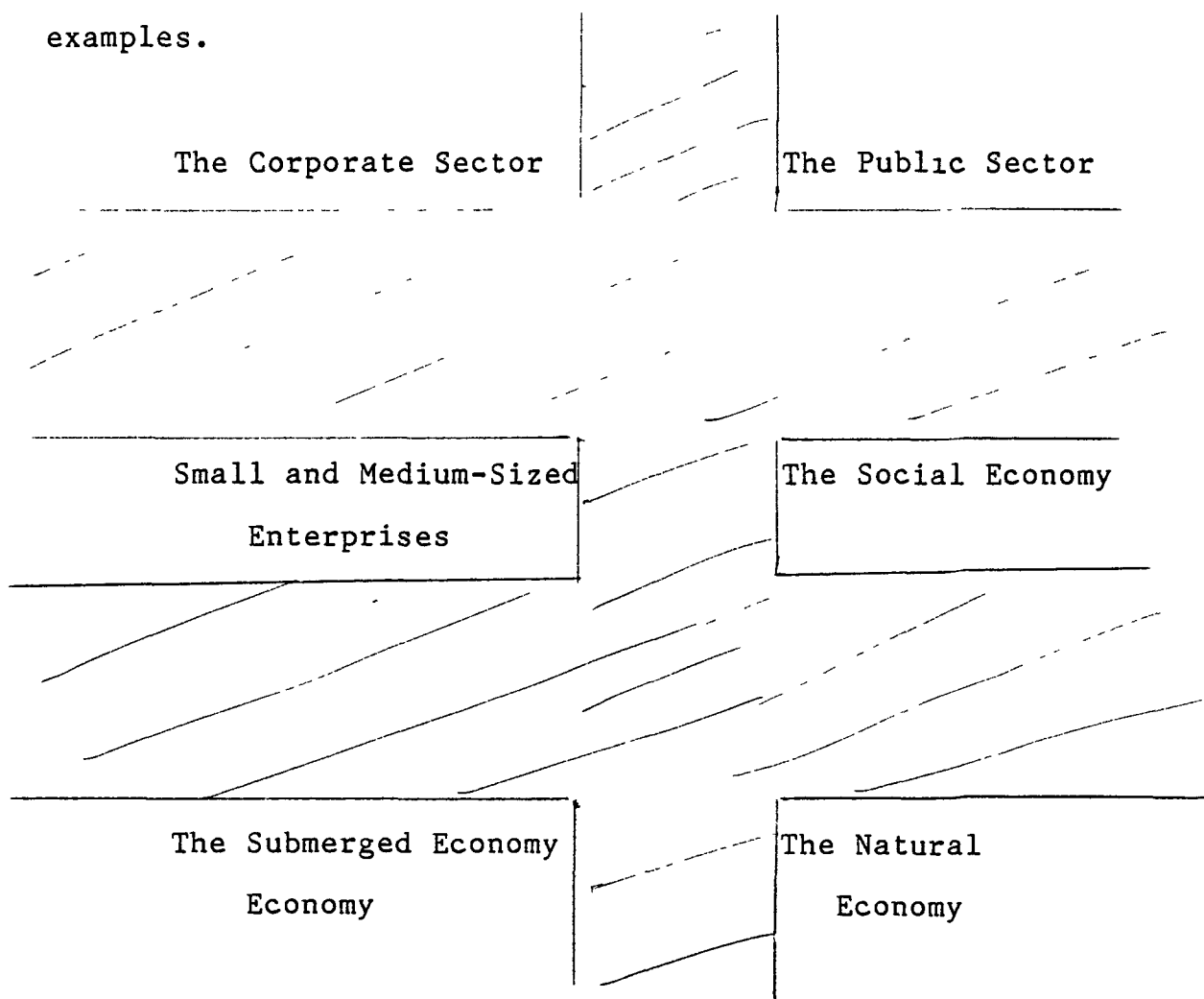
However, this approach is regarded as unhelpful by Kazi et al (1990:3) because "it has led to widespread dismay over the problem of fuzzy boundaries and overlapping categories". These writers, along with Van Til (1988), present an alternative approach, redefining the voluntary sector as "the Social Economy" in the belief that it more accurately describes the sector and that such a term is known in the rest of Europe.

The Social Economy is "located within a six sector model of the provision of goods and services in society" (Kazi et al 1990:4). The model, shown below, is derived from the type of goals pursued by the organisation and its degree of institutionalisation. Organisations range horizontally from those concerned with private profit, through mutual benefit to those that exist for the benefit of others. On the vertical scale the model has, at one end,

"large, well-established agencies or institutions, employing hundreds or thousands of people, . . . that have a recognised role, a relatively secure resource-base, and the capacity to adapt to change by introducing new activities and services"

and at the other quite informal, one-to-one models of

mutual help and assistance. Voluntary organisations comprise the major part of the social economy. In the boundary areas we can locate many organisations which could not be categorised according to less flexible models, such as neighbourhood baby-sitting circles (which fall in the boundary between the social and the natural economies, the Credit Union movement (which can be located in the boundary between Large and medium-sized enterprises and the social economy) and many other examples.



(Kazi et al 1990:4)

Moving on from definitions and classification of the voluntary sector, our next task is to take a brief look at the international scope of voluntary endeavour.

2.3 International Perspectives

The United States has a long tradition of voluntary action and voluntary organisations have existed there since their foundation (Mason 1984). They are closely related to the free market ideology. Voluntary organisations have become agents or partners with the government and the private sector and play a complementary role in providing a pluralist system (Van Til 1988).

In Canada, the Voluntary Sector, although significant in size, is funded primarily by the government (Krashinsky 1990).

Turning to Europe, the tendency in Scandinavian countries is towards an expansion of voluntary social welfare organisations to collaborate with the government in the delivery of social services. Sweden has few, if any, voluntary organisations, as defined in British and US literature (Grin dheim and Selle 1990).

In the Netherlands, voluntary organisations constitute the primary delivery system of the social services (Kramer

1981). The non-profit sector, as defined, has no equivalent in Austria, although "Wohlfartsverbände" and "Vereine" (associations and clubs) play an important role in the provision of preschool education and social services to the elderly (Badelt & Weiss 1990).

One of the outcomes of the French Revolution of 1789 was the institution of laws which prohibited the intervention by any institution between the citizen and the State. These laws would have had the effect of proscribing voluntary organisations - known in France as "associations". Such organisations as exist at present are still regarded with some suspicion - possibly because many of them are closely associated with movements involving the Roman Catholic laity. In spite of that, however, there are 90,000 "associations" in existence in France (Siebel 1990).

Until the end of the nineteenth century, associations in Germany existed and worked in cooperation with the State. However, after 1848 they became identified with political opposition to the State. Today voluntary organisations of all types enjoy an important place in German society (Siebel 1990).

In Eastern Europe, where, for forty years, the very existence of voluntary organisations was viewed as "an

implied criticism of state socialism", the non-profit sector is re-emerging, facilitated by recent political changes (Kuti 1990).

There are 150,000 registered charities in Britain- but not all voluntary organisations are registered. The Times (7 May 1985) claimed that there are 350,000 voluntary organisations in Britain (Handy 1989). Hadley and Hatch (1980), in their paper 'Research on the Voluntary Sector', point out that there is a constantly growing demand for social services due to an increasing number of elderly and infirm, of single parent families, of unemployed people and of changing patterns of employment. With the decline of the extended family, there is a consequent decline in informal care and a consequent increase in the demand for statutory social services. In the economic climate of the past decade, these social services have not been able to meet this increasing demand and the voluntary sector has expanded to fill the gap. A greater social awareness on the part of the public has led to a proliferation of self-help groups, community action, voluntary enterprise groups and benevolent organisations.

In the Republic of Ireland there are thousands of voluntary organisations, with over 600 in the personal social services. These are listed in the directory of voluntary organisations published by the National Social

Service Board (NSSB 1989). The Voluntary Sector is well-established but until relatively recently, while its significance has been widely recognised, it has occupied a marginal position in the system of allocation of funds at local and central government level (Butler 1981). However, as we will demonstrate in 2.5., the role of the voluntary sector in relation to the statutory is changing.

We now move from a general picture of the place of voluntary organisations in Europe to a more detailed exposition of the development of the sector in Britain. The reason for this is that, up to 1922, the development of statutory and voluntary social services in Ireland mirrored that of Britain and indeed, even after the foundation of the new Irish State, the basic structure of the health and social welfare provision in Ireland was quite similar to that in Britain.

2.4 The development of the voluntary sector in Britain

In the wake of the industrial revolution, nineteenth century Britain experienced widespread poverty. Two approaches to the problems of social and economic deprivation were tried. The first was the provision of mutual aid, through friendly societies or cooperatives. These organisations provided a form of insurance in the areas of health, housing and education and their functions

were finally taken over by the government social insurance scheme in the present century. The alternative approach was philanthropy. This took the form of small charities set up by reformers and churches in the second half of the nineteenth century (Thane 1982). Such charities were the forerunners of the personal social services as they are known today. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul would have been prominent among such organisation in Britain and Ireland.

In the latter part of the century, the State intervened to fill the gaps in the provision of social services left by private charities. In 1914 the government, under Lloyd George, instituted a system of grant aid to voluntary organisations and in 1948, the National Assistance Act established a system of local authority welfare provision.

Thus, in Britain, the Voluntary Sector was the pioneer of the social services. In the beginning, the public was happy to leave the relief of poverty and destitution to the philanthropists, but as social awareness grew and developed, the need became obvious for a legally guaranteed basic minimum standard of living for all. Thus areas of social security (sickness, disability and unemployment assistance), education and health were taken into the Statutory or Public Sector. However, this did

not happen so quickly or so widely in the area of personal social services, which still remained the responsibility of voluntary organisations and charities.

After the Second World War, the Labour Government in Britain instituted the Welfare State (Bruce 1973). The so-called "do-gooders" were replaced by professional administrators and experts. The effect of the welfare state was to reverse the roles of the public and the voluntary sector (Owen 1965).

The development of local welfare services was, to some extent, unsuccessful. This may have been because such services had as their clients the poor and the elderly, who were, in general, powerless to lobby for better provision. It may also have been the case that the extent of need was not accurately assessed and therefore, up to the mid 1960s, the level of provision of service was not able to cope with the demands made on it. So, for many reasons, there was still a demand for the services of the voluntary agencies, which took up the slack wherever the Statutory services fell short. A vision for a partnership between the State and the voluntary sector was outlined in the Nathan Committee Report (1952).

In the 1960s and 70s, great social changes were taking place in British society and the resulting changes in the social climate brought about a renaissance of the Voluntary Sector, with a dramatic increase in the numbers of voluntary organisations, and the institution of self-help and pressure groups, representing many categories of special needs and interests. At the same time, many of the older and better established voluntary organisations underwent considerable upheaval and change in their approach to the work (Brenton 1985; Butler and Wilson 1990).

The Voluntary Sector in Britain today is engaged more and more in carrying out contracts on behalf of government departments. The "contract culture" is the subject of many debates and conferences. The concern is that by undertaking certain work for Government in return for substantial funding, voluntary organisations are losing their autonomy; that their original goals are being distorted and their traditional role as special interest groups or pressure groups is being eroded; and that they will no longer be in a position to represent the views of minority or special interest groups.

However, Kramer (1981) sees no great threat to voluntary sector autonomy arising from government funding, due, inter alia, to their multiplicity of funding sources and

an awareness among government agencies that voluntary autonomy must be preserved.

From this overview of the British voluntary sector, we now look at the Irish scene.

2.5 A brief history of the voluntary sector in Ireland

Voluntary action in Ireland had its origins in early peasant communities, where families had to engage in mutual help and co-operation to subsist, under conditions of poverty and deprivation brought about by political and economic oppression (Arensberg and Kimball 1968; Brody 1973).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, voluntary effort was focussed mainly on providing hospital or child care, and many hospitals and orphanages were founded by Catholic religious orders or Protestant churches. Ireland's oldest charity, the United Charitable Society for the Relief of the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers of the City of Dublin, was founded by a group of five merchants in 1790 "to help relieve poverty and idleness" (Tutty 1959:2).

In 1844, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was founded in Ireland and its first task was to help the victims of the

Famine, and from that time, the Society continued to play a major part in helping to meet the material needs of the victims of poverty and deprivation, whether the causes were natural, political or economical.

The English Poor Law, which had been extended to Ireland in 1838, was abolished in 1923 and replaced by Home Assistance, designed to help the poor and needy in their homes instead of consigning them to Unions and Workhouses. Unemployment assistance was introduced in 1933 and other forms of welfare assistance followed.

At this time hospitals, childcare institutions and services to the handicapped were all run by voluntary organisations. Catholic social teaching strongly promoted the role of voluntary organisations in the provision of social services and supported the separation of church and state. This move by the Irish Catholic Church was a response to the Papal Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno", which expounded the doctrine of subsidiarity. This states that "It is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order, for a larger and higher association to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower societies" (Quadragesimo Anno 1931).

The 1960s in Ireland was a time when there was a great increase in public social awareness due to the advent of television to the east coast and to a growth in the provision of adult education. It was also the beginning of a period of economic growth in the country and a time when many young professionals were returning to Ireland, having worked abroad.

It was in this period that the Second Vatican Council took place, an event which was to bring about great changes in the Roman Catholic Church. The Council redefined the role of the laity and placed great emphasis on the concept of the church as a caring community (The Sixteen Documents of Vatican II 1965). Following the Second Vatican Council, religious began to become involved in a greater variety of social service activities and lay people were encouraged to engage in charitable works for the purpose of bringing about a more just society, rather than for their personal sanctification (Inglis 1987; O'Mahoney 1985).

Concurrently, in the statutory social services, there was a move to involve the general public more in taking responsibility for their own welfare, and to personalise the provision of social services. In 1968, the Report on the Care of the Elderly (National Council for the Aged 1968) urged the Department of Health to provide funds for

voluntary organisations working with the elderly. From the 1960s, attempts were also being made to coordinate the efforts of the many voluntary organisations providing social services by establishing Social Service Councils in many large county towns.

The establishment of local Health Boards and Community Care programmes indicated a new willingness on the part of the Statutory Services to recognise the important role played by the Voluntary Sector in social service provision.

The National Social Service Council, established in 1971, was intended by the then Minister for Health, Mr. Erskine Childers, to provide support, encouragement, assistance and advice to existing voluntary agencies (Curry 1990). Since then the role and terms of reference of the Board have been redefined and its activities are confined to voluntary organisations which provide information on health and social welfare.

There is no established pattern of funding for voluntary organisations in Ireland, the relationship between the organisation and the funding agency depending on historical factors, the current economic climate, the amount of surplus money available from the National Lottery funds and specific arrangements made by different

government departments with the voluntary bodies in question. Many of these organisations operate in a wider field than the relevant government agency and therefore must relate to several different government bodies, resulting in very complicated funding arrangements.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter we have established that voluntary organisations are not new, but rather a well-established part of the social fabric of society. The terms used in discussing the sector have been defined and an attempt has been made to find some congruence between those used in the United States and Europe. The international scope of the voluntary sector has been established. Having looked in some detail at the historical development of the sector in Britain, we can more clearly understand how it operates in Ireland today, thus providing a background to the focus of our study of a major Irish voluntary organisations, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Following this backdrop of the voluntary sector, we now move on to present the methodology for the main study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we describe the overall research design and report on the pilot study and the fieldwork design.

3.1 Preliminary research

This phase of the study included:

- a) a review of the general literature on management and
- b) a survey of the literature on voluntary organisations.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Ireland was chosen as the case study for our research. There were several reasons for this choice. The organisation is large and well established, and has a well-defined management structure. It is widely dispersed throughout the country. Access to the organisation was facilitated by our previous involvement with it in our capacity as trainer and management consultant.

We began the case study element of our research with extensive reading of relevant documents relating to its history and present structure. Our reading was augmented by informal but focussed conversations with Headquarters

staff, to enable us to get a good understanding of how the organisation functioned.

3.2 The Pilot Study

Before embarking on the main fieldwork, we undertook a pilot study. This was designed to ascertain the general approach to the management of the Society. Semi-structured interviews were carried out across a range of members at national, regional and local level, paid staff and volunteers, members of the clergy who have contact with the Society, a former member and two of its clients.

From this pilot study certain issues emerged pertaining to the goals and structure of the organisation and its patterns of communication and leadership.

While the Society has a clearly stated mission, its goals are not so clearly defined and it appeared that they were open to different interpretations by its members. This indicated that the main study would have to look at the whole area of planning in the Society.

The structure of the organisation is such that members can be mobilised very quickly in response to emergencies, when plans are made by the National organisation and are transmitted down along the chain of command to the members

on the ground. However, this kind of structure, while it may be useful in a military-type operation, did not seem to lend itself to the efficient collection of information, to effective communication of ideas or to participation and involvement by members in decision-making at all levels of the Society. This indicated that in the main study we should also be looking at organisational issues.

The third issue was to do with the exercise of leadership and the transfer of managerial skills gained in paid employment to the setting of a voluntary organisation.

In other words, the pilot study indicated quite clearly that no aspect of management could be explored in isolation. With the information gleaned from this exercise, it was decided to adopt the classical business management framework and to explore the management of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul under the five headings - planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling, as defined in many standard management textbooks (Daft 1986; Fayol 1949; Koontz and Weihrich 1988; Reeser and Loper 1978).

3.3 Research Design

It was decided to undertake a qualitative study which would seek to explore the concept of management through

insights gained by reflection on the experiences, opinions and feelings of members of the Society. It is not possible to enumerate or measure quantitatively such data. However, the process of reflection has been carried out in a systematic way, by conducting the interviews strictly according to a prepared schedule and by subjecting the answers to rigorously objective analysis.

3.4 The Fieldwork

The aim of the fieldwork was to ascertain the views of a purposive sample of the managers in the Society regarding the overall management of the organisation. In keeping with this aim a number of semi-structured interviews was conducted with a cross-section of members in management positions at all levels of the Society and members in management roles in special projects. A description of the sample is given in 3.4.2 and a list of respondents in Appendix 5.

The interview was designed to cover the five functions of management - planning, organising, staffing, leading/directing and controlling. Under each heading there were approximately ten questions. Details are given in Appendix 4. The questions were based on statements about the management of businesses contained in the literature, but the language was adapted to make it more relevant to voluntary enterprises.

3.4.1 The Interview: The questions were designed in a semi-structured way. However in carrying out the interviews the questions, though narrowly focussed, succeeded in helping the respondents to think through their experiences in a critical way and elicited an abundance of information.

A good understanding of the philosophy and culture of voluntary organisations, gained from previous extensive experience with the sector, was helpful in reformulating the terminology of management and in understanding the responses to the questions and interpreting those responses in the light of management theory.

Out of respect for the confidential nature of the information given in the interviews, and bearing in mind the desire of members to carry out their work anonymously, a tape recorder was not used, and so extensive verbatim comments are not given.

