VOLUNTARISM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM :
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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A Thesis Submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Social and Political Studies
PLYMOUTH POLYTECHNIC

AUGUST 1986
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, whilst registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the Council for National Academic Awards, I have not been a registered candidate for another award of the Council for National Academic Awards, nor a University.

The following activities, comprising the programme of related studies, have been undertaken:

1) Attendance at various courses including, Research in the Social Science, B.S.A (1983), Victims and the Criminal Justice System, World Society of Victimology (1984); Introduction to SPSS, University of Surrey (1985); Social Science Data Collection and Analysis, ECPR (1985).


3) Attendance and participation at Community Studies Research Unit seminars.

4) Attendance at computing courses organised by Plymouth Polytechnic Computing Centre.

MARTIN GILL
ABSTRACT

VOLUNTARISM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

This thesis comparatively evaluates three groups of volunteers working within the criminal justice system in the South West of England. The groups chosen - probation Voluntary Associates, police Specials and Victims Support Scheme Volunteers - incorporate parties working with the offender, the public and the victim, i.e. those most closely identified with the judicial process. To date, research in both Britain and abroad has chosen to focus on a single agency which has limited our understanding of voluntarism. Nevertheless, most have identified a number of issues pertaining to the use of volunteers. Through a consideration of the type of work undertaken, motivations, who volunteers, recruitment, selection and training, and the role of the professional, this thesis attempts to link and examine these issues, to illustrate that it is possible to theorise about voluntary activity in a criminal justice context.

Via interviews with 164 volunteers supported by extensive observation it has been possible to gain a more detailed insight into voluntary activity than had previously been contemplated. The findings revealed that within each organisation there exists a volunteer sub-culture, (abbreviated to volunculture), which conforms to the ideology of the agency. Where a volunculture is strong, as in the case of the Specials then commitment is high; where a volunculture is weak commitment is likely to be low.

The study moves on to consider the ways in which organisational policy can and does affect not only the formation of a volunculture, but also its degree of strength or weakness. It is shown that presently most organisations pay lip service to the notion of using volunteers, reflected in the low status they are accorded within agency priorities. It is argued that until this is realised the wealth of helping potential that exists within communities can never be brought to the fore. Recommendations derived from volunteer perceptions and organisational policies are offered as pathfinders to achieving this objective.

MARTIN GILL
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I have been particularly fortunate in benefitting from the supervisory support of Dr. Rob Mawby and Dr. George Giarchi. Rob I thank for the interest, guidance, patience and criticism (which I complained about at the time but for which I am grateful for now), and not least for enthusiastically answering my questions long after I grew tired of asking them. I have argued with him a lot which was probably as annoying for him as it was beneficial to me, so I hope we agree it was worth it! George, no less enthusiastic and equally as forthcoming with ideas, encouraged me throughout and I am grateful. Other members of staff also merit a mention here. Amongst them Adrian Lee who facilitated trips to conferences and courses including three abroad. My fellow research assistants but on other projects, Barbara Watson and Gwyneth Kelland, shared with me the loneliness and consequent frustration of Ph.D study. Whilst there was no schandenfreude it was at least comforting to know that such problems were not exclusive to one.

Within the probation service I should like to thank Devon's Chief Probation Officer Mr. Gordon Read, and Cornwall's Assistant Chief Mr. Tony North. They not only provided me with permission to pursue my endeavours but acted as both advisors and liaison throughout. So too their secretaries Barbara Carter and Joan Penhaligon, who handled my enquiries speedily and efficiently. Locally my thanks extend to Senior Probation Officers Nick Heape, Jim McCann and Mike Thacker. In the police service I was fortunate in the support offered by Force Commandant Roy Acton. He was as enthusiastic about the project as I was, and from his advice, knowledge, and persistent invitations to attend Special's functions I gained immensely. There are others who merit acknowledgement here. Inspectors Max Andrews and Ray Steer-Kemp endured my presence at Residential Weekends as did Training Sergeants 'Digger' Ebdon, Duncan Harvey (now Inspector) and Tom Whitmore in Divisions. As will later be shown they, and Divisional Commandant Ed Smith, facilitated the opportunity to socialise with Specials from which I learned a lot.

Within Victims Support Schemes there are so many I should thank, unfortunately space does not permit that here. But to the Regional Chairperson Pauline Letheridge I owe a big debt. She coordinated my efforts and answered my many questions with characteristic cheerfulness. At the National Association Kay Coventry and then John Pointing proved invaluable contacts, and on my visit there Sue Tomson was a knowledgeable advisor.

Of course this project would not have been possible without the cooperation of the 164 volunteers who agreed to be interviewed. They by necessity must remain nameless. I can only hope that the results will prove useful to them in improving their lot. There are many others who have assisted me in various ways, not least the L.R.C. here in Plymouth. I thank them all for their time.

Since voluntary activity is a spare time activity, meetings, training sessions and interviews tended to be conducted at evenings and weekends. This coupled with the day and night routine of writing up made rather more inroads to my home life than I would have wished. Thus, to Sarah Allum I both apologise and thank at the same time and realise in so doing that it is a small compensation for the hours
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Finally, and most importantly, my parents. This I dedicate to them.

MARTIN GILL
PLYMOUTH

AUGUST 1986
FOR MUM AND DAD
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declaration</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Introduction</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Volunteers and the Voluntary Sector: Issues Discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Introduction</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The Deployment of Volunteers.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 The Voluntary Organisation and the Volunteer</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 The Motivations of Volunteers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Who Volunteers</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Becoming a Volunteer</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 The Professional and the Volunteer</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Summary</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Voluntary Associates and the Probation Service: Issues Discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Introduction</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The Deployment of Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The Motivations of Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Who Volunteers</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Becoming a Voluntary Associate</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 The Probation Officer and the Voluntary Associate</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8 Summary</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 2</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Chapter 3: Specials and the Police Service: Issues Discussed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>The Deployment of Specials</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Special Constables</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>The Motivations of Specials</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Who Volunteers</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Becoming a Special</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>The Police Officer and the Special</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 3</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Chapter 4: Volunteers and Victims Support Schemes: Issues Discussed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The Deployment of VSS Volunteers</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Victims Support Schemes</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>The Motivations of VSS Volunteers</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Who Volunteers</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Becoming a VSS Volunteer</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>The Professionals and the Volunteer</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 4</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Chapter 5: Introducing Devon and Cornwall and Its Probation Service, Police Service, and Victims Support Schemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Devon and Cornwall</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>The Probation Service in Devon and Cornwall</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>The Police Service in Devon and Cornwall</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Victims Support Schemes in Devon and Cornwall</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 5</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6: Research Methodology

6.1 Introduction 126
6.2 Seeking Permission 126
6.3 The Use of Case Records 129
6.4 The Structured Interviews 132
6.5 The Sample 139
6.6 Observation and Participant Observation 141
6.7 Unstructured Interviews and Other Methods 146
6.8 Recording and Analysing Data 147
6.9 Summary 151

Footnotes to Chapter 6 152

Chapter 7: Voluntary Associates and the Probation Service: The Findings

7.1 Introduction 154
7.2 The Deployment of Voluntary Associates 155
7.3 Voluntary Associates 162
7.4 The Motivations of Voluntary Associates 163
  7.4.1 The Decision to Volunteer 164
  7.4.2 The Decision to Join the Probation Service 167
  7.4.3 Continuing as a Voluntary Associate 170
7.5 Who Volunteers 173
7.6 Becoming a Voluntary Associate 177
7.7 The Probation Officer and the Voluntary Associate 181
7.8 Summary 190

Footnotes to Chapter 7 193
Chapter 8 : The Specials and the Police Service : The Findings

8.1 Introduction. 195
8.2 The Deployment of Specials 196
8.3 Special Constables. 200
8.4 The Motivations of Specials. 201
8.4.1 The Decision to Volunteer. 202
8.4.2 The Decision to Join the Police Service. 203
8.4.3 Continuing as a Special. 208
8.5 Who Volunteers. 210
8.6 Becoming a Special. 212
8.7 The Police Officer and the Special. 219
8.8 Summary. 231
Footnotes to Chapter 8. 234

Chapter 9 : Volunteers and Victim Support Schemes : The Findings

9.1 Introduction. 237
9.2 The Deployment of VSS Volunteers. 237
9.3 Victims Support Scheme. 249
9.4 The Motivations of VSS Volunteers. 250
9.4.1 The Decision to Volunteer. 250
9.4.2 The Decision to Join VSSs. 252
9.4.3 Continuing as a VSS Volunteer. 256
9.5 Who Volunteers. 258
9.6 Becoming a VSS Volunteer. 261
9.7 The Professionals and the Volunteer. 264
9.8 Summary. 268
Footnotes to Chapter 9. 271
Chapter 10: Towards an Ideology of Volunteering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1 Introduction</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2 Volunteer: Why Do I Want To Do Voluntary Work?</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3 Organisation: How Do We Attract Volunteers?</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4 Volunteer: Why Join This Agency?</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5 Organisation: How Do We Decide Applicants Acceptability?</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6 Organisation: How Do We Integrate Volunteers?</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7 Volunteer: What Do I Think Of My Work In This Agency?</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8 Volunteer: Why Do I Continue Volunteering?</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9 Summary</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 10</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 11: Organisational Policy and Volunteers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.1 Introduction</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2 The Professional and the Volunteer</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3 Maximising the Volunteer Potential</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1 Recruitment and Selection</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.2 Training, Coordination and Involvement Through Socialisation...</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.3 The Deployment of Volunteers..</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4 The Limits to Integration</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5 Summary</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter 11</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary, Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research                | 356  |
Appendix 1 - Periods of Observation and Participant Observations       | 365  |
Bibliography                                                           | 371  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1.1</td>
<td>Table to Show Percentage of Volunteers Involved in Volunteer Tasks (Humble, 1982)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2.1</td>
<td>Primary Reasons for Becoming a Voluntary Associate as a Percentage (Barr, 1971)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2.2</td>
<td>Primary Reason for Choosing to Work With Prisoners (Gandy, 1977)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7.1</td>
<td>Motivations to Become a Voluntary Associate</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7.2</td>
<td>Voluntary Associates' Perceptions of the Probation Officer/Voluntary Associate Partnership</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8.1</td>
<td>Motivations to Become a Special</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8.2</td>
<td>Specials' Perceptions of the Police Officer/Special Partnership</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9.1</td>
<td>Number of Referrals Per Scheme for Stated Year and Number of Volunteers Per Scheme in 1985</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9.2</td>
<td>Motivations to Become a VSS Volunteer</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9.3</td>
<td>VSS Volunteer Responses to Individual Items on Police Scale</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.1</td>
<td>Primary Motivation for Becoming a Volunteer</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.2</td>
<td>No Stated Motivation for Becoming a Volunteer</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.3</td>
<td>Volunteer Attendance at a Place of Religious Workshop on Regular Basis</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.4</td>
<td>The Social Class of Volunteers</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.5</td>
<td>Educational Qualifications of Volunteers</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.6</td>
<td>The Age of Volunteers</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.7</td>
<td>The Occupational Status of Volunteers</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.8</td>
<td>The Sex of Volunteers</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.9</td>
<td>Volunteer Sample Who Felt That for Some Adult Offenders the Following Might Sometimes be an Appropriate Sentence</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.10</td>
<td>Mean Scores of Volunteers on Attitudes to Police, Offenders and the Crime Problem</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.11</td>
<td>Voting Behaviour of Volunteers in the June 1983 General Election</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.12</td>
<td>Voting Intentions of Volunteers if Election on the Following Day</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.13 Volunteers' Reflections on Training Programme 304
Table 10.14 Hours Per Week Spent Working as a Volunteer in Named Agency 308
Table 10.15 Years Spent Working as a Volunteer in Named Agency 309
Table 10.16 Volunteer's Views on Whether They Should Receive Payment for their Voluntary Work 310
Table 10.17 Volunteer's Views on the Merits of a Volunteer of the Year Award 312
Table 10.18 Friendship of Respondents With Other Volunteers in their Agency 313
Table 10.19 The Amount of Work Volunteers Would Like to Undertake 315
Table 10.20 Primary Reason for Continuing with their Voluntary Work 317

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 A Typology of Voluntary Organisations (Hatch, 1980) 19
Figure 6.1 Illustration of Types of Reasons Used in Classification of Motivation Categories for Question on Why Volunteer and Why Join Agency 149
Figure 6.2 Illustration of Types of Reasons Used in Classification of Motivation Categories for Question on Why Continue with Voluntary Work 150
Figure 10.1 An Ideal Type Volunteer Process 274
Figure 10.2 Permanent and Variable Factors in Reasons for Volunteering 280
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The election of a Conservative government in 1979 brought law and order to the forefront of political debate, and at the same time saw a curtailment in commitment to state provided welfare services. A link between these two policies is rarely made. Even within the field of social policy there remains some scepticism about the relevance of criminology (Mawby, 1985). Yet this study is concerned in part with developing the links between the two disciplines. On the side of criminology, some agencies working within the criminal justice system have sought to justify their existence by adopting community orientated policies focussed on harnessing resources within the community. This in itself would suggest a preoccupation, or at the very least a keenness to incorporate the services of volunteers. The study of volunteering however has been viewed very much from within the confines of social policy. Nevertheless, even here, as the ensuing pages will discuss in detail, attention has predominated at the level of the voluntary organisation or voluntary sector as opposed to the individual. It has been recognised that volunteers (having subsided into the background with the expansion of the welfare state) are once again returning to prominence. The subsequent demise of state services has reaffirmed their value.

This study then is concerned with an evaluation of the role of volunteers in the criminal justice system. However, there are numerous different types of volunteers within this field. Magistrates, prison visitors and even those involved in say a campaign for the retention of capital punishment, could be included within the broad sphere of criminal justice. To attempt to incorporate all within one relatively small scale project such as this would most likely be unmanageable. Certainly, it would allow only a cursory
evaluation, thereby questioning the veracity or usefulness of the findings. There appears very little within academia to justify quantity at the expense of quality, not least when the aims include subsequent qualification for PhD. Conversely, and this will be adumbrated extensively later, most research in this field has focussed on volunteers in a single organisation, and as a consequence limited our understanding of the role and perspective of volunteers working within different agencies. There is therefore much to commend a comparative element within the research design.

The process then becomes one of deciding which agencies best justify inclusion in a project of this nature. Two groups most closely associated with the criminal justice system are the offender and the victim. Thus it would seem relevant to include volunteers working with each of these. The probation service are most closely identified with the offender and they boast a flourishing force of volunteers most commonly referred to as Voluntary Associates. Similarly, since 1974 Victim Support Schemes (VSSs) have developed concerned solely with providing support for the victims of crime. Given their exclusive focus on their respective clienteles, there would appear to be much to merit the incorporation of both volunteer groups. However, there is another group which in practice overlaps the offender/victim divide, an agency which has traditionally been excluded from discussions of voluntary activity, namely the police Special Constabulary. The police service strongly identify with the victim in that when a crime is committed, they act on the victim’s behalf in detecting and prosecuting the offender. They are also more generally involved with assisting the general public. Thus, the three agencies chosen are engaged in voluntary work with three parties, the
the offender, victim and general public, closely identified with the work of the criminal justice system.

There are however, other good reasons for concentrating on these three groups. The literature has identified a number of issues in volunteering. Prime amongst them is the question of motivations - why do people volunteer? Or of particular relevance to this study, do people make a conscious decision to offer their services to a particular client group? Or because they strongly identify with the ideology of the organisation? Or they wish to undertake a certain type of voluntary activity? The agencies chosen provide for some interesting comparisons.

Offenders and victims are to the criminologist, or victimologist, two very distinct groups. But do volunteers consciously make such a distinction in their decision to volunteer? On a rather different level it is possible to identify an agency ideology in the police and probation service. The police have been identified with the political right (especially since the election of the Conservative Party in 1979) to an extent to which the probation service has not. Indeed, the probation service's focus on the treatment perspective appears at tangents with that of the Conservative's 'punishment' ethic. The police and probation services are then ideologically opposed, or at the very least they are at variance. VSSs are more difficult to place. Nevertheless, since VSS's development has been characterised by a mixture of police and probation service influence, it raises the possibility that ideologically they are a mixture of the two. Of course this has yet to be proved. What is important here though is that if it is possible to identify an organisational ideology, does this extend to volunteers? In other words, is it the case that each
agency contains a volunteer sub-culture conforming to that of the organisation? That is, a sub-culture based upon shared views or beliefs say about law and order.

Since volunteers are not paid, they presumably need to derive other benefits from their work. A strong identification with the work of the agency is but one possible benefit. However, it needs to be shown how volunteer sub-cultures are formed. This in turn requires concentration on other issues identified within the volunteer literature. Who volunteers may be relevant. Do certain types of people volunteer for certain types of voluntary work? Recruitment and selection procedures are equally worthy of consideration. Do agencies only select those volunteers they consider to fit their ideology? Alternatively, perhaps volunteers are trained to adopt a particular perspective, ie that of the organisation? For example, can it be assumed that a person who believed offenders should be forced to endure hard labour and long prison sentences would not become a Voluntary Associate?

