

Third Sector Campaigning Strategies

A study of Third Sector Organisations
campaigning for the reform of UK child
poverty policy

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Abstract

This project studies the strategies used by Third Sector Organisations (TSOs) in campaigning for the reform of UK child poverty policy. This qualitative study combines expert interviews with policy workers in campaigning TSOs with textual analysis of TSO submissions to a 2007/08 Work and Pensions Select Committee inquiry into child poverty. Analysis applies a resource dependence perspective combined with a social fields approach, to show how the values of key resources TSOs possess and require for their work vary depending on whether they use an 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategy.

The research takes a multi-level approach to understanding campaigning, from the endogenous attributes of TSOs, through their connections with other groups within the sector, to their interactions with their wider environment. This allows a systematic and holistic understanding of the functioning of this complex marketplace.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Now is a crucial time for campaigning on child poverty. In May 2010, the new coalition Government put welfare reform at the heart of their manifesto pledges. In the coalition agreement, the Government has retained the goal of ending child poverty by 2020 (HM Government, 2010) which was initially created by Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1999. However, difficult financial circumstances and cuts in public spending, at least in the short or medium term, combined with it being very likely that the interim target of halving child poverty by 2010 has been missed, mean this is likely to be an extremely difficult goal. All of this makes child poverty campaigning particularly important, and makes understanding the mechanics of such campaigning, a particularly salient and contemporary issue.

Although it is a very current issue, campaigning for the reform of poverty policy has its roots in history. With the creation of the post-war welfare state, the Third Sector's role as the primary provider of welfare for the poor was finally and firmly supplanted by the State. Since then organisations in the sector have responded to their new position alongside the State in a number of different ways. Assisted by the 'rediscovery of poverty' in the 1950s and 60s, one way in which the Third Sector responded to its new position was by campaigning for the reform of government policy- to change the ways in which the State provided welfare for the poor. Through the course of the 1960s a number of groups emerged, campaigning on issues of poverty and social exclusion. One important area of campaigning was child and family poverty, with organisations such as Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) and Gingerbread working for the reform of state provision for these groups. This role in campaigning for changes in how the State provides welfare for the poor has continued ever since, with many of the groups initially set up in the 1960s or before, still involved in campaigning and lobbying for policy change. Now, as then, this is an important role for campaign groups, many of whom also have a service provision role, and deal with clients affected by the problems about which they campaign. This thesis sets out to examine how this role is undertaken by these groups, and specifically - the strategies they use in campaigning on child poverty in the UK.

This campaigning role has elicited varying responses from the State (and it cannot yet be entirely clear how the new coalition Government will respond to the role), however, under the previous Government there was recognition that the Third Sector had a valuable role in campaigning for change, and involvement in policy development was the first principle in “The Compact on relations between the Government and the Third Sector in England” which sets out the framework for partnership working between the Third Sector and the Government (Commission for the Compact, 2009). Campaigning on UK poverty has also produced a range of responses from the public. Although it has been claimed that that the public in general remain “a long way from supporting a UK anti-poverty agenda” (Castell and Thompson, 2007), there are nonetheless significant numbers who are supportive of policy change to end poverty in the UK, and an End Child Poverty Coalition rally in Trafalgar Square in 2008 succeeded in attracting 10 000 people to campaign for an end to child poverty in the UK (End Child Poverty, 2010). This thesis examines how child poverty campaigners interact with both government and the public in their work to influence policy development.

However, UK child poverty is clearly not the only policy area in which Third Sector Organisations have lobbied for change. For instance, as Ed Miliband noted in a speech made in November 2006 when he was Minister for the Third Sector:

“...it is often the campaigns of Third Sector Organisations that put issues on the agenda, mobilise popular opinion, push the government to go further, change attitudes to make change possible. The debt relief at Gleneagles wouldn't have happened in the way it did without Make Poverty history. Civil partnerships and the reduction in the age of consent wouldn't have happened in the way it did without Stonewall. The smoking ban wouldn't have happened in the way it did without the campaign by ASH. The Disability Discrimination Act wouldn't have happened in the way it did without the work of MENCAP. We could go on – I suspect every organisation in this room is in some way part of a movement that has changed society for the better.”

And although this work chooses to look at one area of policy- child poverty in the UK, use of this case allows examination not only of how Third Sector Organisations (TSOs)

contribute to policy within this area, but also has implications for understanding the strategies and tactics which TSOs use in campaigning across a range of policy areas.

1. Research questions and main arguments

The thesis has three core research questions. These are:

- What strategies do Third Sector Organisations use in their campaigning, particularly with regard to campaigning on child poverty in the UK?
- Why do they campaign in this way?
- What are the implications of this for research, policy and practice?

The first two research questions lie at the heart of the fieldwork for the project and are addressed through a combination of interviews with experts working in the area, and documentary analysis. These questions are answered in the course of the analysis chapters (chapters 6-9), where it is argued that organisations use a wide range of strategies in their campaigning, which are used to enhance the effectiveness of their campaigns. These fall into four key areas, addressed in the four analysis chapters, which are ordered so as to move from a narrow focus on factors endogenous to the individual organisation (organisational structures), broadening out to factors endogenous to the sector as a whole (inter-organisational working), then zooming out still further to the interaction of campaign organisations with their environment, looking at campaign groups approaches to ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaigning respectively. The four areas examined in detail are:

Organisational structures and functions – campaigning is argued to be substantially affected by the organisational structure and function of a campaign group. Structural factors such as size, organisational location, and staff and membership, and functional factors including core organisational purpose, whether the organisation has a single or multiple issue focus, and whether the organisation has a service provision function, may all affect how organisations are able to campaign.

Inter-organisational collaboration – it is argued that one strategy organisations can use to improve their campaigning is to collaborate with other organisations. This chapter addresses the potential benefits as well as costs of inter-organisational working.

Campaigning oriented towards policymakers – This section address the different strategies and tactics which organisations use when targeting their campaigning at policymakers (so called “insider” campaigning strategies), including issues of deciding which policymakers to target, how to achieve access and build relationships, and methods of communication.

Campaigning oriented at the public and the media – This final section addresses strategies used when organisations target their campaigning at the public and the media (“outsider” campaigning strategies). This includes issues of addressing public attitudes towards UK poverty, audience segmentation, and methods of effectively communicating campaigns to media outlets.

It will be argued that these campaign strategies can be further understood through utilisation of two theoretical frameworks – ***resource dependence*** and ***social fields*** perspectives. The resource dependence framework highlights how organisations are constrained in their activities by the environments in which they are embedded, and their reliance upon their environment to fulfil their resource needs. It is argued in this study that campaign groups aim to fulfil their resource dependencies (through both resource exchange, and the efficient use of resources they possess) in order to maximise their power within the policymaking process.

The ‘social fields’ approach suggests that organisations operate within “a social arena in which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them” (Jenkins, 2002). It is argued that child poverty campaigning can be seen as one part of the ‘political field’, where the different actors compete for political influence (the ‘stake’ within this field). However, it is further argued, that this research highlights two sub-fields – insider and outsider campaigning, which each have their own stakes to be won, and require specific other resources in their competition to achieve those stakes.

It is argued that the best way to conceive of Third Sector involvement in child poverty policy is through a combination of resource dependence and social fields perspectives. The argument is made that campaigning TSOs working in the area of child poverty policy are deeply resource dependent, however, the nature of those resource dependencies varies depending on the sub-field in which they operate.

2. Limitations of scope

The research questions do not directly address the question of the effectiveness of campaigning. This is a key limitation to the scope of the thesis, and is for two reasons:

Firstly, a number of attempts to review the effectiveness of Third Sector Organisations have already been made. These are overviewed by Forbes (1998). Indeed Sowa et al (2004, p711) argue that “Few topics in nonprofit research and practice have received greater attention in recent years than organizational effectiveness.” Approaches to organisational effectiveness can be split into three key groups including those that emphasise “goal attainment”, approaches emphasising organizational success in “resource procurement”, and a “reputational approach” associating effectiveness with the reported opinions of key figures (Forbes, 1998, p184).

However, despite the focus on determining how to assess the effectiveness of Third Sector Organisations, literature directly overviewing how Third Sector Organisations themselves determine the strategies and tactics which they use in campaigning, is considerably more sparse. This project contributes to this literature by addressing, in particular, how resource dependence and social fields perspectives can be combined to create a holistic understanding of why organisations campaign in the way that they do.

Secondly despite attempts, measurement of TSO effectiveness has been referred to as “measuring the unmeasurable” (Forbes, 1998, p183). Within the field of campaigning this is particularly true, because of the complex web of influences on public policy. As a result, Potters (1996, p430) emphasises problems with the use of proxies for “relevant but unobservable quantities” within assessments of the influence of political interest groups. For instance, number of articles on a policy issue in the media, or achieving access

to a Minister with relevant responsibilities, when followed by policy change, may be used as a proxy for direct political influence.

However, measuring not organisational effectiveness, but organisational strategy is considerably easier to measure. This study uses a combination of textual analysis and interviews with campaigners within TSOs in order to assess how organisations campaign.

As a result of this, judgements are not made about the effectiveness of the strategies utilised. Having said this, by exploring what strategies are utilised by TSOs, and why they use them, the thesis does draw some conclusions as to how campaigners within TSOs themselves understand the best way of promoting the effectiveness of their work, on the basis of this, the thesis does address issues of “best practice” for campaigning Third Sector Organisations on the basis of the expert knowledge of people working within the sector.

Studying the strategies of Third Sector Organisations can have important research implications in its own right. These are overviewed in the section below.

2. Relevance of the study

In making these arguments this research serves two key purposes. The first is to provide practical results of use both to campaign groups working on child poverty, and to other campaign groups. The research draws on expert accounts of campaigning practice, which can provide lessons for campaigners working in this, and other, areas of policy. These results have been summarised in an ‘executive summary’ and sent to all interview participants, and made available to other campaign groups.

This is a timely study because, as argued above, this is a crucial time for campaign groups working on child poverty, since welfare reform is at the heart of the Government’s current programme, and this will have substantial implications for child poverty. Now is therefore a good time for research which can help organisations with their campaigning in the area.

Secondly, the research also has theoretical implications. In particular, the work makes contributions to the resource dependence perspective (originally developed by Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) and used extensively in understanding organisational operations), Bourdieu's social fields framework, and to understanding the nature of insider and outsider campaigning.

With regards to social fields, this study explores the neglected area of the nature and inter-relation of subfields, and, as noted above, the work identifies two subfields (with their own rules, resources, and stakes) of 'insider' and 'outsider' campaigning, within the political field.

With regard to the resource dependence perspective, in a recent article Davis and Cobb (2010) argue that with notable similarities to the 1978 global environment in which Pfeffer and Salancik originally developed the perspective- with economic crisis, dissatisfaction with political leadership and increased social activism- now is an opportune time for revitalization of the theory. Affected by all three of these factors, UK campaigning on child poverty is a good area of organisational work in which to study resource dependencies, and the research shows that resource dependencies give a good way of understanding the campaigning process. Contributing to the task of revitalising the resource dependence perspective, the study argues that understandings of resource dependence can be enhanced by integration of a social fields approach to take greater account of the differing values of resources depending upon where they are deployed within different sub-fields of social action.

Finally, with regard to insider and outsider campaigning, this study highlights the under-explored area of what shall be called 'collaborative outsider campaign strategies'. These strategies involve campaign groups using the public and media to give support and legitimacy for the Government to take action on issues they are already concerned about. Recent studies, such as Nash's (2008) evaluation of the Make Poverty History protests, have highlighted this kind of campaigning, but have not emphasised the differences between this and campaigns to exert pressure on the Government on an issue which they are unwilling to change.

3. Defining key terms

The thesis requires definition of a two key terms frequently used in the course of the project. The first is the ‘campaigning Third Sector Organisation’ and the second is ‘Child Poverty’.

1) The ‘campaigning Third Sector Organisation’.

Given the complexity of defining a ‘Third Sector Organisation’, and because there are a number of interesting debates which surround the definition of this term, I have addressed this question in detail in chapter 2, called ‘Defining the Third Sector: function before structure’. The associated definition of a TSO as an organisation serving private conceptions of public goods is explained in detail in that chapter, and will be the one used for the selection of groups examined in the study.

Organisations will be considered to be undertaking ‘campaigning’ activities where they are engaged in activities aimed at reforming policies either directly or indirectly, (for instance through changing public attitudes). Although policy can be created on a local and regional level (and within the devolved national administrations), this research focuses on those organisations campaigning for the reform of policy at a UK wide level.

2) ‘Child Poverty’

There are a number of different potential ways to measure poverty levels, and as a result, measuring child poverty can be a controversial issue. This definitional issue also obtained recent prominence, because the pledge to end child poverty by 2020 and the 2010 Child Poverty Act, which enshrined the pledge in law, (both of which are discussed in more detail in chapter 3,) meant that the Government needed to address how progress towards the goal was to be measured.

As a result there have been several attempts to define Child Poverty, the most recent has been for the 2010 Child Poverty Act which gives a commitment to meet the child poverty target on four different measures (all of which are required to be met). These measures were:

The **Relative Income Measure** –

“This target relates to children who live in households that have low incomes compared to the rest of society. This measure of poverty was agreed as part of the 2003 Department of Work and Pensions consultation, Measuring Child Poverty. The target is that less than 10% of children living in qualifying households live in households that have an equivalised net income below 60% of median equivalised net household income.”

Child Poverty Act: Explanatory Notes (2010, p6)

The target is not for 0% of children to live in households with less than 60% of equivalised median household income¹, but for less than 10% of children to live in such households. (This is because, a genuine 0% target is considered unfeasible.)

The **Absolute Income** target aims that less than 5% of children will live in households with an equivalised net income below 60% of median income in the financial year beginning with 1 April 2010, up-rated annually in line with inflation.

The **Combined Low Income and Material Deprivation Measure** – In this case low income is measured according to a threshold of 70% of median equivalised household income. Material Deprivation is defined as:

“Children are materially deprived if they live in households that cannot afford a range of basic activities, such as such as school trips for the children, or celebrations on special occasions, or if they cannot afford basic material goods, such as fuel to keep their home warm. A child experiencing material deprivation

¹ ‘Equivalised’ household income is household income taking into account household size.

may therefore lack many of the experiences and opportunities that other children take for granted, and can be exposed to severe hardship and social exclusion.”

Child Poverty Act: Explanatory Notes (2010, p6)

As with absolute low income, the target is to reduce combined low income and material deprivation to below 5%.

Finally, a fourth measure of **persistent low income**, relates to children living in households with less than 60% of median equivalised net household income for three or more out of the past four years.

These four measures are commonly used methods of defining child poverty, and help to give a background to how child poverty is understood in the political domain of the study.

4. Summary of chapter contents

Chapter 2. Conceptualising the Third Sector- Function before structure

This chapter (and the following two chapters) set out some of the key theoretical context in which Third Sector campaigning is located. ‘Conceptualising the Third Sector: function before structure’ addresses the question of how to define the Third Sector, and develops a new ‘functional’ definition, which is utilised within this thesis.

Chapter 3: A brief history of the Third Sector’s role in welfare for the poor in the UK

This chapter addresses the Third Sector’s historical role in the provision of poverty relief. From the provision of poverty relief by the monasteries prior to the dissolution, the chapter traces the increased statutory responsibilities for the poor assumed by the state (and the corresponding movement in the role of the Third Sector from senior to junior “partner in the welfare firm” (Owen, 1964, p527)), through the Poor Laws of the end of the 16th / start of the 17th centuries, through to the creation of the post-war welfare state, and the adoption of the sector’s campaigning role as a critic of service provision by the

State. This historical role of the Third Sector in poverty relief raises a number of questions of contemporary relevance to the sector in campaigning for the reform of child poverty policy.

Chapter 4: Factors affecting Third Sector campaigning on child poverty- An overview of the literature

Having outlined, in the previous two chapters, some of the key context for understanding Third Sector campaigning, this chapter focuses in on some of the core issues to be addressed in this thesis, considering previous literature addressing both external and internal factors affecting the campaign strategies of Third Sector Organisations.

The resource dependence perspective and social fields approach are introduced in this chapter, and suggestions are made as to how they might be applied to organisations campaigning on child poverty policy.

Chapter 5: Methodology

The inductive, qualitative methodology used in the thesis is explored in this chapter. The methodology used combines interviews with people working within organisations involved in child poverty campaigning, with textual analysis of submissions to a 2008 Work and Pensions Select Committee hearing on child poverty.

Chapter 6: The significance of organisational structures and functions to TSOs campaigning on child poverty

This is the first of four analysis chapters which together explore the strategies and tactics used by campaigning Third Sector Organisations in their work for the reform of child poverty policy.

This first chapter addresses the significance of Third Sector organisational structures and functions to their campaigning. Findings indicate that organisational size, location, membership and profile are viewed as important organisational resources, impacting upon campaign strategies and effectiveness. Whether an organisation provides services

alongside their campaign function is also seen to impact upon their campaigning resources – in this case, because service provision provides evidence to support campaigns, and organisational legitimacy in undertaking campaigning.

Chapter 7: Playing as a team- Third Sector inter-organisational collaboration in campaigning

This chapter considers the significance of inter-organisational working to Third Sector campaigning. Results indicate that good inter-organisational working can increase both the amount of resources available to be dedicated to a campaign, and also the efficiency with which those resources can be used. However, the resource benefits of inter-organisational working are themselves traded against other organisational resources. In particular, organisations risk loss of their individual autonomy and identity, when they undertake formal collaborative working. There is also a risk of opportunistic behaviour by partners within a collaboration, who may take disproportionate benefit from the partnership, compared to their investment.

Chapter 8: Working in the 'Insider' sub-field – campaigning oriented towards policymakers

The final two analysis chapters address TSO campaign strategies and tactics used when focussing on three key campaign targets – policymakers, and the public and media. This chapter addresses 'policymaker' oriented campaigning – often also known as 'insider' campaigning.

It is suggested that insider campaigning, is a distinct 'sub field' of social action, comprising a 'game' (or marketplace) with its own rules and procedures, and where particular resources have value. It is suggested that this fits with Wyn Grant's suggestion that becoming an insider (or 'accepted') organisation within the policy process, relies on acceptance of certain "rules of the game" (Grant, 2004).

Chapter 9: Working in the 'outsider' sub-field- campaigning oriented towards the public and the media

The final analysis chapter addresses campaigning oriented at the public and the media. As with other areas, the decision on whether to undertake public oriented campaigning is fundamentally one of weighing resource costs against returns in terms of influence within the policy process. Resources which are of particular value for organisations undertaking "outsider" campaigning (public interest, large financial resources, access to media) appear often to be quite different to resources of value in insider campaigning (where access to policymakers and strong evidence, may be of particular value).

It is suggested in conclusion, that campaigning targeted at the public and the media are different 'organisational fields' to those of insider campaigning, as a result of different core resource dependencies. As a result, the nature of an organisation's resources, and the nature of the campaign environment, is likely to affect the focus of their campaigning.

Chapter 10: Conclusions- Third Sector campaigning: trading across a complex marketplace

The previous four chapters explore Third Sector strategies, with particular regard to campaigning in the context of child poverty policy. Throughout the analysis, a resource dependency framework has been utilised, and built on, in order to explore factors affecting their work.

As well as summarising and synthesising the results, this chapter addresses in details the implications of the research. The research is found to have both practical implications of benefit to Third Sector Organisations campaigning in this and other policy areas, and also to have implications both for academic research into Third Sector involvement in the policy process. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the project.

Chapter 2: Conceptualising the Third Sector- Function before structure

As part of the groundwork for this research, it is necessary to understand what is meant by the “Third Sector”. This is an important practical concern- used, for example, in the sample selection methodology- but, as will be seen, exploration of a conceptualisation of the sector can also help to expose key issues about the nature of the sector, which will also be important in later chapters.

However, for a number of reasons (which are explained in detail below,) the Third Sector Organisation is notoriously difficult to define. Possible approaches to defining the sector include ‘*legal*’ and ‘*economic*’ definitions, but the most notable attempt to define TSOs comes from Salamon and Anheier (1992a, 1992b), who took what they call a ‘*structural/operational*’ approach to the issue. However, in this chapter it is argued that, whilst raising a number of interesting points, this approach does not yield the most useful or appropriate, definition of the Third Sector Organisation. It is proposed that rather than approaching a definition through the structures of Third Sector Organisations, one should do so by consideration of the *function* they serve in society. Salamon and Anheier (1992a, p138-139) do consider, and dismiss, the idea of a functional definition of the sector. It is argued that their reasons for doing so are in some cases fallacious, and overall, not strong enough to justify their rejection.

This chapter therefore takes four main parts. In the first section, some of the key problems with defining the voluntary sector are considered. In particular, the issues of the wide range of organisations comprising the sector, and the possibility that a lack of interest in the area has led to a poverty of theoretical conceptualisations, are addressed.

In the second part, Salamon and Anheier’s arguments that the Third Sector can be best defined structurally is reviewed. The key arguments against this approach are outlined.

In the third section, the advantages of a functional definition of the sector are considered and concerns with such a definition are addressed.

Following on from this, in the fourth part of the chapter a tentative attempt is made to construct a functional definition of the Third Sector Organisation, which both addresses concerns of such a definition, and incorporates the advantages of such an approach.

The conclusion summarises the chapter's finding and explores how findings from this chapter will be both utilised and further explored in later thesis chapters.

1. The Problem with Defining the Third Sector Organisation

The first challenge is the definition of the 'Organisation' itself. In his 'Theory of social and economic organisation' Weber (1947), defines corporate organisations as groups of individuals (combined with other structural features) in some way bound together by 'devotion' to serving some common purpose. That purpose (which will be further discussed later, and is central to this chapter,) may also be called the organisation's function. As he puts it:

"An organisation (*Betrieb*) is a system of continuous purposive activity of a specified kind. A 'corporate organisation' (*Betriebsverband*) is an associative social relationship characterized by an administrative staff devoted to such continuous purposive activity."

Weber (1947, p151)

It can be seen in day-to-day life, that the Third Sector appears to incorporate an extremely wide range of different corporate organisations. It truly is the "loose and baggy monster" Kendall and Knapp (1995) describe. Any satisfactory definition of the sector must therefore include this wide range of areas of interest, or provide a strong reason for their exclusion. For instance, it must allow the inclusion of organisations involved with sports, the environment, development, poverty, religion, hobbies and a vast selection of other issues and activities.

However, for each such area of interest, the definition must also include a wide range of different ways to approach the topic- for instance, there may be TSOs interested in climate change which provide a forum for discussion of the issue, which deal with local action to combat climate change, and which are involved with international lobbying, which take direct action for the environment, and so on.

They also have a range of organisational structures- they may meet regularly once a week, they may arrange meetings by informal networking by telephone, they may not meet but be a permanent forum on the internet, they may sell goods, they may provide services, they may have an office and so forth.

It has been argued that it is in part the insistence that any definition of the Third Sector Organisation must be able to incorporate organisations (“from tiny soup kitchens to symphony orchestras, from garden clubs to environmental groups” (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p126)) which embrace this wide range of topics, activities and structures that explains why the Third Sector has been so difficult to define.

This is reflected in the variety of names which have been used for the sector, (voluntary, nonprofit, charitable, tax exempt, etc (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a), none of which seems to fully account for the range of organisations that exist; which may not use voluntary work, may not be ‘charitable,’ may not be tax exempt, and may make some profit in one way or another. Throughout this chapter I will use the relatively open ‘Third Sector’, which only makes a claim of sectoral distinction from the private and public sectors (the State and the Market). The reasons for using it will be explored further in the final part of this chapter.

However, if the reason that the Third Sector is difficult to define because of the wide range of types of organisation it encompasses, it should be possible to level the same criticisms in other areas. For instance, it has been noted that the private sector has just as wide a range of organisations as the Third Sector, with profit making enterprises existing in pretty much every sphere of activity. As Salamon and Anheier (1992a, p127) note;

“So far as the diversity argument is concerned, a similar argument could be made about the other ‘sectors’ we have come to accept as meaningful concepts. How much similarity is there, after all, between a sidewalk hot dog stand and the IBM corporation, or between an insurance company and a winery?”

Despite this, whilst there is contention over “existence, let alone the precise contours” of a definable ‘Third Sector’ (Salamon and Anheier 1992a, p126), the ‘private sector’ is a “meaningful, indeed necessary, analytical notion without which it is impossible to understand or describe modern life.” (Salamon and Anheier 1992a, p126). There are a couple of potential reasons why this might be so.

Firstly, it may be argued that as a result of its size and socio-economic importance, there has been more interest in the market than in the Third Sector, and as a result theoretical conceptualisations of the Third Sector have suffered through lack of interest. Salamon and Anheier (1992a) reasonably deny the merit of this explanation as well, claiming that the Third Sector is considerably more powerful both in economic and social terms than it is commonly given credit for.

But perhaps another explanation might be that market based organisations serve a clear primary function; the creation of profit. Without this primary purpose it would be doubtful that one would wish to consider an organisation part of the commercial sector. However, voluntary organisations, up to now, have tended not to be identified according to some simple, reasonably easily identifiable, primary purpose. This possibility will be returned to later in the chapter.

2. The Structural - Operational Definition

Third Sector Organisations can be defined in a number of different ways. For instance, most countries have legal provisions for classifying organisations that fall into the Third Sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a), therefore it is possible to utilise a *legal definition* of the sector. However, such definitions can be imposed by a complex legal framework, and in addition, they will vary internationally, depending on national law (Salamon and

Anheier, 1992a). Secondly, it is possible to differentiate sectors by the primary forms of financial transaction in their operations (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a), such an *economic definition* distinguishes TSOs as receiving most of their income “not from the sale of goods and services in the market, but from the dues and contributions of their members and supporters.” (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p133). However, this chapter focuses on two alternative ways to define the sector: Firstly, it addresses Salamon and Anheier’s key ‘structural/operational’ approach, which has received considerable attention since they developed it in the early nineteen-nineties, particularly since it formed the “foundation” for the development of the International Classification of Non Profit Organisations (ICNPO) (Salamon and Anheier, 1992b, p15) at the John Hopkins University in the United States – which has been called the “largest and most widely used international study of Third Sector Organisation” (Alcock, 2010, p11). Secondly, the chapter considers an alternative ‘functional’ approach, which is briefly considered by Salamon and Anheier (1992a), and is developed in the final sections of this chapter.

Salamon and Anheier’s ‘structural/operational approach’ suggests that Third Sector Organisations can best be grouped together according to their common structures and behaviour. The authors class such things as the level of formality of the organisation, the amount of voluntary involvement, and so on, as being structural and operational features of organisations (these are described in more detail below). The Third Sector is then the sum of these organisations with these shared structural and operational characteristics (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a).

Defining the nature of ‘structure’ is itself a difficult task, but an important one for this topic. The structure of an entity may perhaps be thought of best as that which makes it ‘discontinuous’ from the rest of the Universe. A structure is a part of the universal whole, which is simultaneously distinguishable from it by features which are able to be observed and experienced; features which allow the entity to interact with other structures (Deutsch 1966, p21). In terms of TSOs, such structural features may include such things as; volunteers working for the organisation, a constitution denoting its rules and regulations, an office, a bank account, paid staff, a name, a logo and so on - essentially anything that marks it out as an individual entity separate from other entities. Without structure an organisation lacks physical existence, ‘it’ cannot interact with other entities

nor can 'it' even be distinguished from the rest of the world. Without structure it would be difficult to see in what sense an organisation exists at all.

Salamon and Anheier's (1992a, 1992b) own definition lists five structural criteria by which an organisation can be evaluated to decide whether it is a Third Sector body. Firstly it must be **'formal'**, or have 'institutional reality'. The authors argue that without this criterion, the concept of a Third Sector Organisation becomes too 'ephemeral'.

However, this is a matter of degree rather than an absolute distinction; after all, in order to have *any* physical existence, an organisation must have some 'structure', and (it might be hypothesised, though they do not explicitly state this,) 'institutional reality' is simply somewhere on the continuum of the complexity of organisational structure. At some point the Third Sector Organisation has a firm and consistent enough structure to ascribe it the status of an 'institution'; but when does it get this status? When it gets a name? When it starts to have regular member meetings? When it gets a website? When it hires its first paid staff? When it gets a permanent office? When it gains charitable status?

It is therefore accepted that this first claim is true. Any organisation needs to be somewhat 'formal', if this means having characteristics distinguishing it from the rest of the world (i.e. having structure.) But this is something of a tautology for a structural definition, saying only that in order to define something structurally it needs to have some structure. It has limited usefulness unless some level of formalisation at which point the organisation is called an 'institution' is predefined.

Secondly, TSOs must be **'private'**; this criteria separates Third Sector Organisations from State sector ones, which are 'public' (though where and how the line is drawn between public and private is left unclear- the authors only say that 'nonprofit organisations are fundamentally private institutions in basic structure.')

Thirdly, they must be **'non profit-distributing'** (by which the authors mean that they do not return profits to their owners or directors; where profits are made TSOs must reinvest those profits in their basic mission.) Where the second criterion separates the Third

Sector Organisations from the state, this ensures that they are treated separately from private businesses (market based organisations).

Fourthly, the organisations must be '*self governing*'- able to run their own affairs rather than controlled by some external agency.

Finally, the organisation must have some '*voluntary*' element, (requiring 'some meaningful degree of voluntary participation, either in the actual conduct of the agency's activities or in the management of its affairs' (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p135)). They insist that this voluntary input can be quite small (though they do not make entirely clear exactly *how* small,) but it must exist to some 'meaningful' degree.

They give a number of key reasons for suggesting this structural definition. Firstly, they argue that this definition is relatively 'economical'- able to be expressed relatively simply (in five basic elements), without needing recourse to complex lists of criteria. Despite this simplicity, they argue that their definition has great 'significance'; identifying a wide range of 'non-trivial' entities (by which is meant that it identifies organisations which share important common features, but may not obviously be recognised as doing so. For example, the authors cite the example of development organisations being classed together as 'Non Governmental Organisations' where they actually share many common features with other TSOs.) They also claim the definition enables the 'examination of a wide assortment of characteristics and features' (what they call 'combinatorial richness'.) Finally, their classification is not limited to one country, but can potentially be used to identify Third Sector Organisations in any society across the globe; they call this 'organising power'.

However, there are a number of problems with the approach the authors choose. Firstly, as a result of a lack of clarity of some of the criteria they propose, they accept that there is an issue of how consistently the definition is likely to be used. (A problem the authors refer to as a lack of 'rigour'.) For instance, the problem of what counts as a 'formal' organisation has already been noted; but also, what counts as 'voluntary action' and how separate from the state such organisations must be to be considered 'private' are very open to question.

Secondly, as suggested by Deutsch (1966) a definition might have 'explanatory or predictive capacities' allowing one to *predict the future behaviour* of the organisations, and *make sense of their previous behaviour*. A grouping of organisations with such explanatory power might well be a helpful one.

However, a definition which defines a group by their structures and operations may not provide the best guide to either. It is the function of an organisation which primarily determines its behaviour, for example, by determining the organisation's response to changes in environmental conditions.

For example, suppose that a large corporation chooses to become 'environmentally friendly', and implements a number of environmentally focussed changes to its strategy. It is likely that in many cases, underlying the motivation to promote this cause is a more fundamental profit making function of the business as a whole. Perhaps they have found a market space which allows them to make a profit from the sale of environmentally friendly goods, perhaps they just want to promote their reputation. Since the primary function of the organisation in this case is to make money, if there is a market shift, so that environmental concern no longer advantaged their profile, or became unprofitable, they are likely to change their operations to respond to these changes in environmental conditions, in accordance with their primary function. As such, their current structures and behaviour are not the best guide to understanding their past, or predicting their future. To do so, one needs to understand the purpose that such structures and behaviour serve.

Thirdly, Morris (2000, p4) suggests that a useful definition might enable *comparison* of organisations, over time and space. Salamon and Anheier assert that their definition is cross-culturally applicable, meaning that it can be used to look at the Third Sector in different countries at different times and see what similarities and differences there are between the organisations which would be classed as Third Sector. However, a strong definition should have more than the ability to be applied cross culturally (as their structural definition undeniably has) it should furthermore be able to fully encompass the diversity of organisations across cultural contexts.

Since (as already noted) organisational structures may differ a great deal depending on the social, political, technological and economic context of the society in which they are based, a structural definition is likely to be culturally biased towards those places and times in which a certain function is carried out within a certain type of organisation. Were there organisations which carried out a function typically associated with the ‘Third Sector’, within structural types not normally occurring within our own society, they may be excluded from a structural typology. This may result in severely misunderstanding the nature of organisations in countries socially different from our own, where different organisational structures may be created to serve identical purposes.

Fourthly, a useful definition could allow something to be said about how *efficiently and effectively* the organisations as a group might achieve certain desired outcomes (Morris, 2000). A structural theory can have some merit on this, since the effectiveness and efficiency of an organisation is likely to be controlled to a great degree by their structure and operational style (dependent upon the operational environment within which it exists). However, what it cannot do is classify a group of organisations which exist with *the intention of delivering a similar set of goods* (since this is their function). Such a definition would then allow within category comparison of how well different organisational forms within this category deliver those goods.

Fifthly, a useful definition might be one which allows *value judgements* to be made about the social value of that category of organisations. Such value judgements are normally made not on the basis of an organisation’s structure, but of its purpose.

For example, it has been frequently asserted that the purpose of the NHS is to provide healthcare which is “free at the point of delivery” (Delamothe, 2008), however, it was argued by the New Labour Government that the structures which deliver this should be more flexible to allow this aim to be delivered in the best way possible- including the involvement of private health providers (Timmins, 2005). Whether agreeing, or not, with the assertions that a) this is the only function of the NHS, and b) the structures suggested would actually be able to do this best, the argument that the function of the Health Service should come before delivery structures which comprise it, is potent nonetheless.

It is only once the desired function of the organisation has been determined that value judgements can be made about the best types of structure and behaviour to carry it out- and these structures and behaviour may need to be extremely flexible, since the best way to do so could vary greatly dependent on the social and economic context in which the organisation is set.

Finally, a definition should help give an account of *why the organisations in the category exist at all and what role they play in society* - a structural definition cannot allow this. A structural definition says nothing about the role organisations play in society - any structural/operational definition only describes their structure and what their behaviour is like; they do not reveal their *purpose* as a group. Nor, as a result, can they explain why they came into existence, nor what role might be left unfulfilled by their absence.

To conclude this section, it should be reiterated there may well be many cases where the analyst wishes to know about the common structures or operations of a set of organisations. In such cases it may be sensible to group them together according to structural categorisations. For instance, (as previously noted) if one wanted to compare one group of organisations with another regarding 'the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deliver goods and services' (Morris, 2000, p3), then organisational groupings according to comparative structures might be desirable.

Under such circumstances the term 'nonprofit' or 'voluntary' might be used according to their *literal* meaning (where ordinarily these are used to identify a wider set of organisations, which may make a profit, or involve little voluntary activity.) However, the very fact that such structural classifications are frequently inadequate for analytical purposes, suggests that it is not necessarily these structural characteristics which Third Sector analysts are most interested in.

3. The Functionalist Approach

Functional approaches to defining organisations focus on the reason for their existence- the function or purpose that they serve (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a). The functionalist

approach is “based on the assumption that the social institutions of a given society can best be understood in terms of their social functions, that is, in terms of the contributions they make to the maintenance of social systems as a whole” (Harsanyi, 1969, p513)

The structure and behaviour of an intentionally created entity follows the function, since without function there is no reason for it to come into existence in the first place, or for its continued use. For example, a hammer is a tool purposively constructed to serve a purpose, without the end user’s need to hammer nails, there would be no need for it to have been created, and therefore it would never have come into existence. An organisation is the same, the ‘system of purposive activity’ the organisation has previously been defined as, could not take place without a fundamental function.

In order to clarify our understanding of ‘function’, it is important to disentangle the ‘function’ of an organisation from its ‘behaviour’ (or ‘operations’). The behaviour of two organisations may be very similar but the function different. For example, two organisations may both make environmentally friendly products and sell them to the public, however one organisation may do so (primarily) because they believe in the promotion of environmentally friendly products and wish to widen their use. The other may (primarily) do so because there exists a profitable niche in the market which they recognise the potential for making money from. In both cases the actions are exactly the same, but the purpose of the action is different. This may be exemplified by how their continued behaviour responds to changes in the market making environmental products unprofitable.

Salamon and Anheier (1992a, p138) dismiss the idea of a successful functional definition of the Third Sector for three reasons. Firstly, they somewhat dubiously claim that a functional definition lacks ‘simplicity’ because

“it requires extensive listings of types of purposes that qualify organisations for non-profit status.”

This seems an extremely questionable assumption. There seems no clear reason for supposing that the range of functions which Third Sector Organisations serve cannot be

simplified into one or two (in fact this will, tentatively, be attempted later in this chapter). In fact, the authors themselves quote one functional definition of the Third Sector;

“to serve underserved or neglected populations, to expand the freedom of or to empower people, to engage in advocacy for social change, and to provide services.”

(MacCarthy, Hodgkinson, Sumariwalla, 1992, p3)

This definition includes four reasonably clear proposed functions of Third Sector Organisations. Without necessarily agreeing with the functional criteria in this definition, it is reasonable to point out that the authors structural definition, which they call ‘relatively economical’ contains five structural criteria.

Their second reason for dismissing functional definitions of the Third Sector is that “some of the key functional categories are often ambiguous and others are highly time sensitive” (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p138). Regarding ‘time sensitivity’ the authors consider the example of the Weeks organisation; a medieval English organisation which distributed faggots for the burning of witches. They point out that whilst this may have been perceived as a charitable purpose in Medieval England, it would be highly unlikely to be considered so today. This of course is true, but not a strong argument for two reasons. Firstly, ‘charitable purpose’ is a particularly time sensitive term, and not of necessity attached to the TSO, in fact neither the previous functional definition, nor the one which is developed in the final section of this chapter, uses the term ‘charitable purpose’ as a definitional criterion.

Secondly, so long as a socially contextual definition of ‘charitable purpose’ is used, it is possible is that distribution of faggots for witch burnings could be considered *today* to have *been* a ‘charitable purpose’ in Medieval England. If this is so, then a perfectly acceptable and consistent, though time sensitive, definition can be developed using this criteria. There is nothing about definitions which stops one from saying that any object which is placed in a particular group within one context must also fall within that group within a different context. It simply needs to be accepted that in some cases functions

are likely to be time sensitive, and build that into the model. As such the Weeks organisation may have served a generally perceived ‘charitable purpose’ in medieval England, but a similar organisation would not do so now. What would (even now) be defined as a Third Sector Organisation if it existed in Medieval England, may not be considered one if it existed today. Such responsiveness to changing social contexts could then be seen as a positive advantage of a functional definition, avoiding presentism and the definition becoming outdated.

With regard to the supposed ‘ambiguity’ of functional categories, the authors explain that what falls under a certain definition is likely to “depend on the eye of the beholder” (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p138). They give the example of “serving the public good”. Certainly this would be a problem if, in defining the Third Sector, it was necessary to define the ‘public good’. Any way in which the ‘public good’ is defined is likely to be controversial, and any attempt to group Third Sector Organisations together as “serving the public good” will be likely to lack universal agreement².

However, this argument assumes that “serving the public good” is, of necessity, a key functional characteristic of the Third Sector; although some definitions do include this criterion (e.g. Martens, 2002), this may not be true in all cases. Even if it were considered necessary to include a criterion of ‘public good’, the problem of ambiguity may be avoided (in a very similar way to the problem of temporal sensitivity) by predetermining *whose conception* of good is to be used when deciding whether or not an organisation lies within the Third Sector (for example, by specifying that it is a subjective matter – determined by the organisation itself). How this may be implemented in practice will be addressed later on in this chapter.

Finally, the authors argue that the approach

“frequently tends to downplay certain types of entities that are widely considered part of the non-profit sector in particular parts of the world, but are not often included in lists of charitable or non-profit functions. These include artistic and

² This is a problem which the Charity Commission have to address in determining whether an organisation meets the ‘public benefit requirement’ in qualifying for charitable status in England and Wales see Charity Commission (2010b) for information about how they assess this requirement.)

cultural activities, recreation, sports and other activities not targeted particularly on the poor or disadvantaged.”

(Salamon and Anheier, 1992a, p125)

This is, again, a criticism of flaws in particular functional categories, rather than of functional definitions in general. As such the criticism is limited to those definitions which focus on helping “the poor and disadvantaged”. There seems no strong reason why a functional definition should not embrace a wider selection of organisations, including the ones above. If a functional definition does not include these, then it may well not be a good functional definition, but that does not by any means mean that there exists *no* good functional definition.

Furthermore, a functional definition has considerable advantages to it:

Firstly, for reasons discussed previously, the function of an organisation can help to determine its likely future behaviour, since the structure and the behaviour of an organisation serve the function. Depending on the context of the organisation, that structure and behaviour are liable to change in order to further those functional objectives. (The example of how behaviour may change in different ways depending on structure was shown above, with reference to two organisations selling environmentally friendly products for different reasons.) For the same reason, the function of the organisation also explains its past behaviour.

Furthermore, by identifying purpose rather than form, a functional definition can be endlessly flexible when it comes to structure and behaviour, allowing a huge range of organisations, operating in a large range of fashions to be included under a definition. It should be noted that most of the problems of previous definitions of the Third Sector (nonprofit/ voluntary/ charities/ independent etc) are to do with concerns that they do not embrace a wide enough selection of structures and behaviours (those that make profit, those that involve non voluntary activity, those given charitable status, those that are not entirely independent of the State or the market), a functional definition avoids these problems by allowing all of these structures to be considered part of the Third Sector, so long as the organisations share some common central purpose.

Identifying organisations by their social purpose may also help to make some value judgements regarding these organisations. It has already been seen in the NHS example, how the structure and the behaviour of an organisation should follow the best route to carry out the desired function. It is that function which a value judgement primarily needs to be made about, the best structure and behaviour of the organisation cannot be decided without knowing what function is desired, only once that is known, as well as details about the context in which the organisation is operating in, can value judgements be made regarding the structures and behaviour which can best serve that purpose.

Most fundamentally, function comes before structure because it reveals why the organisation exists in the first place- the social role it plays. Whilst without structure there can be no physical embodiment of the organisation, without function those organisations serve no purpose in the first place; they are form without meaning, body without mind. Grouping together organisations which share such common purpose yields a truly significant definition of a Third Sector Organisation.

As a final point, it should be noted that, whilst organisational structures and operations are not the same thing as organisational function, they may nonetheless be good indicators of it. For instance, an organisation may have a constitution saying its purpose is to 'raise awareness of child poverty in the UK', and if the organisation's behaviour reflects this by centring its operations around this activity, it may be a strong indicator that this is in fact its true purpose. However, this approach is not the same as defining the organisation by its structures or behaviour, since whilst certain structures can be used as evidence of a function, it is not assumed that such evidence is incontrovertible proof of that function, nor does it mean that other, perhaps unknown and radically different, structures and behaviours could not also provide evidence of the organisation's function.

4. A Functional Definition of the Third Sector Organisation

4.1 Hypothesising a functional definition of the Third Sector Organisation

It is the purpose in the final part of this chapter to tentatively consider what kind of functional definition may be developed which best summarises the purpose of Third Sector Organisations. Some possible suggestions as to this have already been discussed; in particular, there appears some attachment to the idea that Third Sector Organisations are those serving the 'public good'. One key problem with this has already been noted; that the public good is extremely dependent upon individual perceptions. However, inclusion of the notion of public good in a definition of the Third Sector Organisation whilst simultaneously avoiding the problem above, may be achieved by suggesting that the conception of public good that the Third Sector Organisation serves is *its own*. As such, the benefit that more conventional notions of public good brings are lost, in that it allows any organisation (no matter how unpleasant their aims,) to be classified as a Third Sector Organisation, so long as they are serving their own conception of public good. This will also mean the inclusion of groups with opposing functions (for instance, pro-life and pro-choice groups would both be likely to be included.) However, what is lost in terms of the convenience of identifying groups likely to be considered as bringing a positive contribution to society, is more than made up for by identifying the core function underlying all such groups. That is, the purpose they serve, and their reason for coming into being, is that *they believe* that there is some public good which needs serving in some way. They may fulfil this purpose by lobbying for it (for instance environmental campaign groups like Friends of the Earth), providing some forum for the discussion of it, or actually filling the gap in service provision which is perceived to exist (for instance the welfare provision of Citizens Advice Bureaux, or the provision of sporting activities by a football club).

Therefore, the functional definition of the TSO proposed here, is of an organisation '*serving private notions of public goods*'.

There are many other organisations which serve the public good. For instance, what else does the State do, (or at least what should it be doing)? A definition which categorises

organisations of the State (for example, schools and hospitals) as the same kind of entity as Third Sector Organisations is of little practical use. However, the proposal that Third Sector Organisations exist to serve their *own* (private) notions of the public good can help to distinguish the two. In democratic States, the State exists to serve the *public's* notions of the public good. In this way one might distinguish between the Third Sector Organisation, and an organ of the State, according to their function.

The distinction between the State and the Third Sector reflects one key point noted elsewhere; that one important purpose of Third Sector Organisations is to “form a vital feedback link between people and their Government” (Boris, Mosher-Williams, 1998, p490)- under the typology presented here Third Sector Organisations can feedback the private concerns of their members and supporters regarding the public good, which may give the Government an indication of the feelings of the population about certain issues, represented more cogently and persuasively than the individual members could achieve.

It is also necessary to distinguish between the Third Sector and the Market. The private sector organisation might be defined, according to a functional definition, as an organisation that exists in order to make money. Without that function they would not survive in the marketplace. As such, they can be distinguished from organisations whose primary purpose is the serving of some public good.

It is also possible to distinguish between the Third Sector Organisation and what might be called the ‘Tribe’. The two sectors may be distinguished by suggesting that unlike the TSO, the good that tribes serve are not primarily for the benefit of the public, but for the members of the tribe. Neither is this ‘good’ defined by the public- tribes decide for themselves how they are best run. Nor is it the case that there is some clear individual objective that they serve (unlike the Market which exists to make money). The tribe primarily serves *private notions of private goods*. Under this typology one would class any organisation which serves its own interests (but the interests of which are broader than the accumulation of wealth) as being a tribal organisation. This includes classic tribal groups (such as families), but may also include organisations such as ‘gangs’, it may also be the case that dictatorial States (which are likely to primarily serve their own interest rather than the public will) are classified in this way. This classification makes the Market

a sub-sector of the 'Tribe', since the aim of making money is a particularly important example of a private conception of a private good.

This typology is not the first to distinguish the Third Sector from the State and the Market, Paton (2009) (cited in Alcock 2010), argues that different values and principles can be associated with the State, the Market and Civil Society. Evers (1995) discusses the position of the Third Sector in the welfare system relative to the State, the Market, and the private household (seemingly similar to what has here been called the 'Tribe'). In the case of the definition suggested in this chapter, these different spheres are each identified according to their function – the role they play in society. However, although it will be easy to ascribe many organisations to one of these dimensions of social space, there are also likely to be a number of cases where the organisation appears to have more than one of the functions described. For instance, a corporation may give money away to certain causes, not in order to further any goal of raising capital, but because it in some way believes in the causes themselves. Tribal groups may also support initiatives which may be better classed as public than private goods (such as participating in a voluntary recycling scheme.) For this reason, it is proposed that it is the *primary* function of the organisation which defines its typological classification. The difference between primary and secondary functions may be determined by seeing which the organisation would better exist without. For instance, the Tribe would still exist without its social purpose, but without the mutual support it gives its members, it would lack clear reason to exist; and whilst the Corporation would likely still exist without its donations to a charitable cause, without its profit making function it would fail to compete in the marketplace.

However, some profit making businesses may also be classed as Third Sector Organisations, despite creating profits which are distributed to their owners. The reason for this is that they are genuinely set up for the function of serving the public good, rather than for the purpose of making a profit. The profit making function is subsidiary to the public good serving function (it is a means of delivering their primary purpose) and the organisation would not exist without serving the public good, but might exist (in another form) without making a profit. Some examples of this may include organisations such as Traidcraft, who trade fairtrade goods, which is (in part) a plc, but who exist to “fight

poverty through trade” (Traidcraft, 2010). Examples such as this indicate the complex and multifaceted nature of many private sector organisations, which may exist to serve a range of functions.

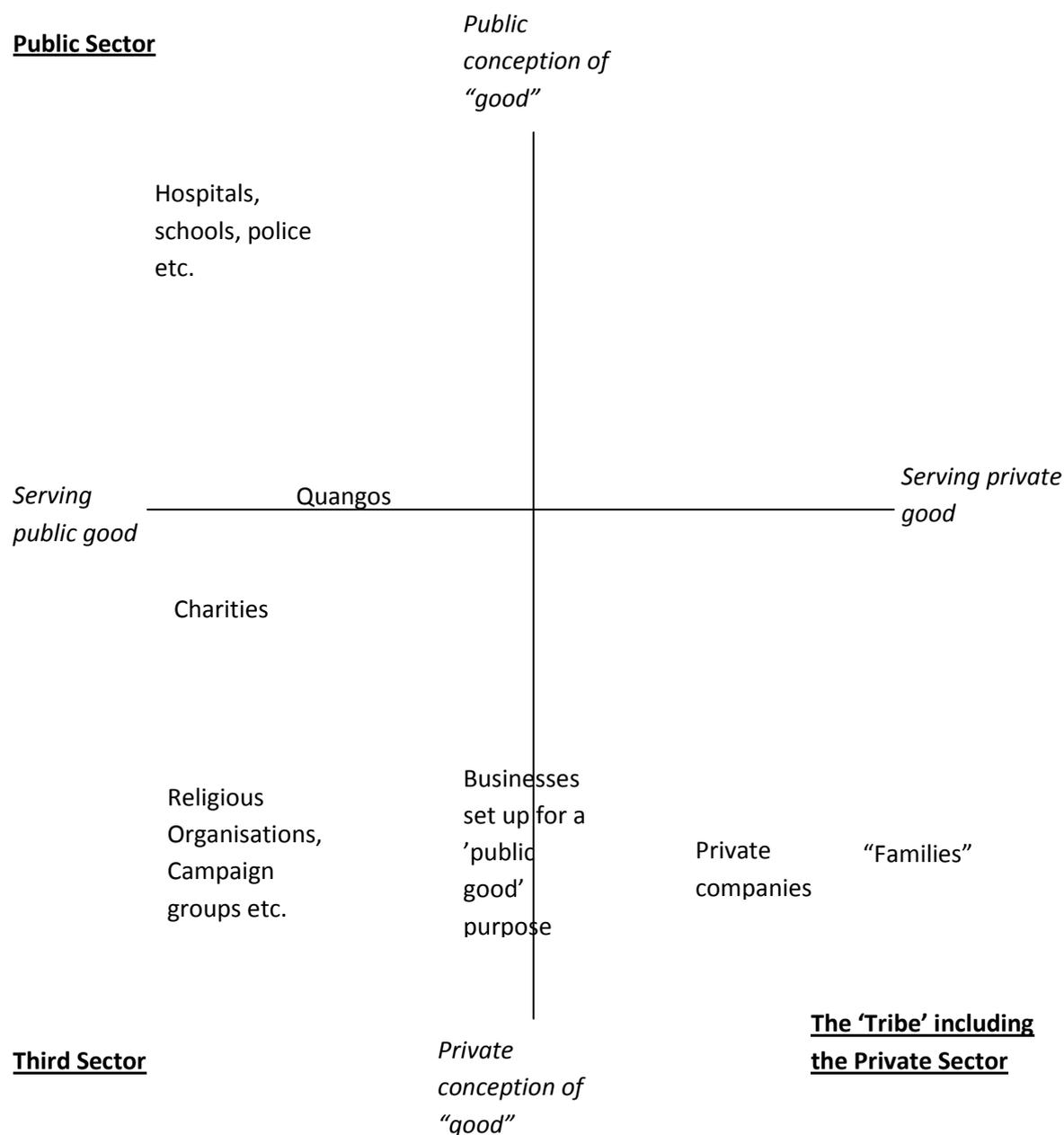
Local sports and cultural groups may well also be classed as Third Sector Organisations under our typology so long as they aim to bring some general public good, rather than represent the interests of a fixed (for instance named) set of members. This may be suggested by an open membership scheme. If they only exist in order to bring help a specific group of individuals, then they may better be classed as a ‘tribal’ group.

As can be seen from all of the examples given above, identifying the “primary” purpose of an organisation may be no simple task, and competing reasons may be given for different classifications of an individual organisation. As a result, the typology may best be seen as based on two continua of organisational types – the first being from organisations which serve their own private good, to organisations which exist only to serve the public good. The second continuum is from organisations which serve a “public” conception of what is good to organisations which serve their own “private” conceptions of good. These two continua can form a grid (as in figure 1) on which different organisations can be placed according to their function.

The new definition of the Third Sector Organisation which is given here is economical, it is significant (identifying not only a wide range of organisations but doing so in a useful way; one that allows an understanding of why they exist, predict their future behaviour, understand their past and perhaps make some value judgements about their role in society.) It also avoids the concerns of Salamon and Anheier (1992a, p138-139) that functional definitions are time sensitive and too dependent on the “eye of the beholder” since it avoids presentism by rejecting a dubious fixed notion of the ‘public good’. It need not be accepted that an organisation is serving the public good in some objective sense to class it as a Third Sector Organisation- what matters is whether it serves what the organisation itself recognises as the public good.

The diagram below represents this functional definition of the Third Sector Organisation alongside the other sectors, and attempts to place some different kinds of organisation according to the framework:

Fig 1. A typology of (typical) organisational types, according to a functional definition of the Third Sector



As can be seen, under this typology, religious organisations and campaign groups might typically be seen as Third Sector Organisations, serving private notions of the public good. Whilst still recognised as Third Sector Organisations, Charities are seen as more towards the public sector end of the continuum, since (in order to gain charitable status,) charities serve not only their private conception of the public good, but must also meet publicly

agreed conceptions of the public good (through the 'public benefit' requirement on charities, enforced by the Charity Commission (Charity Commission, 2010b)). Quangos are seen (as is typical) as being in the grey area between the Public and Third Sector. Businesses set up for some purpose of serving their own conception of the public good, are placed between the Third and Private Sectors.

It is also notable that the classification above, gives no examples of organisations serving 'public conceptions of private goods'. Such organisations would serve goals which the public see as promoting the good of a specific set of individuals, rather than society at large. The absence of such a set of organisations suggests that it is not seen as society's role to dictate to individuals what is for their own good.

It is not argued here that the tentative definition of the Third Sector given above gives an evidently superior definition of the Third Sector to either a structural/operational definition of the sector, or indeed, to other potential functional definitions of the sector. It is simply to exemplify the possibility of producing a workable functional definition of the sector which avoids some of the potential pitfalls of such an approach, as highlighted by Salamon and Anheier.

4.2. Campaigning Third Sector Organisations and serving 'private notions of public good':

Given the topic of this thesis, some reference should be made to how campaign groups fit into the typology. Campaigning Third Sector Organisations are, according to the typology given above, organisations which campaign in order to serve private notions of the public good. This may be distinguished, for example, from corporate lobby groups, who campaign to further the interests of a company, or group of companies.

There are two ways in which a campaigning Third Sector Organisation, can operate so as to serve a private conception of the public good. Firstly an organisation may be set up because it is directly concerned with the improvement of public policy in an area. For instance, as will be seen in the following chapter, CPAG was set up in the 1960s, because

of frustration at government inaction on family poverty. In such cases, policy change to reduce family poverty may be seen as the 'public good' which their campaigning serves.

In contrast, campaigning may be undertaken by organisations primarily created to for other purposes, such as service provision. For instance, Barnardo's which now campaigns on child poverty and other child welfare issues, was initially established in order to provide residential care to destitute children (Barnardo's, 2010) and they continue to provide a substantial service provision function. In such cases, the organisation's campaign function, may be secondary to a more primary purpose, such as the one they list on the charity commission website, being "the relief and assistance of children and young people in need" (Charity Commission, 2010c). In such cases, the campaign function may have been adopted because of the contribution it makes to a broader and more primary purpose served by the organisation.

4.3. Inter-sectoral relationships: the Third Sector - State relationship

Having discussed this classification of different sectors, it is important to recognise that they do not operate independently, since significant inter-sectoral relationships exist. This section focuses on what, for the purpose of this thesis, is the most important of these relationships; that between the Third Sector and the State. This relationship takes three key forms:

Firstly, it has already been noted earlier in this chapter, that Third Sector Organisations can act as an intermediary body to feedback the concerns of their members and supporters to the Government - it is clear that this is one important form of relationship between the Third Sector and the State, and of particular importance to campaign groups who may use the concerns of their members and supporters to legitimise their campaigning for public policy change.

Secondly, a Third Sector Organisation may attempt to change public opinion through public oriented campaigning on their own concerns; so that public conceptions of public goods, are aligned with that organisation's private conception of public goods. By doing

so they may hope to have an impact on Government policy, making this a Third Sector-State relationship, mediated by the public.

Thirdly, the Third Sector can have an important role in providing services on behalf of the State. Where the objectives of the Third Sector Organisation, are in line with those of the State, it may be the case that a Third Sector Organisation is best placed to deliver services which the State wishes to provide. In such cases they may be contracted to provide those services.

Finally, the State may sometimes use Third Sector Organisations to deliver its messages and change public opinion. This may happen when it is felt that a TSO would be a more trusted or appropriate voice than the Government. As well as through formal partnerships, this process may also occur in more subtle ways. For instance by choosing which organisations and programmes to fund, or through other forms of support, the State can shape the public-facing activities of TSOs. It will be seen in the following chapter how State support has been given to campaigning on UK child poverty through the End Child Poverty Coalition, and support for the 'Keep the Promise' rally.

The ways in which the Third Sector and the State interact will be discussed in more detail throughout the rest of this thesis.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to construct some of the arguments against a structural/operational definition of TSOs, and to put the key arguments for a functional approach to their classification. The functional definition developed here is only suggested as an example, showing that, contrary to Salamon and Anheier's assertions, a functional theory may have economy and real significance.

The idea of using a functional definition of the sector will be both utilised, and further explored in later chapters of this thesis. This will be done in two key ways:

The definition of Third Sector Organisations explored above will inform the sample selection methodology.

The functional definition of the Third Sector Organisation explored above will be used in the sample selection methodology for the fieldwork of this project, as outlined in the methodology chapter. In practice this means that the 'purpose' of organisations, will be considered prior to their inclusion in the sample.

Organisations in the sample may be considered to serve private conceptions of the public good if the stated aim of the organisation (which may be assessed from their website, annual report, statement to the charity commission etc) suggests an organisational purpose which is for the benefit of the public (rather than the organisation's own benefit) and is determined 'privately' (i.e. is not appointed by some publicly elected body.)

In reality, although their inclusion would have been for different reasons, all the organisations selected in the sample may well have also been considered Third Sector Organisations under the structural/operational definition.

The thesis will further explore the relation of the 'public space' occupied by the Third Sector to that of the State.

This chapter has defined the Third Sector and the State according to the distinct functions which it is proposed that they serve. Some organisations, such as Quangos, form a grey area between the two. The chapter has also noted the potential relations which exist between these two spheres, highlighting for example, how the Third Sector can form a 'feedback link' between the public and the Government. These crucial inter-sectoral relationships will be further explored throughout the thesis, with particular reference to the nature of Government-Third Sector relationships within the policy process.

The thesis will further explore the significance of both organisational 'function' and 'structure' to how Third Sector Organisations campaign on child poverty.

This chapter has explored the importance of both the function and the structure/operations of organisations. Both are clearly important to understanding the nature TSOs in general, and can be used to help to explain why Third Sector Organisations campaign in the ways in which they do.

This issue is picked up in Chapter 6, which explores the significance of organisational functions and structures to understanding Third Sector campaigning on child poverty.

Having defined the sector, the following chapter moves on to consider its history within the field of study- looking at detail at the historical role of the Third Sector in the relief of poverty in the UK. This addresses a key part of the context necessary to understand current Third Sector campaigning on UK Child Poverty.

Chapter 3: A brief history of the Third Sector's role in welfare for the poor in the UK

This thesis focuses on the methods used by Third Sector Organisations in campaigning for the reform of child poverty policy. As such, a chronological narrative, describing the history of the Third Sector's role in the relief of child poverty, can form an important element of the project; setting current campaigning in context, and raising questions for exploration in the fieldwork and analysis. However, this chapter takes a broader perspective, looking at the Third Sector's role in the relief of poverty more generally. The reason for this is that child poverty, or even the 'child' has not always been a clear cultural category since social understandings of childhood have changed over time. It has been argued that it was only in the 18th and 19th centuries that childhood was 'invented' as a cultural category and that prior to this the child was seen as a 'little adult' (Bellingham, 1988). And certainly there is evidence that many Third Sector Organisations associated with the care of poor children emerged in the 19th century (as will be explored later in this chapter). Looking at Third Sector involvement in the relief of the poor allows exploration of this important divergence, and the creation of child welfare organisations, and of a 'family lobby' campaigning for the interests of children and families.

This chapter takes two parts. The first part considers the role of the Third Sector in poverty relief, from before the introduction of the Elizabethan Poor Law, through to the 'golden age of philanthropy' in the 19th Century. The second part goes on to consider the major factors affecting the role of the Third Sector in poverty relief over the course of the 20th Century, from the welfare reforms of the liberal governments of the start of the 20th Century, through the major welfare reforms of the post war years, through to New Labour policy towards the Third Sector.

The emergence of 'child poverty' as a focus for TSOs will be discussed through the course of the chapter. This includes the emergence of child welfare organisations through the 19th century, the rise of the 'family lobby' with the rediscovery of poverty in the 1960s,

and a re-emphasising of child poverty campaigning in the 21st century, partly as a response to government action including the pledge to end child poverty by 2020.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the historical developments which led to the current position of the sector with regard to the relief of poverty. Questions are also raised as a result of the chapter, for exploration through later chapters in the thesis.

Given the lengthy historical period overviewed in this chapter, it is of necessity a “broad brush” chronological narrative, rather than a detailed exploration of any specific period, issue or group. Given the length of involvement of the Third Sector in the relief of poverty, and the significance of this history to current Third Sector campaigning (addressed through the course of this chapter and its conclusion), such a broad brush approach was considered appropriate. The approach enables the key theoretical frameworks (discussed in chapter 4) utilised to explore contemporary Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty, to be set in the context of key themes emerging throughout the Third Sector’s history in the relief of poverty.

1. Pre 20th Century involvement of the ‘Third Sector’ in the provision of welfare for the poor

Even as far back as Medieval times, there was a basic system for provision of welfare for the poor. Largely this was done by one of the oldest of ‘Third Sector Organisations’ in Britain, the Church;

“Far exceeding the relief thus afforded in casual or organized ways, much of it religiously inspired, was the aid that was provided by the church in its various departments... The condition of being poor could not help gaining a certain social acceptance, when the doing away with ones possessions was advocated as a step in the discipline of salvation.”

Schweinitz (1961, p17)

As this indicates, to some extent in this period, ideological religious beliefs about poverty meant that, poverty retained a certain amount of status and social acceptability.

Reflecting this, alms tended to be distributed quite indiscriminately by the Church, to all comers, irrespective of 'desert', which was to later become a major issue around support for the poor, right up to the present day.

However, the efficiency of church support for the poor has been questioned. A large proportion of the donations to the church went not into welfare for the poor, but rather to religious purposes such as church embellishment and masses for the dead (Chesterman, 1979).

Aside from the Church, some forms of welfare were provided by private foundations, which set up almshouses, hospitals and so forth (Schweinitz, 1961). Trade guilds also provided some charitable assistance (Beier, 1983) (these guilds were also involved in providing mutual insurance, which existed even at this time amongst merchant and craft guilds, as a precursor of the 19th Century mutual insurance societies.) This secular welfare provision was to become more widespread through the 16th Century (Davis Smith, 1995) with the dissolution of the monasteries (discussed below) and the emergence of a new middle class.

The dissolution of the monasteries destroyed many of the most formalised institutional means for welfare provision by religious organisations. As Schweinitz (1961, p19) puts it;

“In 1536 and 1539 Henry VIII expropriated the monasteries and turned their properties over to his followers. This action, like the Black Death in the fourteenth century, gave dramatic point to an already bad situation. A social resource, inadequate at its best, was now substantially diminished.”

However, the impact of the dissolution of the monasteries on the provision of welfare is not universally acknowledged, as Chesterman (1979, p15) suggests;

“the property of monasteries and chantries was already so little applied to social welfare, and the flow of funds to them had dried up to such an extent, that these measures made scarcely any difference to the overall scale of welfare provision.”

And the dissolution of the monasteries was accompanied by a trend away from donations being used for religious purposes (such as those noted above,) and towards more secular and ‘socially useful’ purposes such as the building of hospitals and schools and even perhaps on the creation of workhouses for the employment of the out of work. This had a significant impact, and it has been suggested that although philanthropic disposition may have declined between the reformation and the early 17th century, the volume used for socially useful purposes increased, because so much had previously been devoted to non-utilitarian religious purposes (Chesterman, 1979). As shall be explored in the following section, the dissolution of the monasteries may also have played a role in the creation of Britain’s first Poor Law, an attempt to ensure some kind of welfare provision for at least some of those people who needed it.

The 16th Century also saw a focus on the creation of a legal distinction between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor. Although this distinction may be traced back to a 1349 prohibition on dispensing alms to able bodied beggars (or ‘vagabonds’) (Jordan, 1959) it was revived in 1495, when all local authorities were ordered to trace down vagabonds, place them in stocks and then send them on their way (Jordan, 1959) pressures on the ‘undeserving’ poor were increased throughout the century with the establishment of ‘harsh workhouses’ and the “stepping up of the severe penalties imposed on unlicensed begging and vagrancy” (Chesterman, 1979, p18) this distinction was affirmed in law in 1572 defining the difference between the ‘impotent poor’ and vagabonds’.