3.4.2 The Study Sample: The interviewees were selected taking several criteria into account. To ensure a geographical spread the country was divided into five broad regions - north, south, east, west and midlands. There being proportionately more members and more activity in the Dublin area, more interviews were carried out here. Conferences (units) working in new housing estates and in

more settled areas, in inner city and outer suburban areas were included. Outside Dublin, Conferences in rural and urban areas were sampled. A representative sample of Conferences engaged in Special Works was also included in the study. Paid staff in Dublin and three other regions were also interviewed.

The sample consisted of a "vertical slice" through the organisation structure, selecting personnel at all levels of management from the National President down to local Conference Presidents. In total, thirty-five respondents were interviewed in the main study. Twelve of these were women and the rest were men.

Many of those included in the sample were among the most involved members. As most respondents also held full-time paid jobs, many of the interviews had to be held after working hours or at weekends. However, almost without exception, members were very willing to participate in the study and were accommodating about the arrangement of interviews. In all but two cases, the interview, designed to last an hour, took from one and a half to three hours. Members were pleased to talk about the Society and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to explain to an outsider how it works.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined our research methodology. It included case site selection and details of our pilot study. the fieldwork was described, including the interview content and selection of respondents for the study sample.

Our next concern, having outlined our method of approach, is a review of the literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

VOLUNTARY SECTOR MANAGEMENT - A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Our task in this chapter is to review the contribution of writers on management, focussing on management in the voluntary sector. We begin by looking at management in the business sector, as voluntary organisations are "for the large part absent from the analytical vocabulary of both organisation theory and strategic management" (Butler and Wilson 1990:21).

The existing literature in law and economics...has largely overlooked non-profit institutions; while we are well supplied with positive and normative perspectives on both profit-seeking and governmental organisations, to date there has been extraordinarily little effort to understand the role of non-profits (Hansmann 1980:836).

Our next concern is to examine the characteristics of voluntary organisations. Finally, we explore how these characteristics influence the management of voluntary organisations.

4.1 General Management

Most writings on management refer to the business sector and the selection of works on this sector is difficult because there are so many. A number of useful readers on operational management, with sections on the development of management theory and detailed analyses of the

functions of management, was included along with works on organisation theory and the social psychology of organisations, all written for business enterprise managers.

Fayol(1949), one of the fathers of modern operational management theory, identified the five functions of management as planning, organising, commanding, coordinating and controlling. The words "commanding" and "controlling" were subsequently replaced by the single term "leading" and "organising" was divided to cover structure, with a separate category for "staffing". Fayol himself pointed out that these functions apply not only to business but to all kinds of undertakings including philanthropic and religious ones, even though many managers working in the voluntary sector claim that business management theory cannot be applied directly to voluntary organisations.

Mintzberg (1973) studied managers at work and found a very different picture from the orderly functional one presented by Fayol. From the findings he identified ten roles, or sets of behaviour, used by managers in their day-to-day work. He divided these into interpersonal roles - those of figurehead, leader and liaison, informal roles - such as monitor, disseminator and spokesperson and

decisional roles - entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator and negotiator.

McKinsey's "7S" framework supports and is similar to the framework of managerial functions of planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling. The McKinsey framework is particularly relevant to this study because it emphasises the importance of goal statements and shared values (Koontz and Weihrich 1988:47). Some writers claim that whatever managers do may be classified under the typology of managerial tasks developed by the classical management school after Fayol and it has been found that time spent on these functions and skill in performing them are very much related to the manager's effectiveness (Carroll and Gillen 1987).

While Taylor (1911), Fayol (1949) and others were developing scientific management theories based on observation of work practices, management theories based on industrial psychology and sociology were being developed by writers and scholars in the behavioural sciences.

The contribution of Behavioural Science to management theory is of particular relevance for voluntary organisations. Academics and practitioners in this school, believing in the primacy of importance of the

human being, seek to increase the quality of life and job satisfaction for workers in an organisation. Behavioural Science is concerned with motivation and personality, with the dynamics of small groups and with interpersonal relationships, with the influence of organisational culture and structure, and with theories and concepts about communication, conflict management, power and change (Barnard 1938; Burns & Stalker 1966; Cyert 1975; Etzioni 1971).

The findings of Elton Mayo about the satisfaction of social needs in face-to-face cooperative relationships with fellow-workers (Buchanan and Huczynski 1985; Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939) are of immense significance to all managers but particularly to those in organisations where most staff are not financially rewarded for their work. Hasenfield and English (1974) refer to the ideological character of human service organisations and make the case that managers of such organisations need to understand human behaviour and to have highly developed interpersonal skills.

Our study explores the management of a large voluntary organisation using the classical functional framework. A definition of these terms is taken from descriptions of the manager's job by several writers (Mintzberg 1973; Stewart 1970). We now explore each function.

Planning includes the determination of organisational objectives, designing methods of implementing them and establishing budgets and procedures for doing so. It involves decision-making and the setting of priorities. It is closely linked with the management function of control (Drucker 1954; Koontz & Weihrich 1988; Rees 1984; Reeser & Loper 1978). "Strategic planning provides the basis for adapting the organisation to the vagaries of an unpredictable environment and for more effectively achieving organisational objectives" (Dickel et al 1985:2). Policies are also plans in that they are "general statements or understandings which guide or channel thinking in decision-making" (Koontz & Weihrich 1988:64).

Organising means creating an environment in which such plans may be carried out, establishing relationships of authority and responsibility, defining tasks to be done and deciding who is to do them and coordinating the work of different units or departments (Handy 1977; Katz & Kahn 1978; Lawrence and Lorsch 1967; Likert 1961). Organisational structure "provides the mechanism for the implementation of plans and the controlled use of resources" and is also "a strong determinant of the attitudes commonly held by its members. Such attitudes

have been termed 'the culture' of the organisation" (Kakabadse 1987:314).

Staffing involves filling and keeping filled the positions required to carry out the work of the organisation. It includes identifying the staffing requirements of the organisation, recruiting, selecting and placing suitable people and promoting, training or otherwise developing them (Koontz & Weihrich 1988; Reeser & Loper 1978).

Leading is defined as motivating people so that they will contribute most effectively to the organisational and group goals (Argyris 1953; Belbin 1981; Herzberg et al 1959; Maslow 1954; Tannebaum 1961). Leadership studies began with the "trait theory" which held that leaders were born and not made. McGregor's Theory X cannot be applied to volunteers, who work willingly for no material rewards and without being coerced or tightly controlled and directed (McGregor 1967). Blake and Mouton (1985) identified five basic managerial styles based on the manager's relative concern for production or people. Fiedler (1978) believed that managers must develop leadership styles which are flexible and appropriate to the situation - and his theory is known as the "contingency theory" of leadership. Vroom and Yetton (1973) argue that appropriate leadership style is determined by the nature of the leadership action to be taken, its acceptability to

the workers and the time-scale within which the action must be completed.

Following these studies, a new theory was developed by Hershey and Blanchard (1977), who describe four basic leadership styles based on the two dimensions of task behaviour and relationship behaviour. This theory incorporates those of Blake and Mouton and of Fiedler. Modern theories of leadership have moved from the trait theory to the position where leadership is viewed as a process which uses certain skills and insights, and which implies that good leadership can be achieved by training in interpersonal skills (Yuki 1981).

Control closes the cycle of management and

in the Western European literature, it is customary to speak of 'management control' primarily in the context of the private...profit-oriented organisation...It is much rarer to find the 'management control' concept applied to public or voluntary not-for-profit organisations (Hofstede 1981:193).

Control is the setting up of systems for measuring the extent to which organisational goals have been achieved, for identifying problems in doing so and implementing corrective action where appropriate (Anthony & Dearden 1980; Butt & Palmer 1986; Daft 1986; Grayson & Tomkins 1984; Ramanathan & Hegstad 1982; Steers et al 1985; Unterman & Davis 1984). In non-profit organisations "performance measures should attempt to measure both the

quantity and the quality of outputs" (Drury 1985:502). Control efforts are focussed on five main areas, people, finance, operations, information and overall performance (Robbins 1988)

Having looked at planning, organising, staffing, leading, directing and controlling, we now move on to explore the characteristics of voluntary organisations.

4.2 Characteristics of voluntary organisations

Mason (1984) identifies fourteen major characteristic differences between voluntary not-for-profit enterprises and profit-seeking businesses, and he claims that not-for-profits, being more complex, require a different approach to management from the mere application of traditional business principles.

Gerard (1983:120), referring to charities, identifies seven characteristics which call for "special consideration" in applying management techniques. Nine characteristics which affect the management control process, and hence the other management functions, in non-profits are listed by Anthony and Herzlinger (1980).

Murray (1987:19) argues that

we have far too little understanding about the unique conditions under which these organisations

operate, the special managerial problems these conditions create, or the particular managerial skills and knowledge these problems require.

He then goes on to enumerate five areas in which voluntary organisations differ from businesses.

The lists of characteristics tend to overlap, so we have attempted here to synthesise and discuss them. We have included the two most comprehensive in Appendix 6.

The absence of profit measure is cited by all four writers as a key difference. Murray (1987:20) refers to this as the absence of a "market mechanism". In a business organisation, survival is only ensured if the customers buy and pay for goods or services provided. In a voluntary organisation the clients are not the ones who supply the funds to keep the organisation going - instead funds are provided by the public, the government, private trusts and corporations. The interests of funders may be quite different from those of the clients.

This difference between non-profits and businesses is also referred to by Mason (1984:21), who says that "the market value of the services of voluntary enterprises cannot be measured as precisely as in business" and who refers to the lack of profit-and-loss criteria. Mason identifies the conflicting interests of funders and clients as a "special kind of constituency" and points out that the

"production of resources and the provision of services are two distinct systems, whereas in business, the systems are integrated" (Mason 1984:21).

This statement is based on the comparison of a commercial enterprise such as a restaurant, and a voluntary service like "meals-on-wheels". The restaurant provides a meal which is paid for in full by the consumer. In the case of "meals-on-wheels", the consumer receives the meal, but the cost of providing it is either subsidised or borne by another group of people who provide the funds. The voluntary service organisation has to maintain relationships with those who consume its services and also with those who provide it with resources. This 'dual' management, Mason (1984) says, means that managers of voluntary enterprises have a further complexity, which does not arise for their counterparts in business. This argument is supported by several other writers (Billis 1984; Lovelock & Weinberg 1984).

The absence of "a profit measure" and the situation where funding is provided by those who are not recipients of the services is also referred to by Anthony and Herzlinger(1980:34) and Gerard (1983:121) who makes the point that

a charity can remain viable for a long time, despite ineffective provision, if it can continue to convince potential sponsors that it is doing a

worthwhile job regardless of what clients themselves may feel or experience.

Another significant difference between non-profits and businesses is in the area of planning or setting goals. Planning is seen by many writers as the management function which is most difficult for non-profit organisations (Alexander 1980; Kanter & Summers 1987).

Voluntary organisations are often not free to determine goals and strategies, being driven by a need to satisfy funding agencies and individuals, or by demands from clients or from government (Anthony & Herzlinger 1980; Gerard 1983; Mason 1984). Murray (1987) says that vague primary goals, which sound more like mission statements than operational goals make planning difficult. "Voluntary organisations are concerned with meeting human needs directly, educating public opinion and influencing both social provision and social legislation..." and their work is "by nature, value-based, ...qualitative..and intangible" (Gerard 1983:120). Therefore there is often "no clear-cut objective function that can be used in analysing proposed alternative courses of action" (Anthony & Herzlinger 1980:40).

Differences in governance are mentioned by Anthony and Herzlinger (1980:47) who point out that the Boards of non-profit organisations do not necessarily "represent the

source of the organisation's power", are rarely paid for their work and consequently "tend to be less influential in non-profit organisations than in profit-oriented companies". The same problem is identified by Murray (1987) and Gerard (1983) adds that such people are usually remote from day-to-day operations. The other problem highlighted by Gerard is that of managing a volunteer workforce, "with consequent problems of recruitment, selection and maintenance of commitment" (Gerard 1983:120).

Many writers refer to the distinctive demands of managing an organisation staffed by volunteers, which poses problems of recruitment, selection and motivation (Gerard 1983; Murray 1987) and which calls for management by persuasion (Mason 1984).

Finally, "non-profit organisations have been slow to adopt 20th century accounting and management control concepts and practices" (Anthony & Herzlinger 1980:53) and "can persist even though their consumption of resources consistently exceeds their tangible output" (Mason 1984:22). While "the majority of voluntary agencies favour the development of appraisal techniques...only a minority claim to have systematic procedures to achieve this" (Gerard 1983:123).

4.3 Some problems in applying business management principles to voluntary organisations

Several factors make planning difficult. The first of these is lack of clarity or specificity about goals. Gerard (1983:122) cites "lack of clarity or coherence" among volunteer workers as a cause of strategic problems. He also argues that some of this obscurity or ambivalence may arise from the differences in motivation of volunteers, who join associations for a variety of reasons and who tend to interpret the mission and goals of the organisation in subjective ways. This argument is developed by other writers who claim that such subjectivity may give rise not only to "fuzzy goals" but even to conflicting ones (Mason 1984; McLaughlin 1986; Kanter & Summers 1987).

Some writers suggest that failure to write specific or tangible goals may be deliberate, in order to secure funding or to avoid political conflict, or to satisfy the diverse demands of funding agencies and individuals (Gerard 1983; Ramanathan & Hegstad 1982).

The second factor is the nature of voluntary organisations, most of which are service providers. The provision of services is more difficult to plan and evaluate than the manufacture of goods (Kanter and Summers

1987; McLaughlin 1986; Anthony & Herzlinger 1980). This is in part due to the intangible nature of services and also to the absence of profit measures, but Daft (1986) argues that these factors should not constitute a major difficulty as service organisations have goals which specify the delivery of services within certain constraints of time and cost. Borst and Montana (1977) note that intangible goals are not exclusive to non-profit organisations.

The third factor affecting planning in the voluntary sector is that of funding. Brenton lists five primary sources of finance which include Government grants, fees and charges for services rendered, voluntary donations, income from trading activities and investment income. There is a general concensus among writers that voluntary giving has declined as a percentage of total income and there is a well-documented trend in Britain towards increased Government funding (Brenton 1985; Billis and Harris 1986; Kramer 1981; Wolfenden 1978).

Long-term strategic planning may be impossible when Government funding is ad hoc and carried out on a yearly basis (McConkey 1975), and when it depends on the "vicissitudes of public expenditure policies" (Brenton 1985:74). When funding is unreliable, the focus in planning tends to move from performance to fund-raising,

or from outcomes to inputs (Wheelen and Hunger 1983; Daft 1983).

When this happens, voluntary organisations can find that much of their time and energy is given over to efforts to acquire funds, either in the form of grants from government or donations from the public. In raising funds through donations, voluntary agencies depend on public sympathy. Some causes may be more appealing than others and the organisation may find its planning being influenced by such considerations. Many organisations find it difficult to convince funding sources of the need for expenditure on administration and training (Brenton 1985; NCVO 1990).

Other difficulties are associated with planning in the voluntary sector. Management functions are sometimes vested in Boards of Management or Trustees, who are remote from the day-to-day functioning of the organisation (Handy 1981; Gerard 1983; Harris 1983). Managers in voluntary organisations, for various reasons, tend to spend a relatively short time in their posts; there is a high turnover of volunteer staff and consequently a lack of continuity (McConkey 1975). Some voluntary sector managers fail to see policy-making and planning as part of their job (NCVO 1987) and whereas the voluntary sector prides itself on its responsiveness and flexibility (Mason

1984) it could also be argued that flexibility is a synonym for lack of planning, inconsistency and lack of accountability (Kramer & Grossman 1987).

In voluntary organisations, roles and responsibilities are not always clear. This can lead to role ambiguity or confusion. Promotion is the only real reward for merit, but it can take the volunteer out of his/her preferred role and place him/her in a management one. This can cause conflict (Handy 1981; Harris 1987).

A significant difference between a voluntary enterprise and its commercial counterpart is its culture. Culture is defined as "shared, learned behaviour which is transmitted from one generation to another for purposes of societal growth, adjustment and adaptation. Culture is represented externally as artifacts, roles and institutions and it is represented internally as values, beliefs, attitudes, epistemology, consciousness and biological functioning" (Jansson and Perris 1987).

According to Handy (1988:88), one would expect service organisations to have a "role culture" with clear definitions of roles and responsibilities, formalised communications, one which is "managed" rather than led. He contrasts this with the "club culture" which is

personal, value-driven and has a certain dependence on a key central figure. The third culture described by Handy is defined as the "task Culture" which is built around competences, lacks any hierarchy and corresponds to the matrix structure outlined by Butler and Wilson (1990).

It is in the area of staffing that the managers of voluntary organisations perceive their job to be quite different from that of the manager of a commercial organisation. The difference in the operation of the personnel function of a voluntary organisation is that in such organisations, few, if any, of the staff are paid, if one regards the members, who carry out the work of the organisation, as staff.

The contract between voluntary organisations and their unpaid workers is a co-operative one. This means that volunteers work for the organisation because they accept its values and goals, but they are only required to do what they want to, when they want to and they cannot be told what to do. Such organisations, of course, may also employ paid staff. In this case the contract may be a "calculative" one - where the staff are there because they are paid to be and they will do only what they are paid to do (Handy 1988:32).

Making clear the psychological contract between the organisation and the worker is one of the tasks of the manager of a voluntary organisation. In a business, the psychological contracts would be replaced by job descriptions and clarifications.

McLaughlin (1986) claims that voluntary organisations, as well as business, need a personnel policy or plan for the recruitment, selection, training and evaluation of staff. For each group of recruits, there should be a job description, which helps the organisation design its recruitment strategies, predict its staffing requirements, plan to meet the training needs of its staff and for evaluation and control. The same writer argues that non-profit organisations do not have a good reputation as managers of people. He claims that managers in human service organisations are often unwilling to get rid of incompetent or unsuitable staff.

This argument is based on the assumption that training and counselling are available to staff as a matter of course. In fact, this is not always a reality in voluntary organisations. There is a great need for financial investment by governments and large voluntary organisations in training and support services for volunteer and paid staff in voluntary organisations. Grants should include a realistic allowance for

"management training, staff and volunteer development, monitoring, evaluating and consultancy" (NCVO 1990:6). This report further argues that the voluntary sector has specific management requirements and that management education and development should be given "the same importance in the voluntary sector as in the public and private sectors" (NCVO 1990:45).

An earlier report makes a strong case for the employment of paid staff by voluntary organisations, which is significant in the light of this study. It says that

Many voluntary organisations are engaged in sophisticated work and require a high level of managerial, organisational and professional skills like other modern organisations. The idea that paid staff and high standards of effectiveness corrupt the 'true' character of voluntary organisations is anachronistic. However important the contribution of unpaid volunteers remains, it is, as it always has been, complementary to, and no substitute for, the work of relatively few paid and often highly skilled staff in voluntary organisations, helping society to respond to new needs or find new ways of meeting old ones (NCVO 1984:8).