It is equally possible that rather than (or as well as) the issue of ideology being important, the type of work is attractive to volunteers. For example, the probation service and VSSs are involved in 'caring' work, whereas the police are not. Indeed, as will be shown the police service is a rather different, and more formal, type of voluntary activity. So, do different types of people apply to different types of voluntary work? In other words are Specials in some way at variance with Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers? If this were true other findings may be predicted. For example, it might be expected that Specials would volunteer with a far greater interest in the organisation. At present such comments are considerations, and
they form the basis of this study.

There is however, another level of analysis possible. While much has been written of voluntary organisations, rather less has been written of organising volunteers. Here the agencies provide for rather interesting comparisons. For example, probation and police services are part of the statutory sector whereas VSSs are part of the voluntary sector. The distinction is particularly valid because VSSs do not employ paid personnel (at least not in the South West), and thus there is no professional directly overseeing the work undertaken. Whilst the discussion within the volunteer literature abounds on the professionalisation of services, usually in order to highlight advantages in using volunteers, rather less has been directed at the professional/volunteer partnership. Even those studies which have incorporated this dimension, have examined it almost exclusively from the professional's perspective. Thus, by comparing the agencies in question it may be possible to determine the importance of the professional. For even in the probation and police services the role the volunteer plays in relation to their professional counterpart varies. The Voluntary Associate's work is often detached from the probation officer, whereas the Specials actually accompany police officers in their day to day responsibilities.

At present very little has been written about the best means of organising volunteers in order to maximise their commitment to the organisation. Training programmes may be relevant here, in providing volunteers with skills to pursue their task and thereby increase their capabilities to undertake voluntary work successfully. However, the value of training programmes has been assumed. There has been little examination of volunteer perceptions. Building up a commitment
amongst volunteers does, of course, extend beyond the provision of a training programme. The degree of supervision, availability of work, even the extent of socialisation may be other relevant factors.

Thus, the object of this thesis is to comparatively evaluate three groups of volunteers working within the criminal justice system. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the results will also be of relevance to volunteers generally, facilitating a more informed opinion about the nature of volunteering. The study is essentially concerned with the much neglected volunteer perspective on voluntary work and the organisation of it. Each of the background and findings chapters are organised in an identical way so as to illustrate the similarity of issues and findings surrounding the use of volunteers. Thus, after an initial introduction, each chapter will then consider the work undertaken by volunteers, since it is arguably difficult to discuss voluntary activity without comprehending the type of work they do. This is then followed by a brief examination of some theoretical points relating to volunteers. This serves as a background to a discussion of the issues in volunteering which have been identified – namely Motivations; Who Volunteers; The Process of Becoming a Volunteer; and The Professional/Volunteer partnership.

Chapters 1-4 provide a background to the thesis, concentrating initially on the volunteer literature generally, and moving on to consider each agency individually, assessing in detail the issues outlined above. Chapter 5 is descriptive, introducing the research area, and Chapter 6 the research methodology. Chapters 7-9 discuss the findings of the research for each organisation. Chapter 10 presents evidence that it is possible to develop a theoretical
perspective on volunteering, largely unconsidered by previous researchers. Chapter 11 assesses organisational policy in respect of volunteering, drawing upon the positive and negative effects of agency policies.
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. This is not quite true since both the probation service and VSSs also offer succour to the families of the offender and victim respectively.

2. In tandem with The Police Advisory Board's Working Parties on the Specials (1976 and 1981), the term 'Special', 'Special Constable' and 'Special Constabulary' shall refer to Special Constables appointed by chief officers of police under Section 16 of the Police Act 1964. They do not refer to the Ministry of Defence police or the Atomic Energy Authority Police who were appointed under Section 3 of the Special Constables Act 1923 as extended by subsequent legislation.
CHAPTER 1

VOLUNTEERS AND THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR:

ISSUES DISCUSSED
1. INTRODUCTION

Whilst any scholarly account of the history of welfare provision would by necessity pay heed to voluntary effort, particularly prior to the introduction of state services, it is only recently that the voluntary sector has attracted the focus of academic attention. A number of factors have contributed to this more positive stance. The economic crisis of the 1970s encouraged governments to cut back on public spending - indeed, since 1979 the Conservative Party has been committed to an ideology of scaling down state services with a parallel increase of care in the community (see Townsend, 1981). In addition, statutory agencies have sought refuge in their roots amongst the general public, both as a means of checking their ever increasing isolation and to improve their public relations. Words such as 'accountability' and 'participation' have been used with abandonment in the context of voluntary involvement, although their meanings have rarely been questioned nor practical implications seriously examined. (1)

A review of the literature reveals that the voluntary sector does not lend itself conveniently to academic scrutiny. It is at the level of the organisation that progressive research has recently been produced (see Brenton, 1985; Hatch, 1980; Johnson, 1981; Wolfenden, 1978) while studies which have focussed on the individual volunteer (Aves, 1969; Barr, 1971; Holme and Maizels, 1978), have made reference to their own weak methodology. This has inevitably impeded both the veracity and generality of their findings. Furthermore, British writers have tended to ignore a variety of small scale studies reported across a spectrum of the social science journals and international work, in particular America, which has advanced our knowledge of voluntarism.
The object of this chapter therefore is to collate the material on voluntary organisations and volunteers thereby providing a framework for an examination of issues relevant to volunteering. This will then serve the purpose of acting both as a background, and a more specific introduction to the object of this enquiry.

1.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

In Britain volunteers are active in every aspect of the social welfare field (Gladstone, 1979) and particularly in the Personal Social Services where the number of volunteers exceeds that of professionals (Sainsbury, 1977; Wolfenden, 1978). Not surprisingly therefore the time they commit is considerable. Mocroft (1983) considered some 10% of the population to be involved in voluntary work on a regular basis. Humble (1982), using his rather broader definition of voluntary work, found that 18% had undertaken voluntary work in the previous week, 27% had done so at least monthly, and 44% had volunteered their services in the previous year. (2)

There are however a number of problems associated with volunteer use. Firstly, Wolfenden (1978) has noted how voluntary effort varies according to geographical location with "old country towns" as likely, and "heavy industrial centres" as unlikely places for volunteers. This coupled with the fact that there are intra as well as inter area differences (Davies, 1980) is one of the voluntary sector's main disadvantages (Gladstone, 1979). The second factor concerns the client group to which most voluntary activity is geared. Wolfenden (1978) records other findings of the aforementioned national opinion poll in respect of voluntary activity undertaken in the previous week. He notes how 36% worked with the elderly; 21% with schools or in youth work; 15% with the physically handicapped; 12% with children and
families; and 5% with the mentally handicapped. What is clear is that
drug addicts and ex-prisoners tend to attract rather less support,
perhaps because, as one writer has suggested, there is a stigma
attached to working with the "undeserving" (Barr, 1971). In other
words only certain client groups are popular in attracting lay help.
There is therefore much to commend a study geared towards evaluating
why certain groups of people should volunteer their services to work
for different causes, an issue which will be returned to in section
1.4.

Thirdly, it has already been mentioned that the existence of welfare
pluralism has been alleged to be the essence of a democratic society
(Beveridge and Wells, 1949; Hatch, 1980). More recently there has
been a growth of interest in the concept of 'participation'
(Richardson, 1975) in part because of its role in democratising the
political system (Johnson, 1981). This has achieved particular
significance following the election of a Conservative government in
1979 marking an 'ideological shift' away from statutory provision
towards an increase in what has been termed 'Community Care'.(3) This
has had essentially two implications. On one level, statutory
agencies have sought to legitimise their existence by developing
community orientated policies such as Community Policing, Community
Probation and so on, attempting to involve the community in the operation
of its business. On another level, the community itself has been
encouraged to respond to the demands to provide for its own welfare.

The role of volunteers here is crucial. In scaling down state
services it has been somewhat assumed that the family or community
will cover with greater participation. What remains absent within the
volunteer literature is any consideration of whether volunteers want
to work within their own community. In a criminal justice system context there is much to suggest this may not be the case - after all working with offenders presents potential dangers (Lacey, 1963), and so perhaps those working with stigmatised groups would prefer to work away from their locality? Thus, the undeserving may suffer not only because they are less attractive than 'worthy' groups to willing helpers, but may also be even less attractive to their neighbours. Although in a criminal justice context Mawby (1986) provides evidence, admittedly tenuous, that volunteers are more likely than professionals to live in areas of higher crime, the willingness of volunteers to work within their own community requires further clarification.

The impression given from the literature is that most volunteers are engaged in befriending and counselling type work. However, although a growth area (Hatch, 1980), it is in fact far less popular than fund-raising (Wolfenden, 1978). Certainly this was the conclusion of Humble (1982) as Table 1.1 displays. It can be seen from his findings that administrative tasks are considerably more common than direct work with clients which is peripheral in terms of the majority of voluntary activity. (4)

What is particularly interesting in all these discussions of the deployment of volunteers is the dearth of attention paid to volunteers' own perspectives on their work. By concentrating on what they do rather than why they do it, researchers have limited our understanding of volunteering, and the extent to which it is possible to truly advocate a move towards care by the community or a heavier reliance on volunteers. Neither is it clear whether volunteers working in an agency, personally choose the type of task which they would prefer to undertake, or simply offer their services and leave it
Table 1.1
Table to Show Percentage of Volunteers Involved in Volunteer Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voluntary Task</th>
<th>Percentage of Volunteers Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raising or handling money</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organising or helping with activities or events</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee work</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other direct service</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transporting</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial/Administration</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting or Counselling</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation/Advocacy (eg with pensioner's claims)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Humble, 1982 p. 12)

...to the agency to deploy them accordingly. Indeed, there is little awareness of what attempts are made by organisations to cater for the needs of their volunteers, or which organisations can serve as a model for successful volunteer deployment. The questions are numerous and the advantages of a comparative study are increasingly evident. However, comparative work necessitates careful definition of concepts. Therefore before moving on to consider these issues in more depth it would seem pertinent to firstly outline what is meant by a volunteer and indeed the voluntary sector.

1.3 THE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION AND THE VOLUNTEER

That volunteers are involved in a wide variety of tasks says little about the context in which they work. The object of this section is to rectify this deficiency, providing an explanation of the voluntary sector focussing on definitional problems of words such as 'voluntary organisation' and 'volunteer'. In so doing it is hoped to lay the
foundation for an analysis of various issues which the literature has identified with respect to volunteering.

It is probably true that most people would face few difficulties if asked to identify a voluntary organisation. It is only on an academic or theoretical level that problems present themselves. The voluntary sector is characterised by a range of organisational types. Blau and Scott (1977) classify organisations on the basis of **cui-bono** (who benefits), and it says much about the scope of voluntary provision that voluntary organisations can be identified in three of the four Blau and Scott categories (Hatch, 1980). Consequently definitions of voluntary organisations tend to be what Weber (1949) calls 'ideal types', in that a number of characteristics are usually found in a voluntary organisation but few fit the classification perfectly.

So what features can be distinguished as characterising a voluntary organisation? Wolfenden (1978) based his definition on five criteria. Firstly, that the organisation should be formed independently of the state. Secondly, the organisation should not be geared towards the pursuit of profit. Thirdly, the client group should not be exclusive to those who can afford to pay fees. Fourthly, a voluntary organisation should be independently financed. Finally it should not be controlled by the state.

There are however a number of problems with Wolfenden's model. Not least is his contention that voluntary organisations should be independently financed. Both in Britain (Lansley, 1976) and America (Kramer, 1973) it is recognised that the voluntary sector is dependent on state assistance. Both Kramer (1979a) and Brenton (1985) argue that it has become essential, as the latter notes:
"It is clear that much of the great impetus behind voluntary sector activities in recent years has come from the availability of public funds without which many imaginative and creative ventures would not have got off the ground".

(Brenton, 1985; p. 111)

Some have suggested that state aid amounts to contamination (Beck, 1970), indeed a means by which organisation are controlled, effectively impinging on another of Wolfenden's criteria. However, Wolfenden (1978) and Holman (1981b) reject this, the former arguing that the most the state would expect in return is an audited account or annual report. But, there is contrary evidence.

In order to obtain money an organisation must demonstrate a need and show that it provides the most effective means of meeting that need. This necessitates careful handling of its image to ensure favour. Beresford (1981) notes how groups such as women, squatters, black people, racist movements, though innovators, all come into conflict with authority. Johnson (1981) discusses the favourable attitude expressed towards Citizens Advice Bureaux (CAB), due in part to the fact that they refrain from commenting on government policy, and are geared to a non-conflict approach. Similarly, Ryan (1978) carefully documents the process by which the Howard League firmly ensconced in the Home Office, receives more favourable attention than Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP). In one way, the state is able to control the voluntary sector in deciding whether or not to supply funds, a power which beckons conciliation. Moreover, there exists the possibility that voluntary organisations may, consciously or unconsciously, conduct their activities in a manner conducive to obtaining state financial assistance. As a consequence, the state can at the very least exercise a degree of 'indirect' control over the nature of voluntary provision.
The accuracy of Wolfenden's definition is therefore brought into question. Certainly Brenton (1985) avoided some of the criticisms aimed at Wolfenden, she argued:

"The definition of voluntary organisation is essentially a statement of an ideal type based on a constellation of features some of which or all of which may be conformed to by voluntary organisations in practice. The key elements of this ideal type are that a body should be a formal organisation, constitutionally separate from government, self governing, non-profit distributing (as opposed to non-profit making, so many voluntary bodies raise finance through trading nowadays) and of public benefit".

(Brenton, 1985; p. 90)

Brenton moves on to improve her definition in classifying by function. However, the point is that where Wolfenden argues rather contentiously that by definition, a voluntary organisation should be independently financed and not controlled by the state, Brenton merely notes that it should be constitutionally separate and self governing.

It is not surprising therefore that there has been considerable discussion on the marked similarities between the voluntary and statutory sectors (Beresford, 1980; Kramer, 1973). So much so that one writer has suggested it is a matter of indifference as to who provides the service (Sainsbury, 1977). Even in terms of cost, an important element in the present political climate, there is a tendency once an organisation is established to be similar to a statutory counterpart (Wolfenden, 1978). On another level, Morgan (1981) has noted that local authorities, although statutory, are run by volunteer councillors.

Thus, defining a voluntary organisation is fraught with difficulties, although some have attempted classifications according to a variety of criteria. One such typology is that suggested by Hatch (1980) who starts by considering whether volunteers or paid staff are
responsible for the work, and then moves on to consider different organisational types as Figure 1.1 illustrates. Whilst Hatch's model provides a useful distinction between volunteers only working in a voluntary organisation, and volunteers and paid staff working in a voluntary organisation, it ignores volunteers working in the statutory sector which, as the previous section discussed, is quite extensive.

Indeed, in the early stages of his report Wolfenden discussed the four principal methods of meeting need, the Informal System (family, friends, neighbours and wider community); the Commercial (or market system) and the Statutory and Voluntary Systems. Volunteers can be found in each of these. So the point extends beyond merely considering a theoretical problem of defining a voluntary organisation, to a practical concern of relating this to the wider issue of the contexts in which volunteers work.

This is of particular relevance to this thesis where three agencies have been included. One, VSSs, conforms very much to what Hatch would term a 'voluntary organisation'. However, Voluntary Associates and
Specials work within statutory organisations. In the following pages issues will be discussed relating to each of the three groups, and in chapters 10 and 11 comparisons will include a consideration of the influence of organisational types upon volunteering. Given the focus on the voluntary and statutory sectors it would seem pertinent to briefly review the relationship between the two.

Ever since the liberal reforms there has been debate on what role the voluntary sector should adopt to its statutory counterpart. (Milnes, 1948). Some questioned whether voluntary services would be necessary (Brasnet, 1969; Owen, 1965). Nevertheless, present ideas on how each should operate can be traced back to the work of the Webbs (Webb and Webb, 1911). Most writers have developed on their theories although they have often confused the terminology (Davis, 1980). Holme and Maizels (1978) though suggest the voluntary sector provides a 'supplementary' service when their provision is not otherwise available from the state, and 'complementary' when a service is provided in addition to that provided by the state. This facilitates another way of looking at the agencies studied in this thesis.

The point here is that while VSSs essentially provide a supplementary service, Voluntary Associates and Specials essentially complement the work of state agencies. At least that would appear to be the case, although the implications for the volunteers are difficult to interpret. This issue will be reconsidered again from a rather different angle in section 1.7 in terms of a volunteer's relationship with the professional.