“Vagabondage and begging were outlawed under pain of whipping and boring through the ear for a first offence, unless the culprit would enter service for a period of one year, and then as a felony in the event of a third conviction”

Jordan (1959, p88)

At the same time, across the course of the 16th century, the 'deserving' poor were given some entitlements in law to welfare provision, initially (in 1531) by being given entitlement to beg, then in 1536 by alms collected by "every preacher, parson, vicar, curate of this realm" who

"shall exhort, move, stir and provoke people to be liberal and bountifully to extend their good and charitable alms and contributions"

(Henry VIII, Statute, 1536)

By 1563, the collection of alms was legally enforceable; as Schweinitz put it;

"in 1563 the law moves from the social pressure of previous legislation to the use of police power as a means of securing contributions. Voluntary giving and giving upon the persuasion of the bishop having apparently failed, the law now inserts a 'must'."

Schweinitz (1961, p25)

Under a 1576 Act of Parliament, children could be set to work in houses of correction with 'vagabonds' (Beier, 1983), from 1597, provisions were made for poor children to be apprenticed (Beier, 1983).

These statutory provisions were essentially finalised by acts of 1597-1598 and of 1601, which created the 'Poor Law' which would remain in its basic form for three hundred years (Schweinitz, 1961).

It may well be argued that the Poor Law was, at least in part, an attempt to reformalise welfare in the place of the similar assurances the church had given to provide welfare under church law, which had been undermined by the dissolution of the monasteries. However, it may be argued that this intervention was more primarily connected with increased numbers of severely impoverished people, associated more with economic causes than the dissolution of the monasteries- most notably higher rents and prices, and enclosures of common land (Gray, 1905). Bruce (1961, p25) suggests that it was "the

triad of wet summers and bad harvests between 1594 and 1597, with food riots in 1596, that brought the Poor Law in its final form". As Fraser (1984) points out, as would be found repeatedly across the second half of the last millennium, it was in periods such as this, when social disorder may have been threatened by large numbers of severely poor people, that the state involved itself, in one way or another, with the treatment of the poor.

The Poor Law created fundamental differences in philanthropy in England to many continental European countries at the time, which had no such counterpart and where if taxes were used to provide relief it would be as a temporary expedient (Cunningham and Innes, 1998) Whilst English philanthropy still remained the major force in welfare until the twentieth century, the Poor Law showed, not necessarily the first, but certainly an early and marked intention to assert some kind of state involvement in the field.

However, in the initial period of its existence, the Poor Law was unpopular and not regularly invoked, parishes relying instead on charitable donations to poor relief, as Jordan (1959) puts it;

"these rates were extremely unpopular and they were most difficult to raise until time and experience had established local habits and until innumerable judicial decisions had fixed the pattern of their administration. In almost every parish where rates were levied there was a swarm of angry and outraged complaints regarding the rating methods, the probity of overseers, and urgent denials that the poor were not already well provided."

Jordan (1959, p141)

Rather than the Poor Law, the vast majority of welfare was provided by un-coerced, philanthropy aided by the emerging wealthy middle class. Jordan (1959, p140) estimates, based on a survey of 10 counties, that;

"...in no year prior to 1660 was more than 7 percent of all the vast sums expended on the care of the poor derived from taxation."

This philanthropy took the form of a mixture of non-organisational and organisational based giving. 'Non-organisational' giving includes contributions as personal donations in the form of apprenticeships and doles directly to the poor from the donor. For example Slack (1988) suggests that around 80 percent of gifts to the poor by will before 1650 took the form of outright doles (cited in Davis Smith, 1995, p12). However philanthropy from the late 16th century onwards also increasingly involved 'organisational' philanthropy through the establishment of Third Sector secular institutions, with the widespread establishment of workhouses, hospitals and schools. Encouraged by corporate trends in the associative ownership of stock (such as the South Sea Trading company,) such organisational or 'associative' philanthropy saw continued growth through the 18th century, as Owen (1964) puts it:

“Although they continued to give or leave considerable sums of money as individuals, they also discovered increasing merit in collective activity. Inspired, very likely, by the joint stock business ventures of their age, groups of Englishmen arranged to pool their efforts in voluntary societies dedicated to mitigating particular evils, or accomplishing special charitable aims.”

Owen (1964, p3)

This trend continued through the course of the 19th century, when associative forms of philanthropy (the TSO) 'ran riot' with “vast numbers of small, sometimes ephemeral, societies for every conceivable purpose” (Owen, 1964, p181). Owen (1964) attributes a number of reasons for this, including the breaking up of existent organisations, an apparent desire to “create a society whenever convinced of a job to be done” and “the emergence of new social needs” which came about as a result of the pressures of Victorian industrialisation and urbanisation.

Alongside these developments in the structures of Third Sector Organisations, change was also occurring within the Poor Law system. At the start of the century, state provision for the poor was still provided under the old Elizabethan Poor Law (Jones, 1991) with parish poor relief subsidised by charitable giving. However, the centuries old system

came under a lot of pressure during the course of the century. It was felt by many, that poor relief encouraged irresponsibility, including (according to the economist Malthus,) irresponsible breeding (Jones, 1991). Much unemployment was seen as voluntary and could be reduced by encouraging able-bodied men to find work (Thane, 1978). As a result of this, by the middle of the century the old Poor Law system had been replaced by a new and notoriously repressive system of dealing with poverty, through the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

The act renewed focus on the distinction between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor (which has already been discussed with reference to the development of the Poor Law in the 16th century, and is of continued importance in the present day). The ‘deserving’ poor including the sick, elderly, and children “could not be expected to support themselves by work, and could not be described as work-shy dependents upon the public purse.” (Thane, 1978, p29) These people would be granted a dole with which they could support themselves (Thane, 1978). However, in order to discourage the seeking of relief by the not truly destitute, the able bodied poor would not be able to claim ‘outdoor relief’ but would rather face the ‘workhouse test’, only being able to claim relief if they entered the workhouse (Roberts, 1963) where conditions were made so rigorous that “no-one would voluntarily seek it in preference to work” (Thane, 1978, p29) and they faced “insufficient diets, the separation of husband from wife, and constant incarceration” (Roberts, 1963, p98). Reforms to the law made it more humane from 1848 (Jones, 1991). However, for lack of an alternative, the basic structure remained the same for several decades afterwards (Jones, 1991).

This re-focussing of poor relief provision was not restricted to poor relief provision from the State under the Poor Law. A similar ‘problem’ was perceived with regard to charitable giving, and in response, in the second half of the 19th century, the Charitable Organisation Society (COS) was formed with the intention of reorganising philanthropic efforts by (as they put it in their first annual report) providing “machinery for systematizing, without unduly controlling, the benevolence of the public” (Charity Organisation Society 1869, p6; cited in Owen 1964, p221). It was the view of COS that rises in poverty in the 1860s were the result of ‘lax’ implementation of the Poor Law, and of ‘indiscriminate almsgiving’ (Owen, 1964, p217). It has been argued that their ‘harsh’

and rigid' approach to the poor, has given not just themselves, but perhaps Victorian philanthropy more generally, something of 'a bad name' (Jones, 1991).

In reality 19th century poverty was considerably more complicated than this picture of 'idleness' amongst the undeserving poor may suggest. Low pay amongst both men and women, irregular employment and unemployment in certain periods, old age, disability and desertion of women by their husbands, were all significant factors leading to Victorian poverty (Thane, 1996).

The approach of both the COS and the 'Poor Law' reformers may be seen as a 'muddled' rather than 'malevolent' approach (Jones, 1991) caused by the need to deal with complicated issues of an unprecedented kind (Jones, 1991). Regardless of the reasons for it, the approach made scapegoats of the poor, framing them as lazy and dependent; where there existed more pernicious problems (such as those outlined above) causing poverty in Victorian England. The main cause of 19th century poverty was not unregulated charity, but, as Beatrice Webb put it;

"A deeper and more continuous evil than unrestricted and unregulated charity, namely, unrestricted and unregulated capitalism..."

Webb (1979³, p207)

However, not everyone in Victorian society felt that poor relief encouraged irresponsibility, or that the Poor Law was applied too laxly, and through the 19th century, groups were also being set up to campaign for more generous provision for the poor by the State. These early poverty campaign groups included the Fabian Society, which favoured gradual political reform towards socialist ends (Thane, 1996). The Fabians Sydney and Beatrice Webb, lobbied politicians and civil servants for increased relief to help reduce poverty amongst those in need (Thane, 1996).

In addition, protest about poverty was increasingly expressed by the poor themselves. Certainly by the 1880s, there was increased activity amongst the working classes in

³ originally published 1926

economic and political issues (Thane, 1996) and, particularly at times of economic depression, such as 1878-79 and 1884-87 (Thane, 1996) social unrest. Towards the end of the century, concerns about militancy resulting from unemployment, combined with inadequate charitable support to relieve the unemployed poor, led to some Government recognition that charity was not sufficient to deal with unemployment (Thane 1996). Towards the end of the century, Parliament introduced a number of reforms aimed at providing increased state provision of welfare (beyond the Poor Laws). By 1900 “central government action on recognised social problems was greater than 1870 but still slight in contrast with the magnitude of those problems and of the range of demands for action.” (Thane, 1996, p42)

2. 19th century responses to Child Poverty:

As noted in the introduction, it has been argued that in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, childhood was ‘invented’ as a cultural category and that prior to this the child was seen as a ‘little adult’ (Bellingham, 1988). As a result, it is not surprising that amongst Victorian concerns about the poor, child poverty emerged as a particularly significant issue.

“Among the social tragedies which most terrified humane Victorians and challenged their sympathies was that of the grievously neglected child, the juvenile outcast of urban life, Oliver Twist and Joe the crossing sweeper”

Owen (1964, p145)

Through the course of the 19th century, and as part of wider issues about the impact of the environment on the urban poor, reformers were concerned about the “hostile and corrupting” conditions in which poor 19th century children grew up (Cockburn, 2000. p24). There were particular concerns that unless ‘rescued’ such children would be drawn into a criminal career (Owen, 1964, p145).

As a result of these concerns about vulnerable children on the streets of British cities, a large number of organisations were set up to ‘rescue’ children, including Barnardo’s, the Waifs and Strays society, the Catholic and Jewish Rescue Societies, Methodist street-children’s missions and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Cockburn, 2000, p25). Where Victorian society emphasised self-reliance for adults, poor children were often viewed as incompetent to deal with their circumstances, and many programmes sought to remove them from city streets (Cockburn, 2000).

As in other areas of welfare for the poor, State intervention in the care of children grew in the latter half of the 19th century. From the 1870s there was a move away from the notion that children were solely the responsibility of parents and that there should be no state intervention in this relationship (Thane, 1996). For instance, the Factory Acts included help for children lacking adequate family support (Thane, 1996).

3. Overview of emerging themes in pre 20th Century TSO work in poverty relief

A number of key themes can be identified in the lengthy history of Third Sector Organisations involvement in poverty relief prior to the 20th century and the birth of the welfare state.

Firstly, the period saw the *secularisation* of the Third Sector role in poverty relief, particularly with the dissolution of the monasteries, and the expansion of secular welfare provision.

Secondly, the distinction between *deserving and undeserving poor* and associated attempts to regulate both statutory and charitable giving is a recurrent theme across the history of poverty relief. It had notable impacts upon both the creation of the Elizabethan Poor Laws, the development of the new Poor Law in 1834, and in attempts to regulate Third Sector activities through the development of the Charity Organisation Society.

Thirdly the rise of *associated philanthropy* was discussed, with a movement from individual dole giving, to organised associative philanthropic efforts. This can be seen as

an early trend in TSO governance. Further attempts to improve the governance of Third Sector efforts in poverty relief came with the COS in the 19th century. Further attempts to improve the management of poverty relief efforts will also be noted through the course of the 20th century.

Fourthly, the emergence of *child poverty* as a particular issue of concern for Third Sector Organisations was discussed. Particularly in the 19th Century, recognition developed on the need for different treatment of children to adults, and where the need for 'self-reliance' was emphasised in dealing with poor adults, children in poverty (and particularly 'street children') were seen as incompetent to deal with their circumstances, and in some cases, as being in need of 'rescuing.'

Finally, the emergence of some early *legal intervention* in the provision of welfare for the poor was discussed. However, it has been seen that both the old and the new versions of the Poor Laws were inadequate, and by the end of the 19th century, State provision was expanding, and demand for further provision remained intense. The growth of municipal and central government also provided both the structure and the capacity which would enable these changes to occur (Taylor, 1995).

4. The 20th Century

The second part of this chapter describes the changing role of the Third Sector in welfare for the poor through the course of the 20th Century, considering, in particular, how the sector responded to the development of state involvement in welfare across the period.

4.1. 1900-1950

Continuing the trend towards increased state intervention in the provision of welfare, a number of key welfare reforms were introduced by the liberal Governments of the very start of the 20th Century. Rose (1986) suggests a division of these reforms into two groups, the first of these are the early reforms, including the School Meals Act of 1906, and the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, which had been discussed for a long time both in

and out of parliament, and which may be put down greatly to the work of Charles Booth and Margaret McMillan, and a desire to “conciliate the infant labour party” (Rose, 1986, p48). The second part of the reforms were newer ideas “entering the ‘untrodden fields’ of sickness and unemployment” (Rose, 1986, p48). This State involvement continued, and the inter-war year were marked by “the growth of public action and expenditure despite the depression” (Thane, 1996, p203) with government social expenditure per head growing from £2.4 in 1918 to £12.5 in 1938 (Thane, 1996, p203).

This new atmosphere of State involvement in welfare necessitated adjustment by Third Sector Organisations. As Owen (1964, p525) notes “a network of statutory social services was being fashioned which would make necessary a fresh definition of the role of the voluntary organisation.” The problem of where the Third Sector should find its new role was addressed early on by the minority report of 1909⁴ which proposed that the Voluntary Sector should be an ‘extension ladder’ topping up the basic minimum of public welfare support provided by the State (Brenton, 1985). This new position was also addressed in more practical terms with the formation of the National Council of Social Services, which was set up in 1919 not just to coordinate voluntary social work and also to cooperate with government and Local Authorities (Owen, 1964, p530), which highlighted the new necessity of cooperation and ‘partnership’ now that the two sectors were working in very similar areas.

Some of the problems of TSOs finding a new place in society were temporarily resolved by the Second World War, during which, the sector maintained a focus on meeting wartime needs. For instance, Citizens Advice was founded in 1939 as the result of a National Council of Social Services establishing a group on how best to meet wartime needs, which recommended that

“Citizens Advice Bureaux should be established throughout the country, particularly in the large cities and industrial areas where social disorganisation may be acute.”

(cited in Citizens Advice, 2009, p5)

⁴ The report of the minority faction of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the relief of distress 1905-1909.

But following the war we find that raft after raft of reforms were continuing to lead to the Third Sector being squeezed out of its role in providing welfare assistance to those in need. From its old position at the forefront of provision, the Third Sector became very much the “junior partner in the welfare firm” (Owen, 1964, p527).

Perhaps in part because of the conditions that the Second World War created, the greatest of these waves of reform came immediately following the Second World War.

“The decisive event in the evolution of the Welfare State was the Second World War, which, coming as it did after a long period of distress and puzzled endeavour at relief, challenged the British people to round off the system of social security that they had sketched and to maintain in peace the consideration for all which had so impressively marked the war period”

(Bruce, 1961, p291)

The Family Allowances Act of 1945 established a universal child allowance giving 5 shillings for second and subsequent children, which, by 1949, was being paid to nearly 3 million families, costing £59 million per year. (Fraser, 1984, p226) As an official report of the time put it;

“The State now accepted the responsibility of making a financial contribution to the cost of bringing up every family of two or more children, regardless of the parents’ means.”

Report of the Ministry of National Insurance 1944-1949, cited in Fraser (1984, p227)

The National Insurance act of 1946, gave the employed man, in return for a weekly contribution, entitlement to seven kinds of benefit; sickness and unemployment benefit, an old age pension, maternity and widows’ benefits, a guardian’s allowance for orphans and a death grant to cover funeral expenses (Fraser, 1984, p228) The National Assistance Act of 1948 “created a single, national means-tested allowance available to all those not in employment whose financial resources fell below a standard set by Parliament. The

Act also made local authorities responsible for providing residential care for the elderly” (Kendall and Knapp, 1996, p52). In addition, the introduction of the National Health Service in 1948 has been seen as the central achievement of the 1945-51 Government (Hill, 1993).

These reforms remained in place even after the Conservatives returned to office in 1951, Churchill saying that they needed to be given time to ‘bed in’ (Deakin, 2005, p47). The permanence of the State’s involvement in the provision and management of social security appeared assured.

The very existence of the Third Sector came into question; Chesterman (1979) cites a public opinion poll of 1948 in which more than 99% of people interviewed thought that philanthropy had been made superfluous by the Welfare State. Voluntary provision of welfare was seen as patronising and outdated by the post war Labour Government (Taylor, 1995).

There was a need for the Sector to redefine its purpose, and coordinating with this wave of reforms, a 1948 report (as with the minority report of 1909), addressed the key question of what the role of the Third Sector should be in post war society. Beveridge’s ‘Voluntary Action’ reiterated the importance of maintaining a thriving voluntary sector. In Beveridge’s view, there was a wide range of tasks still facing the sector;

“Action is needed to do things which the State should not do, in the giving of advice, or in the organizing the use of leisure. It is needed to do things which the State is most unlikely to do. It is needed to pioneer ahead of the State and make experiments. It is needed to get services rendered which cannot be got by paying for them.”

Beveridge (1948, p302)

These key areas of voluntary action; doing what the state ‘should not’, or is ‘most unlikely’ to do. Under ‘Should not do’ Beveridge specifically mentions the giving of advice, and we may posit such advice might include that about access to State services, or complaints about state services, which the State may not be in a position to provide

impartially. Similarly the State neither 'Should not' nor 'could not' complain and campaign against its own legislation in the way which the external Third Sector can. The idea of an 'extension ladder' remains from 1909, in the form of 'pioneering ahead of the State', and also pioneering ahead of the private sector, by providing services which could not be acquired by paying for them.

4.2. 1950s-1970s

Post war attitudes towards state provision of welfare did not last. Research in the late 1950s and 1960s, re-examined assumptions about whether poverty in Britain had been abolished as a result of the post war settlement. In particular, findings from researchers such as Peter Townsend, identified substantial numbers of households in poverty remaining in Britain (largely as a result of redefining poverty according to a relative rather than absolute standard – writers such as Banting (1979, p70) called this the “major intellectual innovation, from which all else flowed”.) By 1959, the Labour party had adopted the need for further action on poverty (at that time, particularly amongst the elderly) as a key election issue (McCarthy, 1986). Child poverty became one area of particular concern, and it has been claimed that family poverty was the “leading social issue” of the 1960s (Banting, 1979, p66)

This 'rediscovery of poverty' gave stimulus for a revived role for the Third Sector, in campaigning for improved provision of welfare by the State. In the early 1960s, Labour Government emphasis was refocused on economic growth through technological revolution, rather than on closing the gap between the rich and poor (McCarthy, 1986) and direct emphasis on poverty reduction was largely lost from Labour's priorities. It was in this context of “Labour inaction and growing academic frustration” (McCarthy, 1986, p41), that the Family Poverty Group was formed, to campaign for key reforms to income protection policy (including changes to the family allowance, and on the introduction of negative taxation for low income households- through which income could be added to wage packets (McCarthy, 1986)). The group later changed its name to Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG). One of the group's first actions was to send a memorandum on poverty to a group of influential people, asking them to support action to alleviate the

problem by signing a letter to be sent to the Prime Minister (McCarthy, 1986). Building on this, the group engaged in media campaigning- writing articles for national newspapers, providing reference sources, and building close relationships with journalists (Banting, 1979). This was combined with the targeting of sympathetic politicians (Banting, 1979).

However, low income poverty was not the only issue on which the Third Sector found a role in criticising State provision of welfare. During the 1960s the State was challenged over issues such as housing, mental health services and care for the elderly, where large state run bureaucracies were accused of providing inefficient support (Deakin, 2005). Along with this, the period saw the emergence of a wide new group of bodies campaigning on issues controlled by the state, such as DIG (the Disablement Income Group), Gingerbread (working on issues facing single parent families), Shelter (on housing issues), CARD (the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination), and perhaps most particularly in the sphere of Social Security, CPAG (Deakin, 1995). Even on a more local scale “welfare rights and neighbourhood law centres saw their functions as not confined to casework but including a strong campaigning role.” (Deakin, 1995, p50)

However, the campaigns role did not supplant that of service provision. In provision of services, many TSOs took on the role of innovators and ‘extension ladder’ providers by “changing from being universal providers to a new more selective and particular role” (Deakin, 1995, p50). As Beveridge had suggested in ‘Voluntary Action’, part of this role was increasingly what might be called *meta*-welfare; giving advice about, and assisting people to claim, rights to welfare which were now provided by the State itself. As an example of this, by 1973 there were 566 Citizens Advice Bureaux (Younghusband, 1978, p263). In many cases, groups were involved in both the provision of services, and also campaigning on policy issues.

Third Sector and State provision of welfare did not exist entirely separately, and the issue of partnership between the two sectors was an important concern. In the 1960s, when drawing up the plans for reform of social services (which led to the creation of unified social services departments (Deakin, 1995)), the Seebohm committee (1968) made provision for TSOs to work “with and within the new social services departments”

(Deakin, 1995, p52). In return, some level of professionalism was demanded of TSOs who needed to show “good practice in training and capacity to innovate” (Deakin, 1995, p52). In Third Sector Organisations, standards of training and professionalism amongst management increased (Deakin, 1995, p53).

4.3. 1979-1997

Under the Conservative Governments from 1979, the role of the Third Sector in the provision of welfare was to continue to undergo change. In particular, as part of the program of the ‘rolling back of the State’, more fundamental involvement of the Third Sector in welfare provision was to be encouraged by the Thatcher administration.

Although cautious through the early 1980s, when they won their third term in 1987 the Conservatives “cast aside all inhibitions” in reforming the model of welfare provision (Deakin, 1995, p61) with services either “hived off altogether into the private sector... or to be delivered through ‘quasi-markets, with the state retaining the role of purchasing on behalf of the consumer but from providers either already outside the public sector proper or consigned there.” (Deakin, 1995, p61)

As a result, the Third Sector took a greater role in the delivery of “mainstream services” (Harris et al., 2001, p3). However, at the same time, support for these organisations was very conditional: Firstly, a number of organisations were;

“Deliberately excluded because their objectives did not mesh with the project: these are the deplorable ‘pressure groups’ –mainly advocacy and campaigning bodies.”

(Deakin, 1995, p62)

Secondly, Third Sector Organisations which wanted to be involved in delivery of services, were forced to become increasingly business like, competing in markets to sell their services to the government. Some embraced this free market oriented professionalisation of the sector, as Deakin (1995, p62) puts it;

“Most large voluntary agencies have taken on board the lessons of the management revolution of the 1980s and kitted themselves out with all the paraphernalia of the enterprise culture: mission statements, logos, personal identification with tasks, ‘passion’ (even obsession) for excellence.”

But not all groups were willing, or able to deal with this change, left “bewildered” by the rules; this may have been particularly true of smaller, community level organisations (Deakin, 1995).

This was not the first time that the sector had adopted practices comparable to those of their counterparts in the commercial sector. For instance, it has already been noted that the growth of associative philanthropy, was reflective of commercial trends towards the associative ownership of stock.

Alongside the new role in service provision, campaigning TSOs continued to operate throughout the 1980s and 90s. A survey by Whiteley and Winyard (1987) identified that at the end of the 1970s there were 42 groups undertaking anti-poverty pressure group work. Child poverty was an important area of campaign action- among the 42 groups identified by Whiteley and Winyard, ‘family poverty’ was the second most represented policy area (after disability) with 10 groups campaigning in this area (it is notable that of the ten, four were set up between 1960 and 1970.)

Many anti-poverty groups were engaged in coordinated action, with Winyard and Whiteley (1987) finding that of the 42 groups they identified, joint action was ‘very common’ in 38. The nature of such action was found to vary greatly, from limited and temporary action over a specific project (such as the publication of a report), through to the creation of coalitions, with their own organisation and finances but with a membership made up of other groups (for instance, the disability campaign group the Rooyal Association for Disability Rights (RADAR) was made up of 300 organisations at the time of Whiteley and Winyard’s (1987) work⁵.

⁵ RADAR now has over 900 organisations as members (<http://www.radar.org.uk/radarwebsite/>)

From the late 1970s onwards attempts were made to coordinate the family poverty lobby, with several groups led by CPAG attempting to join up on a permanent basis (Whiteley and Winyard, 1987). However, Whiteley and Winyard found that conflicts and differences between the family campaign groups meant that such attempts were unsuccessful.

It has been argued that the Thatcher Government disliked the Third Sector's "incurable propensity to lobby and campaign" as Deakin (2005, p23) puts it, and in the 1980s Douglas Hurd raised concerns about the growth of pressure groups, their increased media presence, and politicians' deference towards them (Grant, 1989). It has been argued that in the area of social security policy, pressure groups were "almost completely excluded" (Richards and Smith, 2002). Richards and Smith interviewed one official who suggested that Peter Lilley (the Secretary of State for Social Security from 1992-97) "had no interest in consulting pressure groups and did not really care about the relationship with them" (Richards and Smith, 2002, p180).

However, this was not necessarily the experience of all interest groups; it has been argued that whilst suspicious of interest groups associated with the establishment of the welfare state, the Conservative Governments gave access to a new range of interest groups (Richards and Smith, 2002). They may also have increased their use of think tanks as alternative interest groups for consultation on policy (Richards and Smith, 2002). It has even been suggested that overall Government consultation actually grew throughout the period, providing opportunities for campaign group involvement in the policymaking process; with the number of consultation documents published by Government increasing from 11 in 1970 to 85 by 1980 and 267 by 1990 (Maloney et al, 1994).

4.4. 1997 to 2010 - New Labour and the pledge to 'end child poverty' by 2020

Since 1997, under the New Labour Government, the role of the Third Sector in poverty relief continued to develop in both service provision and campaigning. With regard to service provision there has been what has been called a 'softening' of language from Government, with more empathy towards the sector – with talk of 'compacts' and

'partnership' (Harris et al, 2001, p4). However, high efficiency and effectiveness was still expected from TSOs, and the sector continued to be monitored and regulated just as under the Conservative administrations (Harris et al, 2001, p4).

With regard to anti-poverty campaigning, the period since 1997 has seen several notable developments. Firstly, it has been argued that since the anti poll tax protests in the early 1990s, there has been a 'resurgence' of public protest tactics used in campaigning on a range of issues, notable examples being the Countryside Alliance protests against the ban on fox hunting, and protests against the war in Iraq (Grant, 2004). Such tactics have also been used in the field of anti poverty campaigning, including campaigns about international poverty, such as 'Make Poverty History', but also in campaigning on UK poverty, most notably, the 'Keep the Promise' End Child Poverty rally in 2008 (discussed in more detail below). Grant (2004) suggests that such expansion may be in part due to learning from other countries, and partly as a result of new technology such as mobile phones and the internet.

There may also have been a trend towards Government support for (or even co-option of) public protest campaigning. For instance Nash (2008) suggests that Tony Blair and Gordon Brown managed to position themselves as leaders of the Make Poverty History campaign (to the consternation, she suggests, of the TSOs involved in the campaign, who saw themselves at odds with the Government over a number of issues.) Similarly, the Government has shown support for campaigning on child poverty in the UK (for example see Balls (2006) below).

Secondly, there have been changes in consultation practices between government and interested parties (including Third Sector Organisations). It has been suggested that following 1997, there was a major increase in consultation, and has been argued that nowhere was this more true than in the Department for Social Security. Richards and Smith (2002) quote one official from the DSS as saying:

“(The current Government) wants to bring (interest groups) in at a much earlier stage. Previously we’ve generally had more of an idea and presented options, but now we are asking for everyone’s views regardless”

New Labour produced a consultation code in 2000 (HM Government, 2008); the intention of this was to make written consultations more effective, and to open the process of decision-making to as wide a range of people as possible (Grant, 2004). One way in which this was to occur was through making consultation documents available on the internet, reducing the costs of involvement as documents can be accessed, and responses made, online (Grant, 2004). This thesis looks at one recent consultation opportunity within the sphere of child poverty policy, a Work and Pensions Select Committee hearing on Child Poverty- this is discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Finally, the use of 'new media', particularly the internet, has created changes throughout the campaigning world. It has already been noted above that the internet has helped to coordinate public campaign actions, and has helped to expand access to consultations. All the groups campaigning on child poverty interviewed in the course of this project use websites, many also used networking sites (such as facebook) for building support and interest; in some cases organisations also use the internet to directly engage interested parties in their campaigning, for instance the End Child Poverty coalition held an 'online rally' (supplementing the 'Keep the Promise' rally held in London in 2008- discussed further below), allowing supporters to sign a petition and post messages of support for the campaign goals.

4.4.1. Campaigning on Child Poverty

Of particular interest is the development of campaigning on child poverty since 1997. Voluntary Sector action on this issue is particularly interesting in the context of Government policy developments. In March 1999 Tony Blair, then Prime Minister for less than two years, gave the yearly Beveridge lecture at Toynbee Hall. In the final few paragraphs of his speech he made the historic pledge to eliminate Child Poverty by 2020.

“Our historic aim will be for ours to be the first generation to end child poverty, and it will take a generation. It is a 20 year mission but I believe it can be done.”

Since then the Government had fleshed out its commitment to reduce Child Poverty by a quarter by 2005, by half by 2010 and eradicate it all together by 2020 (details on how child poverty has been defined are given in the introduction.) The commitment has recently been enshrined in law through the 2010 Child Poverty Act.

Anti-poverty campaigners have used the pledge to end child poverty to rally support for the cause. Most notably, after failed attempts to organise the family lobby in the 1970s, the years since Tony Blair's Toynbee Hall pledge, have also seen the emergence of a coalition for the eradication of child poverty, called the 'End Child Poverty Coalition'. The organisation became a registered charity in 2003 (End Child Poverty, 2004).

The organisation's aims, are:

"The goal of the Campaign to End Child Poverty is simple - to eradicate child poverty in the UK - and our aims are clear.

- **Inform** the public about the causes and effects of child poverty;
- **Forge commitment** between, and across, the public, private and voluntary sectors to end child poverty by 2020;
- **Promote** the case for ending child poverty by 2020 with this and every future Government."

End Child Poverty (2010b)

From a founding group of 12 members (End Child Poverty, 2004), the coalition now contains more than 150 member organisations.

The End Child Poverty coalition has facilitated a number of coalition activities. Most notable of recent activities was the 2008 'Keep the Promise' event in London. The End Child Poverty coalition says that 10,000 'children, families and supporters' came to the

event, to show their support for the Government keeping its promise of ending child poverty by 2020 (End Child Poverty, 2010) A photo from the rally is included below.

Alongside the rally, a ‘virtual’ rally was created on the end child poverty website, giving people the opportunity to ‘sign up’ their support for the cause (End Child Poverty, 2010c).

**Fig 2. ‘Keep the Promise’ Rally in Trafalgar Square (October 2008)
(from End Child Poverty, 2010)**



The coalition has received considerable government support. In the year of its registering as a charity, the End Child Poverty coalition received a £75 000 grant from the Department for Education and Skills (End Child Poverty, 2004); this was a substantial proportion of its funding for that year. In addition, Gordon Brown hosted the inaugural members’ reception in 2003 (End Child Poverty, 2004). There is other evidence that the Labour Government have welcomed action taken to draw public attention to the problem of child poverty in Britain. In a 2006 article Ed Balls highlighted the importance of public support for action on child poverty, to getting the Government to take action, noting the success of the ‘Make Poverty History’ and ‘Jubilee Debt’ campaigns :

“Entrenching a campaign to end child poverty is not just about policy, it is also about politics. Our mission must be to make the goal of ending child poverty in Britain such a political imperative that no serious politician and no modern party could stand in the way of achieving it. This is where, I believe, we have to learn from Jubilee 2000 and the Make Poverty History campaigns. Through hard work,

careful planning and close cooperation over years, they succeeded where we have not yet succeeded in the UK campaign against child poverty. Before international meetings with, for example, the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank we would contact Jubilee 2000 or Make Poverty History and say, 'isn't it about time you surrounded the Treasury?'

(...) the big question today has to be, 'is it not about time the Treasury was surrounded by bells, whistles and buggies, and placards demanding an end to child poverty in Britain?'"

Balls (2006, p9)

However, coalition action has not prevented individual organisations campaigning for the relief of child poverty. Campaign groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group, Barnardo's, Save the Children and Citizens Advice amongst other organisations, have ongoing campaigns on child poverty in the UK. Campaigning currently includes work on specific child poverty policy related issues (for example, CPAG's 'Make Child Benefit Count' campaign calls for increases in Child Benefit rates). However, in the face of public scepticism about the existence of UK poverty (discussed further in later chapters,) there has also been emphasis on communicating the 'realities' of poverty to the public, Barnardo's have written a series of reports on this topic, including 'Below the Breadline: a year in the life of families in poverty' and 'It doesn't happen here', Citizens Advice similarly produced a report entitled 'This is Child Poverty' (these are both further discussed in the analysis chapters).

5. Summary and conclusion

The Third Sector has undergone considerable historical development in its role in the provision of welfare for the poor in Britain. Key developments identified have included:

- The secularisation of welfare provision with the dissolution of the monasteries (16th century).
- The creation of statutory provision for the 'deserving' poor through the Elizabethan Poor Laws (16th-17th centuries).

- Expansions in associative philanthropy, mirroring business trends (18th -19th centuries).
- Growth in TSO numbers with the creation of organisations ‘for every conceivable purpose’ through 18th and 19th centuries.
- Refocusing of statutory Poor Law provision through the 1834 Poor Law, and associated trends towards limiting the availability of poverty relief through charitable organisations with the creation of the COS.
- Increased role of poor people themselves in poverty protest in the 19th century.
- Recognition of particular problems of child poverty and welfare, the establishment of a number of groups (including Barnardo’s, the Waifs and Strays society and the NSPCC) to deal with these problems.
- Increased role of the state in provision of welfare for the poor towards the end of the 19th and, particularly, with the liberal governments at the start of the 20th century.
- Suggestion of the voluntary sector as ‘extension ladder’ to top up state provision, and increased importance of partnership between voluntary sector and state, with the creation of the National Council for Social Services.
- Creation of the Welfare State following the Second World War.
- Post War scepticism about continued role for the Third Sector. Beveridge’s ‘voluntary action’ identifies roles in doing what the state ‘should not’, or is ‘most unlikely’ to do.
- ‘Rediscovery of poverty’ in the 1960s, and the establishment of a number of campaign groups (including Child Poverty Action Group) to work for recognition of poverty, and extended poverty provision from the state. Particular emphasis given to family poverty.
- Thatcher Government focus on rolling back the State puts renewed (possibly outdated) emphasis on Third Sector provision of welfare. There is some evidence that pressure groups are unwelcome, although opportunities for consultation may have nonetheless increased in this period.
- Alongside expansion in Third Sector provision of services, the ‘Management revolution’ of the 1980s calls for increased professionalisation of the sector, following a business model.
- Attempts to coordinate a ‘family lobby’ are unsuccessful through the 1980s.

- Resurgence of public protest tactics through the 1990s and into the new millennium. New modes of government interaction with this, in some cases with support given for (or even co-option of) public protest.
- ‘New Media’ changes campaigning, for example, by allowing new ways of both organising public protest, and of engaging with government consultations.
- Emphasis given to child poverty with the pledge to end child poverty by 2020. Creation of a child poverty coalition with support from the Government.

The history summarised above is not simply a disjointed stream of events. In several cases, themes develop through time (for example, the encroachment of state involvement in the provision of poverty relief.) In some cases the same issues recur in different ways at different times, for example, Third Sector reflections of strategies emerging in the business world occurred in both the 18th century (with increases in associative philanthropy) and the 20th century (with the management revolution); in the field of poverty relief, the distinction between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor has repeatedly emerged as a significant issue for Third Sector Organisations.

As a result, the history of the sector can both give lessons and raise questions about the Third Sector’s current role in campaigning for the reform of child poverty policy. For example, in later chapters, both the impact of the distinctions between deserving and undeserving poor, and the professionalisation of the sector, will be considered; both issues which have played an important role in the history of the sector. Other questions highlighted by this chapter include:

1) How does the Third Sector’s relationship with the State and with the public affect its campaigning on child poverty?

Throughout the period considered above, the relationship between the Third Sector and the State (for instance, the changing relationship during the creation of the welfare state) and the public (for example, 19th century public attitudes towards the nature of poverty, and the social impact of ‘doles’,) has been crucial to defining the role of voluntary organisations in the relief of poverty.

Later chapters in this thesis will further explore the current nature of relationships, with particular reference to how they currently affect campaigning on child poverty.

2) How do the Third Sector's two roles of service provision and campaigning work alongside one another

It has been seen how through the course of history, and particularly since the second world war, the two roles of service provision and campaigning for the reform of policy have developed alongside one another, in many cases with organisations undertaking both at the same time. Later chapters will explore how campaign strategies integrate service provision as an important resource for their campaigns.

3) How does the sector put the resources it has available to the most efficient and effective use?

Throughout its history, effective use of resources has been a key theme for understanding Third Sector action for the relief of poverty. For example, early in this chapter it was discussed how the dissolution of the monasteries, and increases in secular philanthropy, promoted changes in the efficiency of philanthropic donations for the purposes of supporting the poor; later it was noted how, in the 19th century, the COS undertook what it saw as the vital task of promoting efficient uses of resources amongst charities.

Later chapters of this thesis will go on to discuss what the current demands on campaigning organisations are to use resources efficiently, and how their strategies and tactics are driven by the need to do so.

Having outlined some important context for understanding Third Sector campaigning, the following chapter 'Factors affecting Third Sector campaigning on child poverty: An overview of the literature' focuses on some of the core issues to be addressed in this thesis, considering previous literature addressing both external and internal factors affecting the campaign strategies of Third Sector Organisations.

The resource dependence perspective and social fields approach, which will be used throughout the analysis and conclusion, are introduced in this chapter, and suggestions are made as to how they might be applied to organisations campaigning on child poverty policy.

Chapter 4: Factors affecting Third Sector campaigning on child poverty- An overview of the literature

The campaign activity of Third Sector Organisations has been an important area of interest to both academics seeking to understand the policy process, and to campaigners in the field looking for ways to improve the impact of their organisations within the policy process. This chapter explores the current literature that has built up around understanding the way in which Third Sector Organisations campaign for the reform of policy, including factors affecting the way they campaign, and the effectiveness of their campaign work. This is done to serve two key purposes; firstly it gives an introduction to the field of study to be explored in this project, and secondly it identifies key questions about how organisations campaign on child poverty, and why they campaign in the way in which they do, which will face further analysis in the course of the study.

The chapter is divided into two parts; in the first part, specific factors which have an impact upon the nature or effectiveness of Third Sector campaigning are addressed. This includes discussion of three key aspects of campaigning which have been highlighted in the literature:

Firstly, issues relating to *organisational resources and organisational status* are considered, including factors such as financial resources, public support and membership. The differences between 'insider' and 'outsider' campaign strategies and 'accepted' and 'unaccepted' groups are also explored.

Secondly, the importance of the *campaigning environment* in which the TSO operates is discussed. This includes the status of within sector inter-organisational working, the nature of the State, how the public perceives the campaign issue, and the technological and economic environment.

Finally, this part of the chapter addresses how Third Sector Organisations may persuasively *communicate their campaign goals*. This includes discussion of how organisations may taper their communications to different audiences in a way which maximises their likelihood of impacting upon policy.

The second part considers two broader theoretical frameworks which may be utilised in understanding Third Sector campaigning. The first of these frameworks is a ‘resource dependence perspective’ (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003), through which the activities of organisations are understood as being constrained by the environments in which they are embedded, and their reliance upon that environment to fulfil their resource needs. It is suggested that campaign groups aim to fulfil their resource dependencies through both resource exchange and through the efficient use of resources they possess, in order to maximise their power within the policy process. It is argued that the analysis chapters will not only provide a much needed (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003) further empirical testing of the resource dependence perspective, but also provide a more holistic analysis of resource dependencies amongst campaign groups, addressing their dependencies with a number of different resource exchange partners.

Alongside a resource dependence perspective, a ‘social fields’ approach, is also considered. This theory suggests that organisations operate within “networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over resources, stakes and access” (Bourdieu, 1990). It is suggested that this framework may help to explain how different resources have different levels and manners of importance, dependent upon the field in which they are deployed. It is argued that such a combination of resource dependence theory and organisational fields can help to explain why many of the factors considered in the first part of the chapter have a significant impact on Third Sector campaign strategies. These conclusions will be developed, with relation to research findings, through the course of the analysis chapters and the conclusion.

This is a new approach to understanding Third Sector campaigning, moving beyond understanding campaigning in terms of the interplay of resources and the campaign

environment, by integrating an analysis of how the value of organisational resources is constructed by the 'fields' in which they are deployed.

Through the course of this chapter six "questions" are raised for further analysis in this thesis. These questions are addressed in the course of the analysis chapters and conclusion, and their exploration contributes to answering the core research questions regarding how TSOs campaign on child poverty, and why they campaign in the ways in which they do.

1. Factors affecting Third Sector campaigning

1.1. Organisational resources and organisational status

1.1.1. Financial Resources

Any policy campaign is likely to have financial costs attached; although some- such as mass public engagement campaigns, will naturally be more expensive than others. But regardless of tactics, not only does an organisation need to support the direct costs of a campaign, including staff costs, material costs, advertising, and so forth, but also needs to pay the hidden costs. These include a proportion of the costs of the office space the organisation uses, and the costs of management time to oversee the project and so forth (expressed in the organisational management term 'full cost recovery'). As John Casey puts it;

“To effectively participate in the policy process, TSOs must have the organisational capacity to oversee government actions, influence the creation of new legislation or to lobby for reforms while at the same time continuing to ensure the means necessary for their own operations.”

Casey (2004, p14)

Lack of resources may therefore limit the ability of an organisation to participate within a number of different policy areas at the same time – what is known as the *scope* of influence

(Dahl, 1968). As a result, policy preferences held by an organisation may go unexpressed (or are expressed to a more limited extent) because of a lack of resources to do so.

However, it is not just the *amount* of finances available which may affect the methods and efficacy of campaigns. Given the importance of financing campaigns, it may be the case that the funding source can have power, affecting campaigns undertaken by the sector. For instance, suggestions have been made that Government funding may affect the autonomy of TSOs. As one organisation, quoted in an NCVO report, put it;

“Our Local Authority, because they fund us, it’s as though they own us.”

(a voluntary organisation representative quoted in NCVO (2005, p2))

However, Government funding may not necessarily prevent TSOs from effectively engaging with the policy process. Citing the example of the lobbying efforts of Royal National Institute for the Deaf, Etherington (2004, p107) argues that in at least some cases the Third Sector is able to maintain effective lobbying efforts, whilst receiving funding support from the Government.

Furthermore, it may also be the case that non-governmental funding sources may exert an indirect influence over the campaigns of the Third Sector. For instance Froelich (1999, p260) argues that there may be some shifting of Third Sector work into areas which appeal to the public and “evoke emotions of sympathy” (Froelich, 1999, p251) in order to maximize donations.

1.1.2. Public supporters, and a client base

Public support for an organisation can be a vital resource, which by creating *demand for change* may produce influence in both bringing issues onto the policy agenda and an affect on how they are treated once they are there. This has been found to be the case for some time. As Pym (1974) put it;

“the business of making laws is not exclusively confined to the passage of a Bill. There must first be a demand for a Bill, the forming of a suitable climate of opinion. It is here, arguably, that groups make their major contributions.”

Pym (1974, p117)

Success in creating such a ‘climate of opinion’, may come down, in part, to the simple numbers of supporters that can be gathered. As John Casey puts it;

“While the size of the TSO and its representativity can be seen as a direct result of other internal factors such as ideology and resource mobilization, it is also important to emphasize that the ‘numbers game’ is fundamental in itself. The more people you can claim to represent, and so imply you can get into the polling booth or onto the streets, the more power you are likely to have.”

(Casey, 2004, p23)

Organisations which have greater reliance on public support for their campaign work may need to utilise different campaign strategies than those which attempt to change policy purely from inside the institutionalised policy process. Strategies of public engagement may include organising public demonstrations, or utilising the mass media to communicate their messages to large numbers of people.

Many campaign groups have a client base, built through service provision activities conducted alongside their campaigning. Such clients can be an important resource for a campaign group, giving them knowledge about, and evidence in support of, the policy issues on which they campaign.

“...participation in service delivery is seen as resulting in greater prestige and closer proximity to government, which consequently opens up more possibilities for participation in policy development. Through service delivery, Third Sector Organisations have access to clients and, therefore, knowledge of their needs, which legitimizes Third Sector Organisations and confers the right to influence decision making.”

1.1.3. Intangible resources – knowledge and access

Knowledge is a crucial organisational resource regardless of the area of organisational operation. Organisational knowledge can take a number of forms; it can be “embedded in a variety of entities, such as tools, tasks, technologies”, and, most crucially, people (Kang et al, 2007, p236).

The significance of knowledge resources is such that it has been argued that the deployment of other organisational resources is secondary to knowledge resources, since they are:

“...driven by the combined effects of the organisation’s processors (human and computer) operating on its knowledge resources — as epitomized in an ongoing panorama of decisions being made.”

(Holsapple and Joshi, 2001, p40)

Within the sphere of Third Sector campaigning, there are at least two areas in which knowledge is a crucial resource. Firstly, *knowledge of the policymaking process* may be important to access key policymaking processes. For instance, some skills are necessary to access governmental consultation processes (Grant, 2004). But similarly, skills may be required to coordinate public oriented campaign activities, though the knowledge and skills may be different. In each case, the point made by Holsapple and Joshi (2001) that knowledge ‘drives’ the effective use of other resources is exemplified. Without the ability to organise an effective action involving an organisation’s public membership, its public support and funding are of little use. Similarly, without the skills required to respond to a Government consultation, sound evidence and a well informed policy staff cannot be effectively utilised.

Secondly *knowledge of the policy issue* at hand is likely to be a crucial resource in achieving policy impact. The importance of providing ‘evidence’ for policymakers has

been widely noted, both in the persuasive communications literature (which is discussed later in this chapter) and in discussions specific to Third Sector campaigning; for instance, in their guide to campaigning, Coe and Kingham (2007) write:

“Strong and compelling evidence is the bedrock of your campaign. You may be experts in your field through your experience of working on the issue, and this gives you a legitimacy to campaign on it. However, the quality of campaign evidence and how it is presented is of the utmost importance.”

Coe and Kingham (2007, p8)

Campaign evidence may, to some extent, offer the opportunity to participate in policymaking to groups which lack substantial other resources; as Maloney et al. (1994) put it:

“...technical or political knowledge are to some extent goods which can compensate a group for a lack of other resources (e.g. economic or implementation power). Thus, groups who lack economic power may find that the development of (some) technical expertise, or political sophistication, may give them credibility with policymakers.”

(Maloney et al, 1994, p20)

A second intangible, but nonetheless important, resource is organisational access to policymakers. Casey (2002, p11) argues that collaboration with policymakers remains the “strategy of choice” for moderate campaign groups, because this helps retain “proximity to decision makers” and help them gain policy influence.

However, access, in and of itself, does not necessarily equate to influence. It has been noted that campaign groups may be given some level of access without gaining significant influence (Grant, 2004). It may even be argued that access offered to TSOs may be used as “mechanisms of Governmental control” (Casey, 2002, p7), using consultative exercises

“to “sell” predetermined policies and stifle criticism” (Casey, 2002, p7). As one TSO (quoted in an NCVO report) put it:

‘...they (government) are going to engage with you to humour you and just dissipate your energy... I wonder whether there are charities that have been sucked into these very formal consultation procedures and spend a huge amount of time and energy on them, and actually have very little prospect of influencing anything.’

(A National Voluntary Sector Organisation quoted in Shimmin (2007, p12))

1.1.4. Organisational status - ‘Accepted’ and ‘Unaccepted’ organisations, and ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ strategies.

Insider organisations are “on the inside track, working constructively with the target to reach a solution” (Coe and Kingham, 2005, p123). They act collaboratively *with* Government, in order to change policy. For instance, this may include the personal lobbying of MPs and Ministers in private meetings, giving evidence to Select Committees, commenting on policy papers and so on - “a quiet strategy aimed at Whitehall and possibly MPs” (Whiteley and Winyard, 1987, p35). They are classically seen as having three core features:

- 1) Recognised by Government as legitimate spokespersons for particular interests or causes, which means being able to deploy certain political skills (such as talking the language of government and civil servants).
- 2) Having gained recognition, insider groups are allowed to engage in dialogue on issues of concern to them, through both formal and informal consultation processes.
- 3) These groups implicitly agree to abide by ‘the rules of the game’, including providing an accurate, well researched case. They also need to know how to bargain and be willing to accept the outcome of the bargaining process.

(Adapted from Grant, 2004).

Outsider organisations, on the other hand, are “political outsiders putting pressure on the target through challenge or conflict.” (Coe and Kingham, 2005, p123) They attempt to exert pressure on the state and so to change policy by acting from outside the state sphere and the formalised policy making processes associated with it; typically making use of publicity to influence policymakers (Whiteley and Winyard, 1987, p35).

Whiteley and Winyard (1987) suggest that the insider/outsider dichotomy is a misleading conflation of ‘status’ and ‘strategy’. An organisation can pursue typically ‘insider’, non confrontational strategies, but be considered an ‘outsider’ by Government, if they are not ‘recognised’ and granted the kind of access and status typically associated with insider organisations. This is a good point, and in this thesis ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ will be used to refer to strategies pursued rather than status attained. Following Whiteley and Winyard it will distinguish ‘accepted’ and ‘unaccepted’ organisations by the status afforded them by Government.

A survey by Whiteley and Winyard (1987) found that, at the end of the 1970s, poverty related pressure groups in the UK used a wide range of tactics, both insider and outsider, and that some succeeded in becoming ‘accepted’ by Government, whilst others remained ‘unaccepted’. Grant (2004) notes that some organisations may be considered “peripherally” accepted, in that they are allowed to participate in collaboration with policymakers, but do not exert significant influence over the policymaking process.

Whether an organisation is ‘accepted’ or ‘unaccepted’ may have considerable impact on campaign strategies. Accepted organisations may be required to pursue insider strategies in order to retain their insider status. Grant (2004, p408) put this in terms of abiding by “the rules of the game”- failure to do so could lead to political exclusion. As a result of a lack of access to policymakers, ‘unaccepted’ organisations may be forced into using outsider tactics because of their inability to access the ‘insider’ political process.

In terms of changing policy, there are a number of perceived advantages and disadvantages of pursuing either 'insider' or 'outsider' strategies. With regard to insider activities, one poverty lobby group interviewed by Whiteley and Winyard (1988) said they thought 'powerful friends' were needed to be effective in lobbying. The authors go on to associate this with an insider strategy, saying;

"This was implying something more than the generally accepted view that good contacts with officials and ministers pay off. Rather, it was the view that a quiet process of lobbying in the corridors of power pays dividends."

Whiteley and Winyard (1988, p12)

By working with Government, lobby groups may be able to secure access which would be denied to those putting undesired pressure on the Government. As has been discussed above, access may be an important organisational resource, and (if attained,) may be thought to give a powerful platform for initiating practical change.

Secondly, as part of a desire to improve 'joined up thinking' Government agencies are often keen to involve Third Sector agencies in insider partnerships (Taylor 2001, p95). This may mean that funding benefits are presented as an incentive to partnership (Taylor, 2001, p98).

Thirdly, an insider organisation may be able to operate with constrained financial resources. This is because, by targeting the focus of campaigns on persuading a few particular policy makers or groups, organisations can act with considerably more limited funds than if they need to exert pressure which (for the Third Sector) may necessitate the gaining of wider public support. As McCarthy (1986) puts it with regard to Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG);

"A strategy of (Labour) party persuasion rather than a grandiose public campaign may also be seen to have resolved, at least initially, the problem of limited resources."

(McCarthy, 1986, p222)

Finally, an insider campaign may allow the pursuit of campaigns which would be publicly unpopular. For example, McCarthy (1986) claims that CPAG's tactic of involving policy makers directly, rather than trying to amass public support, can be a wise move where campaigns, (such as those for greater distribution of wealth,) may be unpopular with the wider population.

However, the literature indicates that there are also a number of potential problems with insider strategies. Firstly, 'insider' activities may be constrained by the "rules" of the formal policymaking process (Grant, 2004). These rules include the need to present a well researched case "neither exaggerated nor untruthful"; insider groups are also expected to know how to bargain and be willing to accept the outcome of the bargaining process (Grant, 2004, p408-409). Organisational unwillingness, or inability, to abide by these rules could lead to exclusion. These rules may make it harder to access the insider policymaking process, since organisations require certain knowledge and skills in order to do so. They may also constrain an organisation's ability to act in the way in which it wishes, for fear of political exclusion.

Secondly, organisations might pursue an agenda of insider activities, may even perceive themselves as 'accepted', but actually have very little power over the policymakers they are working with. They may be tolerated by the State to the advantage of the State's own interests, and given access to some degree, but are actually excluded from the policy making process itself. These groups have been referred to as 'peripheral' insiders (or peripherally accepted groups) distinguishing them from 'core' insider organisations with significant powers within the state (Taylor, 2001). Wyn Grant (2000, p22) goes even further suggesting that manoeuvres such as this are "classic government tactics, offering access but little in the way of policy change." One 'National VSO' has already been quoted as suggesting that a lot of time can be spent on consultation activities, without prospect of significant influence (Shimmin, 2007, p12).

In other cases it has been found that an organisation may find itself pursuing 'insider' activities not towards the State as such, but with a particular political party. In such cases there are concerns that by associating an issue too strongly with one party, the other

main party may oppose the organisation's proposed reform "if there is any ideological basis for doing so" Hall (1975, p95) Resultantly Hall suggests that many pressure groups "maintain some façade, or even a carefully created image of party neutrality." (Hall, 1975, p94)

Finally, there is also concern that insider organisations working in partnership with the State are put under too much pressure and time constraint to input ideas, to give them the necessary consideration. As Taylor comments;

"The overloading of agendas and pressures on time often means that voluntary and community sector representatives find themselves party to decisions that they do not feel that they have had sufficient time to consider, or may not even have been present to consider."

Taylor (2001, p100)

By exerting pressure on the state, rather than working with it, organisations pursuing 'outsider' strategies may have more freedom to pursue their own interests without being tied by the risk of losing their status as a 'partner' of the State. They also avoid the previously mentioned trap of ending up as 'peripherally accepted'.

By utilising public opinion, outsider activities may be able to help create a 'climate of opinion', as a potentially important condition to allow change to come about, and bring it to the attention of Government.

However, organisations using outsider strategies pursue goals in a less direct way than 'insider' organisations, utilising non-governmental support to exert pressure, often working through the medium of mass public opinion, a smaller group of campaigners, or using non-state professionals (such as doctors, teachers or welfare rights workers) in order to pursue their goals. As well as being less direct, such campaigns may have greater financial resource costs attached, particularly where a campaign group wishes to affect public opinion en masse.

In many ways the insider/outsider distinction is an oversimplification. Many organisations can pursue both insider and outsider agendas, attempting to work both from outside Government to create public support and pressure for change, at the same time as offering collaborative support and advice within Governmental policy making structures. For example, Grant (2004) cites the example of Greenpeace using both 'Wet Suit' and 'Business Suit' strategies (combining protest demonstrations as a means to draw attention to a problem, with engagement with Government, business and international organisations) (Grant, 2004, p410). A combination of insider and outsider strategies may prove successful. For instance, Whiteley and Winyard's 1988 study found that "groups which pursued a broad strategy aimed at Parliament, the media and political parties while working together with other groups were more likely to be successful than groups pursuing an unobtrusive 'insider' strategy aimed only at Whitehall." (Whiteley and Winyard, 1988, p206).

Since groups sometimes utilise both strategies, the insider/ outsider distinction might be better considered as two ends of a continuum, from 'Social Movement Organisations', operating entirely outside of the state, through to what are practically Quasi Non-Governmental Organisations, operating in close coordination with it. This thesis will further explore factors which push organisations towards one end of this spectrum or the other.

1.1.5. Organisational resources and organisational status - conclusions

This section raises the question of how organisational resources, both concrete (such as wealth, public support and membership, and staff) and intangible (such as knowledge and status) affect Third Sector child poverty campaigning strategies. In particular, how do such resources affect the 'scope' and 'domain' of organisational influence, and whether they adopt 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategies?

The evidence from the literature suggests that the resources an organisation possesses may be expected to affect their campaign tactics. The analysis chapters for this project

will further explore how these resources, affect Third Sector campaigning, particularly in the field of child poverty campaigning.

This will include consideration of whether organisational resources and status (such as public support, and access to policymakers) affect whether organisations adopt an 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategy. Although Grant (2004) notes that lack of 'skills' may prevent organisations from participating in certain 'insider' activities (such as consultations,) a more detailed analysis of how organisational resources affect decisions about whether groups engage in insider or outsider campaign strategies is a notable absence from the literature. The analysis chapters therefore builds on the work of Grant (2004) on 'insider' and 'outsider' strategies and authors such as Casey (2004), addressing the importance of organisational resources to participation in the policy process.

How organisational resources and status affect the 'scope' and 'domain' of organisational influence will also be considered:

In his 1968 essay on 'power' (reproduced in Haugaard, 2002) Robert Dahl argued that the 'scope' and 'domain' of influence, are two 'descriptive characteristics' of power.

1. Scope

The 'scope' of influence relates to the fact that being powerful within one area, does not necessarily mean that someone is powerful within every area. As Dahl puts it:

'the possibility cannot be ruled out that individuals or groups who are relatively powerful with respect to one kind of activity may be relatively weak with respect to other activities. Power need not be general; it may be specialised.' (Dahl, 1968, p12)

He goes on to suggest that power analysts frequently state that:

'a statement about the power of an individual, group, state, or other actor is practically meaningless unless it specifies the power of actor C with respect to some class of R's activities.' (Dahl 2002, p12)

This class of activities in which an actor exercises their power is known as the 'range' or 'scope' of their power.

2. Domain

As well as being limited to certain issues, Dahl notes that an agent's power may also be limited to power over certain other agents. This power is known as their 'domain' or 'extension'.

We might expect organisational resources to affect the 'scope' and 'domain' of influence. For instance, limits on organisational funding is likely to limit the extent to which an organisation is able to participate in different fields of policy (thus limiting their 'scope') and to limit the number of actors at whom they can target their campaigning (thus limiting the 'domain' of their influence.) This will be further explored in Chapter 6.

1.2. Campaign Environments

In addition to the resources which campaign groups possess, the environments in which Third Sector Organisations are embedded may also have a substantial impact upon their campaigning. In a discussion on social movements, Meyer (2004) argues that environmental factors affect their prospects for:

“(a) mobilizing, (b) advancing particular claims rather than others, (c) cultivating some alliances rather than others, (d) employing particular political strategies and tactics rather than others, and (e) affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy.”

Meyer (2004, p126)

This section addresses a number of key factors about TSO operational environments which have been addressed in previous literature as having an impact on their campaign strategies and effectiveness.

1.2.1. Within sector inter-organisational working

Third Sector Organisations do not necessarily work on their own in order to influence policy, they may also coordinate with other groups of similar interests and with whom they may be able to exchange and share resources in order to further their own agenda. How well an organisation can work together with other organisations in its sector forms a key part of its campaigning environment (Casey, 2004).

Previous research has highlighted a number of reasons why organisations choose to work together in collaboration. Guo and Acar (2005), suggest that formal inter-organisational collaboration may be largely explained through three different factors: Resource sufficiency factors, Institutional factors, and Network factors.

‘Resource sufficiency factors’ lead to formal collaborations in order to attain resources critical for the organisation’s survival and development (Guo and Acar, 2005, p345). For example, Shimmin and Coles (2007) note that interorganisational working can give access to a wider supporter and campaigner base, and can give increased credibility and influence with decisionmakers. ‘Institutional factors’ are associated with the norms and pressures of the institutional environment (for instance inter-organisational working to meet legal or regulatory requirements) (Guo and Acar, 2005, p346). Finally, ‘network effects’ “emphasize the social aspects of cooperation”, taking into consideration how networks create opportunities for further cooperation “by deepening awareness, trust and commitment” among members (Guo and Acar, 2005, p348).

Despite the advantages to working together, the literature has also noted potential costs and risks associated with working with other organisations. Guo and Acar (2005) suggest that collaborative working presents risks to organisational autonomy. Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) highlight the risks of opportunistic behaviour from partners, particularly when organisations have imperfect knowledge of other organisations with whom they are working. Shimmin and Coles (2007) similarly note problems with potential disproportionate contribution of resources to collaborative actions by different partners.

In Chapter 3, it was noted that following previous failures in coordinating the family lobby (Whiteley and Winyard, 1984), Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty has recently seen more formalised inter-organisational work through the End Child Poverty Coalition. The formation of the coalition has enabled some coordinated public actions on child poverty, most notably, the ‘Keep the Promise’ rally in London in 2008.

In order to address research questions one and two, on how organisations campaign and why they campaign in the way that they do, the analysis chapters will further explore the extent of, and reasons for inter-organisational working in the field of campaigning on UK child poverty, including further discussion of the work of the End Child Poverty Coalition. The suggested costs and benefits of interorganisational working suggested above will be assessed, and will be further developed on the basis of the fieldwork findings.

1.2.2. The political environment

The nature of the State and of the Government can have a substantial impact upon Third Sector involvement in the policy process. Meyer (2004, p128) argues that

“The wisdom, creativity, and outcomes of activists’ choices—their *agency*—can only be understood and evaluated by looking at the political context and the rules of the games in which those choices are made”

Typically, governments in the UK portray themselves as open and democratic; listening to other voices in the policy debate. For instance, as Ed Miliband put it in a speech in 2006 when he was Minister for the Third Sector;

“...it is often the campaigns of Third Sector Organisations that put issues on the agenda, mobilise popular opinion, push the government to go further, change attitudes to make change possible.”

The openings for external involvement in the policy process presented by the State have been called “political opportunities” (Meyer, 2004). Political systems offering many

opportunities for political participation have been called “open” political structures, and those offering few such opportunities “closed” structures (Meyer, 2004). A number of factors have been suggested as affecting the extent to which political opportunities exist for Third Sector Organisations.

Firstly, it has been argued that the extent of centralisation of decision making structures can have an impact on campaigning. Casey (2004, p13) argues that the extent of fragmentation between policymaking institutions in a political system can have an impact on the efficacy of pressure groups, since the more bodies with power to affect the policy process which are available, the more ‘pressure points’ there are available to be pressed.

Secondly, it has been argued that the extent to which a Government holds solid political support may also affect the extent to which they offer opportunities for the involvement of other groups in the policy making process. Casey (2004, p14) claims that “weak parties and a fragmented party system are likely to provide more opportunities for independent TSO policy participation”. It might be hypothesised that a Government with a weak political position may see communicating with TSOs (and other non-state organisations) as a useful way to bolster public support, giving people outside parliamentary politics a voice in decision making.

Finally it has been suggested that the nature of the policy in question can affect the extent to which political opportunities are offered by the State. Casey (2004) suggests that some policies may be considered “off limits” to TSO influence, and so TSOs may be presented with less political opportunities in these areas.

It may be hypothesised that the extent to which political opportunities are offered to influence the formation of policy within the formal policymaking process, may affect the likelihood of whether organisations adopt ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ campaign approaches. A ‘closed’ political process with few political opportunities may create “outsiders by necessity” (Grant, 2004), who are unable to influence policy through collaborative insider means, and are, as a result, forced into the use of confrontational ‘outsider’ tactics.

1.2.3. The public attitudinal environment

The importance of building a climate of public opinion in which policy change becomes possible (Pym, 1974) has already been noted. The public can exert coercive power over policy issues (through elections), but politicians fears of losing public support may also keep unpopular issues from ever entering the policy agenda. TSOs may attempt to change public attitudes in order to gain support for their campaigns, but, like politicians, they may also need to respond to public attitudes, in order to maximise public support for their work.

There has been considerable research on public attitudes to poverty in the UK. Castell and Thompson (2007, pvi) conclude that the public remain “a long way from supporting a UK anti poverty agenda”. In their research, they identify a number of reasons why there may be limited public support for anti-poverty policy in the UK:

- 1) “The word ‘poverty’ gives rise to the wrong associations: international issues, absolute rather than relative poverty, and historical associations.”

Castell and Thompson (2007, pvi)

Chapter 1 discussed different definitions of poverty used in determining child poverty rates, including both relative and absolute measures. Castell and Thompson found that many members of the public believe in an absolute (over relative) definition of poverty. In doing so, international and historical wealth comparisons may be drawn, which would indicate low levels of ‘poverty’ in the UK. For this reason, many members of the public may find it difficult to believe in poverty in the UK.

- 2) “The charity and NGO (non-governmental organisation) sector is imagined to speak from a ‘big tent’ model of the welfare state, with a no-strings attached model of help for the poor. The public feel very wary of offering more help to anyone, in case they are ‘taken for a ride’ by freeloaders.”

(Castell and Thompson, 2007, pvi)

The idea of households on low incomes as freeloaders or ‘scroungers’ is a very familiar one. Deeply connected to the idea of deserving and undeserving poor, this attitude may make it difficult to campaign for greater support for low income households, and perhaps in particular, workless households.

3) “Long-term economic stability in the UK means the public tend to feel there is no excuse for poverty; it is the result of bad choices and wrong priorities, and therefore not a subject for public help.”

(Castell and Thompson, 2007, pvi)

Given the current economic climate, it is interesting to note that in 2007 the authors found that ‘long term economic stability’ has affected attitudes towards UK poverty. More recent findings (reported in Hanley (2009)) indicate that as job insecurity and personal financial pressures grow, and poverty becomes concordantly ‘closer’ to many people, support for measures to help low income households grows, as does willingness to discuss the causes of and solutions to poverty. However, this situation may not last outside of times of economic difficulty.

4) “The public believe that the social contract is growing weaker, and that social relations within society are breaking down due to antisocial behaviour; the real problem is seen as ‘emotional’ poverty, not lack of physical or concrete resources.”