The relationship between volunteers and paid staff in voluntary organisations, where there are large numbers of paid professional and administrative staff, is dealt with by many writers (Kramer 1981; Harris 1983; Billis 1984; McLaughlin 1986).

In many voluntary organisations there is a high regard for voluntarism (NCVO 1987) and a corresponding "disdain for

the professional" (Handy 1988:4). In an earlier publication, Handy (1977) likens voluntary organisations to "organisations of consent" which must be led rather than managed. Dispelling the myth that voluntary organisations are small, dynamic, flexible and responsive to needs, Kramer (1981:107) points out that voluntary organisations, as they grow in size and develop in scope and as they get older generally, tend to become more bureaucratic and more professional and develop a "hierarchical pattern of authority". McConkey (1975) argues that, like all organisations, voluntary organisations, as they get larger, will find it more and more difficult to adapt to rapid change and political or financial pressure.

A report published by The Volunteer Centre (1990) in a MORI Survey carried out in Britain, has some findings of interest to those responsible for the recruitment of volunteers. Fundraising is the most common type of voluntary activity undertaken by the public. The social grouping most likely to have been involved in voluntary activity are AB's. This finding supports the argument put forward that membership and leadership in voluntary organisations has traditionally come from among senior civil servants (Goldring 1982), individuals of high occupational standing (Parkin 1975), and members of the liberal professions (Peillon 1982). The report also

shows that more women than men are likely to carry out work that consists of visiting and befriending. Another interesting discovery is that people in work are more likely to volunteer than people who are out of work. Personal recommendation through a friend or relative or through colleagues at work are the most common ways in which people get involved in voluntary activity.

There is a paucity of literature on leadership in voluntary organisations. This may be because such organisations often see themselves as democratic or collegial, based on strong egalitarian values, where the volunteer "enjoys himself, makes friends and is integrated into the task group" (Mason 1990). However, it could be argued that, "while the cult of the personal leader may certainly be dispensed with, certain activities and functions of leadership are vital" (Landry et al 1985).

Drucker (1989) makes the point that for voluntary organisations, good intentions are not an adequate substitute for leadership and direction. Many voluntary organisations could be described as normative, their members characterised by high commitment. In such organisations, "leadership is a most important technique of control" (Etzioni 1975:40-41). Mason (1984:16) says that, because it does not pay its workers, voluntary sector management includes "a double portion of what we

call leadership". The argument that volunteers cannot be driven, but must be led, is put forward by McConkey (1975). Volunteers need leaders to challenge and persuade them, to channel their energies into worthwhile, interesting and rewarding projects.

Some writers see leadership as being much more important in voluntary sector management than in commercial management. Because such organisations are not driven by market forces, strong and active leadership is required to develop and communicate values and to empower and enable others. Leadership in the voluntary sector "is something above and beyond management, perhaps even requiring a different personality" (McLaughlin 1986:488). This writer sees the task of leaders in the voluntary sector as a very complex one, requiring the person in this position to have skills in communication, conflict management, team development and evaluation, along with the skills required to enable him/her to become involved at a technical level in the five functions of management.

An interesting point about the calibre of leadership in the sector is made by Mullin (1980), who claims that it is quite commonplace for charities to appoint retired men with pensions to executive posts. This means that the organisation, by paying only minimal wages, acquires the

dedicated service of an officer, who because of his age and experience may tend to be conservative and cautious.

The problems associated with leadership in the sector have been identified by several writers. Volunteer managers often hold senior positions in commercial or government organisations. They become involved in the work of a voluntary organisation at an operational level. The satisfactions afforded by this type of work are great. When the volunteer is promoted to a management role, he/she may then find it difficult to relinquish this feeling of satisfaction and delegate the operational work to others. Other managers see it as a virtue to remain close and involved in operations, but fail to realise that this prevents them from developing the detachment and perspective required to lead and inspire others. Sometimes managers are unable to function as leaders because the climate and culture of the organisation lulls them into a dysfunctional politeness (Chait and Taylor 1989).

Many volunteers in organisations may avoid leadership roles because such roles involve more work and do not bring more autonomy, power or rewards (Pearce 1980).

Others who joined because of professional skill or training in the caring profession find themselves

"promoted" to management as an unsought reward for good work or seniority, and, having no professional experience or training in management, find that such promotion brings added stress in a job which is already very demanding (Grindley 1985).

This can result in the phenomenon of reluctant leaders (McConkey 1975), which could be very damaging for an organisation where effective leadership nearly always starts at the top (Bower 1980).

As can be seen from the arguments above about the demands made on the voluntary sector chief executive, whose role may vary from "planner-in-chief to process facilitator to guru" (McLaughlin 1986:171), today's leaders in the voluntary sector have to be "technocrats and diplomats" (Mellor 1985:70). Alexander (1980) argues that leadership in voluntary organisations is so demanding and so complex a task that it calls for the appointment of an outside trained professional in the field. Bower (1980:2.5) claims that the voluntary sector leader "must require and inspire people to work effectively in pursuit of purpose", and he also argues for the appointment of a full-time paid professional leader.

Problems of control in voluntary organisations are inextricably linked with problems in the area of planning.

If goals are value-based, unspecific and intangible, then there will inevitably be considerable difficulty in measuring performance (Handy 1981; Kanter and Summers 1987; Ramanathan and Hegsted 1982). Voluntary organisations have "a tradition of inadequate management controls" (Anthony and Herzlinger 1980:34).

Many non-profit organisations, including voluntary ones, use a systems resource approach to evaluation. This approach measures effectiveness by the ability, in absolute or relative terms, to exploit the environment in the acquisition of scarce and valued resources. The first criterion of system effectiveness is survival. Indicators of performance used in this approach are

- the ability to acquire scarce and valued resources (i.e. money, manpower and goods)
- the ability to perceive and interpret the real properties of the environment
- the ability of the system to use resources to produce a specified output
- the maintenance of internal day-to-day organisational activities
- the ability to respond to changes in the environment (Daft 1986).

Criteria for measuring performance in service institutions generally are difficult to devise and can be ambiguous and

misleading (Unterman and Davis 1984; Mason 1984; Ramanathan and Hegsted 1982; O'Neill and Young 1986; Kramer and Grossman 1987). Measurable aspects, such as numbers of people served, "tend to receive disproportionate attention merely because they can be measured" (Newman & Wallender 1978:30).

In voluntary organisations it is generally assumed that the cause is worthy in itself. This assumption precludes the need to show results (Kanter and Summers 1987). In terms of marketing, the same authors cite the existence of an unlimited market for the services of the organisation as an excuse for not evaluating. Voluntary organisations are not dependent on their clients for financial support, unlike a business, and clients do not have much opportunity for giving feedback or influencing performance in any way (Anthony and Herzlinger 1980; Bower 1980; Handy 1981; Grayson and Tompkins 1984).

Handy (1977:253) argues that "management style is neither ultimately right or ultimately wrong, it is only culturally appropriate". The idea of evaluation or control is often culturally incompatible with the members' view of their organisation (Harris 1987). The counter argument to this is that although controls may be resisted, "the benefits they bring in stabilising an unstable system can be appreciated by participants on whom

the controls are imposed" (Murray 1967). Evaluation as a tool of management control in social service agencies is dealt with by Goulding and Goulding (1983). "Interest in performance indicators is growing as part of the voluntary sector's need to explain itself to its users, funders, the Government and the general public" (Jackson 1990).

Having looked at the special problems of applying business management principles to voluntary organisations and to the arguments for and against doing so, we now move on to consider some of the literature pertaining to models or approaches to the alleviation of poverty.

Gerard (1983) identified two different models of organisations dealing with the poor. The first he described as a model based on order. This model is characterised by an adherence to moral and spiritual values, by favouring stability, unity and cohesion, by its concern with service to those in need. This model holds a view of society which emphasises authority, hierarchy, equity, compassion and freedom.

The second model is based on change and is characterised by moral relativism, favouring change, pluralism and differentiation. It emphasises secular and material values and is concerned to identify with those in need. It is reformist or radical in its view of society and places the

greatest emphasis on democracy, participation, equality, tolerance and individual rights.

Gerard (1983) also maintains that mutual aid organisations are based on the principle of reciprocity; social-order-based charities are based on beneficence; and agencies devoted to social change are based on the principle of solidarity.

Liberation theologians see poverty as a form of socio-economic oppression which conditions all other forms of oppression. They outline three explanations of poverty. The empirical explanation considers poverty to be a vice, which can be attributed to laziness, ignorance or wickedness. From this point of view the obvious way to tackle poverty is with aid administered out of pity.

If poverty is considered to be the result of social and economic backwardness, then it can be assumed that a functional view of poverty exists. The solution in this case is reform of the socio-economic systems, where the poor are treated as passive objects.

Liberation theology takes the point of view that poverty is the product of the economic organisation of society itself, "which exploits ... the workers and excludes others from the production process" (Boff & Boff 1987:26)

The only perceived way out of this situation is revolution which is the transformation of the socio-economic system, which is carried out by all the people, the poor taking their place in the process as subjects

A similar argument could be deduced from that put forward by Robertson who speaks from a background of economics, and who argues that "the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are now beginning to recognise the devastating consequences of conventional economic orthodoxy for many Third World countries..." (Robertson 1990:8).

A plea for voluntary organisations to recognise the need to lobby for the poor and needy is made by Brenton (1985 :252) in the following passage:

The days of confining charities to pouring soup into faulty old bottles should be consigned to the past; such cosmetic philanthropy can in fact be capable of postponing the more fundamental reforms that may be needed.

4.4 Summary

Our concern in this chapter has been to focus on management literature, most of which relates to the commercial sector. Having reviewed some of the more significant contributors in the field, we explored the five main functions of management - planning, organising,

staffing, leading and controlling - as this is the framework used in the field study. Next we identified the particular characteristics of voluntary organisations and then examined their implications for voluntary sector management.

Before presenting our research findings, our next task is to take an in-depth look at our case-study organisation, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, reviewing its progress from its foundation to the present day.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL

We now consider the organisation which is at the centre of this study. We briefly review its history and development from its foundation to the present day, and we describe its current membership, structure, activities and financial situation.

5.1 History

The story of the Society begins in France as early as 1617. This was the year when St. Vincent de Paul founded an association of well-to-do women whose role was to visit the poor in their homes, minister to the sick and distribute food and clothes. Following this, in 1633, he founded a religious order of women, the Sisters of Charity, to continue the work.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul was founded much later, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, in 1833. Its founder was a young law student at the Sorbonne University in Paris. His name was Frederic Ozanam, leader of a small group of Roman Catholic students.

The first Conference consisted of about ten young men, all colleagues of Ozanam's, who visited poor families referred to them by the Sister of Charity. Their work was financed by donations from the members, augmented by financial assistance from one of their professors and food vouchers provided by the sisters. The aim of Ozanam and his young friends was to give Christian witness in a post-revolutionary secular society which was anti-Catholic in its attitudes. Three years later, in 1836, Frederic Ozanam gave his group the name "The Conference of St. Vincent de Paul".

By 1861, there were 1,549 Conferences in France and the organisation became known as "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul". The first Conference outside France was founded in Rome in 1842 and the Society came to Ireland and Britain in 1844.

The first Irish Conference was located in St. Michan's parish in Dublin and it had 19 members, of whom six were lawyers and three were doctors.

The first Conferences in Ireland were engaged in helping the victims of the Great Famine (1845-1849) and in the "Rapport Général pour l'année 1847" (SVDP 1847:47) the following paragraph appears:

Irlande! Combien de fois ce nom douloureux et aimé a été prononcé par nous cette année! Combien de fois

nous avons tous prié, donné, demandé pour cette terre desolée et pour ces six millions d'hommes dont la vie se passe à mourir lentement de faim.

Fifty thousand French francs were collected by Ozanam in 1847 and were sent to the Society in Ireland for the relief of famine.

In the early part of this century there was an upsurge of interest in the work of the Society, with a great number of young men from the Civil Service, business and the professions joining the organisation.

Up to this time the Society in Ireland had been concentrating its efforts on the visitation of the poor in their homes but as early as 1856 it began to diversify, with the foundation of an orphanage for the boys of soldiers who had been killed in the Indian Mutiny. In the early years of the 20th century the Society had set up a night-shelter for homeless men, the Catholic Seaman's Institute, the Dublin Labour Yard for the relief of unemployment, Conferences for the visitation of hospitals, the Dublin Union, lodging houses, penny banks, Conferences for the visitation of prisoners and of gypsies, and a number of boys' clubs.

The next major change in the Society happened during the reign of Pope John XXIII (1956-1963). In 1960 a programme for renewal was initiated by the President-

General, M. Pierre Chouard, who began the work of drafting a new Rule for the Society, which would allow, among other things, the admission of women as full members. In 1962, the Bishop of Galway sanctioned the admission of women into Conferences in his Diocese for the first time. The Dublin Diocese was the last to admit female members in 1967.

The second Vatican Council (1962-1965) redefined the role of the laity in the Roman Catholic Church and introduced a new vision of social justice (Daughters of St. Paul 1966).

The new Rule reflected a change in attitude to ecumenism and to cooperation with other agencies, but most of all it called for a change in attitude to the poor. It defined the concept of the 'Vincentian Family' in which "Members of the Society...form, with those they help, one and the same family throughout the world" and in the commentary on this article it says the "the involvement of the people who seek out our aid is not always easy, but this element of modern social thinking merits our consideration if we are to be a family" (SVDP 1988:18).

At this point in the development of the Society, cash grants were introduced instead of meal-tickets and vouchers. The idea of the 'deserving poor' was dropped and families were no longer 'investigated' before they

were given assistance. Ideas about home visitation began to change - for some people it was recognised that having members of the Society visit them at home might, in some way, diminish their dignity and so the Society set about giving relief through other channels.

The Society has always had a good relationship with the State. Since the 1920s, the National Council has been invited to make pre-budget submissions to the Minister for Finance and it continues to do so. In 1976-78 the Society carried out and published a nation-wide survey called Old and Alone in Ireland. In 1979 during a prolonged postal dispute it was involved in paying out pensions on behalf of the Government. In 1987 the Society played a major part in the distribution of the EC food surplus and received £1,000,000 from the National Lottery to fund its Home Management Training Programmes. In the 1989 budget, during a period of severe cuts in Government expenditure on Health and Social Welfare, a sum of £500,000 was allocated to the Society to enable it to carry out a programme of employment creation.

Material for this section has been gathered from a number of sources in the archives of the Society at National Headquarters. They included the Bulletins de la Societé de Saint Vincent de Paul from 1847, written in French and published in Paris; the Bulletins of the Society of St.

Vincent de Paul from 1963-1988 published in Dublin by the Society; Annual Reports of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul 1963-1990 published by the Council of Ireland; Three Apostles of Charity (1948) SVP Council of England & Wales; Murphy 1975 and O'Toole 1973.

5.2 The Society in Ireland today

5.2.1 Membership: The growth of the Society over a period of 150 years is remarkable. Today there are 75,000 Conferences with over 750,000 members, working in 108 countries throughout the world. Ireland has 10,933 active members in 1,049 Conferences all over the country. There are now almost as many women as men in the Society, with a decline in the number of men joining each year and an increase in the number of women members.

5.2.2 Aims: The Society has three aims. In Appendix 4 the reader will find a detailed analysis of The Rule, which shows how its three principal aims were arrived at and how they are expressed in the documents of the organisation. We have interpreted the documents and here present what we understand to be those three aims. The first is to provide members with an opportunity to express their spirituality. The second is to alleviate the material needs of the poor; and the third is to eliminate poverty.

5.2.3 **The work of the Society:** The Annual Report of the Society for 1989 claims that it dealt with 200,000 men, women and children in Ireland. The main focus of the Society's work is the visitation of families with children. It also visits almost every hospital and nursing home in the country and prisoners in most of the gaols in the Republic and the North of Ireland.

In addition to its work of visitation of the poor, the sick, the elderly and those in prison, the Society provides what it calls 'Specialist Services'. The flagship of these services seems to be the Home Management and Personal Development Programme, in which over 7,000 women have participated. The Home Management and Personal Development courses

are designed to help people acquire basic domestic skills in low-cost nutritional cooking, managing on a tight budget and more efficient running of the household. At the same time the courses encourage self-confidence and the development of listening and communication skills" (SVDP 1990).

Youth Work is another, more traditional activity carried out by the Society, which runs seventeen clubs for deprived young people in urban and inner city areas. The Society provides holidays for those who would not normally be able to afford one. In 1989 it provided 73,000 holiday bed-nights for people, young and old.

Thrift shops, selling 'good as new' clothing and furniture were introduced at the instigation of women members. They have now almost replaced the clothing and furniture depots, where clients exchanged vouchers for goods. The thrift shops serve all comers, and provide an excellent service. They charge commercial rates to the general public and special rates to people who are known to be in need. They employ people in the sorting and cleaning of clothes, the repairing of furniture, and the staffing of the outlets. The goods they sell are given free and therefore the shops make a considerable profit. The excess is used to finance special projects or to cover emergencies which have not been covered in their budget.

Traditionally the Society has been involved in the provision of Seaman's clubs, which cater for foreign sailors visiting the ports in Dublin, Waterford and Belfast. It has also provided hostels for homeless men and currently caters for about 500 clients, in 10 hostels around the country. The Society also has a long history of involvement with the Travelling People of Ireland.

It provides accommodation for 200 elderly people, temporary homes for families awaiting local authority housing, and sheltered accommodation for single mothers and their babies. In collaboration with the government,

the Society runs several day care centres for elderly people and for children at risk.

One of its most recent initiatives was to set up a special unit which provides a Debt Advisory service to those who have difficulty in meeting their financial commitments, to those who are unable to keep up mortgage repayments because of unemployment and to those involved with money-lenders. Another is the scheme to involve local people in tackling unemployment in their own community through programmes of job creation, skill-brokering and lobbying for changes in the employment policies of local businesses.

A brief survey of the Bulletin of the Society in Ireland gives an indication of the wide range of concerns of the members. In issues from Summer 1987 to Winter 1988 there were articles on child abuse, community development in Ballymun, unmarried mothers, homelessness, unemployment, family law reform, changes in Social Welfare benefits and the Travellers.

5.2.4 Organisation and Structure: Members of the Society come together in units which are known as Conferences. These are based for the most part in parishes, but some are set up to carry out specific projects. The Conference meets every week. The purpose of the weekly meeting is

- *to consider and take action on problems;
- *to hear reports on work done by members;
- *to consider other matter such as recruitment, training, fund-raising and anything else necessary for the efficient and sympathetic fulfilment of the work of the conference and of the Society, and to take appropriate action (SVDP 1988:20).

Each Conference has a President who is elected by the Conference and is assisted by a Board, appointed by the President. The Board includes at least one Vice-President, a secretary and a treasurer.

The Area Council is made up of the Presidents of all the Conferences in the area. It has responsibility for a particular geographical area, or a particular work or works.

Presidents of Area Councils constitute what is called a Regional Council, 14 of which exist in the country. A map showing the Regions is included in Appendix 2. Area and Regional Presidents are also assisted by Boards, which are appointed by them.