So far little has been said of the definitional problems associated with the world 'volunteer'. The term is not very informative
Darvill, 1981), and that it "defied adequate description" (Smith, 1972), was why Aves (1969) saw "no merit in attempting to restrict the term in any precise way". There are nevertheless a number of pointers which may help to clarify this issue. Most definitions of voluntary work exclude financial profit from duties undertaken. Indeed Unell (1982) excluded from her study people on unemployment benefit, even though unemployed volunteers are required to recognise a set of guidelines sanctioned by the DHSS (DHSS, 1982). Nevertheless, some organisations do pay their 'volunteers' (eg the army), and it has yet to be shown that volunteers themselves are strongly attached to the unpaid principle. Indeed, Sherrott (1983) found volunteers wanted the same benefits from voluntary work as from employment. Whilst payment was not mentioned specifically, it does raise interesting questions about volunteers and payment.

On a rather different level Morris (1969) has noted that such discussions cannot be isolated from norms and values in society. In particular Leat (undated) has discussed how mothers looking after children, or daughters looking after ageing or infirm parents, are not volunteers because they are behaving in a socially sanctioned way. So what is a volunteer? In the absence of a clear definition it seems apt to attempt one here. A volunteer is a person who, of his or her own free will, undertakes services without expectation of any profit from financial sources, in situations where he or she are not obliged by societal norms and values to pursue those activities. Furthermore, a volunteer normally, but not always, works within an organisational context.

There are therefore a number of definitional problems associated with the terms 'voluntary organisation' and 'volunteer' which it is hoped this
section has clarified. It is against this background that specific issues relating to volunteering are discussed.

1.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF VOLUNTEERS

The study of human behaviour crosses a variety of academic disciplines resulting in a panoply of theories and views with as many differences within as between them. As Rushton and Sorrentino (1981) point out, amongst early philosophers were those who saw the human race as motivated by *bona fides* (eg Aristotle and Causseau) and others who viewed individuals as essentially bad (eg Hobbes, Freud and Machiavelli). From this developed the notion that behaviour was motivated either by Altruism or Egoism, and the former in particular has received widespread discussion within the (volunteer) literature.

Altruism has been defined as "behaviour carried out to benefit another without anticipation of rewards from external sources" (Macauley and Berkowitz, 1970; p. 3). The convenience of this definition is, as Sorrentino and Rushton (1981) discuss in their edited volume, that internal sources such as 'relief from guilt' are included. In other words if people act in ways that helps others and they do so without expecting any reward other than say, a feeling of satisfaction that they have helped others, then they are behaving altruistically. This is however, by no means an agreed definition as other contributors to their text reveal. (7)

Nevertheless, several years earlier Darley and Latane (1970) and Latane and Darley (1970) in their impressive work on Bystander Intervention had obtained similar conclusions. The authors note how altruism poses problems for psychology, because traditional psychological theories are based on the idea the individuals are
motivated only by considerations of rewards or punishment. They overcome this by stating that people do get rewards and punishments in acting altruistically. They argue that the sight of a person in distress arouses sympathetic and empathetic feelings, and thus helping someone in distress affords the opportunity of relieving these urges and feelings. Altruism to them then, includes what Sorrentino and Rushton (1981) call rewards from internal sources.

Discussions of altruism and egoism are not altogether absent from the social policy literature. Pinker (1979) devotes the first chapter of his book to these two terms. By tracing the link of altruism with collectivism and egoism with individualism, he illustrates the definitional problems of each. In contending that it is "difficult to draw sensible distinctions between egoism and altruism", he reasons:

"both of the terms 'egoism' and 'altruism', used in an unqualified way, are largely irrelevant to the study of social welfare because they are inapplicable to the most characteristic form of social behaviour. While it would seem that an egoist is a person who is incapable of friendship, an altruist is exploitable by every 'friend' and stranger, unless they also happen to be altruists, for the egoist a social life is meaningless and for the altruist it is impossible. The egoist could be likened to a black hole in the social universe, devouring everything which comes within its range, while the altruist may be compared to a brightly burning star, ineffectually striving to illuminate and warm a dark and limitless universe."

(Pinker, 1979; pp. 9-10)

While there is much to commend Pinker's analysis, not least in drawing attention to the fact the egoism and altruism cannot and should not been see as opposites (particularly since the former is largely interpreted as a pejorative term), others within the social welfare field have sought to find practical expression of what altruism entails. Titmuss' (1970) much discussed account of the Blood
Transfusion Service (BTS) in Britain is a case in point. Titmuss writes of the biological need to give and for him the conditions surrounding the donation of one's blood represents a form of altruism. For Titmuss the giving of blood is characterised by the fact that a person freely (in that there are no sanctions or inducements for doing so) gives his blood to a needy stranger, in the knowledge that because the transaction is anonymous there will be no gratitude. Titmuss moves on to compare the British system with that of America and other countries where blood is a commodity bought and sold on the market. He notes that in Britain, because there is nothing tangible to be gained by donating inferior blood, the quality of the product and the service is high. Conversely, under market conditions, there is an inducement to give sub-standard blood for financial gain, consequently the product is of a lower quality.

Nevertheless, Titmuss does not avoid the argument of the psychologists. In giving they may also receive in the sense that by promoting altruism they contribute towards a better society. Or on another level, that in giving blood now they may be aware that either themselves or relatives may need to benefit in the future. As he writes:

"Considered individually as examples of stranger relationships, most people are expected to contribute to give to service the interests of other people. There is in all these transactions some form of gift reciprocity; that those who give as members of society to strangers will themselves (or their families) eventually benefit as members of that society."

(Titmuss, 1970; p. 215)

This issue becomes equally relevant in the context of voluntary activity. In the previous section it was noted that definitions of a volunteer exclude financial gain. However, Dollarhide (undated)
argues quite rightly, that a volunteer does seek payment, not in the sense of money but in satisfaction. To use Etzioni's (1961) terminology, volunteers' involvement is moral, and without remunerative or coercive factors to induce them they require a return in some other form.

A variety of reasons have been proffered as to why people volunteer, based rather more on theorising than the results of empirical studies. While it was true that most early philanthropy was motivated by religious concern (Cole, 1945; Gray, 1967) and that the largest financial donations still go to religious foundations (Whitaker, 1974), in contemporary Britain religion has been viewed as an unfashionable motivator (Morris, 1969; Sherrott, 1983). More recently people have been seen to volunteer to solve problems which are of particular concern to them, or to gain knowledge (Darvill and Humble, 1980), personal growth, an opportunity for change, an outlet for people to fulfil themselves (Dollarhide, undated), or simply because they were asked (Hadley and Scott, 1980; Humble, 1983; Mostyn, 1983) and did not like to refuse (Morris, 1969). Others volunteer because of a felt guilt about some past happening in their lives (Sherrott, 1983) or because they want to gain standing in the local community and be influential or even fear that by not volunteering they be missing an opportunity. Others simply want to make friends (Morris, 1969). Some seek new career opportunities (Davies, 1980) or wish to enhance their present one (Fenn, 1971), while conversely there are those who volunteer to escape from their everyday activities (Quinney and Bazalgette, 1979).

It is probably because such a plethora of reasons are relevant to different people at various times, and the linked problem of
classifying and evaluating responses, that researchers have refrained from empirically examining a person's decision to volunteer.

Sherrott's (1983) small study of a total of 50 volunteers incorporating 10 from each of five agencies, (C A B; Womens Royal Voluntary Service; Marriage Guidance; Youth Service and Age Concern) is academically challenging. His findings provide support for Leat's (1983) assertion that assessing people's true motivations may best be judged by a consideration of what they perceive the rewards to be. For Sherrott found that half of the volunteers interviewed explained their voluntary work in terms of the benefits they gained personally (thereby questioning Wolfenden's (1978) assertion that the philanthropic motive is the guiding force behind most voluntary activity today). Particularly interesting though was his discovery that volunteers who seek voluntary work as a substitute for a career are located within certain agencies. All were found in either CAB, WRVS or Marriage Guidance because these agencies offered:

"Intellectual stimulation, training programmes, responsibility, working as part of a team, exercising managerial skills, receiving supervision and perhaps above all, the fact that a specific predictable commitment is required, are typical of the rewards frequently mentioned."

(Sherrott, 1983; p. 83)

Sherrott concludes that such people probably never would have volunteered had some barrier not prevented their access to employment. From his work he develops the concept of the 'Professional Volunteer' (characterised by formal types of voluntary work) and the 'amateur volunteer' whose voluntary work is less regulated and taxing. In other words he advances the notion that people are attracted to a particular agency by virtue of the type of responsibility the work entails.
In all then previous research has highlighted a number of theoretical and methodological problems in assessing why people volunteer. On a theoretical level concern has been focussed on the understanding of terms such as altruism and egoism. But because of their limitations there would the seem much to commend the use of alternative phrases. For example, if people volunteer because of a desire to benefit themselves, then it could be argued that they volunteer for 'Self-Directed' reasons. In a similar vein, if their motives are prompted by a desire to help others then they could be said to volunteer for 'Other-Directed' reasons. This however, while avoiding the confused connotations of other words, does not circumvent methodological problems which are manifold, and will be readdressed in chapter 6.

Certainly linking motivations to the ideology of the organisation has, to date, escaped academic consideration, which as shown, has preferred to concentrate on the type of work. Nevertheless, in situations where say, the probation and police services can be seen to be ideologically at tangents, in that the former is associated with the treatment perspective and the latter, given the Police Federation's open support for capital punishment, with the other extreme, it remains to be shown whether this influences volunteers' choice of organisation. Can we assume for example, that those who believe offenders should be locked away and serve a sentence of hard labour would not become Voluntary Associates? Clearly, evaluating motivations is a complex task, but to use this as an excuse for not attempting a more thorough examination than has been entertained so far, is to ignore an important dimension to our understanding of volunteering.

In the context of motivations to volunteer it is also necessary to
consider motivations to continue. Blau and Scott (1977) rightly points out these may be completely different issues. Etzioni (1961) has discussed the different ways organisations are able to obtain different types of commitment from their workers. He notes that there are three types of 'compliance'. Where members are alienated from an organisation, coercive power would be necessary to induce compliance. Where a person's involvement is calculative, renumerative power would be required to induce compliance. But it is the third of Etzioni's classifications with which were are principally concerned here. Where a person's involvement is moral (the dedicated member) then normative power is sufficient. Essentially volunteers would fall into this category. (10). Etzioni sees normative compliance as the most positive type of commitment. He writes:

"The effective application of normative powers, for example, requires that lower participants are highly committed. If lower participants are only mildly committed to the organisation, and particularly if they are alienated from it, the application of normative power is likely to be ineffective. Hence the association of normative power with moral commitment".

(Etzioni, 1961; p. 68)

So for an organisation or group of volunteers to be effective it is necessary for them to be highly committed to the organisation. But how committed are volunteers? Do they continue because of a belief in the organisational goals, or for some other reason? Again further research must be advocated evaluating the nature of volunteers' continued interest (or otherwise in their work). Moreover, motivations need to be assessed in the context of the type of people who volunteer, the subject matter of the next section.

1.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

It would perhaps be useful to commence this discussion with reference
to Aves' (1969) early contention that volunteers tend to be 
"middle-aged, middle-class, married women", which has received 
considerable comment in the volunteer literature. What research lacks 
however is critical discussion of these findings. There has for 
example, been frequent reference to the volunteer stereotype but 
rather less on why this should be the case and its wider implications. 
Certainly, there has been no attempt to evaluate personal 
characteristics in the context of life styles. However, prior to 
developing on these points here it would seem pertinent to briefly 
review the literature on the personal characteristics of volunteers.

Research on the age of volunteers has produced contradictory findings. 
Aves (1969) found in her study of social service volunteers that the 
25-35 age grouping was the least presented. Humble (1982) found this 
to be the most populated. This would suggest that people of certain 
ages are more likely to be attracted to certain types of voluntary 
work. For example, at one extreme recent studies have emphasised the 
untapped volunteer potential amongst the elderly (Davies, 1981; Hadley 
and Scott, 1980) who have advantages in terms of availability and life 
experience. This is particularly valued in some types of specialist 
voluntary work (Goldberg et. al., 1973). At the other extreme, 
Humphries (1976) found in her Lone Parent scheme that a half of the 
volunteers were under 35 years old, a finding that was closely matched 
by McCaw and McGuire (1980) in their follow-up study. Of course some 
agencies impose age restrictions on their volunteers (eg Magistracy) 
and as such only certain people are eligible. Nevertheless, it would 
appear that certain types of activity are likely to appeal to certain 
age groups but this requires further clarification.
It is a rather more complex task to move on to consider the middle class domination of voluntary activity, since it is now accepted that a keeness to help others exists within all societal groups (Aves, 1969). It is possible that history plays a part here. Since the dissolution of the monasteries (Gray, 1967) via the Poor Law (Sainsbury, 1977) the wealthy have helped the poor, giving encouragement to the prominent notion that voluntary work is something pursued for the working class by their masters (Holman, 1981a)

However, other reasons have been offered. Dollarhide (undated) considers the absence of the poor and minorities from within voluntary organisations to be related to the middle class work ethic. She contends that being required to sit an interview and such like is alien to normal working class life patterns. Similarly, middle class volunteers are more likely to have transport, to be mobile (Hadley and Scott, 1980) and telephones to be contactable. Moreover, they are less likely to need to use their spare time for financial gain. As a result volunteering is more conducive to the middle classes.

The lack of working class people in volunteering has not passed without policy initiatives to ameliorate the problem. As far back as 1963 the Newsom Report suggested that community service should form an integral part of the school curriculum. Since then a variety of schemes have developed to integrate the working class children into the community. For one group however, such attempts have been viewed as a lamentable failure:

"Where, for the traditional middle class community servant, any record of a helping activity is likely to give a competitive edge in the job market, the danger is that for the unqualified working class child, such a record indicates consistent failure to achieve in any other area."

(Community Projects Foundation 1978; pp. 39-40)
There is not space here to discuss more extensively the well argued CPF view, suffice to say that the far smaller working class presence in volunteering has wider implications. More recently, working class groups such as tenants associations have developed (Wolfenden, 1978) with a working class consciousness of their own (Holman, 1981a), reflecting the possible future direction of such effort.

That volunteers tend to be married is, of course, a reflection of their age bias, but gender differences require further explanation. Historically much of the charitable effort of the nineteenth and twentieth century was due to women (Roofe, 1957). Certainly the traditional role of men working to earn a 'family wage' freed greater numbers of women than men to pursue voluntary activity. As a result women have been more confident in seeking out voluntary work. Mostyn, (1983) for example, found they were more likely to drop by and offer their services. However, studies such as Aves (1969) and Barr (1971) in noting the female predominance add that the contribution of men is not insignificant. Research elsewhere supports this view. For example Hadley and Scott's (1980) found that 46% of their sample were men, although given their focus on elderly volunteers, men and women were presumably in similar situations with regards to the availability of time. Interestingly, Humble's (1983) survey of 7,886 adults produced precisely the same finding. Again the respective inputs of the two genders will vary according to the type of work or organisation. Some Women's Refuges (Pahl, 1978; Rose, 1985), but not all (Gill, 1986), do not permit men in the house let alone as volunteers.

However, in other settings research has shown that men and women engage in different types of tasks. Holme and Maizels (1978) found
that men tended to offer practical and women befriending services. That most research has focussed on the latter, in part may explain females numerically more impressive participation rates. What is apparent is that men are volunteering more frequently than in the past, probably due not insignificantly to the breaking down of traditional sex roles. What needs to be evaluated further is the specific attraction of different genders to different organisations and different types of task.

The above discussion then has revealed that personal characteristics may be influential in people's decisions to volunteer for different types of voluntary work. What is missing from the literature is a consideration of the link between types of people and ideologies. For example, are the middle class volunteers in the probation service different from those in either the Police or VSSs? If not, why is this the case? If so, is it because they have a view of the organisation in the sense that it conforms to their values? Are men more likely to volunteer for the physical voluntary work, and the women for caring? Or is this a largely irrelevant factor with the gradual erosion of sex roles? Do they adopt different attitudes to law and order or otherwise vary their views or lifestyles? In other words, is it possible to build up an ideology of volunteering based upon, in part anyway, the idea that although in certain respects the people who volunteer are similar, their views or ideologies vary, and are in tandem with those of an organisation? Such a view has so far not been contemplated, but may, in departing from traditional lines of enquiry, lay the foundation for a much wider and detailed understanding of volunteers and volunteering than has hitherto been possible.
1.6 BECOMING A VOLUNTEER

Throughout this thesis becoming a volunteer will include such issues as the recruitment, selection and training of volunteers. There is a case for contending that motivations might also be considered relevant in this context, but the prominence of this as a subject of specific interest in this study warrants a separate examination. In any event, while motivations are concerned primarily with volunteer decisions, recruitment, selection and training are organisationally rooted.