Castell and Thompson (2007, pvi)

Finally, campaign groups may have to contest against public attitudes that the key social problems are ‘emotional’ rather than ‘material’. For organisations campaigning for reforms to lift people out of relative low income poverty, this may directly contradict their approach.

However, whilst these may be common attitudes towards UK poverty, they are not universal. The general public is not one homogeneous mass, with the same attitudes throughout. Using cluster analysis of quantitative survey data, Bamfield and Horton (2009), identified four groups of attitudes towards poverty in the UK. These groups were:

'Traditional egalitarians' who “take positions on all statements akin to those conventionally associated with egalitarianism (espousing ‘negative’ sentiments about those at the top of the income spectrum and ‘positive’ sentiments about those experiencing poverty, and supporting ‘equalising’ policy measures at both top and bottom)”.

'Traditional free-marketeers' who take “positions on all statements akin to those traditionally associated with inegalitarian agendas, such as ‘economic liberalism’ or ‘libertarianism’”.

'The angry middle' “shares with *traditional egalitarians* negative attitudes towards those at the top of the income spectrum and a desire to tackle inequality at the top, but also shares with *traditional free-marketeers* negative attitudes towards those experiencing poverty and an opposition to tackling inequality at the bottom”.

'Post-ideological liberals' “share with *traditional free-marketeers* more positive attitudes towards those at the top of the income spectrum (though not quite the same opposition to measures to tackle inequality at the top), while not sharing *traditional free-marketeers'* negative attitudes towards those experiencing poverty and opposition to measures to tackle inequality at the bottom”.

(Bamfield and Horton, 2009, p41-42))

Such heterogeneity in public attitudes may affect campaign tactics. Castell and Thompson (2007) suggest that anti-poverty campaigning may best be targeted at what they call ‘low hanging fruit’; people who may have greatest sympathy for the campaign messaging. They identify:

- “those who feel they have been close to poverty themselves

- teachers and other front-line workers who see poverty when they are at work
- ‘big tenters’ – those who have an open and generous conception of the welfare state, especially the constituency of affluent liberals.”

Castell and Thompson (2007, p viii)

Such an approach is known as audience ‘segmentation’- recognising that different campaign tactics and communications will be appropriate for different groups (Coe and Kingham, 2007) since the public is rarely a uniform group (Slater et al, 2006).

Although ideally, messaging would be personally tapered to each individual’s unique circumstances with a “perfectly individualised strategy” (Slater et al, 2006, p170) this is rarely possible. Market segmentation suggests that an audience can nonetheless be divided into clusters, based on group characteristics that make them (more) homogenous in their responses to a particular campaign (Rimal et al, 2009).

Audience segmentation may be based on demographic characteristics (such as age, gender etc.) But marketing literature suggests that nondemographic traits (such as values) are more likely to affect consumer behaviour (Yankelovich and Meer, 2006), and the importance of these traits to audience segmentation has also been recognised within the social marketing literature (Slater et al, 2006).

In the case of UK poverty, it has been suggested above that segmentation based on both demographic characteristics (such as experience of poverty) and values, may be used to identify a group which could be particularly responsive to communications about the issue, and to focus campaign actions on them.

The literature also makes a number of suggestions as to how both campaign groups, and the Government, can respond to negative public attitudes towards poverty in the UK. Castell and Thompson (2007) conclude that studies need to bring the 21st century poor person ‘to life’, against public opinion which may, to a great extent, deny the existence of

poverty in the UK. They argue that this needs to be done by 'going with the grain' of public opinion. They suggest three tactics which might be used in order to do this:

1) "Describe how specific elements of a person's life make up one's overall experience." (Castell and Thompson, 2007, pvii)

Public support for the anti-poverty agenda might be built by reducing poverty to more easily understandable concepts, which the public can identify with. Delvaux and Rinne (2009) agree with this, suggesting that the UK anti-poverty agenda could be approached through easily graspable issues such as wage levels, debt or homelessness.

2) "Use an overarching metaphor for a broader systemic problem." (Castell and Thompson, 2007, pvii)

Castell and Thompson (2007, p28) suggest that by using metaphors for life, such as associating life with an 'unfair game'. They suggest this allows the opportunity to use rich imagery and metaphors, allows for engagement with structural factors (the rules of the game), and may help to understand the impact of 'random external factors' to people's lives.

3) "Explain what we can do about it." (Castell and Thompson, 2007, pvii)

The authors highlight the need to be clear about what can be done to improve the situation. They suggest that links need to be created between specific problems and specific solutions. Again, Delvaux and Rinne (2009, p8) agree with this message, arguing that "audiences want to see that the problem can be solved and want to be part of something that will (potentially) lead to a positive outcome."

1.2.4. The media

The media is an important driver of both public and political attitudes, and as such it is an important campaign environment for organisations which aim to influence those two audiences.

“The media is enormously influential in shaping public opinion and can play a major role in developing public understanding of economic, social and political issues. It can bridge a divided society, opening up communication across boundaries. It can challenge – or deepen – prejudice; it can provide a forum for debate; and it can investigate, expose, advocate and campaign.”

(Robinson et al, 2009)

It is argued by Robinson et al (2009) that poverty is under reported in the media. They argue that this is particularly true of poverty in the UK, with international poverty getting fuller coverage.

This may be related to a further problem (again noted by Robinson et al (2009)) that poverty is perceived to lack entertainment value, and to ‘turn off’ audiences. They report a journalist as saying:

“Poverty is worthy, not newsworthy. The struggle from a media point of view is the choice between an important but dull story and a trivial one that’s interesting.”

A journalist, reported in Robinson et al. (2009, p11)

Where UK poverty is reported upon, in many cases it is reported ‘peripherally’ to other more central issues such as health or crime (Hanley, 2009). In addition, Robinson et al (2009) argue that discriminatory language is commonly used towards people in poverty. Reporting can also be over simplistic, and draw connections with notions of the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor (Robinson et al, 2009). It is possible that this distinction may, in fact, assist organisations campaigning to end child poverty, since children may commonly be considered ‘deserving’ poor.

Despite observing a frequently over simplistic and discriminatory media attitudes towards people in poverty, the authors nonetheless recognise that the treatment of UK poverty

varies between different media outlets. They argue that there are journalists and media outlets that “handle poverty well and treat people on low incomes with respect” (Robinson et al, 2009).

Although the media is an important campaign environment, in part, because it shapes the public and political attitudinal environment with which organisations have to work, it is also responsive to TSO campaigning, and can provide opportunities for campaign groups to highlight key issues and influence audiences. McKendrick et al. (2008) note that campaigning TSOs have played an important role in keeping UK poverty in the news, and Robinson et al (2009) similarly highlight that opportunities exist for campaign groups to highlight poverty in the media. Robinson et al (2009) suggest that tight deadlines for journalists mean that they may rely on campaign groups as ‘brokers’ who may be able to put them in touch with case studies. However, they report concerns that journalists may want case studies which conform to the stereotypes and preconceptions of their audience. Resultantly, campaign groups may be wary of the media, and concerned about the “safety and dignity” of their clients. In response, Robinson et al (2009) highlight the importance of campaign groups ensuring that they research the background of the media outlets which they work with, including checking the track record of any journalist an organisation is considering working with.

The importance of building long term relationships with journalists is also noted by Robinson et al (2009). This may allow trust to be built up between a campaign group and a media outlet, giving some security about how the media outlet will treat information they are given.

1.2.5. The technological environment

Technological innovation has brought about a number of changes with potential implications for Third Sector campaign strategies.

For instance, following on from the above discussion of using the media in campaigning, it is notable that technological development has enabled new ways of interacting with the

mass public. In addition to using the traditional media outlets, 'new media' (the key example of which is the internet) has given campaign groups new ways of communicating with the public (and people in poverty new ways to directly communicate for themselves). Robinson et al. (2009, p27) note that "the careful and well thought out use of the internet and mobile telecommunications" can help campaigns; in particular they can assist in communicating with supporters who are frequently dispersed over a broad geographical area. They suggest that organisations using the internet to campaign are competing for an audience in an environment where very large amounts of material are available, and resultantly, the material they produce needs to be "good quality, interesting and engaging" (Robinson et al, 2009, p27), and also it must be simple for internet users to find it, and for those who do find it to pass it on to other people.

Related to this, technology has also provided campaign groups with new methods for networking amongst members and organising actions. In particular, the social movement literature has highlighted how the internet and mobile phones have assisted in the coordination of public protest, by "reducing the costs of publishing and accessing movement information" (Garrett, 2006, p5); it has also been argued that new ICT has assisted in 'community creation' offering new ways for campaigners to stay in touch with each other, reinforcing their social networks (Garrett, 2006, p6).

The analysis chapters will further explore how campaign groups working in the field of child poverty in the UK utilise technology as a strategy for further development of their campaigns. Particular attention will be given to their use of "new media" including the internet.

1.2.6. The economic environment

The economic environment is also likely to have a significant impact on Third Sector campaigning. For instance, the economic environment is likely to affect the funding environment for Third Sector Organisations. As noted previously, financial resource management is always a concern for Third Sector Organisations, but in times of economic difficulty, TSOs may have to look for new ways to save money.

The economic environment is also likely to affect how willing, or able, the Government is, to make policy changes with substantial cost implications. This may affect the policy issues addressed by anti-poverty campaign groups.

As regards poverty policy in particular, the economic environment may have some impact on public attitudes towards the poor, affecting how TSOs are able to interact with the public in their campaigning activities. It has been suggested in particular, that long term economic stability can contribute to a feeling that there is “no excuse” for being poor (Castell and Thompson, 2007) and that job insecurity and financial pressures can contribute to support for measures to help low income households (reported in Hanley (2009)). Campaign groups may reflect such attitudes in their campaign messaging.

The analysis chapters will further consider how the economic environment affects campaigning. It should be noted that the interviews for this project were undertaken from Autumn 2008 to Spring 2009. At that time the UK economic climate was poor, but the extent of the country’s economic problems were not yet fully known.

1.2.7. Globalisation

Globalisation (both economic, social and technological) has changed the nature of the policymaking process. For instance, new technologies allowing the globalisation of high speed communications (from aeroplanes to the internet,) have made policy transfer between nations easier and quicker. In a different field, economic changes resulting from globalisation of business may have impacted upon policy choices available for governments in the areas of labour markets. Globalisation may also introduce new international or transnational policymaking institutions into the policy process, and Casey raises the point that these may “lack the principles of transparency and accessibility of national governments” (Casey, 2004, p11). Perhaps in a response to this globalisation of decision making structures, and perhaps in response to the new opportunities which technological and economic globalisation has afforded them, many TSOs are internationalising as well (Casey, 2004, p11).

Despite this, within the field of poverty policy, a cross national study of welfare groups- CPAG in the UK and the Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) (Mendes, 2003, p93) found little evidence of responding to globalisation by becoming involved in international policy campaigns; “both groups still appear to operate primarily as national based lobby groups aiming to influence national social policy debates”.

However, there may be some evidence that international groups are bringing their experience of the international context to national debates. For example, Oxfam set up its UK poverty programme at the start of the millennium as a response to the large rise in poverty levels during the Conservative administrations of 1979-1997, and, in the words of the UK poverty programme’s policy adviser in 2003, they felt it “had to address the issue of growing domestic poverty if it were to remain credible when attacking the same problems elsewhere in the world” (Hocking, 2003, p235). In moving into the new area of domestic poverty, the organisation hoped to “make international linkages and bring overseas learning and practices to the UK” (Hocking, 2003, p235).

1.2.8. The policy environment

For a number of reasons, involvement of TSOs in the policy process will depend on what policies they are pressing for. Firstly, since campaigning TSOs require support from policymakers and/or the public, particularly controversial policy proposals are likely to be more difficult to achieve than those which already have some level of acceptance with both the public and with policy makers.

Secondly, campaigns for small changes built around a current framework may find them easier to achieve than organisations campaigning for a full overhaul of a longstanding system. This issue relates to what has been called ‘increasing returns’ in policy making (Hudson and Lowe, 2004, p150). As the authors put it:

“...once the decision to take policy down a particular route has been taken, the benefits (and the ease) of travelling further down the existing route tend to *increase* – as do the costs of switching to an alternative route...”

(Hudson and Lowe, 2004, p150)

The authors suggest that this is in part due to the controversies created by removing social rights which have already been conferred (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). This illustrates that current policy options depend on previous policy choices – known as ‘path dependency’ in the policymaking process (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). Campaigning TSOs may need to be aware that path dependency in the policymaking process may affect the likelihood of their policy proposals being adopted.

Thirdly, Casey (2004) discusses the significance of the ‘temporal complexity’ of an area of policy to Third Sector campaigning. Since some policy areas require more constant attention and decision making than others, Casey suggests that TSOs are more likely to attempt to influence policies with ‘discrete visible moments’ because of the cost of ‘organizing and maintaining ongoing monitoring structures’ (Casey, 2004, p12).

1.2.9. Campaign environments- conclusion

This section raises the question of how the nature of the campaign environment impact upon Third Sector campaign strategies within the field of UK child poverty policy.

The environmental variables explored in this section, including the ability of a sector to form an effective network, the nature of the state and the Government, the public attitudinal context, and the broader socio-technical context, are all likely to have an impact on Third Sector campaign strategies and tactics when campaigning for the reform of child poverty in the UK.

The analysis chapters will further explore what the key environmental factors impacting on campaigning are for groups campaigning on UK poverty, and how campaign groups respond to these conditions.

1.3. Persuasive Communications

The fields of communication and social psychology contain a substantial literature around factors affecting the persuasiveness of communications. The ability to frame communications in a way which maximises their persuasiveness can be a crucial resource for an organisation.

This section addresses three key issues which Third Sector campaigners need to consider in maximising the persuasiveness of their campaign communications.

1.3.1. Source Credibility

“The roots of the source credibility construct can be traced to Aristotle, a fourth century BC Greek philosopher. In his seminal work *The Rhetoric* Aristotle claims that ethos (i.e. the character of the speaker) “is the most potent of all the means to persuasion”.”

Stiff and Mongeau (2003, p104)

How people perceive the individual, or organisation, which is communicating with them, is likely to have a substantial impact on how their communications are perceived. Stiff and Mongeau (2003) argue that most writers on persuasion separate source credibility into two key characteristics *source expertise* and *source trustworthiness*. Source expertise (or competence) “is the extent to which an audience member perceives the source as being well informed on the topic of the communication... trustworthiness represents and audience member’s perceptions that the source will tell the truth as he or she knows it” (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p105). Jowett and O’Donnell (1992) argue that once a source

is 'accepted' in relation to one issue, that perceived credibility may carry over to other issues.

O'Keefe (1990) suggests that a number of factors may impact upon perceived trustworthiness and competence. These include the *education and occupation* of the source. The *citing of high quality evidence* sources may also contribute to the source's perceived credibility - O'Keefe suggests that the high credibility of cited sources may 'rub off' on the communicator. In addition, it is suggested that the *position advocated* by the source may also influence perceptions of their competence and trustworthiness. In particular, it is suggested that the source may be perceived as more competent and trustworthy where "the position advocated disconfirms the audience's expectations about the communicator's views" (O'Keefe, 1990, p136), O'Keefe suggests the classic example of this to be where their position appears opposed to their own self-interest. Finally, evidence indicates that *liking the communicator* impacts upon their perceived trustworthiness, though not their credibility. O'Keefe (1990, p139) argues this makes common sense since:

"One's general liking for a communicator is much more likely to influence one's judgements about the communicator's dispositional trustworthiness (the communicator's general honesty, fairness, open-mindedness, and the like) than it is to influence one's judgments about the communicator's competence (experience, training, expertise and so on) on some particular topic or subject matter."

Research indicates that the credibility of the source has a notable effect on the likelihood of *immediate* attitude change in their audience. One experiment by Hovland and Weiss (reported in Hovland, 1953, p27-30) presented students with articles on four different topics. To one set of students the articles were attributed to 'high credibility sources' and to the other set, they were attributed to 'low credibility sources'. Although the articles from 'high credibility' and 'low credibility' sources were identical in content, "the presentations were considered "less fair" and the conclusions to be "less justified" when the source was of low rather than of high credibility" (Hovland, 1953, p28). In addition, "opinion change in the direction advocated by the communication occurred significantly

more often when it originated from a high credibility source than when from a low one” (Hovland, 1953, p29). However, it is notable that the experiment found that the differences between the groups of high and low credibility sources disappeared over time, with decreased acceptance of the point of view advocated by high credibility sources, and increased acceptance of the point of view advocated by low credibility sources. This may suggest that the impact of the credibility given to the source (in some cases) wears off faster than the influence of the content of the message (Hovland 1953, p30).

It may be hypothesised that campaign groups will attempt to present themselves as credible sources in order to maximise the persuasiveness of their communications. This issue is addressed in the analysis chapters, and is discussed in particular detail in chapter 8.

1.3.2. Evidence

It has already been argued that the citing of evidence may contribute to the perceived credibility of the communicator. However, it is clear that the use of evidence to support communications also intends to draw upon the ability of the audience to come to rational conclusions about an argument put to them. As Stiff and Mongeau (2003) put it:

“Persuasive messages that that contain rational arguments are based on the assumptions that people have implicit understanding of formal rules of logic and that they apply these rules when they make judgements about a source’s recommendations. Rational arguments derive their influence from sound reasoning and the quality of evidence that is offered in support of the conclusion.”

Stiff and Mongeau (2003, p129)

The idea that messages based on sound evidence are particularly persuasive is very intuitively acceptable, however, not all uses of evidence will have the same influence on an audience. Academic literature on persuasive communication emphasises two ‘routes’ to persuasion. The ‘central’ route to persuasion occurs when the audience “pays

attention and carefully considers the arguments presented in the message” (Powers, 2007, p136). On the other hand, the ‘peripheral’ persuasive route occurs when the audience “only pays attention to superficial aspects of the message” (Powers, 2007). Where the central persuasive route is taken, the ‘strength’ of the argument is of crucial importance, since they are given close consideration and scrutiny (Powers, 2007), where the argument is found to be “cogent and compelling” favourable attitudes will be created, where it is found to be “weak and specious” the message will be resisted (Petty and Cacioppo, 1984, p70) . In the case of peripheral persuasion, the strength of the argument is of little importance because the arguments themselves receive little consideration (Powers, 2007). Appeals to a central route to persuasion may therefore put emphasis on the provision of detailed evidence to support an argument.

A number of factors have been associated with the likelihood that an audience will “receive and cognitively process a message” (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p131), i.e. engage in central processing.

One characteristic found to be associated with whether an audience engage with a message which they are presented with, is whether they are interested or involved in the issue (the ‘personal relevance’ to the receiver (O’Keefe, 1990)). “In short, the higher the audience’s involvement with the message topic, the more strongly evidence should influence attitude change.” (Stiff and Mongeau (2003, p132). Stiff (reported in Stiff and Mongeau 2003, p132) found that there was a positive correlation between the audience involvement in an issue, and the persuasiveness of evidence.

The audience’s “need for cognition”- their tendency to “engage in and enjoy thinking” (Cacioppo and Petty, 1982, cited in O’Keefe, 1990, p100) - has also been identified as affecting the extent to which the receiver processes a communication. O’Keefe (1990, p101) concludes that people who tend to engage in and enjoy thinking “have generally greater motivation for engaging in issue-relevant thinking than do persons low in need for cognition.”

O’Keefe (1990, p102) also notes that prior knowledge about the issue on the part of the receiver, affects the likelihood that they will engage with the issue presented to them. As

the receiver's prior knowledge increases, the influence of the strength of the evidence on persuasion increases, and the influence of non-evidence based persuasion decreases. This reflects the ability of people with greater knowledge about an issue to engage in counter arguments against the position advocated by the communicator (O'Keefe, 1990).

However, as well as being 'cognitively processed' further factors affect whether an evidence based message, once processed, actually brings about attitude change. In particular Stiff and Mongeau (2003, p133) highlight research which indicates that "when people agree with the conclusion of an argument they are more likely to judge invalid arguments that support the conclusion as valid, and to judge valid arguments against the conclusion to be invalid."

Given that, at least in some circumstances, use of evidence can have a substantial impact upon the persuasiveness of communications, we might expect Third Sector Organisations able to provide strong and reliable evidence to support the policy changes they propose, to have a greater ability to input into the policy process than those who provide no evidence, or unreliable evidence, to support their views. As previously noted, Coe and Kingham (2007, p8) called "strong and compelling evidence" the "bedrock" of a campaign.

Similarly, Whiteley and Winyard (1988) give further support to the importance of evidence in anti poverty campaigning, with findings from their 1987 survey of anti poverty pressure groups;

"The single most widely held belief about effectiveness was that groups require accurate and detailed information about the needs of their clients and the impact of the social security system on them. This information was seen as a valuable resource in dealing with policy makers and in building a constructive long term relationship with officials. Some groups also recognized that good research could attract grant money from trusts, which play an important role in aiding fledgling groups."

(Whiteley and Winyard, 1988, p205)

It might be expected that extensive, high-quality evidence, will be particularly important in insider campaigning for two key reasons. Firstly, the topics addressed will have high personal relevance for the policymakers (since they are directly involved in them). And secondly, the policymakers will have prior knowledge of the policy area. Both of these factors have been associated with the importance of evidence. The use of evidence in Third Sector communications to policymakers is discussed in chapter 8.

1.3.3. Collective action frames

Frames affect the ways in which meanings are attributed to occurrences and events (Benford and Snow, 2000). Since the 1980s, Social Movement literature, has drawn on how frames can be used to foster protest, through what are known as “framing processes” or the construction of “collective action frames” (Noakes and Johnston, 2005, p2). Such framing processes comprise “strategic attempts to craft, disseminate, and contest the language and narratives used to describe a movement” (Garrett, 2006, p4). In doing so, social actors may attempt to construct the meanings associated with a cause in a way which succeeds in drawing support from others (Oliver and Johnston, 2005).

Although the construction of collective action frames may emerge in a mass movement without conscious intervention from particular activists, it has been argued that in most cases such framing processes require the “conscious action of social movement entrepreneurs interested in mobilizing people to engage in collective action” (Noakes and Johnston, 2005, p7).

Successful frames need to do more than simply analyse an event and identify those responsible, they also need to ‘resonate’ with their audience so that they find the “interpretation and expression of grievances compelling” (Noakes and Johnston, 2005, p11).

It may be expected that through their campaign messaging, campaign groups campaigning on child poverty will attempt to re-frame key debates to promote support from the public and from policymakers. In section 1.2.3., above, four common negative,

UK poverty frames were discussed. It may be expected that TSOs will attempt to move the debate away from these frames towards more positive ways of interpreting poverty in the UK.

1.3.4. Persuasive communications - conclusion

This section raises the question of how campaign groups use persuasive communication techniques to effectively communicate their messages on child poverty.

Throughout this section, a number of tactics have been explored which may affect the persuasiveness of communications. Many of these tactics may be applicable within the field of child poverty campaigning.

The analysis chapters explore how persuasive communications are used by campaign groups to increase their influence on child poverty policy. This includes exploration of how organisations use evidence to support their arguments, and how they present themselves as credible sources. They also explore how campaign groups attempt to ‘frame’ the child poverty debate to promote action on the issue.

2. Frameworks for understanding and interpreting factors affecting child poverty campaigning

2.1. A Resource dependence perspective

In their 1978 book “the external control of organisations” (re-released in a new edition in 2003) Pfeffer and Salancik introduce the “resource dependence perspective”, which has since been widely used for understanding organisational behaviour and management. There is evidence that this approach has recently proved particularly popular amongst researchers, as Pfeffer writes in the preface to the 2003 edition of the book:

“As of the spring of 2002, there were 2321 citations to *The External Control of Organisations*... Some 58% of the total citations received since the book’s publication in 1978 had been received in the most recent 10 year period.”

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, pxvi)

The core of the theory can be explained quite simply:

“To survive, organisations require resources. Typically, acquiring resources means that the organisation must interact with others who control those resources. In that sense, organisations depend on their environments.”

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p258)

Where organisations must acquire resources they do not possess in and of themselves, they cannot be seen as “...totally autonomous entities pursuing desired ends at their own discretion. Rather, organisations are constrained by the environment as a consequence of their resource needs.” (Froelich, 1999, p247)

The result of such resource dependence is that organisations enter exchanges with each other in order to acquire the resources they need (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p258). The need for such exchanges, means that organisations in possession of resources other organisations need gain some ‘power’ over those organisations (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003), which can be used in bartering over resource exchanges.

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p46) suggest that there are two elements to defining the importance of a resource exchange to an organisation: “the relative magnitude of the resource exchange” (the extent to which the organisation’s operations are defined by exchanges involving that resource,) and “the criticality of the resource” to the organisation’s operations (defined by the ability of the organisation to keep functioning in the absence of that resource.) If one resource is needed in a large proportion of an organisation’s operations, and the resource is a critical component of those operations,

then resource exchanges involving that resource are of great importance to the organisation.

Where a resource is very important to an organisation, the extent to which another organisation has discretion over the allocation of that resource affects the extent to which the latter organisation wields influence over the former (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). Where there is ample supply of the resource, and multiple outlets from which it can be obtained, an organisation controlling distribution of a resource may have relatively little power over the organisation dependent on that resource. Where a few organisations have dominant control over the resource, they are likely to have considerable power over the organisation reliant upon that resource. As Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p259) put it “power organizes around critical and scarce resources”, and influence is therefore promoted by control of those resources. The authors go on to argue that “what is critical and scarce is itself open to change and definition” (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p259). We may go further than this and argue that critical resources vary according to the area of influence within which they are being deployed.

To the extent to which organisations do not control sufficient resources to undertake key organisational functions, their autonomy, stability, and even their survival, may be threatened. Those other organisations or social actors who control the resources they need may be ‘undependable’ particularly in times of resource scarcity (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). This may make resource acquisition ‘uncertain’ (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003) – as the authors put it:

“Interdependence is the reason why nothing comes out quite the way one wants it to”

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p40)

In order to reduce these uncertainties, organisations will undertake strategies for the best fulfilment of their resource needs. This may include strategies for reducing their reliance on other organisations for the fulfilment of those resource needs (their resource dependencies), in order to obtain greater autonomy and stability. Pfeffer and Salancik suggest a number of ways in which organisations can do this:

- 1) To develop reserves of key resources so that the organisation can continue to operate in times of short supply (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p108).
- 2) To control the 'rules' of the exchange (e.g. through market regulation- the authors give the example of protection from foreign competition in some areas of industry) (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p108).
- 3) To 'take control' of the organisation providing the resource (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p109). Casciaro and Piskorski (2005) argue that such 'constraint absorption' as a response to resource dependencies differs from the others, since it is the only response in which the dependent organisation secures 'direct control' over the resources they need.
- 4) To develop 'substitutable exchanges' in order to reduce the criticality of an exchange. The ability of an organisation to 'accept other inputs' or to create other outputs, depends upon organisational knowledge and flexibility (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p109).
- 5) To 'diversify' into "different lines of business...using different resources, supplying different markets, and facing different competitors" (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p109).

The importance of resources to the campaigning of Third Sector Organisations has been discussed throughout this chapter, and particularly in section 1.1. The significance of organisational environments (such as other organisations working in the sector, and the public attitudinal environment), to organisational resources have also been addressed. It is clear from this that the resource dependence perspective could offer a useful approach to understanding Third Sector campaigning practices.

The importance of organisational resources to Third Sector Organisations working on poverty in the UK was also highlighted in the previous chapter. It was noted in the chapter 3 that throughout its history, efficient and effective resource use has been a key theme for understanding Third Sector action for the relief of poverty. For example, early in this chapter it was discussed how the dissolution of the monasteries, and increases in secular philanthropy, promoted changes in the efficiency of philanthropic donations for

the purposes of supporting the poor; later it was noted how, in the 19th century, the COS undertook what it saw as the vital task of promoting efficient uses of resources amongst charities.

A resource dependence perspective has been used by a number of authors to understand the strategic working of Third Sector Organisations. The perspective has been used, for instance, to explore inter-organisational collaboration amongst non-profit organisations (e.g. Guo and Acar, 2005), and the diversification of Third Sector funding strategies to avoid resource dependence (Froelich, 1999). Helmig et al. (2004) suggest the approach is of obvious interest to understanding TSOs because of their high dependence on donors for finances, and because they are “unable to access capital markets for funding” (Helmig et al., 2004, p107).

Saidel (1991) examined resource dependencies between State agencies and nonprofits; with the State potentially depending on nonprofits for service delivery capacity, information and political support/legitimacy, whilst nonprofits depend on the State for revenues, information, access, and political support/legitimacy. Similarly, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) address resource dependencies between campaign groups and the media, arguing that campaigners rely upon the media to get their message to the public, to validate their messages, and to draw new people or organisations into discussing the issue. On the other hand, the media need actors (such as campaign groups) to provide ‘copy’.

The analysis sections of this project will test the applicability of a resource dependence perspective to understanding Third Sector campaigning on child poverty in the UK.

This will include exploration of a number of key questions, including; What resource dependencies exist within UK campaigning on child poverty? How do campaign groups trade resources they possess, for resources they need but do not control, in order to maximise their impact upon public policy? To what extent do TSOs seek to increase their key resources, and reduce their reliance on resources they do not control?

In the first part of this chapter, it was seen how a number of factors affect Third Sector campaigning. From a resource dependence perspective, many of these factors may be interpreted as ‘resources’ used in campaigning. These include the ‘concrete’ resources of wealth, membership, staff etc; but it also includes more intangible resources such as knowledge, access to policymakers, public support, and the ability to produce persuasive campaign materials.

It may be hypothesised that during the campaign process, campaign groups ‘trade’ the resources they possess with other agents within the campaign environment, for other key resources they require but do not possess for themselves.

This may include campaign groups trading resources with one another in order to create effective campaign networks. It is also likely to include campaign groups trading resources with policymakers to obtain access to, and impact on, the policymaking process. Finally, it may also include TSOs trading resources with the media and the public, in order to gain the power and legitimacy they possess within the policy process.

Based on a resource dependence perspective, it may also be expected that organisations will use opportunities to increase their key resources, and to reduce their reliance on resources they do not control.

Previous analysis has tended to focus on resource dependencies between nonprofits and one particular trading partner (other TSOs, the State or the media have been noted). This analysis develops previous work, by exploring the different resource dependencies between TSOs and the many and varied groups with which they exchange resources during the campaign process. This more holistic approach allows exploration of how the resources which organisations control for themselves, and the nature of the campaign environment, affect which other organisations they are likely to ‘trade’ with, and how they go about such resource exchanges.

2.2. ‘Social Fields’

The concept of a 'field' or 'social field' has been described as one of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's most important 'thinking tools' (Jenkins, 2002). Highlighting the importance of the "matrices of relations, the relational contexts" (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008) in which social actors (including organisations) are situated, it is used to describe "a social arena in which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them" (Jenkins, 2002). Fields have been referred to as 'markets' or 'games', because participants compete over stakes by putting forward investments, and may be able to play 'trump cards.' (Everett, 2002)

In other words, as in a card game, 'players' compete over the 'stakes' of the game, by putting forward their 'investments' in order to play and improve their position (Everett, 2002). As with games and marketplaces, fields have their own 'rules' and 'regularities' (Wacquant, 2008) for competition.

The 'stakes' vary depending on the field, as do the 'investments' (or capital or resources). The value of the stakes is created by the functioning of the field itself (Bourdieu in interview with Loic Wacquant, 1989). For instance, Bourdieu said of the 'artistic' and 'economic' fields:

"...the artistic field, or the religious field, or the economic field all follow specific logics: while the artistic field has constituted itself by refusing or reversing the law of material profit (Bourdieu 1983d), the economic field has emerged, historically, through the creation of a universe within which, as we commonly say, "business is business," where the enchanted relations of *phylia*, of which Aristotle spoke, of friendship and love, are excluded."

(Bourdieu in interview with Loic Wacquant, 1989)

The 'stakes' of the artistic field do not have the same values within the economic field, and the stakes of the economic field do not retain the same values in the artistic field, since 'value' is defined in different ways in the different fields. And as the stakes change, the necessary investments (or resources) for working in the field also change (the value of resources for a businessman is defined by the profit which can be made from them, for an

artist it may be defined by the artistic beauty which can be produced.) Indeed, Bourdieu argues that 'capital does not exist and function but in relation to a field' (Wacquant, 1989). From this perspective, it may be argued that the 'policy process' is a distinct field, in which 'political influence' is at stake, and in which the value of resources is determined by their ability to control the development of policy.

Just as resources only exist in relation to a field, it may be argued that resource dependencies are similarly defined in relation to a field. Since the value of resources to an organisation depend upon the objectives the organisation has in the deployment of those resources, their dependencies on their environment will also depend on the field at which they operate.

A social field has also been conceptualised as both a 'force field' and a 'battlefield'. A force field because it imposes its rules and resource costs on those entering it (Wacquant, 2008). Wacquant gives the example of a scientist who, in order to succeed in her chosen field:

“...has no choice but to acquire the minimal “scientific capital” required and to abide by the mores and regulations enforced by the scientific milieu of that time and place.”

(Wacquant, 2008, p268)

But it is also a battlefield, because within the field, social actors compete over resources necessary for their operations, in order to achieve the stakes they are 'playing' for. As Wacquant puts it, a field is:

“an arena of struggle through which agents and institutions seek to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital”

(Wacquant, 2008, p268).

As well as broad fields themselves, Bourdieu and Bourdieusian authors also make reference to 'sub-fields' within fields. For example, Wacquant (2008) refers to the academic field as a sub-field within the “intellectual field”.

Using this framework, the policy process may be conceived of as a field (the political field) in which policy impact is the key stake, achieved through the deployment of various resources (the value of which is determined by their ability to impact upon policy). As such, social fields may provide a useful framework for understanding Third Sector campaigning on child poverty as part of the political field. In particular, it may be hypothesised that Third Sector campaigning on child poverty can be conceptualised as a distinct subfield of this broad field, with its own 'stakes' (impact on child poverty policy), as well as specific resources which need to be mobilised in order to achieve them, and its own resource dependencies which organisations working in the field need to fulfil.

However, it is possible to identify other sub-fields within the political field. Sub-fields need not only be issue areas within the field. Any area within a field with its own distinct resources, rules and stakes can be conceived of as social sub-field. In particular, it may be that different campaign strategies form distinct sub-fields of the political field. For example, insider and outsider strategies, as already discussed in this chapter, could be sub-fields. Insider strategies focus on campaigns targeting policymakers directly, whilst outsider campaigns seek influence by working outside of the institutional policymaking processes.

The importance of recognising the sub-fields of the relationships between the Third Sector and the State and the Third Sector and the public has been highlighted in the previous chapter, where it has been shown how the changing relationships between the Third Sector and these two other sectors was a key determinant of the Third Sector's role in the relief of poverty. For instance, during the creation of the welfare state, the relationship between the Third Sector and the State went through substantial changes, as the State took over a number of activities, traditionally the preserve of the Third Sector, forcing the Third Sector to respond within this sub-field of their work on poverty relief. However, the Third Sector has also had to respond to changing public attitudes towards their role in poverty relief - for example, 19th century public attitudes towards the nature of poverty, and the social impact of 'doles', was crucial to defining the role of voluntary organisations in the relief of poverty.

It is notable that Wyn Grant, uses some of the language used in the discourse on ‘fields’ in his discussions of insider and outsider campaigns, noting in particular that ‘insider’ campaign groups:

“...implicitly agreed to abide by certain rules of the game. Failure could ultimately lead to political exclusion. The rules included always presenting an accurate well-researched case, neither exaggerated nor untruthful. An insider group needed to know how to bargain and this included a willingness to accept outcomes of the bargaining process. There was an expectation that group memberships would be told that the deal arrived at might not be all that was hoped for but was the best available.”

(Grant, 2004, p408-409)

Grant presents insider campaigners as playing a game, with associated rules, resources (ability to bargain, and to present a well researched case are noted in particular,) and stakes (political inclusion and through it, impact on the policy process.) Using a fields approach it may be argued that this is only one half of the story, and that *both* insider and outsider campaign ‘fields’ are their own ‘games’ or ‘marketplaces’ with associated rules, resources and stakes.

The analysis for this project will further assess the usefulness of social fields to understanding Third Sector campaign strategies. In particular, addressing the extent to which ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaign approaches be conceived of as sectors of the sub-field of ‘Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty’.

The analysis chapters will further explore to what extent different resources are required within both insider and outsider campaign sub-fields, and how they are deployed in competition over different stakes. This issue itself suggests a further question for exploration in through the fieldwork and analysis- *To what extent do organisational resource dependencies vary depending on whether they utilise an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ campaign strategy?*

If insider and outsider campaign strategies are found to be distinct social fields, with different key resources used for competition over stakes, then organisational resource dependencies may also vary according to whether the organisation takes an insider or outsider campaign approach. One means of campaign ‘diversification’ would therefore be to change the direction of campaign strategy between insider and outsider campaign fields.

The analysis chapters will address the extent to which resource dependencies vary between insider and outsider campaign strategies, and if so, how organisations respond to these different resource dependencies.

The combination of a resource dependence perspective with a fields approach to understanding Third Sector campaigning is a new way of looking at campaigning. In particular, such an approach emphasises exploration of how different resources are of different values depending on whether they are traded in the ‘marketplace’ of insider or outsider campaigning.

2.3. An alternative framework for understanding Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty – Policy Network Analysis

Resource Dependence and Social Fields perspectives, are not the only possible approaches to understanding Third Sector campaigning on child poverty in the UK. In particular, one plausible alternative approach to understanding Third Sector campaigning, could be through the use of a Policy Network Analysis approach.

In many respects, Policy Network Analysis is closely connected to, and indeed has developed out of, the Resource Dependence Perspective. Indeed, one of the “classic” definitions of a Policy Network (or policy sector), by Benson (1982) (reported in Hudson and Lowe, 2004) is as a:

‘...cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies.’

It can be seen from this that, as with the resource dependence perspective, understanding organisations within a Policy Network approach, depends on understanding how they are dependent on other organisations for the resources which they need but do not control.

The Policy Network Approach also has some similarities to a Social Fields framework, since it is recognised that the structures of these resource dependencies varies between different policy fields. As Marsh and Rhodes (1992) put it, the policy network approach *'stresses that relationships between groups and government vary between policy areas'* (Marsh and Rhodes. 1992, p4)

However, where a resource dependence perspective focuses on the specific dependencies and resultant exchanges of actors within a field, in order to have real explanatory power in its own right, Policy Network Analysis requires a broader focus on the structure of and position of agents within, the Network as a whole. Indeed one of the key criticisms of Policy Network Analysis is that it does not sufficiently emphasise the structure of the Network.

For instance Dowding has argued that (contrary to the assertions of Policy network analysis), Policy Networks are a 'metaphor' for the resource dependencies between agents, and have no explanatory power in their own right. For Dowding, agents (and the interactions between agents) are key to understanding the policy process, and dominant network approaches merely describe the relations between those agents. As he puts it:

"(Network approaches) fail because the driving force of the explanation, the independent variables are not network characteristics per se but rather characteristics of components within the networks. These components explain both the nature of the network and the nature of the policy process."

Dowding; from Marsh (1998)

Using the potential child poverty "policy network" as an example, it might be argued that it is not the structure of the Network itself which is important to understanding child

poverty policy, but it is the resources of the agents, and their ability to enter successful exchanges for other resources which they need but do not possess, which is crucial. The term 'policy network' would then be merely descriptive of the overarching set of these relationships rather than explanatory in its own right.

In order to establish significance of a Policy Network approach beyond the importance of focussing on resource dependencies within those Networks, it would be necessary to establish some explanatory/predictive value to those structures in and of themselves, which could not be ascribed to the agents and resources of which Policy networks are comprised.

Within the area of child poverty policy, key explanatory factors which contributed to the formation of policy tended to be around factors which can be reducible to organisational, or even individual, phenomena, rather than those best understood on the Network level.

For instance, this chapter has argued that factors such as the size of an organisation, its location, its branding, the quality of evidence it is able to produce, and so forth, may have an impact on its role in the policy process (and thus the policy process as a whole). These may all best be understood by utilising a resource dependence framework to understand resource exchanges on the organisational, rather than Network, level. Understanding how the policy field

For this reason the resource dependence and social fields perspectives are considered better approaches within the context of this thesis.

3. Conclusion

A number of factors can be seen to affect the campaigning of Third Sector Organisations. Suggestions include that the resources of an organisation (including their financial resources, personnel, and knowledge and expertise, but also incorporating their active membership and their status as an 'accepted' or 'unaccepted' campaign group) will affect organisations' campaigning, and their success in influencing policy.

However, their influence may also be affected by their organisational environment, including their ability to coordinate between one another, and with Government, to form effective networks of actors. They must accurately weigh the benefits of forming such relationships, against the costs of doing so.

Furthermore, factors external to the sector are likely to influence campaign strategies. The nature of the Government in power is likely to have an impact, as is the public attitudinal environment. But also, the technological and economic environment may have an effect on both how organisations need to campaign, and their success in doing so.

Regardless of those factors noted above, successful campaign groups need to attempt to communicate their campaign goals ‘persuasively’, and the ability to do so can, in itself, be a crucial organisational resource. There are a number of ways in which organisations may seek to maximise the persuasiveness of their communications, including the use of evidence, by highlighting their source credibility to their audience, by successful targeting of campaign communications, and by contributing to the creation of collective action frames which resonate with their audience.

It was suggested in the second part of the chapter, that many of the factors explored in the first part of the chapter, could be interpreted in terms of organisational resource dependencies, hypothesising that TSOs trade with each other and with organisations outside of the sector, for the key resources they need in order to operate effectively.

It was further suggested that a resource dependence perspective may be combined with a ‘social fields’ framework, in order to suggest that organisations may use different core resources in different ways dependent upon the ‘field’ in which they operate. It is suggested, that ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaign strategies may comprise different fields (or sub-sectors of fields), in which different resources are utilised in different ways.

During the course of the chapter six questions have been identified for further study during the course of the analysis and conclusion chapters. Research findings will be used

to further explore these questions on the basis of empirical data. To recap, these questions were:

- *Question 1: How do organisational resources, both concrete (such as wealth, public support and membership, and staff) and intangible (such as knowledge, and status) affect Third Sector child poverty campaigning strategies? In particular, how do such resources affect the 'scope' and 'domain' of organisational influence, and whether they adopt 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategies?*
- *Question 2: How does the nature of the campaign environment impact upon Third Sector campaign strategies within the field of UK child poverty policy?*
- *Question 3: How do campaign groups use persuasive communication techniques to effectively communicate their messages on child poverty?*
- *Question 4: What resource dependencies exist within UK campaigning on child poverty? How do campaign groups trade resources they possess, for resources they need but do not control, in order to maximise their impact upon public policy? To what extent do TSOs seek to increase their key resources, and reduce their reliance on resources they do not control?*
- *Question 5: To what extent can 'insider' and 'outsider' campaign approaches be conceived of as sub-sectors of the sub-field of 'Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty'?*
- *Question 6: To what extent do organisational resource dependencies vary depending on whether they utilise an 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategy?*

Exploration of these questions develops the body of current academic literature in a number of ways.

Firstly, although Third Sector resource dependencies have been considered in previous literature, this work takes a more holistic approach than most studies, looking at all the key resource exchange partners (for example, the State, media, public and other organisations) within the arena of Third Sector campaigning. It also adds to the limited (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003) body of empirical work testing the applicability of a resource dependence perspective.

Secondly, the approach taken in this project develops conventional understandings of the significance of 'resources' to Third Sector campaigning, by combining a resource dependence perspective, with a Bourdieusian 'social fields' approach, making explicit how the value of resources is constructed by the arena in which they are deployed and the stakes for which they are competing- in particular addressing differences in key 'resources' and 'stakes' between 'insider' and 'outsider' campaign fields. Organisational success, will then, in part, depend upon their ability to assess which campaign 'field' maximises the efficiency of resource use. This innovative approach leads to a richer and more developed understanding of campaign strategies.

Finally, findings from the exploration of all the hypotheses above are used to develop current understandings of 'best practice' for campaign groups. These practical implications of the project may assist campaign groups in developing their future campaign strategies.

Having laid the key contextual groundwork for understanding Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty, the following 'methodology' chapter explores the inductive, qualitative methodological approach taken in the fieldwork. The methodology used combines interviews with people working within organisations involved in child poverty campaigning, with textual analysis of submissions to a 2008 Work and Pensions Select Committee hearing on child poverty.

Chapter 5: Methodology

This research examines the strategies and tactics which are used by Third Sector Organisations to influence the development of policy on Child Poverty in the UK.

As described in the introduction, this project answers three core research questions; these are:

- What strategies and tactics do Third Sector Organisations use in their campaigning, particularly with regard to campaigning on child poverty in the UK?
- Why do they campaign in this way?
- What are the implications of this for research, policy and practice?

These issues (together with the related questions raised in the previous three chapters) will be explored using a qualitative methodology that combines interviews with textual analysis for development and triangulation of results. This chapter overviews a number of key methodological issues in undertaking this project including theoretical assumptions underlying the work, reasons for using a qualitative research methodology, issues arising in undertaking research on organisations, in depth exploration of the data collection and analysis process, and a review of some of the ethical issues arising in the course of the research. The chapter concludes with reflections on the practical implementation of the research methods in the course of the fieldwork.

1. Theoretical assumptions

Epistemological underpinnings of social science research are commonly divided into two broad schools of 'Positivist' and 'Interpretivist' approaches.

Positivist (or 'naturalist' (Gerring, 2003)) epistemology understands the world of the social sciences from the same perspective as that of the natural sciences. Its origins lie in

the 'logical positivist' school of the philosophy of science (Lee, 1991). As Lee (1991) puts it, the positivist approach to social science asserts that:

“Only by applying the methods of natural science, according to the positivist school of thought, will social science (including organisational research) ever be able to match the achievements of natural science in explanation, prediction, and control.”

Lee (1991, p343)

It is supposed that it is the difficulties inherent in “capturing social reality in formal propositions” (Lee, 1991, p343) which mean that social science has not matured to the same extent as the natural sciences; but must 'try harder' to make their studies fit the natural-science model (Lee, 1991). If such methods are followed, positivists hold that “fully warranted, objective knowledge” (Fay, 1996, p72) of the social world, can be achieved.

Interpretivist epistemology may be reasonably, but unhelpfully defined as 'non-positivism' (Gerring, 2003). Put more positively, interpretivist social scientists hold that the methods of studying the reality of the natural world by the natural sciences, are inadequate for the study of social reality, because the components of the social world are fundamentally different from that of the 'physical' world and therefore require different research methods in order to understand them (Lee, 1991; Bryman, 2004). More specifically, it is hypothesised that unlike the world of the natural sciences, the social world cannot be described in terms of objective facts, independent of their interactions with, and the meanings put upon them by, human beings. To understand the social world is therefore to understand the meanings ascribed to the empirical world by the human actors who themselves experience it.

An important outcome of this is that the same physical artefacts, institutions, and actions can have different meanings for different people (Lee, 1991). Studies therefore need to incorporate the *subjective* nature of the social world. Some researchers go further, noting the importance of incorporating *inter-subjective* meanings of the social world into their research (Adcock, 2003) - that is, they need to recognise that “meanings should not

be conceptualized solely in *subjective* terms as something that exists in the minds of individuals considered in isolation from one another, but also need to be understood in *intersubjective* terms as something bound up with concrete contexts of shared social practices and interacting individuals.” (Adcock, 2003, p16)

This project is underpinned by a quasi-interpretivist approach. It is held that the world *could* be understood purely in terms of the natural sciences (that *all things*, including the meanings people ascribe to the world around them, have physical correlates. Therefore, it would be theoretically possible to study only these correlates in order to fully understand the social and physical world as one continuous whole.) However, in *practice* the social world is not best understood in this way. In practice, it is not possible to take people’s brains to pieces to understand the physical correlates of the meanings which they ascribe to the world around. Instead, meanings which people impose on reality appear subjective and discontinuous with the physical world. They should be understood in different terms from the objective, universal laws which govern the physical world, by considering them in terms of the context dependent, subjective and inter-subjective expressions exhibited by individuals within society.

This project does not just ask what strategies different organisations use in their campaigning, but (through the second research question) also asks *why* they use the strategies they do. As such, understanding the “meaning” of child poverty campaign strategies is central to the project. To answer this question, a quasi-interpretivist understanding of the social world points to the need to understand reasons for employing specific strategies, in terms of their subjective and intersubjective meanings, ascribed by the social actors involved.

A common criticism of interpretivist approaches is that they make generalisation from specific cases impossible (Williams, 2000). This is essentially because of the subjective, context dependent nature of the meanings ascribed to actions.

However, since the possibilities afforded by empirical research would be extremely limited if researchers made no generalizations, interpretivists do, inevitably make tentative generalizations from the findings gathered from their interview respondents to

a wider body of people. As Williams (2000, p210) suggests, “The interpretivist attitude to generalisation is rather like that of the Victorian middle classes towards sex. They do it, they know it goes on, but they rarely admit to either.”

However, Williams (2000) suggests that although generalizations of the sort envisaged in the natural sciences cannot be achieved for the interpretivist researcher, nonetheless, interpretivist generalizations can find grounding by reference to ‘cultural consistency’. It is here that the notion of intersubjective, rather than subjective, meaning becomes most significant. As Williams (2000) puts it:

“The ‘order’ of human social life needs some form of communicative cement, stocks of phrases, expression or languages themselves and it is these that the interpretivist needs to understand to be able to ‘say something’.”

Williams (2000, p220)

It is by reference to these cultural consistencies, (apparent commonalities of meaning across a sample,) that some tentative level of generalization can (and will in this project- as briefly described in the following section) be achieved.

2. Qualitative methods

This project uses a qualitative methodology to explore each of the research questions. The research involves a mixture of two of the most common research methods associated with qualitative research- qualitative interviewing, and the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents (Bryman, 2004, p266). (The details of the research methods employed are discussed in more detail in the ‘fieldwork’ section later in this chapter.)

This section conducts a brief overview of the nature of qualitative research, and explains why a qualitative methodology is appropriate for this project.

Bryman (2004) notes that the most obvious distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is that the former tends to deal with *words*, whilst the latter tends to deal with *numbers*. Research methods which deal with the analysis of words rather than numbers are most suitable to this research since in understanding how organisations campaign, and why they choose the strategies they utilise, there is little data which is obviously available in, or convertible into, numerical form.

For example, although a quantitative survey could have been sent to all organisations campaigning on child poverty, the field of such organisations is too small to produce statistically significant results. Instead qualitative interviews with relevant figures within the field seemed the most appropriate way to approach the topic, allowing detailed, in depth discussion of campaign strategies employed, and the reasons for those strategies.

For the reasons described in section 4, one key aspect of the research is analysis of written communications produced by Third Sector Organisations, with particular focus on submissions to Select Committee hearings. Again, although a quantitative analysis of campaign communications (such as submissions to Select Committee hearings) could have been attempted, this would not be the most useful way of dealing with such rich textual sources. Qualitative analysis (along the lines described later in this chapter) helped uncover some of the core communication issues arising through Select Committee submissions, and also allowed exploration of how the different parts of the submissions interrelated.

However, Bryman (2004) notes that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods does not normally rely solely on the respective use of numerical or non-numerical data. In addition to the word/number divide, the following have all been associated with qualitative research:

Firstly, qualitative research is often 'inductive', generating theory from research rather than using research to test theory. This is a suitable strategy for this project; the work will further explore previous research findings in this area (such as those discussed in chapter 4), and the emphasis will be on developing new theory regarding how organisations campaign in this area from the data which is provided by interview respondents and

textual sources. Reference to the literature is then used for further confirmation (or otherwise) of findings.

Secondly, qualitative research typically stresses the importance of “understanding the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants.” (Bryman, 2004, p266). The research questions for this project are best addressed through such an approach. Strategies are socially created phenomena, created by those working in the field.

Thirdly, qualitative research emphasises “social properties as outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena ‘out there’ and separate from those involved in its construction.” (Bryman 2004, p266) This supports an association between qualitative research and the interpretivist epistemology which underpins this research.

However, this last criteria appears to distinguish qualitative methods as a methodological ‘philosophy’; Rolfe (2006) suggests, this may be inappropriate. He posits that “The term ‘qualitative’ should be restricted to descriptions of data collection methods rather than used to refer to a research paradigm or philosophy.” (Rolfe, 2006, p309) This is because “there is no single paradigm which can accommodate all of the so-called qualitative methodologies, and each study should be justified on its own merits” (Rolfe, 2006, p309).

For this reason, it may seem a mistake to make a *necessary* association between interpretivist epistemology and any particular methodology. Saying this, it may nonetheless be suggested that in many cases quantitative methodologies may seem inappropriate for understanding social phenomena as understood from an interpretivist perspective. For example, in the case of political research, interpretivism highlights the need “to understand how people make sense of political phenomena, to understand what any given political problem or policy or action or event means to them” (Stoker, 2003, p14). However, it is common for quantitative research methods (Stoker notes surveys in particular) not to analyse how people make sense of politics, but on “how some measurable property, A (e.g., a person’s level of education), relates to another measurable property, B (e.g., a person’s level of support for affirmative action policies),

by way of testing causal hypotheses about the force exerted by A on B” (Stoker, 2003, p14).

In the case of this project, certainly, it appears to make sense to support an interpretivist theoretical underpinning, with qualitative (interview and textual analysis) methods directed at obtaining a detailed understanding of the reasons how and why TSOs campaign on UK child poverty.

However, although there are clear advantages to approaching this research using a qualitative methodology, there are nonetheless problems with such an approach. Common criticisms of qualitative methods revolve around issues of reliability and validity:

Reliability relates to the degree to which concepts are ‘stable’ (Bryman, 2004, p543). This may mean stability over time (so that if the measure is re-administered at a later point, will there be little variation (Bryman, 2004)) or between observers (whether different researchers given the same set of data, would agree between them on how it should be interpreted (Bryman 2004)). It may also refer to what Kirk and Miller (1986) call “synchronic reliability” which regards whether consistent results are achieved in the utilisation of different research instruments (Kirk and Miller (1986) cited in Flick 1998, p223).

It can be argued that measures of reliability over time within qualitative research are inappropriate since it is “impossible to ‘freeze’ a social setting” (Bryman, 2004, p273) society is constantly changing, and as a result, concepts are unlikely to have stability over time. However, inter-observer reliability may be promoted by clear procedural rules for recording and transcribing the data provided (for instance) by interviewees, and for the analysis of the data. As a result, this project recorded all interviews and transcribed them in full in order to ensure that the raw material of analysis is as accurate as possible. Procedures for the analysis of data are explored in more detail in following sections, but it is worth noting that line by line coding, and detailed mapping of all concepts revealed in analysis, help to ensure that repeated analysis would reveal similar key concepts and categories. In addition, synchronic reliability may be assisted by seeking results across different data sources (known as the triangulation of results (Silverman, 1998), to see

whether similar results are revealed by different research instruments (in the case of this project, interviews, textual analysis and literature reviews).

Validity is “concerned with the integrity of conclusions that are generated from a piece of research” (Bryman 2004, p28). The internal validity of a research project regards whether “there is a good match between researchers’ observations and the theoretical ideas they develop” (Bryman 2004, p273) and external validity “refers to the degree to which findings can be generalised across social settings” (Bryman 2004, p273)

Mays and Pope (2000, p51) note that there are “no “mechanical” or “easy” solutions to limit the likelihood that there will be errors in qualitative research”. However, they do note that there are, nonetheless, ways of improving the validity of the research. In this project, clear procedures for the analysis of data, and triangulation of results help to ensure a sound match between observations in this project, and the theoretical ideas developed.

External validity is a particular concern for qualitative research (including this project), since it employs small samples of respondents (LeCompte and Goetz (1982) in Bryman, 2004, p273) and cannot employ statistical tests of significance- indicating levels of probability that the results are generalisable to a wider population- which is possible with large samples of numerical data.

In addition, and as noted previously, generalisability is a problem for research from an interpretivist perspective, since this assumes some non-objective level of meaning. This problem with an interpretivist perspective was addressed above with reference to the possibility of inter-subjective commonalities of meaning (that although meaning is not an objective matter, it is not an entirely subjective matter either, with common, or inter-subjective, meanings ascribed to the same actions and events across a social setting.) However, there remains the practical problem of identifying where these commonalities apply- how to identify the extent to which a specific set of research results are in fact generalisable to a wider population.

In the case of this research, informed judgements about the extent to which results can be generalised are made based on indicators given in the data, and on knowledge of the field. Such generalisations have been called “*Moderatum*” generalisations or the “generalisations of everyday life” (Williams, 2000, p215) and can be applied “where aspects of (*a situation*) can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features” (Williams, 2000, p215). Williams (2000) argues that these are the sort of generalisations that interpretive research can make.

In the case of this project, some findings may be generalisable, certainly to a wider body of organisations campaigning on child poverty in the UK, but in many cases, may also be applicable to other TSOs campaigning on other issues. However, this may not always be the case. For example, the fieldwork may reflect literature review findings that public attitudes to poverty in the UK present problems for organisations campaigning on the issue. This may have implications on how organisations campaign. In a different policy area, with a different level of public support, organisations may reflect this by campaigning in a different way.

Attempts are made throughout this research to address not just how organisations campaign on child poverty, but to also identify the key factors in the social environment which influence why they campaign in this way. This can allow other researchers to question whether or not those factors apply in other circumstances, and as a result address whether the findings may be generalised into a different context.

3. Organisational Research

Although based upon interviews with individuals, since this project is concerned with organisational behaviour, interviewees were sampled as representatives of campaigning TSOs. Studying organisations raises specific issues, which need to be addressed.

In his book ‘Understanding voluntary organisations’ (1988) Charles Handy notes that “organisations are people... organisational competence depends, to start with, on a proper understanding of how people think and behave, as individuals, in roles, in groups

and in relationships generally.” How organisational staff make their decisions, and how they work together, and how they respond to the core purpose of the organisation, produces the behaviour of the organisation, and is key to understanding how that behaviour should be interpreted. It is for this reason, that the first key part of the fieldwork for this project is comprised of interviews with experts working within organisations campaigning on UK child poverty.

However, people are not the only organisational resources, nor are they the only factor which affects how an organisation operates. Other organisational resources (such as funding, offices etc.) are likely to impact upon organisational abilities to campaign, as are the nature of other TSOs in the field, and the wider policy environment. As addressed in chapter 2, core organisational functions are also likely to influence organisational behaviour. As a result, interviewees were asked about the impact of organisational structures and functions on campaigning, (addressed in chapter 6), about the impact of collaborative working with other TSOs campaigning in the field (addressed in chapter 7), and about the impact of the wider policy environment (addressed throughout the analysis chapters.)

Interviewing members of staff in order to understand organisational behaviour, raises two key practical questions. Firstly, there is an issue around how individuals within organisations campaigning on child poverty should be selected for interview. This is an issue since different individuals within an organisation may have different key areas of expertise, particularly within large organisations with extensive division of responsibilities between different departments. This issue of how interviewees were selected from organisations campaigning on child poverty, is explored in detail in the fieldwork section, later in this chapter.

Secondly, there are issues of access to research participants. Potential interviewees for this project were professionals working in Third Sector Organisations campaigning on child poverty. As a result, they can be expected to be busy, and taking time out of their schedules to participate in the research project. In order to respond to this issue, interviews were conducted by telephone, at the convenience of the interviewee, in order to give respondents maximum flexibility to cancel should something else arise. Further

details of how potential interviewees were contacted and how interviews were conducted are described in the fieldwork sections later in this chapter.

Interviews with individuals within the organisation are not the only way of exploring an organisation's behaviour. Behaviour (of both individuals and organisations) can be explored, not just by analysing the key drivers of action, but may also consider some of the behavioural *outputs* themselves. For this reason, the project examines submissions to a Select Committee hearing on child poverty, in order to explore how, in practice, Third Sector Organisations present their arguments targeted at the eradication of child poverty. This involves an analysis of how they present themselves, and their cases, both orally, and in documentary evidence which they submit.

4. Fieldwork

There are two parts to the fieldwork for this project, which together give an overview of Third Sector Organisations' strategies in campaigning on child poverty. The first part is an analysis of the submissions of Third Sector Organisations to a 2007-08 Work and Pensions Select Committee inquiry into child poverty. The second part is comprised of interviews with representatives of Third Sector Organisations.

4.1. Analysis of 2007/08 Select Committee hearings on Child Poverty

The first part of the fieldwork (undertaken in the Summer of 2008) involved detailed documentary analysis of TSO submissions to a 2007-08 Work and Pensions Select Committee hearing on child poverty. This analysis was used to explore how TSOs communicate key policy issues with an audience of decision makers with substantial influence over the policy process.

The analysis considers the 2007 to the Work and Pensions Select Committee hearings on child poverty, which contributed to their 2008 report "The best start in life? Alleviating deprivation, improving social mobility, and eradicating child poverty." Both oral and written evidence submitted to the hearings were analysed.

There were a number of reasons for undertaking extensive analysis of Select Committee hearings in this project, including:

1) *Key lobbying opportunity with widespread engagement* - Select Committees provide an excellent lobbying opportunity for Third Sector Organisations. They have the power to compel witnesses within the UK to attend hearings (Rogers and Walters, 2006), and to make recommendations to which the Government is normally expected to reply within 60 days. As a result, it is perhaps unsurprising that many TSOs (as can be seen from the list below) use Select Committee hearings as an opportunity to make their voice heard through both written and oral evidence. As a result, examination of Select Committee evidence is a good way to explore Third Sector communications from a diverse range of organisations acting within the policy process.

2) *Core topic area explored* – The particular Select Committee inquiry examined in the course of this project covers exactly the topic area of the study. This gave the opportunity to explore Third Sector lobbying communications within the core policy area of study.

3) *Comprehensive and freely available data* – Finally, all written submissions to Select Committee hearings are compiled as a separate report published alongside the Select Committee report on the topic of study. All oral hearings are transcribed in full, and are published alongside the written submissions. As a result, Select Committee inquiries produce a wealth of primary documentary source data, which is ideal for understanding how organisations communicate their concerns to policy makers.

The desired end result of submissions to Select Committee hearings is change in policy and practice. Potentially, this could happen in three different ways. Firstly, by influencing the Select Committee, recommendations may be adopted in their final report, and TSOs may then hope that the Government will adopt some of those proposals. Secondly, TSOs may also hope that Select Committee members may raise some of the issues in other political roles, or more personally with other members of their party, which may again be adopted by into Government policy. Finally, campaign groups may hope that they

impress sufficiently in their submission, that they are given further, future, opportunities to present their opinions to policymakers.

How successful submissions are, therefore, must be judged by their success in persuading the Select Committee members to change their attitudes and policy proposals on the basis of the evidence and proposals presented to them. The crucial question for this research then is: how do organisations choose and present their recommendations in order to convince the committee of their value?

As described above, this study used a qualitative methodology to assess the oral and written submissions to the Select Committee.

Submissions were initially read for familiarisation with the data. They were then coded line-by-line using Atlas ti. This methodical approach helped to ensure that key ideas were identified throughout the data. In total, 457 different codes were created. Fielding (2005, p5) notes that the use of software such as Atlas ti in research has allowed further legitimisation of qualitative research, since it helps analysis to be more “systematic, transparent, and therefore accountable”. Each code represented a different specific ‘concept’ or idea which had emerged from the data.

As with the interview analysis, these codes were then used to develop wider conceptual categories, which were themselves frequently found to relate to wider themes. ‘Mind maps’ were drawn for each of the submissions, and these were used to develop synoptic (across the submissions) conceptual hierarchies- which were used to structure the writing up. The use of mind maps to develop cross-case conceptual hierarchies in qualitative data analysis is described in detail in the following section, in relation to the interview analysis.

Unlike the interview analysis (discussed below), analysis of Select Committee submissions was purely inductive. Because this work analyses a pre-existent set of data, it was not sensible to use an iterative method (as was the case with the interviews,) in which analysis of initial data collected is used to focus further data collection.

Findings from this analysis were further explored by comparison with the interviews undertaken with TSO representatives. In particular, whilst the analysis of submissions themselves can provide the evidence with regards to *how* the TSOs presented themselves, and what they said, *why* they presented their submissions in the way that they did must be largely speculative. Comparison with interviews allowed further exploration of why organisations presented themselves and their arguments in the way in which they did.

Since this part of the fieldwork focussed on policy communications directed at insiders within the policy process, the findings from this analysis are integrated into chapter 8 on campaigning targeted at policymakers.

4.2. Interviews

The second central piece of empirical work in this project comprised interviews with TSOs campaigning on UK Child Poverty. These interviews were used to explore the perceptions of those working within the sector; and questions were focussed on answering all of the four ‘fieldwork’ research questions. Findings also help to achieve triangulation of results discovered in other parts of the fieldwork for this project.

4.2.1. Sampling of TSOs for interview

In order to assist in drawing out wider hypotheses from the case studies, interviews were conducted with a wide ‘range’ of groups campaigning on UK Child Poverty policy; known as ‘maximal variation’ sampling (Flick, 1998, p70). This allows comparisons and contrasts regarding how different factors affect the methods of Third Sector campaigning to be drawn out between the cases. For this reason, interviews were conducted with policy workers within 9 different organisations to give a wide ‘breadth’ of cases.

The first stage of sampling organisations for interview was the creation of a comprehensive list of organisations working nationally to change policy and practice in

the field of child poverty (the relevant population). This list acted as a 'sample frame' from which prospective interviewees were chosen.

This was achieved by using a variety of sources (see below), to identify as many different organisations involved in campaigning on issues of Child Poverty as possible:

1. The analysis of the Select Committee was used as a basis for identifying potential organisations (and individuals) for interview. Organisations who gave evidence to the Select Committee's recent report on child poverty were examined in more detail, and the fact that they gave evidence was used as evidence of an interest in campaigning on Child Poverty.
2. The membership list from the End Child Poverty Coalition was used as a basis for further exploration of member organisations, and was used itself as evidence of an interest in child poverty campaigning.
3. The websites of organisations uncovered in 1 and 2 were further explored for evidence of an active interest in Child Poverty; either in their mandate, or in the work that they have undertaken.
4. The list was sent to two experts with knowledge of the field for comments and suggestions.
5. In some cases, interviewees provided signposting to further important organisations working in the field.