The National Council is the coordinating body of the Society in Ireland. It is composed of Presidents of the Area and Regional Councils and others who may be appointed in a personal capacity by the National President. At all levels of the Society, appointees to the Board by the

President must not exceed 50% of the total number of members of the Board.

The National Council meets every two months. The Board, which is usually composed of Dublin-based members only, meets every month. The National Council is also responsible for the employment and management of the full-time staff of the Society.

The organisation chart is shown in Appendix 1.

5.2.5 Finance : The Society's income comes mainly from church-gate collections, fundraising, donations, bequests, profit from the Thrift shops, government grants and members contributions. The two greatest areas of expenditure are cash grants and food for families and Home Management Programmes. A diagram showing the income and expenditure for the year ended 31 March 1990 is shown in Appendix 3a and b.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter we have seen how the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, founded in 1833 in France as a single Conference with only ten members, has become a major international voluntary organisation dedicated to working

with the poor and needy. We have explored the historical, social and religious developments which have influenced the Society in its philosophy and strategies.

The many and varied activities of the Society in Ireland have been described, and its organisation and structure explained. A brief outline of the Society's sources of funding concludes the section.

In Chapter Six which now follows we present the findings of the fieldwork.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter we present the findings of our field research. For the sake of clarity, we have grouped the data and analysis under six headings. The first five correspond to the five functions of management: planning, organising, staffing, leading and control.

The sixth heading covers findings which did not emerge directly from questions about the functions, but arose during further discussion with the respondents. These do not fit easily into the narrow definition of management but are, nonetheless, crucial issues for managers in voluntary organisations. They include facts and opinions about the position of paid staff within an organisation which is primarily staffed by unpaid workers; findings about the exercise of management skills in a voluntary organisation; and the policies of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in relation to the objective of eliminating poverty.

6.2 Planning

A business generally has aims, long and short-term goals,

targets for its different departments and strategies for achieving its aims. Goals tend to be stated clearly and unambiguously. Planning in a business enterprise is the first task of a manager and is fundamental to all the other functions of management.

Implicit in planning is the concept of control. Managers generally build into their plans for action systems for ensuring that, at every point in the process, targets are being met and also methods of diagnosing problems at a very early stage in their development. Planning and control in a business enterprise would normally be highly formalised and be carried out at regular and specified intervals.

The first section of our interview was designed to find out how managers in voluntary organisations do their planning and the degree of formalisation involved. As outlined in Chapter 5, the Society has three stated aims. We first asked respondents to state the aims of the Society. In general, answers to this question fall into five different categories.

The first category was the material relief of need, expressed by some members as "filling the gaps in the social welfare system", "relieving hardship", "giving financial support when times are hard or when there is a crisis".

Secondly members mentioned the provision of "moral support" in the form of friendship and solidarity with the poor in their suffering. Some said that their aim was to "bring a bit of sunshine, (or hope or love) into the lives of the poor". The idea of somehow "lifting the spirit of the people" was combined with the idea of "teaching people to help themselves" or teaching people by example to use their resources more wisely. More than half of the respondents put one or both of these two aims first.

13% of respondents mentioned the elimination of poverty as a primary aim. "We want to break the cycle of poverty and restore human dignity" was how one member put it. Others wanted to bring about a more just society or to transform existing society in some way.

Ten per cent mentioned advocacy as a primary aim of the Society. The Society is "the voice of the poor" and as such they believe that it should "speak out more often and more loudly on behalf of its clients". Many saw the pre-budget submissions made by the Society to the government as a form of "lobbying on behalf of the poor". They believed that they should be "highlighting issues in the media" and "making the public aware of the extent of poverty in the country".

Less than 6% of interviewees mentioned the spiritual development of members as one of the three goals. Only one

person put it first and another explained that it "underpinned" the work of the Society and that without the spiritual dimension "the Society might just as well shut up shop".

We next asked how these aims were established. Most people said that they had been established by tradition and that members accepted the goals set for them by Frederic Ozanam. Others said that the goals had been arrived at by observation of need. Many emphasised the important place of family visitation in the diagnosis of needs, claiming that it is "the backbone of the Society". Others said that the aims developed out of "our experience in working with the poor", while some went as far as to say that "no-one is in a better position to say what the poor need than the Society, which is in day-to-day personal contact with them".

One respondent said that aims were developed as a result of social awareness and another saw the Society as following an international trend. Several members said that aims were dictated to some extent by government request, while those working in Northern Ireland had a much stronger sense of being "an agent of the government, carrying out projects on its behalf". But the overall impression is that the Society has traditionally done the work of ministering to the poor and that it is largely self-determining and not greatly influenced by statutory agencies, public opinion, or market trends.

13% of those interviewed were managers of Conferences dedicated to working on special projects such as child-care, prison visitation, youth work or job-creation. These managers had very clear and specific operational goals, for example "to provide employment, encourage industry and provide start-up grants to those who want to become self-employed", or in the case of Prison Visitation, "to provide pastoral care for prisoners, to extend the work of the prison chaplaincy and to act as a link between the various agencies working with prisoners". Ordinary Conferences had no such clearly stated operational goals and tended to work directly from the aims of the Society to strategies or methods used in the Conference, without setting operational goals.

Moving on to look at those strategies, we asked respondents what methods they used. The Society looks on Family Visitation as the most powerful tool at its disposal. Their visit is, first of all, "a gesture of Christian charity", an act of "reaching out in love to our less fortunate brothers and sisters". But at a more practical level, the visit provides the members with an opportunity to "see at first hand the living conditions of the poor and lonely", to offer information about assistance available, to offer "advice and example", and to give practical help in "filling out forms for social welfare claims", arranging holidays and giving money or vouchers.

The Society spends the largest proportion of its budget on family visitation and support which indicates how much importance it accords to this strategy for achieving its aims.

Several members stressed that the Society attempts to "deal with the individual and not the system" and placed great emphasis on the "personal nature" of the work. They saw this as a strength and a *raison d'etre* for the organisation - an alternative to the 'impersonal' statutory services.

The thrift shops were seen by many as another very effective method of alleviating poverty and need. Not only do these limited trading enterprises generate income for the Society, create employment for those working in them, and provide cheap clothing and furniture for the poor, but they also serve as a "contact point" between the Society and potential members, a "social welfare information service" and a meeting point where women could "have a chat and make contact with one another" as well as with the Society.

Following the ideal of helping people to help themselves, many saw the Home Management programmes as one of the best things the Society has ever done and an initiative which should be extended to all parts of the country.

Other strategies seen as effective were the job-creation initiative in Tallaght town centre on the outskirts of Dublin,

where there is a very high rate of unemployment. The pre-budget submissions to the government were cited by many as evidence of the Society's will to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and to tackle the root causes of poverty.

Those at National level saw themselves as policy makers, coordinators of the work of the Regions and Conferences, and advocates, "speaking out on behalf of the poor", as their means of achieving the aims of the Society. Regional managers also saw themselves in the position of giving support to Conferences in their day-to-day work. They feed information about "conditions on the ground" to the National Executive and, in the case of two Regional managers, provide training for members.

In an attempt to assess the degree of formalisation of planning in the Society, we asked a series of questions about long and short-term planning. Many Presidents operate on the basis of a three-year plan, which coincides with the term of office. Some Presidents seem to pride themselves on coming up with something new and different from the previous President's plan. One interviewee said that he would spend his three years "concentrating on the youth" while another said that she took up office with the idea of revitalising her unit by recruiting young adults as members. But these statements reflect a change of priority or emphasis, rather than a radical change of policy. Certainly a change of personnel at National level can

result in new approaches to recruitment, training or management. Towards the end of the field work there were several changes in key personnel in the Society. This was followed by a series of media events, describing, in more detail than ever before, the work of the Society.

Many respondents said that they were not involved in any long-term planning, but some seemed to regard the three-year President's plan as long-term in nature. All Conferences have to plan for the predictable demands of the year, such as Christmas, the return to school in September, Summer holidays, and the reception of the sacraments by the children. Most Conferences prepare a budget for the year and they use an incremental system, based on what they spent in the previous year. Some Conferences set aside funds for "emergencies", but most "know that if we need money, we can get it from somewhere" or believe that "God will provide".

Here and there, we met Conference and Regional Presidents who seemed more conscious of a need to plan, not just the finances, but also the case-load. These Presidents were attempting to make some predictions, based on three years' records, about the likely demand for their services and to make decisions about how many families they could take on and cope with adequately.

However these constituted an exception to the rule and some Presidents decried this kind of rationalisation as "too

businesslike and cold". Planning of this nature was regarded by one person as "rigid" and by another as "inhuman".

In Special Works Conferences, long and short-term planning were more formal, because of the demands of statutory funding agencies and the need to recruit professional paid staff.

The general lack of formalisation was reflected very clearly when respondents were asked to say at what time of the year planning was carried out and who would be involved in the process. Many Presidents make their plans independently, some discuss the plans with Conference members, some consult the members or base their plans on members' reports. Some consult with the Parish Priest or with other agencies working in the area, but in general there was no evidence of a process or procedure for planning, and considerable confusion about when it happened.

The nature of the planning which goes on in many Conferences was summed up by one member who said, with evident satisfaction that "at the end of the year, every penny is spent" and another who explained that in some Conferences a form of "retrospective planning" is carried out each year when the Conference has to make its annual report to the National Executive.

At Regional and National level people were conscious of the need to plan training, meetings and seminars, and to "prepare for 1992", or for the "inevitable increase in unemployment", but it could be argued that events such as those mentioned are routine ones, and that planning based on sociological trends often takes the form of rather vague hopes and aspirations rather than clear precise goals and plans for action.

Some units collaborate or cooperate with other agencies working in the area and some enlist the support of semi-state bodies, like FAS - the National employment agency, in their attempts to create jobs or provide specialist services.

The only time the Society uses outside consultants in the planning process is when they plan their advertising campaign, in which case they employ a professional Public Relations consultant. In the past the Society has employed consultants in the area of research and development, but this happens very seldom. The reasons given for this were that "members are not aware of the need for a professional approach to planning", that they prefer to use the services of their own members "because they get them free" and because professional consultants "would not understand the way we work".

The influence of funding on planning and policy-making emerged as a strong theme in the course of the interviews. The Society has never had to fight for its financial resources.

Public donations have continued to rise at a rate greater than inflation. As the number of Thrift Shops increases, so does the income from them. Government grants increased from £200,000 in 1988-89 to £800,000 in 1989-90.

There is a belief and consequently a sense of security among members that if money is needed it will be found. This makes it all the more surprising that the Society exhibits the kind of planning difficulties which most writers attribute to insecurity of funding. This may however be explained by some conflicting comments about public donations and government grants. In each case, there were clearly two schools of thought.

One President told us that each year he makes a point of telling the public precisely what his Conference does with the money it collects from them. He believes that to change the attitude of the public towards the poor, and to bring about any fundamental changes in Society, it is essential to educate them.

On the contrary, some Presidents said that in terms of attracting public money, some causes were more appealing than others, so, in order to maintain the goodwill of the general public it is necessary to be selective in giving information about the activities of the Society.

In relation to government grants, there is enormous divergence of opinion among those interviewed. Some believe that "any money can be used in a good cause" but far more expressed grave doubts about it. One said that "the government should only fund administration" while others said that grants from government are "an attempt to silence the Society" or "an exercise in Public Relations for the government". One member was concerned that the Society might accept government money because "we wouldn't like to hurt the Minister's feelings" but he believed that it was a dangerous development. Another said that grants from the lottery funds were usually followed by a drop in the collection figures. Many were afraid that if the Society accepted government funding it would become "merely an arm of the statutory services". A Conference President was afraid that "we are being given money to do work for which we do not have the expertise" in cases such as the project designed to tackle the problems caused by money-lending. Another member commented that the granting of aid to this project was a political gesture. So there is an unease among many of the respondents about the effect that government grants might have on the Society, a fear of becoming "lackeys" or "having to pay the price" in terms of integrity and autonomy.

6.3 Organising

The questions in the semi-structured interviews about organising were designed to elicit opinions on the nature and culture of the organisation, the organisational structure and how it works, and the interviewees' perceptions of how power and authority are exercised. Many writers claim that difficulties in managing volunteers are caused by lack of clarity about such issues.

The kind of words which members use to describe the organisation reflect its culture (Handy 1988). They fall into two categories. The first category consists of adjectives such as "friendly", "flexible", "close-knit", "tremendous", "human", "warm" and "democratic" which could be said to describe a maternal model. The second contains words like "hierarchical", "traditional", "structured", "inflexible", "conservative" and "safe" which might be used to describe a model which was more paternal in character. Those who described the Society in terms of a maternal model were all men and over fifty, while those who saw it as paternal were, with one exception, women.

Respondents were asked if the Society had changed much in the course of their membership. The overall impression is that the Society, as it is today, has "changed out of all recognition" from the organisation which many joined in the 1950s.

Most people said that the admission of women as members marked the beginning of a radical change in attitudes to the poor and in the range of activities it is involved in. In the words of a previous National President, "women turned the Society on its head". It has become "more liberal and broad-minded and less formal". Some members thought that the Society had "changed its public image".

Several respondents pointed out that one of the greatest changes was the increase in the number of clients and the workload of members, and others mentioned the changing role of the Society as it assumed the role of advocate - speaking out as "the voice of the poor".

One interviewee said that "members nowadays were more assertive and more socially aware". Another said that "there is less concentration now on individual personal sanctification and members tend to be more concerned with others".

However, there were some who expressed the view that the Society has not really changed much, or has changed in some areas but not in others and that if it has changed it has done so very slowly. This point of view was expressed by about 20% of respondents, some being quite content that this was so, but others expressing frustration and impatience with the situation.

Next we tried to find out how the members experienced the structure of the Society. There were two main groups of answers. About half of the sample said that the structure was "good, if people made use of it". The other half said that it was "irrelevant to the ordinary members", "too big and unwieldy" and that the "National Council is often out of touch with what is happening on the ground".

We were also interested to find out if an "informal organisation" described by many writers on organisation theory, (Handy 1980), existed and if so, how strong it was. 80% of interviewees met regularly with fellow-Vincentians for social activities. Some played golf together, others went on holiday, while some only managed an annual lunch or dinner. These people claimed that there were "strong ties" between members and that members were "like one big happy family". There were some Conferences whose members did not meet informally and who thought that if they did "it would make for a better Conference" and they would "actively encourage members to socialise". About 10% said that they did not have friends in the Society or meet other members socially.

We looked next at the question of authority and responsibility. In an organisation like the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the structure would suggest a hierarchy, with clear lines of responsibility. Members report to the Conference President, who is, in turn, responsible to the Area Council, the President

of which is answerable to the Regional Council, while the Regional Presidents report to the National Council. However in the responses to the questions put in the interview, this line of responsibility did not emerge as clearly as might have been expected.

Conferences devoted to special works seem to regard themselves as autonomous. Ordinary Conference Presidents were all quite clear that they were responsible to the Area President, while one President added that they were "accountable to the Society as a whole" and two members believed that they were "answerable to the general public". Half of the Area and Regional Presidents interviewed did not think that they were answerable to anyone, regarding themselves as their "own boss", while the other half said that they reported to the President of the next level above them in the structure.

When asked who was responsible to them, two Presidents, one at Area level and the other a Conference President, said that nobody was, but all the others quoted the next level of membership down in the hierarchy, as would be expected.

These answers highlight the inconsistency about the Society's structure. It is, by design, a highly structured, hierarchical organisation. At the same time, many members choose to ignore the structure, refuse to accept authority, decline to exercise

responsibility for others and just get on with the work in a rather individualistic way.

The dual nature of the organisation is also reflected in the managers' approach to the delegation of work. Delegation is defined as "conferring authority on a subordinate to act on behalf (of the manager)" (Rees 1984:58) but members of the Society and particularly those in management positions interpret this word as meaning "telling people what to do". Two of the respondents stated that delegation was a real problem in the Society and that many managers had considerable difficulty in getting people to do important work and in confronting them when the work was either not done, or done inadequately.

In general, managers were prepared to make requests to volunteers to do certain tasks. Some would only be prepared to "suggest" that certain tasks needed to be done and "hope that the right members would volunteer for duty". Some were prepared to use the existing channels as outlined in the Rule, to correct members who were failing to do required work or doing it in a way which would bring the Society into disrepute. Some would be prepared to confront the offender personally, others would re-allocate the work and still others would just avoid taking any action. "We are not very good at confrontation" was the way one President expressed it. An Area President said that he would try to get people to take on work

by using "leadership, consultation and persuasion" and another claimed that there was no need to correct because members always did their work "as well as was humanly possible".

6.4 Staffing

In this section we explore recruitment, selection, training and supervision of volunteer staff. The position of paid employees is dealt with separately in Section 6.7.

In a business enterprise, when paid staff are required, it is normal practice for the manager of the enterprise to draw up a job specification, advertise the post in such a way as to target the required group of people, and finally to run some sort of selection process. When a short-list of candidates for the job is established, then most employers would look for a personal recommendation from someone who knew the candidate as to their suitability for the job.

When we come to consider the question of staffing in a voluntary organisation, the situation is more complex. These organisations employ some paid staff to do some of the work, but most of their staff are volunteers, who have been recruited not just to a particular job, but because they believe in the cause served by the organisation. However, for the purposes of this study, we will treat them as staff rather than members.

Recruitment is a big concern among members of the Society. Everyone interviewed for this study stated that the Society needed more (preferably young) members. Though membership increases every year, the Society believes that it needs more and more new members to shoulder a constantly increasing workload. It needs new members to give it new blood, fresh enthusiasm and increased motivation. It needs young people to counteract the image of an ageing organisation and to inject new ideas and fresh approaches to the work. Also it needs more men because, while there is an overall increase in membership, the actual numbers of men in the Society has shown a decline in recent years.

Most recruitment is by personal contact. When new members are needed, existing ones are asked to invite their friends to join. The vast majority of those interviewed were recruited in this way themselves and Presidents continue to use this method because it ensures that "the right kind of person" is reached.

If members are recruited by appeals to the general public, the Society takes the risk of attracting people whose ability to preserve the confidentiality of the work might not be guaranteed; people whose attitudes and values might not conform to those of the existing membership; and people who, in the words of one President, came "from the wrong socio-economic background".

Despite these fears, as pressure to recruit new members mounts, Conferences often find themselves appealing for members "from the pulpit" in the local church. Others put on "information nights", or mornings, in the parish to inform the public about the work of the Society in the hope of interesting them in joining. One Region had a video cassette recording about the Society for the same purpose. In several areas, the Society had a column in the local newspaper and it used this to appeal for members when necessary. But all the respondents agreed that these methods were not particularly successful.

Presidents of Special Works sometimes had a job specification in mind, and a few deliberately set out to target specific groups or individuals, such as school and college students and people who work in banks and factories. Many Conference Presidents said that they would require a "personal recommendation from a member of the clergy or some respected member of society" and that they would wait for potential members to approach them rather than going out to look for them.