The method of recruitment preferred by agencies is likely to vary according to their needs. For example, if large numbers of volunteers are required at once then media appeals, welcomed by Wolfenden (1978), are favoured. The problem here though is that both at the 'contact stage' and the 'induction stage' organisations lose approximately 50% and 20% respectively of their initial responses. This is for a variety of reasons as Hodgkinson (1980) has discussed, and allied to the difficulties in managing large numbers.

Frequently only a few volunteers are required at one time and therefore more selective recruitment strategies are preferred. Here volunteer bureaux can be useful. While they are essentially a clearing house and not a screening device (Unell, 1982), they can nevertheless fulfil this function as well. Nevertheless, the most recognised method of volunteer recruitment within the voluntary sector has been through friends and associates of those who already volunteer (Aves, 1969; Humble, 1982; Jackson, 1985), what might be called 'word of mouth'. Indeed, some people only do volunteer because they are asked or a friend persuades them (Hadley and Scott, 1980; Morris, 1969). The advantage in this method is that it ensures the recruitment of the right type of people, but at the
same time it ensures the agency retains the same type of people.
Thus, the middle class bias and its associated problems can perhaps be explained by organisational policy. This suggests a change in methods of recruitment might alleviate the concern of some that volunteers tend to be unrepresentative of the wider community.

Nevertheless, where applicants are unknown, or tasks involve high levels of responsibility then more exhaustive selection procedures may be more apparent. There are a number of examples, particularly in the American literature, of training programmes being used as screening devices. In other words, rather than view training as a consequence of having been accepted as a volunteer, it is seen as a condition of being considered. However, it should not be assumed that everyone approves of training. As Aves (1969) found in her study, many professionals expressed the concern that training may blur the distinction between themselves and their volunteer counterparts. This prompted Aves to consider alternative words to describe programmes, 'orientation, 'briefing' and 'preparation' were discussed since it was suggested that the word 'training' implied a degree of knowledge that was unsuitable for volunteers. Eventually Aves decided to recommend the retention of the word 'training', although at the same time emphasised that it was different in intensity to that required by social workers. She also suggested that all volunteers should receive at least some training in order to make them more effective and proficient in their task; to instill confidence and enable them to enjoy their work; and to encourage a more favourable impression from professionals and bureaucrats. Since Aves the value of training has hardly been questioned in the literature, although little is known about the organisation and types of programmes run.
Essentially then, the training of volunteers has in Britain been justified in terms of providing the necessary knowledge and skills. It is only in America that there has been any cognisance of the role of training in building up an identity with and commitment to, the organisation. Dollarhide (undated) for example, in outlining the main advantages of training programmes for volunteers, notes that it builds up a sense of purpose and mission amongst volunteers, and provides an incentive for them to continue with their work. She does not, unfortunately, develop this further to examine the nature of that 'identity'. For example, it is discussed as if it were a positive aspect when there is an alternative standpoint. Volunteers have been eulogised for being members of the public in state agencies, being in a position to publicise misdemeanours and render the agency accountable. However, if volunteers identify strongly with the agency, then clearly they may not wish to see their role as highlighting mal-practices, instead defining their position as agency helper rather than public representative. Similarly, little is known of how far and in what ways the presence or absence of training programmes contributes to a sense of commitment felt or not felt by volunteers.

In other words research needs to be beyond debating the value of training in providing volunteers with the ken for the work, to consider its purpose in obtaining and maintaining the volunteer interest. Furthermore, training affords the opportunity to organisations of inculcating volunteers with its culture, its norms and its values. This may be influential in the nature of the identity that a volunteer is encouraged to develop. By undertaking a training programme a volunteer can become 'convinced' of a particular perspective, and thereby encouraged to identify with the
organisational view and promote it, which may (and this requires much further examination) be against the public interest. However, discussions about identity cannot be realistically isolated from those concerned with the professional/volunteer partnership. It is to this issue we now turn.

1.7 THE PROFESSIONAL AND THE VOLUNTEER

The partnership between the professional and the volunteer has been discussed rather more than it has been evaluated within the literature. Frequently the focus has been on the limits endemic to the professional role in order to illustrate the advantages of using volunteers. Few have taken this a step further to consider the contradiction that exist within their relative approaches.

Certainly, the twentieth century has marked the growth of 'experts', collectively called 'professionals' to deal with the complex problems generated by developed society. Defining 'professional' has proved problematic not least because lay and sociological interpretations differ (Gladstonbury, 1982). Most prominently however, professionals have developed a code of ethics and a professional culture (Greenwood, 1957) which has earned them a high social status. As a result they have been keen to guard access to their profession, usually through training programmes and examinations, to protect the social status and accompanying advantages in terms of social privilege that it brings (Forder, 1974). It is therefore not surprising that professionals should express a somewhat jaundiced view of volunteers, in that they may find it incomprehensive that an untrained amateur could offer a service more beneficial than their own.

This alone is perhaps sufficient to sow the seeds of discourse, but
the ground is all the more fertile because of other factors. Blau and Scott (1977) have argued that professionals must guard against the danger of:

"not lose(ing) sight of the welfare of their clients, either through concern with their own status and career or through pre-occupation with administrative problems. The latter may become more manifest in rigid adherence to and enforcement of procedures or in permitting budgetary considerations to dominate all decisions (for example, considering it more important to protect the tax payer than to serve clients adequately in a public agency)."

(Blau and Scott, 1977; p. 52)

From the clients perspective the advantages of volunteers over professionals are in this sense clear. Hatch (1980) has contended that volunteers do not have to ration services, they need only be concerned with the client. Indeed, Mayer and Timms (1970) in their study of the consumer's views found that some clients were puzzled by the professional's approach, but praised professionals for the time they were able to give. If clients value time then the advantages of volunteers are further highlighted. Moreover, volunteers are perhaps more able to overcome the lay-expert divide by working with a client on an equal footing (Leat, undated b) since they are themselves bereft of expert knowledge. It is for this reason Murphy (1972) guesses, and it is only a guess, that volunteers are less likely to be rejected by clients than are professionals. Add this to the fact that some volunteers have characteristics of 'sensitivity and understanding' lacked by some professionals (Sainsbury, 1977) and the scope for antipathy between the two is magnified.

However, it is not only on the level that volunteers can offer clients a better service that professionals need to worry. They pose a more
direct threat in at least four ways. Firstly, it has already been noted that professionals are able to justify their existence on the basis of expertise, so if a volunteer is successful (by some definition) in working with the client what does that say about the position of the professional? Secondly, Beresford (1980) has seen a role for volunteers in challenging authority, in other words, viewing the lay presence not as a means of assisting professionals in their function, but more in questioning their stance. Thirdly, while a public presence in the form of volunteers in agencies serves to increase public awareness (Seebohm, 1968), such an awareness is not necessarily in the professionals' interest (Glampson et. al., 1977). This is closely linked to the fourth point which is that since volunteers are free of job worries (Naylor, 1974), they are easily able to promulgate inadequacies in organisations (Morris, 1969), and bring to wider attention professional mal-practice.

The above points are perhaps all the more crucial given the role of the professional in determining the ways and the extent to which volunteers are used. Dollarhide (undated) and Scheier (1968) have noted the importance of the amplification factor in volunteering, in that by supervising a volunteer for one hour a professional can expect up to 20 hours work in return. But for this to be successful in practice the volunteer needs to be properly supervised. Certainly proper supervision is essential. Quinne and Bazalgette (1979) in their assessment of Community Service Volunteer projects note how the degree of development was closely related to efficiency of supervision, in that those who were supervised were more confident about their work, and those who were not developed a poor attitude towards the organisation (see also Naylor, 1974; Wood, 1980). Moreover, as section 1.4 discussed, whatever their initial reasons for
joining, volunteers want to become involved in the work and this involves proving their suitability to the professional.

Unfortunately within the welfare field at least, it is not apparent that professionals are conversant with these issues. This is true not only in the role they play with regards to integrating volunteers into the organisation but also in respect of the need of volunteers for proper supervision. For example, sequences on volunteers are a neglected part of Social Policy and Administration courses (Wolfenden, 1978) and indeed on those offering a social work qualification (Gill and Andrews, 1986). The need to train professionals in volunteer use is therefore paramount (Hobman, 1971).

These problems may be accentuated where there exists a strong organisational sub-culture. Salaman (1974) in his discussion of what he calls 'occupational communities', one example of which is the police, draws attention to the central features governing their conduct which leads to a shared identity. As he writes:

"Members of occupational communities not only select their friends and associates from those who do the same work, they also frequently talk about their work outside working time, indulge in work connected reading, have work connected hobbies and belong to work connected societies or clubs."

(Salaman, 1974; p. 26)

Under these conditions it would appear that there is much to thwart volunteer integration since the shared identity of the occupational community implies a suspicion of outsiders.

Put in simple form the problem centres on the fact that professionals appear to have much to gain by rejecting volunteers as an alternative service provider. Against this volunteers in order to become
integrated into the work and the organisation require the support of the professional. Hence there is much scope for confusion. Unfortunately examinations of the practical implications of all this for the professional/volunteer partnership are negligible, and tend to focus on the professional's perspective rather than that of the volunteers. One such study is that of Holme and Maizels (1978). Their research concerned an assessment of social workers' and probation officers' use of volunteers and was undertaken by sending a postal questionnaire to the two groups of professionals.

Essentially they perceive two methods of professional/volunteer partnership which they term 'supplementary' and 'complementary'. The supplementary model is used to describe a situation in which volunteers provide practical help and support which would not otherwise have been made available. In the complementary model volunteers are used to assist in casework, carrying out largely the same role as the professional. In the supplementary model the professional has little effective control over the volunteer, the tasks are frequently peripheral and thus there is less scope for conflict. In the complementary model however a close partnership between the two is essential. As such the basis for discord is more acute, as Holme and Maizels themselves suggest:

"There is also the fact that each model has different implications for the status and social identity of the two parties concerned. The supplementary model, for example, tends to accentuate and the complementary model to blur, the boundaries which define the respective roles of volunteers and professionals. Moreover, in the former model, professional and voluntary workers would seem to preserve their respective autonomy and independence, even though for volunteers this means, perhaps, that they are kept relatively firmly in their place in relation to their status position (as defined by the nature of the tasks they do) in the social services hierarchy. Both keep
their distance and their separate identities intact. In the complimentary model, a state of interdependence is created between the professional and the voluntary worker, the volunteer's status being elevated nearer to that of the professional (hence the accredited 'voluntary associate' of the probation service), though the professional still has the main say. Their closeness is associated with shared aims and values and with a 'sharing' of their identities."

(Holme and Maizels, 1978; p. 175)

In all then a professional and a volunteer working together is a recipe for conflict and confusion, although it needs to be borne in mind that it has yet to be shown what the volunteer's own views on this issue are. Very little is known about the volunteer's perspective towards professionals, the extent of contact with them, even whether they consider them at worst enemies to the voluntary cause, or alternatively, build up friendships with them. It remains unknown as to whether volunteers identify with the views of the professionals or organisation. For example, in much the same way as it was argued in section 1.5 that concentration on types of characteristics without evaluating lifestyles is limiting, so here the issue of whether volunteers identify with the professional needs to follow any discussion of their relationship with them. Thus, is the much commented advantage of volunteers in publishing wrongs and misdemeanours by professionals, practised in reality? Or is it more true that volunteers are so closely aligned to the work of the organisation that they overlook infringements as a normal or understandable part of professional practice? Such questions have important implications for volunteer use.
1.8 SUMMARY

This chapter has sought to review the literature on the Voluntary Sector. In so doing it has hopefully illustrated the limitations of some previous studies, which have tended to be small scale and methodologically weak. While there have been a number of scholarly discussions many others have been descriptive rather than analytical, and this too has limited our understanding of the volunteer perspective and therefore volunteering generally. What motivates people to volunteer and what factors govern their choice of organisation remain largely unexamined. Indeed, the notion that people's decision to give of their free time is different to what sanctions their choice of agency is a departure from traditional thinking, but nevertheless beckons a range of questions concerning why they volunteer. For while there is evidence that people are motivated by a desire to pursue a certain type of task - for example in Sherrot's (1983) work - it is rather less clear whether the ideology of the organisation is also attractive.

Similarly, whilst much of the more analytical literature has been directed at the level of the organisation, as opposed to that of the individual, organisational policy in respect of volunteering has been largely ignored. Thus, it has been rather assumed that volunteers wish to receive training, although it is less obvious that they actually do, or that arrangements meet their own perceived requirements.

In the context of organisational policy, studies have yet to incorporate a consideration of volunteers working within different sectors of welfare provision, or more specifically, the role of the
professional in volunteer deployment. There are several issues which seem important here. It has been suggested that there appears to be a contradiction between wanting to maximise the contribution of the volunteer and at the same time rely on the professional to retain responsibility for organising volunteers. Evidence suggests professionals have as much to lose (if not more) as to gain, in involving their lay partners. Given Etzioni's (1961) warning that those agencies relying on moral involvement need to maintain high levels of commitment from their members, *prima facie* evidence would suggest that working with professionals in say a complementary way, may prove an anathema to the volunteer cause. Indeed, in agencies which rely solely on voluntary effort it may be easier to build up a commitment to the agency and the work, to increase involvement, and thereby deploy volunteers more effectively.

The volunteer's perspective of the professional has been almost totally ignored. Whilst it has been conceded that the role of the professional is important in the context of making use of volunteers, volunteer perceptions have been presumed to be favourable. On the one hand, the barrier that professionals might impose to using volunteers would suggest volunteers may have a somewhat jaundiced view of them. On the other hand the mere fact that they agree, of their own volition, to work alongside them would suggest a more positive disposition. This does however, have important implications.

Given the fact that professionals are already sceptical, volunteers expressing anything other than a committed view, might prove yet another anathema. But more importantly it has been shown that
volunteers, potentially at least, play a key role in rendering state agencies accountable. If they are thwarted from becoming involved in the work, then their role in this respect is limited. Alternatively, if they identify with the professional to such an extent that they refrain from reporting professional mal-practice or whatever, then once again their role as public voices becomes questionable. This may be particularly relevant where there is a strong organisational sub-culture such as in the police. Whilst as police officers Specials would be expected to uphold the principle of confidentiality, as volunteers they would be expected to place their role as public representative above that of organisational worker. Therein lies yet another contradiction.

Since volunteers are not paid, they need, as Dollarhide (undated) has asserted, to gain returns in other ways, notably by being incorporated into the work of the organisation and thereby enabling them to gain satisfaction from it. Yet no model exists as to the most effective policies for achieving this objective. This is largely because volunteering has generally been viewed as a low priority, and thus little concerted effort has been applied to determining the views of volunteers. One obvious example, and there are many, is the role of volunteers working within their own community. In work with offenders there exists sufficient uncertainty to raise doubts about its applicability.

Nevertheless, there exist within the literature a number of similarities. The question has to be posed therefore as to how far it is possible to combine the various issues of the type of people who
volunteer, their reasons for doing so, and their choice of agency, to arrive at an ideology of volunteering? Firstly however, it is necessary to review the literature on volunteers in the three agencies which form the focus of this thesis.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Normanton (1966) considers 'accountability' to mean different things in different contexts at different times. Similarly Johnson (1981) has argued that the term 'participation' is "sufficiently vague and elastic" to gain an appeal across the political spectrum. Within the volunteer literature the point has been made that members of the public participating voluntarily within state agencies helps to break down barriers between providers and consumers, at the same time the public presence can oversee, on the public's behalf, the type of services being offered and spread that knowledge amongst wider society, hence rendering a degree of accountability. This shall be re-iterated throughout this chapter.

2. For similarly impressive statistics of America, see Broadersen (1980).

3. For a discussion of what is meant by the term see Jones et al., (1977). Also Titmuss (1968) provide discussions of some problems which need to be guarded against.

4. Kramer (1979b) notes that in the Netherlands volunteers serve mainly as committee members and much less in direct service provision.

5. For commentaries on the relationship between the voluntary and statutory sectors see Brenton (1985) and Webb et al. (1976). See also Hatch (1980) and Johnson (1981).

6. The shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines 'supplementary' as "something added to supply a deficiency". This is what Holme and Maizels term a 'supplementary service', something that isn't presently offered, a different service. Complementary, is therefore more appropriate to apply to services which are the same and "mutually complete each other".

7. Given the breadth and depth of discussion this issue has received, it is not possible here to undertake anything other than a cursory analysis of the literature. However both Macaulay and Berkowitz (1970) and Rushton and Sorrentino (1981) provide detailed insights from a variety of perspectives to this issue.

8. Most however would stop short of her contention that volunteers receive more from their activity than those they are trying to help.

9. VSS Volunteers are particularly interesting here since their origins are a mixture of police and probation service initiative. Would they therefore politically be a mixture of the two?