This sampling method identified all the key Third Sector Organisations working on child poverty, and a substantial number of other organisations working in the area and undertaking some work on child poverty. In total 39 organisations were identified (some of which had undertaken very limited direct work on child poverty). Certainly, enough

organisations were identified to give a sound basis for selection of interviewees from within this sample frame.

From this list, organisations to be contacted for interviewing were selected. The sample selection in this project responded to two criteria. Firstly, it ensured the diversity of campaigning across the sector was explored, and secondly, it made sure that those organisations which were most involved in child poverty campaigning were considered in most depth and detail. This is known as ‘theoretical’ rather than random sampling, since cases are chosen deliberately and may be chosen “to replicate previous cases or extend emergent theory, or they may be chosen to fill theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p537).

In order to ensure sufficient diversity within the sector was explored, all identified organisations were categorised according to a number of key factors. These were as follows:

a) Recent Relevant Activities

Sample selection focussed more on those organisations with recent activity in the area of child poverty campaigning. An initial indication of Third Sector activities in campaigning on child poverty was given by organisational responses to the Select Committee hearings analysed in the first part of the fieldwork. All organisations which made submissions to the hearings were assumed to have some level of activity within the field, but in addition, submissions often included reference to further pieces of work on child poverty undertaken by Third Sector Organisations helping to identify further evidence of active engagement in child poverty campaigning.

Further identification of organisational activities in child poverty campaigning were identified from the organisations’ websites, and involved such things as recent reports on child poverty issues, public events on child poverty issues, and media work discussing child poverty.

This strategy was used because organisations with recent relevant experience in the field were likely to have the most to say about methods and strategies used in campaigning on child poverty, and about the contemporary child poverty policy environment.

b) Organisational area of work:

Since interviews were primarily focussed on those organisations which were most involved in campaigning on child poverty, particular attention was given to those organisations which have campaigning on child poverty at the heart of their mandate.

However, in many cases organisations which campaign on issues of child poverty, also work on other issues. Child poverty may not be an organisation's core area of work, and they may have a focus on other issues including poverty more generally, child welfare, disability (parental disability and child disability), housing, gender and welfare, families, lone parents, childcare, welfare rights, fuel poverty and children in care.

Organisational work areas were identified on the basis of data from the charity commission website (particularly the charity summaries available on each organisation), combined with analysis of organisations' own websites.

In two cases, organisations worked solely or primarily on child poverty, in the other seven cases, organisations also worked on other issues. This helped to explore how the scope of an organisation's campaign work (the policy areas in which they are active) affects their campaigning on child poverty, including exploration of how organisations work on child poverty alongside (or integrate child poverty with) campaigning on other policy issues. The results of this analysis are explored in chapter 6.

Table (1): Core work areas of organisations interviewed

Interview Number	Child Poverty only/alongside other issues
1	Child poverty alongside other issues
2	Child poverty alongside other issues
3	Child poverty alongside other issues
4	Child Poverty
5	Child poverty alongside other issues
6	Child poverty alongside other issues
7	Child poverty alongside other issues
8	Child Poverty
9	Child poverty alongside other issues

c) Campaigning / Campaigning and Service Providing

Many organisations involved in campaigning on issues of child poverty are also involved in the provision of services, either providing services such as advice or support to those affected by the issues directly, or by providing second tier services, such as advice and training to other service providers.

Details of service provision activities were, again, identified from data from the charity commission, and from organisational websites.

All but one of the interviews in the sample were undertaken with organisations involved in both service provision and campaigning. This is overviewed in the table below. This

allowed exploration of how involvement in the provision of services affects the nature of an organisation’s campaigning, a subject which is explored in chapter 6.

Table 2: Summary of whether organisations interviewed were service providers

Interview Number	Service Provision/Campaigning
1	service provision/campaigning
2	service provision/campaigning
3	service provision/campaigning
4	service provision/campaigning
5	service provision/campaigning
6	service provision/campaigning
7	service provision/campaigning
8	Campaigning
9	service provision/campaigning

d) TSO or Umbrella Organisation/Campaign coalition

In many cases TSOs have a clear identity distinct from other organisations working in the sector. In other cases they are coalitions of different groups campaigning on a particular issue (eg End Child Poverty, UK Coalition Against Poverty, Get Fair.)

Whilst most of the interviews were held with individual organisations, one was with a representative of a coalition of which many of the other organisations were members. All organisations were asked about their organisational experiences of involvement in coalitions and collaborative activities. This helped to explore the role of networking in campaigning in the sector. This is a key area of interest, and one which is addressed in detail in chapter 7, on collaborative working.

e) Organisational Size

Although this work only considers organisations that campaign on child poverty on a national level, this does nonetheless, incorporate a range of organisations of different sizes, with different amounts of income, and numbers of members of staff.

Interviews sampled organisations of a range of different sizes, in order to explore how organisational size affects campaigning. The various sizes of the organisations are indicated in the table below. It should be noted that this indicates the total size of the organisation, rather than those parts of it working on campaigning on child poverty.

Table 3: Organisational sizes for sample (based on data from the Charity Commission (2010))

Interview Number	Income	Staff	Volunteers
1	£100m+	1000+	10 000+
2	£100m+	1000+	-
3	£100m+	1000+	10 000+
4	£1m-£10m	10-100	-
5	£10m-£100m	100-1000	100-1000
6	£10m-£100m	100-1000	100-1000
7	£1m-£10m	10-100	-
8	£100 000-£1m	1-10	-
9	£10m-£100m	100-1000	10-100

Interview results indicated that organisational size did have impacts upon campaigning and this issue is addressed in Chapter 6.

4.2.2. Sampling Strategy within Organisations

Once an organisational sample had been decided, interviewees had to be selected from within the organisations to be sampled. Determining who to interview was a complex task, since it was not always clear who had the most relevant or substantial experience of the relevant issues; and in many cases (particularly within larger organisations) the organisations campaigning and policy work involved several people within different departments within the organisation, an example of this is given in the box below.

Within Barnardo's, the 'Policy and Research Unit' is split into three teams- Policy workers, the Parliamentary team and the Research team. Policy workers 'develop national and UK wide public campaigns and lobbying strategies in partnership with parliamentary, research and media colleagues. They produce campaign reports and summaries, briefing papers for professionals, respond to government consultation papers, organise lobbying activities and seminars and work with civil servants and policymakers'. The Parliamentary team 'monitor legislation and government initiatives, identifying those likely to affect the work of Barnardo's or to have a major impact on the lives of our service users and coordinate with other colleagues to respond and advise accordingly.' The Research team both work to improve Barnardo's services, and to create an evidence base for campaigns and parliamentary work. Alongside the policy and research unit, Barnardo's also has a communications department, which itself has a number of teams, including 'Brand and Communication Services, the Media Office, Publications/Events and Creative Services' with a number of other responsibilities needed in the successful completion of campaign and policy work.

In sampling interviewees for the project, sample selection was determined by three core factors:

a) *Subject driven* - To an extent sample selection was able to be subject driven – approaching those most connected to Child Poverty work within the organisation (for instance, the named contact for a recent report on child poverty).

It should be recognised that the focus of the thesis on strategies rather than efficacy affected the selection of interview respondents. Those interviewees selected were those most directly involved in the strategies utilised by the campaigning TSO. Although in many cases, these actors would have some perspective on the efficacy of those strategies used, this was not the crucial determinant of interviewee selection. In addition, their perspective on the effectiveness of the strategies utilised may well be biased by their personal involvement in the selection of those tactics; the focus on strategies implanted means that this is not a crucial concern for this research.

b) *Scope of responsibility driven* – the second factor was to find individuals with as great a range of relevant responsibilities within the organisation as possible. In several cases, the heads of policy or campaigning within the organisations were interviewed, in one case the chief executive of the organisation was interviewed. The scope of potential interviewee responsibilities was determined by profiles obtained from organisation websites.

c) *Respondent led* – the final criterion was to enable organisations themselves to put me in touch with the person who they considered most appropriate to interview. In all cases initial contact was made according to the two criteria above, but when contacting respondents the following passage was added to the contact email:

“If you do not have time to assist me with this, or think that there would be someone else in your organisation who would be better to talk to, I would greatly appreciate it if you could pass this email onto them.”

In five cases, I was signposted on by the initial contact, and a different person within the organisation was interviewed.

4.3. Data collection

Having selected nineteen potential interview respondents, contact was made by email with a request to take part in the project, together with a research summary attached. In cases where potential respondents did not reply to the email, this was followed up with a phone call.

Where potential interviewees agreed to an interview, a date was arranged, and interviewees were emailed an interview consent form to complete prior to the interview.

For a number of reasons, interviews were conducted by telephone. Firstly, interviewees were all professionals within the field of study, as a result, they all faced considerable time constraints, and in some cases needed to rearrange interviews due to other issues arising. As a result, arranging telephone interviews allowed the respondents as much flexibility as possible, since were the researcher to travel a long way in order to undertake an interview, it may be considerably harder for the interviewee to make a last minute cancellation. (As discussed further in the reflections on research methods, this flexibility was utilised by interview respondents.) Secondly, interviews were conducted by telephone due to issues of cost. In particular, interviews were undertaken with respondents in different parts of England. Travel costs would have been prohibitively expensive. Finally, it has been suggested that telephone interviews can help to keep focus on the topic (Fielding and Thomas; 2001).

However, they have their problems as well. For instance, it has been suggested that telephone interviews are less suitable than face-to-face interviews in asking complex questions, and that it prohibits the opportunity for respondents to consult others in answering questions (Bryman, 2004). Fielding and Thomas (2001) suggest that telephone interviewers need particularly effective communication skills to keep the discussion 'natural' and stay on topic. They also note that some 'nuances'- communicated through body language rather than speech- might be lost. This latter concern may be a particular problem in particularly emotive interviews, where the experience of being face-to-face with the respondent may give the opportunity for real insight into how they are feeling. A project such as this one, regarding issues of professional rather than personal nature, may be less emotive.

Further reflections on the telephone interviews are given in the reflections on research methods, later in this chapter.

Interviews were semi structured. Wengraf (2001, p5) defines semi structured interviews as:

“...designed to have a number of interviewer questions prepared in advance but such prepared questions are designed to be sufficiently open that the subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance, but must be improvised in a careful and theorised way.”

It was decided that interviews should be semi structured for a number of reasons. Firstly, since the project takes an inductive methodological approach (building theory from research rather than using research to test theory,) an over-emphasis on providing structure to questions would mean that respondents’ own ideas are not explored in sufficient depth and detail to generate new theory. Open ended questions which allow detailed and wide-ranging responses can help to thoroughly explore interviewees views about an issue area, and allow new ideas to be uncovered.

Bryman (2004, p321) notes that semi-structured or unstructured interviewing can help to discover what the interviewee considers important in “explaining and understanding events, patterns and forms of behaviour.”

However, some level of structure was deemed necessary. In an unstructured interview “...the researcher uses at most an aide memoire as a brief set of prompts to him or herself to deal with a certain range of topics.” (Bryman, 2004, p320). However, Bryman (2004, p323) notes that it is likely that a researcher will conduct semi-structured interviews if they are “beginning the investigation with a fairly clear focus, rather than a very general notion of wanting to do research on a topic.” From the outset of the research, although broadly inductive, this research was designed to explore certain key themes and issues (such as those described in chapter 4) requiring greater focus than an unstructured interview or “conversation” (Fielding and Thomas, 2001) would allow. In

addition, given that the interviewees are professionals within the field with considerable personal time constraints, unstructured interviews would not allow the economical use of time, which some kind of structure allows.

The initial interview guide used in this project is contained in Appendix 1.

Interviews were recorded (with the permission of respondents). The importance of recording interviews to ensure the accuracy of data has been noted, and has been associated with the legitimisation of qualitative research since it allows researchers “to move from selective, summarised notes to verbatim transcripts” (Fielding, 2005, p5)

Several of the interviews were transcribed (and some initial analysis completed) during the fieldwork stage itself. This allowed questions to be refocused in the remaining interviews. This issue is discussed further below.

4.4. Analysis

Interview analysis involved a five step process.

i) During interviews and transcription

Interviews were conducted in a two stage process; the initial four interviews were transcribed (and initial data considered) prior to conducting the remaining interviews. The process of transcription was important in itself, since it gave me the opportunity for an initial familiarisation with the data which had been produced. This allowed initial questions to be asked of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and, combined with some initial coding in ATLAS ti (see below), gave the opportunity to refocus interview questions in the interview guide around key areas which were emergent in the initial interviews. (For example, a question around the use of technology in campaigning was introduced to reflect previous interviewees mentioning the use of technology, particularly IT, in their campaigns.)

This process of analysing data alongside data collection is known as an 'iterative' process (Bryman 2004, p399). This means that although the research methodology is broadly inductive, it did involve some deductive elements as well, since interviews are used to explore and test ideas which emerged in the initial interviews.

ii) Coding

As with the analysis of submissions to the Select Committee inquiry, interview transcriptions were coded line-by-line using Atlas ti to give a systematic analysis. In total 700 codes were discovered.

As with the Select Committee analysis, each code represented a different specific 'concept' from the data. During this stage of the analysis process it started to become apparent how individual concepts would fall into more generalised categories which the respondents considered of core importance.

iii) 'Mind mapping'

Following on from coding, each interview was taken individually, and the codes were drawn out and interlinked on a sheet of A3 paper. In doing this, each instance of a concept was ascribed to different, broader, categories as appropriate.

This approach is an example of 'Mind Mapping', a concept developed by Tony Buzan in the 1970s as a way of presenting information. Buzan and Buzan (1996) described Mind Mapping as comprising four key elements:

- “1. The subject of attention is crystallized in a central image.
2. The main themes of the subject radiate from the central image as branches.

3. Branches comprise a key image or key word printed on an associated line. Topics of lesser importance are also represented as branches attached to higher level branches.

4. The branches form a connected nodal structure.”

Buzan and Buzan (1996, p59)

Mind mapping allows a great deal of information to be presented on a single page, and relationships to be shown between different ideas (Mento et al., 1999).

Within this project, mind mapping allowed both systematic reconsideration of the data, and initial ordering into different key areas, but also exposed inter-linkages between conceptual categories, including categorical hierarchies, to be shown clearly and concisely.

One of the Mind Maps produced (representing interview 1) is contained in Appendix 2.

At this stage, some of the initial codes were dismissed, since they covered overly-specific concepts which were more broadly covered by other codes. Bryman (2004, p409) supports such an approach, saying;

“Don’t worry about generating what seem to be too many codes- at least in the early stages of your analysis; some will be fruitful and others will not- the important thing is to be as inventive and imaginative as possible; you can worry about tidying things up later.”

iv) Cross interview analysis

After each interview had been ‘mind mapped’, results were reconsidered, and clearer hierarchies emerged. Mind Mapping was therefore used again for the purposes of cross interview analysis. This time each ‘mind map’ represented a core topic area, and each interview was examined in turn, and then compiled so that the interviews could be

viewed synoptically, in order to explore what the interviewees as a whole had said in discussion of that issue.

Each interview was mapped in a different colour, so that although compiled so as to see what all interviewees said, the concepts could still be traced back to their original source. Where more than one interviewee noted the same concept, a mark in each of 'their' colours would be put against the initial code, so that it could be seen how many people (and who) had said the same thing.

The results of the interviews were written up by topic area, so once this synoptic, thematic, analysis had been completed, the results were ready for writing up.

v) Writing up and relating results to other fieldwork and to relevant literature

The final part of the analysis involves writing up results from the cross-interview mind mapping which has brought into clear profile the hierarchies of codes which have emerged from the theory. This part is included in this section as analysis, since it is here that ideas are clearly sorted into their final categories. In some cases it was only on writing up that it was realised that a concept would be better in a different wider category than the one that it was associated with in earlier stages of the analysis.

In addition, the writing up stage is important since it is in this section that the results can be associated with relevant context which allows the reader to make some decisions about whether generalisation to a different field is applicable in a specific case. In addition, results here can be compared against results from the other main section of the fieldwork (analysis of Select Committee hearings- see below) and compared with the evidence from the literature, for the triangulation of results which was discussed above as an important method of improving the validity of the research.

5. Research Ethics

In undertaking this research, a number of ethical issues needed consideration. Since it involved fieldwork undertaken with human participants, the research methods needed, and received, validation from the University of York research ethics committee. Key ethical issues arising included:

1) Informed consent - *are the interviewees aware of the nature of the research and of their role in it?*

A brief description of study (in the form of a “frequently asked questions” sheet) was attached with the initial email which was sent to all potential interviewees. This set out both the nature of the research, and the role which they would play in it if they agreed to be interviewed.

Those who agreed to an interview were sent a consent form in a follow up email arranging a suitable date and time, which they were asked to complete and return by email.

2) Confidentiality – *how were the interviews treated as regards confidentiality/anonymity?*

Although the interviews were not of a personal nature, in some cases confidential information regarding the internal workings of the organisation which they work for were provided, there were also other elements of the interviews which interviewees specifically stated that they preferred to be treated confidentially.

In the consent form, interviewees were asked whether or not they would prefer (a) their organisation and (b) themselves, to be identifiable from the data. Although in many cases respondents said that they were happy to be identified, all interview sources have been treated as confidential, and all quotations from sources have been anonymised in this thesis, and will be anonymised in all research outputs.

It was felt that that interviews should be anonymised for a number of reasons:

1) Although some interviewees indicated that they would allow for the interviews to be undertaken on the understanding that they would not be anonymised, in other cases this was not the case. For consistency, it was felt that all interviews should be made anonymous.

2) In some cases, interviewees indicated that although they were happy to be identified in some sections of the interview they would prefer other (more controversial) sections to be made anonymous. Again, it was felt that for the sake of consistency of results all sections of all interviews should be anonymised.

3) It was felt that most of the key contextual data about interview respondents could be communicated whilst maintaining anonymity. Tables one to three earlier in this chapter indicate, organisational campaign scope, whether the organisation campaign only or have some service provision function, and approximate organisational size. This data provides an important contextual background to interpreting interview results, but it was not felt that additional information (which would have required identification of the organisation/interviewee) would have added further important context to results.

4) Confidentiality of research data is often considered the “norm” within social research. For instance in their ethical guidelines the SRA gives confidentiality as a general rule for research (Spicker, 2007). Spicker (2007) highlights some good arguments for why anonymity may be less of a concern in interviews with public organisations - particularly on account of their need to be publically accountable. However, where anonymity does not add substantially to the quality of the research (see point 3), and cannot be provided consistently across interviews (see points 1-2), referral to the general principle of providing anonymity to interview respondents seems sensible.

The provision of respondent anonymity means that the name of the organisation and the interviewee’s name are not mentioned in any reports resulting from the study, and care has been taken so that organisations and/or individuals cannot be identified from details included in project outputs.

In addition, any quotations intended for use in the thesis, or any other output, were emailed to interviewees prior to inclusion. It was made clear to participants that any quotations were able to be changed or removed at this stage, or additional steps could be taken to ensure they were happy with the level of anonymity being given.

The documentary analysis part of the fieldwork had no confidentiality constraints, since all the submissions to the Select Committee hearings are publicly accessible information.

6. Reflections on the research methods

A qualitative approach proved very suitable for this topic. In particular, the research set out to discover a diverse set of ideas about not only what strategies organisations used, but also why they used the strategies they did. The density and diversity of concepts that emerged through both interviews and documentary analysis indicated that this was a good approach to take, and one which would not have been possible in a quantitative study.

6.1. Reflections on interviews:

The project explored quite a specific field of campaigning, and as a result the potential sample size (the number of organisations campaigning on child poverty in the UK) was limited; as a result interview numbers were more limited than they might have been had a broader area of study been chosen. However, enough responses were obtained to give a good breadth of different organisations within the field. In addition, interviewees were very generous with their time, and the interviews both covered a large area of conceptual ground (with a large number of different theoretical ideas emerging), and achieved great conceptual depth (illustrated by the density of clustering of codes around broader categories.)

Interviews were conducted by telephone for several reasons which have been overviewed earlier in this chapter. It was clear that the flexibility and simplicity that telephone interviewing offered respondents was helpful. In particular, on several occasions interviewees took the opportunity to postpone the interview to another

occasion, which was made considerably simpler by utilising telephone interviews. Use of telephone call recording equipment, meant that full transcripts could be taken of interviews despite them not being held face to face. Some initial analysis of the early interviews was completed during the course of the interview process; this helped to give focus for the later interviews.

There are, however, downsides to using telephone interviews. For instance, as noted previously, it has been suggested that telephone interviews are less suitable than face-to-face interviews in asking complex questions, and that it prohibits the opportunity for respondents to consult others in answering questions (Bryman, 2004). With regard to asking complex questions, although many of the questions were complex, the responses given appeared detailed and cogent. This may be because the interviewees were professionals and experts within the field, well used to answering complex questions within the topic area, and of answering questions over the phone. Experience of the interviews suggested the second point is more salient, and it could have been useful to give opportunities for respondents to consult others about answers to questions (and indeed potentially to ask questions in person to other members of staff in the office.) However, on the whole, the administrative benefits of telephone interviewing in this case outweighed the costs.

The use of computer aided qualitative data analysis software (Atlas ti) in the analysis process was extremely useful to ensuring that the analysis process was as systematic as possible, and that all key concepts were identified. Each interview was read several times in the course of the process; this in itself helped to get to know the data, and made it easier to ensure no key ideas were missed during the analysis or the write up.

Mind mapping was an extremely useful tool, which helped to make very clear how concepts interrelated, and which were the most important core ideas. Mind mapping for each individual interview was relatively simple, however, cross-interview comparison was more complicated. This was for several reasons:

Firstly, since it would be extremely confusing to attempt cross interview analysis all on one 'map', decisions needed to be made during the course of the initial analysis stages as

to the key concepts by which to group later analysis stages. In general, this was relatively simple, with ‘policymaker oriented campaigning’, ‘public oriented campaigning’ and so forth, clearly emerging as core categories, around which to organise ‘mind maps’, however there were (inevitably) some codes which did not fit entirely satisfactorily into any of the main categories. As a result, and in order not to lose the data, a map of ‘other strategies’ was created, into which these fitted. In some cases they were then attributed to other core categories (as further connections emerged in the course of further analysis and writing up), however in some cases, these codes were lost from the analysis, revealing themselves as peripheral to the area of study by their failure to connect with more central analytical categories.

Secondly, even within the maps created around core analytical categories, the density of inter-linking concepts made the mind maps quite hard to draw, and even harder to write up. In some cases, peripheral concepts (those not clearly linked in to the wider conceptual network, and which were typically only mentioned by one respondent), were removed from the analysis, to give analytical clarity.

6.2. Reflections on the documentary analysis:

The process of utilising Select Committee submissions to understand Third Sector campaign communications, was a very productive part of the research, and it is notable that submissions to Select Committee hearings have not been widely utilised as primary data for qualitative research. However, all submissions to Select Committee hearings (both written and oral,) are stored on the Parliament website, and are freely available to download. It seems that the potential for this superb store of data is underused by researchers as primary documentation. There are a wide range of circumstances, where analysis of this material for both language and content could contribute a great deal to understanding not only specific policy issues, but also the policy process itself.

In the writing up stage, the documentary analysis was integrated into the interview results. This was to some extent, problematic. My initial preference was to closely integrate the documentary analysis directly with the interview analysis, and to some extent this was achieved. However, inevitably the documentary analysis and interview

results did not directly, or completely, overlap. This was mainly because interviewees tended to take a broad perspective on campaign strategies– giving an overview of the key campaign decisions and how they were implemented in the work of the organisations. Documentary analysis, on the other hand, was analysing submissions to give a particularly detailed account of communication strategies. This meant that whilst documentary analysis was an excellent means for finding out about a particular area of the campaigns process in a detail which could not be achieved in interview, it was better at revealing a new area of analysis than it was at triangulating findings from interviews (as I had hoped that it might). However, the iterative interview process, and a rigorous structured analysis process, meant that interviews were particularly effective at triangulating key findings in each other.

In the final write up, the Select Committee analysis was integrated into chapter 8 on policymaker oriented campaigning. In terms of the structure of the thesis, it followed on clearly from issues of accessing policymakers and building relationships with them, to show how access opportunities are utilised in terms of how campaign communications are structured in order to convince policymakers of their campaign goals.

This chapter has outlined the research methods used in the fieldwork for this project. The following four chapters draw on the analysis of the data to explore the strategies used by campaigning Third Sector Organisations in their work for the reform of child poverty policy.

Analysis chapters are ordered so as to move from a narrow focus on factors endogenous to the individual organisation (organisational structures), broadening out to factors endogenous to the sector as a whole (inter-organisational working), then zooming out still further to the interaction of campaign organisations with their environment, looking at campaign groups approaches to ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaigning respectively.

The first analysis chapter, therefore, addresses the significance of Third Sector Organisational structures and functions to their campaigning. The chapter considers

factors such as organisational size, location, membership, profile, core organisational mandate, and organisational involvement in service provision, and assesses their impact upon campaign strategies.

Chapter 6: The significance of organisational structures and functions to TSOs campaigning on Child Poverty

This first analysis chapter concerns the significance of organisational structures and functions to their campaigning. The nature of organisational structures and functions, and the relationship between the two, were first discussed in Chapter 2, on defining the Third Sector. Interview analysis found that organisational structures and functions had a significant impact upon the nature of an organisation's campaigning. This chapter discusses those results.

In Chapter 2, organisational structures were defined as the features of an organisation which makes it distinct from the universal whole by virtue of features which can be observed and experienced, and which allow it to interact with other entities (Deutsch, 1966, p21). Fundamentally, organisational structures are attributes of an organisation which are about primarily what it *is* rather than what it *does*. The function of an organisation, on the other hand, was described as the purpose that it serves. It was argued in that chapter that the organisational structure serves the function, since organisational structures are constructed to best carry out the organisation's purpose.

Interview respondents noted a number of structural factors which contribute to understanding how, and why, they go about their campaign work. These include the size of an organisation, the organisation's location, the nature of the organisation's staff and membership, and the organisation's profile. Several functional characteristics which affect campaigning are also mentioned, including the organisation's core mandate, whether the organisation is intended to campaign on just child poverty or several campaign issues, whether the organisation has a service provision function, and how the two organisational functions of fundraising and campaigning work are coordinated.

It is concluded that although organisational functions affect campaigning in a number of ways, organisations have limited flexibility to change their core purpose to improve the impact of their campaigning. However, they may see opportunities to improve the effectiveness of their organisational structures, many organisations appeared to (i) wish to have more financial resources, (ii) wish to have a presence both centrally (normally in London) but also be able to retain good channels of communication to localities nationally, (iii) to believe that service provision provides important evidence which can support campaign work, (iv) recognise the importance of a well qualified staff who are expert in their field, and (v) believe that the development of a supporter network could help with campaign actions.

1. Organisational structures and campaigning

1.1. Organisational Size

The most simple, concrete measures of organisational size are financial resources and numbers of staff, and on these variables⁶, as can be seen in chapter 5, organisational size varied greatly from three organisations with an annual income of more than a hundred million pounds and more than a thousand staff, to several much smaller organisations, although only one had an income of less than one million pounds. (It should be noted that these are the total incomes of the organisations, the amounts dedicated to campaigning and policy work in general, or campaigning on child poverty in particular, are likely to be considerably smaller.)

Results indicated that the size of a campaign group had a substantial impact on their campaigning. The perceived potential benefits and costs of large organisational size are outlined in table 3, and are discussed in more detail below.

⁶ Organisational staff and financial resources were determined based on information available from the Charity Commission (as discussed in chapter 5).

Table 4: Potential benefits and costs of increased organisational size

Potential benefits	Potential costs
Increased campaigning scope	Costs of increased campaigning scope
Increased campaigning domain	Slower moving and more cautious
Increased organisational stability	Problems of internal coordination

Benefits (i) Increased campaigning scope and domain

As noted in chapter 3, Dahl (1968) referred to the ‘scope’ of power as the range of areas over which an actor exercises their power. It was clear from the interviews that larger organisations are typically able to campaign on a wider range of issue areas. Assuming that their campaigning is effective to some degree, the scope of their power will be curtailed if financial or staff resources are cut, so that they are unable to remain involved in so many areas of activity. However, as discussed further below, broader campaign scope can have costs as well as benefits.

Dahl (1968) also noted that power is constrained to a limited body of other actors. He referred to this as the ‘domain’ of an organisation’s power. Again, it was clear from the interviews, that limited resources may constrain the ‘domain’ of campaign work. Some smaller organisations noted that lack of resources led them to take a more ‘Westminster’ focussed campaign strategy taking what one respondent called an ‘upstream approach’ to their policy work, focussing on key national decision makers. This is because power is not evenly distributed across society, and as a result, where the domain of campaign activities must be limited, it is reasonable to target those decision makers with the highest concentrations of power within the areas worked on. As such (and as will be further argued in later chapters) where organisational resources are constrained, an ‘insider’ campaign approach (targeting policymakers directly) may be preferred to a potentially more costly ‘outsider’ approach which attempts to influence policy through mobilisation of the public and the media.

One respondent noted that taking such a strong London focus can create problems with connecting to the organisation's national membership. Larger organisations may be more able to maintain a presence in other regions of England, including having campaigners within different regions, to help to coordinate action in those areas; this was found to help with activities (on both local, but also national campaigns) where having a local connection is useful, for instance, to assist with lobbying MPs.

It might be expected that, within any area which they are campaigning on, larger organisations would claim to have less problems due to lack of resources. However, results did not necessarily indicate this to be the case. One large organisation noted that although as a result of their size, they produce a large amount of campaigning 'output' for those resources,

“...there is a lot of output as well as input, I don't think that we have at all infinite resources, or that we are more well staffed than other organisations when you consider the number of issues that we are working with, and the number of members that we are working with.”

(Interview 9)

So although, in this case, the scope (the number of issues) and domain (the size and breadth of the audience) of campaigning was perceived to be greater than smaller organisations; resource problems were not eliminated within individual campaign areas. Similarly, well managed resources can mean that although resource limitations can limit the number of areas of activity an organisation is able to work on, it does not necessarily reduce the quality of work in those areas. As one respondent from a smaller organisation noted that

“as a small organisation... we can't work on that many areas, but where we do work on those areas I think we work at a relatively high and effective level”

(Interview 7)

We may conclude that, with limited resources, there is a trade off to be made between the scope and domain of campaigning, and the amount of resources which can be dedicated to each area of activity and to communicate with each audience. Well managed resources mean avoiding organisational over stretch, whilst at the same time, allowing new areas of activity, and new audiences, to be opened up where appropriate.

Benefits (ii) Increased organisational stability

There was some evidence that larger organisations may typically have relatively more organisational stability than smaller groups. The chance of a large Third Sector Organisation disappearing is perceived to be relatively low; as one respondent from a very large TSO commented:

“We are really lucky... (we are) not going to go away, our funding is nowhere near as insecure as that of some other organisations... I've worked for a small organisation before, and I understand that that's not the case for everyone.”

(Interview 1)

Large financial resources may even mean that an organisation is in a stable enough position to be able to help other, struggling, organisations financially. For instance, the previous respondent went on to say:

“we are always able to stump up the money to help a colleague out in the sector if they are having a problem. Like (name of organisation) had a funding crisis last year and we were able to bridge their funding, so they were able to stay open until the next lot came through.”

(Interview 1)

Costs (i) Broader campaign scope may create problems of conveying a core message

Because large organisations are likely to be working within several different work areas, it may be harder to communicate the central messages of what they are trying to achieve than in smaller organisations. Interviews suggested that smaller, and particularly single issue organisations, may have clearer focus on their key campaigning goals. As one respondent (who had previously worked for a smaller single issue organisation, and now worked in a much larger organisation, with a broader campaign scope) put it:

“I think when you are working in an organisation with a single issue... I think you have a very very clear objective of what you want to achieve, and it’s a lot easier to communicate that... Where you are working on a vast number of issues, it is from a campaigning perspective, from our campaigning team’s perspective, a lot more complex, and sometimes more difficult to convey one message, one organisational message on what we are achieving, because we are trying to achieve so much. So it is probably easier to do traditional campaigning in an organisation in a smaller single issue organisation, than it is being in a multi issue, large organisation”

(Interview 9)

Another respondent noted the focus provided by working within a small policy team, but also highlighted the limitations of campaign scope this creates:

“I think obviously we are like any charity, we are constrained by our resources. There are of course advantages to having a small team, it makes you more focussed I think, it means you can talk to each other. But obviously it limits the quantity of things we can campaign on.”

(Interview 7)

Costs (ii) Slower moving and more cautious

It was suggested that larger organisations may be 'slower moving' as a result of their size. This can mean that it takes longer before a campaigner is able to distribute a communication. As one respondent from a large organisation put it:

"Sign off is incredibly important. It's the most valuable charity going in the sector. When you say something in public you check it out first. And that can take days... So the size of the organisation and the number of priorities of the organisation makes it hard to campaign. The fact that it is slow moving and cautious makes it hard. But as I say there are huge compensations to that."

(Interview 1)

This cautious approach taken by this organisation is associated with their need to protect their branding. As noted previously, a large, well established organisation may have a strong brand identity, which may make it particularly important to ensure that a communication which may threaten this is not released into the public domain.

Costs (iii) Problems of internal coordination

As a result of resource limitations, respondents indicated that smaller organisations appeared to have a typically more centralised structure than larger organisations. Large organisations with many staff often have several departments (policy, campaigning, media, research, fundraising) which it is necessary for social policy campaigns to work across, and in coordination with. This may reduce the efficiency of campaign work, and can add to the previous problem of larger organisations being slower moving and more cautious:

"Q: How does being quite a large organisation affect your campaigning compared to if you were a smaller organisation?"

A: ...Coordination that's required between all of the different departments, and the different ways that we work. Whereas, if you're a smaller organisation that's just doing campaigning, with very few staff, then obviously you are all working on the same key issue, you haven't got any other distractions or whatever.”

(Interview 3)

In conclusion, in order to effectively participate in the policy process, organisations need some level of organisational capacity “to oversee government actions, influence the creation of new legislation or to lobby for reforms while at the same time continuing to ensure the means necessary for their own operations” Casey (2004, p14). Increased resources can allow organisations to increase both the scope and domain of their campaigning – working on new areas and influencing new audiences. However, analysis suggested that increased organisational size can also create problems for an organisation, potentially making the group slower moving and more cautious, and creating problems of internal coordination and external communication.

Overall, although both costs and benefits of larger organisational size were suggested; most organisations appeared keen to increase their financial resources, and sustainably expand both the scope and domain of their campaign work, rather than entrench their current organisational structures. As one respondent put it “we have many more ideas than capacity to take them forwards” (Interview 4) - there is always more work to be done, and more people to be influenced; and more money and staff can allow organisations broaden the scope and domain of their campaigns to take on these challenges. As a result, a perception that there is a need to increase organisational size is understandably pervasive.

One area of interest is the relation of organisational size to organisational ability to fulfil resource dependencies. It is notable that although more financial resources allowed organisations to increase the scope and domain of their campaigns, all organisations aimed to avoid over-stretching themselves and becoming engaged in too many different areas of activity. As previously noted, it was argued that “...(being) a small organisation means that we can't work on that many areas, but where we do work on those areas I think we work at a relatively high and effective level” (Interview 7). Meanwhile some

larger organisations argued that although they may have more resources in total, they also produced more outputs. As such it can be argued that organisations managed their campaigning, so that they maximised the scope and domain of their campaigning with the resources they had available, but also so that their ability to fulfil their resource dependencies (and so run successful campaigns) was not undermined. However, it should be remembered that all of the organisations studied were established national organisations with substantial resources (to a greater or lesser extent). The dynamics of campaigning on much smaller budgets may be very different, but this was outside the scope of this thesis.

Partnership working can allow the development of organisational resources without increasing resources within the individual organisation itself. The resource benefits of collaborative working are discussed in more detail in the next chapter. However, it is worth noting here, that the interview findings suggested that the opportunity to ‘pool resources’ was an important benefit of working together. One interview respondent from one of the smaller campaigning organisations noted that problems of resource limitations may make coalition working of particular benefit to smaller groups.

1.2. Organisational Location

Although most interview respondents worked for organisations with offices in London, it was not universally the case that head offices were in London. In addition, the organisations varied in the extent to which work was coordinated with other offices, and with member groups, within different areas of England and the rest of the UK.

The impact of resource limitations on organisational location has already been discussed, highlighting that smaller organisations typically took a more ‘upstream’, London focussed approach to campaigning. Larger organisations may have a more dispersed structure, with connections to offices and membership across the UK.

Some respondents were from organisations which had devolved their structures, to create autonomous organisations operating in each UK country. One respondent noted

that this reflected Government devolution to Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, making issues policy-specific to these countries.

“our model reflects the government devolution, because in London we only do England because (our organisation’s core issue) is devolved. So there’s a (name of organisation) Scotland and a (name of organisation) Wales, and they’re pretty separate. We talk to each other occasionally, but they’re quite keen on their independence and we respect that but it is pretty separate in terms of Government as well.”

(Interview 6)

The End Child Poverty Coalition similarly has networks in each UK country to stay in touch with member organisations across the UK. Devolution of policymaking powers to the governments in each of the UK countries has occurred over the course of the Labour Government, with devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland holding significant powers over policymaking in those countries; the structure of campaign groups reflects this devolved decision making.

Organisational location may also be significant to an organisation’s abilities to participate within campaign networks. Interview results indicated that organisational location affected the extent to which an organisation was involved with the End Child Poverty Coalition (ECPC). One respondent noted that since they are based some way away from ECPC (who are based in London) involvement in the coalition was more difficult. This person working in a large organisation felt that this may be even more of a problem for smaller organisations not based in London.

“we’re based in (a town outside of London) we go to London a lot, but you know we are not there all the time, we don’t go to every meeting of everything because it is just all hassle to go backwards and forwards. Most of us here love being (here) because it means we don’t have to live in London. But it is a disadvantage in terms of where you are located. And that’s us as a large international charity with tons of resources.”

(Interview 1)

At the opposite extreme one respondent was based extremely close to the End Child Poverty Coalition, and said that this helped with close collaboration, and giving a joint message between their organisation and the coalition.

“Q: You mentioned that End Child Poverty are very close to you in terms of geographical location. Do you think that helps in terms of being able to be very involved in it?

A: I think yes it does. It clearly does. For your information, the director sits next to me, just through a glass wall, so it’s that kind of proximity. So, on a day-to-day level, that’s absolutely right. I think what we as (name of organisation) value is because they are obviously working on such similar territory, it’s obviously very helpful that we are able to join up our messaging and be in close collaboration really, so yes I’m sure that that proximity helps.”

(Interview 4)

Proximity to the heart of the coalition may therefore be associated with more frequent resource exchanges, promoting greater integration into the network. As such we might argue that an organisation’s physical location is one factor affecting the extent to which organisations are core or peripheral agents within a network of campaign groups.

Organisational location is not a resource which campaign groups can ‘trade’ with other organisations, in order to fulfil their resource dependencies (as discussed in chapter 4). However, organisational location may be seen as a resource which acts as a “catalyst” to improving the efficiency of the use of other organisational resources in exchanges to fulfil resource dependencies. For example, results here suggest that, in collaborative working, an organisational location close to other collaboration members can help to improve their ability to take part in such collaborations, potentially improving the value of involvement in such collaborations.

1.3. 'Human Resources' - Organisational staff and wider membership

Human resources are at the heart of any organisation's ability to operate. Campaigning TSOs rely on their staff for labour, knowledge and expertise. However, they may also benefit from other supporters, including an organisational membership, who although unpaid, may be called upon to take part in actions, and support campaigns. This section addresses the value of these resources, and how they affect the work of campaigning TSOs.

1.3.1. Organisational staff

An organisation's staff are crucial to its operations, providing the core expertise on which the organisation relies. It was recognised that there was a need to exemplify the organisation's expertise to decision makers in order to have an influence:

“Q: How do you go about that, how do you build a good relationship with government?”

A: By showing them that what you're giving them, that what you're telling them is true and can work. That you can be trusted and that you have expertise as an organisation.... we have a lot of expertise to draw on in terms of our service delivery, and a lot of expertise amongst our staff as well.”

(Interview 3)

As will be further discussed in chapter 7, collaborative working can help to fill gaps in expertise within the policy area, bringing together different professionals within the policy area to work together on a campaign topic.

1.3.2. Supporters

An organisation's supporters may also be significant to their campaigning. In particular, two respondents noted that they would like a larger supporter base, or to increase the engagement of their current supporter base in campaigning actions. As one put it:

“One thing that our campaigning work is lacking, is having a campaigning supporter base. Of course we have those millions of clients that we get through our doors, but we don’t have a campaigning supporter base, and I think that would very much strengthen the campaign. You know, a number of people that you can call upon when you want to take an action forwards, when you want individuals to contact their local MPs etc, and that kind of database of people we don’t have.”

(Interview 9)

The other organisation wanted to further involve their current membership in campaigning. As highlighted in the quote below, to do this, they felt that they needed to find ways to make actions appealing and not to overburden their active members.

Resource limitations may be a problem, for organisations wishing to increase the size of, and communications with, their membership. However, the internet may have helped with this, by creating the possibility of free and instant email communication with campaigners across the country.

“Q: have you any ideas about how you might get (your membership) to engage?

A: I think we do, we start using more online mechanisms around surveys and polls which are useful. I think it’s about getting the balance right between not overburdening people, giving actions which seem appealing and easy to do.”

(Interview 7)

Use of ‘New Media’ for engaging membership involvement in campaigning has, for some time, had extensive use within other areas of campaign action. For example, Lattimer (2000, p125-126) notes that the ‘Carnival against Capital’ in London in 1999, and big demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation in Seattle and London around the same time, were already relying heavily on organisation through the internet. The use of

the internet for campaigning is discussed in more detail in analysis Chapter 9 on campaigning oriented towards the public and the media.

Finally, organisations with a service provision function found service users to be an important source of campaign support, and evidence for campaign work. The use of significance of service provision in campaigning is discussed in detail in section 2.3.

In conclusion, 'human resources' including both staff and supporters were both found to be important resources for campaign groups. Organisational staff embody the knowledge and expertise of the organisation, which can be used to obtain influence within the policy process. Campaign supporters can further assist with campaigning, for instance by taking local actions (such as talking to their MP about an issue), or by taking part in large scale public events (such as the End Child Poverty rally, which is discussed further in chapter 7.) It was felt by some respondents that developing supporter involvement in campaigns was an area where they would like to improve, developing a larger support base for their campaigns. One potential way of doing this may be through use of 'New Media' to connect with their supporters.

1.4. Organisational profile

The value of organisational branding has long been discussed, most usually with reference to for-profit corporations. However, relatively recently, marketing scholars have begun to look at the importance of brand management within the nonprofit sector (Ewing and Napoli 2005, Keller et al., 2010), and the value of branding has also been recognised by Third Sector Organisations, to the extent that many TSOs are deliberately creating their own brand, rather than allowing these to be a by-product of other activities (Ritchie et al. 1999).

Ritchie et al (1999, p26) note two key benefits of branding:

“brands provide a simple and effective vehicle to convey the benefits offered by organisations and the goods and services they offer. This reduces consumer search costs by distinguishing one good or service from another, making it

possible to arrive at usage decisions more quickly and with less effort. Secondly, brands offer an assurance of quality and consistency, both of which may be difficult for users to evaluate prior to consumption. By offering such assurances, brands facilitate the development of mutual trust between supplier and user – especially important when there are high costs associated with a poor or incorrect choice.”

Interview respondents reflected this, suggesting that the way their organisation is perceived is significant to the impact of their campaigning. In particular, an established brand can give the organisation respectability and a platform for their views, and can help in building relationships (although such a reputation needs to be backed up with ‘substance’).

“Q: Do you think being a large organisation with a long history gives you a certain legitimacy in the eyes of the government when you are talking to them.

A: I think it can certainly help, especially if you’re, I’ve talked about building relationships and stuff, but especially if you have a new person that you are dealing with, they would recognise the name, and there’s all the stuff that goes with it.... But obviously you’ve still got to back that up with legitimacy about what you do now, and building that trust and showing that you’ve got the expertise and you’ve got the solution. So it might get your foot in the door, but it doesn’t necessarily keep you there.”

(Interview 3)

One respondent noted that it is desirable for campaign groups to reach a point where decision makers come to you when they need information, rather than organisations having to try to persuade those individuals to take the information they are trying to communicate. By providing the “assurance of quality and consistency” (Ritchie et al, 1999) branding may catalyse such relationships, not replacing the need to provide quality and trustworthy information, but giving them initial credibility as a source, through already having some reputation for doing so.

“as an organisation, a lot of our expertise is in welfare rights... and it's important because it's one of our unique selling points, that we probably know the answer to x, y and z issue, and that helps build our credibility. So for example if you walk around the DWP you'll see (our) publications there. So our material will have been going across their desk, so that's very important in terms of credibility.”

(Interview 4)

This issue of ‘source credibility’ is discussed further in Chapter 9, where campaign communication strategies are discussed.

However, it was noted that there are problems with developing an organisation as a campaigning brand. For instance, a well known organisation may be misapprehended by the public, who (particularly in cases where an organisation has a long history of work within a sector) may have an outdated idea of the purpose they serve.

“One of the barriers for (us) more generally is that people still ask us if we run orphanages, which we haven’t done for a very long time. So, you know, people can have misconceptions about what you do because of your history.”

(Interview 3)

In addition, even if an organisation has high public recognition for their service provision, this may not transfer to such good recognition as a campaigning brand. As the following respondent put it:

“Well (we are) still working on (our) branding around what we are actually doing around campaigning and social policy. We are very known for providing (services) for example, but our social and campaigning work, and the profile that has, is not as big as our (service provision) work, so that is a continuous process, and yes, I do recognise that it doesn’t have the same campaigning profile as Amnesty or Greenpeace, the kind of organisations that you are highlighting, because they are

pure campaigning organisations, and (our organisation) isn't, so yeah, there is a lot more work to do there."

(Interview 9)

Another respondent mentioned that it takes time to become recognised as a campaigning group and to "know the ropes" as well as well established campaigning organisations:

"until 18 months ago, we were not a campaigning organisation at all. I'm the first campaigns coordinator here, so campaigning is very new to us, and it takes a while to become a campaigning organisation. I don't know if you've spoken to organisations like NSPCC and Barnardo's but they have been doing it for years if not decades, so they know the ropes a lot better, they're more established, they are well known for being campaigning organisations, and we are in many ways just finding our feet."

(Interview 2)

In addition, a strong brand still needs to be supported with 'substance', even organisations with very good name recognition need to build their trustworthiness, showing that they have the necessary expertise and policy solutions.

"you've still got to back (the brand) up with legitimacy about what you do now, and building that trust and showing that you've got the expertise and you've got the solution. So it might get your foot in the door, but it doesn't necessarily keep you there.... You've got to back it up, you can't just be a name and not have any substance behind."

(Interview 3)

In conclusion, a strong well known brand is generally perceived as a useful resource by campaign groups. In particular, a recognisable organisational profile can help to create access opportunities within the policy process— allowing organisations to 'get their foot in the door' with key policy makers, in addition, although a brand itself does not replace the need for reliable and dependable evidence, it may act as an assurance of the quality of evidence and expertise campaign groups offer to policymakers. (The importance of

source credibility is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.) However, if an organisation's profile is a hang-over from the past, it may be out of line with how the modern organisation wishes to present itself. Organisations need to be able to change in order to reflect their changing environments, but the brand therefore needs to be managed to modernise audience perceptions of the organisation.

As with organisational location, a recognisable brand may primarily act as a resource exchange catalyst, assisting in the fulfilment of resource dependencies through improving the likelihood and efficiency of successful resource exchanges. This is achieved by making it easier (through the promotion of access opportunities, and source credibility) for an organisation to exchange their evidence on a policy issue, for audience support for their campaign goals.

2. Organisational functions and campaigning

It is clear that TSO structures have an impact on their campaigning. However, in Chapter 2 it was suggested that the function which an organisation serves will also be reflected in its behaviour. Therefore, it may be suggested that the core organisational purposes of campaigning TSOs are likely to be reflected in their campaign work.

This section addresses different ways in which interview responses suggested that organisational functions affected their campaigning, including firstly, how organisational function affected the decision to campaign and what to campaign on. Secondly, it addresses how their mandate to work on one issue, or on a range of issue areas affected their campaigning, and thirdly, how a service provision function affects campaigning, and finally, how the two functions of fundraising and campaigning could be integrated within the organisation's work.

2.1. Core organisational mandate and the decision to campaign, and selection of issues to campaign on

Firstly, interview responses suggested that organisational decisions to campaign, and selection of issues to campaign on, are driven by their organisational mandate. As one respondent put it regarding their organisation's recent decision to campaign:

“Q: Why did your organisation decide to start campaigning?”

A: ...because of the need, basically you know, we deal with 108 000 children whose lives are terrible and have no one to speak out for them on their behalf, and that gives us a mandate because if there is a need we should do it. If it is in their best interests then it is in our best interests because we exist to support them.”

(Interview 2)

In this case, it is clear that the decision to adopt a campaign function was made because it was felt that this would help the organisation to deliver its core organisational mandate.

Furthermore, organisational functions also had an impact on decisions about key campaign issues. In some cases, respondents noted that they worked on issues because they were important issues within the organisation's mandate, even if campaigning on those issues was unlikely to have a substantial impact. As one respondent put it:

“...some of us run campaigns where we don't really expect to make a huge impact but it has to be said.

Q: So why do it?

A: Because as a campaigning charity we should be raising issues that are adversely affecting families and that need policy change. We may do this knowing that it is

not a political priority at that time or where there is a long term campaign that we hope will lead to policy change.”

(Interview 5)

Another respondent similarly noted the problem of campaigning on issues where they are unlikely to have an impact, if those issues are important to those whom their organisation seeks to represent:

“I think we seek to campaign on issues which we think are fundamentally important; we are not a representative organisation, but we seek to represent the interests of poorer families in the UK. So the first question for our campaigning is not is it achievable, it’s what’s the effect on poorer families, then you do have a serious question about are you going to invest a lot of time in something that is essentially a dead duck, and that does get difficult. But I think our leading question is more, ‘is this an issue which is particularly important?’ and then ‘how would you lever against it if it is?’”

(Interview 4)

It may be concluded from this section that organisational function is a fundamental determinant of the campaigns which the organisation works on. Organisations appear to consider first and foremost which issues are important within their mandate, rather than which issues they can have most impact on. As a result campaigning is primarily function driven, and strategies used fit around this.

2.2. Working on Child Poverty alongside other issue areas – single and multiple issue campaign groups

One key functional division between campaigning TSOs, is whether they are mandated to campaign on only one issue, or whether their scope embraces a range of issue areas. Interviewees included staff from organisations which worked on only Child Poverty, and organisations which worked on Child Poverty alongside a range of other issue areas. This

section addresses the advantages and disadvantages of being a single or multiple issue campaign group, and it also overviews the different ways in which a campaign group can work on Child Poverty alongside other issues.

2.2.1. A typology of ways to work on Child Poverty

Results indicate that there are three core ways in which organisations can campaign on Child Poverty (or indeed other issue areas):

i) Campaign directly and solely on Child Poverty.

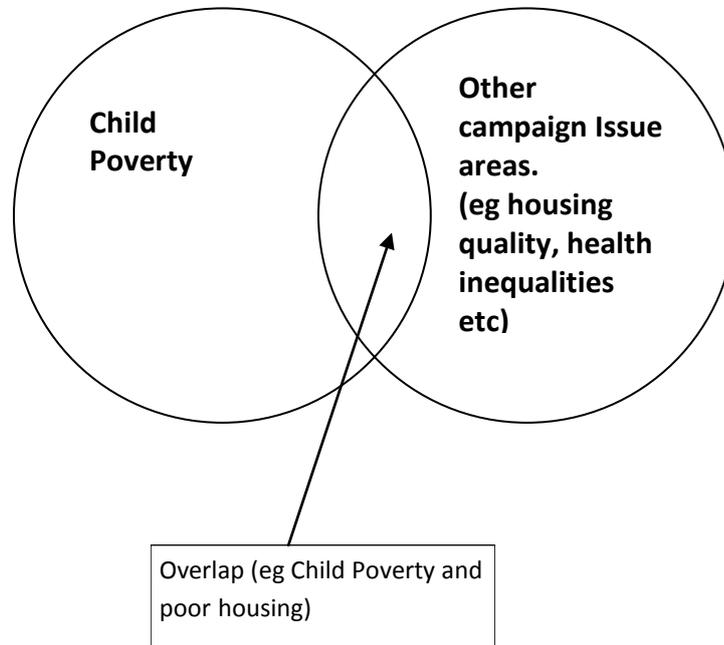
The first way in which work can be undertaken is by campaigning solely and directly on Child Poverty. This would be the tactic of single issue organisations, and although they may be aware of the impact their work will have on other issues, their primary concern is for the impact on child poverty.

Fig 3. Campaigning directly and solely on Child Poverty



ii) Campaign on Child Poverty alongside other campaign issues, with some relation to, or overlap with, child poverty.

Fig 4. Campaigning on Child Poverty alongside other related issues



In cases where organisations did work on a variety of issues, campaigning on Child Poverty was often felt to be interconnected with them. The diagram above gives an example of how Child Poverty may relate to campaigning on poverty and housing quality. In such cases, reducing child poverty may be the core message of the campaign, and work on Child Poverty may be undertaken with an understanding of how it relates to other areas of the organisation’s work, and progress might be made on those issues, if child poverty is reduced. For instance, one respondent, from an organisation which works on a range of child welfare issues, highlighted their rationale for being involved in child poverty campaigning as follows:

“...the young people we deal with, if we are dealing with them, then by definition they are vulnerable. Vulnerable can mean a whole host of things- issues of safeguarding, poor family scenarios, worklessness, disability, you know, suffering from low income, mental and emotional difficulties... there is a strong argument

to say that poverty links in to all of that. And I suppose a short hand for that is that I suppose if we could lift the one in three children in this country out of poverty, then a significant number of those suffering from the problems I've outlined, that number would decrease quite significantly. Again, that's not to say that poverty is the entire cause... it's just that poverty exacerbates all of those issues which we deal with on a daily basis, so both explicitly and implicitly, it is quite important to what we are, and what we try to do."

(Interview 2)

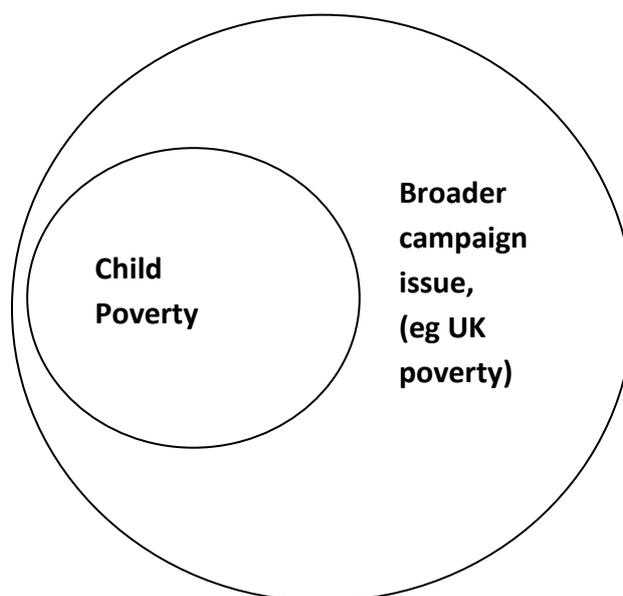
However, it is not by any means necessarily the case that child poverty must be the core focus of a campaign. An organisation's campaign work may be *indirectly* related to child poverty- with the core focus on another issue- since by reducing other problems, child poverty may also be reduced. In some cases, work undertaken by interview respondents' organisations was indirectly related to child poverty in this way. For instance, one respondent gave the following example:

"...at the moment... we have a piece of work on tenants in rented property who are evicted when their landlords are repossessed. And you know, the kind of headline on a briefing about something like that doesn't mention children, but woven into the message that we're trying to get across is that this is about concern for families and vulnerable people, and that the welfare of children is a really important part of that, so, it's a question of whether we frame it as the kind of headline, or whether we just incorporate it in different ways."

(Interview 6)

iii) Child Poverty as a subset of a wider issue

Fig 5. Campaigning on Child Poverty as a subset of a broader issue



The final way in which UK Child Poverty may be addressed as an issue, is as a subset of a wider phenomena (such as UK Poverty.)

In such cases, campaigning on Child Poverty may be used as an organisation’s “most appealing” case in dealing with the broader issue area. UK poverty may be a good example of this, since (as discussed previously) within public (and often media) understandings of poverty, there are strong divisions drawn between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor people in the UK. Since children are conventionally seen as ‘deserving’ of assistance, they may be used in order to garner support for policy change which helps all poor people in the UK. As one respondent put it:

“Now the tactic that the anti-poverty sector has traditionally used, is you always choose your most appealing case, and it is true that a baby living in poverty, and an older person living in poverty are much more compelling cases than the asylum seeker, the single working adult. It’s a very, very appealing case. So the sector has chosen to focus on child poverty and I strongly understand why that focus is

necessary, and it is necessary to shame politicians into action and get the sympathy of the general public.”

(Interview 1)

This issue of using child poverty as a ‘best case’ for campaigning on UK Poverty (and of perceived distinctions between the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor,) will be returned to in Chapter 9.

2.2.2. Advantages and disadvantages to single and multiple issue campaigning

Organisations working on a broad range of issue areas have the advantage that by working with a high campaigning ‘scope’, organisations are able to maintain some activity on a range of important problem areas. However, this may be traded off against maintaining a clear focus and organisational message, which can be clearly communicated to their audience. As one respondent put it:

“I think when you are working in an organisation with a single issue... I think you have a very, very clear objective of what you want to achieve, and it’s a lot easier to communicate that. In (my organisation) where you are working on a vast number of issues, it is from a campaigning perspective, from our campaigning team’s perspective, a lot more complex, and sometimes more difficult to convey one message, one organisational message on what we are achieving, because we are trying to achieve so much.”

(Interview 9)

In one case it was felt that it was difficult to ensure that poverty in the UK was a clear focus of the organisation’s ‘public messaging and public profile’, when the organisation was working on a wide variety of both domestic and international issues, with UK poverty as only one, relatively small, part of that. As that respondent put it:

“Don’t get me wrong, (the other issues we work on) are incredibly important and compelling, I’m not arguing for any lesser public focus on them, but I would like a

little more space for (the organisation's) views and opinions on domestic poverty issues, to be out there in the public domain."

(Interview 1)

2.3. Service Provision

Respondents came from organisations both with and without a substantial service provision function. Where respondents' organisations were involved in service provision, in addition to its importance in its own right, service provision appeared to be important to both their reason for, and the way they carried out, their campaigning work.

One respondent noted that the reason their organisation had become involved in campaigning in the first place was that it was felt that this would be an important additional way to serve those service users:

"...we've just completed a strategic review of our services, of our entire organisation, and one of the recommendations was that we should become a fearless campaigning organisation. One, because of the need, basically you know, we deal with 108 000 children whose lives are terrible and have no-one to speak out for them on their behalf, and that gives us a mandate because if there is a need we should do it. If it is in their best interests then it is in our best interests because we exist to support them."

(Interview 2)

Perhaps as a result, some respondents felt it was important to involve their service users in campaigning in some way- as one respondent put it, to allow them to 'speak for themselves':

"...as well as not having anybody to talk on their behalf, the children and young people we deal with have virtually no opportunities to speak for their self, so one

of the central tenets of us becoming a campaigning organisation, is that we give them an opportunity to speak for themselves wherever possible.”

(Interview 2)

The ‘Keep the Promise’ rally (discussed in more detail in the following chapter) was mentioned as one means which had allowed them to do this.

“The people that came weren’t the ones who would normally go out and campaign, so it was very much a family event, so lots of families came, and from (our) point of view, a lot of our service users came, and we supported them to do that.”

(Interview 3)

Campaign work is frequently (including within this project) seen as qualitatively different from ‘service provision’. For instance, service provision might be considered as the provision of assistance to specific clients within the current framework of policy, and campaigns work as work to change that policy framework for the benefit of their clients as a group. However, where campaign groups use the opportunities campaigning provides as means to ‘empower’ their service users by involving them in campaign work, the distinction between service provision and campaigning becomes considerably less distinct, and campaigning may be best seen as the development of, rather than discontinuous with, service provision.

Furthermore, as well as being a motive for undertaking campaign work, service provision was also perceived as useful to the campaign work which they did undertake. Service provision was felt to be closely connected to campaigning through every stage of the campaign process. Service providers help inform campaign choices by identifying new emerging issues and those which are rising in prominence, as one respondent put it:

“We’re very influenced by our services. So we get a lot of information from them about what’s going on on the ground. Which issues are rising in prominence and that kind of thing and new problems that are arising for people.”

(Interview 6)

In addition, service provision provides an evidence base for campaigns, since not only do the organisations know what the problems are, but also have an idea what solutions work as well. Through their contacts with people affected by the problems being campaigned on, service providers can also be a useful source of case studies (although one respondent noted that this can create problems of ensuring confidentiality for their service users). One respondent summarised the importance of their organisation’s service providers as follows:

“we’re quite driven by services in terms of what we decide to campaign on. Also services provide case studies for us, both media case studies, but also quite often, for example in a briefing to an MP I might put in a written case study. So we get that kind of information, that kind of real life information, that is really, really crucial for building a really effective campaign, we’ll get a lot of that from services...”

(Interview 6)

In return for their involvement, campaigners feed back to service providers by helping to get policy changed, as the previous respondent went on to say:

“...Our hope and intention is that we feed back to services by getting things improved ultimately, and then manage to do that and get a change in the law or something that helps the people that our services deal with, so yeah, it’s a kind of back and forth.”

(Interview 6)

A number of organisations felt that the campaigning was legitimised by the evidential support provided by their service users. As one respondent noted:

“(service users) create our evidence base, the 5.7million enquiries that we get a year, which forms our evidence base for various issues, gives us great credibility, gives us great legitimacy of our campaigning existence. I think it forms the bedrock of what our arguments are, if we get x number of enquiries on a particular issue, it does highlight the grave impact that it has on a large part of the population, and I think that’s why decisionmakers are listening to us, because of our evidence base. Because of that legitimacy and the contact that we have with the general public.”

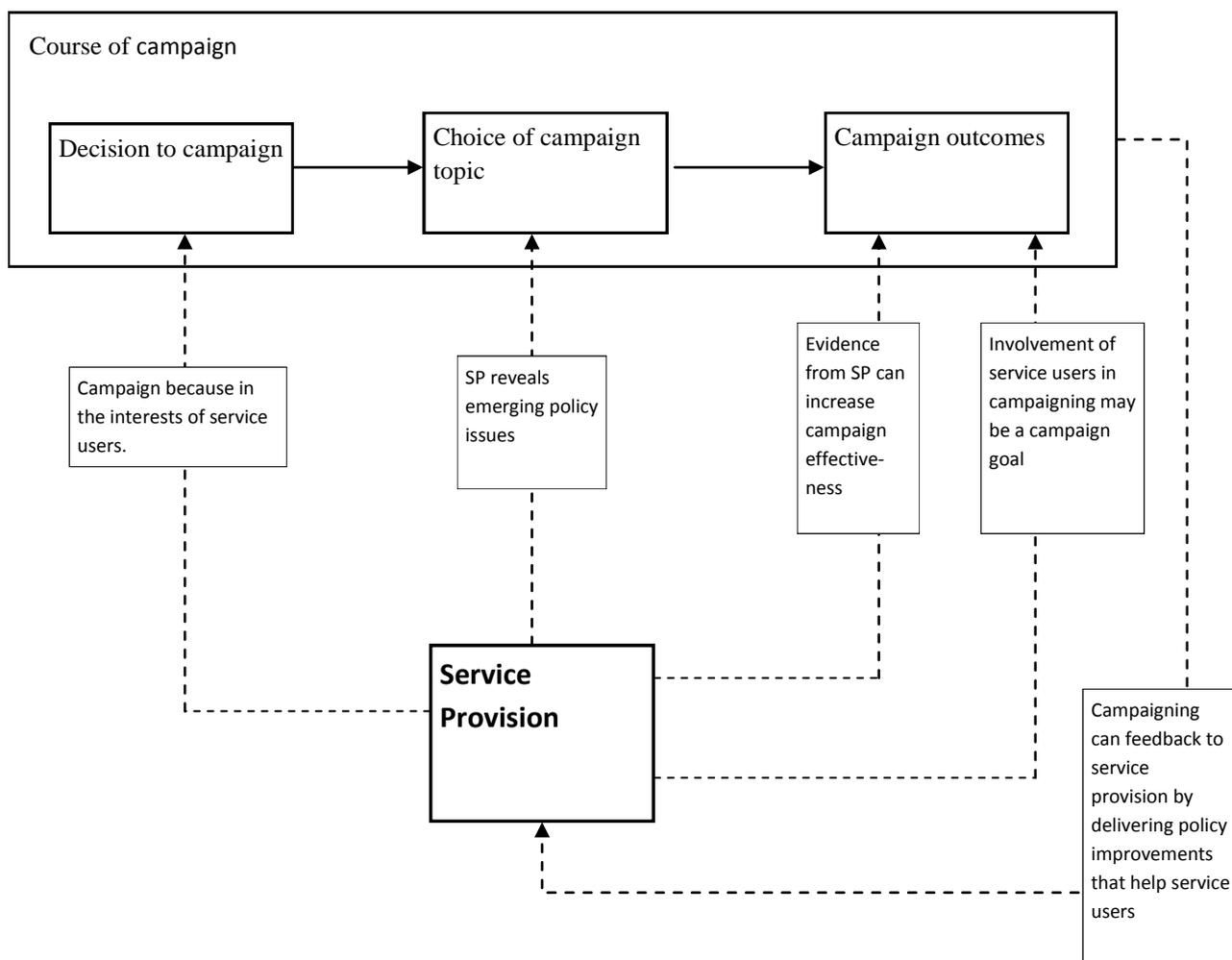
(Interview 9)

As discussed in chapter 4, the persuasive communications literature indicates that the citing of high quality evidence may contribute to a source’s perceived credibility. O’Keefe (1990) suggests that the credibility of cited sources may ‘rub off’ on the communicator. Evidence which comes (as in the case of client case studies) direct from people who have had personal experience of the problem and its impacts may be regarded as particularly credible.