In some voluntary organisations (notably the Samaritans, the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council and CURA) there are systems of induction for new recruits which also serve as a sort of selection process. This process ensures that, while recruits are never rejected, they are deployed in such a way as to maximise their strengths and minimise their weaknesses. The

Society has no such placement process. The problems arising from the lack of a selection process were discussed by many of those interviewed. In the words of one President, "we cannot go public because we might get the wrong kind of people".

In order to function effectively, members of the Society need to have knowledge

- of the Society itself and how it works
- about welfare rights of clients
- about the area of deprivation with which they are dealing and its effects (eg. poverty, single parenthood).

They also need listening skills, communication skills and other interpersonal skills. They must be open, accepting, non-judgemental and sensitive. Training for volunteers must operate at three levels - the cognitive, the behavioural and the affective.

We asked members to tell us what training is provided for new members when they join. Over half of the respondents said that none was offered. However, in some cases, people are provided with a form of induction training. This usually consists of "talks" about the Society and its Rule.

For those who do not receive this kind of introduction, there is another form, known as "sitting-by-Nellie" (a common practice in business). In this situation, a new member sits in with the President or a more experienced member and observes

the way in which he or she deals with the client. At some point in the process, the new member is deemed to know how to do it and is then allowed to work alone.

Many expressed dissatisfaction with the nature and level of training given to new members. Some said that it was "a hit and miss affair" and had "many limitations". Certainly it is clear from the responses that induction training, if it is provided, operates only at the level of knowledge (or cognition).

We then asked about in-service training. Once members are accepted into the Conference, their principal opportunity to learn skills for doing the job is by practice during their visitation and by reflection on that practice at the weekly meetings. Some said that this was "not always effective".

Others pointed out that learning from one another was sometimes a case of "the blind leading the blind" and that "sitting-by-Nellie" was a good way of learning "only as long as Nellie was doing the job properly". One could say that training at the level of skills (or behaviour), if it happened, was by chance rather than by design.

Training at the level of knowledge is offered annually to all members at seminars, where talks on various aspects of the Society's work are given by members and outside experts.

When we asked if members received any training when they took on posts of responsibility, 100% said "no".

Many of those interviewed expressed concern about the nature and quality of training for members. They believed that the work "requires great sensitivity and skill", and that the Society is "acting irresponsibly" by not providing a high standard of training for its members. They said that "training is extremely important", a "basic need", and "essential to our work". Two respondents referred to the need for some form of management training for those appointed President.

Some members thought that it was "naïve in the extreme" of the Society to believe that good-will and Christian principles were enough to equip members with all the skills, attitudes and knowledge required to carry out the work of family visitation which they claim is becoming more demanding and sophisticated as the problems they have to deal with increase in complexity.

However, there were others who expressed the opinion that while "people were always asking for training" they thought that "it never really worked" and that "experience, (or life) is the best teacher". Several members made critical comments about the type of training which had been offered, or which was offered in other agencies, claiming that "workshops are a cod - a case of the ignorant informing the ignorant".

In response to the question about who provided the training the answer was frequently the President, members, the clergy or the paid administrative staff. In some cases outside experts were mentioned in the context of talks and seminars.

Supervision is the process whereby a more experienced and knowledgeable person discusses with the volunteer her case-load, helping her to reflect on how she works, the problems she encounters and the help she may require to make her work more effective. Supervision operates as a form of evaluation or control, as well as training, in that it gives the supervisor some idea of how the worker performs, it allows both supervisor and worker to identify particular areas of interest and competence and it could lead to a more mutually satisfactory deployment of the worker in the organisation.

It also operates as a safety measure for the volunteer in that it takes the total burden of responsibility from the shoulders of the volunteer and makes it more a corporate responsibility. This process is standard in social work and also used as a matter of routine in many voluntary agencies engaged in similar work.

From our discussions with respondents, we got the impression that the weekly meeting is designed in such a way as to facilitate this process, but that it may or may not be utilised thus. Whether it is or not depends on how comfortable the

President feels about taking on the role of supervisor of staff. In most cases, supervision is available to those who want it and seek it out, but it is not deliberately built in to the way in which the volunteer's work is organised.

The last three questions in this section of the interview deal with the position of paid staff within the organisation. We have included the responses to these in Section 6.7.

6.5 Leading / Directing

In this section we attempted to find out what motivated people to join the Society and what were the satisfactions and frustrations of the work. We explored the source of leadership in the organisation, and how the leadership functioned in relation to maximising the human resources at its disposal.

Most of the men interviewed became members of the Society when they were at school. Some had left (for shorter or longer periods) as young men but all had returned to join adult Conferences later. Some mentioned that membership of the Society had been a family tradition and that they would have been expected to join. One said that as a young man he discovered that he had a "gift for relating to poor people" and that was his motivation. Several of the men said that they had been impressed by what they had seen of the Society's

work, or by the unostentatious behaviour of the members, or inspired by hearing a member talk about the Society in school.

These men were looking back on what was a fairly distant event in their lives and it is possible that to some extent a certain enchantment was lent to it. A young man who joined the Society when he was a senior student in a well-known boys' boarding school admitted that he joined in order to get off study periods to attend meetings and as a way of getting out of school legitimately once a week. However, having only recently left school, perhaps he was erring in the the other direction, in an attempt to appear blase.

As women were only accepted into the Society in 1962, all of the women interviewed had joined the Society as adults. One woman joined while at University, with the objective of "changing the world". Another joined because her friends at work were all in it and it seemed an enjoyable and constructive way to spend an evening out.

Many were asked by a friend or relative to help out with a particular case, and then they became "hooked", as one member described it. Only one of those interviewed said that she had been invited to join because of her work experience and skills.

When asked why they thought that other people joined, most respondents said that people joined out of a sense of social and Christian responsibility and out of a desire to help those less fortunate than themselves.

The reason why people joined the Society in the first place may not be the same as the reason for remaining in it. So the next question was designed to find out what people got out of working for the Society. When asked what was the most satisfying thing about their work, most people in the sample said that they got a sense of achievement. This seems to reflect the very tangible nature of the work that most Conferences do. At the end of a week, members can say that they gave some form of assistance, either material or psychological, to a certain number of people.

The second most frequently mentioned satisfaction was the relationships that people formed within the Society, with clients as well as with peers. This reflects the strong informal organisation which exists and also reflects the satisfaction to be gained by working face-to-face with clients.

Personal growth was mentioned next as a satisfaction -"being a member of the society makes me a better person", it "helps me to keep in touch with reality", and "it reminds me of how lucky I have been". One member said that "when you see people worse

off than yourself, it gives you a sense of gratitude" and another said that "helping others gives you a good feeling".

A number of people quoted challenging work as a satisfaction, for example "inspiring people in the Region" (i.e. leadership), "bringing hope where all hope seems to have died" and "helping someone to improve their circumstances by their own efforts, as opposed to just handing out money". Two people liked the working conditions, one thought that promotion within the Society was a satisfaction and another liked the continuity of the work.

The frustrations of members fell into three categories. The first set were ones which could be seen as a result of external factors, including the lack of money, the difficulties associated with collecting it, and the failure to affect the continually increasing "intractable social problems" associated with "persistent poverty" which sometimes gave them the feeling that they were "banging their heads against a brick wall".

The second category included such difficulties as lack of vision among the members; inadequate or non-existent planning, organising and control; lack of commitment on the part of members and lack of continuity in the work; problems relating to communications and availability of information; lack of evaluation and feedback in the work and an absence of training

policy for members and for managers. The difficulties expressed by members in this category are all symptoms of poor management.

The third category seemed to be connected with the nature of voluntary work itself and included shortage of time, shortage of members, and tensions between volunteers and paid staff.

Most people believed that the Society did not really make full use of the potential of its members. They said that there was "no conscious effort" made to identify members' talents, to assess their strengths, or to keep a record of this kind of information.

Having explored the area of motivation, job satisfaction and maximising of human resources, we moved on to look at the ways in which members see leadership being exercised.

Some of the male interviewees were reluctant to discuss leadership in the Society, saying that "leadership takes people away from the real work of the Society" and the leaders are "power-seekers". One man said that Conference Presidents are forced to be leaders of the Society by the structure but that "they accept leadership reluctantly". There is certainly evidence of a marked reluctance to acknowledge the need for, or the existence of, leadership among those who are regarded as leaders by the Society in general.

The Society's preferred culture is that of "one big happy family" - an idealised democracy, where everyone is equal. Many managers find their concept of leadership to be inconsistent with that culture. This implies that they view the leader as someone who is "not-equal", and consequently greater or superior in some way to the other members.

Regional, Area and Conference Presidents are quite clearly acknowledged by many members to be the leaders in the Society. Whether they actually exercise leadership or whether this is the expression of a wish on the part of members is not quite clear. It is frequently said in the Society that " a Conference is as good as its President", or "the Society is only as good as the National President". Some respondents said that Conference Presidents needed to be "natural leaders" and that the National President "should be a visible figurehead" for the Society. Another made the point that Regional and Area Presidents "must see themselves as management" or as "having the responsibility to exercise leadership", implying that they were not doing so at present.

Four of those interviewed said that leadership in the Society actually comes from the women and one said that leadership was exercised by members.

Finally, we looked at communications within the organisation and with society in general. With only one exception, those

interviewed said that communications in the Society were "dreadful" and "in urgent need of attention". In theory, excellent channels of communication exist within the Society, by nature of its structure. But the networks operate only to the extent to which those involved use them.

One respondent said that members seemed to have "an aversion to working with written material". Others claimed that "members do not see communications as being important" and that as a result they fail to see the importance of attending meetings, or of passing on the information they receive at meeting to their members.

Communications with the general public are achieved in several ways. The Society publishes a quarterly Bulletin which is a combination of in-house magazine and publicity material. A small number is sold to the public in a Dublin bookshop and all Conferences get ten copies for circulation among the members.

In some areas the Conference takes a page or a column in the local newspaper, and uses it to inform the public about funds raised and special projects in progress.

Some parishes invite members to address the congregation from the church pulpit each year and this occasion is used to speak generally about the needs of the poor, the fundraising requirements of the Conference and to appeal for new members.

A video film was made in the past year for circulation to conferences to explain the way in which Home Management Courses were organised and the benefits of such programmes to clients, but it was not envisaged that this video would be used to promote this aspect of the work in public.

Since the new National President was elected in June 1990, he and the National Secretary have spoken on radio and television and in the national newspapers on the work of the Society.

But in general, and perhaps understandably, the Society has been reluctant to publicise specific information about its work. This is partly due to fears about the possible breach of confidentiality. It is also due to the tradition in the Society of working secretly, to protect recipients of charity, for fear of being derided as "do-gooders", or for fear of being thought proud.

Some respondents were conscious of the "dire need " to educate the public about its work, but members still find it hard to reconcile that need with the desire to keep a low profile. There were also some strong expressions of dissatisfaction from respondents about communications upwards from Conferences to the National Council, and complaints that what "ordinary members said was ignored by those at the top".

6.6 Control

In this section of the interview we wished to discover how the Society carries out the management function of control. From our pilot study, we knew that there were few performance measures in use and we were aware of some reluctance on the part of managers in the organisation to introduce such measures. We were also aware, from our findings on planning, that with little formalisation in this area, there was likely to be even less in the area of control. We wanted to find out how the Society knew that it was doing a good job and how members knew that they were performing well.

One means of performance measurement used by the Society is the Annual Report, compiled from returns from Conferences and published in December of each year. The Report could be seen as an attempt to quantify performance. It calculates outputs (Daft 1986) by enumerating the services provided, cases dealt with, monies disbursed. It also lists inputs (Daft 1986) in terms of financial acquisitions, numbers of members, numbers of Conferences, and number of visits per member. It uses growth as a measure of performance too, giving comparative lists of figures for current and previous years. The Society shows an annual increase in membership, funds raised, and expenditure on charitable works. It also boasts a decrease in running and administration costs, especially in recent years.

Other methods of measuring performance are more subjective. There are several different ways in which Presidents keep an eye on what is happening. Evaluation of the work, if it takes place at all, does so at the weekly meeting of the Conference, at which each member gives a report of work done during the week. These meetings may be used as opportunities for supervision or may serve the purpose of case conferences in social work.

Another opportunity for the President of a Conference to see how the work is being carried out by members is the regular visitation of clients by the President. This visitation can provide a very limited opportunity for client feedback, if such a thing is possible given the nature of the visit - it would be difficult to imagine a client complaining about the attitude of the member who comes each week to give her an envelope containing ten pounds. However some Presidents say that this visit gives them an opportunity to assess the performance of the member.

A similar system of supervision exists at the level of Conference President. The Area President visits each Conference regularly, and attends the Conference meeting. This is the one form of control which seems to operate well in the Society - being acceptable to the Conference and also to the Area President who sees it as his or her duty and right.

If members attend Area meetings and seminars they will also have opportunities to discuss their work with members from other Conferences. However there is no formal system in operation for managers to assess the performance of their volunteer staff or any system by which volunteers can get direct feedback on how they carry out their work.

In the case of special programmes like the Home Management Courses and Youth Work programmes, where specific behavioural objectives are set, performance can be measured in terms of changes in behaviour patterns. For example, in the case of Home Management programmes, because the participants on these are clients of the Society in receipt of assistance, their progress can be monitored after the programme ends. The Society judges the course to have been successful if women "are able to manage their lives more successfully" as a result of having participated in the programme.

Performance is sometimes measured in terms of member satisfaction. One person interviewed said that "you know that you are doing a good job if you feel good at the end of your night's work" and another said that he knows that his work is successful because clients "come up to me in the street and thank me".

There were several respondents who referred to "results", "money raised" and "money spent" as performance measures.

"Results" covered numbers of clients, problems solved, amount of assistance given and success of trading enterprises. One interviewee mentioned "feedback from social workers and priests in the area" who had referred people to the Society.

About 10% of the sample said that the Society didn't measure performance, or couldn't do so.

We asked the managers whether they thought that the Society was efficient and effective. Respondents said that the Society is efficient because "it costs the public and Government very little to run". The money for wages and administration is not deducted from public donations but from the contributions of members and the profits from trading enterprises such as the thrift shops. Therefore the Society can rightly claim that every penny donated by the public goes straight to the poor.

The thrift shops themselves are regarded as very successful enterprises. They provide a useful service to the general public, they enable the poor to buy clothes "cheaply but with dignity" and at the same time they make a profit. Although the goods sold are all acquired for nothing, shops employ people to sort, clean and repair goods and, in some cases, they have considerable overheads but they still make a profit. The proceeds are often used to finance special projects or to pay for emergencies not allowed for in the budget.

In spite of a general satisfaction with cost effectiveness, those interviewed expressed some doubt about how effective the Society is. One manager said that the "the results achieved do not reflect the effort and resources invested in the work". Others said that without very clear and specific targets it was difficult to assess performance. One person, who believed that the primary goal of the Society was personal sanctification, was quite clear that progress towards achieving this goal could never be measured. Some Area and Regional Presidents said that as long as the Society suffered from bad management or lack of management it could not be really effective in achieving its goals.

On the other hand, some respondents seemed to think that lack of effectiveness was acceptable or even desirable. They said "We are not effective, but so what?" and "we are not effective but we would rather be human".

Some of those interviewed believe that because no real system of performance appraisal exists, original projects and creative innovations - "good ideas" - are not integrated into the general programme of the organisation and the work of "talented and dedicated members" is wasted.

As in all other areas of the study, there was a considerable difference in the way that the managers of Special Works Conferences answered these questions, presumably because of the

nature of their work, with its more specific and tangible goals. It is perhaps because these Conferences employ the services of "professionals" either as volunteers, in the case of Prison Visitation, or as paid workers, in the Childcare Conference. They have to present detailed budgets and work programmes to the statutory agencies which fund or approve them and because they employ paid professional staff, they have to have clearly stated job descriptions and schedules for them. So in the Prison Visitation Conference, work is evaluated at an inter-disciplinary meeting of workers within the prison. In the Childcare Conference, specific targets are set for each child and work is evaluated by the full-time staff in collaboration with the Department of Education.

Performance measurement of any kind depends first of all on the existence of standards or plans and secondly on the availability of accurate and up-to-date information, so we asked respondents about the kind of records which were kept. This varies from Conference to Conference. In one Area visited, extensive records from all the Conferences in the Area are computerised and analysed. Useful and interesting statistics can be elicited from this data base. Workload and membership data can be analysed to show trends and fundraising figures can be used to show local responses to publicity campaigns or advertising. Such a scientific system of record-keeping lies at one end of a scale. At the other end lies the the system where all information is "in the head, rather than

on paper".

6.7 Other Findings

In this section we have included findings which did not fit neatly into the five main categories. It covers the position of paid staff in the organisation, the transfer of skills from paid employment to voluntary work in the Society, and some questions about the strategies employed by the Society in pursuit of its aims.

6.7.1 The position of paid staff: Paid staff do not feature in the organisation chart of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The public is not generally aware that the Society employs any, but in fact there are over 500 full and part-time paid people working in the thrift shops, furniture stores, holidays homes and other schemes, as well as in administrative work in the National Headquarters and in Regional offices.

Each of the seven paid people we interviewed had a different title and a different job. They are involved in secretarial work, financial administration, promoting the Society in public, setting up new Conferences, coordinating the work of Conferences and induction of new members. Most do not have an explicit part to play in policy- or decision-making, but because of their involvement in and knowledge of the Society

many are implicitly influential at this level, initiating activities and providing leadership.

Paid staff are accountable to the President who employs them, and other subordinate paid staff in the area are usually answerable to them. For example, the National Secretary reports to the National President and his Board, and her authority extends to other paid staff in Headquarters.

Even members of staff who are employed to carry out administrative tasks often have to deal with the public and with clients as part of their every-day duties.

If I get a telephone call during the day from someone who is distressed, I have to deal with the person at the other end of the line right then and there. I can't ask her to wait until I get a volunteer to come in and take her call that night. She needs help now, and I would have to calm her down and reassure her and try to sort out what kind of help she needs. If I was in an ordinary office, I could ask the person to hold on and pass her on immediately to the appropriate staff member.

Thus their job calls for two levels of competence.

Paid staff do not have a career-structure within the organisation. There is no regular built-in review of salary and no chance of promotion. Jobs are not linked to Public Service Grades and years spent working for the Society are not recognised for incremental purposes in other agencies. So, as one staff member put it, "working for the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is not exactly a clever career move".

Some volunteers regard paid staff as undesirable. One person explained:

We have an excellent organisation in which all the work is done by volunteers. If we were to have more paid staff, it would change things. We might lose our volunteers and the whole organisation would be destroyed.

Another member was worried that

if we employ professionals there is a danger that they will take over. Professionals might be more efficient, but it wouldn't be the same.