10. Etzioni's analysis is also important on the issue of payment. He does mention calculative-normative involvement which is essentially the paid volunteer. It is by the same token possible that professionals are highly committed (moral) even though they receive renumeration.
11. One issue which has not been discussed is the issue of effectiveness. Unfortunately this was beyond the scope of this enquiry. The problem is one of measurement, and isolating factors that need to be measured, as Horejsi rightly points out. But for interesting and small scale discussions see Davis (1980) on cost effectiveness, but also Eskridge and Carlson (1979) and Scioli and Cook (1976) who see them as equally as efficient as professionals, and Dowell (1978) and Poorkaj et. al., (1973) who claim volunteers have little effect on changing offender's behaviour. Fo and O'Donnell note they can have a negative effect. Nevertheless, in another way say in covering up labour shortages they can be very effective (Gartner, 1971).
CHAPTER 2

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES AND THE PROBATION SERVICE:

ISSUES DISCUSSED
2.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst Clarke (1975) has noted that early probation ideas, "that is an offender being placed in someone's care" can be traced back to Althelstaines rule in the tenth century, it is widely recognised that the modern probation service developed from the pioneering work of the Church of England Temperance Society. The first probation officers were police court missionaries appointed in 1876. Their range of clients were initially limited, but were extended by the 1887 Probation of First Offenders Act to include more serious offenders. Nevertheless, this work was to remain voluntary until 1907. Then the Probation of Offenders Act incorporated a provision permitting local authorities to employ probation officers, an innovation which was made compulsory by the Criminal Justice Act 1925. The gradual erosion of the volunteer tradition preceded that of the church which did not lose its influence until the 1940s, with the change in emphasis from conversion to casework (Jarvis, 1971).

It was the Probation services move towards a statutory footing that marked a diminution in a perceived role for volunteers. Initiatives to rekindle volunteer interest were floated in the 1930s, but were thwarted because of the war (Stockdale, 1985). So it was not until the 1960s, following the merger of the Probation Service with the After Care Service which had a long history of volunteer participation, that volunteers were once again integrated into probation work. The role and value of volunteers in this new arrangement were highlighted in the Reading Report (1967). Unfortunately, practical commitment did not match executive enthusiasm, not least because probation officers viewed the re-introduction of volunteers as a "retrograde step" (Haxby, 1978) in their struggle for professional status (see section 2.7). (1)
Research is lacking however, evidenced by the fact that the seminal work of Barr (1971) is still one of the few to incorporate the volunteer perspective. Nevertheless, a frequently cited text in discussions of Voluntary Associates and their work, is that by Holme and Maizels (1978). However, their research, like Davidson et. al.'s (1985), suffers from two deficiencies. Firstly, they exclude the volunteer perspective, in that their study was directed at probation officers, and information presented about volunteers was derived from data provided by the professionals. Secondly, they pursued their objective by means of a postal questionnaire which, as both texts concede, limited examination of the intracacies of the volunteer/professional partnership. This is not to suggest that concentration on the probation officer is unnecessary, little could be further from the truth, merely that such work has been conducted at the expense of the volunteer.

More recently Stockdale (1985) has published work on the probation volunteer. His text provides a useful review of the literature, including summaries of unpublished local reports, although it too suffers from weaknesses in being descriptive rather than analytical. Furthermore, Stockdale tends to confirm what has already been shown rather than raise issues for future consideration. Beyond this research is poor, characterised by unpublished internal reports (eg. Hereford and Worcester Annual Review, 1981; 1982; 1983;), or short accounts of experiences as a Voluntary Associate (eg. Colver, 1969; Dixon, 1976; Riddick, 1984), or short evaluations of specific volunteer schemes (eg. Bailie, 1967; Pendleton, 1969). Research in America and Canada has tended to be more empirically based, although once again focused on specific (usually court-based) schemes, which limits generalisations. Furthermore, the findings appear in a wide
variety of American journals, and as a result are not easily accessible, but where reports have been located they have been included here to underline the similarity of issues.

2.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

Despite the increase in the number of Voluntary Associates in the late 1970s (Volunteer Centre, 1981), they are not used as widely in Britain as they are for example in Scandinavia or the United States (Stockdale, 1985). Nevertheless, acknowledging area differences, the range of tasks with which they are involved is extensive, this being true of Britain (Baille, 1967; Clarke, 1977; Colver, 1969; Jarvis, 1980; Reading, 1967; Stockdale, 1985; Volunteer Centre, 1981), America (Goddard and Jacobson, 1967; O'Leary, 1969; Scheier, 1970; Shields et. al., 1983) and Canada (Gandy et. al., 1973). In all of the services responding to the Volunteer Centre's (1981) survey (n = 44), Voluntary Associates were involved in 'individual befriending outside prison' and 'prison visiting', reflecting Barr's (1971) assertion that volunteers preferred to be involved in ongoing casework with clients. Although the Volunteer Centre present a list of 25 types of tasks with which Voluntary Associates were involved, it does not, unfortunately, indicate the relative popularity of each within individual probation areas. Furthermore, no explanation is given of how the various groups of activity were arrived at, since, taken at face value there would appear to be considerable overlap. For example, 'Youth Work' could, under different circumstances be described as 'Intermediate Treatment', which again could be considered 'Individual Befriending Outside Prison', and this as 'Alternative Supervisor To Probation Officer', and so on.
Furthermore, and the Volunteer Centre recognised this, to pay heed to the variety of tasks with which Voluntary Associates are involved may disguise widespread inactivity. Indeed, nearly a quarter of those responding to Hill's (1982) survey were inactive at the time of the research. This issue was a central concern of Stockdale (1985) who underlined the dangers of volunteer dissatisfaction culminating in resignations. The consequences for the probation service are ex-Voluntary Associates passing on unfavourable impressions to future volunteer applicants.

In the context of volunteer work it is not clear from previous studies how individual clients are chosen for Voluntary Associates. It must be assumed that volunteers are referred only the type of clients they wish to work with, or that volunteers in joining the service do not express a preference, that is if they are ever asked! A variation of this theme concerns what Barr (1971) has called 'matching', that is to partner qualities or characteristics of Voluntary Associates with those of the clients. Barr refers to three types of matching, spontaneous, where volunteers and clients are able to interact freely and thereby develop their own spontaneous partnerships; responsive, where details of the client in question are circulated amongst a group of volunteers for them to decide who they consider best suited to each individual client; and contrived, where the probation officer makes an objective decision on each pairing. The variables that Barr considered particularly relevant in matching were gender and age. Given that most volunteers are females and clients male it was not surprising to find, that women tended to work most frequently with men clients, but what is significant is that:

"only once was a male voluntary associate used on his own with a female client and this was a family situation. This
reflected the normal, though not universal, practice of probation officers".  

(Barr, 1971; p. 87)

Elsewhere, the advantages of volunteers and clients being of the same sex, where possible, has been highlighted (Horejsi, 1971; Lacey, 1963). With regards to age, Voluntary Associates were more likely to be older than their clients, in most cases more than five years older, but this was considerably less the case where both volunteer and client were female.

It was suggested in chapter 1 that the present vogue in social policy is community care, that being either care in the community or care by that community. This issue is particularly relevant in the context of the probation service because its clientele is considered undeserving (Barr, 1971). As a result the public need to be aware, as Morrell (1967) has suggested, that the probation service is concerned, not with "criminals", but "human beings with problems ". Similarly, Stockdale (1985) has argued:

"One of the best ways to get the men in the street to acknowledge that not every offender is a fiend of the first order, is for him to have contact with some offenders"

(Stockdale, 1985; p. 18).

The point here is that 'caring' work with offenders carries potential dangers. Lacey (1963) uncovered incidences where Voluntary Associates suffered forms of victimisation from their clients. Thus, in order for care by the community to be a realistic proposition would Voluntary Associates be prepared to work with clients in their own neighbourhood, or with those who were known to them personally? Do volunteers provide clients with their telephone numbers or invite them back to their home, or is such intimacy positively avoided?
Whilst work with offenders carries the danger of victimisation from clients, the extent of the danger and the fear of it, is presently unknown. The point is crucial in terms of probation work by the community in the community. It has been shown elsewhere that fear of victimisation can be influential in effecting change in people's behaviour (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Maxwell, 1984), and this therefore may be a key feature in some not wishing to work within their local neighbourhood, or provide clients with home address and telephone numbers, bringing into question the relevance here of community care.

In summary, whilst some Voluntary Associates are deployed on a wide variety of tasks, others are under utilised. One reason for this may be the role of the probation officer, or more significantly the relationship of the volunteer to the professional which will be discussed more fully in section 2.7. Here, attention has been drawn to the process of matching client to Voluntary Associate, where it was noted that there is little evidence of volunteer preferences being acknowledged and then acted upon. Furthermore, the willingness of volunteers to work in their own neighbourhood, crucial to community care and the present vogue within the probation service (Haxby, 1978), remains an unexamined issue.

2.3 VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

Voluntary Associates are volunteers working in a statutory organisation. There have been attempts to formalise the involvement of probation volunteers through the use of the accreditation system. The idea originated from Reading (1967) who was intent on differentiating between those involved in ongoing casework with
clients (to be called 'accredited associates'), and the remainder. Other than the observation that the system is operational in most (Volunteer Centre, 1981), but not all (Stockdale, 1985) probation areas, there has been little research on the effectiveness of the system.

Recently there have been attempts to formalise the role of Voluntary Associates rather differently. The South East London probation service has initiated the Voluntary Associates Supervision of Selected Offenders (VASSO) project. The aim is to allow probation volunteers to supervise probation orders directly they are received from court. This subsequently incurred the wrath of NAPO who considered this "inappropriate", and "a threat to paid jobs" (NAPO, 1985). The point here is to note that attempts have been made to move the work of volunteers onto a different footing. Rather than being used as an appendage to the work of the probation officer, they are being used in a way rendering them directly responsible for the client.

So, Voluntary Associates are involved in a wide variety of cases, sometimes extending beyond that of simply assisting the probation officer. The more in-depth involvement is, in theory at least, differentiated by the accreditation system. It is against this background that the previously identified issues in volunteering are discussed.

2.4 MOTIVATIONS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

That research on motivations is as extensive for volunteers in the probation service as it is for volunteers working in any other single organisation, is a better reflection of the lack of research elsewhere, than it is an indication of the quality of analysis here.
The issue has formed part of the interests of Barr (1971) in his study of one London scheme, and Gandy (1977) in his Canadian research of volunteers in custodial institutions.

Barr's results (see Table 2.1) were obtained by asking respondents to state which of the items listed was most influential in their decision to volunteer. Gandy however, asked respondents to state their reasons for volunteering and rank them in order of importance, but only the primary reasons (like Barr) are included in Table 2.2. The different methodologies, or more precisely the different classifications used, are crucial in interpreting the results. For example, Altruism, ranked as fairly important in Gandy's study, did not exist as a possible alternative in Barr's listings despite the authors' assertion "that every voluntary associate is motivated by a mixture of altruism and self interest" (Barr, 1971, p. 46). However, differences in these results can perhaps best be explained by the practices of the different organisations.

It is clear that volunteers in Barr's study considered religious motivations to be the main reason for volunteering, but this was less frequently cited in Gandy's study. However, Barr placed considerable emphasis on attracting volunteers from local churches. Thus, inevitably, his results may overstate this factor as Gandy's study, and that by Lacey (1963) would seem to concur. As such this not only highlights the dangers of generalising the results on the basis of an assessment of one scheme, it also underlines the importance of research methodology in assessing peoples' motivations to volunteer.
Table 2.1

No. Primary Reason Given for Becoming a Voluntary Associate as a Percentage n=121

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To Practice their Christian Beliefs</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Through Meeting or Learning about an Offender</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To Compensate for their Daily Work</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. As a Step Towards Professional Social Work</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. As a Substitute for not Being a Professional Social Worker</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. To Repay Good Fortune in Life</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. More than One Answer</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. To Practice their Political Beliefs</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. To Fill a Gap in Their Own Interests or Family Life</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. To Try to Reform the Penal System</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Other</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Don't Know</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0

(Barr, 1971; p. 5)

Table 2.2

No. Primary Reason for Choosing to Work with Prisoners n=123

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Volunteer's Need, Interest</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Outside Influence from Person or Organisation</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perceived Need of Inmate</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Interest in Correctional System or Correctional Reform</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Altruistic Reasons</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Felt Had Something to Offer (Skills, Relationships etc)</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Former Contract with Prison or Prisoners</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Past Significant Personal Experience</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Desire for New Learning Experience</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Religious Motivation</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. No Choice Made</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0

(Gandy, 1977; p. 69)

Having drawn attention to the differences that exist in these two studies, it seems pertinent now to draw attention to the similarities. The different classifications used make possible only cursory comparisons. Nevertheless, in both, undertaking voluntary work
as the result of someone else's influence was fairly important, suggesting that not all volunteers make a specific decision to volunteer, but merely drift into it. This clearly requires further clarification.

In Gandy's results what could be otherwise described as Self-Directed reasons were the most popular. The fact that such a category does not appear in Barr's table disguises a degree of similarity here. For example, items 3, 5 and 9 could be grouped together and considered Self-Directed motivations. If this is done the differences are diminished (Barr = 18.2%, Gandy = 26.8%).

Perhaps what is also surprising is the relatively small emphasis on volunteering as a means to a social work career. Barr does note however, that just under a quarter had either applied to become a probation officer before becoming a Voluntary Associate (14%), or since becoming a Voluntary Associate (4.2%), or were making plans for the future (6.6%). That it was considered a primary reason for so few is perhaps a reflection of the relatively low priority placed upon voluntary work as a means of gaining access to a social work course at the turn of the 1970s. This is not the position today.

However, what is perhaps more important here is that Voluntary Associates would appear, in their decision to volunteer, to be governed by motives based on benefits to themselves, Self-Directed, rather than the immediate gain to other people. Similarly, there is evidence that the role of people acquainted with the organisation's work, particularly ex-offenders specific interest in them as a group), may be an influential factor in
terms of motivating people to volunteer. Nevertheless, these observations are devised from a comparison of two studies which utilise different classifications, and therefore the issues raised should be viewed as indicators rather than answers.

2.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

Research on the social characteristics of Voluntary Associates has consistently emphasised their middle class bias. This is as true of Britain (Barr, 1971; Clarke, 1975; 1977; Hill, 1981; Lacey, 1963), and America (Dowell, 1978; Horejsi, 1971; Scheier, 1968), as it is of Canada (Gandy et al., 1973; Mounsey, 1973), and Japan (Hess, 1970). As a result Reading's (1967) assertion that Voluntary Associates should be representative of the community has yet to be realised, since only certain parts of the community participate (Mathieson, 1978).

The middle class bias has been influential in fostering a degree of scepticism amongst probation officers in their use of volunteers. Holme and Maizels (1978) refer to one office's refusal to utilise the services of Voluntary Associates because they were "middle aged and upper middle class". Similarly, the Voluntary Associates themselves have noted the barrier erected by class in forming relationships with clients (Lacey, 1964).

Whilst the class factor in volunteering appears ingrained in a probation service context there is a little evidence, but only a little, that the middle age emphasis is being challenged. In America specialist projects have developed an ability to attract Voluntary Associates from a wide age spectrum (Beless et al., 1972; Fo and O'Donnell, 1974). In Britain, the ever increasing emphasis placed on
voluntary activity as a prerequisite for acceptance on a course leading to a social work qualification, has fuelled its attractiveness to younger people. Clearly, the probation service provides a relevant field of voluntary activity (Clarke, 1975; Davidson et. al., 1985; Stockdale, 1985). Nevertheless, the recency of this development warrants substantiation via research on the motivations of Voluntary Associates.

Aves' (1969) stereotype of the typical volunteer is as relevant to the probation service on gender as it is on social class and age. Parallels here can be drawn between Britain (Barr, 1971; Hill, 1981; Volunteer Centre, 1974), America (Dowell, 1978), and Canada (Gandy et. al., 1973; Mounsey, 1973). Whilst Barr (1971) has stressed caution in underestimating the contribution of men, research in this country has yet to report anything other than a predominance of women. Nevertheless, the increasing contribution of the unemployed (Davidson et. al., 1985) may result in a further increasing the contribution of men since the majority of unemployed applicants are males (Hereford and Worcester Annual Review, 1983). This development may also challenge the middle class bias.

Thus, there exists a wealth of evidence that Voluntary Associates are a facsimile of the typical volunteer, as defined by previous research, in terms of social class, age and gender. However, a caveat is necessary here in that modern developments - specifically the preference of voluntary experience for applicants to social work courses and the volunteer potential amongst the unemployed, may challenge the apparent rigidity of this stereotype.
These biases are lamented not only by probation officers, but also others such as Walker and Beaumont (1980). In outlining a process of socialist practice in probation work, they have noted the unrepresentativeness of volunteers. Similarly, NAPO in issuing guidelines for the deployment of Voluntary Associates advise:

"Recruitment and training of volunteers should ensure that equal opportunity is afforded to all irrespective of race, gender, class, marital status, social orientation, age, religion, disability and criminal convictions unrelated to the proposed task".