This section has shown that service provision can both motivate campaigning, and the involvement of service users in campaigning can be a campaign goal in itself, but it can also serve as a useful resource in the course of a campaign, both highlighting emerging issues, and providing evidence to increase campaign effectiveness.

The diagram below illustrates the potential impacts of service provision over the course of a campaign.

Fig 6. The potential impacts of service provision (SP) on the course of a campaign.



The importance of service users’ voices in campaigning to the development of sound social policy has previously been noted. As one commentator put it:

“Only with the full and equal involvement of current service users and other citizens who may become users are we ever likely to get the kind of social policy that people want and that people will support.”

Beresford (2001, p509)

It has also been noted that campaigning by groups involved in service provision can bring benefits to the service provision function of the organisation, changing the organisation’s operational environment by changing key regulations which affect their service provision (Mosley, 2010).

However, there has been little research done on the benefit of service user participation in the policy process to Third Sector campaigning itself. The evidence shown here shows that service users can be important resources for campaign groups themselves, with the involvement of service users in campaigning perceived to have clear benefits, including allowing campaign groups to identify problems and present the need for change more effectively.

2.4. Fundraising and campaigning

TSO supporters and members may well not only be involved with the organisation through campaigning, they may also (or alternatively) be financial donors to the group. Respondents suggested that there were potential benefits to both campaigning and fundraising through the interrelation of the two organisational functions.

Involvement of organisational supporters in campaigning was perceived to help to integrate those supporters into the organisation, potentially encouraging them to become financial supporters. But also, since they clearly have an interest in the work of the organisation, financial supporters may also be interested in getting involved with the organisation's campaigning work more actively, promoting the organisation's campaigning activities. The two following examples both highlight how organisations perceived campaigning and fundraising to be interrelated:

“If you’ve got people who are willing to donate money then they are a captive audience and they’re already going to be on your side, and you should attempt to get them to take action as well, and vice versa, so I think that fundraising and campaigning can be incredibly mutually beneficial if done in the right way.”

(Interview 2)

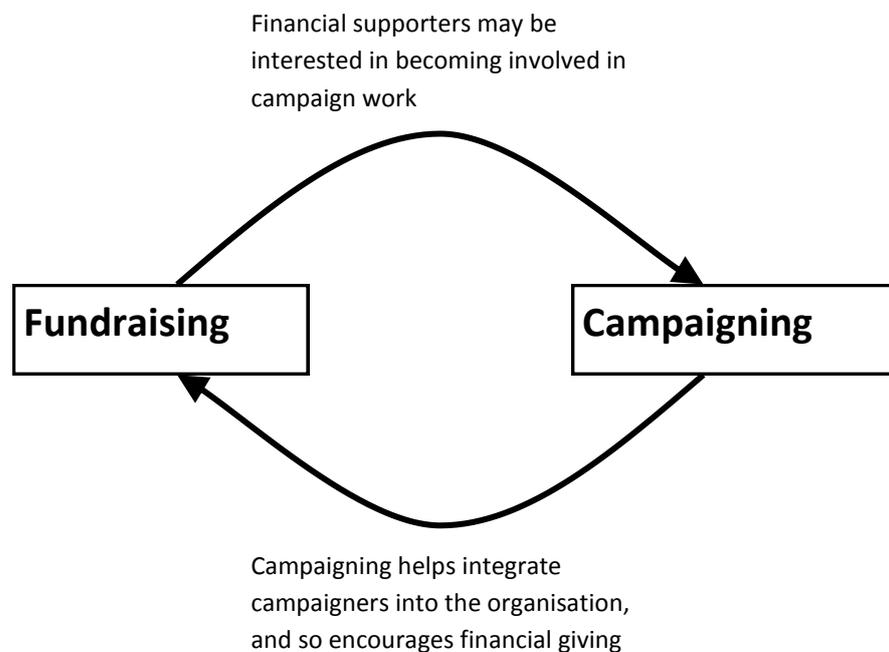
“...our supporters are giving money to the charity because they believe in what we do, and part of that is the campaigning side. So obviously they are going to have

more of an affinity with some of those issues which we are working on, so of course we should be getting them involved in what we are doing.”

(Interview 3)

The potential relation of fundraising to campaigning is represented in figure 7 below. Although, as indicated above, it was suggested that this might be a very profitable way of linking fundraising to campaigning, it may be hypothesised that there may also be risks in attempting to develop such a relationship. In some cases financial supporters may not wish to be involved with actions; as a result, it will be important to ensure that these supporters are not overburdened with actions which may affect their willingness to support the organisation financially.

Fig 7: The potential inter-relationship between fundraising and campaigning



These results support previous research which similarly highlights the need for integration of fundraising and campaigning. One recent piece of research found that the majority of donors give because of being ‘inspired’ by the organisation, or because of a sense of ‘belonging’ with other supporters (Lawson and Ruderham, 2009). The authors suggest that:

“giving is increasingly about donors wanting to be inspired by a charity or wanting to be part of a movement rather than being about the core emotions of guilt or pity.”

Lawson and Ruderham (2009, p380)

Their results (reflected by the results of this project) suggest that integration of campaigning and fundraising can help to develop supporters, and increase their value to the organisation as both donors and campaigners (Lawson and Ruderham, 2009).

3. Conclusion

This chapter has overviewed how the organisational structures and functions of campaign groups affect the ways in which they campaign. Table 5 below summarises these findings.

Table 5: Summary of the relation of organisational structures and functions to campaigning

	Key Issues
<i>Structures</i>	
Organisational Size	Larger organisational size may be associated with increased campaign scope and domain, the ability to develop a brand identity, and increased organisational stability. However, it may also make an organisation slower moving and more cautious, and create problems of internal coordination and may also make it more difficult to communicate a clear, core organisational message.
Organisational Location	More centralised (typically London based) organisational location may restrict connection with national membership. Organisational location may also affect ability to participate in interorganisational networks.
Human Resources	Organisations rely upon three important sorts of human resources – organisational staff, organisational supporters, and (in some cases) service users. Organisational staff are a crucial resource, embodying an organisation’s

	<p>core expertise. A campaign supporter base can be useful in order to have a body of people to call upon when an organisation wishes to take an action forward. Organisations are recognising that the use of New Media may assist with building such an active membership.</p> <p>Service users can provide evidence of key policy issues (see below).</p>
Organisational Profile	<p>A well developed brand may facilitate relationship building between campaign groups and their audiences. However, developing the desired brand identity can be difficult- even when an organisation is well known it may be difficult to shake outdated preconceptions of their activities; also, a strong service providing brand does not necessarily transfer easily into a strong campaigning brand.</p>
Functions	
Core organisational mandate	<p>Core organisational mandates are crucial determinants of organisational campaigning. The organisation's core purpose not only determines what the organisation campaigns on, but whether they campaign at all. In some circumstances organisations may campaign on issues with little chance of immediate impact because they are important issues within the organisation's core purposes.</p>
Single/multiple issue campaigning	<p>Multiple issue campaigning enhances the potential scope of campaigning, enabling an organisation to maintain a presence within a range of policy areas. However, organisations with a broad issue focus, may find it difficult to communicate a core organisational message to their audience. Where the organisation is working on a broad range of issue areas, individual campaigns may also struggle to retain organisational focus.</p>
Service Provision	<p>A service provision function can be significant to TSO campaigning, because service provision help reveal emerging policy issues, and evidence from service providers may help increase the effectiveness of campaigning. The involvement of service users in campaigning may also be a campaign goal in its own right.</p>

Fundraising and Campaigning	Organisations may be able to create positive interrelations between their campaigning and their fundraising functions - with donors potentially willing to be involved with campaigning, and campaigning boosting the public profile of an organisation so as to develop funding streams.
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Overall, it can be concluded that there are a wide range of both structural and functional factors which affect campaigning. To some degree, organisational functions are rigid, giving limited flexibility to change the organisational purpose to improve campaign effectiveness (for instance, it was seen how some respondents noted that campaign issues were chosen on the basis of their importance within the organisation’s mandate rather than because of the likelihood of success.) However, organisations may have more freedom to adapt their structure to better fulfil their organisational aims. Although, because of cost/benefit trade-offs, it is not possible to typify an idealised organisational structure for campaigning on child poverty, it is notable that many organisations appeared to:

- wish to have more financial resources, to increase the scope and/or domain of campaigning
- wish to have a presence both centrally (normally in London) but also be able to retain good channels of communication to localities nationally
- believe that service provision provides important evidence which can support campaign work
- believe that development of a supporter network can help with campaign actions

Some opportunities, in particular the building of supporter networks, appear desirable, but have not yet been fully developed by many organisations in the sector. There may be opportunities for organisations to develop further in this area.

From a resource dependence perspective, organisational structures provide the core resources (such as money, organisational profile and human resources) which organisations depend upon for their survival and the successful fulfilment of their organisational objectives. Whilst they are not resources themselves, organisational

functions determine the way in which resources are used, since the purposes the organisation serves affect the resources necessary to fulfil those functions. In the following three chapters, it will be seen in more detail how organisational resources may be exchanged for other resources which organisations require but do not possess (their resource dependencies). Through the course of these chapters and the conclusion, it will also be seen how the value of organisational resources varies depending on whether they undertake insider or outsider campaigning strategies.

In some cases, organisational resources are not exchanged, but may improve the likelihood of successful resource exchanges taking place. For example, an organisation's profile may help it to exchange evidence for influence with policymakers, with their profile acting as an assurance of the quality of their work. This work has identified these resources as 'resource exchange catalysts'. These catalysts will also be further explored in the course of the following three chapters and the conclusion.

This chapter has focussed on the structure and function of individual organisations. However, organisations also inter-structure their operations with other organisations working within the same policy area, in order to improve their organisational resources and the efficiency with which they can use them to influence policy. Such collaborative working is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Playing as a team- third sector inter-organisational collaboration in campaigning

Chapter 4 discussed how the activities of campaign groups are constrained and enabled by the environment in which they are embedded. On the basis of the interview analysis, the following three chapters further explore how three key environmental factors (other campaign groups working on similar issues, policymakers and the public and media) affect the operations of Third Sector Organisations campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK. This chapter addresses the first of these environments – other campaign groups also campaigning for the reform of child poverty policy.

As recognised by Casey (2004) a key part of the context of the campaigning activities of any individual group is how they can work together with other organisations within their own sector. This is likely to be particularly true of those organisations with overlapping campaign interests, and this is the topic of this chapter, which focuses on inter-organisational, within-sector, working for the purposes of furthering campaign objectives. Such collaborative working is a particularly interesting area of study within child poverty campaigning, particularly as a result of the recent emergence of the End Child Poverty Coalition.

The chapter addresses the benefits, costs, and potential risks of working together on a campaign. It is found that a resource dependency perspective is useful in illuminating the benefits and costs of collaboration. Organisations exchange and pool resources for the purposes of increasing their capacity for, and coordination in, working on a campaign issue. Through doing so, they aim to increase the scope, domain and overall magnitude of their power within the policy process.

However, in ‘exchange’ for these benefits, organisations offer up organisational resources for collaborative work. In some cases, they may also be expected to offer a limited amount of their organisational autonomy and identity, in exchange for the benefits of

improved coordination and ‘unanimity’ within the collaborative body. Within collaborative relationships there are also risks of opportunistic behaviour by other partners, particularly where there is a lack of trust or shared values.

Following the work of Morgan (1986), who used metaphors to explore organisation, these findings regarding collaborative working amongst campaigning TSOs are then illustrated through the metaphor of a local football team. Similar costs and benefits are expounded and explored.

In the conclusion, the impact of inter-organisational campaign work on campaign influence is explored. It is found that good inter-organisational campaigning may improve the scope, domain and overall magnitude of influence of campaign work. However, even where collaborative working enhances the power of campaign work across campaign groups, some organisations may potentially still lose out through unequal power distribution across the network. Inter-organisational working can also create complexities in measuring how influence is distributed across collaborating campaign groups.

1. Benefits of inter-organisational working

As noted in chapter 4, previous literature has addressed a number of reasons why organisations choose to work together in collaboration. In that chapter it was noted that Guo and Acar (2005), suggest that reasons for formal inter-organisational collaboration can be put into three groups: Resource sufficiency factors, Institutional factors, and Network factors.

‘Resource sufficiency factors’ highlight the value of inter-organisational working in order to attain resources critical for the organisation’s survival and development (Guo and Acar, 2005, p345). ‘Institutional factors’ are associated with the norms and pressures of the institutional environment (for instance inter-organisational working to meet legal or regulatory requirements) (Guo and Acar, 2005, p346.) Finally, ‘Network effects’ “emphasize the social aspects of cooperation”, taking into consideration how networks

create opportunities for cooperation “by deepening awareness, trust and commitment” among members (Guo and Acar, 2005, p348)

The authors suggest that most studies on inter-organisational working between nonprofits have emphasised resource sufficiency factors (Guo and Acar, 2005, p345). Certainly (as can be seen below) interview respondents in this study placed primary emphasis on resource sufficiency factors, highlighting the resource benefits of inter-organisational working in terms of financial resources, time, expertise and legitimacy.

1.1. Benefits of interorganisational working, as reported by interviewees:

Benefits (i) ‘ Expertise’ resources or human capital as a resource for impact and legitimacy

Findings reflected the importance of expanding the range and breadth of expertise available for an organisation, with respondents noting that working in collaboration can help to increase not only the sheer numbers of experts whose experience can be utilised, but also enables the utilisation of a wide range of experience. For instance, when discussing working in a coalition one respondent noted:

“there are plenty of cons to working in a coalition, but generally it's about bringing people's different expertise to the table...”

(Interview 3)

Since organisations can vary a great deal in where their expertise lies, and an issue like child poverty can cover a wide range of issue areas (benefits, housing, debt, children’s rights etc) it is useful to coordinate expertise in order to address the issue from all the different possible angles.

As well as contributing to the development of an effective campaign, such involvement of a breadth of organisations with different expertise and experience can also help to illustrate to audiences the breadth of people supporting the cause:

“...the number of organisations, and the variety of those organisations involved is important, to show the kind of breadth of people talking about an issue and supporting a single cause.”

(Interview 3)

This can increase the resource of ‘legitimacy’ that the campaign can draw on.

Benefits (ii) Increased financial capacity as a resource affecting the scale and type of campaigns

However, inter-organisational working also increases the capacity of organisations to work on a specific issue by helping to overcome resource limitations. As one respondent noted:

“...organisations have limited resources so teaming up with other organisations is a very helpful process.”

(Interview 4)

As well as simply allowing ‘more’ campaigning on an issue, pooling of resources can allow increases in the ‘scale’ of campaigning including the organisation of large public events (such as the Keep the Promise event), which respondents noted that their organisations would not have been able to organise independently.

“...the kind of large scale events, like was held in Trafalgar square, was not something that we could have ever, ever, done on our own.”

(Interview 7)

It will be seen in chapter 9, on ‘outsider’ campaigning, that public campaigning can be prohibitively resource intensive, it seems clear that one way of bypassing such resource limitations may be through collaborative working.

Benefits (iii) Coordination to promote unanimity and consensus as resources for legitimacy and impact

Respondents also noted that collaborative working also helps build consensus so as to give a coordinated message, to potentially avoid conflicts in messaging between organisations, and to clarify where and why any differences do exist between organisations.

“...sometimes it’s useful if you do have differences with other organisations, you have talked about them, and make clear where they exist and why.”

(Interview 7)

One respondent noted that if organisations have not talked to each other about an issue, then decision makers may be able to ‘play them off’ against each other. Ensuring everyone is aware of the current state of affairs may therefore be able to create a stronger and more unified position.

“...when you are talking to Government, if you haven’t had the conversation before hand, then you can be easily distracted, or possibly you won’t get the full conversation with people because they will say oh yes, we spoke to someone else about that. But if you go in and you say ‘we are these 10 organisations, we’ve already talked to each other’ then they’ve got nowhere to go in terms of to play you off against each other. I don’t think it’s necessarily that people were saying contradictory things before hand, I think it’s making sure that everyone’s aware of what’s going on.”

(Interview 8)

The importance of inter-organisational working was indicated as being important for both an audience of policy makers, and also for the public. For instance, one respondent noted that the Government likes to see consensus from experts.

“I think the Government, and indeed the opposition parties, like to see a consensus around something from excellence in the field.”

Another noted that collaborative working also helps illustrate to the public that organisations are working together on an issue, noting that the End Child Poverty coalition was set up in part for this reason - “to show the public that it’s such an important role that (the member organisations) are working together” (Interview 8).

So unanimity can act as a resource by increasing legitimacy in the eyes of policymakers and the public.

Benefits (iv) Co-ordination to promote efficient use of resources

In addition, coordinated collaborative working can be an efficient way to work on an issue, since it can help to avoid the duplication of work between organisations.

“Certainly the really supportive relationship we have with our partners, and we have with other members of coalitions we are members of, has helped us change what we do so that we are not duplicating other people.”

(Interview 1)

This can result in more efficient use of the available resources of time and money.

1.2. Discussion of the benefits of interorganisational collaboration

Interview respondents placed primary emphasis on the importance of inter-organisational working in promoting resource sufficiency for campaigning activities. This is unsurprising. The organisational resources described above (including financial resources, labour, expertise and legitimacy) are in finite supply for any organisation, and interviewees reported tight resource constraints to their activities. In such conditions,

organisations may be said to be 'inter-dependent' with other organisations whose presence and activities can affect their resource sufficiency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). According to the resource dependence perspective, one response to this is to seek to inter-structure their behaviour with other organisations with whom they have interdependence of resource access, in order to reduce environmental uncertainty and unpredictability (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978).

For this reason, it is unsurprising that organisations seek to coordinate their activities with other organisations with whom they are inter-dependent. However, the promotion of 'resource sufficiency' is not a precise enough term to cover the different reasons for inter-organisational working in this way, and may itself be sub-divided into two areas:

Increasing available resources- Inter-organisational working may increase an individual organisation's effective resource capacity. For instance, gaps in organisational expertise can be filled through increased access to other organisations' expertise. Similarly, successful inter-organisational working can increase 'legitimacy' resources by showing that a range of different organisations support a particular policy goal.

Increased resource capacity can allow joint ventures on a scale which would not be possible by an individual organisation. Increasing resources through inter-organisational working therefore allows not simply the expansion of current activities, but a qualitative shift in the nature of campaigning.

Increasing efficiency in the use of resources- interorganisational working may increase resource sufficiency by improving the efficiency of resource use, so that fewer resources are required for the organisation to have same impact. This can be the product of improved coordination, and can happen in two key ways:

Firstly, coordinated activities can avoid unnecessary duplication of work, reducing the necessary sectoral resource investment to produce equivalent outcomes.

Secondly, increasing unanimity on an issue may reduce what might be called campaign 'friction'. Where messages between organisations conflict, the impact of each message

may be undermined by the presence of the other; in a US study of interest group lobbying of House committees, Evans (1996) found that groups were most likely to get their way where there was no inter-group conflict. She found that groups made an effort to come to consensus prior to going to committee.

However, results from this project suggest that this may be taken further. Although the avoidance of inter-group message conflict may be significant, there was also some suggestion that messages need not directly conflict for coordinated working to provide efficiency benefits. Where organisations are producing similar campaign messages, these messages may bolster each other if coordinated correctly. As such the efficiency of messages can be improved through inter-organisational working, not simply by reducing contradictory messages, but through improving the ways in which similar messages cooperatively support each other.

“Q: Why do you think working in coalition on something like child poverty is beneficial?”

A: It’s partly because we are saying a lot of the same things... therefore it’s much stronger if you can gather together and all say x,y and z together, and jointly”

(Interview 5)

Evans (1996, p290) argued that one reason that lack of inter-group conflict promotes lobby group success is that when decision makers hear only one side of an issue they are less likely to see a policy basis for opposing lobby group positions. Such a consensus could not be secured by any individual organisation, necessitating inter-organisational cooperation. We may call the products of such unanimity ‘legitimacy’, since they are associated with making the campaign claims appear more legitimate.

Resource dependency theory suggests that individual organisations are structurally constrained in their actions by the need to secure resources necessary for their survival and development. Interviews from this project have indicated that inter-organisational working is strongly driven by what it offers in terms of promoting resource sufficiency

(both by increasing resource capacity for working on an issue, and by promoting the efficiency of resource use).

The findings presented above highlight 4 key forms of resource: Financial resources, Expertise, Legitimacy and Time. In some cases resource sufficiency is promoted *most easily* through inter-organisational working (such as securing the capacity to organise large scale events) but it would be possible to secure resource sufficiency in other ways. In other cases resource sufficiency can *only* be achieved through inter-organisational working. Most notably, achieving a coordinated policy consensus requires inter-organisational working. This is because coordination, and the unanimity it produces, relate to properties of the network rather than the component organisations. (While we can speak of the expertise or financial resources of a single organisation, unanimity and co-ordination are characteristics of the relationships between organisations).

Therefore the benefits of inter-organisational working may be re-divided into two types: benefits of organisational resource **capacity** (which operates on the level of the individual organisation) and of inter-organisational **coordination** (which operates on the network level).

As such, 'coordination' may fall into Guo and Acar's category of "network effects". However, these network effects are driven by resource sufficiency factors (since coordination promotes efficient resource use, through reducing work duplication, and the creation of network resources such as unanimity (which itself produces legitimacy)). As such, it may be argued that 'resource sufficiency' and 'network effects' are inter-related categories, rather than distinct phenomena.

2. Costs and risks of inter-organisational working

Despite the advantages to working together, both previous literature and interview respondents also noted potential costs and risks associated with working with other organisations. Guo and Acar (2005) suggest that collaborative working presents risks to

organisational autonomy. Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) highlight the risks of opportunistic behaviour from partners, particularly when organisations have imperfect knowledge of other organisations with whom they are working. Both these processes, and a number of other related effects, were prominent in the findings of this study. The costs of inter-organisational working, as outlined by interview respondents, are overviewed below.

2.1. Interview respondents' views on the costs and risks of inter-organisational working

Costs (i) Independence and autonomy

An organisation's independence and autonomy can be at risk in two main ways:

a) Different organisational views

Respondents noted that in some cases, different organisations within a collaborative relationship may have different views on a topic, which may create internal conflicts over coordinated messages. This may create a tension, since there is a need for a campaign to give a core unanimous message and avoid mixed messages (since one of the key benefits of collaborative working is giving a unified voice). This may put constraints on what can be achieved in partnership, since no one organisation will be able to say exactly what it wants, because of a need to give a joint message.

As a result, several respondents noted the importance of collaborative partners reaching agreement over a simple, core message, even if they have disagreement over the details.

“The inevitability of coalitions is that different member organisations have slightly different takes, or perhaps substantially different takes, on particular issues. And there the trick I suppose, to try to maximise impact, is to arrive at a set of things you are trying to argue about where you have some commonality of view, and that often constrains what you can do in partnership with other people. So if you are going into a heavy level of detail on something, you're bound to stir up more argument, on which you can't take a view.”

Similarly, one respondent noted that it may be important for a coalition on an issue to be flexible, in order to give members space to undertake their own work, and express their own views, whilst enabling the group to speak strongly over its core message.

“Any coalition is going to face challenges at particular times when some organisations say something that isn’t shared by other members, but I think working in a coalition, you can’t tie your organisations in for an indefinite amount of time to say only what a coalition would want to say.”

(Interview 8)

However, in some cases, organisations may need to be prepared to compromise in order to work in collaboration:

“it does involve compromises. You can’t always... if you decide that it’s really important that you have other organisations sign up for what you are doing, then you can’t necessarily say exactly what you want to say. So you know, you have to be prepared to sometimes sacrifice a bit in that respect.”

(Interview 6)

b) Different organisational priorities

As well as different views on issues of relevance to the group, individual members within a collaborative relationship may also have other priorities within their organisation’s work. As a result, even if organisations do not conflict over their views about an issue, they may conflict over the extent to which the issue is viewed as one of crucial importance within their organisation’s work plan.

“something like (child poverty) draws in a lot of organisations that are very concerned about poverty, that are very concerned about children. But child poverty may not be the visor that they see for all of their work. And so there's a

question that different organisations inevitably have to be focussed on different things, and therefore firstly, you have a question of difference of perspective...”

(Interview 4)

This again means that collaborative relationships need to be flexible and able to allow organisations to pursue their own priorities within the group, whilst at the same time ensuring the group is able to provide a clear message on their core issue(s).

“I think there has to be an amount of flexibility and understanding within a membership that enables organisations to do the work that they feel they need to do, and enables the coalition to speak strongly on just one issue, of what is an organisation’s complex work plan that may include 10 other things.”

(Interview 8)

Costs (ii) Organisational identity

As discussed in chapter 6, an organisation’s identity, reputation or ‘brand’ is an important resource. There are two reasons why an organisation may fear losing its own identity within a collaborative relationship. Firstly, organisations may be concerned that in the process of compromising over group messaging, their own concerns may be subsumed beneath the wider group interests. One respondent raised concerns that ‘pushy’ organisations may dominate the agenda:

“...it can be very difficult if you are not on your mettle, then you can easily be bulldozed, and some organisations are more pushy about their own agendas...”

(Interview 2)

Secondly, there may be a concern that in undertaking campaigning through the group, an individual organisation may feel that its own organisation is not clearly identified by policymakers and the public, as associated with, and working on, the issue.

“...you can almost lose your voice a little bit. Depending on what role you take in the coalition, it can be very strong behind one particular brand, behind one message, but as an individual organisation, you sometimes lose your identity.”

(Interview 3)

Similarly, losing organisational identity within a group can make it harder to identify the impact of your own organisation, as the previous respondent went on to say:

“I think in some of your later questions you may want to talk about how you know you've been successful, and it's obviously harder to prove if you're one of many, rather than asking for something unique, that you can track through and show that they've adopted by sort of looking at all the opposition parties or whatever. So you can lose your identity a little bit.”

(Interview 3)

Costs (iii) Network dynamics

In any collaboration, inter-organisational relationships will not always be perfectly equal. All of the costs and benefits outlined above will be mediated through power relations, trust and values, and can be mitigated by good management.

a) Power imbalances

In any inter-organisational relationship, certain members will have greater power within a collaborative relationship, for example, this may be through their larger income or stronger reputation, or greater knowledge of the issue than others, or (as noted above) it may simply be because they are more ‘pushy’ with their demands.

“Q: So how do you think a (collaborative lobby) comes to (its) decisions?”

A: Well we listen a lot to the people with the loudest voices and the greatest research capacity and intelligence... and I think the rest of us will fall into line about it.”

(Interview 5)

To some degree, power imbalances are justified, since (for example) greater experience of and knowledge about an issue, can provide a sound rationale for an organisation playing a particularly important role in determining a collaborative group’s view on the issue. However, power imbalance may also create a risk of less dominant organisations becoming sidelined.

b) Spatial dynamics of power relations

One respondent raised concerns about the geographical location of a coalition base- particularly with collaborative groups that draw on members from a large geographical area, there might be problems of some organisations being based a long way from the ‘centre’. This may make it difficult to attend meetings, and so feel included in decision making processes.

“...all of these London based organisations have meetings at two days notice at 9 o'clock in London, and I just can't do that, you know, I live in (a location not London), and I love living in (a location not in London), and I would have liked to been more involved, but I could never, ever make any of the organising meetings.”

(Interview 1)

It was suggested that this may be a particularly important problem for small organisations who may lack the resources for a lot of travel.

Other respondents highlighted the importance for any collaborative group of keeping in touch with all of its members by, including those a long way away who may not be able to attend all collaborative meetings, and of ensuring that these organisations can be involved in actions without attending meetings.

It is clear from this, and the previous section, that power relations, while clearly a property of the network, cannot be disentangled from resource effects. An organisation's resources (such as knowledge of an issue, and organisational location) may be crucial in determining its power within the network. Conversely, a strong position within the network may allow the organisation to optimise the resource benefits it can accrue (such as getting its voice heard on key issues).

c) Shared investments and trust

Organisations working with a number of different priorities can also potentially lead to some organisations not wanting to put the necessary time and resources into a collaborative project, which would be necessary for it to succeed.

“...if everybody in the coalition is in the coalition because they want to sign up to something, but they don't want to put a lot of time into it, then that can fall down.”

(Interview 3)

One respondent also noted the potential problem of organisations losing interest in a certain collaboration over time, with interest in an initially high profile campaign 'petering out'.

“...some coalitions are very high profile at a particular point of time, and then peter out over time, because other people lose interest.”

(Interview 4)

So any organisation investing heavily in a campaign must trust the others to fulfil their obligations.

Costs (iv) Coalition management

The importance of effective central management to the success of coalition working, was noted. One respondent noted the importance of the management of the End Child Poverty coalition to its success:

“...End Child Poverty is an example of a coalition that works really quite well.

Q: Why do you think it works well?

A: That's a good question. I think it's to do with the people who manage End Child Poverty. They're very strident and they're not prepared to be walked over.”

(Interview 2)

Another respondent noted the importance of coalitions having dedicated management staff to the success of coalition working, again dedicated staffing was suggested as a key factor which made the End Child Poverty Coalition work effectively:

“End Child Poverty does work well. It has dedicated staffing which not all coalitions do, so the membership fees that we put into the organisation pay for staff to run End Child Poverty. So obviously that helps. A lot of other coalitions that we work on have a chair or whatever, which just sort of rotates around different members and it's sort of how much each individual wants to put in. End Child Poverty does work well from a coordinating point of view particularly.”

(Interview 2)

The above comments suggest that good coalition management can help to improve the network dynamics of collaborative working. In particular, formalised management arrangements help to ensure that individual organisations are not unfairly overburdened with responsibilities, as may be the case where the collaborative work is less formalised and depends upon “how much each individual wants to put in.”

2.2. Discussion of costs and risks

A Third Sector Organisation does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of a complex system, often involving a web of relationships with other organisations, and shaped by the social, political and economic landscape.

“Because organisations are not self-contained or self-sufficient, the environment must be relied upon to provide support. For continuing to provide what the organisation needs, the external groups or organisations may demand certain actions from the organisation in return. It is the fact of the organisation’s dependence on the environment that makes the external constraint and control of organisational behavior both possible and almost inevitable.”

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978)

Although organisations may enter into relationships with other organisations in order to improve their resource capacity, and the efficiency of resource use, certain ‘actions’ result as a necessary consequence.

Interview results suggest that the actions necessitated by inter-organisational collaboration result in **the loss of autonomy and identity**. This is for two reasons; firstly, collaborative working involves individual organisations entering into a ‘bargaining’ process with other organisations, in which actors negotiate for their own concerns and interests. Secondly, there may be some assumption that individual organisations will subsume their own agency and identity under that of the collaborative body.

These costs may be reduced by sound management of inter-organisational relationships. Particularly with regard to coalition work, it was noted that good inter-organisational relationships need to give member organisations the **flexibility** to pursue their own work agenda as well as the coalition concerns. Also coalitions need to avoid being over prescriptive with regard to the core coalition consensus, since this can allow member organisations the organisational autonomy to retain differences over the details.

However, as well as the necessary costs of interorganisational working, there are also implied risks as well. In particular interview respondents highlighted the risks of what Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) call **opportunistic behaviour** by partners. This can take two forms; in the one case, organisations may act opportunistically by dominating collaborative decision making processes, being “more pushy with their own agendas” (as one respondent put it), potentially ‘bulldozing’ other organisations into certain collaborative policies and activities. In doing so, such organisations may seek to retain the benefits of collaborative working without relinquishing the same level of autonomy as other partners. The second case concerns opportunistic behaviour through unwillingness of some partners to invest a fair share of resources into the collaboration. Organisations invest time and other resources into inter-organisational work; concern was expressed that such resource investment may come to be unequal between partners. In such cases, unequal investment of resources may undermine the resource benefits of collaborative working for some organisations.

This suggests the presence of a ‘free rider’ problem within inter-organisational collaboration. Such problems occur when goods purchased are ‘non-excludable’ in consumption (Marwell and Ames, 1979), that is, when dividends of success are gained by all agents in some area, even if not all agents contribute to the solution. In his classic paper ‘The Tragedy of the commons’ Hardin (1968) uses the metaphor of pastureland held in common ownership, where the collective interests of all herdsmen would benefit from reducing their herd sizes by improving the health of the pastureland, but the economic self-interest of each herdsman is served by increasing their herd size. In such a case, Hardin argues that since each herdsman is best served by increasing their herd size, the conclusion is catastrophic overgrazing- a tragedy for all the herdsmen. If the herdsmen agree to limit the size of their herds, but one refuses, he will unfairly benefit from the non-excludable good of a healthy pasture.

In the case of collaborative working, outputs may be seen as shared between members. This creates the risk that some organisations may act as free riders- taking the benefits of collaboration whilst not putting in the resources which allow collaboration to succeed.

This problem may, however, be reduced in three ways: Firstly, where organisations have knowledge of other organisations, and trusting relationships, concerns about free rider behaviour by partners may be reduced (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999) particularly where “unforeseen contingencies arise” (Zaheer et al, 1998, p144). One respondent noted that all the partners they work with “exist to do good” (Interview 2), belief in such common values may help in developing good relationships between partners.

Secondly, those who put in the most time and resources may be able to exert the greatest pressure on the direction of policy. By investing time and other resources in a collaboration, an organisation may be able to increase its power within it, and so gain increased benefits from coalition working. Essentially, asymmetrical resource inputs may create reflective asymmetrical power relations, reducing free rider problems.

Thirdly, in the case of formal coalition working, good coalition management can reduce the risks of opportunistic behaviour by individual organisations. This is particularly true where there is dedicated coalition management, since this reduces or removes the need for individual organisations to play a management role, which may otherwise be variable between different collaborators.

3. Formal and informal collaborative working

Not all collaborative working is of the same level of formality. A lot of the issues discussed above relate primarily to relatively formalised inter-organisational working, (particularly coalition working) with a distinct ‘collaborative body’ through which the campaign operates. However, much campaigning is more informal than this:

“We do a lot of work with other organisations. We are part of some formal coalitions like the End Child Poverty campaign... But then, almost more importantly, is the day to day, more informal links that we have with other organisations. For example, we’ve been doing a huge amount recently with (two other organisations). And we usually... I will speak to people from those organisations, normally, several times a week, so, and our policy team also have

really strong links with them. So yeah, I mean, there probably at least half a dozen organisations that we're very familiar with their day-to-day work and vice versa."

(Interview 6)

We might hypothesise that the more informal the collaboration is, the less the benefits, but also the less the costs. Informal relationships with no central collaborative body may not be able to coordinate their work as effectively, or produce unanimity and the associated benefits. However, organisations informally sharing ideas need not have their autonomy constrained by this process, nor is there the same threat to their identity, since they continue to produce outputs under their own name.

This project focuses primarily on formal collaborative working, there is however scope for further work investigating the differences in benefits and costs between formal and informal collaborative relationships.

4. Inter-organisational working: Playing for the team?

Entering into collaborative relationships can help individual organisations to improve their resource sufficiency, but 'in return' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) inter-organisational working requires something from the organisation; this may include resources, such as money and time, it may also limit their autonomy; it also produces certain risks resulting from increased reliance on other agents. As with all organisational actions, the benefits of inter-organisational collaboration must be balanced against these costs.

In his book "Images of organisation" (1986) Gareth Morgan uses metaphors to explore the nature of organisation. In his introduction he notes:

"I believe that by building on the use of metaphor – which is basic to our way of thinking generally – we have a means of enhancing our capacity for creative yet disciplined thought in a way that allows us to grasp and deal with the many-sided character of organisational life"

Taking a similar approach, Third Sector Organisations entering into inter-organisational collaboration for the purpose of achieving campaign goals, may be considered through the metaphor of playing in a local football team.

Imagine eleven people each playing football on their own against a well organised opposition, Policy United. Each player has a similar goal (to score against Policy United) but they are each operating independently to do so. The result is chaotic; each player has a different strategy, a different plan of attack and defence, nothing is coordinated.

These players decide there must be a better way of playing. They realise that if they coordinate their attack, results may be improved. The reasons for this can be divided into two parts:

i) The individual workload of each player is relieved by the cooperative presence of other players.

Each player has to contribute a reduced amount of key resources such as stamina and speed because there are other players with whom the burden can be shared. They contribute the proportion that they are able to; other players bring what they can.

It is noteworthy that as well as increasing overall quantities of key resources (such as strength and stamina), different players contribute different 'skills' which other players may lack (one may be particularly good at shooting, another at tackling, another may be very good in goal).

This was reflected in interorganisational working between TSOs. It was found that value was placed on both the increase in resources (including skills or 'expertise') overall and in the variety of these resources which could help different organisations fill in gaps in experience.

The pooling of resources was found to affect not just the 'quantity' of campaign work, but could also bring about a fundamental nature in the qualitative nature of campaigning (for instance, allowing mass public events). This could be paralleled in the football team by an increasingly elaborate tactics book which is made possible by an increased number of players on a team.

ii) The workload of the group as a whole is reduced by better coordination and communication between players.

As well as increasing the shared resources (players) available to the team, the players are also each used more efficiently. The team can coordinate tactics before the game in order to ensure that everybody is working together as well as possible. On the pitch, the team players know each other better, and along with knowing how each player has been assigned to play, this gives them an advantage in ensuring the play is as smooth as possible.

These are the network effects for the football team. Whilst any individual player could work on their speed or stamina, their shooting, or goalkeeping skills; it is impossible for one player to independently improve their coordination with the other players. The players all need to work together on this.

Similarly, network effects have been highlighted within inter-organisational TSO campaigning. Working collaboratively can enable messages to be coordinated effectively for greatest impact.

Although the team can come up with coordinated tactics for themselves, they may want to consider getting in a team manager to do this for them. Doing this could help ensure that things do get organised prior to the match, rather than being left to the team players.

Likewise, sometimes in formal collaborative working (such as coalitions), the coalition will have dedicated staffing to organise coalition activities. This can help ensure that these

tasks do not have to be done by coalition members, who may be busy with a number of other activities.

However, as with collaborative working, there are costs and risks involved in playing as a football team as well as benefits:

i) Players lose their freedom to move autonomously, they are given a position and are expected to stick to it throughout the game.

The advantage of coordinated working is lost if, during the game, players abandon their intended positions and just do what they want to do (such as try to score).. Different players are given different positions on the pitch, and are expected to stick to them.

The loss of autonomy has been noted as a key cost of collaborative working. Organisations have to collaboratively develop a plan of action, and this is likely to mean that all organisations have to make some compromises on what they want to do.

ii) The benefits of victory are shared by the team, some players may feel like their contribution is not satisfactorily recognised, and that they don't get enough praise as an individual player.

Although scoring against Policy United may be easier now, it may be harder to clearly identify one's own contribution. Before, though goals may have been harder, at least when a player scored, it was clear it was their 'win.' Now they are one member of a team, they are expected to accept that the goals belong to the team.

Similarly, in some forms of collaborative working (such as formal campaign coalitions) individual organisational identity may need to be subsumed under the identity of the coalition. It may be difficult for individual organisations to establish their role within a campaign success.

iii) There are risks of some players not pulling their weight for the team.

There is a risk that some players may not be willing to put in the effort needed to make the team successful, for instance, by failing to turn up to training sessions. Such risks may be reduced if there is a strong sense of shared values ‘not wanting to let the team down.’ In addition a good team manager may help to ensure that all players play their part.

Likewise, it was found that in collaborative working between TSOs, there were concerns that some organisations may not put in the same amount of effort as others, thus reducing the benefits inter-organisational working provides. A sense of shared values and trust between organisations may help to reduce this. It was also felt that dedicated management could reduce the costs of some organisations not pulling their weight, by reducing the amount of input needed from campaign members.

5) The opposition?

The analogy given presents the opposition – referred to as “Policy United” - as a passive obstacle to policy change. This is not necessarily the case. It may also be suggested that, as in a football match, the opposition to policy change is itself comprised of active policy actors, who may be both within and outside the Third Sector, who are opposed to the proposals put forward by the opposing set of organisations.

These actors will themselves have resource dependencies which they need to fulfil in order to successfully oppose the work of organisations campaigning for policy change – and potentially to promote policy change in an opposite direction. They may themselves use tactics of coordination in order to promote their own policy goals more effectively.

The nature of this opposition is likely to vary according to the policy issue area in which they operate. In some policy areas there are clear Third Sector lobbies on both sides of a policy debate. Perhaps the clearest example of this relates to abortion, where the “pro life” and “pro choice” lobbies form distinct ideologically oppositional groups with opposing policy objectives.

Within the field of child poverty policy the distinction is less apparent. This is likely to be because few groups or individuals would present themselves as actively opposed to the reduction of child poverty in the UK.

As a result, the opposition to campaign groups lobbying for the reform of child poverty policy (“Policy United” within this issue area) may be formed on the basis of other issues – such as cost to the tax payer – rather than clear ideological opposition. Whilst the nature of this group falls outside the scope of this thesis, the nature of this opposition would be an interesting topic for further study (as discussed in the thesis conclusion.)

6) Conclusion

This chapter has overviewed the costs and benefits of inter-organisational collaboration between campaign groups, as expressed by interview respondents. The key findings are summarised in the table below.

Table 6. Considerations for inter-organisational working

Benefits of interorganisational working:	
1) Expertise	Collaborative working can increase both the numbers of experts working on an issue, but can also widen the range of expertise and experience being utilised, potentially filling gaps in expertise. It can help the legitimacy of a campaign to show the breadth of experts supporting a cause.
2) Financial Capacity	Inter-organisational working can help to overcome resource limitations. This can allow both ‘more’ campaigning on an issue, but can also affect the qualitative nature of campaigning, opening up opportunities for campaigning on an increased ‘scale’ – such as the coordination of large public events.

<p>3) Unanimity and consensus</p>	<p>Collaborative working can help to build consensus so as to give a coordinated message on an issue, and potentially avoid conflicts in messaging between organisations. It can also help to clarify where and why any differences do exist.</p> <p>Consensus can help to illustrate to both policymakers and the public that organisations are successfully working together on an issue, which may help to increase their perceived legitimacy.</p>
<p>4) Efficient resource use</p>	<p>Coordinated collaborative working can also be an efficient way to work on an issue by helping to avoid the duplication of work between organisations.</p>
<p>Costs and Risks of Inter-organisational working</p>	
<p>1) Loss of independence and autonomy</p>	<p>Organisations working together in collaboration can risk organisational independence and autonomy in two ways</p> <p>1) different organisational views – these may create internal conflicts and tensions over coordinated messages, and making it difficult to create unanimous messages. In order to create a core collaborative message, organisations may need to be prepared to compromise in order to ensure collaborative success.</p> <p>2) different organisational priorities – as well as different views on issues of relevance of the group, members within a collaborative relationship may have other priorities within their organisation’s work. Even if organisations do not conflict in their views on an issue, they may conflict over the extent to which the issue is viewed as important to their work plan. This means that collaborative relationships need to be flexible and allow</p>

	<p>organisations to pursue their own priorities alongside those of the group.</p>
<p>2) Loss of organisational identity</p>	<p>There are two reasons why an organisation may fear losing its own identity within a collaborative relationship. Firstly, organisations may be concerned that in the process of compromising over group messaging, their own concerns may be subsumed beneath the wider group interests. Secondly, there may be a concern that in undertaking campaigning through the group, an individual organisation may feel that its own organisation is not clearly identified as associated with, and working on, the issue.</p>
<p>3) Problems with Network dynamics</p>	<p>Inter-organisational relationships will not always be 'equal'. All of the costs and benefits outlined above will be mediated through power relations, and trust and values.</p> <p>Certain members may have greater power, through larger financial resources, or stronger reputation, or because they are more 'pushy'. Some organisations may feel excluded if they are not based close to the geographical centre of the group.</p> <p>Inter-organisational relationships also rely on different organisations contributing their 'fair share'. Collaborative working can be undermined by 'free rider behaviour' and relies, to some extent on trust between partners.</p> <p>Good coalition management can help to ensure that network dynamics are positively enforced.</p>

6.1. Inter-organisational working and power

Inter-organisational working has important outcomes for power relations within the policy process.

The benefits of collaborative working may enhance what Dahl (1968) called the overall magnitude, and the scope and domain of power within the policy process. This means that as well as increasing the overall impact of organisations involved in the collaboration within the policy process, the number of policy areas (within the remit of the collaboration) they are able to explore may be enhanced (for instance, as the result of an increased range of expertise working on the issue). The domain of power is extended since the range and number of people they are able to reach with their campaigning may also be enhanced. For instance, this may occur as the result of new types of campaigning tactic being opened up by the pooling of resources, and by advancements in perceived legitimacy in the eyes of policymakers and the public as a result of issue unanimity).

However, inter-organisational working as outlined in this chapter creates some confusion as regards what Dahl (1968) called the 'distribution' of power. Although advancements in power may be seen as flowing to the collaborative partnership; where the identity of individual members has been subsumed to some degree under that of collaborative body (for instance, where coordinated decisions about policy are made, or where group activities take place under a coalition name) it may be difficult to identify how that power should be distributed amongst those members. It is plausible to suggest that the influence (per organisation) could simply be divided equally between the organisations within the collaboration. However, as noted previously, sometimes, 'pushy' organisations may dominate; in such cases, where, for instance, collaborative policies or activities are unequally weighted towards their concerns (particularly where other members may not be entirely happy with the direction of the collaboration,) it would be reasonable to suggest that they have an unequal share of power within the partnership.

Complexity of power distributions within a collaborative relationship is the result of loss of organisational autonomy and identity within the group. Group compromises need to be reached, and an individual organisation will not always get their own way (as no individual organisation has total power over the group). As noted above, some

organisations will disproportionately dominate the agenda; others (free riders) may expect an equal share in decision making processes, and in outcomes, whilst investing an inequitable amount of their own resources.

6.2. Inter-organisational working and resource dependence

Working independently, TSOs can be seen as maintaining their own resources, including Money, Time, Expertise and Legitimacy. These resources can be used to achieve a range of campaign objectives, as appropriate to the organisations' core purposes. As seen in chapter 6 in some cases they may work on a single issue, in other cases, they may work on a number of different issues.

When they have shared concerns, organisations may collaborate for the purpose of improving their campaigning. Within a successful collaboration, organisational resources are utilised in collaboration in order to produce collaborative resource benefits which better enable them to meet their organisational goals. In such situations, organisations are can be said to be 'resource dependent' on the other organisations they work with, who control the resources they need for the successful fulfilment of their campaign goals.

As has been explored in this chapter, collaborative working to fulfil resource dependencies has costs and risks as well as benefits. These include the loss of organisational autonomy and identity, and the risk of opportunistic behaviour by collaborative partners.

Figures 8 and 9 below represent the costs and benefits of collaborative working for the purpose of achieving campaign goals.

Fig 8: TSOs working independently on a campaign issue

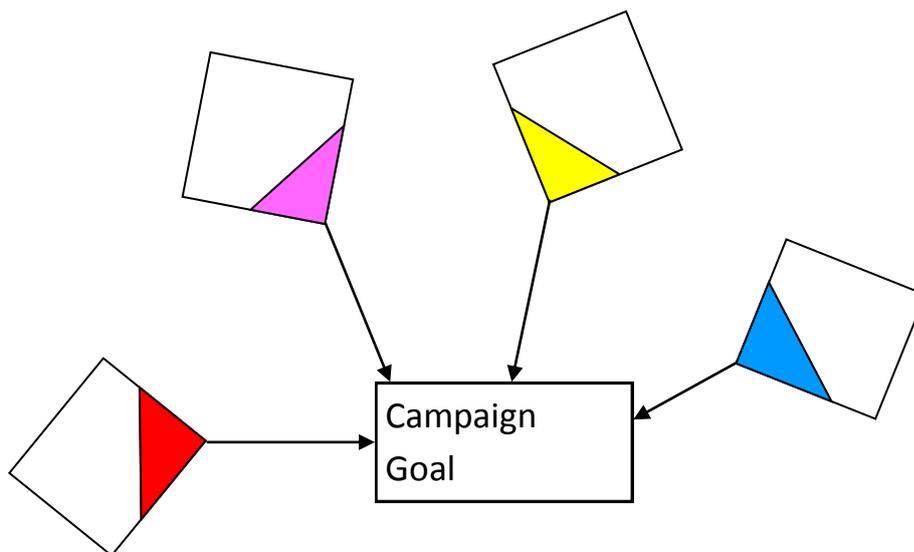


Fig 9: TSOs working collaboratively on a campaign issue

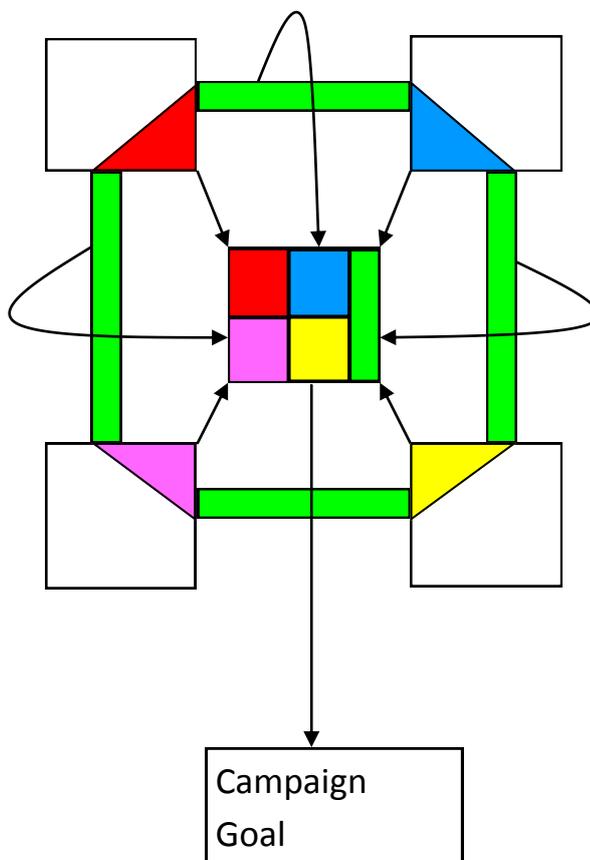


Figure 8 shows four organisations (boxes) each with a coloured corner segment, representing the proportion of resources dedicated to achieving a certain campaign goal of concern to each organisation. (Although, for simplicity, each organisation is represented as being of similar overall size, and of dedicating a similar amount of resources to this particular campaign goal, this is not necessarily the case. Some organisations may even not be directly involved in campaigning on the issue at all, prior to collaboration.) Although all the organisations have an interest in the topic, they are approaching it from different directions, potentially also at different times.

Figure 9 represents how collaborative working brings together resources from different organisations for the purposes of working on a campaign issue. In this case, resources are shared, but at the same time, a network of actors is created, which creates its own resource benefits ('network effects' such as the efficiency benefits derived from coordination – represented by the green bars in figure 9) which increase the available resources for working on the campaign issue. (Again, figure 9 is a simplification. For instance, organisations may continue to work independently on key issues, as well as working in collaboration, particularly if the collaborative working is relatively informal. The figure also assumes a central 'collaborative body' through which resources are pooled.)

As figure 9 shows, working together can cause a loss of autonomy and identity; (while in figure 8, each organisation approaches the campaign goal from whatever angle they choose, in figure 9, a coordinated approach is assumed, limiting the freedom of individual organisations. In addition, the central box represents the collaborative body; with much of the campaign work on the issue done through this body, there is a risk that campaign outcomes are not satisfactorily attributed to campaign members as appropriate. Not represented on figure 9, is the risk of opportunistic behaviour, where the resource contribution of some parties is disproportionately small compared to others, reducing the benefits of the collaboration as a whole.

This chapter has addressed how Third Sector Organisations work together for the reform of child poverty policy. The following section addresses the strategies which TSOs (independently or in collaboratively) utilise when targeting their campaigning at

policymakers (known as “insider” campaigning strategies). This includes issues of how TSOs determine which policymakers to target, how they create access opportunities, and how they communicate their key campaign messages.

Chapter 8: Working in the ‘Insider’ sub-field – campaigning oriented towards policymakers

This chapter considers campaign group approaches to lobbying public policymakers, particularly as regards Child Poverty related issues⁷. This is approached through a combination of interview analysis, and findings from the analysis of a 2008 Select Committee inquiry into child poverty.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first part considers how campaign groups choose which policy makers to focus on. This includes discussion of the role of both politicians and civil servants as targets for campaign groups, and also what the impact of a change of Government might mean for child poverty campaigning.

The second part considers issues of access to policy makers. Consideration is given to how contacts are made and developed, in order to create opportunities for accessing policy makers, and in developing working relationships with them.

The third section considers how campaign groups address policy makers with their campaign work. Here, the findings from submissions to the 2007-08 Select Committee hearings on child poverty are considered in detail, and are combined with interview results. The analysis in this section is presented in two parts. The first part considers the content and structure of the arguments presented in the submissions- *what are campaign groups saying to policy makers about child poverty in the UK and why are they saying what they are?* The second part considers how the submitters legitimise those arguments in the eyes of their audience- *having presented their arguments, how do campaign groups try to convince policymakers that their arguments are worth acting upon?*

⁷ Following the hypothesis set out in Chapter 4, this is defined as the Insider ‘sub-field’. Whether, and how, ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaign strategies are distinct sub-fields of the political field, is a topic explored in detail in Chapter 10.

1. The choice of campaign target.

Respondents highlighted a number of different policymakers whom it may be important to target campaigning at.

1.1. The Government

Government departments have the primary responsibility for the creation of proposals for new legislation. As a result, perhaps the most obvious target of campaigns work is Government Ministers within departments with responsibilities for issues related to child poverty (civil servants within these departments are also important, as discussed below). It is in part the result of such campaigning that:

“Political pressures and day to day departmental pressures – to say nothing of the proposals of special interest groups for changes in the law – ensure that no government department is ever short of ideas for legislation.”

Rogers and Walters (2006, p193)

Whilst most campaign groups would work with any Government, which political party is in power may be significant, depending on whether they share the organisation’s analysis of the causes of, and solutions to, poverty in the UK, and whether they are sympathetic to the organisation’s aims.

Such differences in analysis may affect the way that campaigners address them about child poverty, though not their core messages. As one respondent put it: “I’d end up in the same place, but go at it in a slightly different way” (Interview 6) when addressing audiences with different political views.

One respondent addressed the differences between Labour and the Conservative party specifically, suggesting that Labour’s focus on solving poverty in the UK is around “income and work”, with the Conservatives more focussed on “services and family structures”, as they put it:

“although the Conservatives accept that relative income poverty is an issue and a problem, they have much more of a services and family structure orientated view of the world than say the Labour party has done. The Labour party approach has much more focussed around income and work. And there are problems with both approaches, but that analysis of the issue would also, I think, determine how one would seek to campaign on an issue.”

(Interview 4)

In Chapter 4, the importance of ‘frames’ and in particular of framing debates in ways which resonate with the audience, were discussed. This process can be seen in the previous remarks; whilst organisations do not change their core message, the way that message is framed may be manipulated to resonate with the audience.

It was viewed as positive that the Labour Government (in power at the time of the interviews) was supportive of ending Child Poverty (the importance of the Child Poverty Targets discussed in Chapter 3, was repeatedly mentioned as a vital “lobbying stick” (Interview 4)). One respondent noted that the End Child Poverty Coalition was unusual in following the Government’s agenda. However, it was also noted that a change in Government can offer opportunities, since a new Government may be prepared to consider new proposals and options:

“Q: How do you feel about the prospect of a change of government?”

A: ...a kind of shake up can offer opportunities as well, a fresh start and new thinking,”

(Interview 6)

It was also noted that it is easier to influence policy during its development rather than after it has been implemented:

“it's far easier to influence something before a policy has been announced than when it is being implemented. And so I think it's very important to get ahead of the curve as it were.”

As such it may be important to be involved in the policymaking process for opposition parties, in order to have some impact on the policies they would put forward were they to form the next Government.

Overall, at the time of the interviews, it was seen as unclear what a change in Government would mean for child poverty campaigning. At the time of the interviews it was felt that the Conservative party's position on child poverty was felt to still be developing, and as such, it was felt important to ensure that a campaign group's analysis of child poverty was 'in the mix' for their thinking:

“The Conservative party is evolving its policy on child poverty, it recognises child poverty is an issue, and that gives us something to talk with them about. And they are a potential next government, so it is absolutely vital for us to talk to them for our issue to be in the mix, and the analysis underpinning that to be in the mix. And because trying to establish those relationships in opposition and then perhaps try to make more use of them in Government.”

(Interview 4)

Political developments since the time of the interviews (including the change in Government) are discussed in Chapter 10.

1.2. Opposition parties

The importance of campaigning targeting opposition parties as a potential future Government, have already been discussed above. However, opposition parties also have a campaigning platform in their own right, and resultantly are themselves able to put pressure on Government.

“Q: Opposition parties are clearly important in the sense that they could form the next Government, are there any other senses in which opposition parties could be important to target your campaigning at?”

A: Yeah definitely. They're very important in terms of... for example... when bills go through Parliament, and we do a lot of lobbying around new legislation. And the opposition parties have quite a lot of scope to put pressure on the Government on those issues, not just in the passage of Bills, but more generally as well. You know, they have quite high profile platforms."

(Interview 6)

It was suggested that if the Government is not sympathetic to a campaign, then opposition parties may be particularly important. It was also suggested that the importance of opposition parties change over time, in particular, they change relative to the political strength of the Government:

"Q: ...how important do you think opposition parties are?

A: I think it's changing basically. Obviously you'd say they are obviously important, but it is changing, it's changing as you get closer to an election, and it's changing as the party in government looks slightly weaker and I think that's making a difference basically, to how things were, say three years ago."

(Interview 7)

Weaker Government, and increased strength of opposition parties, may create new, more open, political opportunity structures (as discussed in Chapter 4), which provide new pressure points for TSOs wishing to have an impact on policy.

1.3. Select Committees

Each Government department has a commons Select Committee responsible for examining spending, policies and administration within that department. They have eleven or more members (the numbers from different parties reflect numbers in the House of Commons), who determine the focus of their inquiries, then gather evidence (including from Third Sector Organisations) and make reports for the House of Commons,

which are also made publicly available. The Government is normally expected to make a reply to these within 60 days. As such, Select Committees have an important platform from which they can influence the policy process. For this reason, many campaign groups will work with Select Committees (by making submissions to inquiries.)

In the second half of this chapter, submissions to the Work and Pensions Select Committee hearings on child poverty are used as a case study for understanding how third sector organisations address policymakers within their insider campaigning.

1.4. MPs (more generally)

Even without specific roles within the policymaking process on issues related to child poverty; MPs may nonetheless be important campaign targets. MPs have power to debate, amend and annul primary legislation (Bills) at several stages within the legislative process (Rogers and Walters, 2006). Interview respondents noted the importance of lobbying MPs on proposed legislation which is going through the legislative process.

In addition, even when policy is not currently being altered, MPs are able to ask questions in Parliament, which may draw attention to an issue; as one respondent put it, they can be used, to “create some noise in Parliament” (Interview 6).

It was suggested that targeting MPs can be particularly important on issues for which there is little ministerial support. As one respondent noted:

“if you’ve got something which you think it’s possible that Ministers will be sympathetic to, then you are very much targeting Ministers. But if you think it’s something that they are less likely to be sympathetic to, then you are more targeting MPs.”

(Interview 7)

1.5. Civil Servants

Respondents noted the significance of civil servants within the policymaking process. Civil Servants were seen as important decision makers in their own right, particularly regarding the 'details', and particularly around policy delivery. One respondent reported that their organisation's campaigning focused at politicians tended to be in "broad brush strokes" whereas their work with officials would go more into the details of the issue. Civil Servants were also seen as important conduits to Government, since they put options before Ministers, who will act on that advice. As two respondents separately noted:

"Q: how important do you think the civil service is?"

A: Yeah, very important... The political side I think is a bit more broad brush strokes, and then at the level of officials you get into the detail, and it's often the detail that really makes a difference in terms of the impact of a policy on the ground. So very, very important. Also it's not just in terms of implementation, but also ministers do act on the advice of officials, and they act on the basis of information that officials provide. So very important."

(Interview 6)

"I think having good relationships with officials and understanding the processes is really important, and I think it depends on what level you're trying to get change at. If it's a change to... there's a lot of stuff about tax credit processes a few years ago, so if it's a change to the delivery arrangements of a policy the civil service is completely vital, if it's the policy you want changed then you are obviously going to have to go through the civil servants, and make sure that you are understanding what they think they are doing basically, and you know, have talked about the reasons why something is being done in a particular way, but ultimately if it's a policy change it has to be targeted at ministers."

(Interview 7)

1.6. Discussion- Targeting policymakers

Choice of campaign target amongst the range of 'insider' possibilities may be defined primarily as one of influence maximisation. In general, individuals and institutions to target were felt to be those with relevant responsibilities in the field targeted by the campaign, regardless of their attitudes towards the issue. As one respondent put it:

“ (Choice of campaign targets) would be first of all, the people who are likely to have some kind of influence, and that doesn't necessarily mean they actually agree with (our organisation), so for example, the shadow ministers, Select Committee members of relevant committees, those kinds of people. There's no assumption at all that they're going to agree with us, but it's always necessary to speak to them...”

(Interview 6)

This reflects the findings discussed in Chapter 6 (on organisational structures), that given limited resources an organisation may be pushed 'upstream' in terms of campaign strategy, towards a Westminster-centric approach. In this case it is found that, even within the 'Westminster' environment, with high concentrations of policymaking power, campaigners may still target those areas where the distribution of power is most highly concentrated. Such targets may have direct decision making power, such as Ministers within relevant departments (in the creation of proposed legislation), and MPs (over the passage of legislation through Parliament), and Civil Servants (over the implementation of policy). But they may also be those with limited direct decision making powers, but significant 'indirect' powers, created by a strong platform and direct access to those with direct policymaking powers (such groups include opposition parties, Select Committees, and again, civil servants.)

What Dahl (1968) calls the 'domain' of power (the agents one has power over) will not be *broadened* by targeting one agent over another. However, an 'upstream' focus means that campaign organisations focus their efforts on those agents who have the greatest *magnitude* of power within the area they are concerned with (their organisational campaign 'scope') so as to increase their overall influence in the area of concern.

This is not to say that those who are positive about, and supportive of the issue will not also be targeted. It was suggested that this group can help to create the 'noise' which might motivate those with more direct powers and responsibilities to act. As the same respondent quoted above went on to say:

“...But then when you are talking about back benchers who don't necessarily have a relevant role, I suppose then we might target more the ones who are likely to support us. Just because the purpose there would be to create some noise on our behalf in Parliament, and really the most effective way of doing that is targeting the ones who you know are likely to be more positive.”

(Interview 6)

In this case it might be suggested that although the outcomes (in terms of influence) will be slighter, the necessary resource inputs to engage their support will also be lower (because their support already exists).

These findings can be expressed in terms of the *efficiency* of resource use. Sherer and Lee (2002) say that, faced by resource scarcity, resource dependency theory indicates that organisations can respond in two ways; either they can become more competitive in acquiring resources, or they can 'innovate' in ways which allow them to utilise alternative resources. Findings here suggest that there is a third possible response- that organisations can also seek to become more efficient in their use of the resources they currently have, thus reducing their resource dependencies. This makes intuitive sense, given limited time and manpower, organisations will seek to develop relationships with, and access to, those policymakers which can maximise their influence within the policy process.

It is notable that a range of different sources have been highlighted as important possible targets for insider campaigning. This suggests two things. Firstly it may be indicative of some level of pluralism within the policymaking process in the UK, there are multiple insider 'routes' to affecting the policy process, because a number of different actors possess some level of influence.

Secondly, it may suggest that campaign groups seek to reduce their dependence on a particular contact by increasing the number and range of policymakers with whom they engage. For instance, it was felt important to engage with both the Government and the main opposition parties, otherwise (for instance, in the case of a change of Government) they may risk limiting access to a crucial resource. From a resource dependency perspective, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) suggest that there are two elements to defining the importance of a resource: the relative magnitude of the exchange (the extent to which the organisation's operations are defined by that resource) and the criticality of the resource to the organisation's operations. Within the context of contacts with policymakers, it can be argued that, the fewer such contacts an organisation has, the greater the relative magnitude of their exchanges with those contacts, and the greater their resource dependence on those contacts. As such, an organisation with few contacts may be placed in a potentially precarious position, with substantial dependence on a few key contacts. In such cases, where exogenous changes occur (for instance, a change of Government) organisational operations may be more deeply affected than if they had a wider range of contacts they could draw on.

2. Accessing policy makers and the importance of building relationships

Access is an important factor when considering campaigning focussed on decision makers. One respondent reported that their organisation had decided to start campaigning in part *because* they felt that their extensive service providing expertise had given them the "ear of Government". Limited access to decision makers can push an organisation towards more public campaigning.

2.1. Policymaker access – interview responses

It was suggested that access was easier to more junior decision makers, and that amongst decision makers, access to civil servants was easier than to Ministers (although not necessarily than to MPs). As one respondent noted:

“Q: How much access do you have to civil servants compared to politicians?”

A: More to civil servants basically, who tend to be quite constructive and easy to work with. Obviously access to politicians... is harder basically.

Q: Why do you think that is?

A: Well Ministers certainly have less time, or think they have less time. And obviously, on an area I’ll be working on, say the Welfare Reform Bills, there are probably 50 civil servants at least working on the welfare reform Bill at the moment, is less hard than speaking to say, the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions.”

(Interview 7)

One respondent felt that access to both civil servants and Ministers had become significantly easier in the last ten years:

“...one of the huge changes that the Labour party introduced in the decade that they’ve been in power, that the civil service and ministers were much more open to meeting with us and seeking our views.

Q: You think that’s changed a lot, so 10 years ago it was much harder to get those kinds of meetings?