Others recognised a genuine need to have paid people working full-time. "When the day job begins to suffer, that's when volunteers have to consider taking full-timers on board", or "we need professionals to coordinate the work of the volunteers and to look after the management of the Society". Some thought that Regional and National Presidents should be given a salary and allowed to do the job full-time or that every Region should have an office and a full-time paid administrator. Among those who thought that paid staff were needed, there were many who stressed that "they should only be employed to do administration - never to replace volunteers".

6.7.2: The transfer of skills: Many volunteers interviewed in the course of the study occupied, or had once held middle or senior management positions in industry, commerce or the public services. They came to the organisation with a broad range of management and organisational knowledge and skills, acquired through experience. Some have pursued courses of formal management training.

Two of those interviewed said that they used the skills and expertise gained in their paid work when running the Conference. These people were at the younger end of the age range for Presidents, and both held middle management positions and carried out supervisory duties. They saw little difference between the management techniques which they used in their paid work and those used in managing the work of the Conference.

However, these were exceptions to the norm. A large number of informants in the sample displayed a reluctance to utilise the knowledge and skills gained in their paid employment in the service of the Society. Three possible reasons for this were suggested. First was a desire to change role - to shed the responsibilities of the world of paid work and to engage in simple person-to-person service - "I come to work in the Society to get away from the atmosphere of business. I like to work in a different kind of environment in my leisure time".

Some interviewees said that business management practices were not appropriate to the culture of a voluntary organisation. "The Society is not like a business - it's more like a family".

A third explanation was given by one interviewee who stated "I joined the organisation to visit the poor, not to be a manager". This indicates that some members of the Society do not regard management of people or resources as a service to

the poor. There were other statements which supported this idea, such as "I have no time for 'Career Vincentians', working their way up through the Society. That takes us away from our real work, the face-to-face contact with the poor". The idea that management, or a more businesslike approach, would in some way diminish the work of the volunteer, came out strongly in chance remarks by respondents at various stages in the interview.

6.7.3. Attitudes to poverty: The City Labour Yard was set up in the early 1900s by the Society, to provide employment for men, paying them a few pence a day for cutting up wood and making it up into bundles, which were then sold. The attitude to the poor of the Society at that time was exemplified by a statement in the publicity leaflet for this venture, which said

The father of the family is out of work, and it is not easy to decide whether the case is a genuine case of want of employment, or is merely a case of laziness or drink. The bona fides of such cases may be tested by offering work in the Labour Yard to the man as a condition of relief being given to the family. (The City Labour Yard 1937)

Such attitudes have long since disappeared, but in some Conferences there is still a hint of a distinction between the "deserving poor" and others who may be considered to be less deserving for some reason.

One client of the Society in a rural area said that she always hid the colour television the night that "the Vincents" called. A member of another Conference told us about helping a young woman who had a new baby. Each week the members shopped for food for her and delivered it to her door. One week they noticed that she had got a new carpet in the living room and sometime later they realised that she had purchased a new piece of furniture, so they decided to stop buying her food.

A client's fears that a perceived improvement in her circumstances may disqualify her from further help are not totally unfounded. However, there are numerous other examples of a total acceptance of the poor with all their problems and a certain tolerance of clients who might even try to fool the member. As one member said

As you get more experienced, you get to know the hard-chaws. But even if 90% of your clients are pulling the wool over your eyes, there is a core of people who really need your help, and as long as you reach even one needy person you are doing a good job.

The Society regards itself as the champion of the poor, presenting their case to the Government and to the general public. However members also said that they were "not in the business of re-distributing wealth" and that they "would like to think that we could eliminate poverty, but of course that is impossible" and "all we can do is to try to bring a little joy and hope into the lives of the poor". Statements like this indicate a basic acceptance of the present social system.

6.8 Summary

Our focus in this chapter has been on the findings of the fieldwork. We have explored the management of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, using the framework of planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling. Other findings have been included also regarding how the Society treats paid staff, and about the way in which members use the skills and experience gained in their paid work in the service of the Society. The attitudes of members towards the poor have been briefly explored..

We have discovered that the Society differs from a business in many respects and we now proceed to an interpretation of the data with a view to understanding how management principles apply to it.

CHAPTER 7

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we discuss and interpret the findings and relate them to relevant points in the literature. Once again, we use the six headings which we used in the previous chapter.

7.2 Planning

As we have seen in the literature on voluntary organisations, planning is the area of management which is the most difficult for such organisations. This suggestion is supported by our findings. The Society certainly experiences many of the problems identified in the texts, especially those associated with lack of clarity about goals (Gerard 1982; Kanter & Summers 1987; Mason 1984; McLaughlin 1986) and with competing demands from different constituencies (Anthony & Herzlinger 1980; Gerard 1983; Mason 1984; Murray 1987).

The first problem which we identified is the lack of clarity about goals, and differences between members as to how these goals should be prioritised. We also found that, while the Society is largely self-determining, it tends to be reactive, rather than proactive. Little formal strategic planning is carried out by the organisation. Conference planning is mainly routine and sometimes reactive. Insecurity of funding is not a major inhibiting factor.

The way in which members prioritise the aims of the Society indicates that they do not share a common vision of how the Society should operate. Many of those interviewed joined the Society before 1967 when the New Rule was introduced. This changed the emphasis of the organisation's work. Long-term members may not have been given the opportunity, or been willing, to re-define their objectives along the lines of the New Rule.

Some members say that the Society is slow to change. It is possible that changes introduced by the New Rule may not have filtered down to Conferences because of poor communications within the organisation, and lack of in-service training.

Some difficulties in planning may arise because of the attitude to conflict in the Society. When talking to members we got the impression that conflict is considered undesirable or perhaps even inimical to the Christian ethos of the organisation. Many stressed the importance of "speaking with one voice" as an organisation. Members were not encouraged to make statements to the public on behalf of the Society for fear of being seen to be in "out of line". These findings are in direct contrast to those of Schwenk (1990) who suggests that executives in non-profit organisations see conflict as essentially productive.

Furthermore, in the Rule, there is an interdict on voting as a way of making decisions. This could be interpreted as a desire to work from a consensus. However, in order to avoid the need for voting, the method most often adopted is decision by authority rule, where the President decides what should be done, and this could be seen as an attempt to avoid conflict. This desire to avoid conflict at all costs may contribute to an ambiguity in the statement of goals and would certainly make decision-making difficult.

Much of the planning that goes on at Conference level could be described as financial planning. Targets are set for raising funds and plans are made for carrying out the fundraising. A certain amount of budgeting must be done in order to comply with the requirements of the National Council for the allocation of central funds. But there is little evidence of long-term strategic planning for the Society as a whole.

Many writers claim that insecurity of funding is one of the major planning constraints in voluntary organisations. The Society enjoys the goodwill of the general public and its income from donations has consistently increased. While government funding tends to be ad hoc, it too has increased. The Society is respected and trusted by state, semi-state and private corporations, all of which provide support in the form of money or services, and can be called on in an emergency for

assistance. Insecurity of funding, therefore, cannot be said to contribute to planning difficulties in the Society..

The ambivalence of members towards grants from the government may give rise to a reluctance to seek out such funds. But even without government money, there is no reason why the organisation could not plan on the basis that it would raise at least as much as it did the previous year. In the unlikely event of a drop in income, the shortfall could be found by tapping the goodwill of various corporations.

Some writers suggest that lack of continuity, caused by a high turnover of paid staff and volunteers, is another planning constraint. Certainly in the case of Presidents, whose term of office is three years, and who have a strong influence over policy in their particular section of the organisation, this may be true. But the same statement cannot be made about paid staff, who tend to stay in the Society for many years and who are relied on by incoming Presidents to provide the necessary continuity.

Planning in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is not particularly influenced by any of the factors identified in the literature. However, the perception of 'management' held by some members of the Society, and perhaps by a large number of volunteers, is that it is in some way detrimental to the climate of a voluntary organisation. This points to an

inadequate understanding of the concept. Volunteers in the Society are influenced by Christian values and they find it difficult to reconcile these with those of business and commerce, which they believe are "cold and inhuman". Therefore they tend to reject any insights or wisdom which theories emanating from that sector might have to offer. Members blame what they term "bad management" for many of the difficulties which they experience in their work, but they do not have sound theoretical frameworks into which to fit their experience.

The Society is in possession of enormous quantities of information and statistics. It is intimately in touch with a great number of the poor and disadvantaged in Ireland and indeed many other countries in the world. It is capable of effective long-range forecasting of needs and anticipated developments in the field of social welfare. It uses this information to make its pre-budget submissions to the government each year; but it is not evident that this information is being utilised by Conferences generally.

Some difficulties in planning stem from the Society's 'catch-all' approach to problems. This is summed up in the oft-quoted slogan "No work of charity is foreign to the Society". Its clients include the poor, the lonely, the elderly, the sick, the housebound, prisoners, families under stress, teenagers, young mothers, single parents, the homeless, and the "new poor"

e.g. families which have problems with mortgage repayments due to unemployment.

The goals and targets set by the Society are not specific and this makes planning and control very difficult. This is a manifestation of the problem referred to in much of the literature on voluntary organisations - that of vague and intangible goals. These problems also exist in other types of service organisations, like the police and the probation service, but in voluntary organisations they are compounded by other management problems specific to organisations which do not have a paid work-force.

7.3 Organising

In this section we explore the organisation of the Society. We consider its culture, and its structure and we compare our fieldwork findings to what we found in the literature.

We recall briefly our findings about organising. Men describe the Society as warm and human and women describe it as unflexible and conservative. It is an organisations which is slow to change and the major changes are said to have been brought about by women. A strong informal organisation exists in the Society. In one sense the organisation is hierarchical, but we found that in another sense the structure was irrelevant and members believed that they were quite autonomous.

The Society is, in some ways, an enigmatic organisation. It seems that the national organisation, as it is shown on the organisation chart, tends to be more bureaucratic and designed for a relatively stable environment, but within that structure there are "departments" or Conferences, which lie anywhere on the continuum between mechanistic and organic (Burns and Stalker 1971; Rees 1985). The Conferences which are more organic tend to be more flexible, adapt more easily to a rapidly changing environment, and allow lots of scope for initiative, cooperation and participation in decision-making.

The Society is like any large organisation in the commercial sector in as much as

the concepts of mechanistic and organic within a system's philosophy, are not ideal organisational types, but all-embracing organisational concepts (including structure, culture, business environment and people) that are extremes on a continuum which in turn reveals degrees of bureaucracy within an organisation (Kakabadse et al 1987:437).

The fact that it is difficult to decide whether the Society is more mechanistic or more organic, may merely point up the inadequacy of business management theory in describing a voluntary organisation, but it may also indicate an ambivalence within the Society about the type of organisation it wants to be.

The structure, as set out in the diagram in Appendix 1, is like that of a hierarchical organisation. But this is not an accurate description of the system, in that many Presidents

regard themselves as autonomous. The question of authority and responsibility is a difficult one for the men in Society. This is perhaps why there is a deliberate vagueness about the structure, or a fear that if such lines were clearly drawn and implemented, people would not join the Society.

Because the structure is designed to be hierarchical, the Society suffers from many of the problems associated with such systems. Many of the criticisms levelled at the the British Civil Service by the Fulton Committee (1968) Report could also be made of the Society. These include the suggestion that senior posts were occupied by gifted amateurs rather than by professionals recruited for their skills and expertise and trained for the post. It claimed that there were too few opportunities for promotion, that people with specialist skills were given too little responsibility and seldom considered for senior appointments and that few Civil Servants saw themselves as managers or had the skills required for management. Finally it claimed that in the Service there was little development of the personnel function.

The Society employs no professionals at senior management level and it provides no training for members in management positions. There is an implicit line of succession to the position of President. Those who have specialist skills, like the staff employed in administration, are given little responsibility for policy or decision-making, and many of those

interviewed would not describe themselves as managers and would not have received any training for the position. There are few posts of responsibility in the organisation and therefore little opportunity for ordinary members to develop management expertise. The personnel function is practically non-existent.

The literature claims that responsibilities are not always clear in voluntary organisations. In the Society it is clear that, however hierarchical the design of the structure, members can and do choose to ignore it, to refuse to accept authority, decline to exercise responsibility for others and generally adopt a more laissez faire approach. This suggests that clarity about roles and responsibilities is deliberately played down.

The reluctance of the Society to define roles and responsibilities clearly may be a reflection of its culture. The organisation of the Society corresponds closely with the "club culture" described by Handy (1988:88), being personal, value-driven and depending on key central figures (such as the Presidents). He claims that one would expect service organisations to have a "role culture", which is how he describes a bureaucratic organisation. Here again the dual nature of the Society is evident - with Conferences having more of a "club culture" and the organisation as a National entity having a "role culture".

The strong informal organisation which exists in the Society is at the same time a strength and a weakness. Its advantages are firstly, that members know one another well and can call on one another for assistance, and secondly, that it provides a network of communications. The disadvantage is that such strong informal links between members breeds a sort of dysfunctional politeness, which prevents any confrontation of problems and any critical evaluation of the work.

7.4 Staffing

In this section we are concerned with the findings about recruitment, selection, training and supervision of volunteers in the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

The literature refers to the special type of contract between the volunteer and the organisation, which is described as a psychological contract. This underlies a further major difference between a commercial organisations and a voluntary one. In a commercial undertaking a worker may not get much job satisfaction or may not like the conditions of work or the way in which the boss behaves, but he or she may continue to work for the organisation because the pay is good, or because there is a shortage of other paid employment, or for any other reason. In a voluntary organisation this is not the case and some writers argue that this makes the task of the manager of

volunteer staff much more difficult than that of a manager in the commercial sector.

From our review of the literature on management in the business sector, we expected managers to engage in certain activities in relation to the staffing function. We thought that they would be involved in identifying staffing requirements, drawing up job descriptions, recruiting staff and selecting them, providing induction and in-service training, and offering on-going supervision. We found that this did not happen in the Society, where recruitment takes place informally mainly through personal contact, where there is no selection process and little attempt at systematic training or supervision.

We wondered why the Society experiences such a sense of urgency about recruiting more members. If it needs an ever-increasing workforce, is this an indication that it has not set itself realistic goals and targets? If it has not done so, is it good for the morale of the workforce to believe that no matter how many members there are, and no matter how hard they work, they will never really be able to contain the problems caused by poverty and deprivation?.

The other question raised by the concern about recruitment is whether it is an indication that the existing membership is not as effective as it could be.

This drive to increase the workforce is quite the opposite to the trend in commercial enterprises, where wages constitute a major expense and where management is usually more concerned with getting more work out of existing staff, re-training staff to carry out different tasks instead of recruiting new people and increasing productivity wherever possible.

If we accept the fact that the Society does need more members because there is an increase in the numbers of people requiring their assistance, then we need to find out what kind of staff the Society requires. Some members say that the Society needs young people to inject fresh ideas and enthusiasm into it. But there is no evidence in the findings to suggest that young people would be better at doing the work demanded of members, or at putting up with the constraints imposed upon them by the nature of the organisation.

The present methods of recruitment have so far served the Society very well, but there are three problems associated with them. Firstly, if new members are recruited from among the circle of friends and acquaintances of existing members, and if those members are predominantly middle-class and middle-aged, as critics of the organisation say they are, then the Society runs the risk of reinforcing the socio-economic profile of the members.

Secondly, if it continues to recruit indiscriminately, it will certainly get people joining for the wrong reason. This will create problems in the area of selection and control.

Thirdly, while the Society has never before had difficulty in recruiting people, the fact that, for the first time ever, membership did not increase in 1990-1991 is an alarming indication of what the future may have in store, and may point to a decline in altruism in Ireland corresponding to that already noted in other European countries, leaving voluntary organisations competing for volunteers as fiercely as they have to compete for funds. If this happens, then more active and vigorous methods of recruitment will be required.

Selection of suitable staff is a logical step in the process of staffing, but in the Society there is no system of selection of volunteers. Voluntary organisations are generally uncomfortable with the idea of selecting and, by implication, rejecting volunteers. This indicates a commendable concern for the feelings of those who have to be rejected as unsuitable in some way. This attitude implies that the needs and feelings of the members are more important than those of the clients of the organisation and this probably harks back to the days when the priority of the members was their personal sanctification.

The idea that quantity is more important than quality reflects the same values, but these values are quite inconsistent with

today's emphasis on the needs and rights of the clients of the organisation.

We deal now with the training of volunteers. We found two extremes of attitude towards training. One conveyed a contempt for training and the other a great dissatisfaction with the system in operation.

If we accept that training does not operate simply at the level of knowledge, but also at the level of behaviour and attitudes, then it is clear that the training presently being offered to members is not designed in such a way as to meet all their training needs.

Some of the antipathy towards training probably reflects a limited understanding of the term as it is used in the social services. Some of it may come from the antagonism towards professionalism, which is referred to in the literature. It is also tempting to speculate that some of it may come from a fear of being shown-up.

The strong dependence on the apprenticeship system of training new recruits means that methods and standards are rarely challenged. But the limitations of this system are obvious.

The reluctance to employ professional trainers as members of staff or on contract is remarkable, even among voluntary

organisations, most of which invest a considerable amount of money on professional services in this area even though they would never do so in any other area of management.

Supervision in the Society is a hit and miss affair, and this, coupled with the lack of any formal system of review and evaluation, means that the Society has limited control over the work of its volunteers. It also means that volunteers have little or no feedback about their performance.

We come finally to the issue of management training. There seems to be considerable reluctance on the part of the management of voluntary organisations to allocate time and funds to management training and development. Rather, the focus, if there is one, seems to be on skills training. However even systematic skills training is minimal in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

The exercise of leadership is closely linked to the issue of staffing as it is with volunteer staff that managers use their leadership skills. So we move on now to consider the leadership dimension of the management of the Society.

7.5 Leading

In this section we discuss the major points which emerged from the findings and we present some general observations about

leadership in the Society. We look at what members have said about the satisfactions and frustrations of working for the Society and the implications of this for the leadership. Under this heading we also discuss what members have said about communications in the Society in general, on the basis that one of the responsibilities of leadership is to ensure that there are effective systems of communication in the organisation.

To recapitulate, we found that members joined the Society out of a Christian desire to contribute to the creation of a better Society and that the satisfactions of the job were a sense of achievement, relationships with clients and with colleagues and personal growth. The frustrations included the effect of the socio-economic environment, poor management in the organisation and problems which seem to be endemic in voluntary work. We discovered that some members perceived leadership to be incompatible with the culture of the Society or not in keeping with a desire to create a democratic system. Members also expressed dissatisfaction with the internal systems of communication in the Society.

In the last section we saw that in a voluntary organisation the management function of staffing is a lot less obvious than it would be in a commercial organisation. In the case of leadership, the situation is even more complicated. Because of the psychological contract between the volunteer and the agency, the relationship between management and staff is less

clear-cut than it would be in a commercial organisation and it seems that managers in the voluntary sector are hesitant about exercising leadership.

The literature refers to some of the difficulties about leadership in the voluntary sector. Some writers claim that they arise from the nature of the contract between volunteers and the organisation, which is seen as quite different from that between a business enterprise and its staff, who are paid wages for their work. Others say that it arises because of the culture in these organisations.