(NAPO; 1985; p. 6)

The participation of 'minorities' has received limited coverage within the probation service context. Nevertheless, the Commission for Racial Equality have illustrated the value of including representatives of the ethnic minorities in probation work (C.R.E., 1981). Similarly, both Pendleton (1973) in Britain, and Unkovic and Davies (1969) in America have highlighted the positive experience that ex-prisoners can offer probation clients. Surprisingly though, given the probation service's focus on the underdog, and the NAPO stance referred to above, disability and sexual orientation have received as little comment in the Voluntary Associate literature, as they have in the Volunteer literature generally.

Having established who volunteers it seems pertinent to ask to what extent we can anticipate certain modes of activity to flow from this. For example, as research has shown voluntary work is a middle class activity, it thus may be anticipated that Voluntary Associates were either previously involved in other voluntary work, and/or presently involved in other voluntary work in addition to their involvement here. Similarly, they may be more likely to donate money to charity and for the same reason be less likely to seek financial gain from
their voluntary activity. On a rather different level a middle class bias would suggest a tendency to vote Conservative, yet Barr (1971) has shown that Voluntary Associate's political beliefs tend to be "of a left wing intellectual kind", and that for a few, the motivations to volunteer for probation work was derived from a desire to practice political beliefs. Whilst Barr leaves it to the reader to assume that those with the 'left wing' political views are the same volunteers as those who are motivated by a concern to practice political beliefs, it nevertheless remains an interesting, and largely unexamined facet, to our knowledge of the type of people who volunteer for the probation service.

Thus, whilst research on who volunteers has stressed their middle class, middle age, female bias, there exists a hint of evidence that research findings may be dated. But furthermore, there also exists the possibility that Voluntary Associates may not conform to the stereotype of the typical middle class person, for example in the form of voting behaviour. Clearly, these issues cannot be viewed in isolation, and it is a concern which needs to be redressed by further studies.

2.6 BECOMING A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATE

It has already been shown that the method of recruitment is influential in determining the types and numbers of people who volunteer. Within the probation service various methods have been advocated and used. For example, the ACTO Report (1963) extolled the merits of a national recruitment drive, although subsequent writings have questioned this assertion (Pendleton, 1967), with most services preferring to recruit locally. At community level, volunteer bureaux
(Ward, 1984) and even job centres (Hereford and Worcester, 1982) have acted as recruiting tools. Nevertheless, personal approaches to recognisable people in the community remains the most common method. This is true of Britain (Clarke, 1977; Reading, 1967; Worthy, 1971); and America (Scheier, 1968; 1970). In addition, it would appear that Voluntary Associates are more likely to state a probation officer as having influenced their decision to volunteer than another Voluntary Associate (Barr, 1971). Thus, there is support here, for the prominence given in the wider voluntary field in recruiting volunteers primarily via word of mouth. However, in ensuring they attract the right type of people, the probation service may in so doing, perpetuate the middle class bias.

To suggest that personal approaches are popular is not to imply that selection is automatic, at least not for those involved in accreditation. Although the appointment of Voluntary Associates remains the exclusive responsibility of the probation committee (Jarvis, 1971), in practice it tends to act as a rubber stamp to the recommendations of the chief probation officer. The accreditation process includes the provision of two references and two interviews (Barr, 1971; Clarke, 1975). As a result, a time gap exists between initial contact with the service and referral of the first client, which in one case at least stretched to seven months (Riddick, 1984).

As was shown earlier with regards to mass media appeals time delays can result in a loss of interest amongst volunteers and contribute to a high fall out rate. Here the role of training could be crucial. Despite Reading's (1967) consideration of the desirability of using 'preparation' as opposed to 'training', there is no evidence that in
practice they are markedly different. In any event the training of Voluntary Associates is almost universally eulogised, in Britain (Barr, 1971; Dixon, 1976; Pendleton, 1967; Worthy, 1971), America (Fo and O'Donnell, 1974; Horejsi, 1973; Howell, 1972; Scheier, 1970; Wood et. al., 1982), and Canada (Gandy et.al., 1973; Wood, 1980). That such approbation is the result of recognition that volunteers needs to be prepared for their work, as opposed to maintaining their interest in the organisation, is significant. This latter point has lacked emphasis in previous studies.

Allied to this issue is the possibility that a training programme may act as a means of inculcating the Voluntary Associate with the values of the organisation. In other words, whilst learning say about the offender; the community; the volunteer/client relationship and the Probation Service (Barr, 1971) volunteers are not only acquiring knowledge to assist them in their work with clients, but are also being absorbed into the pro-offender culture of the service. Without the benefit of a longitudinal study tracing any change in perspectives between joining the organisation, through the completion of training and beyond, the role of training programmes in respect of teaching a culture or ideology is difficult to trace. Nevertheless, it remains a vital dimension in any consideration of the importance of an organisation in a person's decision to pursue voluntary work with it.

However, of no less relevance in this respect is that of the probation officer. It has already been indicated that probation officers play an important role in terms of referring clients and supervising the Voluntary Associate. In so doing, an officer may be equally as influential as a form of training in inculcating the values of the
organisation. It is to this issue we now turn.

2.7 THE PROBATION OFFICER AND THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATE

Although the roots of the probation service lay in voluntary activity, modern day probation officers have viewed their volunteers with a considerable degree of scepticism (Haxby, 1978; Mathieson, 1978). Despite the fact that the majority of officers have, at some point, utilised the services of Voluntary Associates (Davidson et. al., 1985), and noted advantages in doing so (Holme and Maizels, 1978), there remains an underlying notion of them being "a well motivated hindrance" (Pendleton, 1973).

This view has been compounded by five interlinked factors. Firstly, the changing roles of the probation service has resulted in "considerable confusion" (Mathieson, 1975) in defining the probation officer's role (Haxby, 1978; Mawby, 1980). Consequently, this may have limited their time or their willingness to involve themselves in another dimension to their work, that being the use of volunteers. Secondly, the opportunities for volunteering have not been commensurate with the expanding responsibilities of the service as Clarke (1977) has indicated. Rankin (1982) has noted that the introduction of ancillaries and workers on MSC schemes provided officers with additional resources who were both paid and accountable. This is not to suggest that ancillaries were introduced as a replacement for volunteers, they were not. Indeed, the expansion in the use of ancillaries coincided with the expansion of Community Service Orders (Haxby, 1978), but they did provide a more omnipresent option for officers when in need of assistance. Thirdly, the attainment of a professional status encouraged officers to view their work as an improvement on the preceding amateur days and hence doubt
the value of their lay counterpart (Lacey, 1964). Fourthly, volunteers presented a threat to their professional status as Pendleton (1967) observes:

"From our point of view, the bringing in of voluntary workers was distinctly threatening. It was salutory, to say the least, to find that an 'outsider' could have more insight into a problem than oneself. It made one examine fundamentals as to why one was in the job and what was one's function. Having worked through this though, it became more evident that one should welcome the ability of others to do the work, and that it was imperative to see that such ability was harnessed, developed and focused properly, to the ultimate benefit of the client. This, in turn, brought one right up against one's own skills and sometimes, the lack of them".

(Pendleton, 1967; p. 199)

Fifthly, the probation officers' own perspective of their role is crucial. For example, Fielding (1984b) found that many officers' interests in a probation career were derived from the autonomy it allowed, considering this the principal advantage of their occupation. The emphasis on autonomy, coupled with another finding of Fielding, that they believed only other officers could understand their role, is perhaps a further impediment to volunteer use by probation officers. Similarly, Holme and Maizels (1978) found that whilst probation officers stressed helping the client as the most satisfactory part of their occupation, when asked how their service could be improved, only a tiny minority suggested using volunteers.

The attention focussed on professionals' opinions of Voluntary Associates is not balanced by research on Voluntary Associate's opinions of professionals. Indeed, the intricacies of the professional/volunteer partnership remain unexamined, although various observations have been made. Clarke (1975) for example, has suggested that the service should accredit 10 volunteers per probation
officer, thereby allowing the officer to act as a resource manager (Ward, 1984). Research in America, particularly by Scheier (1968) has noted the resource implications of the 'amplication factor'. This suggests that by spending one hour supervising a volunteer, the probation officer could expect 15 to 20 hours work from the Voluntary Associate. However, this represents a threat to their autonomy and professionalism. As such the transition to case managers is more likely to remain an interesting theoretical suggestion than a starting point for policy design.

On these issues parallels can be drawn with other countries. America is a case in point. There, whilst recognising that Voluntary Associates provide an additional resource (Fo and O'Donnell, 1974; Goddard and Jacobson, 1967), releasing officers for complex and more demanding tasks (Scheier, 1968), they are still viewed with considerable scepticism (Unkovic and Davies, 1969), and a threat to their professional status (Schwartz, 1971), with some officers openly disliking their volunteer counterpart (Wood, 1980). Similarly, just as Ellenbogen and Digregorio (1975) have noted that expertise is required in supervising volunteers, and O'Leary (1969) that officers should receive the appropriate training in this respect, so this was a central feature of Reading's (1967) recommendation in Britain. Indeed, Probation (1967), the services own journal, whilst welcoming Reading's report, underlined the point that the potential in Voluntary Associates could only be realised if officers were adequately trained in supervision. The dearth of sequences on volunteers in social work training (Gill and Andrews, 1986) is evidence of the low priority that it has attained. Predictably therefore, scepticism abounds.
Barr (1971) has noted that officers may be more trusting if Voluntary Associates are known to them personally. Indeed the fact that only some officers allow volunteers to see probation files (the personal history of the client) may be relevant here, but the extent of this practice is unknown. Nor is it clear to what extent Voluntary Associates would describe officers as 'friends' as opposed to say 'acquaintances' or 'colleagues'. Moreover, whether they socialise together may be indicative of the type of relationship that exists. On a rather different level research has not yet established the frequency of contact between officer and volunteer once a case has been referred, or the degree of control they maintain over a volunteer's work with a client. In other words do officers issue guidelines or rules as to how a volunteer should conduct work with clients? Or is the case referred to volunteers with responsibility to pursue their work according to their own judgement? Clearly unanswered questions abound.

2.8 SUMMARY

It would be accurate to state in summarising that there exists as much research material on the probation volunteer as there is on any other volunteer working within one agency. Nevertheless, this chapter has underlined the weaknesses in research design leading to gaps in knowledge, not least with regard to the perspectives of the Voluntary Associates themselves. Thus, whilst Voluntary Associates are involved in a wide range of tasks there are indications of high levels of forced inactivity. This may inevitably affect their views of probation officers or the probation service, and rather than being probation helpers in the community, some may be dissatisfied to the point of being an anathema to the probation cause.
Little more is known about the Voluntary Associates' own views on their work with clients. The fact that men tend not to work with women for example, does not appear to have been questioned, neither does it mean that this is what the volunteer prefers. On a more general level little is known about the type of clients Voluntary Associates would prefer to work with, or whether their views are sought and if so, the degree of notice taken of their preferences. Moreover, the present vogue of community care assumes that a community will want to assist their neighbours. Yet where clients are undeserving and victimisation is possible (Barr, 1971), its practical relevance is brought into question.

Why people join an organisation is crucial to understanding what people expect to extract from their voluntary work. Here, research has yet to consider seriously the importance of the probation service as an attraction to volunteers. In other words, is work with offenders specifically relevant to peoples' motivations, or do they see it as a form of caring work? In considerations of the type of people who are motivated to probation voluntary work, research has emphasised their social class, age and gender bias, but has not gone on further from this to suggest whether probation volunteers accord to typical middle class life patterns, say in voting Conservative, or having harsher attitudes to law and order. This is particularly relevant given that probation volunteers have been seen by Barr (1971) to be politically to the left. Thus, can we assume that those who join the probation service are more offender orientated or 'soft' on law and order than their class and gender bias would suggest? Clearly, this is a factor research needs to address.
Attention was also drawn to the probation officer and the Voluntary Associate, where it was noted that their partnership has yet to be evaluated from the volunteer's perspective. Given the widespread inactivity, there is scope for suggesting this may be rather less than favourable. The amount of contact between the two, and the extent of discussion over casework goals, have yet to be empirically evaluated and yet remain central to understanding Voluntary Associates' satisfaction with their work.

Motivations, degree of contentment with their activity and commitment to the probation service, cannot be separated from organisational policy. Here issues in the use of Voluntary Associates have been discussed as far as the research evidence in existence allows. The need for emphasis on the volunteer perspective is thus evident.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Parallels here can be drawn with America, where the early pioneering work of John Augustus (Manser, 1967) led to state responsibility for probation work (Scheier, 1970) marking the disappearance of volunteers, only to see their re-emergence in the 1960's (Eskridge and Calson, 1979; Horejsi, 1971; Scheier, 1970). Similarly, as will be shown, their re-introduction has been met with scepticism amongst some probation officers.

2. In Norway for example, some 20% of persons under supervision are supervised by volunteers (personal communication).

3. While this term was originally used by Reading, eight years later Clarke (1975) identified two common terminologies for describing accredited probation volunteers. In noting a preference for 'accredited volunteer' as opposed to 'voluntary associate' he confuses the issue. This is mainly because Barr's (1971) seminal work had popularised the term 'Voluntary Associate'. Since this would appear to be the main terminology today, and indeed that used by the two services forming the focus of this study, it has been adopted throughout this thesis.

4. See VASSO handout, South East London Probation Service.

5. It could be argued with some justification that item 9 on Gandy's listing might, under other circumstances be classified as Self-Directed reasons. In these circumstances the comparative emphasis becomes more disparate. However, what is being emphasised here is that they are both significantly represented.

6. Ironically Scheier (1968), Mounsey (1973) and Barr (1971) have all seen advantages in middle class volunteers. Central to their contention lies the belief that by being socially distanced, Voluntary Associates can act as a model for the client, and can use their contacts and status within the community to the client's advantage. Clearly, such a perspective ignores the community orientation in involving all members of the public in voluntary work. Furthermore, if middle class workers is seen as an advantage it suggests the work could more appropriately be left to probation offices.

7. See also Abrami and Perry (1976) on the lecture method.

8. Bottoms and McWilliams (1979) in their discussion of the failure of treatment, pose a Help-Paradigm, in which they envisage a more widespread use of Voluntary Associates.
CHAPTER 3

SPECIALS AND THE POLICE SERVICE:

ISSUES DISCUSSED
Since the publication of Cain’s (1973) seminal work in Britain, volumes of literature now exist on policing. Of particular interest has been the subject of police and public relations, frequently analysed under the guise of community policing. Whilst on a theoretical level this itself has been open to a variety of interpretations (Gill and Thrasher, 1985), so on a practical level it has found varied expression (see Moore and Brown, 1981; Schaffer, 1980). Nevertheless, in each case it takes as its focus improving the partnership of the police with the community.

Yet surprisingly, mention of the Special Constabulary is scarce. True, Alderson (1979) in outlining his model of community policing notes the need for the existence of a police reserve, but characteristically Specials rarely receive even a mention in texts on the police service. This is surprising because Specials are members of the public engaged in the day to day business of the police, and therefore provide a vital link between the police and the public they serve. Indeed, there exists widespread ignorance about the Special Constabulary in both Britain (Belson, 1975), and America where its equivalents, are the 'auxiliary' or 'reserve' units (Gourley and Bristow, 1970).

This is perhaps made all the more intriguing since academic interest in volunteers and the voluntary sector as Chapter 1 has shown, has expanded over a similar time period to that of the police. Yet studies of the Special have been excluded here too (notably in Wolfenden, 1978). Thus the Special Constabulary, a group of volunteers in an agency at the forefront of political (Reiner, 1985) and academic debate, remains an unexamined phenomenon.
Most references to the origins of the Specials cite the Specials Constables Act 1673 in the reign of Charles II. In fact no such act existed and Seth (1961), the only writer to have evaluated the history of the Specials, was mistaken. All subsequent researchers have followed his error. The real origins of the Specials are to be found in section 15 of the Poor Law Act 1662 which permitted two Justices of the Peace to swear into office a temporary constable ('temporary' became 'special' in the first Special Constables Act in 1820). The Specials have therefore a slightly longer history than they have traditionally been credited with.