A: Yeah, especially if you were a small organisation but now there’s a real sense of open government and listening.”

(Interview 5)

A number of opportunities for accessing decision makers were noted by respondents. These included responding to consultations (this project includes an analysis of one example of this), sending decision makers your own organisation’s research, attending policy round-tables, arranging parliamentary receptions, attending party conferences,

and using conference platforms. In addition, politicians may also be invited to events (such as the 'Keep the Promise' rally.)

Central to issues of access was the importance of 'contacts.' The importance of knowing who to talk to about an issue was highlighted, and both organisational and individual 'relationship building' was widely seen as important.

"I've got a good experience of which politicians are interested in which kind of issues, and I might do some research into who's been talking about what in Parliament over the past year and that kind of thing, to figure out who we need to talk to. But generally I would just know because once you've been working in it for a while you just have that knowledge."

(Interview 6)

One respondent noted that once 'in the loop', getting access to and working with decision makers becomes much easier. This related to both the organisational relationship with decision makers (how the organisation itself is perceived), but also to individual relationships between individuals in the TSO and individual decision makers. One respondent noted that these two kinds of relationship are interconnected with the organisational relationship with decision makers affecting individual relationships, and vice-versa:

"There's the reputation of your organisation and the noise you are seen to make outside, which influences it, and then there are the individual relationships. And those two things aren't entirely separate basically. So if you are seen as being sensible, that will probably depend to a certain extent about how you behave in your individual relationship."

(Interview 7)

Relationships can be developed in a number of ways, such as hosting parliamentary receptions, holding policy round-tables and attending party conferences. But any such events must be backed up with substance, with quality policy proposals, and trustworthy evidence.

In building relationships with individual decision makers, their characteristics as individuals matter, and any information which the organisation has about their policy and issue interests will be important. One respondent noted the importance of 'people skills' as campaigners in building relationships with decision makers.

“Q: How important do you think the characteristics of individual decision makers are in terms of how you approach them with campaign issues?”

A: Very. If any... organisations can give us any personal relationship that they've had or any information about where people's interests lie, that's obviously very helpful.”

(Interview 8)

Respondents noted barriers to building relationships might include how established the organisation is in the area, including the length of time the organisation has been campaigning and potentially, organisational size. In addition, relationships may be affected by how 'challenging' your campaigning message is, since more challenging messages might potentially lead to a more confrontational relationship with key decision makers.

It was noted that relationships do not only matter for their current value, but they also matter, and change in value, over time. This may be related in particular to the changing significance of opposition parties, and their changing role in the political landscape.

“(Ours) is an a political organisation, we are committed to an area of policy, that policy is influenced by politicians, and relationships matter and they matter over time. The Conservative party is evolving its policy on child poverty, it recognises child poverty is an issue, and that gives us something to talk with them about. And they are a potential next government, so it is absolutely vital for us to talk to them for our issue to be in the mix, and the analysis underpinning that to be in the mix. And because trying to establish those relationships in opposition and then perhaps try to make more use of them in Government.”

Respondents highlighted the central importance of bringing something useful to the table, with organisations needing to think in terms of what they can offer to decision makers, rather than the help that those decision makers can provide to them. This helps to develop relationships with decision makers (which is further discussed below). One respondent suggested that the end goal should be to be a 'useful resource' to whom decision makers will come for advice or evidence, rather than going to them every time you want to say something.

“...what’s really crucial is demonstrating to them that you can be a useful resource for them. So what you’re aiming for is them to start coming to you for information or resources, that kind of thing... I think it’s really important, whenever you are trying to build a relationship with anyone, any kind of stakeholders or whatever, that you think in terms of what you can offer them, not the other way round.”

This highlights that although campaign groups may be resource dependent on access to policymakers, to some extent, the reverse is also true. As indicated here, policymakers rely on campaign groups (amongst others) to provide them with information and evidence about key policy problems. This creates the possibility of resource exchanges of evidence for access and influence, between campaign groups and policymakers.

2.2. Access to, and relationship building with, policymakers- Discussion

Throughout the last two sections, access to a variety of policy makers has been presented as an important resource for campaign groups. We have also seen in this section how such access is itself dependent upon (or 'traded' for) other resources possessed by campaign groups. Such resources include quality evidence in support of reliable findings and recommendations about key policy issues.

The likelihood of successful resource exchanges between TSOs and Policymakers may be improved or “catalysed” by certain other organisational resources, including the personal campaign skills of campaigners (including knowledge of which policymakers to target, and the ability to build effective personal relationships), a respected organisational brand, and by the ability to organise successful events to provide opportunities for policymakers to attend. Such resources promote the efficient use of organisational information and evidence.

The perceived importance of relationship building and insider knowledge, (such as who to target with what information) to developing access to key campaign targets raises questions about the *legitimacy* of campaign groups within the policy process. Although it was clear that it was crucial for campaigners to provide useful and trustworthy evidence to policy makers, such relationships may also be fostered by the reputation of the organisation, and the ‘people skills’ of campaigners within it. This reflects the importance of what Handy (1988) refers to as ‘personal power’ within campaigning for policy change. The ability of campaigners to form relationships with policymakers, and the extent of their knowledge about those policy makers, impacts upon their ability to have a role within the policy process.

There may then be a risk that organisations with quality evidence, but without the reputation or ability to form relationships with policymakers, or knowledge of whom to target and how to approach them, may find it very difficult to gain access, and so to have a role in the policymaking process through insider means. Such groups may be what Grant (2004, p409) calls “outsiders by necessity”- groups which would like to be accepted, and engage in ‘insider’ lobbying “but lack the necessary resources or skills to gain recognition.”

The fact that in many cases such ‘outsiders by necessity’ may have valuable contributions to make to the development of policy may be an irresolvable problem. For policy makers who may have limited capacity to distinguish between good quality, well researched evidence and that which is unreliable, past performance may, of necessity, be a key way of assessing who to trust; even if this risks excluding some of those with valuable contributions to make. However, it could be argued that policymakers should seek to

improve their engagement with these groups, since their own resource dependencies (the need for sound ideas with strong supporting evidence, in order to improve the quality and legitimacy of policy decisions) would be better fulfilled by engagement with a wider range of sources. This may have occurred to some extent, as Grant (2004, p410) notes:

“Being placed on a consultation list and attaining the status of a peripheral insider is not that difficult; indeed, it has probably become easier under the New Labour Government. Then, driven by concerns about open government and transparency, it published a code of practice on written consultation in 2000. The preface, by Tony Blair, claimed that New Labour was consulting more than governments in the past, although that is difficult to measure accurately.

The stated intention of the code was to make written consultations more effective, opening decision-making to as wide a range of people as possible. In other words, if its objectives were achieved, the outsider groups by necessity category should largely disappear, leaving only ideological outsider groups.”

Findings from this research indicate that although consultation may be relatively open with less dependence on particular skills and resources, access to policymakers, and the ability to form relationships with them, is achieved in a number of ways, many of which may be difficult for campaign groups without necessary skills and resources.

3. Addressing policy makers

This third section of this chapter considers analysis of campaign groups’ submissions to the 2007 to the Work and Pensions Select Committee hearings on child poverty, which contributed to their 2008 report “The best start in life? Alleviating deprivation, improving social mobility, and eradicating child poverty.” Both oral and written evidence submitted to the hearings were analysed.

Findings from this analysis, supported with references to interview responses, are used together to assess how campaigners address policymakers.

The findings are presented in two parts. The first part considers the content and structure of the arguments presented in the submissions. The second part considers how the submitters legitimise those arguments in the eyes of their audience. The conclusion draws together the two sections in an overall theory of how Third Sector Organisations addressed the Select Committee to attempt to influence the policymaking process.

3.1. Analysis of argument content and structure

The structure of the arguments for policy change within the submissions was found to address two central categories. Different organisations addressed these areas in different ways, and in differing detail, but all of the (written) submissions were found to address both to some degree:

- Organisations present what changes and developments they believe need to be made.
- Organisations present their reasons for why such change is desirable.

How these categories fit together is explored in more detail, after the themes are looked at individually.

3.1.1. Organisations present what changes and developments they believe need to be made

The witness guide for those giving evidence to a Select Committee (House of Commons, 2006, p5) notes that written evidence should include;

“any **recommendations for action** by the Government or others which the submitter would like the committee to consider for inclusion in its report to the House.”

It is therefore little surprise that submissions included a range of suggestions for improvements that could be made to policy and practice.

Such suggestions varied from extremely **abstract** changes to broad areas of policymaking (including, for example, suggestions that money is needed in general, or that there needs to be further focus on groups at particularly high risk of poverty), through to extremely **specific** details about particular policies and practices. In some cases a more abstract suggestion for change is followed directly by more specific suggestions within that area.

Interview respondents also noted the importance in some cases of having a ‘solutions’ focus to campaign messages.

“many organisations, they only really raise awareness of the issue; and there's nothing wrong with that, it's very effective, awareness needs to be raised, but it is a more complete package if you can then say, this is the issue, this is the solution.”

(Interview 2)

“I think a solutions focus is very important; not just going in there and whining about what the problems are, but demonstrating practical ways it can be solved, and particularly in this spending climate, that looks like it's going to carry on for some time, showing that that's either reusing existing money in a more productive way, or spending now to save later.”

(Interview 3)

Within the literature on communicating poverty, a solutions focus for campaigning has been associated with convincing a public audience that positive change is achievable (eg. Delvaux and Rinne, 2009). Results here indicate that this is also true for an audience of policymakers, who also want to see how the problems highlighted by campaign groups may be solved. However, it may also be associated with relationship building, since respondents noted that one way of building positive relationships was by showing your organisation to be a ‘useful resource’- this might be achieved by not only noting the problems which exist, but also suggesting ways of relieving those problems.

Changes proposed within submissions were related to areas of interest to the organisations themselves, and to the interests of the Select Committee (as set out in the

Select Committee submissions request) and of the Government. This may reflect that these are their two key audiences. Primarily organisations need to ensure what they are saying is of relevance to the Select Committee, but without relating the issues to areas of concern for the Government as well, it will be impossible to achieve action.

There was variation in terms of the changes that organisations felt needed to be made to Child Poverty policy. In particular, changes proposed varied according to the aims and activities of the organisation. For instance, childcare organisations (such as the National Childminders' Association,) focused on the need for expanding access to affordable, quality childcare; organisations which campaigned for disabled people (such as Every Disabled Child Matters) identified changes which would help families with disabled children. This may not only be due to the mandate of the organisation, but may also help to legitimise their contributions in the eyes of their audience, by directly relating them to their own knowledge and experience (an issue discussed in detail in section 3.2 of this chapter).

Organisations with more general mandates appeared to adopt a broader focus for their submissions, for instance, CPAG and Save the Children work on quite general areas of child poverty, often drawing on their own recent work to give focus to their submissions; for instance, the CPAG submission considers;

“the progress the Government is making against child poverty, what the Government is doing to support the groups at greatest risk of poverty and if this is enough. It also sets out the policies we believe are necessary to end child poverty and asks whether the proposals contained in the Government's Green Paper is the right way forward, especially for lone parents.”

(CPAG: Written Evidence (WE), Ev114, in House of Commons Work and Pensions Select Committee (2008))

Similarly, Save the Children's submission addresses Child Poverty in general (although they choose to focus on 'severe' poverty), and their submission opens with a list of

recommendations which they argue are ‘critical’ to be adopted if the Government is to meet its child poverty targets.

In one or two special cases, changes suggested in submissions do not only address their own mandated interests, and those of their clients, but may also be related to the specific interests of the organisation itself. This is particularly true of the ‘Family Fund’, who used their submission to ask for a substantial increase in their funding:

“We ask the Committee to support the Family Fund’s request to the government for an extra £34 million. This would enable the Fund to extend its direct financial support to a far greater number of low income families of severely disabled children, including those families with children over 16 and those earning above £23,000. This extra funding, which is unrelated to Aiming High, would help thousands more disabled children escape the poverty trap.”

(Family Fund, WE, Ev95)

Where the Family Fund does this, these concerns are related directly to both the benefits to their clients, and how more money would help address Government concerns:

“Each year some 4,600 Fund children stop being eligible for our grants because they are over age. This hits families hard.

— One mother whose son had turned 16 told us, “Just when Peter starts to cost more—starts college, needs clothing, specialist footwear, transport, food money and generally has ‘teenager handout’ syndrome—the valuable resource of the Fund has been lost.”

— A further mother whose family’s income has risen just above £23,000 told us, “I feel very strongly that it’s wrong to have a cut-off point like this. It takes no account of a family’s outgoings, which, in our case, leave us very little to live on. We can’t afford everything we’d like to get for our two other children. It breaks my heart to see their lives made miserable through lack of money.” ’

(Family Fund, WE, Ev92)

“To hit the 2010 target date, we believe the government will need to make substantially greater direct financial support available now to the hardest-to-reach families living in poverty. Families with disabled children are a key such group ... More money needs to go directly into these families’ pockets to buy the things they require for their children. This is the Family Fund’s core activity and gives us a central role in the battle to end child poverty.”

(Family Fund, WE, Ev94)

However, despite significant variations, overall there was found to be a considerable level of consistency between organisations, perhaps even surprisingly so. In many cases similar changes were asked for across a number of organisations (e.g. many organisations mentioned that more money was needed for tackling child poverty, and in particular, mention of the £3.8billion/£4billion the IFS/JRF calculated was needed to have a chance of meeting the 2010 Child Poverty target was mentioned by 4 organisations. A number of organisations also mentioned the need to rebalance rights and responsibilities, the need for a positive rather than a punitive approach, the need to particularly help high risk groups, etc.) Where they differed, changes proposed between organisations did not normally contradict but rather supplemented each other.

This raises the question of the extent to which these conclusions are come to independently, and how much sharing of ideas and evidence occurs, producing commonalities between submissions. Such exchanges may occur on a number of levels, from making research reports publicly available, or distributing them to colleagues, through to highly formalised arrangements, with core messages agreed upon between organisations.

Evidence from the interviews suggests that there is considerable inter-organisational working on child poverty, which would support claims that messages are (at least informally, through the sharing of key ideas and issues) to some extent coordinated across campaign groups. TSOs may even deliberately use the repetition of key requests between organisations as a tactic for legitimising their findings. Although the evidence does not confirm that this occurred in this case, respondents suggested that, more

generally, the repetition of core claims across campaign groups could help to legitimise key claims. Issues of collaborative working on child poverty in the UK were explored in detail in Chapter 7.

A summary representation of how organisations presented the changes to policy and practice which they felt were needed, is given in figure 10 on the following page.

3.1.2. Organisations present their reasons for why change is desirable and for the changes they propose.

Submissions also addressed *why* the current situation is undesirable, and for making the changes which they propose. ‘Reasons for change’ therefore forms a vital support for the changes which are proposed in the submissions.

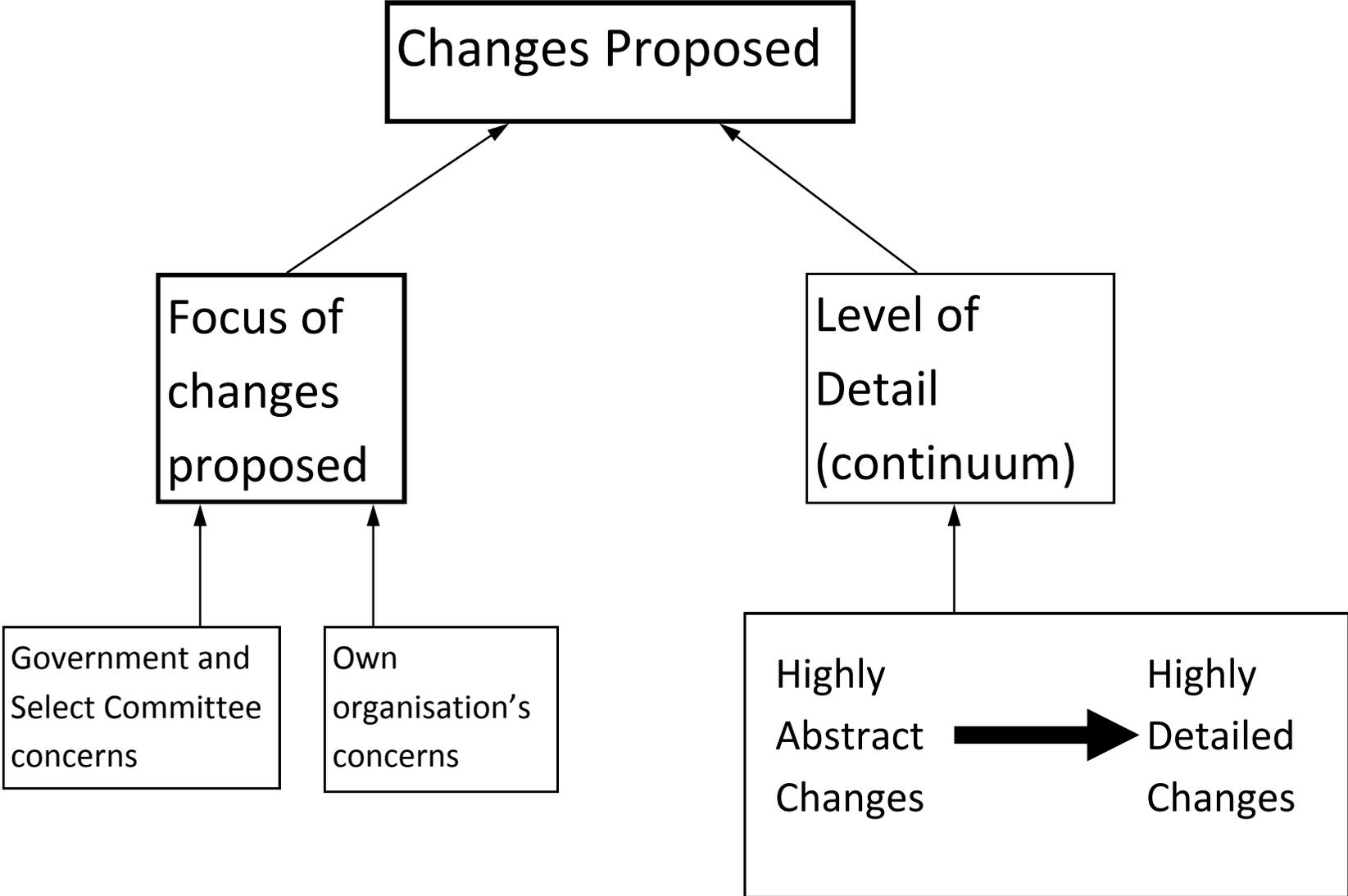
Analysis revealed that reasons for change can be attributed to **specific areas of interest to the Select Committee and Government objectives and priorities** and/or quite **general principles of sound policy making**. They did this in two ways. They either showed how policy change would ***promote positive outcomes***, and/or how the **current situation and current policy and practice is *unsatisfactory***.

Reasons for change were found to be either **directly** or **indirectly** related to a corollary ‘change needed’ noted by the organisation. Where ‘directly connected’, there is found to be a clear and explicit connection between the change proposed and the reason for this change, for instance;

“The childcare element of Working Tax Credit should be extended to those couples where one is working and the other is caring for a disabled child. The current rules act as a disincentive for either parent to work in families with disabled children as a working partner may be forced to give up work to support their partner and care for their non-disabled children.’

(Low Income Tax Reform Group, WE, Ev129)

Fig 10. TSOs present changes needed to policy and practice



In some cases the reason for change is more indirectly connected to the change needed, and the connection between the two is found to be less clear or explicit. Not all 'reasons for change' have a clear corollary 'change needed' at all- In some cases whilst a need for change is identified, respondents do not go into detail about exactly what needs to be done about it. This may be because the change needed is thought to be obvious within the reason identified; alternatively, it may be because the submitter is genuinely identifying a problem, but leaving it up to others to decide how best to deal with it (perhaps because they are themselves unclear of the best solution).

The following sections explore how TSOs represented their reasons why changes to current policy needed to be made⁸. In general their reasons for change either addressed specific Select Committee interests and/or Government objectives, or were related to more abstract principles of sound policymaking, including:

- Ensuring spending is cost effective
- Promoting rights, fairness and other 'ethical' concerns
- Ensuring changes are possible
- Promoting consistency between policies
- Addressing problems according to their severity
- Relating problems and proposed solutions to the 'realities' for those affected
- Ensuring that policy is founded on a strong evidence base

i) Addressing Select Committee interests and/or Government objectives

As well as encouraging a sound basis for policy making, submissions relate their reasons for proposed changes to how they would help to address the interests of the Select Committee, and/or address the objectives of the current Government. This included how changes may contribute to **meeting targets**, including (by far most frequently,) child poverty targets (both an objective of Government, and a key part of the request for submissions mentioned by the Select Committee).

⁸ It should be noted that 'reasons for change', also includes reasons why changes which have been proposed by Government should *not* be made. For instance, this particularly applies to changes proposed in the '*In work, better off: the next step to full employment*' green paper.

“We believe that in order to meet the Government’s critical targets in this area, the following steps are necessary...”

(Save the Children, WE, Ev70)

Use of the Child Poverty Targets was mentioned as a key campaigning tool by interview respondents, one respondent referred to them as a useful “lobbying stick” (Interview 4), another said:

“Q: How important do you think the child poverty targets have been?

A: Really, really important. Completely essential basically. I think they’ve been fantastically useful in terms of any kind of lobbying or campaigning, in order to provide that with some focus. Vital I would go so far as to say.”

(Interview 7)

Opportunities such as this Select Committee inquiry, gives TSOs the opportunity to utilise the focus which the targets provide, and address the action needed to meet those targets.

It was noted by interview respondents that (at the time of the interviews) the child poverty targets were not legally binding, and resultantly, the importance of the Child Poverty Bill, to enshrine the child poverty targets in law, was also highlighted (since the interviews this bill has now been passed as the Child Poverty Act). It was felt that a Child Poverty Act could enable a “formal process for holding the Government to account” (Interview 9), but even so, it was noted that if Government did not take the necessary actions then the Child Poverty Act will not be effective:

“There being a formal process for holding the government to account I think will be absolutely crucial. That kind of structure hasn’t existed between ‘99 and to date. So in that sense I think (the child poverty bill is) very important. Then at the same time, if the government doesn’t take the kind of actions that we have proposed, it will render the legislation pretty ineffective. It needs to be coupled

with the necessary actions, the necessary funding. Without that, the legislation won't be very effective at all."

(Interview 9)

Although crucial, the Child Poverty targets were not the only targets which submissions drew attention to. For example, employment targets were also mentioned:

"The authors of one Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) report predict that "if lone parents had the same job exit rates as the rest of the population, then the target of 70% employment of lone parents could be met without raising job entry rates further". Initiatives aimed at helping lone parents must therefore put an emphasis on helping lone parents to stay in work."

(Barnardo's, WE, Ev59)

As well as addressing specific targets, submissions also addressed more general Government and Select Committee concerns, for instance:

"In our view, the Green Paper proposals risk not only further disadvantaging an already disadvantaged group, but, by failing to win the hearts and minds of lone parents, damaging the progress which has been made over the past decade. A more constructive approach, based on a tailored support package which recognises and addresses the barriers that lone parents face, is possible and could achieve the Government's objectives without the risk of such high costs."

(Family Welfare Association, WE, Ev125)

Submissions also addressed issues related to the perceived **gaps between those policy goals and reality:**

"It will take action in a range of areas, most urgently in terms of childcare and benefits, to support these families out of poverty and to deliver on the government's Every Child Matters agenda for disabled children and their families."

By highlighting such gaps, the need for further action can be justified.

ii) Principles of sound policymaking:

As well as drawing attention to specific Select Committee or Government concerns, submissions also addressed other, more abstract, concerns, which were not directly linked to stated Government policy objectives. These included the following:

- **Cost effectiveness**

It may be considered a sound principle of good policy making that limited resources should be expended in the most effective way possible. Certainly, the *cost effectiveness* of proposals was one of the most commonly used arguments for making policy changes.

When arguments are made for spending more money in certain areas related to child poverty, the reason for action often involved a discussion on the longer term cost benefits. For instance, using a JRF report by Donald Hirsch, a particularly in depth discussion is held by the TUC on the costs of not ending poverty;

“Hirsch has quantified the annual ‘costs of not ending child poverty’, which, of course, are the savings we would make if we did end it... The total costs amount to more than £600 a year for every man, woman and child in the UK; £2500 for a couple with two children.”

(TUC, WE, Ev 5)

Following on from this, the concluding finding of the TUC’s written evidence regarded the need to spend £4 Billion to have a 50% chance of meeting their child poverty target.

Similarly in the oral evidence Jason Strelitz from Save the Children notes the importance of cost effectiveness for a more specific concern- and highlighting the importance of a ‘longer term’ approach (which may be assumed to cost more in the short term.)

“Currently there is quite a lot of recycling with people existing on a low pay/no pay cycle— moving into poor-quality work for short periods of time and then coming out of work. That has a very negative impact on the people themselves and also on their children, but also **it is highly cost-ineffective for government to constantly have to recycle people through the benefit and job centre system** (*emphasis added*). We think a longer term approach which was based on helping parents to achieve good quality, sustainable employment that supported them once they were in work to retain that work and progress further up the labour market would be a more effective, sustainable strategy.”

(Jason Strelitz: Save the Children, Oral Evidence (OE), Question 74 (Q74))

- **Promote rights, fairness and other ‘ethical’ concerns**

In some cases submissions drew attention to what might be classified as ‘ethical concerns’. Notably, there is only one explicit mention of ethics or morality across all the written and oral submissions. Perhaps this indicates an important distinction between political concerns (which help to develop policy) and moral concerns. Indeed the quote where morality is mentioned, (by Kate Green of CPAG, with regard to discussions about improving the rights of children of asylum seekers) explicitly draws out the distinction between political and moral acceptability.

“It may be unacceptable politically but to my mind it is unacceptable morally that any child should be put in a position of hardship.”

(Kate Green: CPAG, OE, Q116)

However, other issues which may be associated with ethical concerns are more broadly mentioned across the submissions. These include ‘rights’ and ‘fairness.’ For instance;

“The rate of income support should be equal for younger and older mothers to promote fairness and inclusiveness and to put an end to mothers’ and children’s poverty.”

(YWCA, WE, Ev17)

Submissions also address issues of rights and fairness less directly, by reflecting on the need to ensure the hardest to reach are helped, addressing additional costs of living for certain groups, and by introducing policies which do not penalise the most vulnerable.

“we also need to differentiate within the target so that particularly vulnerable groups—and in our case parents of disabled children—have a specific focus to ensure that we are not excluding certain groups while focusing on meeting the interim 50% target and that it is not the most vulnerable and hardest to reach groups who are left until 2020 to be lifted from poverty.”

(Steve Broach: Every Disabled Child Matters, OE, Q65)

“the Green Paper proposals risk... further disadvantaging an already disadvantaged group.”

(Family Welfare Association, WE, Ev125)

Related to issues of fairness, discrimination is also considered;

“At the moment young women are discriminated against by lower National Minimum Wage entitlements and limited eligibility for Working Tax Credits.”

(YWCA, WE, Ev16)

- **Ensure changes are possible**

Some submissions showed recognition of how the changes which are proposed are possible to enforce. Some submissions exhibit how changes are possible, either by drawing attention to *policy alternatives*, most notably;

“There is nothing that DWP or DCSF (*the Department for Children Schools and Families*) can do working together without the investment that is needed to bring one million children out of poverty, and the reality was that in the PBR the Government made a decision to spend, between now and 2010, about £3.6 billion on easing inheritance tax when almost exactly the same amount of money would have brought one million children out of poverty.”

(Martin Narey, Barnado’s, OE, Q67)

Or by highlighting a *particular opportunity* which the Government has to make a change;

“Government currently has an opportunity to ensure that maintenance makes more of a difference to the poorest children, via the child maintenance disregard it applies to means tested benefits.”

(One Parent families/Gingerbread, WE, Ev111)

Or (most commonly) by *highlighting other places of times when the problem didn’t exist*, or was considerably less; an entire section of TUC’s submission is entitled ‘Child Poverty is not inevitable’.

“In the past the UK has had lower levels of child poverty, so it is not an unavoidable feature of British life. Other countries do not have our levels of child poverty, so it is not inevitable in a 21st century economy.”

(TUC, WE, Ev4)

- **Make sure policies are consistent**

Some submissions promoted policy change on the grounds that it would help to make Government policy consistent, because the policy conflicts with other stated Government objectives.

“Government policies such as refusing asylum seekers the right to work in the first 12 months, requiring them to live on only 70% of income support levels and piloting the use of section 9 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 2004 (which involves the complete removal of all support for asylum seeking families whose application has failed) **have all acted as policies working in direct contradiction of the aim of alleviating child poverty in the UK.** An urgent repeal of such measures should therefore be undertaken as part of the joined up Government strategy on child poverty.”

(Barnardo’s, WE, Ev 62-63)

Specific conflicts between Government employment policy, current out of work benefit levels, and the aim of ending child poverty were considered- concern was addressed that there was a contradiction between an 80% desired employment rate, that benefit levels for the unemployed are not enough to get families out of poverty, and the Government’s target of eradicating child poverty by 2020.

“Even if an employment rate of 80% is attained, this infers that one in five working adults will remain outside the labour market, and since many of these adults (perhaps as disabled adults or lone parents) are likely to live in households without any other adult being in work the target implies that many adults and children will remain in households where no adult is in work. Alongside consideration of the employment rate therefore we ought to have a more detailed examination of the safety net—currently over three quarters of children in households in which no adults work are poor.”

(CPAG, WE, Ev121)

- **Address problems according to their severity**

In a number of cases, arguments are made for addressing problems by drawing attention to their ‘severity’. Severity of a problem can be considered in two ways, either by the number of people affected by it, or by the severity of the impact on the people affected.

In terms of the individual impact, submissions highlight the importance of ensuring that child poverty reforms are based on need, and that the hardest to reach are not left behind;

“we do believe that the basis of investment in children should be need, rather than family type, particularly in a time of scarce resources.”

(One parent families/Gingerbread, WE, Ev113)

Similarly, a number of submissions focus on the severity of problems for groups at particularly high risk of poverty. For instance, Every Disabled Child Matters considers the extent of poverty for families with disabled children:

“In relation to the income penalty, recent DWP figures show that there are almost three times as many families with disabled children in the lowest income quintile as in the top quintile. Many parents of disabled children are deprived of the multiple benefits of working, primarily because of inadequate or unaffordable childcare. Families supporting a disabled child are 2.5 times more likely than other families to have no parent working for more than sixteen hours per week. Mothers of disabled children are disproportionately excluded from the labour market. Just 16% of mothers with disabled children work, compared with 61% of other mothers.”

(EDCM, WE, Ev47)

- **Relate problems and proposed solutions to the ‘realities’ for those affected**

In many cases, submissions draw attention to how changes proposed could help address the ‘realities’ of poverty, on the people affected. These include how the current situation (and current policy) negatively impacts upon, or proposed changes may improve, the relation between poverty and poor social skills, poor educational skills (including communication skills) and qualifications, poor health, debt, barriers to employment and training, negative emotional effects of poverty, quality of accommodation, the ability to meet essential costs, the additional costs of poverty, the ability to afford and access

childcare etc. It can be argued that the focus of sound policy making should be to alleviate these ‘symptoms’.

- **Improve the evidence base of policymaking**

Finally, submissions also argued that policy does not reflect the weight of current evidence. On these grounds they propose changes which best reflect the evidence. For instance, with regard to changes proposed in the Welfare reform Green Paper, One Parent Families/ Gingerbread wrote;

“The current Green Paper on welfare reform suggests that from 2008 lone parents whose youngest child is aged 12 or upwards lose eligibility for Income Support and are asked to claim Jobseeker’s Allowance, and that from 2010 this applies to those whose youngest child is aged seven or over. One Parent Families/Gingerbread is strongly opposed to this proposal... It ignores the wealth of evidence on what works for lone parents, instead relying on a crude approach based on sanctions. As the DWP itself concluded in 2005, “it would be wrong simply to move lone parents from income support onto the Jobseeker’s Allowance regime: an unrestricted requirement to search for work is inappropriate given the complex and difficult circumstances many lone parents face. We think such an approach would be expensive, unfair and ineffectual””

(One Parent Families/Gingerbread, WE, Ev108)

In some cases, submitters argue that policy conflicts with the Government’s own acknowledgements and evidence. In such cases, this could, perhaps, also be considered a matter of **policy consistency** (as discussed above).

3.1.3. Conclusion to issues of “content”:

This section has examined how TSOs presented the changes they believed needed to be made to current (and proposed) policy, and the reasons for such changes. It was argued

that changes organisations felt to be needed related to their own, the Select Committee and/or the Government's concerns.

These 'changes needed' are intended to promote positive policy change. In many (though not all) cases, these changes needed are supported by explicit 'reasons for change' which link changes needed to specific concerns of the Select Committee or the Government, and/or to concerns which are more universal and less audience specific. These 'reasons for change' may also stand alone, without providing a suggestion of a change needed, in order to promote (unspecified or implicit) positive policy change.

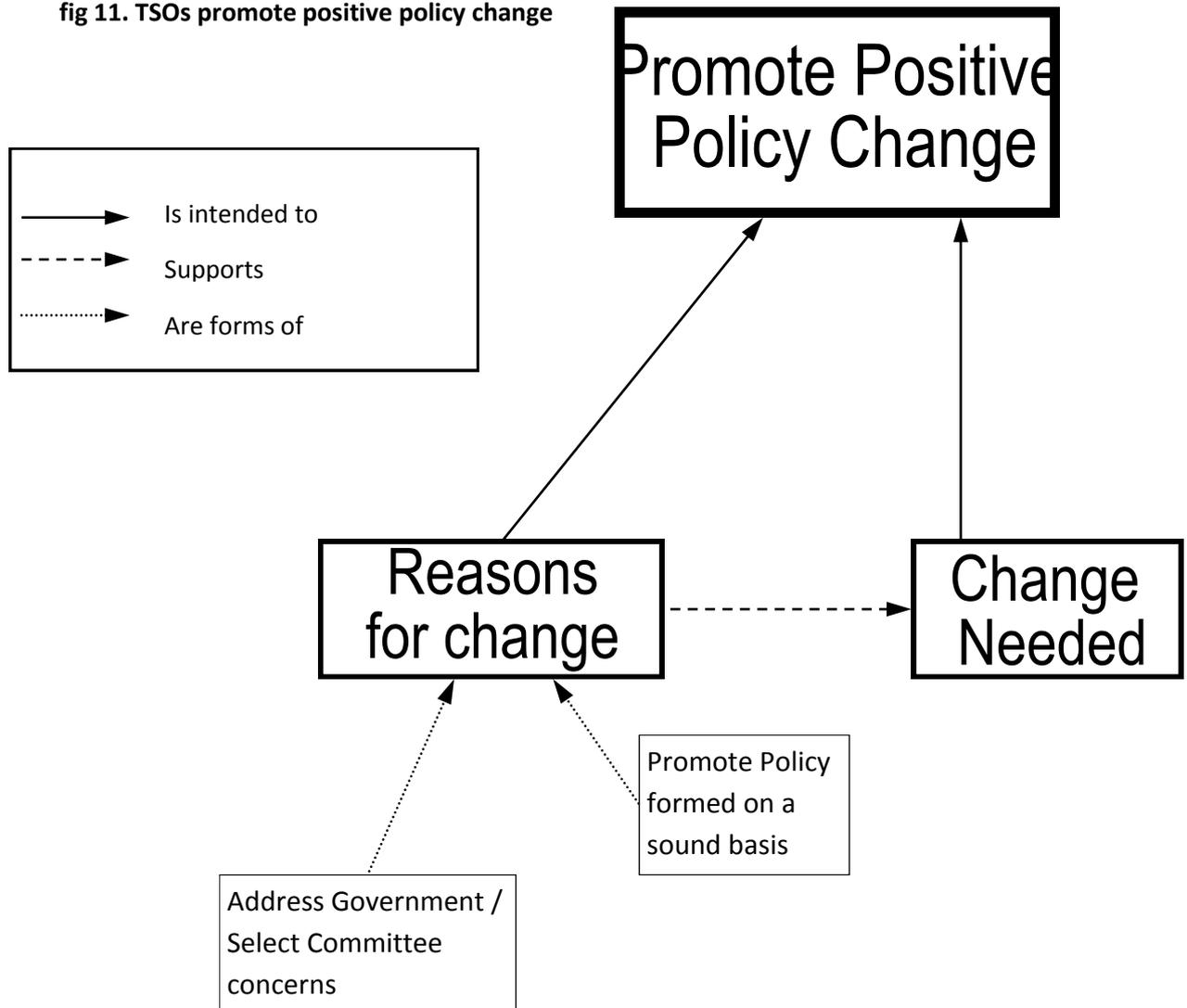
The results discussed above reflect interview findings that lobbying needs to take account of the nature of the audience. The use of audience segmentation in communicating with the public will be discussed in Chapter 9, and similarly, earlier in this chapter, it was seen that interview respondents felt that message presentation needs to take some account of the political ideology of the audience by "saying the same thing in different ways". Similarly, it has been seen here, that the presentation of messages to the Select Committee reflect the concerns of the committee, and of the Government. However, it has also been indicated here that such arguments for change which are conditional on the nature of the audience may also be supported by arguments of a more general nature. These 'general principles of sound policymaking' include such things as cost effectiveness, ensuring policy is self consistent, and ensuring that policy is evidence based and possible to employ in practice. Such principles may be seen in arguments, regardless of the interests of the audience.

However, although up to now these two modes of presentation (the conditional and universal or 'general') have been presented as parallel but distinct groups, this is something of an oversimplification. Although they are general principles, we should not necessarily expect them to all carry equal weight with any audience at any time. Therefore the interests of the audience are likely to affect which general principles of sound policymaking are most fore-grounded. For instance, although it has been suggested that it is a generally sound principle of good policymaking to ensure that spending is cost effective, one interview respondent suggested that this was particularly true given current economic circumstances.

“obviously the economic climate has changed so much in the last year, that over the last few years it's been quite tight in terms of the spending climate. So anything you can show that you are spending to save, is quite useful.”

(Interview 3)

fig 11. TSOs promote positive policy change



The findings in this section reflect a more general ‘argument’ structure discussed in Stiff and Mongeau (2003). Toulmin (1964) (cited in Stiff and Mongeau, 2003) posits that there are three components to the most basic form of argument: a claim, data to support the claim, and a warrant connecting the two.

The 'claim' 'is the conclusion to the argument, the position implied by reasoning and supporting information' (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p129). This is equivalent to the 'change needed' – the changes proposed within the submissions. The 'data' are the "evidence that provide support for the claim" (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p129)- this evidence is discussed below. The 'warrant' is 'the justification for the claim given the data provided' (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p129). This is the 'reason for change', which, as noted, can be specific to the audience, or may relate to more universal concerns.

3.2. Promoting the Legitimacy of Submissions

The changes proposed by campaign groups can only be effective bringing about change if the audience is convinced that the arguments made are 'legitimate'. Such legitimacy may be achieved in part by ensuring that the 'reasons for change' are ones which would be accepted by the audience – if the audience has no interest in raising employment, then an argument that a policy change should be made in order to raise employment may have little impact. However, even if reasons for change are accepted as legitimate goals, argument legitimacy must also be promoted through giving *evidence* to accept their reasons for change- that is, *evidence that the problem which a submitter proposes actually exists*, and *evidence that, the changes proposed would achieve their goals*.

Analysis found two forms of evidence which promoted such argument legitimacy. Firstly, the **evidence in support of the reasons for the changes** which they propose must be acceptable to their audience, and a wide range of such evidence is used throughout. Secondly, it is shown, that organisations used the submissions to provide **evidence of their own organisational legitimacy** it is this inherent legitimacy of their submissions which gives some status to what they say, even when they do not support their findings with reference to empirical evidence. In almost all cases organisations used evidence about both themselves and their submission⁹ to give credibility to their submissions.

⁹ The exception is Save the Children, who, uniquely, included no self description.

3.2.1. Organisations describe themselves and their work

As noted in chapter 4, it has been widely recognised in persuasive communication literature that attributes of the ‘message source’ (in this case the submitter) can contribute greatly to how their message is treated by the audience. For instance, as early as 1951, in a much cited study, Hovland and Weiss found high credibility sources created considerably more attitude change to the recommendations than low-credibility sources (Hovland and Weiss, 1951). In situations where ‘elaboration’ (the extent to which a message is processed by the audience) is high, (such as we can reasonably assume a Select Committee hearing to be) source credibility can have ‘multiple roles’ in persuasion (Tormala et al, 2007). It may potentially lead to an audience both processing messages from high credibility sources with a positive bias (Tormala and Clarkson, 2007), and also increase the confidence with which thoughts from such sources are held, leading to a greater impact on attitudes (Tormala et al, 2006).

It is little surprise then, that in almost all cases, as well as discussing the current situation, and what needs to be done about it and why, in the written evidence, the submitters also discuss themselves and their work when commenting to the inquiry. A suggestion to do this is also specifically mentioned in the Select Committee witness guide, which suggests that submissions should include:

“a **brief introduction** to the submitter, perhaps explaining their area of expertise”

(House of Commons, 2006, p5)

Analysis explored how organisations presented themselves in their submissions. The emergent theory is represented diagrammatically in the conclusion to this section.

Central to the theory is that organisations’ self description related in some way to developing a clear reason for the legitimacy of their submission (why it is something which the Select Committee should listen to.) In one case, their self description also

relates to justifying a specific demand to benefit the organisation itself (a request for more funding).

In order to argue for their own legitimacy as commentators, organisations have two tools at their disposal. They can show how their *activities* and the *nature* of their organisation give their commentary grounding.

In the case of these hearings, reference to the organisational aims and activities worked around three areas: service provision, campaigning and research (which is often linked to the first two, for instance by using clients in the development of research). Related to these areas, it was found that some submissions also mentioned partnership working which they had been engaged with, the length of their involvement working in the area, as well as their organisation's successes, relating to their activities. More generally, reference to these activities contributes to a presentation of the organisations as *knowledgeable and experienced*.

Organisations sometimes drew clear and explicit attention to the extent and relevance of their work, for instance, by stating client numbers and relevance:

“In 2005-06 the 76 Citizens Advice Bureaux across Scotland dealt with 442,550 enquiries... dominated by issues which arise from, or contribute to poverty.”

(Citizens Advice Scotland, WE, Ev9)

However, organisations also drew attention to the extent of their own work by using case studies of their own clients, by drawing on previously prepared reports, or by reference to the general experience and other evidence from their own organisation:

“Our experience of working with Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, who are the focus of the Government's work on second earners, has found that cultural responsibilities such as caring for an extended household and religious activities can put limits on young women's time.”

(YWCA, WE, Ev15)

When discussing their activities, organisations differed depending on whether or not they were service providing TSOs. Service providers (such as Citizens Advice, YWCA or the Family Fund,) made considerably more use of case studies in their research, drawing in particular on the experiences of their own clients, and frequently using direct quotations as evidence to support the points they make. Such evidence can be related to the development of arguments of organisational experience.

In the case of the Family Fund (which made more use of evidence drawn from their own client experiences than any of the other organisations, either TSO or otherwise,) the purpose of their references to their service provision activities also serve a further purpose, focussing on their request to Government to increase their funding (discussed in more detail further on).

When describing the nature of their organisation, some submissions mentioned the numbers and relevance of their membership; some highlighted their membership of a wider coalition (which, in every case, was the campaign to End Child Poverty); some made claims to be the leading or only charity working in their field; and in one case, a submission highlighted their independence from Government (when this was called into question at the oral hearings). Whilst not directly linked to their knowledge and experience, these are more generally related to establishing the *status* of their organisation (something to which their knowledge and experience may also be said to contribute).

“CPAG is the leading charity campaigning for the abolition of poverty among children and young people in the UK and for the improvement of the lives of low income families... CPAG is a founder member of the campaign to End Child Poverty.”

(CPAG, WE, Ev123)

One further way in which organisational legitimacy to comment was promoted was by showing that the organisation was *able to recognise any progress that has been made*, as well as the need for changes and developments.

“Lone parent employment is already one of the undoubted success stories of this Government. The rate has risen 11 percentage points since 1997, to its current level of 56.5%. Researchers suggest that around 5 percentage points of this can be attributed to Government policy changes, with the remainder due to changes in the characteristics of lone parents, and to improvements in employment across the board.”

(One Parent Families/Gingerbread, WE, Ev108)

Doing so may promote the organisation’s status as a credible source of information, by showing that it is able to recognise the positives as well as the negatives about current policy. Interview respondents similarly indicated the need to recognise positive progress that had been made when campaigning for reform, suggesting that recognising positive policy change may create the space to say more negative things. Given this, it may be unsurprising that frequently, positive assessments of the current situation (as well as of Government policy) are followed immediately by ‘however...’ or ‘but there is still a long way to go’ or similar, as a means of leading into lengthy criticisms of current policy. For instance:

“...child poverty in large families has been falling since 1998-99. This is likely to be as a result of both rising employment and tax credit increases. We welcome this but much more still needs to be done...”

(CPAG, WE, Ev115)

Having made their claims about their organisational status and experience, organisations recognised the need for the substance of these claims to be relevant to the focus of the inquiry. This was done in one of two ways. In the first case the claims were already directly relevant to the substance of the inquiry, and in such cases this relationship was often left implicit (a good example of this is the quote from CPAG at the bottom of page 267). In the other case, the claims made bore only an indirect relation to the substance of the inquiry, and in such cases, the claims made were often explicitly linked to the substance of the hearing.

Organisations differed in the extent to which their self descriptions related either directly or indirectly to the content of the inquiry. As a result the extent to which the links between themselves and their relevance in commenting on the topic varied greatly. For instance I CAN (a children’s communication charity) repeatedly linked their work to the substance of the inquiry:

“I CAN is the children’s communication charity. It works to foster the development of speech and language skills in all children, including those children with impoverished language and with a special focus on those who find this hard: children with a communication disability. I CAN is very aware of the link between poor communication and social exclusion; communication skills are key foundation life skills for everyone. As such it is pleased to be able to respond to this inquiry.”

(I CAN, WE, Ev84)

At the other extreme, it is notable that the only TSO to submit evidence which did not include any significant self description was Save the Children. It may be hypothesised that this is in part because the nature of the organisation is obviously and directly connected to Child Poverty (and are well known to be so), and because the content of the submission is similarly directly connected.

It has already been noted that the submission provided by the Family Fund was unique, with the focus of the self description being clearly used to legitimise a request which it had made to the Government for further funding for its work. As a result, in many respects its self descriptions fall better into the category of ‘change needed’ and ‘reasons for change’. They are discussed further in these sections.

The importance of self-promotion in submissions was reflected in interview findings. It has already been seen in Chapter 6, that large, well branded organisations, with a significant service provision function, and who have been around for a long time, may find it easier to get their ‘foot in the door’ with policy makers. Such features may

promote their organisational trustworthiness and credibility, which are crucial to getting arguments accepted by the Select Committee.

‘Q: How do you go about that, how do you build a good relationship with government?’

A: By showing them that what you're giving them, that what you're telling them is true and can work. That you can be trusted and that you have expertise as an organisation.’

(Interview 3)

The fact that such information is specifically requested from consultation respondents, suggests that the importance of organisational legitimacy is a resource recognised not only by Third Sector Organisations, but also by policymakers.

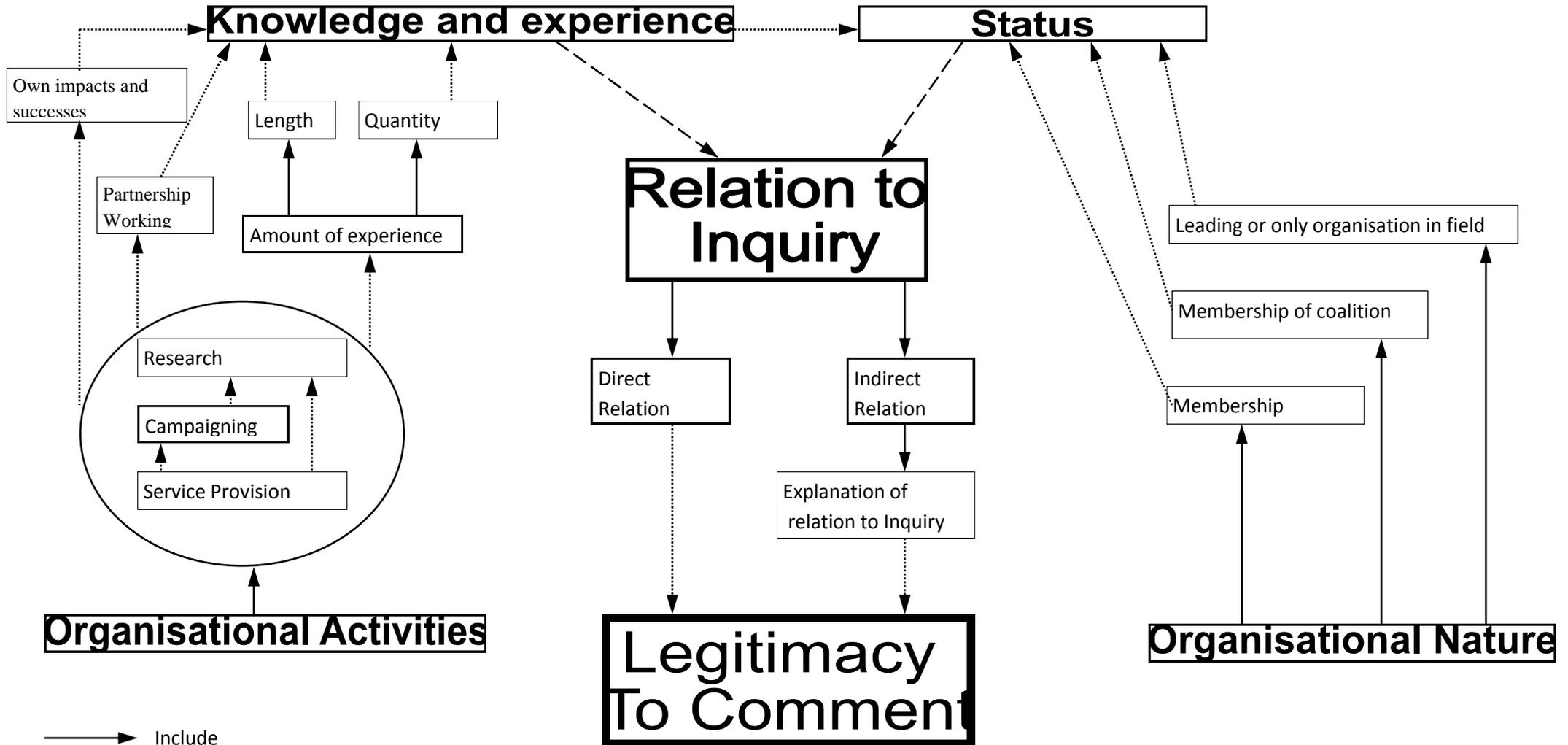
3.2.1.1. Conclusions: increasing legitimacy through self description

It has been shown above that organisations discussed both their organisational ‘nature’ and ‘activities’ in order to promote their ‘status’ and ‘knowledge and experience’ respectively, to the Select Committee audience. These organisational resources are used to further promote the broader resource of ‘organisational legitimacy’ to comment on the issues discussed.

In order to be effective resources, organisational status, knowledge and experience need to be relevant to the policy area in which they are operating. As such, where the connection between the organisation’s status, knowledge and experience and the Select Committee inquiry is not obviously apparent, organisations explained their relevance.

These conclusions are expressed diagrammatically in figure 12 on the following page.

Fig 12. TSOs present their organisational legitimacy to comment



From a 'persuasive communications' perspective, organisational self description may be used to promote 'source credibility' to the audience. Organisations draw attention to their organisational activities and status in order to achieve this. As noted previously, there is evidence that such credibility may promote increased attitudinal impact of organisational messages on an audience.

From an alternative, resource dependency perspective, self description in submissions may be seen as a way of 'advertising' organisational resources (including the length and breadth of organisational experience and expertise, and organisational 'status'), in order to promote the successful exchange of the organisational submission (in the context of organisational legitimacy to comment), for uptake of arguments made in the submission, in the Select Committee's report on the issue.

The two perspectives can be successfully combined if we consider 'credibility' as a form of organisational resource (created by the possession of other resources- such as experience, organisational membership etc.). This credibility is one way of promoting improved effectiveness of organisational messages, which increases the likelihood of successful uptake of those messages in the Select Committee report. In this sense it acts as what this thesis has previously called a "resource exchange catalyst".

The fact that such information is specifically requested from consultation respondents, suggests that the importance of organisational legitimacy is a resource recognised not only by Third Sector Organisations, but also by policymakers.

3.2.2. Organisations use evidence to support their message content.

Within the persuasive communications literature, evidence is taken to mean "data (facts or opinions) taken as proof for an assertion" (Reynolds and Reynolds, 2002, p429). It has been seen in previous sections how such data provides a basis for the argument conclusion or 'claim' (Stiff and Mongeau, 2003, p129) (in this case the 'change needed'), by supporting the "warrant" or "justification for the claim given the data provided" (Stiff

and Mongeau, 2003, p129) (in this chapter called the ‘reasons for change’). Evidence can also be used to promote source credibility.

According to the Elaboration Likelihood Model of persuasion, ‘Central’ message processing occurs “when one is motivated and able to carefully evaluate the arguments and to scrutinize the quality of messages; the message receiver engages in systematic thinking” (Cameron, 2009). It has been claimed that the persuasiveness of the evidence used in support of the message depends on such active cognitive processing (de Wit et al, 2008). It may be reasonably assumed that Select Committees are relatively engaged with proceedings, and competent to scrutinise message content. Given this it is reasonable to suppose that message processing occurs through a central route, making evidential support of particular value.

Given this, it is unsurprising that organisations made wide use of evidence throughout their submissions. This evidence served a number of functions, came in a number of types, and from a number of sources. These are explored in the following sections.

3.2.2.1. Functions of Evidence:

Evidence deployed by Select Committee hearing respondents served four key functions:

- Evidence of positives/ negatives of the current situation and of current or potential policy or practice
- Evidence supporting how their proposed changes would promote positive outcomes.
- Evidence highlighting submitter’s value/contribution to a relevant area

The following sections consider the kinds of evidence organisations used to support their findings in these areas. This includes discussion of both the **types** and **sources** of evidence used.

3.2.2.2. Types of Evidence

- **Quantitative and qualitative evidence**

Evidence was frequently quantified, using statistics either in terms of total numeric quantities (the numbers of people in poverty etc) or in relative terms (percentage of people in poverty etc). However, alongside numerical data, almost all submitters also used non-numerical analysis. In some cases this involved making reference to non-numerical findings from independent academic work, Government reports, the reports of other campaigning bodies and their own previous work. In other cases it could mean simply citing the opinions of another individual or organisation. The ratio of non-numerical to numerical evidence was approximately even amongst Third Sector Organisations, suggesting that both kinds of evidence are perceived as valuable tools of persuasion.

- **Organisational experience, case studies and pilots**

One particularly interesting area of evidence used, was that which drew on organisations' own clients' experiences. A number of organisations referred to their own experience in dealing with clients in presenting their findings. This type of evidence was both quantified (numbers of clients experiencing a certain problem,) but it was also common for client experiences also to be presented as anecdotal case studies, sometimes in the form of mini-narratives.

It was considerably less common for organisations to draw on the client experiences of other organisations. There were approximately 38 cases of use of case studies from an organisation's own experience, this compares to only 4 references to case studies from other organisations. It might be suggested that this relates to a couple of factors. Firstly, highlighting your own experience in the field of dealing with clients may add to the legitimacy of an organisation to make comment.

For instance it is noticeable that the grant making body, the Family Fund was the organisation which made most reference to its own client evidence (17) (the next highest

being YWCA with 9) with no reference to any other organisations' case work. As noted previously, the Family Fund also made repeated reference to its need for an increase in funding from Government. It may be suggested that highlighting the extent of their client work and the problems that their clients face stresses the importance of this request. The fact that the Family Fund utilise only their own experiences of working with clients, rather than drawing on other organisations' experiences, may serve to reinforce the importance of their own work.

In the oral submissions, as well as drawing on organisational experiences, some representatives drew on their own personal experiences, either in a professional, semi professional or a personal context. This highlights the difference between a highly formalised written setting, where personal experiences may appear anecdotal and insignificant. It may be that oral and written forms of campaign communication have different expectations or "rules of the game".

- **'Logical arguments' as a form of evidence**

Evidence also draws attention to contradictions in policy, where one policy (or proposed policy) is in conflict with another of the Government's stated policies or objectives.

Arguments are also sometimes made on the basis of logical arguments drawn from policy 'facts', rather than (debatable) evidence. For instance, it has already been mentioned that a number of submissions draw attention to the fact that the Government's employment target is 80%, and that they also aim to eradicate poverty by 2020. Therefore there will still be families who are out of work, and they will rely on out of work benefits to take them out of poverty; in many cases current benefit levels would not do this.

"...it needs to be recognised that work is never going to be a route out of poverty for all parents. Even if the Government was to meet its target of 80% employment that still leaves 20% of people not in work.... Currently the benefit system does not provide an adequate safety net for many. For example, the minimum benefit level for a couple with two children aged five and fourteen is £197.61, over £100 below

the poverty line; while the minimum benefit level for a single mother with two children aged five and fourteen is £164.96, over £50 below the poverty line.”

(Barnado’s, WE, Ev58)

Using such syllogisms may be an effective way of making an argument, evidence for the effectiveness in this may be taken in part from the Select Committee’s final report, the final paragraph of the summary from which reads:

“Even if the Government were to achieve its target of an 80% employment rate, many children would still live in workless households... If the Government is committed to the eradication of child poverty by 2020, we believe it needs a long-term strategy on benefit income for those who are unable to work...”

(House of Commons Work and Pensions Select Committee, 2008, p6)

ii) Sources of Evidence:

- **The Public Sector**

The Public Sector (including state departments, and associated institutions) was one of the most popular sources of evidence, with approximately 190 references to public sector research, data, analysis and opinion. Organisations also drew upon the experiences of piloted Government projects and programmes, highlighting their experiences, and in some cases using them as evidence that certain policies could be effective.

There are a number of reasons why the use of data from public sector sources may be so high. Firstly, the sheer quantity of data produced by the public sector makes them an extremely useful source of information. DWP are particularly prolific in producing reports on poverty. Data from the Office of National Statistics were also frequently used.

Secondly, in its briefing notes, the Select Committee specifically mention welcoming comment on Lisa Harker’s recent report for the DWP, something which a number of organisations took the opportunity to do.

Thirdly, public sector data may be suggested to have a particularly high level of credibility with the Government directly, since it is sponsored and associated with them themselves. Such membership identity between the Government and public sector data may make it considerably harder to dismiss.

In some cases public sector evidence comes from Government ministers or departments directly, discussing different aspects of current or proposed policy. Such references are more difficult for the Government to dismiss, since to do so may suggest a lack of consistency in the Government's attitudes, risking harm to its reputation. For instance, in response to one new policy proposal, about which the submission expresses considerable concern, FWA goes on to write;

“In short, we agree with the conclusion that the Department (of work and pensions) itself reached in 2005 that: “it would be wrong simply to move lone parents from Income Support onto the Job Seeker’s Allowance regime... such an approach would be expensive, unfair and ineffectual” (DWP (2005); Opportunity and security throughout life: Department of Work and Pensions five year Strategy.)”

(Family Welfare Association, WE, Ev124)

- **Academics, academic institutions or think-tanks**

Alongside Governmental sources, it was similarly common to rely on published analysis from academics, or academic institutions and thinktanks. Journal published sources have a level of legitimacy derived from the peer review process. Where they are written and published by a research institute (such as the Institute of Fiscal Studies, or the Joseph Rowntree Foundation) they have the credibility which those institutions possess themselves.

- **Own organisation**

It was fairly common for organisations to draw on their own previously prepared evidence. There were approximately 75 uses of TSOs own numerical data, or references to findings of previous work or reports prepared by the organisation (other than case studies which are addressed separately). Whilst this is considerably lower than the usage of Governmental or academic evidence, it is fairly substantial.

Use of one's own evidence may be seen as serving a dual purpose. Firstly it contributes to the perceived expertise of the organisation itself, showing the extent of their work and abilities.

Secondly, it exemplifies self-consistency of commitments and beliefs within the organisation, demonstrating that are holding to a position which they have already shown that they believe in; this may affect their perceived trustworthiness. Such trustworthiness may contribute to them being viewed as a credible source (Stiff, 1994).

- **Other Third Sector Organisations**

It is interesting that of the above four categories, evidence was least often used from other campaigning or service providing Third Sector Organisations (based on an approximate count). This may be a reflection of perception that evidence from campaigning organisations may be perceived as biased, compared to academic institutions and public bodies.

3.2.2.3. Conclusions – 'evidence' as a persuasive tool and core organisational resource

As with self description, the use of evidence in Select Committee submissions can be interpreted through either a resource dependence or a persuasive communications perspective.

From a persuasive communications perspective evidence is used to promote audience acceptance of the message content. As noted above, in this instance, it is used to support reasons for change, so as to promote changes proposed.

From a resource dependence perspective, access to 'evidence' may be a key organisational resource which may be exchanged for impact on the policy process – in this case through influence on the Select Committee. Policymakers' need for evidence in the development of policy was highlighted by the New Labour Government. For instance, Hudson and Lowe draw attention to the 1999 white paper 'modernising government' (Cabinet Office 1999, p20);

“in which the Government committed itself to making better use of evidence and research and “learning the lessons of successes and failures by carrying out more evaluation of policies and programmes”.”

(Hudson and Lowe, 2004, p222)

The findings from these submissions to the Select Committee were reflected in interview results, which similarly suggested that it was important to have a good evidence base when discussing issues with policymakers. As one respondent put it:

“Q: Do you think there are any general principles to lobbying government. Are there ways that they like to be approached?”

A: Yes absolutely. I suppose some of the ways that I would highlight are that you need a decent evidence base. You know, you can get some way by shouting, but you don't get very far, you need to be very clear about what you are trying to achieve and the underpinning rationale for that. One thing that Government very much values but is often quite difficult to achieve is things like specificity. They like you to be very clear about the evidence base about a particular piece of policy, going to a very fine grained level of detail, because in many ways I suppose

that would create, for politicians and ministers, it may give them an alternative viewpoint.”

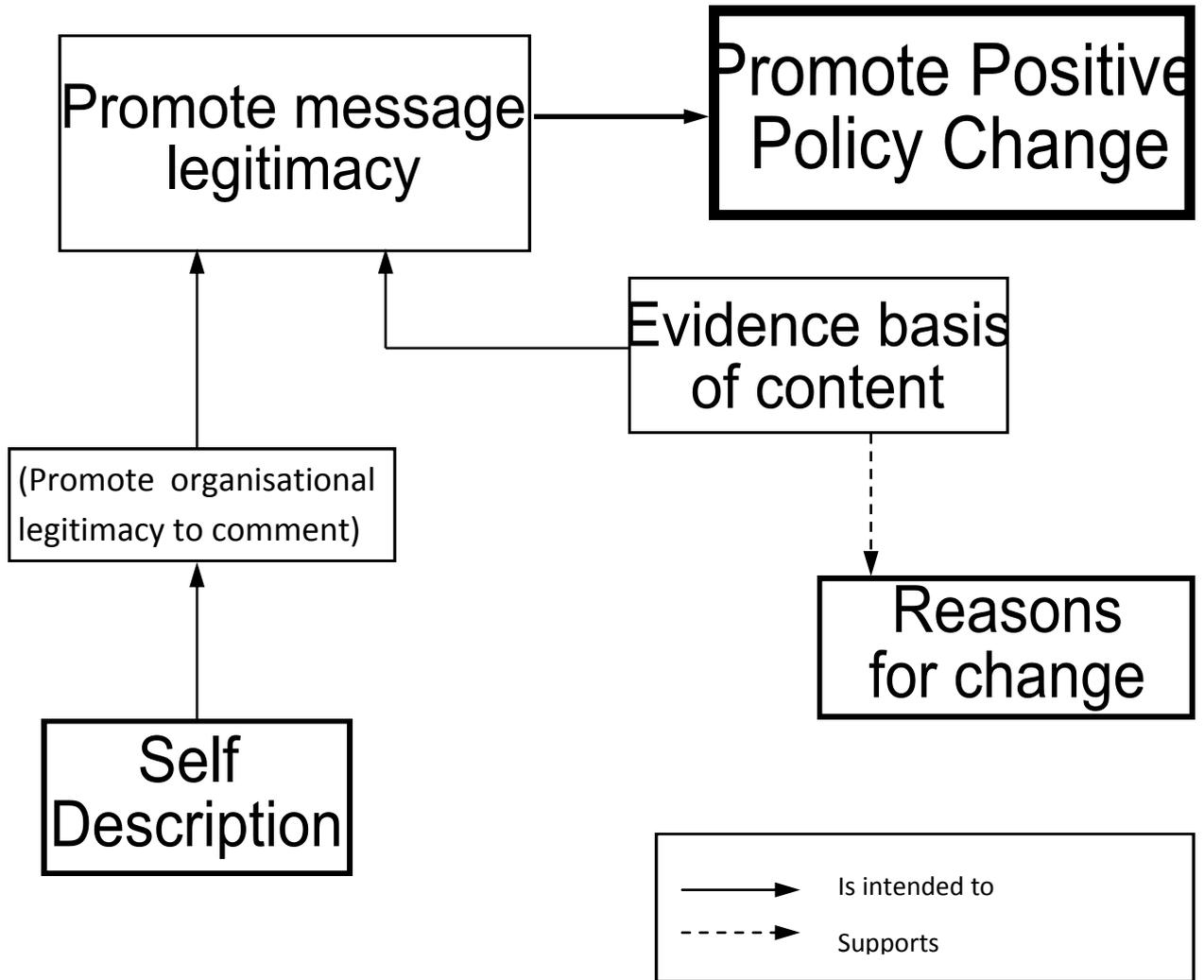
(Interview 4)

In the previous sections, we have seen how message legitimacy is promoted by both evidence in support of specific arguments which the organisations make, but also by self description to promote more generalised source credibility.