Many definitions in the literature on management and industrial psychology relate leadership to the concept of command, which originates in military terminology. Leadership is seen to confer power on the holder of the position. It is regarded as a reward for work well-done. In some cases, it is compared with manipulation (Cartwright & Zander 1968; Likert 1959; Vroom & Yetton 1973).

According to current thinking in social psychology, leadership is defined as a service to the group. The task of the leader is described as that of empowering or facilitating the group so that individuals, and the group as a whole, can reach their potential (Argyle 1973; Bion 1959; Brown 1979; Douglas 1978; Luft 1970; Payne 1982). Our hypothesis is that the difficulty

with leadership in a voluntary organisation arises from a misconception about the nature of leadership.

Hadley & Hatch (1980) mention four different styles of leadership which can be found in voluntary organisations. As examples of democratic organisations, they give Friends of the Earth and the International Volunteer Service. They describe Old People's Clubs as organisations with a charismatic/oligarchic style of leadership and the Red Cross Society, the Women's Royal Voluntary Services, and the Scouts as ones which operate in a bureaucratic/hierarchical style. The fourth style of leadership, the professional, is found in organisations like the Samaritans and the Citizen's Advice Bureaux. It is not easy to discern any one style in the Society, but examples of charismatic/oligarchic leadership are evident in Conferences, and the National executive probably exercises a bureaucratic/hierarchical style.

In the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the President is the formally designated leader, and in most cases members tacitly accept this situation. The President is responsible for almost all aspects of the management of the Conference, Area or Region. This places a great burden of responsibility on the President. It can happen that the Presidency becomes too daunting for most members to aspire to and Conferences often find it difficult to fill a vacancy when it arises. One

President we met had been in office without a break for fifteen years, because, he said, he could get no one to replace him.

The satisfactions which people get out of their work with the Society result in the main from the visitation of clients and giving material assistance, and to a lesser extent from the close informal links built up with other members. These two aspects of the work are highly valued by the Society as "the real work". By implication other aspects of the service, such as administration, leadership and training are undervalued or dismissed as a necessary evil. Helping the poor directly gives members a warm feeling and a sense of achievement, which other functions might not do. Performance indicators exist for the direct work, in terms of client numbers and money allocated. Other aspects of the work are not as easily evaluated in terms of performance and may not give such satisfaction. For these reasons, members tend to be seduced into thinking that all that matters is family visitation and they show considerable reluctance to take on other tasks such as those already mentioned.

Some of the frustrations identified by members in carrying out their work are common to all voluntary organisations and are endemic to the work. Others are caused by environmental factors over which members have no control. But the most frequently cited problems arise from bad communications, poor planning, organisational weaknesses, lack of training and

supervision and a relative absence of control, in other words, by inadequate management.

We come now to a crucial element of management, which is the setting up and maintaining of adequate and effective systems of communication with the organisation and between it and the environment. Almost without exception, members identified this area as one of the most problematical.

One possible explanation for the poor communications within the Society is that the information communicated is not judged to be relevant or useful by those who receive it. Another explanation is that it is indeed useful information, but that the recipients do not appreciate its significance or know how to use it. A third possibility is that the media used may not be appropriate for the kind of data being transmitted.

Many voluntary organisations have inadequate systems of recording. This happens because of a confusion between confidentiality and secrecy. Many volunteers dislike keeping written records because they are afraid that what they write down may get into the wrong hands. Others are reluctant because it takes time, which they think could be more usefully spent in the face-to-face work. This weakness can result in difficulties in maintaining continuity, because when someone leaves the organisation or moves to another post, "all the information, contacts and criteria of decision-making are

inside their heads, rather than explicitly formulated in a way that makes them accessible to others" (Landry et al 1985:42). The Society is no exception in this matter.

The Society finds it easy to raise funds because of its good public image, which is enhanced each year by a professionally designed publicity campaign. However, the public is only aware in a general way of the "good work" done by Vincentians in helping the poor, without knowing precisely how it does so. We consider that better communications with the public would be beneficial to the Society when it comes to recruiting new members or attracting funding from industry or business.

7.6 Control

To summarise the findings in the area of controlling, we found that the Annual Report, quantitative in nature, measured inputs, outputs and growth. Qualitative measures, where they existed, tended to be subjective. In the case of the Thrift Shops, profit was used as a measure of effectiveness. Some members think that the Society is effective because none of the money donated is used for administration or overheads. Others say that the Society cannot be effective because of its management problems. At Conference level, supervision is not formalised and happens by good luck rather than by design. At Area level it works well and Special Works may even have

controls built in to their programmes. Records kept vary from sophisticated to primitive and contribute to the difficulty.

The literature suggests that voluntary organisations have an even greater responsibility to evaluate their programmes than do businesses. Voluntary agencies are accountable to their donors for money, goods and services provided by them. They are accountable to government if they are in receipt of statutory grants, and they are accountable to their clients who put their trust and their welfare in the hands of members. The balancing of the needs of these three constituencies is difficult and in some voluntary organisations it takes up so much time and energy that there is none left for worrying about the quality of service to the client.

The Society measures effectiveness in terms of its inputs and outputs. The inputs include money, numbers of members and donations of materials goods. The outputs include numbers visited, services provided and money spent. However, it does not measure outcomes in any systematic way. This is not surprising in the area of social services, where it is notoriously difficult to measure results. Much of the US literature deals with the difficulty of control in the non-profit sector, in the case of universities, hospitals, libraries, schools and other such institutions. The Irish Minister of Education is proposing to introduce performance indicators for the first time in the evaluation of programmes

in Irish third-level educational establishments for the purpose of assessing eligibility for grant-aid (Irish Times 1991).

Voluntary organisations often have no measures of effectiveness or performance indicators except stability and good resource utilisation (Wilson 1990). This certainly applies to the Society, where goodwill and good intentions are often seen as an adequate guarantee of good quality work and where the fact that the Society is a cheap provider of valuable services is sometimes taken as an indication that there is no need to evaluate the work being done in delivering them.

The Society is justifiably proud to be able to claim that money donated for the relief of poverty goes directly to the poor and needy and that not a penny of it is spent on overheads. However, the Nathan Report on the effectiveness of the voluntary sector points out "the importance of supporting the infrastructure of voluntary action". It deplores "the continued competition between charities to express administrative and fundraising costs in ever-decreasing percentages of total expenditure" which "ignores the fact that effective administration and fundraising costs money" (NCVO 1990a:5-7).

Evaluation may be avoided because the idea of trying to discover whether publicly professed goals are meaningful and programmes effective can be very threatening (Michael 1973).

It may also be avoided because it "is a potential change agent, and as such runs counter to a dominant value of organisation, stability" (Hyde & Shafritz 1979:10). A similar argument is made by Goulding and Goulding (1983).

Most of what we found in the literature about the management function of control in the voluntary sector was supported by our findings in the case of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. For example, it has goals which are value-based, unclear and intangible and this leads to difficulty in measuring performance and encourages managers to use a systems approach, giving disproportionate weight to aspects which are measurable. There is an assumption in the organisation that the cause is worthy in itself and that this absolves it from the need to evaluate its work and there is also a strong indication that members think that controlling is incompatible with the culture of the organisation.

7.7 Other Findings

In this section we offer some comments on the findings about the position of paid staff in the Society, the transfer of skills by members from their paid work to their voluntary endeavour and on the attitudes to poverty expressed by the Society through its activities.

We believe that the position of paid staff within the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is unique. We have found no reference

to a situation such as exists in the Society in any of the literature, but we believe that it stems from the belief that all money collected must go directly to those in need.

The reluctance of the Society to employ professional staff is more easily understood, in the context of the well-documented fear of dominance of the professionals in voluntary organisations.

As we found in the study, members of the Society expressed doubts about the possibility or advisability of transferring management skills acquired in their paid work to their work in the Society.

The claim that business management practices are not appropriate to the culture of a voluntary organisation is made a number of writers (Hadley & Hatch 1980; Handy 1981; Kramer 1981; Harris 1987).

Others suggest that, in a capitalist society, the possession of training and skills is seen as conferring power. In an attempt to create a super-egalitarian society, alternative groups, like those in the women's movement, or radical pressure groups, alternative or leftist groups and collectives of various kinds, reject any notion of formal power structures. For members of such groups, the possession or recognition of skills is

ideologically unacceptable, and therefore they tended to deny such skills (Landry et al 1985)

Many small voluntary organisations founded in the area of social services or community development in the seventies, such as local community groups and residents' associations, women's groups and self-help groups, were influenced by the political libertarian values of the collectives and cooperatives. They placed a great emphasis on learning by doing, where experience became the source of theory (Rowbotham 1979).

By no stretch of the imagination could the Society of St. Vincent de Paul be likened to these groups, but many of the attitudes found in such organisations are also to be found there.

It is easier to accept a second theory expounded by Landry et al (1985) when they argue that the style of management which exists in many voluntary organisations today does not resemble that of the collectives, but rather that of professional partnerships or companies, in that

it reflects the highly educated and self-confident background of the people involved. . . who are not about to be told what to do by anyone else if they can avoid it (Landry et al 1985:42).

Handy (1988:4) makes a similar point when he refers to the

strange and uniquely British admiration for the amateur and their snobbish disdain for the professional, for industry, and therefore, especially, for the professional industrial manager.

Handy (1988:7) also refers to "the Servant Syndrome". It could be argued by extrapolation that this phenomenon gives rise to a reluctance to become in any way the apparent "master".

7.8 Summary

In this chapter we have shown that our findings reflect some of the theories proposed in the literature. In the areas of planning, organising and controlling, the Society exhibits many of the characteristics outlined. However, while insecurity of funding is cited as a major planning constraint, we did not find this to be the case in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Management theories about staffing and leadership in the voluntary sector do not deal fully with the employment and management of volunteers in the workforce and we consider that these areas of our study yielded rich findings, which merit further research.

In our final chapter we present an overview of the study, our conclusions and recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER EIGHT
SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter our first task is to recall the salient features of the study. Conclusions and recommendations are then presented, followed by some suggestions for further research.

8.1 Overview of the study

The thesis commenced with an introduction of our topic - an exploratory study of management in a major voluntary organisation in Ireland. Having outlined our personal and professional interest in the voluntary sector, the purpose of the study was explained, i.e. to explore the structure and operation of a large Irish voluntary organisation, from a business management perspective.

Next, to provide a backdrop to the research, we presented an overview of the voluntary sector in society, including definitions and typologies. This chapter also highlighted the international scope of voluntary endeavour, and provided a brief history of the Irish voluntary sector.

Moving to the main research, we outlined our methodology. This was followed by a review of the literature, covering writings on general management and on the characteristics of voluntary organisations. Included in this section was a review of the five main functions of managing - planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling - which formed the framework for our fieldwork. We saw how most of the management literature is presented in a commercial context and how the particular characteristics of voluntary non-profit undertakings can have implications for their management.

Before presenting the research findings, we described our case-study organisation, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, briefly reviewing its history and current operations. The fieldwork findings and interpretation followed under the five management headings.

We now turn to the conclusions and recommendations.

8.2 Conclusions and recommendations

It is true that voluntary organisations are not like business enterprises (Mason 1984). There are three major factors which make them different : the perception of management by volunteer managers, the lack of profit motive, and the existence of large numbers of workers who are not paid.

Volunteers in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul are motivated by spiritual values. They join with the general idea that it would be a good thing to make the world a better place and they believe that by doing so, they are responding to a call to lead a more Christian life. Their view of the Christian life often seems to be at odds with the world of business and industry. So they tend to reject any insights or wisdom which that world may have to offer.

We believe that management is an ethical issue for voluntary organisations and that effective management is critical to the provision of a truly Christian service to the poor and needy. The collaboration of the voluntary and business sectors could do nothing but enrich both. Voluntary sector management could be considerably enhanced by business management theories and techniques. At the same time, in the light of current developments in management thinking in the business sector, some of the strengths of voluntary organisations, such as its ability to motivate volunteers and to get their commitment and loyalty to work from a shared vision for something other than financial reward towards achieving corporate goals, could enhance the functioning of businesses.

Management schools and institutions could profitably work with managers from the voluntary sector to develop a management theory which would take account of the unique aspects of the sector.

We have suggested that the lack of profit motive is something which sets a voluntary organisation apart from business organisations. There is no great need for the Society to spend time and energy on developing a strategic plan or setting clear and precise goals, or indeed of devising measures of effectiveness. It is in no immediate danger of extinction and functions adequately without doing so.

However, we consider that it could benefit from a general marketing approach. If the Society is to continue to make a real impact on the situation of the deprived, it needs to scan the environment continually with a view to monitoring trends, identifying future demands and developing adaptive processes for dealing with these.

We also think that if they were provided with an opportunity to develop a common vision and to contribute to the task of setting specific goals, members might have a greater commitment to the goals and priorities set by the National Council.

The Society has three overall aims - to alleviate poverty, to eliminate it, and to provide its members with opportunities for spiritual growth. It is demonstrably effective in achieving its first goal, and presumably successful in its last. However, if it is not having any great impact on the underlying

causes of poverty, the Society may need to analyse this aspect of its work.

In its efforts to alleviate poverty, the Society is constantly moving the goal-posts. The target group includes more and more categories of deprivation and difficulty. Its clients at present include the lonely, elderly, sick, those who are housebound (the shut-ins, as they are called in the US), prisoners, sailors, families under stress, the "new poor" - families who have problems with repaying their mortgages - and teenagers. This could be regarded as a contingency approach, or as evidence of great flexibility, but we suggest that the lack of profit motive allows the Society to adopt an ad hoc attitude to planning.

If it sets out to solve all the problems of all the poor and needy in the country, the Society may be setting itself an impossible task. By setting specific goals and targets, the Society could more realistically approach the task and measure progress. Setting targets would narrow the field of operations, but would certainly focus the work of the members much more sharply and it would also reduce that sense of frustration expressed by the members and lead to greater motivation.

Setting specific goals might make room for the setting-up of new voluntary organisations, or the expansion of existing ones,

with specific target groups, or it might mean that certain Conferences would specialise in certain works - perhaps allowing two Conferences to exist side by side in one area, each with distinctive purposes and tasks, which does not happen at present.

As the economic and social problems in society become more and more complex, the need for a concerted and coordinated approach to them becomes more obvious. Hyde and Schafritz (1979:216) argue that such problems require sophisticated collaboration between government and other groupings within society and that "remedial, piecemeal responses to problems as they arise" merely contribute to maintaining the status quo.

If this argument is valid, and it is supported by the statement of the recently elected National President, Bill Cleary, to the media on 5 December 1990, then it is essential that the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, which is one of the major national voluntary organisations dedicated to the alleviation of poverty, should be involved with other agencies and with the government, in developing strategies for a concerted attack on the problem.

It is impossible to consider the management function of planning in isolation from that of controlling, and we believe that the lack of profit motive is also the underlying cause of

the paucity of performance measures and control systems in the Society.

Voluntary organisations have an even greater responsibility to evaluate their programmes than do businesses. Voluntary agencies are accountable to their donors for money, goods and services provided by them. They are accountable to the government if it gives them money and they are accountable to their clients who put their trust and their welfare in the hands of members. The balancing of the needs of these three constituencies is difficult - some organisations are so greatly concerned about how much of the public's money actually goes to the poor that they do not have time to worry about the quality of the service.

Volunteers and paid staff sometimes fear appraisal (Hyde & Shafritz 1979; Goulding & Goulding 1983) but in fact systematic evaluation can contribute to their well-being and satisfaction, if it is done in such a way as to affirm the good work, to recognise the difficulties and give them opportunities to get valuable feedback on their performance.

It is in the area of staffing that another major distinction between businesses and voluntary enterprises exists and it is in this area that the Society, and voluntary organisations in general, appear to have the most to gain from business management theory and practice.

In an increasingly secular and materialistic age, the recruitment of volunteers is becoming a problem for many agencies around the world (NCVO 1990; NCVO 1990a: NCVO 1990b). The recruitment of suitable volunteers in adequate numbers is an on-going problem for the Society.

Its publicity is usually designed to highlight the plight of the poor and needy. For reasons which we have already explored, the Society has not, in the past, publicised the work carried out by its members. It is possible that if people understood the real nature of the Vincentian's work they might volunteer more readily.

For the sake of the quality of the work, it is important to the Society to have some control over who joins. Precedents for the selection of volunteers have been set by other groups as outlined in the findings and voluntary organisations might well consider getting together to work out some kind of charter for volunteers.

As society and its problems become more complex and demanding, training for volunteers becomes almost a safeguard for the volunteer as much as for the clients. The task of solving the problems of the poor is a daunting one and the support proffered by on-going training is valuable in this situation. Training also acts as a control mechanism if carried out effectively, allowing the Society to identify problems at an

early stage and to take corrective action where necessary. Training may be even more important in a voluntary agency than in a business enterprise, precisely because there are few other controls.

As mentioned in the findings, training people for the kind of work carried out by the Society requires an intervention at three levels. These are knowledge, skills and attitudes. Training must be based on scientifically identified needs and must be carried out and evaluated by skilled and competent personnel. It is a task which probably requires some professional input, and certainly not another chore to be loaded on the the backs of already overworked Presidents.

There seem to be several quite specific needs in the area of training, which may have to be tackled separately. These include training in interpersonal skills, for those doing face-to-face work with the poor, training in public relations, publicity and marketing for those whose responsibility and interest lies in that direction, training in management theory and skills for Presidents (including skills for working with groups, running meetings, supervising staff and leadership) and possibly specialist training in other areas of the work, for those who need or desire to develop expertise.

The recruitment, selection and training of volunteers in an organisation like the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is a huge

task and the Society may need to consider the appointment of a person or people whose role would be to look after the staffing function in relation to volunteers. Managers in business spend two-thirds of their time working with other people (Stewart 1970). In a voluntary organisation, the question is : can a volunteer, who "operates", have the time required to co-ordinate the work of other volunteers or should this be the responsibility of a full-time paid officer?

We cannot end this section of the study without referring to the management function of leadership in the Society. Leadership, like management, is perceived to be incompatible with the humility which is required of members of the Society. The exercise of leadership would be easier if it were clarified in relation to the nature and philosophy of the organisation. The idea of leadership as service fits in well with the vision of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Members expressed the need for new ideas, fresh approaches and more energy and enthusiasm in the Society as an argument for needing more members. If current members are too set in their ways, or dispirited or suffering from 'burn-out', as respondents suggested, this may be an indication that leadership is not as effective as it might be and that some new leaders, or leadership training for existing ones may be required.

We believe that there are many areas in a voluntary organisation where the application of practices and theories originally developed for the business sector would enhance the functioning of the organisation. Our study highlights many of the issues raised in the literature about American and British voluntary organisations and shows that such issues are relevant to Irish voluntary organisations too.

8.3 Signposts to further research

Many important and interesting questions have been raised by the study and have been left unanswered because they were not within its scope. We include here some suggestions for developing the research.