Nevertheless, the modern Specials are normally traced back to the Special Constables Act 1831, which enshrined their presence in statute following the setting up of the police service 2 years previously. The powers of the Specials in Boroughs was further reinforced in parts of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835 and 1882. Throughout the nineteenth century Specials were used in a variety of political demonstrations including those of the Chartists in 1848. However, here they faced two problems. Firstly, such work branded them with class connotations which was to prove difficult to lose (Whitaker, 1979). Secondly, because they could still only be summoned in an emergency, when their assistance was required they were largely ignorant of their powers. Thus, it was against tradition when in 1911 the Home Secretary advised local authorities to train groups of citizens as Special Constables. However, like so much that has surrounded the use of Specials, this was acted upon with varying degrees of indifference. Indeed, had it not been for the outbreak of war in 1914 the proposal would probably have been absorbed into the past. As it was, the war encouraged the introduction of the Special Constables Act 1914 which, for the first time permitted Specials to be
sworn in during this type of emergency. Again there were wide variations in the approaches to the act (Police Review, 1914); and again their lack of knowledge did little to endear them to the regulars:

"There had usually been a certain coldness in the stations between the regulars and the Specials when they had been called out in the past. It was a natural reaction of trained men, highly skilled in a difficult profession, to men who were given equal powers to them but who, through no fault of their own admittedly, knew nothing of the art of which the greater part of police work consists. Except as an extra physical force acting on their side on the occasions when physical force was useful, the majority of regulars held the view, the the Specials were more of a liability than an asset."

(Seth, 1961; p. 83)

At the end of the war fears of strikes by police officers were sufficient to ensure the establishment of a Specials force during peace time formalised in the Special Constables Act of 1923. However, their use in the General Strike 1926, where many were uncommitted, which coupled with gross disorganisation reinforced the need for a properly trained police reserve (Seth, 1961) although once more reaction was slow.

During the Second World War the Specials again came into prominence when they were drafted in to cover manpower shortages. On the return to peace the Fourth Report of the Police Post War Committee emphasised that Specials should not be used at the expense of regular officers, but added that a trained body should be recruited and guidelines were issued to achieve that end, points that were reinforced in the Working Party of the Police Advisory Board on Manpower in the Police Service which reported in 1967.

It was against this background that the Police Advisory Board
initiated a Working Party which reported in 1976,\(^{(4)}\) following a similar manoeuvre in Scotland which had reported the previous year.\(^{(5)}\) The recommendations of the Working Party Report 1976, and its sequel, the Second Working Party Report (1981),\(^{(6)}\) layed the foundations on which the Special Constabulary is based today. They, for this reason, form the basis of most of the material presented in the remainder of this Chapter.

The mandate of the Working party Report 1976 was to consider "the employment and conditions of service of special constables" as they deemed necessary. Of principal concern though was the need to provide an adequate reserve force in the event of a national emergency, and to integrate the Specials more fittingly into the police service. At the same time they were keen to allay any disquiet that may result from the regular establishment given their traditional scepticism which, as shown, has its roots in early history. Some of their recommendations were made exclusively for this purpose. One such issue was that of the rank structure.

Whilst it had always been the case that Specials, whatever their ranking, would never have authority over any regular, the similarities of the ranking systems here had caused some concern to full time officers. The Working Party report therefore recommended that Specials should operate on a different ranking structure, with different titles and insignia to reflect the differences that were in existence. They also advised that rather than termed 'rank' it should be called a 'grade', since positions of authority in the Special Constabulary were to reflect administrative and not command functions. Such an innovation caused considerable antagonism amongst the Specials,\(^{(7)}\) so much so that the Working Party Report (1981) reflected...
on the wisdom of the change, but eventually recommended that:

"The much improved relationship between regulars and specials since 1976 was due in part to the change in titles, and that reversion to the old ranks would dissipate good-will. We attach overriding importance to good working relationships between regulars and specials and we recognised that reversion to the old ranks could jeopardise that relationship......so we concluded that both the grade titles and insignia recommended by the 1976 Working Party should be retained".

(Working Party Report; 1981, Para 21)

Thus, the need to appease regular officers took priority over the wishes of the Special Constabulary.

3.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF SPECIALS

The lack of research on the Special Constabulary is reflected in the fact that the only breakdown of their activities appears in the Working Party Report (1976), and thus by all accounts runs the risk of being dated. Nevertheless, the Report concluded that the majority of Specials patrolled in the company of a regular officer (60%), although a significant minority normally undertook tours of duty with another Special (30%), with only a small proportion working alone. The majority of Specials' work, the report observed, was confined to patrolling (55%), while 15% was allotted to formal training, with the remainder being concerned chiefly with ceremonial and sporting events. The report considered that the contribution of Specials should not exceed an average of 4 hours a week excluding emergencies and special occasions, and noted that the then national average (1974-5) was less than 3 hours weekly.

The Working Party Reports (1976 and 1981) were concerned to ensure that Specials should not engage in activities which required the expertise of a regular, or which were likely to deprive officers of
overtime. To achieve this end The Working Party Report (1981) considered and clarified the role of the Special Constable suggesting 4 inter-related functions - to receive a sufficient level of training (see section 3.6); to perform police duties releasing regular officers for tasks requiring greater skill and experience; to prepare to assume policing responsibilities should any emergency absorb regular officer's commitment; and finally to act as a police reserve in the event of war.

Alderson (1978) in adumbrating his policies of community policing saw an essential role for the Special Constabulary in acting as a link between the police and the community. Alderson envisaged a group of Specials being attached to community constables informing them of community issues and providing essential local knowledge, a concept which received practical expression in the Northumbria Constabulary, and on a limited scale in Birmingham (Cummings, 1984), with encouraging results. Nevertheless, a similar scheme in the Metropolitan Police failed because it:

"did not receive the support of specials or Regular Home Beat Officers, and despite attempts by Regular senior police officers to persuade the parties concerned to accept the scheme, it was eventually abandoned as a failure".

(Hope and Lloyd, 1984; para 5.4)

Indeed, the findings of Hope and Lloyd are particularly relevant here. In noting the Special's own preference to refrain from patrolling in their own home area, they also warn of the potential dangers in so doing:

"The patrolling of ones own 'back yard' could possibly lead to retaliation, on the property or person of the special themselves."

(Hope and Lloyd, 1984; para 5.5.5)
These problems are accentuated no doubt by the fact that the research force was an urban one, but it nevertheless warrants consideration as to whether Specials do suffer forms of rebuke by engaging in police work within their own community. It has been assumed by Alderson (1978, 1979) and others, that Specials will want to play a part in community policing without establishing first the Special's own attitude towards this approach, which, given Hope and Lloyd's observations, must be brought into question.

3.3 SPECIAL CONSTABLES

Specials are then volunteers working within a statutory agency. Not only do they appear to undertake the same duties as professionals, they are also invested with the full powers of the office of constable when engaged in police work. By all accounts they are volunteers with considerable powers and responsibilities. So much so that there have been calls to 'professionalise' their role into a more disciplined reserve force (Olsen, 1982), a notion which has found favour on a political level (Paterson and Axworthy, 1984). Bound up with this has been the question of payment. Both the Scottish Working Party Report (1975) and the Working Party Report (1976) considered the merits of introducing a bounty. Whilst both reports finally decided against such an innovation, that it should ever appear as a possibility is intriguing since within the volunteer literature generally there has been very little comment on volunteers requiring financial gain from their services.

The Special then represents a very different type of volunteer. It is against this background that issues identified within the wider volunteer literature are discussed.
3.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF SPECIALS

Little is known about factors that influence people to volunteer for the police service. It was noted in Chapter 1 that most people keen on engaging in voluntary work are attracted to caring type work with clients. However, police work is not normally considered to be 'caring', certainly, the social policy literature has excluded the Specials from discussions of voluntary welfare work. Moreover, just as Barr (1971) has argued that probation service clients are undeserving which raised interesting questions about the motivations of Voluntary Associates, so Bittner (1975) contends there is a stigma associated with police work:

"A stigma attaches to police work because of its connection with evil, crime, perversity and disorder. Though it is not reasonable, it is common that those who fight the dreadful end up being dreaded themselves." (Bittner, 1975; p. 44)

Why then should people volunteer for police work? Manning (1977) has noted that police officers enjoy their job for the excitement it offers in chasing cars, making arrests and even through involvement in fights, a point previously noted by Cain (1973). Holdaway (1983) has gone on to suggest that this is central to their definition of what policework entails. Perhaps then, Specials are attracted by the perceived benefits they believe regulars to obtain from their work? If this is a factor in a Special's decision to volunteer then it raises important questions about why they should want to continue in their Special's activity. For example, the reality is that most police work is social service work (Punch and Naylor, 1973) and for the most part tends to be mundane (Morris and Heal, 1981). (9) If this is true of the professional's role what does it mean for part-time volunteers who seemingly are very much on the margins of police
activity?

In the context of the probation service it was noted that many are attracted to volunteering to gain experience in order to pursue a social work career. Whilst Scarman (1981) has argued that the Special Constabulary could act as a preparation around for those contemplating a police career, such is the recency of this suggestion that it is difficult to assess the degree to which this idea has been applied by chief constables. There is certainly little evidence that Britain is developing a system akin to that of some American units where there is lateral entry from the reserves to the regular establishment (Bohardt, 1977).

Other reasons for volunteering for police work might be focussed on the office of constable itself. Being a police officer is a route to the middle classes, it entails access to a profession. The 'job' then has status, which, as Morris (1969) has outlined, is a reason for some people to volunteer. Can it be then that Specials are attracted by the status of being a police officer, the privilege of the uniform, which itself "enhances the police sense of identity and power" (Holdaway, 1983)?

The fact of the matter is that the dearth of research on this issue makes hypothesising difficult but this encourages speculation. It would appear that whilst a few Specials may be attracted to the police with a view to a police career, and others because of the status it offers, a specific interest in the organisation remains prominent. This in itself however, may prove problematic if Specials associate an interest in the police service, with the same type of excitement as the regulars do, because most police work is routine. Therefore, why
Specials continue with their work becomes an interesting question.

### 3.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

That very little attention has been paid to the social characteristics of Specials, is hardly surprising given their general absence from academic (or other) enquiry. Indeed, for this type of data we rely almost solely on the unpublished work of Hope and Lloyd (1984), two Metropolitan Police officers, who undertook a small study of one area of their force. Moreover, they were only concerned with those Specials who had completed 2 years service, or had left the constabulary within 2 years. Thus their results, though worthy of comment here, must be treated with caution.

Their findings provide very little evidence that Specials conform to the stereotype of the typical volunteer as defined by Aves (1969), at least not in age and gender. In respect of class, Specials could be broadly defined as lower middle class, although it is on age that Hope and Lloyd's findings are particularly striking. The Working Party Report (1976) had recommended minimum (18 and a half years) and maximum (55 years) age (11) scales, but given the traditional scepticism of the young towards the police (Belson, 1975; Jones and Levi, 1983) it may have been expected that these would be under-represented in the Specials. According to Hope and Lloyd the contrary is true, finding that 81% of those with less than 2 years service were aged 18-30. Of course the limitations of Hope and Lloyd's study in incorporating only the inexperienced needs emphasising here, but it does raise the possibility that young people are increasingly using the Specials as a route to a career.

The Special Constabulary is one of the few voluntary agencies that can
claim a prominence of males, although there is a greater proportion
of women in the Specials than there is in the regular establishment.
In Hope and Lloyd's study, 73% were male, but that 62% of applications
to the division were female, is a reflection of the growing interest
of women in this type of voluntary work.\(^{(12)}\)

So to remould Aves' (1969) stereotype a Special it would seem, on the
limited (and also highly questionable) evidence available, tends to
be lower middle class, young and male, with the caveat that the
participation of women is steadily increasing. However, there is
little available evidence yet that the Specials contain high numbers
of those from the ethnic minorities, even though Scarman (1981) in his
assessment of the Brixton Disorders envisaged a role for the Specials
in involving ethnic minorities in police work, helping to break down
the barriers between the police and the black community. Thus, as
Hope and Lloyd point out, the scepticism of this group towards the
police does not exclude the Specials.

Given the lack of information on personal characteristics it becomes
difficult to anticipate behaviour or attitudes on the basis of them.
In what ways they are typical of other volunteers must await further
research. Since then an interest in the police appears as a primary
motivation, it perhaps would not be surprising to find they adopt
police attitudes to law and order. Given that Police Federation at
least has outwardly adopted a right wing stance (Hain, 1979),
illustrated through its campaigns for capital punishment and tougher
sentencing Specials may be expected to align with the political
right. At present this is mere speculation, but inevitably the type
of people who become Specials ultimately depends on the selection
processes used.
3.6 BECOMING A SPECIAL

The Working Party Report (1976) considered it unnecessary to issue guidelines for the recruitment of Specials, apart from drawing attention to the benefits of local initiatives. In 1984-5 Dorset Constabulary proved the wisdom of this suggestion, by co-ordinating a local recruitment drive generating over 200 applications. However, approaches such as these appear to be rare. True, the Home Office do launch national recruitment campaigns, and provide each police station with publicity material in order to advertise the work of the Specials. But for the most part, as the Scottish Working Party Report (1975) indicated, most specials are attracted either by regulars or other Specials, emphasising once again the prominence of the word of mouth recruitment method.

However, little is known about the selection process of those who volunteer their services. Certainly, there are guidelines within which they must work. The Working Party Report (1976) imposed minimum and maximum age limits, and there may, according to the wishes of the Chief Constable, be physical requirements in the form of height, eye-sight etc. The Working Party report (1981) underlined the importance they placed on selecting the right people by recommending that all applicants should undertake a recruitment test, although there remains much ignorance as to the extent to which they are used to guide practice.

Nevertheless, once recruited into the police Specials undergo a training programme. Such was the strength of feeling amongst Specials on this point, it received more representations to the Working Party Report (1981) than any other issue. In response the Report included a model programme, consisting of 24 lectures to be taught over a two
year cycle. The report did stress its use as a model and emphasised adaptation to local requirements, although little is known about its practical application, or indeed, the extent to which Specials view the training they do receive as adequate preparation for their work.

One other issue is crucial here. The Working Party Report (1981), suggested there were three advantages to training; it afforded the opportunity of providing Specials with knowledge relevant to their task; it generated enthusiasm, and allowed Specials to develop as police officers. However, this fails to give credence to the idea that training facilitates the absorption of Specials into the police occupational subculture. It has been stressed already that training may, potentially at least, form a basis on which to inculcate subjects with the values of the organisations. As Banton (1973) has argued in the context of regular officers:

"One of the things he acquires at the training centre is a sense of solidarity with his class mates and that policemen must help on another in dealings with the public. He cannot accept ideas which entail disloyalty towards his colleagues."

(Banton, 1973; p. 114)

Given the scepticism of police towards outsiders, and the dangers of non police personnel in uncovering police mal-practice (Holdaway, 1983), the threat of Specials to regulars is self evident. From the police point of view then there would seem much to commend their early introduction to training, that is if Fielding's (1984 a) assertion is true; he argues:

"Exposure to occupational culture early in the socialisation process encourages affiliation."

(Fielding, 1984 a; p. 84)

The advantages in training therefore, extends beyond the inherent
3.7 THE POLICE OFFICER AND THE SPECIAL

The Working Party Report (1976) raised several concerns relating to the regular/Special partnership. One of these related to the possibility of Specials posing a threat to regulars' overtime. Certainly the American literature has noted that one of the main advantages of a reserve force is that they save money (Bristow, 1969; Sherwood, 1980). Here the Working Party Report recommended that no Special should be deployed in such instances where the use of a regular officer could be justified, thereby highlighting the point Specials were a supplement and not a replacement for regulars in day to day policing duties.

Despite this recommendation there is still a degree of scepticism amongst officers over the use of Specials. In a letter to Police Review one officer considered them "public spirited but completely misguided people" and added:

"Chief officers are seeing them as a way of policing on the cheap and in using them, and threatening more use of them, as substitutes for professional police officers."

(Police Review, 1986; 31 January p. 224)

This report sparked off an angry reaction from the Specials, but is more important for the fuel it gives to the contention that there still exists a degree of antipathy leading in some cases to hostility.

Closely allied to this concern is the threat Specials pose to police professionalism, which as noted in Chapter 1, is a fear that
penetrates through agencies where professionals and volunteers work in unison. Here, the advantages in using volunteers needs to be assessed in the context of the doubts this might raise about police expertise. As Bristow (1969) has argued in an American context:

"When the Police Reserve is utilised, we must ask ourselves whether we can ever convince society that law enforcement is a profession when we are prepared to trade highly trained policemen periodically with a sixty year old reserve officer who may have attended only twelve to one hundred hours."

(Bristow, 1979; p. 42)

The police have worked hard to achieve professional status, even for those in the lower ranks (Cain, 1972) and this only encourages a jaundiced view of the amateur. On a practical level one police officer at least has questioned the ability of Specials to undertake police work, again in a letter to Police Review:

"An old and wise 20 year old PC, to a young and unexperienced special constable:

"How would you like it if I came to your company and asked to do your job for a few hours each week for no pay?"
"But", said the eager special, 'I'm a qualified gas fitter and you couldn't do the job.'
"Exactly" ........