Hornikx (2008, p557) notes that “persuasive effects research is interested in the effects of source factors (e.g., credibility), message factors (e.g., evidence), receiver factors (e.g., involvement), and situational factors (e.g., distraction) on persuasiveness.” Being concerned with Third Sector strategies and tactics, the previous sections have focussed on the first two of these concerns: source factors and message factors, since these are the easiest for campaign groups to manipulate.

In summary, TSOs were found to manipulate source factors (or more specifically, the audience’s perception of the source) through self description. Message factors were manipulated through the use of evidence. Figure 13, below, reflects these findings showing how evidence and self description are combined to promote the legitimacy of the message, which itself promotes positive policy change (in this case through impact on the Select Committee.)

Fig 13. TSOs promote their message legitimacy

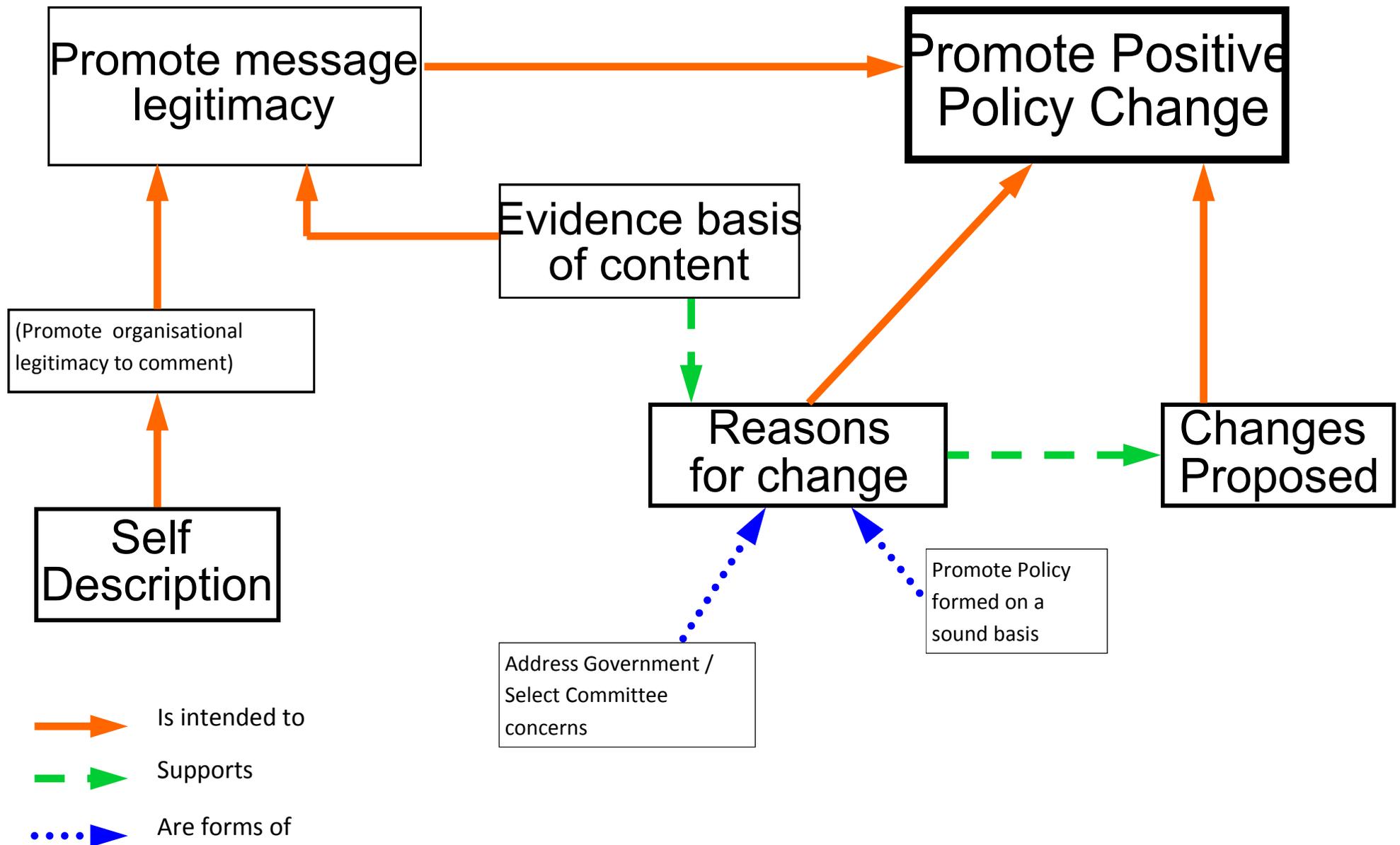


3.3. Addressing 'insiders': Conclusion

This section on how campaign groups addressed the Select Committee inquiry into child poverty was divided into two key parts; the first addressed how they structured their arguments, including their identification of changes needed and the proposed reasons for change. The second part addressed how they promoted their message legitimacy, in order to persuade their audience of the validity of their claims, including discussion of how they promoted their organisational legitimacy to comment, and their provision of evidence supporting their arguments.

The results of these two parts were each represented diagrammatically in figures 11 and 13 respectively. These parts can be combined, as represented on the following page.

Fig 14. Synoptic theory of TSO insider campaign communication messaging structure



4. Insider campaigning - Conclusions

This chapter has overviewed the ways in which Third Sector Organisations target their campaigning at ‘insiders’ within the policy process. Three key themes were identified:

- Choosing who to target.
- Achieving access to your audience.
- Determining how best to address your audience.

4.1. Key Findings:

The results from this chapter highlight a number of key findings, many of which suggest tactics for TSOs for producing effective campaign communications targeted at policymakers; these are summarised as follows:

Table 7. Tactics for effective policymaker oriented campaigning

i) Choosing targets and achieving access:	
Choice of insider target	Respondents highlighted a number of different policymakers whom it may be important to target campaigning at. These included the Government, opposition parties, Select Committees, MPs more generally and Civil Servants. Choice of campaign target amongst the range of ‘insider’ possibilities may be defined primarily as one of influence maximisation. In general, individuals and institutions to target were primarily those with relevant responsibilities in the field targeted by the campaign, regardless of their attitudes towards the issue.
Developing	A number of opportunities for accessing decision makers were

<p>Access and Relationship building</p>	<p>noted by respondents. These included responding to consultations, (this project includes an analysis of one example of this, by considering submissions to a recent Work and Pensions Select Committee inquiry into child poverty,) sending decision makers your own organisation’s research, attending policy round tables, arranging parliamentary receptions, attending party conferences, and using conference platforms. In addition, politicians may also be invited to events (such as the ‘Keep the Promise’ rally.)</p> <p>Central to issues of access was the importance of ‘contacts.’ The importance of knowing who to talk to about an issue was highlighted, and both organisational and individual ‘relationship building’ was widely seen as important.</p>
<p>ii) Creating effective communications:</p>	
<p>Propose reasons for policy changes which reflect policymaker concerns or more general ‘principles of sound policymaking’</p>	<p>Reasons for policy change can be attributed to specific areas of interest to the audience and/or more general principles of sound policy making. Organisations can either show how policy change would promote positive outcomes, and/or how the current situation and current policy and practice is unsatisfactory. It was suggested that ‘general principles of sound policymaking’ which campaign groups can use in the campaigning included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring spending is cost effective • Promoting rights, fairness and other ‘ethical’ concerns • Ensuring changes are possible • Promoting consistency between policies

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressing problems according to their severity • Relating problems and proposed solutions to the ‘realities’ for those affected • Ensuring that policy is founded on a strong evidence base
Present own legitimacy in the policy area	By highlighting both their organisational ‘nature’ and ‘activities’ to their audience, organisations may promote their ‘status’ and ‘knowledge and experience’, enhancing their perceived legitimacy to comment.
Provide evidence in support of conclusions	Organisations can use evidence from a wide range of sources including government research, academic research, and research by Third Sector Organisations (including themselves). Service providing organisations may have an advantage in being able to draw on case studies from within their own organisational experience.

In addition to the findings summarised above, the chapter also has a number of other key findings, which further contribute to understanding how Third Sector organisations target the policymakers in campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK.

- As noted above, choosing who to target appeared to be an issue of influence maximisation. Targeting sympathetic organisations was shown to be a secondary concern to targeting those with the power to make change directly, or to wield significant influence over those who did so.
- Relationship building and knowledge of their audience was considered important to achieving access to key campaign targets. This supports the classic view that insider campaigning requires specific knowledge and skills in order to play by the “rules of the game” of insider campaigning (Grant, 2004). It was noted that this

suggests that even though (as Grant (2004) suggests) insider consultation processes may now be open enough to include a wide range of TSOs, gaining effective access to policymakers requires the creation of further access opportunities and relationships, which may be beyond the resource capacities of some organisations. Concerns were raised that where there is limited access to key campaign targets, this emphasis on the “personal power” (Handy, 1988) of campaign groups in achieving access might exclude some less established groups from the policy making process, even when they have valuable contributions to make.

- Although there were some notable differences, overall the submissions to the Select Committee hearings were relatively consistent in the changes which they proposed needed to be made, and in the reasons they gave for them. This may reflect significant networking between, or ‘movement’ across, the organisations, perhaps even with a conscious intent of promoting the legitimacy of their arguments through inter-organisational confirmation.
- When giving their reasons for making changes, submissions to the Select Committee drew attention not only to quite ‘general’ principles of sound policy making, but also to how the proposed changes could benefit the specific goals of the Government at the time. This was related to the issue, discussed in Chapter 4, of organisations needing to “frame” their arguments in a way which resonates with their audience.
- When supporting their arguments with evidence, it was found that organisations were adept at using the resources available to them. In particular, this meant that service providing organisations relied particularly heavily on case studies and other data from their own clients. This supports findings, discussed in Chapter 6, that a service providing element can provide a useful evidence base for campaigning, increasing campaign effectiveness.
- However, there were some important similarities in evidence use, in particular, organisations appeared to be particularly attracted to using the Government’s

own research. This was (in some cases explicitly) most notably used to highlight inconsistencies between Government policy and the findings of their own evidence. It can be argued that Government research might be used because of its high credibility as a source.

- Organisations appeared to think it was important to give a good impression not just of their arguments, but also of themselves, through their submissions. It was suggested that this could be interpreted as a way of legitimising the arguments they make. This was related to the issue of “source credibility” in promoting effective communications. From a resource dependence perspective, source credibility can be seen as a resource exchange catalyst, legitimising the value of evidence provided by TSOs, and as such promoting the exchange of this evidence for influence on the policy process.

4.2. Insider campaigning from a resource dependence perspective

Throughout this chapter, we have seen how organisational resource dependencies affect the nature of insider campaigning. A resource dependence perspective can be used to interpret each stage of a campaign process, including choosing campaign targets, creating contacts and relationships and addressing policymakers.

i) Choosing campaign targets:

Choice of campaign target was seen as primarily a decision about ‘influence maximisation’. Given limited resources an organisation may be pushed ‘upstream’ towards a domain where the magnitude of their influence is as great as possible. This is one way of promoting the efficiency of resource use, which is one way of responding to resource scarcity.

It also appeared that organisations targeted a range of policymakers, rather than focussing on one or two key groups; this can be seen as one way of reducing resource dependence on any individual contact by reducing what Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) call

the ‘relative magnitude’ of resource exchanges with any individual resource (the example was given that organisations were keen to build relationships with both the governing and opposition parties, since it is important to avoid being over reliant on one political party – even if they are the current Government – because of the possibility of a change of Government.)

ii) Accessing policymakers:

Access to policymakers was viewed as an important resource upon which insider campaign groups are dependent. Such access is “exchanged” or “traded” for other resources possessed by campaign groups, including the provision of quality evidence, and the ability to organise events which provide opportunities for policymaker attendance. The efficient use of these resources can be promoted by what this thesis has referred to as “resource exchange catalysts” such as knowledge of which policymakers to target with a particular issue.

Concerns were raised that reliance on other resources to develop access to policymakers may create what Grant (2004) calls ‘outsiders by necessity’. In many cases some of these organisations may have valuable contributions to make to the development of policy, but lack the resources to gain policymaker access.

iii) Addressing policymakers:

Resource dependencies also play a role in how campaign groups address policymakers. In particular, it was argued that access to ‘evidence’ may be an important organisational resource utilised in addressing policymakers. It was argued that policymakers recognise the importance of evidence as a basis for successful policy development, and that this opens the possibility of successful resource exchange of ‘evidence’ for ‘access and influence’ between campaign groups and policymakers. As noted above, this exchange of evidence for influence may be promoted through the creation of a perception of “source credibility”, allowing the evidence to be viewed as trustworthy and reliable.

This chapter has explored resource dependencies when their target is policymakers themselves, through 'insider' campaigning; but, as has previously been noted, this is not the only possible target for campaigning. The following chapter addresses the strategies which TSOs utilise when targeting their campaigning at the public and the media (known as "outsider" campaigning). This includes issues of addressing public attitudes towards UK poverty, audience segmentation and methods of effectively communicating campaigns to media outlets.

In addition, the next chapter will also explore how campaign groups face different resource dependencies, and utilise their resources in different ways, when their target is the public and the media, compared to when it is policymakers. As a result of these core differences it will be argued that 'insider' and 'outsider' campaigning are distinct 'fields' or 'marketplaces' of social action, defined by their own rules, and with their own core resources and resultant resource dependencies.

Chapter 9: Working in the ‘outsider’ sub-field- campaigning oriented towards the public and the media

As addressed in chapter 4, the policymaking process is not confined to the passage of Bills into law. Before this can occur, there needs to be a “suitable climate of opinion” (Pym, 1974, p117), which makes such policymaking politically viable. It is here that the public has a role to play, by creating the conditions which make policy change possible.

The Third Sector has similarly recognised the importance of building support amongst the general public for action on UK poverty in order to encourage Government action (eg. UKCAP, 2008; Delvaux et al, 2009).

This chapter considers in more detail why, and under what circumstances, public oriented campaigning is valuable for Third Sector organisations campaigning on Child Poverty.

Secondly, the attitudinal environment for public oriented campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK is considered. Much recent work has been undertaken with regard to public attitudes to poverty and economic inequality in the UK (Taylor-Gooby, 2005; Orton and Rowlingson, 2007; Castell and Thompson, 2007). Although a large majority of the British public believe that income inequality is too high and should be reduced (Taylor-Gooby, 2005), it has been suggested that there is limited public recognition of, and understanding about, UK poverty (Robinson et al, 2009; Castell and Thompson, 2007). However, the public is rarely a homogeneous body, and some research findings suggest attitudinal divisions in public understandings of UK poverty (Castell and Thompson, 2007). Given this, and interviewee responses, it is suggested that campaign groups could usefully further integrate market segmentation approaches into their public oriented campaigning.

The media provides an important means through which campaign groups can communicate their messages about UK poverty to a wide public audience. The media can

promote awareness and debate about UK poverty (Robinson et al, 2009). How the media can best be used in campaigning is considered, with particular reference to the need to create the right kind of coverage. Problems of fundamental asymmetries in co-dependencies between campaign groups and media outlets (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993) are discussed, and a number of ways of addressing these asymmetries are suggested, including the use of 'new media' in bypassing dependencies on the traditional media.

It is concluded that for many organisations, it is felt important to target the public in order to challenge negative public perceptions which surround poverty in the UK (or to target more specifically those market segments with an active or latent concern about UK poverty) and to use this to build a groundswell of opinion which can support the Government in taking action. One main way in which this is attempted is through use of the media to get attention for their campaign work; but this itself has problems, since asymmetrical dependencies between campaign groups and the media, compounded by a lack of interest in poverty amongst the press, mean that campaign groups need to work hard to get press attention, and even when they do so, there remains the possibility that their core message will be mis-framed. Use of New Media may assist with this problem, allowing organisations to control the flow of information for themselves; but there are problems with this too, and it may be under exploited within this sector.

1. Why campaign groups undertake public oriented campaigning

As noted above, the public can help to create the 'climate of opinion' (Pym, 1974) in which policy change can occur. In this way, public support for a cause can drive political action. As two respondents put it:

“Which is more important, the public or Government? I would say that one drives the other in that at the moment what we need to get the Government to do is meet their 2010 target, and lift a significant number of young people out of poverty. So most of our campaigning is directed at the Government, to get them to make policy change. But the way to do that is to get the public support behind

it, to get the media coverage, and you know, analysis out there, get people calling on the Government to do that...”

(Interview 3)

“...you’ve got to get a groundswell of public opinion to effect policy change, and give the Government the strength and confidence to invest a very large amount of money in ending child poverty. That’s one of our major targets. So it’s about getting a groundswell of opinion, to back the changes.”

(Interview 5)

It is common for campaign groups to use public campaigning to gather support for an issue, in order to bring pressure to bear on the Government. Such campaigning has a long history, but Grant (2004) suggests that such tactics have had a recent resurgence since the anti poll-tax protests at the end of the 1980s, through to protests within the last decade including the Countryside Alliance protests against the ban on fox hunting, and the protests against the war in Iraq.

The case of child poverty may be argued to be somewhat different from the Countryside Alliance protests, or those against the Iraq war, since on this issue, it was felt by some respondents that Government support was *already* high. This suggests that, even where political support for an issue exists, it may be necessary to collect public support, in order to give Government the *confidence* and *legitimacy*, to act on the issue. As one respondent put it:

“the End Child Poverty campaign is an interesting one because we have always been following what the Government agenda has been, so they’re the ones that came in and said ‘we’re going to end child poverty within 20 years’ and so ever since then, our role has been to support that principle. So quite an unusual one... And really Government have been wanting us to keep child poverty in the media, so that it legitimises them putting the money into it and giving them the courage to do it.”

(Interview 5)

The findings above indicate that there are at least two ways in which public support can connect to the policy process. One is to put pressure on the Government to take action which they are not naturally inclined to support, the second is to support the Government in taking action on an issue which they already support, but do not feel that there is substantial enough public support to allow them to act upon it. These are summarised in table 8 below.

Table 8: Policymaker attitudes and reasons for campaigners to enlist public support for a campaign

Policymakers attitude towards proposed policy change	Reason for campaigners to utilise public support
Negative	To <i>exert pressure</i> on Government to take action
Positive	To <i>support</i> Government in taking action, by giving them the legitimacy to do so

These research findings contribute to the insider/outsider typology which was initially discussed in Chapter 4. Typically ‘insider’ campaigning is viewed as a close consultative process, whereas ‘outsider’ approaches use public oriented campaign approaches.

“... (insider approaches are) based primarily upon close consultation with political and administrative leaders, relying mainly upon their financial resources, substantive expertise, and concentration within certain congressional committees as a basis for influence. Other groups become dedicated mainly to 'outside' strategies based upon appeals to the public through the mass media and efforts at the broad-scale mobilization of citizens at 'grass roots'.”

(Walker, 1991, p9)

Under this typology public oriented approaches within child poverty campaigning would be classified as ‘outsider’ campaign tactics. However, as has been seen above, some public oriented campaigning on child poverty bears the hallmarks of insider tactics- in

particular, it is a non-confrontational, collaborative approach, and as such abides by “the rules of the game” which Grant (2004) associates with insider campaign groups.

This is by no means the first example of public oriented campaigning being used by TSOs in collaboration with government. In particular, the ‘Make Poverty History’ campaign used mass mobilisation tactics to gather support for ending global poverty. It has been suggested that political leaders (Tony Blair and Gordon Brown) positioned themselves as ‘leaders’ of the campaign (Nash, 2008). Nash (2008, p175) points out that some (socialist) critics went so far as to call the campaign “a PR exercise for Government”.

These findings suggest that the definition of ‘outsider’ strategies needs to be clarified as allowing the encapsulation of both *confrontational strategies* using public pressure to counteract political will, and *collaborative strategies*, in which a show of public support is used to bolster political will. The latter will most easily be combined with classically ‘insider’ strategies involving direct consultation between campaign groups and Government.

2. Factors affecting the likelihood of campaign groups undertaking public oriented campaigning

Undertaking a public facing campaign strategy is not always the best way to bring about change on an issue. A number of factors may help an organisation decide whether it should take an ‘insider’ or an ‘outsider’ approach.

2.1 Determinants of public oriented campaign strategies: interview responses

2.1.1. Extent of political support and political viability of change

It has already been seen that there are reasons for garnering public support for policy change whether or not there is political support for an issue, either to provide the pressure or support they need to take action. However, where there is both widespread political support and progress on the issue is politically viable (i.e. the Government both **wants** to do something about the issue and is **able** to do something about it), maintaining

public pressure may be less important. In such cases, working cooperatively with policymakers directly to determine the best way forwards over the details of the policy change they are already in the process of making, may be an effective strategy for further progression.

2.1.2. Access to policymakers

Where access to policymakers is limited, campaign groups may be pushed towards public campaigning.

“if you have limited access to talking to politicians, they're not particularly interested, then that does tilt you in the direction of more public campaigning.”

(Interview 4)

A number of factors (discussed in Chapter 8 on ‘Insider’ campaigning) affect the extent to which an organisation is able to procure access to key decision makers.

2.1.3. Financial resources and time constraints

Public campaigning is ‘downstream’ of the core policymaking process. Although as a group, the influence of the public on the policy process may be great, each individual within the public has little power over the policymaking process (that is to say, the distribution of this power is very broad). As a result, public campaigning has typically high resource costs since, in order to be effective, a lot of people need to be contacted, and it requires multiple contacts in order to bring about attitude change.

“it takes seven contacts for somebody to take something in, we probably don't have the resources, the expertise, the purchase, to get that.”

(Interview 1)

As a result, some organisations feel constrained by resource pressures to pursue an ‘upstream’ approach to campaigning. Targeting the public would threaten other areas of their activity.

Similarly, time constraints may also limit the value of public oriented campaigning. It may take a lot of time to change public perceptions on an issue like poverty. Where time frames on an issue are short, gathering public support may be unfeasible.

“a sort of campaign on public perceptions across all of society is something which would take more time, and a lot more resources, than we have available. You know, if you look at climate change or something, it’s taken decades to get where we are now.

Q: So you think it’s something that could work but would need a longer timescale?

A: Yeah, definitely. There’s no reason to think it wouldn’t, but it is something... tackling all public perceptions of poverty, is like I say, similar to climate change, it would take ages.”

(Interview 8)

In other cases it was noted that with limited time and resources, efforts are best spent targeting sub sections of the public. One respondent felt that their public campaigning work needed to focus on those who were already engaged with the issue, and getting them to take action, since they did not have the resources or time necessary to promote universal attitude change.

“I think ours is not a campaign which is aimed at changing all of the public’s perceptions on child poverty. We have focussed on activating those that are aware, and appealing to those that are interested, obviously, and making sure that the discussion is out there, and trying to continually promote and create discussion to try and increase awareness of child poverty. But a sort of campaign

on public perceptions across all of society is something which would take more time, and a lot more resources, than we have available.”

(Interview 8)

This approach is reflected in Castell and Thompson (2007) who suggest that anti-poverty campaigning may be best targeted at the ‘low hanging fruit’ with greatest sympathies for the campaign messaging. These include those with personal experience of poverty, those who see poverty during their work, and those with an “open and generous conception of the welfare state” (Castell and Thompson, 2007, pviii).

One way of reducing the resource costs of public campaigning for an individual organisation is through working in coalition on an issue. The benefits of working in coalition, including pooling resources to allow actions which would not have been possible as individual organisations, have been discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

2.1.4. Nature of the policy issue including complexity

The nature of the policy issue is likely to affect how difficult it is to enable the public to engage with the issue. As a result, some issues may be less viable for public oriented campaigning. As one respondent put it:

“I think certain types of issues are appropriate for public campaigning and certain issues aren’t. You need an issue to be fairly easy to explain, and it’s got to have some kind of appeal to it. So for example, I would say that most of the time, Housing Benefit isn’t something that we would do on a public level because it’s pretty difficult to engage people, you don’t want to alienate them. It’s issues that people can identify with, so say for example, a couple of years ago, we were campaigning for the tenancy deposit scheme, whereby if you’re renting then your deposit goes into a separate pot, and not to the landlord. That was a really, really, good public campaigning issue because... most people probably have rented at some point and a lot of people have either had or known people who have had

problems getting their deposit back, so it's really, really, easy to identify with the problem, really easy for people to see why it affects them and why it could help them and people like them. So certainly the main consideration is we must pick the right issues whenever we are doing public campaigning, and frame those issues in the right way."

(Interview 6)

As noted in the previous quote, the complexity of the policy issue affects how easily the public will engage with the topic, and an issue which is "fairly easy to explain" is needed for successful public oriented campaigning. However there may be ways of reframing issues, to put them in simpler ways which the public can more easily identify with. For instance, as one respondent put it:

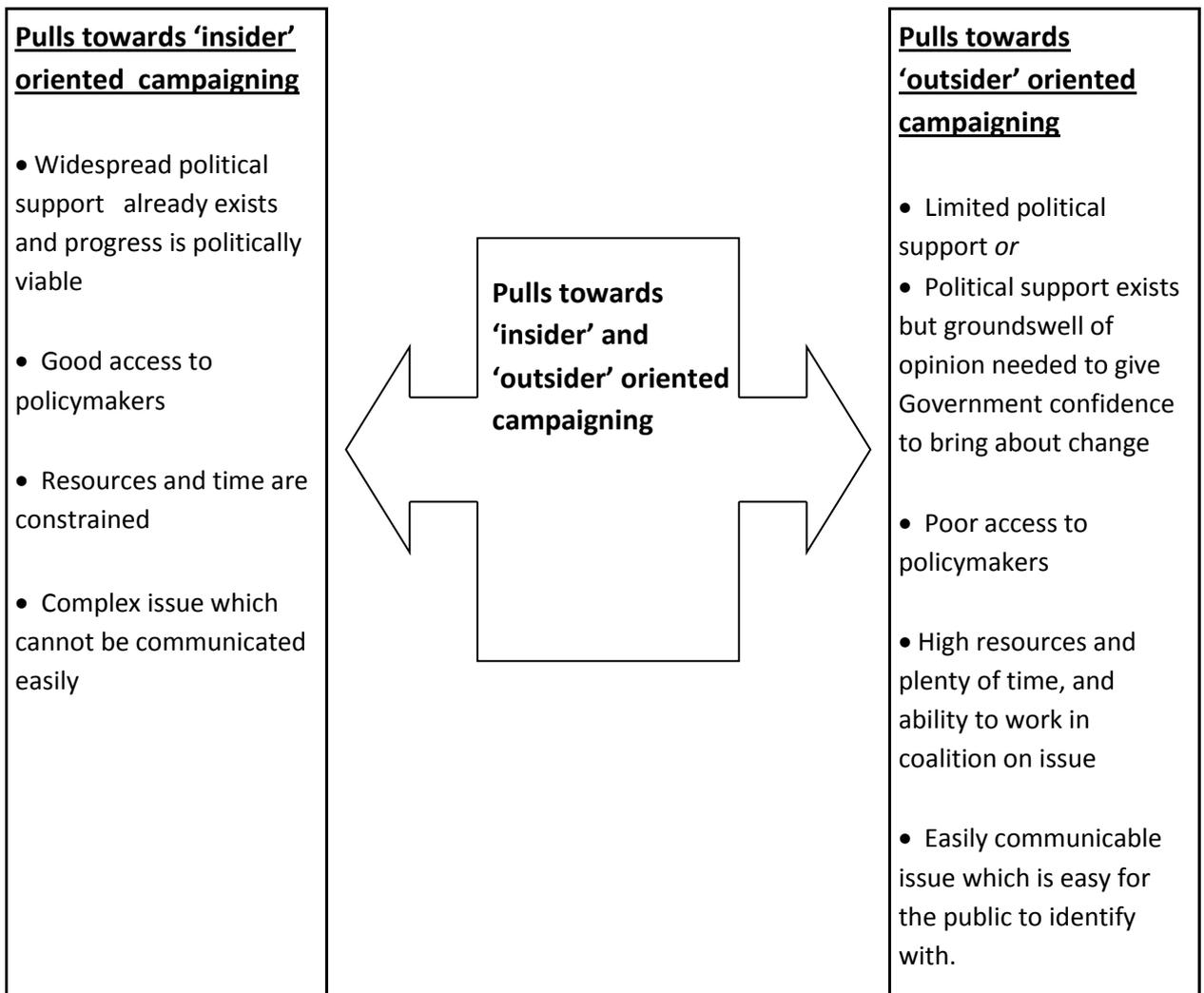
"In terms making a difference with the public, we need to start where the public are. So it can be the case that anti-poverty organisations can be very very purist, can start with the complicated nature of poverty, talking in our own jargon. And in fact a lot of the time we need to start with the fact that poverty exists in the UK, this is what it looks like, it looks like no winter coat it looks like living four kids in one bedroom. This is what it's like, it's not having breakfast."

(Interview 1)

2.2. Discussion: Factors affecting the likelihood of public oriented campaigning

Figure 15 below summarises factors which pull organisations towards ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ campaigning.

Fig 15. ‘Pulls’ towards insider and outsider campaign strategies.



Factors affecting whether a campaign groups takes an insider, outsider or mixed approach to campaigning may be sub-divided into two groups. Firstly there are factors concerning the policy context (whether the issue is one for which there is political support and political progress is viable, and the complexity of the policy issue). Secondly, there are issues about the nature of the campaign group itself (the extent of its financial and supporter resources, and its access to policymakers). In some cases, factors about the

campaign group may be specific to the policy context for the issue they are considering working on (for instance, access to policymakers may be difficult on a particular issue, or it may be difficult to acquire funding to work on the topic).

Following Grant (2004) we may sub-divide groups taking a public oriented approach to campaigning into two camps 'outsiders by choice' and 'outsiders by necessity'.

Outsiders by necessity are those groups who "would like to become insider groups, but lacked the necessary resources or skills to gain recognition" (Grant. 2004, p409). This may clearly be associated with the nature of the campaign group itself (for instance, if the group is unable to access policymakers), it may also relate to the policy issue (for instance, if the issue is one for which there is no political support it may be harder to take an 'insider' approach to working on that issue).

This latter point is interesting since it suggests that whether groups have 'accepted' or 'unaccepted' status depends not only on the nature of the group, but also on the nature of the policy issue. Groups may be able to take an insider approach to campaigning on one issue (because of their status with regard to that issue) but find it difficult to take a similar approach on another issue. The impact of policy area on organisational status was reflected in interview results, as one interviewee noted:

"Sometimes I worry that ... (my organisation) is not an insider when it comes to UK poverty campaigning with government. We're quite insider if you are talking about international development, you know we spend a lot of time in Number 10, in DfID and so forth. But you know, we don't have strong relationships, or insider relationships with domestic focused departments"

(Interview 1)

In other cases, campaign groups may choose (rather than be forced) to utilise 'outsider' tactics. Grant (2004) associates these with "ideological protest groups". However, based on the findings given above, it can be argued that:

(1) these groups needn't be 'protest' groups as such – as explored above, use of typical outsider campaign tactics can be a valid collaborative tactic, working with the public to build the pressure to legitimise Government action.

(2) it is not necessary that they be using outsider tactics on ideological grounds. In many cases, and as suggested above, the question of whether to take an insider or outsider approach may be better considered as a pragmatic issue of influence maximisation. Organisations attempt to determine how they can best increase the magnitude of their power over a policy issue, based upon the resources they have available; their tactics reflect these calculations. Organisations may therefore take different steps dependent upon the nature and quantity of their resources, and the policy context. Where organisations have an easily communicable issue, on which there is a need for a 'groundswell' of public opinion in order to initiate change, they may adopt outsider tactics on pragmatic rather than ideological grounds.

From a resource dependence perspective, it can be argued that the evidence from this section suggests that organisations are dependent upon different resources depending on whether they undertake insider or outsider campaigning strategies. It also suggests that organisations consider the nature of the resources they possess (access to policymakers, political and public support on the issue, financial resources etc) and the varying values of those resources within different campaign methods, when determining whether they undertake insider or outsider campaigning strategies. This issue is explored in detail in Chapter 10, where it is argued that insider and outsider campaign strategies can be conceived of as distinct campaign sub-fields, with their own stakes and rules, and different resource dependencies.

3. Methods of targeting campaigns at the public

3.1. Public attitudes to UK Poverty and its impact on campaign groups lobbying the public

The literature on public attitudes to poverty in the UK is mixed. Although survey data suggests that (in 2003) the majority of people interviewed believed that "there is quite a

lot of poverty in Britain today” (Taylor-Gooby, 2005, p5) there is evidence to suggest that fewer people believed this in 2003 than in previous years, with 71% of people believing there was quite a lot of poverty in Britain in 1994 compared with 54% in 2003 (Taylor-Gooby, 2005). In addition, there is evidence that beliefs about poverty are generally not strongly held convictions (Taylor-Gooby, 2005)

Other, qualitative, research has found more negative attitudes towards poverty. In their research on public attitudes to UK poverty, Castell and Thompson (2007, p10) found:

“At the start of each discussion group, there was always an immediate sense that the participants were uncomfortable discussing the issue of poverty in the UK and unfamiliar with the terms of the debate. For most, the default associations with poverty related to developing countries, as part of the vocabulary of aid-oriented charities and international NGOs. It seems to suggest an abject end-state, which applies clearly to images of malnourished ‘third world’ children, or if pressed to consider the British context, a bygone age of Dickensian squalor.”

Where respondents did identify poverty in the UK, it was found that respondents believed that it resulted from “choice, bad decisions on their [the poor people’s] part, or exceptional circumstances.” (Castell and Thompson, 2007, p10)

3.1.1. Public attitudes to UK Poverty: Interview responses

Interviewees felt that public attitudes towards UK poverty were problematic for campaigners. As one respondent put it:

“One of our barriers really is public perceptions of poverty, and what that actually means, so a lot of work, particularly outward facing with the media and the public, has been about trying to challenge some of the stereotypes, provide voices for some of the people in poverty, and try and make it more of a public issue, as it is a political issue.”

(Interview 3)

Respondents highlighted three key ‘types’ of negative public attitude towards UK poverty. These are outlined below, alongside ways in which campaigners suggested these issues might be addressed.

i) UK Poverty doesn’t exist.

Interviewees noted widespread disbelief in the existence of poverty in the UK. This was associated with many members of the public having an historical, outdated, understanding of poverty (UK poverty being associated with Victorian/ Dickensian conditions) and/or an international understanding of poverty (poverty being associated with extreme starvation conditions in the developing world).

“People are very aware, and have a very clear picture of what child poverty means abroad, but not what it looks like and what it means in Britain. I think many people would have the view of child poverty, is still a very Victorian view of what it is; still children in dirty and torn clothes, but that is not what child poverty means today necessarily. It is much more complex than that, and I don’t think the public is very aware of what it means in this country, and therefore it needs higher status in the media and portrayed in a more constructive way.”

(Interview 9)

This reflects the findings by Castell and Thompson (2007), noted above, that “the word ‘poverty’ gives rise to the wrong associations: international issues, absolute rather than relative poverty.”

Respondents suggested that one way of responding to disbelief in poverty in the UK is by drawing attention to the *realities* of poverty for the people it affects. Showing what poverty means in the UK context may help change how poverty is understood, and connect people to the key underlying issues. As one respondent put it:

“One of our barriers really is public perceptions of poverty, and what that actually means, so a lot of work, particularly outward facing with the media and the public,

has been about trying to challenge some of the stereotypes, provide voices for some of the people in poverty, and try and make it more of a public issue, as it is a political issue.”

(Interview 3)

Two good examples of this kind of campaigning are the “*This is Child Poverty*” report from Citizens Advice and the “*A year in the life*” project by Barnardo’s. In both cases, the focus is on reporting case studies of people directly affected by poverty, highlighting the underlying problems they face in coping with lives on a low income. An overview of these reports is given on the following page.

ii) Poor people in the UK are ‘undeserving’ of further assistance.

There were also perceived to be problems with poor people in the UK being considered undeserving of further assistance. This may apply to some groups more than others, with a perceived distinction between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor. This distinction is not a new phenomenon, and its historical development and implications are discussed in Chapter 3.

It may be an advantage for Child Poverty campaigning that children in poverty are more generally perceived to be ‘deserving’ poor than working age adults, since they cannot be responsible for their own situation. As such, one respondent suggested that child poverty may be used as the ‘best case’ for campaigning on UK poverty more generally.

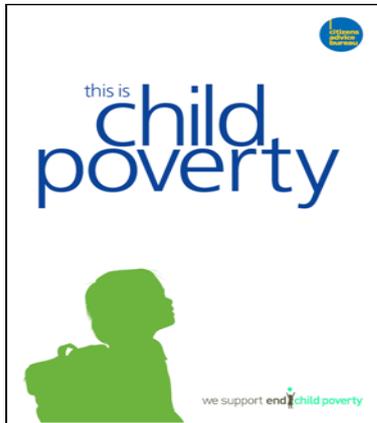
“Now the tactic that the anti-poverty sector has traditionally used, is you always choose your most appealing case, and it is true that a baby living in poverty, and an older person living in poverty are much more compelling cases than the asylum seeker, the single working adult. It’s a very, very appealing case. So the sector has chosen to focus on child poverty and I strongly understand why that focus is necessary, and it is necessary to shame politicians into action and get the sympathy of the general public.”

(Interview 1)

This is Child Poverty

- http://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/index/campaigns/current_campaigns/endchildpoverty.htm

“In June and July 2008, Citizens Advice asked parents across England and Wales to tell us their experiences of struggling to make ends meet, and to show how this impacts on their children. We have presented some of these stories in this report, in order to provide an insight into the financial, emotional and physical impact of poverty on children.”



Citizens Advice’s ‘This is Child Poverty’ report is based upon case studies of the day-to-day experiences of parents on low incomes. Key issue areas are addressed including problems which parents have with benefits and tax credits, making the move from benefits into work, housing, debt, and the important role of advice in assisting these families. The report is almost entirely comprised of direct quotations from these parents. In several cases, whole pages are given over to a single quotation.

These quotations are combined with policy proposals intended to improve policies on these issues, which would assist in reducing child poverty.

The report was also accompanied by a video. This has a similar focus, with parents on low incomes discussing the problems they face. Together, as Citizens Advice note on their website ‘The report and video give a voice to some of the families behind the statistics.’

Below the breadline- A year in the life of families in poverty

- <http://www.barnardos.org.uk/childpoverty/pov-ayearinthelife.htm>

“Barnardo’s year-long study followed 16 families living in poverty in the UK. By tracking these families over a period of time we reveal the details of how they deal with money and the challenges they face in making a low income meet the diverse, and sometimes unpredictable, needs of family life”



‘Below the Breadline’ followed 16 families who were past or present Barnardo’s service users, and who were living in low income poverty at the start of the project. The families are used as the basis of detailed and lengthy case studies of the problems these families faced living through the course of the year. These case studies are used to illustrate particular problems related to poverty such as ‘spiralling debt’ and the ‘persistence of poverty’.

In the final chapters, findings from the case studies are summarised, and the implications for the Government’s pledge to end child poverty by 2020 are considered.

Similarly to the Citizens Advice report, ‘Below the Breadline’ is focussed on using the experiences of families who have been affected by low income poverty in order to ‘bring to life’, the realities of living on a low income. Although statistical data is used and discussed, the focus on using case studies to address poverty takes the project away from some of the complex and detailed data used in many other projects. As the introduction to the report puts it:

“Discussion about child poverty in the UK is often somewhat detached, offering statistical data on how far family incomes fall short of the Government’s poverty line and speculating about the economies families have to make. This rarely captures the daily, grinding poverty that 4 million children in the UK currently experience.”

Similarly, other respondents noted more generally that campaigns focussing on the public do however need to be aware of current public attitudes towards poverty, and to work with public opinion. This may involve targeting campaigns at areas which are felt to be the cases which will attract public support, and being aware that some issues may alienate the public.

However, one respondent warned against over emphasising those groups which will attract greatest public support (such as children in poverty), for fear of further entrenching the deserving/undeserving poor distinction, and as a result, making it harder to gain support for other underprivileged groups.

“That’s the challenge for the UK anti poverty sector, how on earth do we make the argument that it’s not about deserving or undeserving poor, it’s about the injustice of people in the fourth richest economy in the world, even notwithstanding the last few months, the absolute injustice of people living below the poverty line in this society.”

(Interview 1)

It is possible that as a result of economic difficulties (which were beginning to emerge at the time of the interviews), the public may gain more sympathy for people living in poverty. As one respondent put it:

“I think there’s an interesting part of the discussion about whether the prospect of more people being poor makes the general public more sympathetic and they’re kind of like ‘I understand what this is like, I understand that it’s not necessarily your fault if you’ve lost your job.’”

(Interview 7)

Research findings, reported in Hanley (2009) indicated that where job insecurity and personal financial pressures grow, and poverty becomes ‘closer’ to more people, support for measures to help low income households grows. However, this situation may not last outside of times of economic difficulty.

iii) Nothing can be done about UK poverty.

One respondent noted that one problem facing campaigners, is a perception that nothing can be done about poverty a “the poor are always with us” attitude. It was suggested that it is important for campaigners to recognise the positive changes that have occurred, as well as the continuing problems.

“one of the problems that you have is that, at least on face value, attitudes to poverty are quite, “the poor will always be with us”, those sorts of arguments, and the best way of reinforcing that is to play the sort of the government is terrible and never does anything nice ... so we are quite keen to highlight the success that there has been in reducing the number of children in poverty, although it has gone up again quite recently, but on relative income poverty, a success of 600,000 children out of poverty.”

(Interview 4)

This reflects findings by Delvaux and Rinne (2009, p8) who argued that “audiences want to see that the problem can be solved and want to be part of something that will (potentially) lead to a positive outcome.”

The suggested reasons for negative public attitudes towards poverty have been outlined above. However, it was suggested that campaigning could, to some extent, avoid engaging with these negative attitudes by targeting those “low hanging fruit” (Castell and Thompson, 2007) who are already interested in and aware of the problems of poverty in the UK. To do so may be the most efficient use of limited time and resources. However, this is certainly not always the case, and some respondents felt that it was important to challenge misconceptions around poverty in the UK. As one respondent put it:

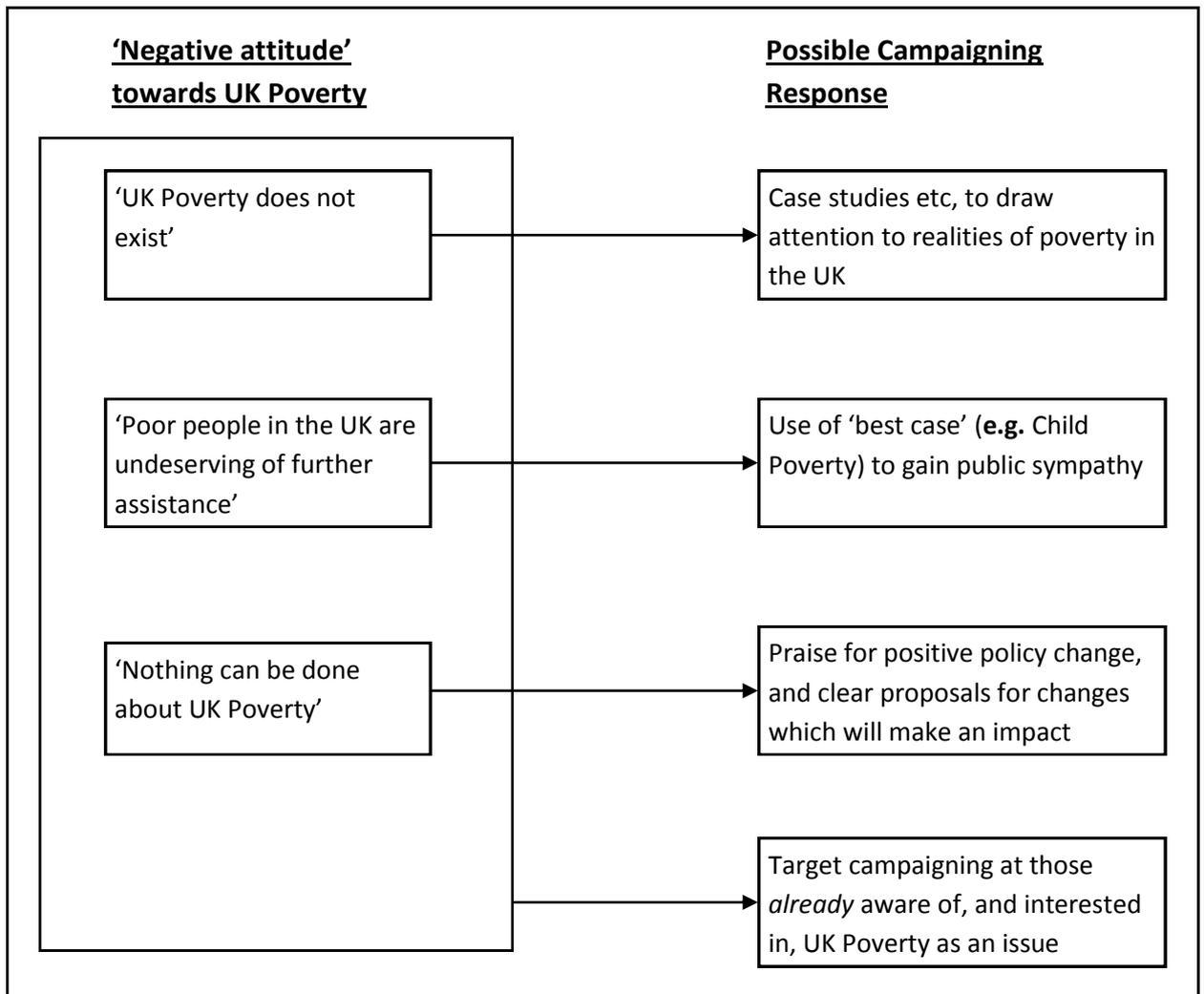
“certainly we have to be quite conscious of common preconceptions and misconceptions that people have on issues that are controversial. But we do our best to change their minds, it doesn’t mean that we shy away from the issue.”

(Interview 6)

3.1.2. Public Attitudes to Poverty: discussion

These three types of negative attitudes towards poverty in the UK, and suggestions about possible campaign responses to them, are outlined in figure 16 below.

Fig 16. Types of ‘negative attitudes’ towards UK Poverty, and possible campaigning responses.



Results suggest that public attitudes to poverty in the UK are a significant barrier in public oriented campaigning. As has been shown, there are several potential ways of addressing negative attitudes towards poverty. The suggested methods of doing this may be considered to be attempts to “reframe” the debate around UK poverty. The importance of ‘collective action frames’ was discussed in Chapter 4, where it was suggested that successful frames resonate with their audience so that they find the “interpretation and

expression of grievances compelling” (Noakes and Johnston, 2005, p11). Similarly it has been shown here that campaigners attempt to highlight problems of UK poverty by attempting to make key issues resonate with the public. This included drawing attention to ‘best cases’ such as child poverty, and by using case studies to draw attention to the realities of poverty.

However, rather than attempting to change widespread attitudes towards poverty, given limited resources it may be more effective for campaigners to target the ‘low hanging fruit’ discussed by Castell and Thompson (2007). This approach is one form of ‘audience segmentation’, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

3.2. Public oriented campaigning: Other key messaging issues

3.2.1. ‘Simplicity’

The importance of ‘simple’ messaging for public consumption was noted by respondents. More complex messaging risks an audience failing to engage with the message.

“One thing I try to press home to anybody I talk to about campaigns is simple, simple, simple. I mean, the more simple it is the more likely it is to fly, the more people that understand it, the more people likely to buy into it. If I could I'd have ‘simple’ tattooed to my forehead.”

(Interview 2)

However, campaign groups also need to have a more detailed set of policy proposals to put to policy makers. Key messaging issues when addressing policy makers were discussed in detail in Chapter 8 on ‘Insider’ campaigning. But it is worth noting here that policymakers may expect a high level of detailed understanding about the issues. As a result, ‘simple’ messaging which does not address the core complexities of the issue may be ineffective. As the previous respondent went on to note:

“when it comes to the Government audience, simple is probably going to be counterproductive.”

(Interview 2)

As a result, it was suggested that at least two levels of detail are needed for a successful campaign; a simple, easy to engage with, message is necessary for communications with the general public, but a detailed, evidence based policy position is needed in order to address policy makers.

This reflects findings, highlighted in chapter 4, that there are two ‘routes’ to persuasion. The ‘central’ route to persuasion occurs when the audience “pays attention and carefully considers the arguments presented in the message” (Powers, 2007, p136). On the other hand, the ‘peripheral’ persuasive route occurs when the audience “only pays attention to superficial aspects of the message” (Powers, 2007). As noted in chapter 4, appeals to the central route to persuasion may put emphasis on the provision of detailed evidence to support an argument.

As such, communications intended for policymakers with a high level of knowledge about the issue, and high levels of interest and involvement with the issue, are likely to need high levels of detailed reasoning, in order to persuade their audience through a central persuasive route that their arguments are compelling. Conversely, in communications intended for a mass audience with low levels of interest or involvement in the issue and low background levels of knowledge about it, complex argument about detailed aspects of policy may be counter-productive, since the audience may be unwilling to engage with detailed evidence on the topic. In order to encourage persuasion, it may be more important to concentrate on ensuring the core message is simple to engage with, and presented in a way which is easy to support without detailed analysis.

It should be noted, that although simple messaging may be beneficial in public oriented campaigning, there may, at the same time, be considerable problems in simplifying a frequently very complex issue to a simple message for a mass audience.

3.2.2. Public oriented campaigning – the need for a ‘audience segmentation’ approach

As discussed in chapter 4, literature concerning both the commercial (marketing) and not for profit (social marketing) sectors has emphasised the importance of taking different approaches in marketing to different sub sections of the public. This approach is known as market or audience segmentation, and it is an important tool in social marketing because it highlights that different campaign tactics and communications will be appropriate for different groups (Coe and Kingham, 2007).

3.2.2.1. Audience segmentation within campaigning on child poverty – interview responses

Interview responses indicated that it is important for campaigners to recognise that different sub-audiences amongst the public will respond in different ways to the same communications.

“The public is made up of potentially endless series of mini audiences, and each one will respond differently to a slightly different message, or a more or less strident message.”

(Interview 2)

As a result, it is worth considering what different audiences there are in relation to UK child poverty, and how they may be approached in different ways, in order to promote their further engagement with the campaign issue.

Interviews suggested that audiences might be broken down into three main groups based upon their attitudes towards UK poverty:

i) Those with little interest in, or some antipathy towards, the idea of poverty in the UK.

This group has already been identified and discussed earlier in this chapter, and ways of approaching negative attitudes towards UK poverty have been considered above. Given

that they have no interest in the issue, if they are to be engaged at all, messages which are simple and easy to engage with may help to maximise impact.

ii) Those with some limited interest in or sympathy towards Child Poverty in the UK.

Those who have some initial interest in Child Poverty are the 'low hanging fruit' already discussed. This group may be prepared to take some limited campaigning action, so long as it is quick and easy. These may be the core target for simple messages aimed at promoting further engagement with child poverty as an issue. As one respondent noted:

"I think ours is not a campaign which is aimed at changing all of the public's perceptions on child poverty. We have focussed on activating those that are aware, and appealing to those that are interested, obviously, and making sure that the discussion is out there, and trying to continually promote and create discussion to try and increase awareness of child poverty. But a sort of campaign on public perceptions across all of society is something which would take more time, and a lot more resources, than we have available."

(Interview 8)

iii) Those highly engaged with the issue

This group is comprised of a smaller group of campaign 'members' (or potential members) who have chosen to become actively engaged with the issue, and, for service providing organisations, it may include service users, possibly including those directly affected by the issue. It was noted in chapter 6 that several respondents felt that their organisation could benefit from further development of a membership base as active supporters.

This group may potentially be interested in engaging in actions which the other two groups would not - for instance, attending a rally such as the End Child Poverty rally in London (which was discussed in detail in chapter 7).

“We know we can't get through every door in the land, even though we would like to, much more about trying to mobilise a community of interested people”

(Interview 4)

3.2.2.2. Audience segmentation: Discussion

It is suggested above, that the public might be broken down according to a spectrum of engagement with child poverty in the UK, from the disinterested or antipathetic, through to the engaged and supportive.

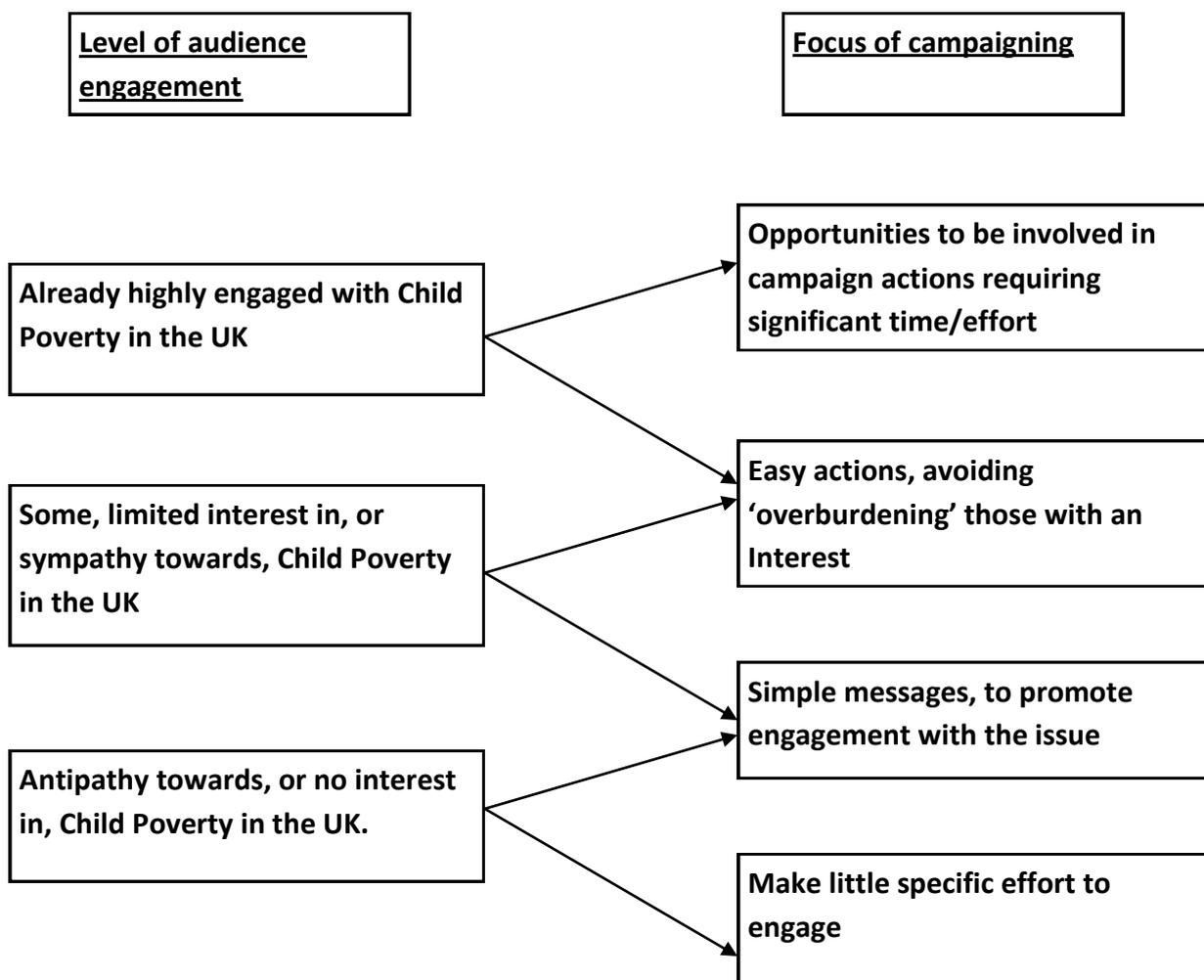
Once the public has been segmented in this way, public oriented campaigning can take one of two approaches. Either it can target those already interested and engaged in the issues, or it can seek to develop the interest of those who have lower levels of engagement.

Given widespread negative attitudes towards people in poverty, developing widespread interest in UK poverty may be a difficult task, as Castell and Thompson (2007, p7) put it:

“if there is a mountain to climb, the anti-poverty sector needs to focus initially on just getting the public to ‘base camp.’”

Based on interview responses, figure 17 below shows how, within UK poverty, audience segmentation can be used in order that different messages are focussed on different groups depending on their level of engagement with the issue. Successful messaging may succeed in moving people up the hierarchy of issue engagement, and so help to build the positive climate of public opinion which is the goal of public oriented campaigning.

Fig 17. Different possible types of engagement with a campaign, depending upon the level of audience engagement



It has been shown in the previous three sections that campaign groups make a choice about whether (and the extent to which) public campaigning is appropriate for their organisation, and a number of factors affect how they make this decision. If public facing campaigning is deemed appropriate, messaging may need to consider who the intended audience is, and reflect differences between people, depending on their level of engagement with child poverty as an issue.

Focussing on particular public sub-groups can help to reduce the resource costs of public campaigning. Limited resources can mean that maintaining a primary focus on those “low hanging fruit” (Castell and Thompson, 2007) who are already engaged in the issue,

can help to maximise the impact of resource use. For example, when discussing their child poverty campaigning, one respondent (quoted previously) noted:

“...a sort of campaign on public perceptions across all of society is something which would take more time, and a lot more resources, than we have available. You know, if you look at climate change or something, it’s taken decades to get where we are now.”

(Interview 8)

One key way in which campaign groups can communicate their message to a mass public is through use of the media. The following section considers how organisations used the media to further their campaign work.

4. Targeting the Media

Several respondents noted the importance of the media as a channel to communicate to both the public (so as to help create a climate for political action) and also to policy makers themselves. Organisations can use both the national and the local media to highlight stories, although, as noted previously, some organisations do not work on a local level.

However, respondents noted problems with both getting stories which they want covered into media outlets, and also controlling the way those stories are reported by the media when they are covered. This section considers both of these issues.

Robinson et al (2009) found that poverty is under reported in the media, and that this is particularly true of UK poverty. Where it is reported, it may be considered only peripherally to other issues (Hanley, 2009). For this reason, UK child poverty campaign groups may have a difficult task in getting press attention for their cause. However, respondents did note a number of factors which they felt would help with this, including the following:

4.1. Interview respondents' views on targeting the media

i) Provide something 'new'

Firstly, press releases need to be 'news', with an emphasis on 'new'. Organisations need to provide new facts, new case studies, or new numbers.

"Directing campaigns at the media, the main things that we need to demonstrate to them is something new, new findings, new facts, whatever, and case studies."

(Interview 3)

Organisations cannot say the same thing over and over. This may create a tension with the need to repeat the same message over time, in order to have an impact on public attitudes towards an issue. One response to this is to talk about the different aspects of the same problem- this would allow repetition of the same key message, whilst discussing it in different ways, in order to maintain media, and public, interest.

"Q: You mentioned making stories newsworthy, how do you do that?"

A: Well it's about trying to find a new approach or something new to talk about within the child poverty agenda. We can't just sit there and say 'we've got to hit 2010, 2020, we've got to end child poverty in the UK', over and over. We've got to show how it impacts on different elements of society, and how it costs society as a whole, and I think that's how continually looking at other research that is coming out is really helpful. So we can talk about the wider costs to society, the costs to the individual, the cost to children, or childhoods."

(Interview 8)

ii) Provide Case Studies

Many respondents noted the need for 'case studies', since the stories of those affected provide an element of human interest to a newspaper story, and help to make poverty

'real'. Robinson et al (2009, p16) go as far as to suggest that "Third-sector organisations are seen as potential 'dating agencies', providing the media with access to individuals and families as 'case studies'".

"Q: Why do you think they want... case studies?

A: I think they want to make it real. When you pick up any paper or magazine, it's always about a person's story and what they're going through. That's just how it's portrayed, and poverty's no different really."

(Interview 3)

However, it was noted that some case studies may be preferred over others, and that people in poverty don't necessarily fit the media 'mould', because UK poverty is not a glamorous issue. This reflects findings by Robinson et al. (2009) that one reason poverty is underreported in the media is that it is perceived to 'turn off' audiences.

The usefulness of being a service providing organisation was highlighted in helping to find case studies, although it was also noted that there can still be problems with finding clients willing to talk to the media about poverty because of problems with negative perceptions of poverty, and of ensuring that their confidentiality is respected.

"there is a difficulty we certainly find with our service users, that nobody wants to be labelled as poor. It's very difficult to find case studies... they are reluctant to talk about living in poverty, because of all the implications that there are."

(Interview 2)

It was also noted that it may also be useful to include photos, in order to further humanise the case study.

iii) Provide other forms of evidence

As well as case studies, press releases may be supported by other evidence, such as simple statistics. It is possible that simple numerical data may provide context and

credibility to an argument, without forcing the audience to analyse and weigh up complex data. However, the primary focus appeared to be on case studies:

“Presenting stats, data and arguments is part of the picture that we give, but our emphasis, and we are very well aware that media is very human interest focussed, so we’d make sure in every press release that they can contact us for case studies, and we also provide stories from parents and families on their experiences, that’s crucial to every story.”

(Interview 9)

iv) Organise large scale events

Larger scale campaigning increases media interest, in particular campaigning involving large numbers of members of the public. Carroll and Ratner (1999, p28) note that the asymmetrical dependencies (discussed below) between campaign groups and the media can be reduced through the “mobilization of resources that permit staging the dramatic events that command media attention.”

Individual organisations may lack the resources to organise such large scale public events on their own; however, such events may be made possible by working in coalition with other organisations with shared interests. For instance, respondents noted the success of the ECP rally in generating media coverage. (The issue of working in coalition to organise larger scale events, and the ECP rally in particular, were further discussed in Chapter 7 on inter-organisational working.)

v) Consider the news environment

As well as considerations about the content of communications with the media, the environment into which communications are released should also be considered. The need to be aware of the rest of the news agenda needs to be considered, so as to ensure that press releases fit into the rest of the media’s agenda.

“...we have to take into account what’s on the other news agenda, so you try not to clash or compete.

Q: What kind of things might you clash with?

A: In terms of dates I meant, so for instance, with the G20, we can try and tailor some messages around the G20 and areas of poverty within the UK. But we also have to acknowledge that there is going to be a significant amount of media taken up with that and that it’s not going to be a big time for UK child poverty. So, you know, you have to be aware of what’s on and what’s likely to get covered.”

(Interview 8)

This may relate to the issue mentioned by Hanley (2009, that poverty, where mentioned, is considered ‘peripherally’ to other issues. Given this, it may be the case that press releases may relate poverty some wider story, in order to get media attention for it as a facet of the wider issue. In addition, it may be important to be aware that there may be times when it may be difficult to get any attention for the story at all.

vi) Be aware of differences between media outlets, and build contacts

Campaigning organisations also need to be aware of the different messages which may be needed for different media outlets, which have different audiences and different perspectives. As a result some media outlets may respond more positively to some stories than others.

“Obviously we need to be very conscious of the very different perspectives that each of the newspapers are coming from. And certainly some newspapers we work with a lot more than others for that reason.”

(Interview 6)

Consequently it is useful to have contacts within different media outlets, which might help an organisation to be aware whether a particular outlet would be interested in a story, and to get the story covered.

vii) Be clear about the message

Respondents also noted that it is difficult to control the way in which the media report a story highlighted by a campaigning organisation; they may distort the organisation's message based on their own agenda and how they wish to 'frame' the subject of the campaign message. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) found that this 'framing' of events was central to transactions between campaigners and the media:

"Movements and media are both in the business of interpreting events, along with other nonmovement actors who have a stake in them. Events do not speak for themselves but must be woven into some larger story line or frame; they take on their meaning from the frame in which they are embedded"

(Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p117)

In order to reduce messages being framed in an undesirable way, it was suggested that when contacting the press, campaigners should think about how a message could be interpreted, and be very clear about the desired focus of the story.

"...I think there are issues about making sure that you get the right policy message across.

Q: What do you mean by the right policy message?

A: Well you can obviously have your message distorted basically, if you're not careful.

Q: How do you avoid that?

A: I think it is thinking through the consequences of what you are saying and how it can be interpreted, which isn't necessarily as straight forward as you sometimes hope."

(Interview 7)

viii) Have everything pre-prepared

Chances of ensuring news coverage are improved if a campaign group has all of the work already completed, making it as easy as possible for the journalist. One respondent suggested that all the information could be included together in a 'media pack'. If possible, media outlets should be given advanced notice of a story. As one respondent put it:

"Journalists don't have time to be investigative reporters so you need to do the work. You need a bunch of great case studies, written; with great photos, taken. You need people with experience of poverty or the issue you are talking about ready to speak to the journalist at the time, ready to go on telly at the time. You need decent research, it can be quick and dirty, ready to back it up, and you need to have written the headline."