The question of motivation, why people join or do not join voluntary organisations, what type of people they are, and why some join the Society, rather than any other organisation with a similar mission, are questions which merit further discussion. Such discussion would be of great interest to the Society and, perhaps, to all voluntary organisations.

Many chief executives in voluntary organisations were formerly employed as directors and managers of commercial enterprises. A survey of the perceptions and opinions of such executives could elicit information about their perspective on voluntary organisations, the similarities and differences between such

organisations and businesses, what they think constitutes success or failure, and what they see as the key factors in managing voluntary organisations.

A study of the attitudes of volunteer workers could be designed in such a way as to discover what rewards and punishments exist in a voluntary setting, and elicit information on the style of management preferred by volunteers.

There are many possibilities for comparative studies. It would be interesting to extend the scope and range of the research to include a number of organisations in Ireland which work with the poor, such as the Simon Community and Barnardo's, or to do the same with a sample of religious organisations of various denominations in Britain and Ireland.

It would also be interesting to compare the operation of a commercial service department with that of a voluntary agency. Further research into the success or failure of such organisations could be helpful in developing a framework for studying or managing these different types of enterprises.

The relationship between paid staff and volunteers has been highlighted as a difficult one in this study. We believe that this issue merits a deep and thorough exploration, if voluntary organisations are to make the most of the resources of volunteers, while at the same time, enlisting the skills and

professional expertise of full-time paid staff, whose role could be to empower the volunteer.

Finally, for researchers with a background in social policy or in Christian social education, there is some scope for researching approaches to the elimination of poverty.

This concludes our final chapter and our study.

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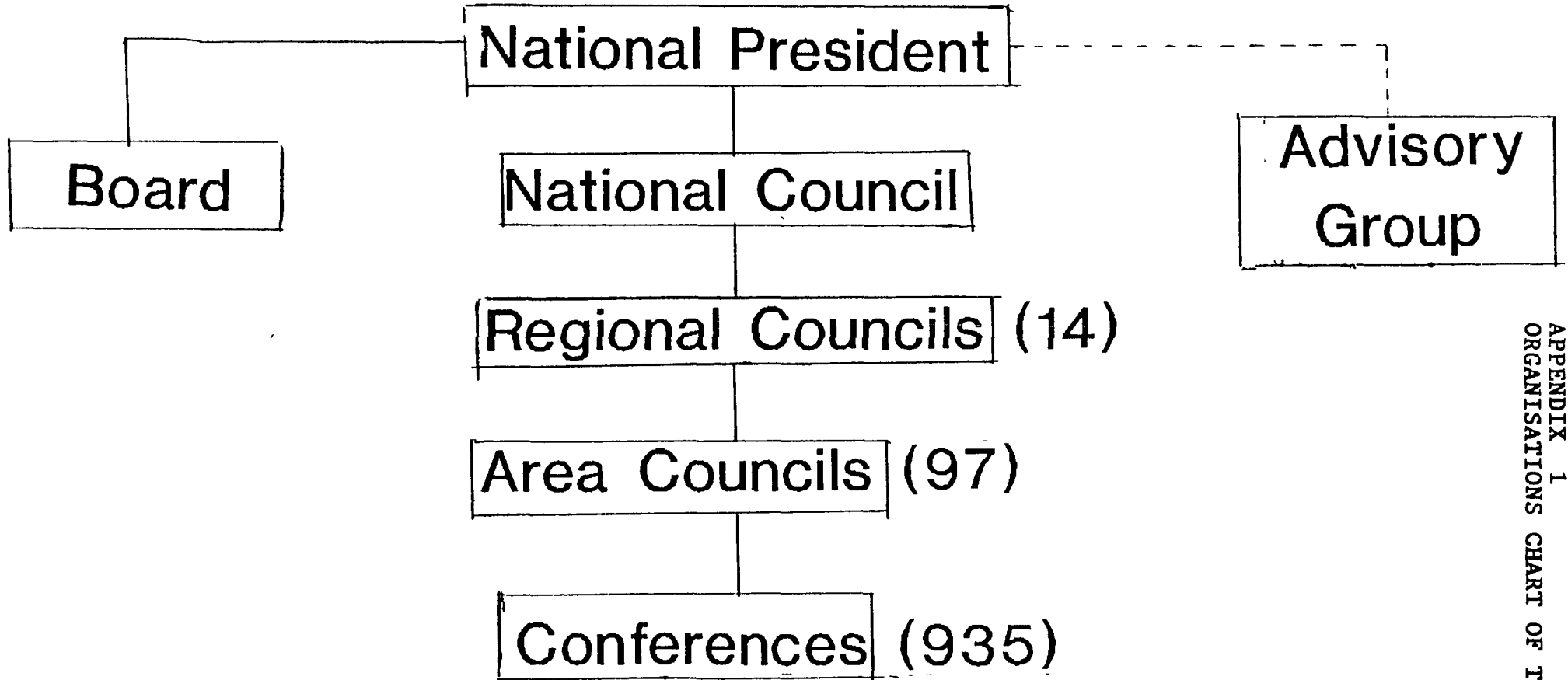
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SVDP

Organisation Chart

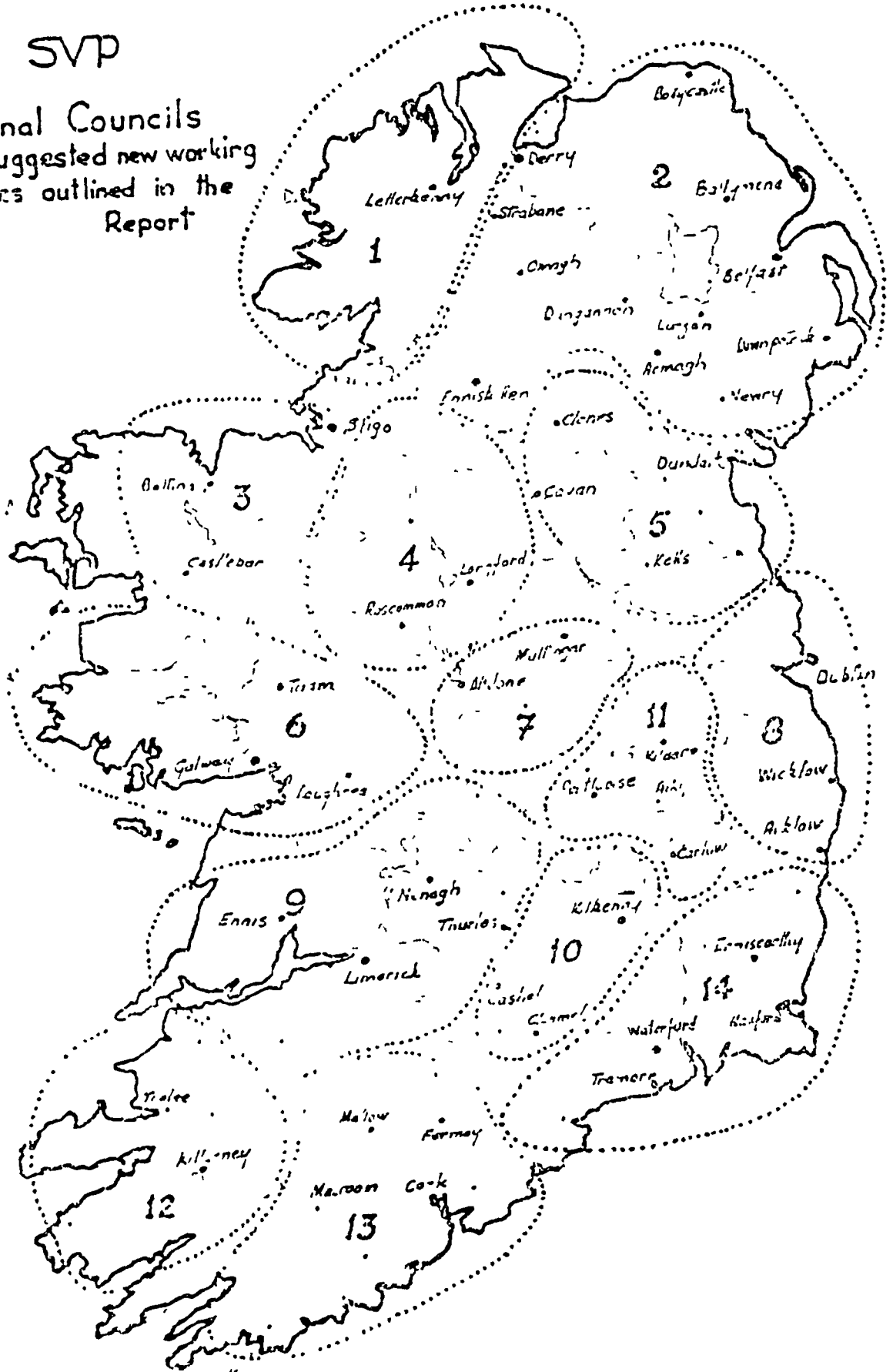


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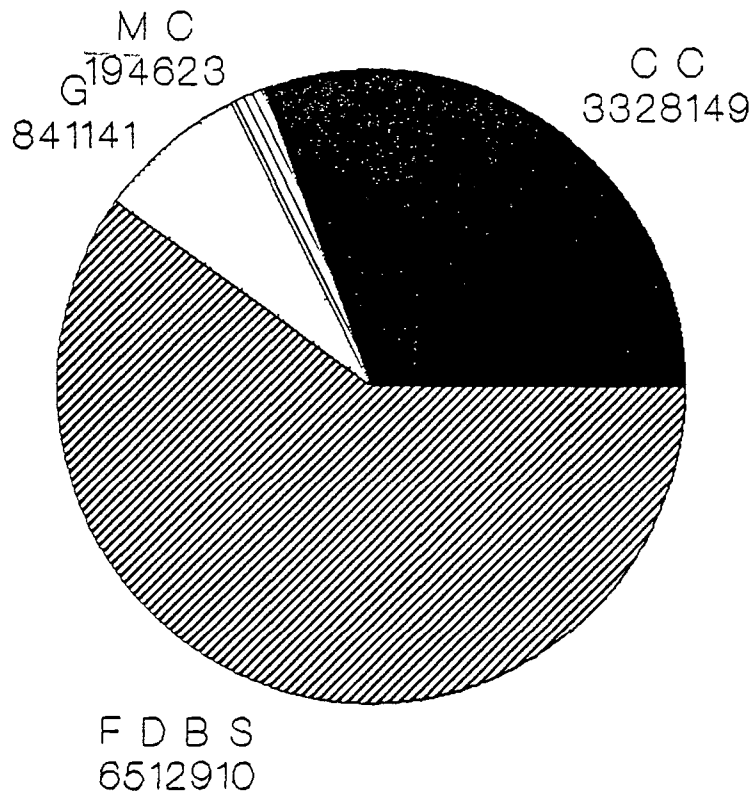
APPENDIX 2
 MAP OF IRELAND SHOWING REGIONS

SVP

Regional Councils
 under suggested new working
 structures outlined in the
 Report



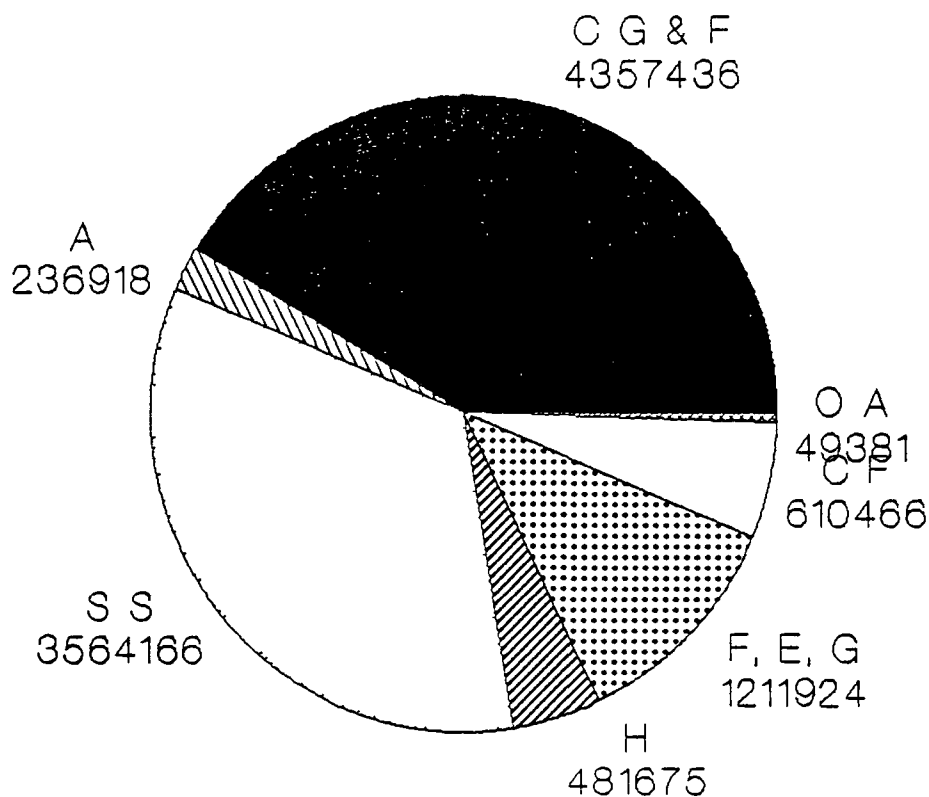
SVDP Accounts



CC Church collection
FDBS Fundraising, donations, bequests,
SVP shops etc.
G Grants
MC Members' contributions
to administration

Income y/e 31 March 1990

SVDP Accounts



- CG&F Cash grants and food
- CF Clothing, furniture
- FEG Fuel, electricity & gas
- H Housing
- SS Specialist services
- OA Overseas aid
- A Administration

Expenditure y/e 31 March 1990

APPENDIX FOUR
THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PLANNING

1. What would you list as the most important goals of the society?
2. How were those goals arrived at?
3. How does your section go about achieving those goals?
4. What kind of long-term planning are you involved in?
5. What kind of short-term plans will you be making within the next 6 months?
- 6.a) When do you usually plan the year's activities?
b) Who else would be involved with you?
c) What kind of information do you have available to you?
d) where and how do you get this information?
7. What does your section spend most of its finance and personnel on?
8. Do you ever employ the services of and outside consultant in planning? Why?

ORGANISING

1. How would you describe the organisation known as the SVP?
2. In your opinion, has the society changed much since you joined?
3. Does the present structure of the organisation help you or hinder you in your section?
4. Do you know everyone on the National Executive?
5. Do you have friends in the society whom you meet socially outside or at work?
6. Do you feel that you are responsible to someone or to a group of individuals in the organisation? If yes, to whom?
7. Are there people who are responsible to you? If yes who?
8. If you wanted something done in your section and you were unwilling or unable to do it yourself, what do you do then?
9. If someone in your section is given work to do, and fails to do it or does it badly, what would happen?

STAFFING

1. Could you do with more members? Why?
2. How do you recruit new members?
3. If you were recruiting them
 - (i) What would be the job description?
 - (ii) Where would you look for them?
4. Do you ever get the "wrong people" joining?
5. What training is offered to members
 - (i) on joining
 - (ii) in-service
 - (iii) when they take on posts of responsibility?
6. Who provides that training?
7. Are membership records kept?
8. How many paid staff do you have in your section
What is their role
What is your attitude to paid staff?
9. Are your members effective? How do you know?

LEADING/DIRECTING

1. Why did you join the Society?
2. Why do you think that most people join?
3. What are the satisfactions of working for the Society?
 - challenging work
 - a sense of achievement
 - a sense of personal growth
 - responsibility
 - promotion
 - recognition
 - status
 - interpersonal relationships
 - policy and administration
 - working conditions
 - continuity
4. What are the most difficult things about working for the Society?
5. Do you think that the Society makes full use of all the gifts and talents of its members?

6. Who would you see as the "leaders" in the society?
7. What kind of decisions are made at your level in the Society?
8. What do you think about communications in the Society?
9. If there ever is a breakdown of communications in the Society, at what points do you see that occurring and what do you think might be the causes for the breakdown?

CONTROLLING

1. How do you measure the performance of your unit?
2. If a plan fails, how do you deal with that?
3. Is there any way of monitoring what members do?
4. Would you ever take a stand and give someone a "talking to" if their work was not good enough? If not what would you do?
5. What kind of records do you keep?
6. Do those who work under you have any way of getting feedback about how they are doing?
7. Is the Society efficient? Why?
Is it effective in what it sets out to do? Why?
8. What do you think about funding from the Government?
9. If you had to account to the public or the Government for every penny that you got, would that be possible?

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

VOLUNTEERS	Male	Female	Total
<u>NATIONAL</u>			
National Presidents	2	0	2
Chairperson of Nat. Dev. Committee	0	1	1
<u>REGIONAL</u>			
Dublin Presidents	2	0	2
N. Ireland	0	1	1
N. Midlands	0	2	2
<u>AREA</u>			
Galway	0	1	1
Wicklow	1	0	1
Cork	1	0	1
<u>CONFERENCE</u>			
S. Dublin x 3	2	1	3
Inner City x 3	2	1	3
N. Dublin x 4	2	2	4
Cork	0	1	1
Wicklow	0	1	1
Galway	0	1	1
Midlands	1	0	1
<u>SPECIAL WORKS</u>			
Prison Visitation	1	0	1
Unemployment	1	0	1
Childcare	1	0	1
PAID STAFF			
<u>NATIONAL</u>			
	0	1	1
<u>AREA</u>			
Dublin	0	3	3
West	1	0	1
S. West	0	1	1
Mid-West	1	0	1
Total Volunteers	16	12	28
Total Paid Staff	2	5	7
Total Interviewed	18	17	35

All volunteers interviewed held management posts in the Society. Apart from one who was Chairperson of the National Development Committee and another who had just retired as Conference President, all others held the title of President. Of the paid staff interviewed, the national Secretary had a management role, three others were employed as development officers and the remainder were secretarial or administrative staff. As there was a changeover in personnel during the course of the study, in the case of the National, the Dublin and the N. Midlands, two Presidents were interviewed. In addition to this list, we had extensive informal discussions with many people such as past members, parish clergy and religious, and social and community workers.

APPENDIX 6

CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS

Mason (1984:21-22)

- 1 The market value of the services of voluntary enterprises cannot be measured as precisely as in business.
- 2 Their purposes are other than profit-seeking.
- 3 Their principal tool is volunteerism produced by persuasion.
- 4 The production of resources and the provision of services are two distinct systems, whereas in business the systems are integrated.
- 5 Voluntary enterprises have a special kind of constituency.
6. Money is a means in the voluntary sector, while in business it is an end.
- 7 Not-for-profit groups enjoy a special legal status.
- 8 Voluntary enterprises do not have a profit-and-loss criterion with which to monitor operational effectiveness.
- 9 Management requires more diplomacy. In business, management has more autonomy.
- 10 Voluntary enterprises tend to accumulate multiple purposes.
- 11 Voluntary enterprises have a distinctive social character.
- 12 The resources available to not-for-profit groups are not so limited as business resources.