(Interview 1)

4.2. Discussion: Getting the press coverage you want – overcoming asymmetrical dependencies

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) argue that there is a 'fundamental asymmetry' in dependencies between the media and campaigners. They argue that campaigners rely upon the media to get their message to the public, to validate their messages, and to draw new people or organisations into discussing the issue. On the other hand, the media need actors (such as campaign groups) to provide 'copy', but, as Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993, p117) put it:

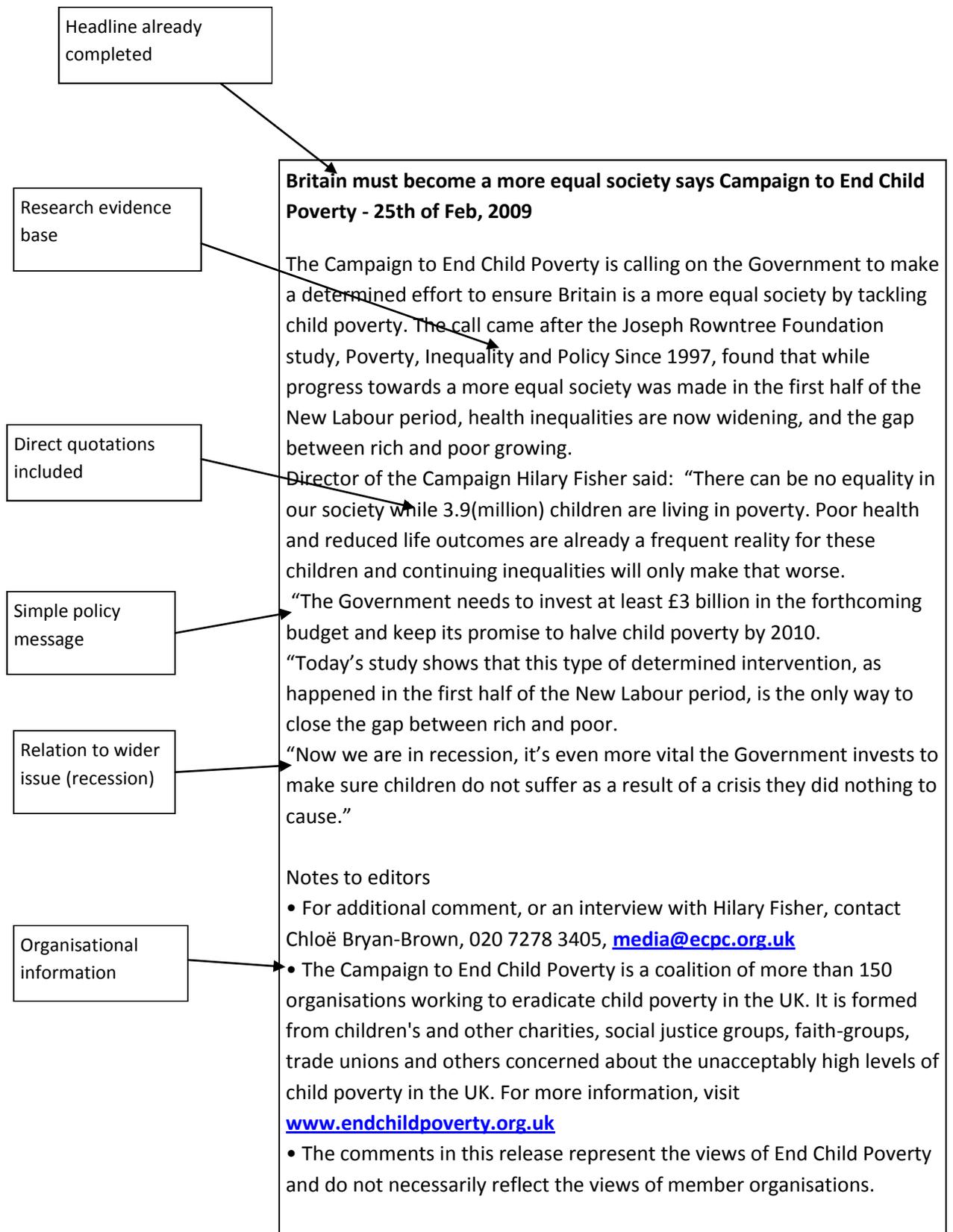
"they operate in a competitive environment with many rival service providers; they are only one source of news among many."

Asymmetrical dependencies help to explain a number of the suggestions given by respondents regarding how to get positive press coverage. For instance, it helps to explain the importance of campaign groups thoroughly pre-preparing releases to the media, and of developing contacts. The asymmetrical relationship means that they need to make the most of their bargaining position for media coverage relative to other organisations and individuals providing news; having as much as possible of the work done and ready for distribution may help with this.

More generally, asymmetrical dependencies make it particularly important for a campaign group to offer what media outlets want. The closer they can get to the 'ideal' news story, the better their position is in relation to that of the media outlet; although the media have a lot of stories to choose from, they are not all of the same quality, nor do they fit into their agenda equally well. By providing something new, with 'human interest', and which fits well into the news environment, campaign groups can improve their position relative to that of the media outlet.

Asymmetrical dependencies in relations between media outlets and campaign groups can be viewed through a broader resource dependency perspective. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) argued that organisations are inter-dependent with other organisations whose presence and activities can affect their resource sufficiency. It has been seen how this affects inter-organisational working within the Third sector in Chapter 7. Here we can see that a similar set of resource dependencies affect campaign groups in their dealings with the media. In this case, media outlets are dependent upon Third Sector Organisations to deliver part of their content (a TSO's key resource is therefore being able to deliver newsworthy material), whilst third sector organisations rely on the media to promote their activities and messages to a mass audience (a media outlet's key resource is therefore a mass audience). In the exchange of resources, the asymmetry exists because whilst media outlets have a huge range of organisations who wish to promote their activities and messages, third sector organisations rely on a relatively small range of media outlets to promote their concerns. Using a marketplace metaphor; there are a lot of 'retailers' of newsworthy material, compared to buyers able to 'trade' this material for access to a large audience- for the third sector organisation, it is a crowded marketplace.

Some of the methods of promoting campaign messages for a media audience (as discussed above) are illustrated in two sample press releases, included below. These have been annotated in order to illustrate the use of communication techniques.



<p>Headline already completed</p>	<p>Paying the price of poverty Release Date: Thu, 23 October.2008 /-AM- 00:01:00:00 Managing the consequences of not halting child poverty costs the UK at least £25 billion a year – that’s more than £800 per taxpayer.</p>
<p>Core message clearly framed</p>	<p>Barnardo's publicised shocking findings from the US* which showed the costs of child poverty dwarfed the investment needed to eradicate it, last year.</p>
<p>Connection to new research evidence</p>	<p>The children’s charity asked the Joseph Rowntree Foundation to carry out a similar study here in the UK.</p>
<p>Relation to wider issue affecting the audience (costs to the general public)</p>	<p>The foundation has revealed that child poverty costs services, such as the healthcare system and social services, £12 billion.</p>
<p>Quotation ready prepared</p>	<p>Because poor children’s health and education suffer, the knock-on effect deprives the labour market of higher earners, meaning a loss of £11 billion to the economy, leading to larger amounts of benefits being paid, totalling £2 billion.</p>
<p>Case study prominently included</p>	<p>Barnardo’s chief executive Martin Narey said: 'The failure to eradicate or at least more radically reduce child poverty is expensive for all of us, not just those who suffer poverty first hand.</p>
<p>Further information, including about the case study, available</p>	<p>'The moral case for hitting the 2010 target to halve child poverty is indisputable. But this research shows there is a formidable economic case for bringing children out of poverty.'</p>
	<p>As a single mum to three boys under ten, Samantha Wilson already has her hands full. But the fact that her middle son, seven-year-old Tom, has autism, combined with the rapidly rising costs of living, makes things even harder.</p>
	<p>'I try to get the children healthy food, but it costs too much. I can feed them easily on frozen chips and pizza. But who wants that for their children? Reformed compressed ham is cheap. I have to choose that over proper meat. What a choice. I even have to ration the fruit, particularly in the school holidays.</p>
	<p>'I’ve noticed a huge difference in the food bill over the last year too. Cereals are so expensive and we go through boxes. I usually do without so the kids can eat. Every week I go to the shops with a calculator, adding up everything that goes in the trolley. When it gets to £35 I stop and that’s it.'</p>
	<p>The end result is that Samantha’s children, who are helped by Barnardo’s Cornerstone project, in Yorkshire, are not as healthy as they could be because they are not getting a well-balanced diet. They are also overweight because she can’t afford to take them swimming or pay for them to join a sports team.</p>
	<p>Mr Narey said: 'No one underestimates the pressures on the Chancellor right now. But this is not the time to abandon the Government’s courageous pledge on child poverty. Alistair Darling needs to find the last £3 billion needed which will halve the child poverty Labour inherited in 1997.'</p>
	<p>*Harry Holzer et al, The Economic Costs of Poverty in the United States: Subsequent Effects of Children Growing up Poor. Washington, DC, Center for American Progress.</p>
	<p>Notes to editors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samantha Wilson is available for interview and photographs. • For more information please contact media officer Rebecca Goding • Barnardo’s works with more than 100,000 children, young people and their families in 394 specialised projects in local communities across the UK.
	<p>For more information please see our child poverty website.</p>

4.3. Use of New Media

The internet has provided new opportunities for campaign groups to communicate their messages to the public in ways which partly or entirely bypass the traditional media outlets. All organisations interviewed had publicly accessible websites, with some level of information about their campaign activities. Reports were frequently published online, and were free to download. In some cases (such as the Citizens Advice 'This is Child Poverty' report) the campaign group also uses online videos to further support their campaign. In some cases campaign groups were also using more interactive online tools to allow some level of campaign participation from the public. These included online polls, online petitions, and links to allow users to contact their MP.

Some campaigns have their own sections of an organisation's website, for instance: <http://www.barnardos.org.uk/childpoverty.htm>. This section provides information about Barnardo's work on child poverty.

In some cases organisations also made use of social networking sites, such as facebook, to promote their campaign work. In a few cases, interview respondents noted that their organisation had a network of campaigners who they could keep in touch with by email.

"...we have this network of campaigners who we ask them to do things for us like write to their MPs, that kind of thing. And that all tends to take place by email. And sometimes we'll do an online petition and that kind of thing. And we have a facebook group. I think in the past we might have done the odd viral email campaign kind of thing. I wouldn't say we're at the cutting edge of technology, we do a bit of it yeah."

(Interview 6)

Use of the internet can allow organisations to reduce their dependence on traditional media, and the risk of mis-framing of messages which such dependence creates (Carroll

and Ratner, 1999). Campaign groups control the information provided on their website, or distributed in emails, and as a result, can control the framing of their messaging¹⁰.

However, although all organisations interviewed made some use of the internet in their campaign work, several organisations felt that this was not as fully developed as it could be.

“Q: How important do you think changes in technology have affected your campaigning work, in particular have you made good use of the internet do you think?”

A: We’re starting to do more things like online surveys. But no not particularly good use is probably my answer.”

(Interview 7)

A number of factors which constrained use of the internet in campaigning were mentioned.

i) Less appropriate for ‘upstream’ campaign work

Little use of the internet may be associated with higher level policy activity, focussing on ‘upstream’ decision makers, rather than wider public engagement, making communications with a large audience less important.

“...the kind of work we do, high level lobbying or policy or whatever you want to call it isn’t particularly amenable to using the internet.”

(Interview 7)

¹⁰ Media dependencies may also be reduced through communicating with campaigners directly through non-electronic means, such as posting them newsletters. This was beyond the scope of this project.

ii) Constrained by IT limitations

One interview respondent indicated that their organisation's use of the internet was constrained by the limitations of their IT system.

“...our internal IT system doesn't allow us to be overly creative, and that is something that we are very much working on and to be more creative in our web presence and new technologies, and to use that to give out our messages, so that is definitely an ongoing process and something that we will concentrate more on in the future.”

(Interview 9)

iii) Problems with limited online communications 'space'

An organisation may constrain the number of emails which they send out to their supporters to prevent them feeling over-burdened. As a result, if the organisation is working on a large number of campaign areas, campaigners may have difficulty getting any particular issue onto the email agenda.

“there are lots of people trying to get in there for slots on (our organisation's) public communications. For example we do one action email a month to our best activists, and you have to try and bid for that a good number of months in advance, and I have never yet managed to get it so that the action that I want is the action that gets emailed to the activists.”

(Interview 1)

4.4. Targeting the Media- discussion

Use of the media can be an important tool for delivering messages to both the general public, and also to policy makers. However, it is a competitive environment, with an asymmetric dependency between the media and the campaign groups, and, even when stories are picked up, there is a risk that mis-framing the campaign message may be mis-

framed. As a result, it is important that campaign groups maximise the likelihood that their communications will be picked up and publicised (in the desired way) by the press. The ways in which campaign groups may maximise the likelihood of this happening were discussed.

New media may be an important tool for reducing campaign group dependencies on the traditional media outlets, allowing them to become more self sufficient. Despite its own difficulties, use of the internet may currently be under-exploited in campaigns on Child Poverty, and this may be one area in which further progress may be made.

5. Conclusions

For many organisations, it is felt important to target the public in order to challenge negative public perceptions which surround poverty in the UK, and to build a groundswell of opinion which can support the Government in taking action on Child Poverty. The key findings of significance to campaigning TSOs are summarised in the following table.

Table 9. Tactics for effective public and media oriented campaigning

<p>Addressing public attitudes to poverty:</p>	<p>Interviewees felt that public attitudes towards UK poverty were problematic for campaigners.</p> <p>There are a three key ways in which public attitudes towards UK poverty may be negative: 1) UK poverty does not exist 2) Poor people in the UK are undeserving of further assistance and 3) Nothing can be done about UK poverty.</p>
<p>1) UK Poverty does not exist</p>	<p>Respondents suggested that one way of responding to disbelief in poverty in the UK is by drawing attention to the <i>realities</i> of poverty for the people it affects. Showing what poverty means in the UK context may help change how poverty is understood, and connect people to the key underlying issues.</p>

<p>2) Poor people in the UK are undeserving of further assistance</p>	<p>It may be an advantage for Child Poverty campaigning, that children in poverty are more generally perceived to be ‘deserving’ poor, than working age adults, since they cannot be responsible for their own situation. As such, one respondent suggested that child poverty may be used as the ‘best case’ for campaigning on UK poverty more generally.</p> <p>However, one respondent warned against over-emphasising those groups which will attract greatest public support (such as children in poverty), for fear of further entrenching the deserving/undeserving poor distinction, and as a result, making it harder to gain support for other underprivileged groups.</p>
<p>3) Nothing can be done about UK Poverty</p>	<p>One respondent noted that one problem facing campaigners is a perception that nothing can be done about poverty a ‘the poor are always with us’ attitude. It was suggested that it is important for campaigners to recognise the positive changes that have occurred, as well as the continuing problems.</p>
<p>Audience segmentation</p>	<p>Focussing on particular public sub-groups can help to reduce the resource costs of public campaigning. Limited resources can mean that maintaining a primary focus on those ‘low hanging fruit’ (Castell and Thompson, 2007) who are already engaged in the issue, can help to maximise the impact of resource use.</p>
<p>The need for ‘simplicity’</p>	<p>It was suggested that at least two levels of detail are needed for a successful campaign; a simple, easy to engage with, message is necessary for communications with the general public, but a detailed, evidence based, policy position is needed in order to address policy makers.</p>
<p>Targeting the</p>	<p>Interview respondents noted several ways of encouraging the media</p>

<p>media- getting the press coverage desired</p>	<p>to give campaign groups the press coverage desired. This included:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1)Providing something ‘new’ 2)Providing case studies 3)Supporting press releases with evidence 4)Organising large scale events 5)Consideration of the news environment 6)Being aware of differences between media outlets and building contacts 7)Being clear about the message to minimise message distortion 8)Having all relevant materials pre-prepared for journalists
<p>Use of New Media</p>	<p>Use of the internet can allow organisations to reduce their dependence on traditional media, and the risk of mis-framing of messages which such dependence creates (Carroll and Ratne, 1999). Campaign groups control the information provided on their website, or distributed in emails, and as a result, can control the framing of their messaging.</p> <p>A number of factors which constrained use of the internet in campaigning were mentioned:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Use of the internet for campaigning is less appropriate for ‘upstream’ campaign work targeting key policymakers. 2) Use of the internet in campaigning may be constrained by the limitations of an organisation’s IT system. 3) Problems with limited online communications ‘space’ - An organisation may constrain the number of emails which they send out to their supporters. As a result, if the organisation is working on a large number of campaign areas, campaigners may have difficulty getting any particular issue onto the email agenda.

In addition to the findings summarised above, the chapter also has a number of other key findings, which can contribute to our understanding of how Third Sector organisations target the public and the media in campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK.

- Decisions to undertake public oriented campaigning have traditionally been associated with a confrontational rather than collaborative approach to working with Government. This is not necessarily the case; public oriented campaigning on child poverty (as with Make Poverty History) appears to be largely defined by public oriented campaigning which exists to legitimise government action, rather than to invoke pressure to change policy against their will.
- As with other areas, the decision on whether to undertake public oriented campaigning is fundamentally one of weighing the resource costs against the returns in terms of power within the policy process. Resources which are of particular value for organisations undertaking “outsider” campaigning, including public interest, large financial resources and access to media, appear often to be quite different to resources of value in insider campaigning, where access to policymakers and (as will be seen in the following chapter) strong evidence may be of particular value. This highlights the possibility that “insider” and “outsider” campaign approaches can be seen as separate sub-fields of campaigning, with their own resource values, stakes and rules. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 10.
- The ‘public’ is not homogenous with respect to attitudes towards UK poverty. It may be appropriate to tailor campaign tactics towards particular groups. Within a constrained financial resource environment, it may be most economical for campaigning to target those already engaged with the issue of child poverty in the UK.
- Working with the media may be one way to reduce the resource costs, and increase the impact, of public oriented campaigning. However, campaign groups and the media have asymmetrical resource dependencies, making it particularly important for campaign groups to highlight the newsworthiness of their

campaigns so that they become more 'valuable' in transactions with media outlets. Use of new media may also be a useful tool in overcoming asymmetrical dependencies.

This chapter is the last of the four results and analysis sections. The following chapter summarises and concludes the project. As well as summarising and synthesising the results, the chapter addresses in details the implications of the research. The research is found to have both practical implications of benefit to Third Sector Organisations campaigning in this and other policy areas, and also to have implications both for academic research into Third Sector involvement in the policy process. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the project.

Chapter 10: Conclusions- Third Sector campaigning: trading across a complex marketplace

The preceding analysis chapters have addressed the four key factors affecting strategies for Third Sector Organisations campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK: organisational structures, inter-organisational working, working with policymakers, and working with the public and the media.

This chapter takes four parts. Firstly it summarises and synthesises the findings from the four analysis chapters; together this gives an overview of Third Sector strategies for campaigning on UK Child Poverty.

Secondly, the chapter develops the work of previous chapters in analysing why groups campaign in the ways in which they do. In particular this section develops findings in earlier chapters, bringing together a social fields perspective with a resource dependence perspective, to argue that campaigning is a complex marketplace, with resources having different values dependent upon the arena in which they are deployed.

Thirdly, the chapter considers both the practical and research implications of these findings. Initially the section addresses the implications for best practice for campaign groups attempting to influence the policy process. The section then addresses the research implications of the findings, including making suggestions for further research.

Taken together these three parts summarise the answers to the research questions set out in the thesis introduction; these were:

- What strategies and tactics do Third Sector Organisations use in their campaigning, particularly with regard to campaigning on child poverty in the UK?
- Why do they campaign in this way?
- What are the implications of this for research, policy and practice?

In the final section, the chapter includes some reflections on the project, including an assessment of the research questions. The project concludes with a discussion of changes within the context of campaigning on child poverty policy, and thoughts about the future of campaigning in this area.

1) Summary of analysis: What strategies and tactics do Third Sector Organisations use in their campaigning, particularly with regard to campaigning on child poverty in the UK? Why do they use the strategies they do?

Throughout the analysis chapters, a wide range of strategies for campaigning on UK child poverty have been discussed. These included:

1.1. Adapting organisational structures, and inter-organisational working

In the chapter 6, the impact of *organisational structures and functions* on campaigning were discussed. It was noted that a number of factors associated with organisational structures and functions had an impact on campaigning, including organisational size, profile, organisational location, service provision, links between fundraising and campaigning, and whether the organisation is a single issue campaign group, or if it works in a number of policy areas.

It was suggested that it is not possible to typify an idealised organisational structure for campaigning on child poverty, however many organisations appeared to:

- wish to have more financial resources, to increase the scope and/or domain of campaigning
- wish to have a presence both centrally (normally in London) but also be able to retain good channels of communication to localities nationally,
- believe that service provision provides important evidence which can support campaign work
- believe that development of a supporter network can help with campaign actions.

It was suggested that organisational structures provide the core resources (such as money, organisational profile, human resources,) which organisations depend upon for their survival and the successful fulfilment of their organisational objectives. Whilst not being resources themselves, organisational functions determine the way in which resources are used (in order that they are best used to fulfil the organisation's core functions).

In the chapter 7, *inter-organisational working* was discussed. The chapter addressed the costs and benefits of working together to achieve campaign goals. Where collaborative working was successful, individual organisations were found to be able to improve their resource sufficiency (their ability to acquire adequate resources to achieve their goals). This was for two reasons:

Firstly, through the pooling of resources, collaborative working increased the quantity of resources available to each individual organisation, allowing resource 'gaps' to be filled (for instance by sharing limited expertise within a policy area). Increases in resources available increased not only the quantitative scale of policy work undertaken by organisations, it also changed the qualitative nature of that work. For example, it allowed large scale public campaigning which would be impossible if undertaken by any individual organisation.

Secondly, successful collaborative working increased the efficiency of organisational resource use. In particular, inter-organisational working may be able to reduce what this project has called 'campaign friction' between organisations campaigning for the reduction of child poverty in the UK. This friction occurs where organisational messages are either conflicting with one another, or where they are inefficiently coordinated and as a result, fail to maximise impact.

However, as well as these benefits, collaborative working was also found to have associated risks and costs. Even in good collaborative relationships, organisations may have to give up some of their organisational autonomy and identity to be involved in collaborative work. Autonomy is lost through negotiation with other organisations about

campaign actions and messaging, and all organisations are likely to need to be willing to be flexible to the demands of other groups. Identity is lost when campaigns are orchestrated under a coalition banner, meaning an individual organisation is less associated with the work and the message than would otherwise be desirable. In addition, collaborative working creates risks of opportunistic behaviour, with pushy partners potentially ‘bulldozing’ other organisations into certain courses of action, or of organisations failing to contribute their fair share of resources to collaborative work.

These costs and risks can be reduced through good management of the collaboration, for example, by ensuring that organisations have the flexibility to pursue their own work agendas whilst participating in collaborative working, or by helping to ensure more equitable contributions of resources by all partners.

1.2. Choice of campaign targets and Outsider and Insider campaigning tactics

In chapters 8 and 9 the thesis focuses on the choices organisations make in targeting their campaigns, and the tactics they employ when orienting their campaigns towards different targets.

One major choice organisations face is whether to target their campaigning at policymakers or at the public and the media. Such different strategies have been referred to as ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ strategies respectively; mixed strategies are also common. It is argued in the two chapters that the choice of insider or outsider campaigning depends upon the nature of organisational resources. For example, substantial financial resources, and the ability to produce simple, easily communicable, campaign messages may be particularly valuable in undertaking ‘outsider’ campaigns. For insider strategies, there was evidence that access to policymakers and the ability to produce strong, detailed and reliable evidence was particularly important. Resource dependence in the insider and outsider campaigning ‘sub-fields’ will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

As well as deciding whether the key campaign target is the public, the media, or policymakers directly (or a combination of approaches), campaigners also need to decide whether their campaign tactics are to be confrontational or collaborative with

policymakers. Insider strategies have been described as ‘collaborative’ with the Government, whereas Outsider strategies have been interpreted as typically ‘confrontational’. Evidence from this project has shown that this is not necessarily the case, identifying examples of collaborative outsider strategies. There is some evidence from this project, and from evidence from other areas (such as Make Poverty History), that collaborative outsider strategies are becoming increasingly common and that they are utilised when there is significant support for policy change within the Government, but increased public support for change is desired by policymakers, to give them the legitimacy to take action.

As well as making choices about whether to target policymakers directly, or indirectly through the public and media, groups can also implement various campaign strategies to improve their impact upon that audience.

Insider campaigns need to decide which figures within the policy process they should target. Results indicated that these decisions were primarily determined on the basis of influence maximisation – organisations were most likely to contact those policymakers with direct influence on the subject of the campaign. Campaigns targeted at the public were similarly found to target specific sections of this audience. Unlike campaigning targeted at policymakers, where those targeted were those with influence on the policy area, when targeting the public audience segmentation was typically utilised to target campaigning at those groups with some existing sympathies towards the campaign.

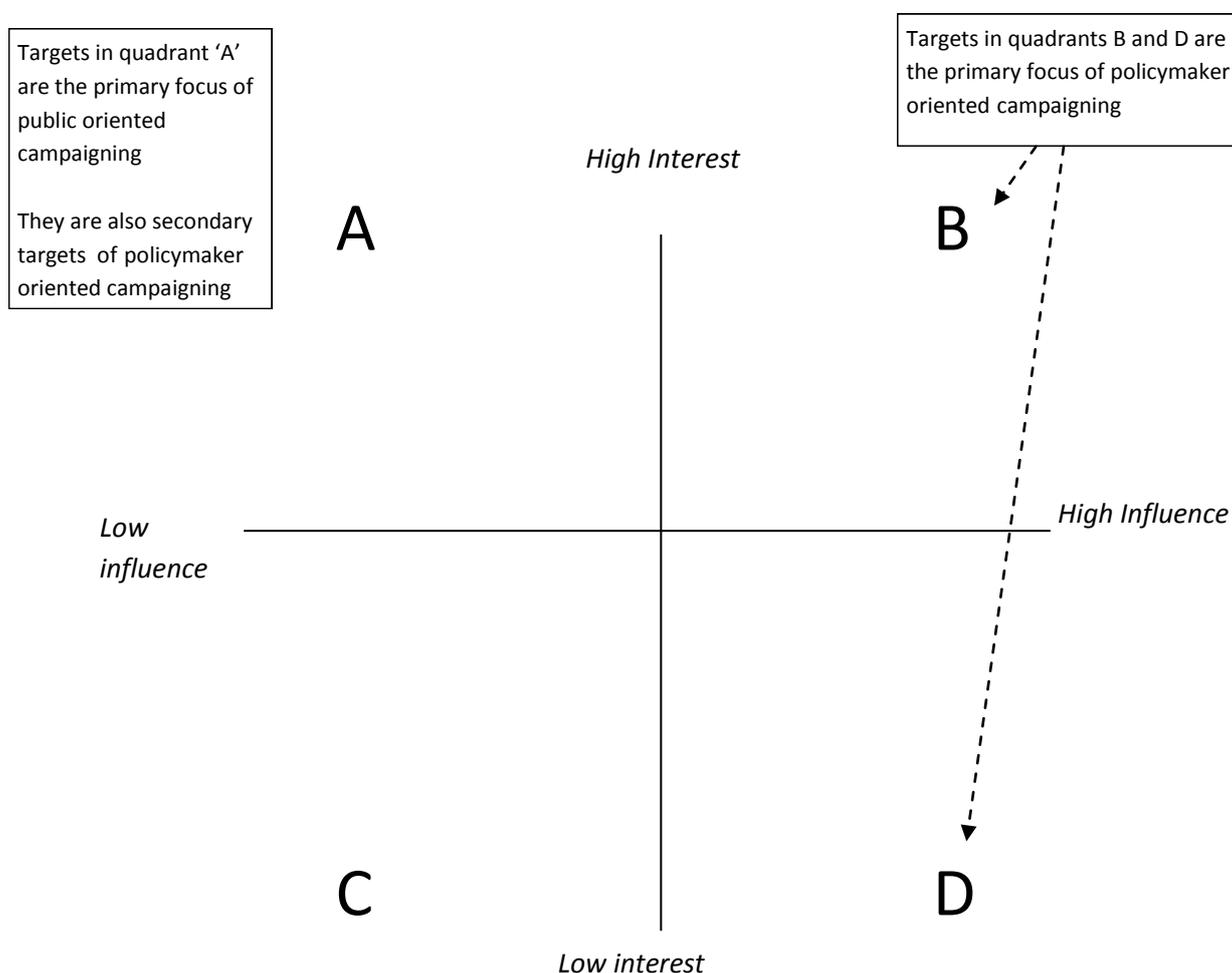
This difference in campaign targeting between insider and outsider campaigning can be explained from a resource dependence perspective. The utility of a campaign supporter (whether a policymaker or a member of the public) depends on two functions, equivalent to the criticality of the resource to the organisation’s operations, and the ease of resource procurement- the amount of influence they have over the policymaking process, and the ease of gaining their active support and engagement. With policymakers, influence varies enormously; those in a direct position of authority (for instance a Minister with responsibility for the policy area), are likely to have a considerably higher value than, for instance, a backbench MP with no specific role beyond their voice in Parliament. Although inclination to support the campaign will also vary, analysis suggested that

individual influence was thought to matter most, and as such, was the primary determinant of insider campaign targeting (although there was evidence that interest in the campaign may act as a secondary determinant – getting supporters to make ‘noise’ in favour of the campaign).

This is not generally so true in campaigning engaging the public. Support from the public is desirable to be able to show the strength of public opinion on the issue, giving the campaign democratic legitimacy. Although in some circumstances, individuals may have particular skills or experience which make them a valuable resource, “the numbers game is fundamental in itself” (Casey, 2004, p16). As such, the crucial variable is the resource efficiency with which supporters can be procured – and analysis suggested that in public oriented campaigning, groups emphasised targeting those already inclined to support the campaign.

This model of campaign targeting is overviewed in fig18 below.

fig 18. Resource efficient policymaker and public campaign targeting



Working with the media can be one strategy employed to reduce resource costs in campaigning. This can be of particular use in public engagement campaigns, to offset the high costs of contacting a large public audience. However, many organisations wish to gain space in relatively small numbers of media outlets, as a result resource dependencies between TSOs and media outlets has been described as “asymmetrical” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). This project found that campaign groups utilised a range of strategies to offset these resource dependencies, and to make it more likely that media outlets will agree to exchange “story for space”. This is achieved by providing something new, with human interest, and which fits well with the news environment. In addition, groups can utilise ‘new media’ in order to avoid these asymmetrical dependencies, by bypassing altogether the need for an exchange relationship with media outlets.

1.3. Key resources within different campaign strategies

For insider lobbying, access to policymakers was found to be a crucial resource. To achieve this, the importance of relationship building was highlighted. Relationships are built through the use of other organisational resources including both the personal relationship building skills of campaigners, but are also related to organisational factors, including how established the campaign group is in the policy field. Relationships between campaigners and policymakers are resource dependent; it was important to be able to offer something to policymakers (such as expertise, or good quality evidence) in exchange for access. Relationships with policymakers were also found to matter over time, with respondents noting the need to foster relationships now, which may become more significant at a later point.

For campaigns targeted at the public and the media, different resources were found to be of crucial importance. In particular, because of the numbers of people potentially involved, and because of their diffusion across the country, public campaigning was viewed as a particularly ‘concrete’ resource intensive form of campaigning, often requiring significant investments of money, staff, and involvement from organisation members. As noted previously, this has made collaborative working particularly important, for organisations wishing to organise large scale public campaigns. Ability to use the media to reduce resource costs in contacting a large public audience was also

considered important. Secondly, in public oriented campaigning, it was perceived to be important to have an easily communicable issue (and/or have the skills to be able to simplify the issue for public consumption.)

When targeting the media, relationships with media contacts were considered an important resource. However, organisations also needed the resources to be able to provide a good news story- this in itself may have resource costs attached, for instance, media interest might be attracted through the organisation of successful public events (with associated resource costs). It was also noted that media outlets often wanted a human interest angle on a story, and therefore the ability to provide good case studies was a desirable resource for campaigning targeted at the media.

1.4. Communication strategies

The creation of effective communications was important to campaign groups. Policymaker focussed communication strategies were investigated in detail in Chapter 8, with analysis of a recent Work and Pensions select committee hearing on child poverty.

This analysis found that campaign group responses to the select committee hearings could be divided into three key parts: stating the changes needed, giving the reasons for those changes, and legitimising their claims.

The changes needed were found to be relatively consistent across groups. It was suggested that this might suggest some level of inter-organisational networking, through the sharing of problems, ideas and evidence. The reasons for change either addressed the specific concerns of the Select Committee, or Government objectives with regard to the policy issue, or they addressed what have been called ‘general principles of sound policymaking’ including:

- Ensuring spending is cost effective
- Promoting rights, fairness and other ‘ethical’ concerns
- Ensuring changes are realistically possible

- Promoting consistency between policies
- Addressing problems according to their severity
- Relating problems and proposed solutions to the ‘realities’ for those affected
- Ensuring that policy is founded on a strong evidence base

Finally organisational methods for providing legitimacy for their campaign messages fell into two types. Firstly, they provided direct evidence in support of their proposals for changes needed and the reasons for those change. Secondly, they also provided evidence of their own organisational legitimacy in contributing to the policy process.

2) How can resource dependence and social fields perspectives contribute to understanding the strategies and tactics used by campaigning TSOs?

2.1. Resource dependencies in campaigning

In Chapter 4, it was hypothesised that a resource dependence perspective can be used to explain the campaigning process. Organisations can be conceived of as trading the resources they possess for those that they need but do not control, in order to impact upon public policy. In the course of the analysis for this project, this perspective has been further explored and developed.

The fieldwork for the project revealed that the resources organisations possess include (amongst others):

- Staff (who themselves possess resources the organisation can utilise, including expertise in a policy area, research reports which contribute to the organisation’s evidence base, or communication skills to increase the effectiveness of communications targeted at policymakers or the media)
- Service users (who may provide support for the organisation’s goals, and evidence to support these goals)

- Evidence (including research reports produced by the organisation, evidence they have access to from other organisations, and evidence provided by service users)
- Financial resources (necessary to establish and maintain all of the other resources mentioned, and also necessary to orchestrate any successful campaign. However, some organisational strategies will require more financial resources than others)
- Organisational reputation and perceived legitimacy in the policy process (including brand identity)
- Access to/ relationships with policymakers (necessary to provide the opportunities to acquire policymaker support for policy proposals)
- Access to / relationships with media contacts (which can help to provide opportunities to acquire media space for campaigning)
- Good relationships other Third Sector Organisations working in similar areas (including good collaborative working relationships)
- Skills and expertise (with regard to the specific policy area, but also knowledge of campaign tactics, effective campaign messaging etc)

These resources are all interconnected, and organisations can use each of them to support and develop other organisational resources. For instance, financial resources will be required to take on new staff. Such staff can then be used to develop good relationships with other organisations, and with policymakers and the media; they may also be used to develop an evidence base for further campaigning. Good relationships with other organisations may help to develop organisational reputation and perceived legitimacy in the policy process.

However, as well as this, organisations involved in campaigning also deployed these resources in order to gain three other key resources:

Policymaker support - Policymaker support for a campaign is a crucial goal of policy campaigning. Whilst in some cases policy change is achievable without public support, it is never achievable without the support (or at least acquiescence) of key policymakers empowered to make the changes desired.

As noted above, the criticality of a specific policymaker's support as a campaign resource depends upon the extent of their influence within the specific sphere of the policymaking process in which change is desired. The extent of this power is the primary determinant of insider campaign targeting.

The acquisition of policymaker support for campaign groups' policy proposals requires two elements. Firstly, access to policymakers is required. The resources required to achieve this have been discussed above. Utilising access opportunities, campaign groups then need to persuade policymakers to support the proposals which they make. To some extent, this is constrained by the policy environment, affecting the political viability of the campaign; however, campaign groups can use the resources they have available (such as detailed evidence), and effective campaign messaging, to make it as likely as possible that a policymaker adopts their policy recommendations, and effective campaign messaging can be important here.

Public support - On some occasions, organisations utilise their resources in order to gain public support for their campaigning. As previously noted, this can be important in order to create a policy environment in which change is politically viable.

Campaigns which target the public can be very expensive, and a variety of methods exist to make public oriented campaigning more feasible. These include collaborative working, audience segmentation and use of the media.

Media space - Although the media has no direct policymaking power in its own right, it has access to both the public and policymakers. Such access is a necessary resource for organisations attempting to influence the policymaking process.

It was noted that normally a mass media outlet will need a particular story from a campaign group less than the campaign group needs its messages to be advertised through the media. As such, it is particularly important that campaign groups communicate their messages effectively to the media, as has been described previously.

Analysis indicated that organisational resources can be used in two different ways to gain policymaker support, public support and media space. Firstly, resources can be directly exchanged – for example, TSOs attempt to exchange evidence (submitted to a select committee) for influence on the select committee’s report, similarly, they attempt to exchange press releases for media space. However, TSOs also use other resources they possess in order to improve the likelihood of successful resource exchanges taking place. In this project, these resources have been called ‘Resource Exchange catalysts’. These include:

- Relationships with policymakers/ journalists – which make access opportunities easier to obtain.
- Effective campaign messaging skills – which increase the impact of messages.
- Resources obtained from collaborations – which can increase resources and increase the efficiency of resource use.
- Organisational branding – which can increase access opportunities, and give organisational legitimacy.
- Expertise in audience segmentation/ appropriate policymaker targeting – effective targeting can help to improve the resource outlay to impact ratio.

2.2. Social Fields in campaigning

In Chapter 4, Bourdieu’s theory of social fields was discussed. It was suggested that the policy process was a distinct social field with its own stakes (influence over policy) and resources used in obtaining this influence.

It was further suggested that insider and outsider campaign approaches can be conceived of as distinct political ‘sub-fields’. The findings from this project bear out this hypothesis.

Although the core stake remains the same across campaign approaches (influence on policy), it has been shown that this core goal is mediated through sub-goals through which influence is achieved. These sub-goals are influence on policymakers and influence on the public.

Influence on policymakers is the 'stake' for which actors in the 'insider' political sub-field compete. Influence on the public is the 'stake' for which actors in the 'outsider' political sub-field compete. Results from this project indicate that the valuable resources in these two sub-fields are also different (although there is significant overlap).

Previous research, such as Grant (2004), has argued that insider campaigning has associated rules, resources and stakes- which may be associated with a 'sub-field' of political action. However, 'outsider' campaigning has typically been identified by its absence of the rules to which insider campaigners were expected to abide. As Grant (2004, p409) puts it:

“Outsider groups by definition formed a more disparate and heterogeneous category. They were not subject to the disciplines imposed by acceptance of the informal rules of the game.”

This research, on the contrary, has identified that in both insider and outsider campaigning there are rules, resources and stakes. Although the consequences of 'disobeying' the rules may be less apparent within outsider campaigning, organisations require the ability to present simple messages, the skills necessary to work with public attitudes (especially when they are negative) and to bargain with the media in exchange for media space. Without abiding by these rules, and recognising key resources and stakes, an organisation is very likely to have limited ability to utilise the public in campaign work.

Previous social fields literature has referred to the existence of sub-fields or sub-sectors of fields (eg Wacquant, 2008; Bourdieu in Wacquant, 1989), however the relation of sub-fields to fields, and to other sub-fields, has been greatly under developed.

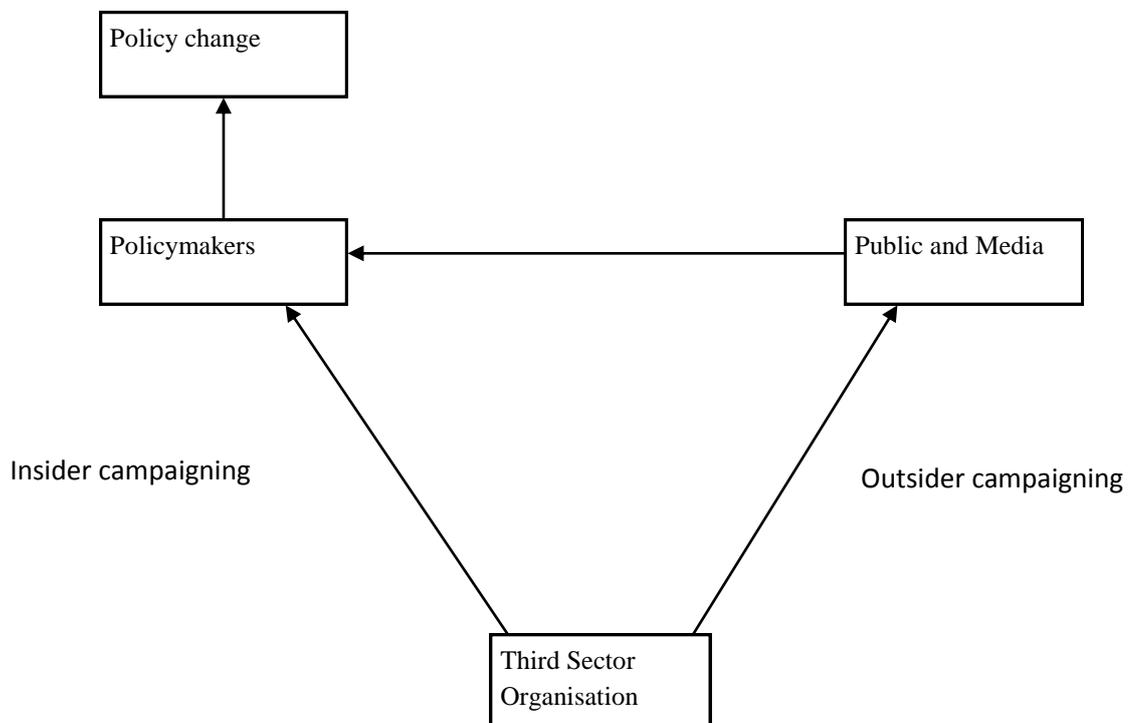
2.3. Interaction of sub-fields:

Since the end goal of campaigning (policy change) is the same regardless of the sub-field through which it is approached, it is unsurprising that the sub-fields of insider and outsider campaigning interact.

Outsider campaigning is used in order to influence policymakers indirectly. As such, although there is crucial distinction between the sub-fields of insider and outsider campaigning, the stakes competed for in outsider campaigning are also resources for influencing policymakers.

The insider and outsider routes to influence for campaigning TSOs are shown in the following diagram.

fig19. Insider and Outsider routes to influence through campaigning (arrows represent influence exerted)



In the diagram above, public support resources are shown as influencing policymakers. More specifically, Chapter 9 showed that such influence can be used in two different ways; either to exert pressure when political support is low, or to support policymakers in taking action when political support is high.

The importance of public support for influencing policymakers when they are against a policy proposal has been well researched and defined; this is classic confrontational outsider campaigning. However, as noted in Chapter 9, the importance of public support as a resource for encouraging policymakers to take action when political support is high has been under explored.

The need for public support for political action on an issue means that, where there is some political support for change, Third Sector outsider campaigning can be actively desired by policymakers in order to give them the legitimacy to bring about change, and (as one respondent put it) give them the 'courage' to do so, often in the face of competing and contrary interests. This project has found examples of this in the field of child poverty campaigning, and has identified this as 'collaborative outsider campaigning'.

2.4. Combining Resource Dependence and Social Fields perspectives

As presented above, TSOs possess a range of different resources to deploy in the most effective way that they see fit. Campaigning TSOs will attempt to exchange these resources to obtain those other resources which they need, but do not possess themselves – that is, they exchange resources in order to satisfy their resource dependencies.

However, campaigning TSO resources do not have the same value regardless of where they are deployed. Their values depend upon the sub-field or 'marketplace' in which they are exchanged.

For this reason this chapter is sub-titled 'Trading across a complex marketplace'. Were it a simple marketplace, resources would have the same value wherever they were utilised. In a complex marketplace, the resource value varies according to the 'market stall' (sub-field) to which it is taken. As noted previously, substantial financial resources, as well as access to the media and an easily communicable issue may be particularly valuable in undertaking 'outsider' campaigns. For insider strategies, there was evidence that access to policymakers and the ability to produce strong, reliable evidence is particularly important.

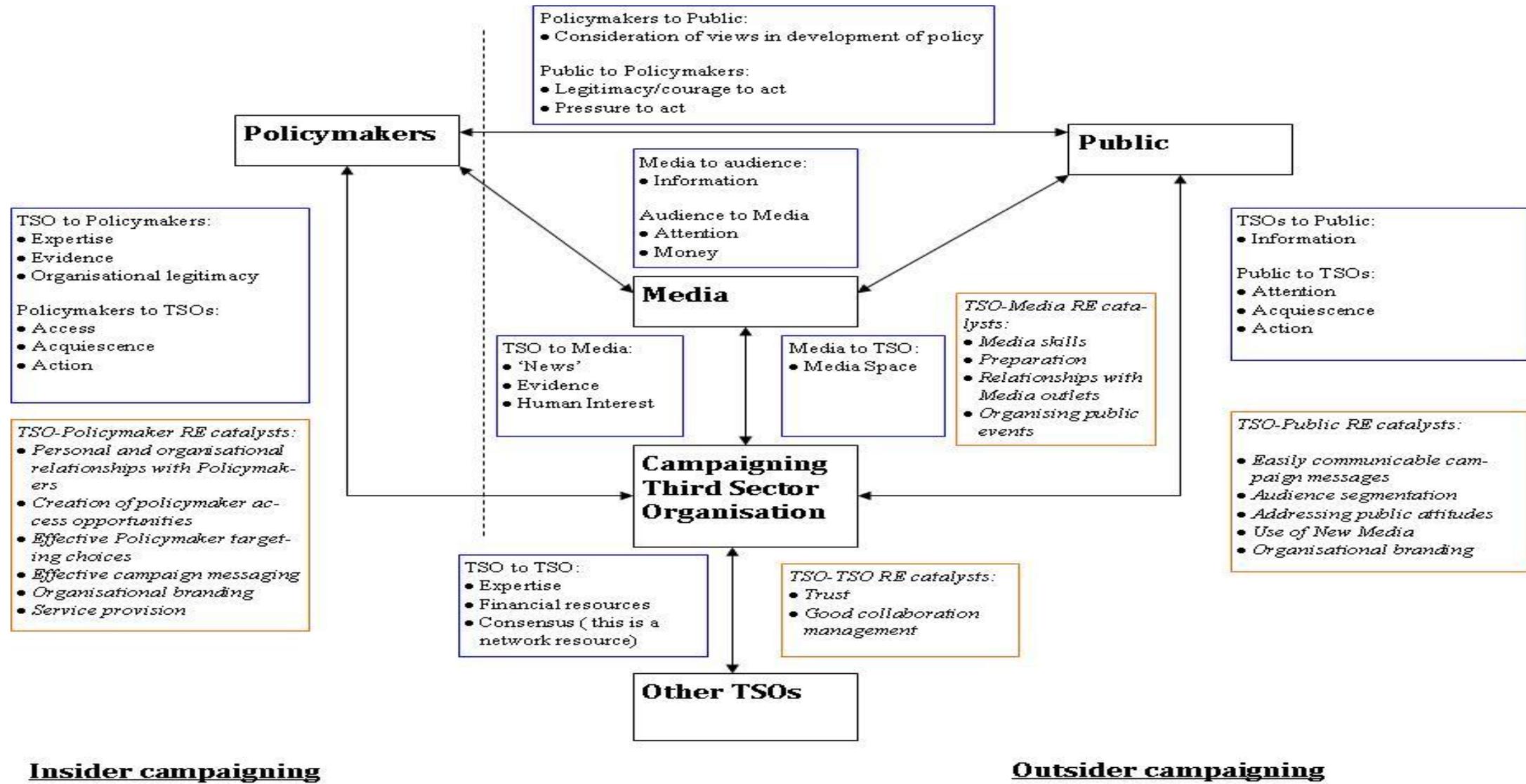
In both cases resources can be utilised most effectively by successful campaign targeting, although the nature of such targeting varies between the two fields. As previously noted, in the insider field, influence is primarily determined by *which* policymakers can be successfully lobbied. In the outsider field, the 'numbers game' is more important meaning that successful targeting maximises the number of people influenced.

A resource dependence perspective has not previously been combined with a social fields perspective. This research therefore fills an important gap in the organisational studies literature. From a resource dependence perspective, it highlights that the value of resources depend upon the 'stakes' which they are being used to achieve. As such it highlights the need for organisations to consider whether the resources they possess can achieve a higher value (and thus go further in satisfying the organisation's resource dependencies) in a different sub-field.

From a social fields perspective, utilisation of a resource dependence framework highlights the importance, of recognising that success in achieving goals within a field depends upon how organisations utilise the resources they possess, and interact with their environment in order to acquire the resources they need but do not control. The nature of the field in which an organisation is operating determines the resources they need, and the best methods to utilise in order to gain access to those resources.

A diagram (Fig 20) summarising resource exchanges (and resource exchange catalysts) within Third Sector campaigning, and illustrating how these exchanges varied between the insider and outsider sub-fields, is included on the following page.

Fig 20. Resource Exchanges and Resource Exchange catalysts in Insider and Outsider Campaigning sub-fields



2.5. Combining resource dependence and fields perspectives to understand Child

Poverty campaigning

It should also be asked how child poverty in the UK fits into this model of campaigning, in which organisations are resource dependent on their environments for the effectiveness of their campaigns, and in which the field of political influence has been divided into the two sub-fields of insider and outsider campaigning strategies.

Interviews (and previous literature) have suggested that action on UK Child Poverty is characterised by high levels of policymaker support, but considerably lower support levels amongst the public and the media. This may make it harder for campaign groups to harness public support for their campaigns (the 'stake' for which outsider campaigning competes) and easier than otherwise for gaining political support for a campaign (the stake for which insider campaigning competes).

Perhaps for this reason, there is evidence that child poverty campaigning has been notably collaborative with Government. That is not to say that campaign groups did not disagree with the Government's direction over many specific poverty related issues. Nonetheless over the core goal of reducing child poverty (indeed, of eradicating poverty by 2020) campaign groups and the Government were substantially in agreement.

This situation has also had implications for outsider campaigning. In particular it was felt by many respondents that there is considerable public disbelief in the existence of UK poverty- a sense that nothing can be done about it, and that poor people are undeserving of further assistance. Several of the organisations interviewed were currently doing work on communicating the existence and nature of UK poverty to the public. In addition, for some respondents, campaigning on child poverty was itself a way of targeting wider issues of poverty affecting a number of different sections of society. Child Poverty was seen as a 'best case,' which could be used to raise public interest and sympathy.

Campaign groups in the field were widely involved in inter-organisational working in order to reduce the costs, and increase the effectiveness, of their campaigning. There

was evidence that there were relatively recent developments in this area, particularly with the creation of the End Child Poverty coalition.

3) Implications of the Research

3.1 Implications for campaigning TSOs.

This research has a number of implications for campaign groups. The research methodology involved interviews with a wide range of expert campaigners and social policy staff in different organisations working on child poverty and related issues. The results indicate a wide range of strategies which campaign groups utilise in their campaigning, and which confirm and develop previous findings about campaign strategies. Consequently, the results have highlighted a number of considerations and recommendations for TSOs campaigning, potentially not only on child poverty, but across a range of policy areas.

These practical results have been outlined in an 'executive summary' to be sent to all interview respondents (and to be made available for other campaign groups). This executive summary gives a range of recommendations for improving campaign strategies and tactics, based on the fieldwork findings from this project.

3.2 Theoretical implications

As well as the practical implications for campaigning Third Sector Organisations, this project also has a number of research implications.

3.2.1. Developing resource dependence perspectives

The thesis utilises the resource dependence perspective to investigate the underexplored area of how the perspective relates to Third Sector campaigning, with particular emphasis on understanding the various resource dependencies in Third Sector campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK. The work has created a detailed map to summarise the resource

dependencies and resource exchange catalysts involved in Third Sector campaigning (figure 20).

it has been argued (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, pxvi) that the resource dependence perspective has lacked empirical evaluation; this research addresses this gap, showing how the framework can be used to explain dependencies within the field of policy development, with particular reference to campaigning on child poverty policy.

3.2.3. Development of the social fields framework including the Identification of social sub-fields and their implications for Uk campaigning on child poverty

The research also develops Bourdieu's social fields framework. This is a useful framework which has been under utilised in understanding political action. Previous work (including that by Bourdieu) has recognised the 'political field' in which actors compete for political influence (e.g. Bourdieu in interview with Wacquant, 1989). This work uses this framework in an empirical study. Application of the framework has revealed some notable results. In particular, it has revealed the existence of two important sub-fields within the political field. (While Bourdieu suggested the existence of sub-fields, the idea has been under explored and the nature of the sub-field has not been satisfactorily theorised). These sub-fields of 'insider' and 'outsider' campaigning are shown to have their own stakes, which impact upon the nature of resource dependencies in these sub-fields.

The research has implications for how sub-fields are defined. Fields can be defined by the stakes for which the actors in the field compete –political influence is a distinct stake which can be clearly distinguished from other stakes such as 'wealth' and 'beauty', and as such, competing for it is a distinct field of social action. The research here suggests that sub-fields may similarly be distinguished by the stakes which are competed for (in the case of 'insider' and 'outsider' sub fields, the stakes are policymaker support, and public and media support respectively.) However, the difference between sub-fields and fields, as defined here, is that the stakes for which actors compete in the sub-fields, are simultaneously resources in the field. Support from the public and the media, and from

policymakers are both important campaign goals for campaigners, but at the same time they are also means to the end of changing policy.¹¹

In Chapter 4, it was noted that social fields have been referred to as ‘games’, because participants compete over stakes by putting forward investments (Everett, 2002). Within this framework, “sub-fields” can be compared to “sub-games”, where players compete to earn advantages within the main game. For example, in the early stages of a game of chess, players compete for position and material which will place them in a better position to obtain checkmate in the later stages of the game. Similarly, in the early 1990s TV show, “The Crystal Maze” participants competed in a series of games, to win resources (crystals) which gave them additional time in the main game (in the crystal dome) at the finale to the show.

3.2.2. Combining resource dependence and social fields frameworks to understand Third Sector campaign strategies.

As well as developing resource dependence and social fields perspectives by applying them to UK campaigning on child poverty, this research also brings the two fields together to combine them in an integrated analysis of Third Sector campaigning strategies.

This approach shows how campaigning on child poverty operates within a ‘complex marketplace’ and, as described earlier in this chapter, reveals how resource values relate to the field in which they are deployed.

Figure 20 summarises the findings of this, indicating how key campaign resources differ between the insider and outsider campaign fields.

¹¹ Interestingly, since the stakes of outsider campaigning (public support) are resources in insider campaigning, this definitional approach makes the sub-field of outsider campaigning itself a sub-field of campaigning targeted at policymakers.

3.2.4. Development of insider and outsider campaigning literature including the identification of collaborative outsider campaigning strategies

A further contribution is that the work also develops previous research on the insider and outsider approaches to campaigning for political change. Firstly, the research from this project has incorporated a social fields approach into understandings of insider and outsider campaigning and explored the rules, resources and stakes of both insider and outsider approaches to campaigning. As described previously, insider approaches have been classically portrayed as having rules, resources and stakes, with outsider approaches lacking these restrictions on behaviour. This research has shown that this is not the case with each campaign approach a distinct 'sub-field' of political campaigning.

Exploration of campaigning in this way has shown how the value of resources varies between the sub-fields; it has also allowed new exploration of how the insider and outsider sub-fields interact with each other, and with the wider field. Interaction of sub-fields has been discussed above, showing how public campaigning can contribute to policymaker action, either by exerting pressure for change (outsider campaigning which is confrontational with Government), or by working in collaboration to give policymakers the legitimacy and courage to make changes (outsider campaigning which is collaborative with Government). Outsider campaigning which is collaborative with Government is an important part of the outsider campaign sub-field, and has been subject to very limited exploration, making it an important area for future research.

The project also has implications for research into UK child poverty campaigning as an important contemporary aspect of the Third Sector's role in poverty relief. The Third Sector has a long history in poverty relief, and this work has discussed how contemporary issues have affected campaigning within this area. This includes exploration of current public and political attitudes to child poverty, the creation of child poverty targets, and the formation of a coalition to progress campaign work on the issue. It has shown how specificities of time and place such as these affect the resource exchanges which take place in all campaign actions.

Finally the research has taken a multi-level approach to understanding campaigning, from the endogenous attributes of TSOs, through their connections with other groups within the sector, to their interactions with their wider environment. This allows a systematic and holistic understanding of the functioning of this complex marketplace.

4) Evaluation and reflections

This final section reflects upon the research, and considers what lessons may be learned for future research in the area. The section, and project, concludes with some thoughts about the changing environment for UK child poverty campaigning.

4.1. Reflections on research questions:

This thesis had three key research questions:

- What strategies and tactics do Third Sector Organisations use in their campaigning, particularly with regard to campaigning on child poverty in the UK?
- Why do they campaign in this way?
- What are the implications of this?

The questions were designed so as to maximise the opportunities for both practical results of value to Third Sector Organisations, and for exploring the area from a more theoretical perspective which would contribute to understanding Third Sector involvement in the policy process. The questions were also designed to be broad enough to allow an inductive approach to be taken to the research – exploring the field through interviews and documentary analysis.

In this project ‘campaigning on UK child poverty’ is used in two different ways. Firstly it is used as an area of significance in its own right, with specific factors which apply to child poverty campaigning as a distinct area of study. From this perspective, it was chosen because it is a particularly interesting area, with the development of coalition working, lower levels of public support than characterise some other campaign areas, and with

considerable recent political interest. However, secondly, UK child poverty is used as a case study of TSO campaigning, and findings from this study have implications beyond the area of child poverty in particular, to understanding the wider area of Third Sector campaigning.

The combination of these two approaches was felt to be important because this allowed the research to fit into a wider body of work on Third Sector campaigning, whilst at the same time carving out specific findings within a more defined area of study. Reflecting this focus, the research questions emphasise exploration of 1) the strategies of TSO campaigning, and also 2) campaigning specifically on child poverty in the UK.

In fact, it became apparent during the course of the research that exploration of Third Sector campaigning strategies in general, was just as, if not more, important than exploration of those strategies with particular focus on child poverty in the UK. Although there were specific considerations when campaigning on child poverty, in many cases, interviewees did not talk with specific reference to campaigning on child poverty, and crucial factors affecting their campaign strategies were factors (such as who the targets of campaigning were) which could be generalised to other areas of campaigning.

This project has successfully answered all three of the research questions. The first question is broadly descriptive, and the analysis chapters have addressed the strategies used by campaign groups. The second question is more analytical, asking why organisations use the strategies that they do. Again, this has been addressed in the course of the analysis chapters and this conclusion. In particular the focus has been on combining resource dependence and social fields perspectives to explain why organisations use the strategies they do. The third question moves on to consider the implications of the findings. There are a number of implications of the work, and in the sections above, both the practical and research implications of the work have been discussed.

4.2. Suggestions for future research:

This project has a number of implications for future research.

i) Further development and empirical testing of the combination of Social Field and Resource Dependence perspectives.

This work has introduced the possibility of combining Resource Dependence, and Social Field perspectives to highlight the role of fields (and sub-fields) of social action in determining resource dependencies. This approach has not previously been taken, and could benefit from further development.

In particular, this study has only combined the two approaches within one specific area of social life – UK campaigning on child poverty. There is a need for further testing of this approach within different areas. In different fields of social life (e.g. the artistic field, the corporate field) resource dependencies will be very different and these fields are themselves likely to have their own sub-fields, with their own resource dependencies. Further exploration of resource dependencies within these other fields and sub-fields would be a valuable contribution to understanding the dynamics of social life.

ii) Further development of ‘sub-fields’ of social action

This work highlighted the idea of ‘sub-fields’ of political action, arguing in particular that the specific rules, resources and stakes within ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ campaigning make them distinct sub-fields of the political process. However, it is not suggested that these are the only ‘sub-fields’ of political action, only that they are two key aspects of the campaigning process for Third Sector Organisations. Further empirical work could helpfully develop the idea of sub-fields in political action, by identifying other sub-fields of the political process, with their own rules, resources and stakes.

Secondly, it has also been considered in this conclusion, how the sub-fields of insider and outsider campaigning interact with each other as components of the political action field. In particular, it was noted that stakes in one sub-field can act as resources in another (making it a sub-field within a sub-field). This perspective could also benefit from further development, by further exploration of sub-fields of political action and how the fields relate to one another.

iii) Further development of the concept of collaborative outsider campaigning.

This work highlighted the importance of a method of outsider campaigning where the public is utilised to achieve change and this is done in collaboration with Government, rather than through a confrontational relationship with it. This project has called this ‘collaborative outsider campaigning’. Although other examples of such campaigning exist (such as the Make Poverty History campaign) this is an underexplored area, with work concentrating on public campaigning in a confrontational relationship with Government- to exert pressure for change on reluctant policymakers.

There is considerable potential for further research in this area to consider the nature of collaborative outsider campaigning, when and why it is utilised and how effective it is.

iv) Further exploration of the concept of “campaign friction”

In chapter 7 on inter-organisational working, the concept of ‘campaign friction’ was developed to explain how, even if they have similar policy goals, different organisations working within the same policy area may not necessarily do so in the most resource efficient way, as a result of repeated or unnecessary work or conflicting messages. Further work could help to develop the concept of campaign friction, examining its various causes and solutions.

v) Oppositional groups

As discussed in Chapter 7, discussion of the existence of the poverty lobby raises the question of the existence and nature of oppositional groups who actively oppose the policy propositions presented by the organisations discussed in this thesis.

Further work could be done to identify the nature of this opposition – both within and external to the Third Sector – and to examine the interrelations between these groups, and the groups they oppose, the resource dependencies faced by these groups, and the social fields in which they operate.

vi) The effectiveness of campaigning

Although the research questions do not directly address the issue of the effectiveness of campaigning, by assessing why organisations campaign in the ways in which they do, some suggestions are made in the course of this thesis for ‘best practice’ for effective Third Sector campaigning. However, the focus of this thesis has been on assessing how organisations undertake their campaign work, and why, rather than the impact of this work.

The potential exists for further work, utilising the findings of this research, to model the effectiveness of the actions that campaigning TSOs take. In particular, by combining resource dependence and social fields perspectives, the comparative impact of the deployment of different resources in different fields could be examined in detail.

4.3. Campaigning on Child Poverty in the UK- the changing context

The fieldwork for this project was undertaken between Summer 2008 and Spring 2009. Since then, both the economic and political context for UK campaigning on child poverty have undergone considerable changes.

In May 2010, following the general election, a new coalition Government between the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative party was formed. Led by a Conservative Prime Minister the coalition Government has set out its agenda in their “Programme for Government” (HM Government, 2010). Chapter 8 highlighted that the nature of the Government in power is likely to exert some influence over the way that campaign groups present their campaign issues, in particular, respondents indicated that they may say the same things in slightly different ways, in order to frame their messages in a way that will resonate with their audience. For example, it was suggested that Conservative approaches to child poverty, contained more focus on “family structures” than Labour approaches. The programme for Government has shown some initial signs of this, with a

pledge to end the “couple penalty” in the tax credit system, and mention made of the possible introduction of transferable tax allowances for married couples (HM Government, 2010). It may be hypothesised that campaign group messaging to Government may change over time to create messages which resonate with the ideology of the new Government.

At the time of the interviews the full extent of the economic problems facing the UK was not as clear as it is now. The emergency budget in June 2010 (HM Treasury, 2010) began a programme of cuts to public expenditure, including welfare expenditure, which are set to continue in the spending review in the autumn of 2010. In Chapter 8, it was suggested that campaign messaging may highlight the cost effectiveness of spending as a reason for policy change (in particular, the section drew attention to the costs of allowing child poverty to continue). The current financial climate may make these arguments even more important, in order to give the Government reason to take action on child poverty.

However, despite this climate of public expenditure cuts, the Government has maintained commitment to the goal of ending child poverty by 2020 (HM Government, 2010, p19). In addition, despite the economic environment, and expenditure cuts in some areas, initial budget analysis suggested that it will make no impact on child poverty levels (HM Treasury, 2010) (although more recent analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has suggested that this may exclude the impact of some cuts to Housing Benefit, Disability Living Allowance and Tax Credits (Browne and Levell, 2010)).

The 2010 interim Child Poverty target is very likely to be missed, as a result of recent budgets (from both the current and previous Governments) making little progress towards the goal of ending child poverty. If the success of work on Child Poverty were to be measured by such progress to date, then it may well be considered disappointing. As two interview respondents (interviewed before the 2009 budget was released) noted:

“(campaign effectiveness is) continuing to make sure that those Government ministers who have responsibility for making the investment and creating new work on child poverty, do do so. So you know, it’s at times like the Pre Budget Report and the budget that we see how effective our work has been.

Q: So in the end it's whether you get the policies that you've been hoping for?

A: Yeah, of course, it's the overall, final outcome of the investment."

(Interview 8)

"I suppose ultimately, how did I think the campaign to end child poverty, the keep the promise went? Its success can only be measured if the promise is kept. It's difficult to talk in absolutes on these things, but a surefire measurement of that campaign will be if the one in three children will be lifted out of poverty by 2020."

(Interview 2)

However, progress towards the targets has been constrained by the economic environment, and it is very difficult to assess whether there would have been even *less* progress towards the targets without action taken by campaign groups.

In addition, the continued political focus on the goal of ending child poverty by 2020, and its enshrinement in law through the Child Poverty Act, may be seen as real successes for child poverty campaigning. The focus this provides for the political agenda may help to maintain continued pressure on this and future Governments to take action to meet the 2020 child poverty target.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide (initial interviews)

What is your own role within your organisation? What is your professional background?

How important is Child Poverty work to your organisation? Has it always played a role in your organisation's work?

What work on Child Poverty has your organisation done recently/ plans for the future?

- Any examples of successful work on child poverty? What made it successful?

(for organisations not only working on Child Poverty) How does your work on Child Poverty complement the other areas of work you do?

How is campaigning in your organisation structured?

- Policy and Research?
- Parliamentary work?
- Campaigning?
- Media?

How much work do you do with other organisations/work as part of coalitions?

Who are the main targets of your campaigning, and why?

- Government
- Public
- Media

What are the key factors that influence *how* you lobby Government?

- Government of the day (- note child poverty pledge)
- Issue campaigning on
- Are there general rules to lobbying Government?

What are the key factors that influence *how* you direct campaigns at the public and the media?

- Public perceptions of the problem
- Nature of the response wanted from the public
- What is the media likely to pick up?

What are the key similarities and differences between lobbying the Government / State directly and campaigning with the public?

(service providing TSOs only) How does your service providing role work alongside your campaigning work? How important is your campaigning work to your organisation?

How has child poverty campaigning/ campaigning in general changed within your organisation/ within the sector? *(go as far back as interviewee can remember)*

What is the approximate 'size' of your organisation?

- Staff
- Volunteers
- Membership
- Income

How do these factors affect your campaigning?

(International TSOs only) What are the key differences to approaching campaigning on child poverty in the UK and internationally?

How effective do you think your campaigning on Child Poverty is? Do you think any forms of campaigning are more effective than others?

What do you perceive to be the key barriers to effectiveness?

How do you measure campaigning effectiveness?

Anything else?