(Police Review 1982; 30 July p. 1453)

One reply from a Special was equally poignant in accepting that this "was quite the best version of this story I have come across", added:

"If a regular officer in his spare time offered to assist me in my job as a qualified and experienced British Telecom engineer and to carry out the more mundane tasks associated with it, I would welcome him with open arms."

(Police Review 1982; 20 August p. 1600)

Clearly then, the harmony that the Working Party Reports (1976 and 1981) hoped to generate has not been realised. Antipathy and indifference abound although the depth and extent of this feeling is
difficult to judge. However, beyond consideration of police professionalism there is another issue which may also thwart the successful integration of Specials into the police service, that being the barriers placed by a strong police sub-culture.

The police sub-culture has received considerable comment in the wider police literature. Holdaway's (1983) work is particularly relevant here. Holdaway conducted his research whilst still a police sergeant and provides a more detailed ethnographic insight into the police service than had previously been the case. Throughout he stresses the importance of solidarity amongst police officers. He discusses for example, 'verballing' and the imperative need in these circumstances for colleagues support each other. Similarly, Cain (1973) has written of 'easing behaviour' the process of taking unofficial rests during duty requires the co-operation of officers to ensure that such conduct is not brought to the attention of senior officers. This is what Bittner (1975) has termed, the "one for all, and all for one spirit". Underlying this collective solidarity lies then, a 'secrecy code' which, as Conser (1980) has discussed, means supporting colleagues even if it entails breaking the law, a point evidenced by the early work of Weiner (1956):

"The results show that 73% of the men would not report their partners, and that 77% would perjure themselves rather than testify against their partners ....Amongst the latent functions of the secrecy code one of the most important function seems to be that it makes the individual policeman identify with other policemen and distinguish himself from non policemen. Thus it functions as a social bond amongst the police by giving them something in common."

(Weiner 1956; pp. 255-56)

The fact that policing is a way of life rather than simply a job (Reiner, 1978) is why officers tend to mix socially with other officers (Skolnick, 1966) and as a result has further enhanced their
solidarity (Salaman, 1974). Moreover, police officers by virtue of their occupation are required to be suspicious (Teevan and Dolnick, 1973). Indeed, Holdaway (1983) has discussed the potential dangers of what he terms "disarmers" who are in a position to uncover police mal-practice, by being able to penetrate the "private space" of the police station. The police share an identity with each other, but in addition a degree of scepticism of those who are not their own.

Specials are essentially 'outsiders' who, as volunteers, are in a position to spread knowledge of mal-practices in state agencies (Morris, 1969), yet as police officers (albeit part-time) would be expected to 'understand' that police work by 'necessity' entails breaking regulations (Holdaway, 1983). Herein lies a contradiction. If Specials maintain a role of public voice in the police service they pose a threat to the very fabric which underpins police activity. To do so would be likely to incur the hostility of regular officers and the isolation of the Special Constabulary within the police service. If however, Specials are essentially police officers in that they adopt the police sub-culture and all that it implies, it brings into question the wider issue of volunteers as public representatives in state agencies. Furthermore, the processes by which a member of the public becomes inculcated with the values and terms of the police merits consideration. Given Skolnick's (1966) work on the socialisation process it would appear that access to this may be a key feature to their subsequent integration into the police service. Yet, little is known about the extent to which regulars and Specials are able to work together let alone whether Specials generally consider their regular partners to be friends or whether they socialise with them, and to what extent. It is possible that Specials may have to prove themselves as reliable as a pre-requisite for acceptance into
the police sub-culture. Such issues must await clarification.

3.8 SUMMARY

This Chapter has highlighted the lack of attention paid to the Special Constable against a background where, since Cain's (1973) seminal work, British research on policing has been steadily expanding. This omission is difficult to understand. Since Specials are representatives of the community it may have been anticipated that they would form an integral part of projects analysing police-public relations or community policing, but little could be further from the truth. As the political debate over accountability and the need for more officers gains momentum, the value, or at least, potential value of the Specials has received remarkably little comment.

Even on the elementary level of what Specials do, the policy guidelines are more apparent than knowledge of how they are applied. This is crucial in the context of the declining numbers. While wastage can be explained by organisational practices, it nevertheless remains true that if Specials are attracted to the work, for the same reasons that regulars say they enjoy it, then there exists the possibility that Specials will be disappointed and the service may be failing to maintain their commitment.

On a rather different level attention has been drawn to the presence of a strong police sub-culture which recognises that police work entails circumventing guidelines, and that it remains the responsibility of all officers to support the secrecy code, even if it entails breaking the law. At the same time it has been noted that volunteers have been eulogised by Morris (1969), as being in a position to spread knowledge of mal-practices within state agencies.
Herein lies the contradiction in the Specials role. Are they police spies in the street or public eyes in the police? Seemingly they cannot be both.

The existence of a sub-culture is one thing, the means of gaining access to it is quite another. It has been shown that the police anyway are sceptical of outsiders, and this extends to the Specials which has its roots in history and fuelled more recently in the threat Specials pose to the police's professionalism and overtime. Thus, it may be that training is more crucial in the case of Specials than other groups of volunteers, not only in providing them with the skills to prove their abilities, but also in allowing them to learn the rules which govern access to the police sub-culture and "real police work" Holdaway (1983). The lack of research encourages speculation such as this, but it is no substitute for deriving real answers to vital questions regarding an organisation with an established tradition of voluntary service.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Maurice D. Kershaw a former Chief Commandant, for directing my attention to this matter.

2. The Act stipulated that Specials should be compensated for any loss of income, and that grants should be paid to the dependents of any Special who died or who was injured in the course of duty.

3. Some were employed on a full-time basis (Hart, 1951) at a rate of 60 shillings a week (Seth, 1961).


5. Henceforth called the Scottish Working Party Report (1975). However, since Scottish Specials operate on a different basis to those of England and Wales, they have been excluded from the general discussion here. For the same reason so have the Irish Specials.


8. Although the Working Party Report (1976) agreed to retain the boot allowance paid at the rate of 20 per annum 1986 figures.

9. This is particularly so in rural areas. Cain's (1973) work is relevant here in noting the different types of work undertaken in urban as opposed to rural Divisions. The excitement in terms of making arrests, and particularly fighting is likely to occur more frequently in urban areas.

10. Although the Working Party Report (1981) notes that 17 members of the Special Constabulary joined the regular establishment.

11. The report added that for those who held grades of Force or Divisional Commandant, the retirement age should be 60 with a possible 5 years extension, subject to the discretion of the Chief Constable.

12. In the First World War there was only 1 woman Special, and she was a despatch rider (Seth, 1961), but in the Second World War the women police effort was expressed through the Women's Auxiliary Police Corps which was disbanded in 1948. However, since 1950 the number of women Specials has with fluctuations, risen. In 1950, the ratio of men to women was 263:1, in 1982 the proportion had reduced to 3.7:1, and as section 3.6 develops, 1982 marked the first occasion in 30 years that the total number of Specials increased, due entirely to higher female participation.


CHAPTER 4

VOLUNTEERS AND VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES :

ISSUES DISCUSSED
4.1 INTRODUCTION

Although in earlier societies the judicial process centred on the victim's perspective (see Brownmiller, 1975; Schafer, 1968), the general shift towards state control saw their consequent exclusion. Interest was rekindled with the publication of Mendleshon's (1947) and Von Heritig's (1948) writings, and supplemented in Britain by the pioneering work of Margaret Fry (Jones, 1966). It was not until the 1970s however, that the victim's movement began to gain impetus. The subject of victimology had developed, and some were beginning to view it less as a sub-sector of criminology, and more as a discipline in its own right (Mendleshon, 1974). Not surprisingly, given the recency of its evolution, there has been some debate about the context of its subject matter. For example, Dussich (1984) has advocated the inclusion of non-crime victims such as victims of war, pollution, earthquakes etc. Despite this trend the focus of traditional victimology has always been on the crime victim, the causes of their victimisation, and social reactions to them. It is this latter issue with which we are principally concerned here.

It is recognised that the role of the public, either as victims or witnesses, is crucial to successful law enforcement in that they provide the evidence for the prosecution of the majority of offenders (Hough and Mayher, 1985; Mawby, 1979; Reiss, 1971). To stress their functional necessity however is not to imply they are regarded as such by the criminal justice system. Stories abound of the mal-treatment of victims by the judicial process. Recently, Shapland et.al., (1985) have traced the progress of victims of violent crime. The authors reveal how at each stage they are treated unsympathetically, including personal expense at attending court; a lack of information of the progress of their case; and little consultation over it. Others have
noted how victims can be treated savagely (See Harper and McWhinnie, 1983), by a system geared towards the interests of the offender.

There does however exist within the community a wide range of services both voluntary and statutory available to meet victims' needs - from the National Health Service catering for medical needs, to the Samaritans for emotional stress, or CAB for advice (see for the US, Doerner et al, 1976; and for Britain, Mawby, 1983). These however, are not exclusively for crime victims, rather they are general services for the needy. There are of course specific services for crime victims. Rape crisis centres and Women's Refuges offer support to raped and battered women. Similarly, reparation, still very much in its infancy, may offer help to a victim, providing that such a scheme exists: that the offender is apprehended; and both parties are willing (see Marshall, 1984). On a rather different level, since 1965 a state compensation scheme, the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board (CICB) has existed for those whose victimisation is judged to be worthy of recompense (currently at least £400, or in the case of spouse abuse £500). Such schemes are now operational across Europe (Meiners, 1978), and in many American states (Galvin, 1986). The problem here is that there is much public ignorance, which coupled with a lengthy bureaucratic process has resulted in a low take up.

However, the only organisations dealing exclusively with the crime victim and their immediate needs (1) are VSSs. They are essentially a first aid crisis service. Although the first scheme was not conceived until 1972, and not operational until 1974, their growth has been impressive (Gill and Mawby, 1985) with in 1986, 293 schemes affiliated to the NAVSS.
The evolution of the NAVSS in 1979 is in itself a reflection of the expansion of the victims movement. For the most part the National Association has focussed its efforts on pioneering new schemes; publicising the work of the organisation on which public ignorance still abounds (Hough and Mayhew, 1985); and as a clearing house and centre of expertise for both government and other agencies (NAVSS, 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986). Unlike the National Organisation for Victim Assistance (NOVA) in America, the NAVSS has steered clear of political campaigning, although in the United States victims rights are a popular political issue (see President's Task Force, 1982; Smith, 1984; Young and Stein, 1983). Perhaps because of this, the range of services in America is greater than in Britain (Dussich, 1981; Schneider and Schneider, 1981; Zigenhagen and Benyi, 1981; see also Landau, 1980).

The work of individual schemes will become apparent throughout this chapter. It needs to be stressed at the outset that the NAVSS is the umbrella organisation - local schemes are autonomous bodies varying in organisational style and policy. This in itself makes evaluation difficult. Nevertheless, each scheme does have a management committee which contains representatives from local agencies. All schemes affiliated to the NAVSS must includes on their committee a police officer, social worker or probation officer, and a representative from the church or a voluntary organisation. The principal purpose of the committee is to offer a panoply of resources to the victims, and hold responsibility for the management of the scheme which includes referral policy. This then frees the volunteer group to concentrate on work with victims. In addition, a regional structure is in existence which serves as an intermediary between national and local arrangements. The regional committee consists of representatives of
each member scheme.

Until very recently there has been little research on VSSs, Maguire and Corbett's (1986) study has yet to be published, although a report of their findings was obtained in the late stages of writing up this thesis. Their study was extensive, and will no doubt form the basis of many new policy initiatives both at national and local levels. However, given the recency of this report it has been impossible to include a discussion of their findings here. Nevertheless, an effort has been made to indicate the similarity or otherwise of Maguire and Corbett's work to this study where that is applicable. The first objective though is to discuss the work of VSSs.

4.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VSS VOLUNTEERS

Despite the existence of NAVSS guidelines purporting to offer a model, the emphasis on autonomy and local accountability has resulted in wide variations in the practices of individual schemes. The dearth of research on the operationalisation of schemes only serves to encourage public ignorance about what VSSs do. (For example, the 1984 BCS found that only a minority of victims had heard of VSS - see Hough and Mayhew, 1985) From an academic perspective, details are also vague. For example, it is known that coordinators are responsible for receiving referrals from the police, and that in response they contact volunteers to attend.\(^{(2)}\) However, little is known about how they choose that particular volunteer. Barr (1971) has written of the merits of matching the qualities of the volunteer to the needs of the client in the context of probation service work. Prima facie evidence would suggest similar parallels could be drawn with the volunteer and the victim. A range of influences may be important here, and the report of one coordinator in an annual report has given credence to
the fact that matching may exist:

"The decision is reached by the location of the victim and the volunteer, and also the experience of the volunteer in any particular set of circumstances. It is also a question of the availability of the volunteer and 'spreading the load'."

(St. Albans and District VSS, 1984)

To a certain extent the feasibility of this method will depend not only on the amount of information provided on the victim, and its veracity, but also on the availability of the volunteers. (3)

The availability of volunteers will itself be determined by the referral policy. Principally two methods or 'types' of referral abound. Initially, 'indirect' or 'selective' referral were popular. Here the police would contact schemes as and when victims needed assistance. However, recently 'direct' or 'automatic' referral has become more prominent, favoured by the NAVSS and most police chiefs (North Tyneside and Blyth Valley VSS, 1984). This works on the basis that all crimes (at least of specific categories) are referred to a scheme which then takes responsibility for acting (or not) as they deem necessary. A small research project has indicated that the use of automatic as opposed to indirect referral can influence, quite markedly, the referral rate to a scheme (North Tyneside and Blyth Valley Victim Support Scheme, 1985).

Referral rates are not, however, determined solely by the referral methods in existence. Geographical factors can be influential. While there are enormous variations in the number of referrals received by schemes, there has been an attempt to attribute some pattern to the differences that exist. Johnstone (1986) classifies a sample of 104 schemes on the basis of them being either rural, rural/urban or urban. Then by calculating the number of referrals per volunteer, and then
per scheme illustrates the extra burden confronting urban areas. The average per year of referrals per volunteer was only 14.1 in rural schemes, more than doubled for rural/urban schemes (32.6) and very nearly doubled again in urban areas (64.0). Similarly, whilst rural schemes dealt with 104 referrals, in rural/urban areas it averaged 620, and in urban areas 1096. Interestingly, when Johnstone reclassified the regions to consider only those in an area which had been considered worthy of government Urban Aid, she found that the number of referrals per volunteer increased marginally to 64.8, and the number of referrals per scheme to 1282. The additional burden confronting urban schemes are then well illustrated.

The crime most frequently referred to VSSs is that of burglary (NAVSS, 1985), which is also the offence which those who worry about crime are most likely to fear (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). Burglary, like other offences, poses a range of responses which may be considered necessary for a visiting volunteer. Victims may require practical help in tidying up the premises or mending a window; or advice on insurance claims or perhaps more likely given the emotional needs of clients stressed above, may require some form of counselling. The NAVSS have responded to the prominence of this latter concern by apportioning a third of their model training programme (NAVSS Training Manual, 1986) to issues relating to emotional needs (ie counselling skills and the impact of the crime upon the victim). Nevertheless, whether from the volunteer's perspective such a weighting is justified and whether indeed this is the type of work with which they claim to be most involved, must await further research.

Both Shapland et. al. (1985) in their study of violent crime, and Maguire (1982) in his work on burglary, supporting earlier work in
Canada by Waller and Okihiro (1978), found that the financial loss incurred as a result of the crime was less of a concern for most victims then the emotional impact. Similarly, both Shapland et.al. and Maguire found that victims still suffered from the crime months after the incident had initially occurred. Indeed, Salasin (1981) has suggested the secondary effects may be more damaging than the immediate ones.

The finding that victims frequently suffer long term effects as the result of a crime has implications for VSSs. From the inception the NAVSS has emphasised its 'first aid' role:

"this would be essentially a crisis service, offering immediate help, it could not and should not attempt to offer a long term service."

(NAVSS 1981; p. 16)

There are three points related to this aim. The first one has already been discussed, namely what type of help in practice is offered? Secondly, a crisis service implies a volunteer will attend at their earliest opportunity, but how soon after receiving a call do volunteers leave home to visit a victim? Is instant availability the main criteria in the decision of the coordinator as to which volunteer should attend the victim? Thirdly, without indulging in semantics and what is to be understood by "long term", it is possible to suggest that the needs of the client may be at variance with the service offered by VSSs. While it is known that volunteers do revisit a victim, the frequency, the length of contact, and the reasons for doing so, remain beyond present knowledge. Still further, little is known about whether volunteers are willing to revisit victims on a regular basis or about how they see their own role or that of schemes generally. (6)
There is one other issue relevant in any discussion of what volunteers do. Within VSSs there has been some debate about the type of cases schemes should concern themselves with. In their formative stages some schemes confine themselves to specific crimes, particularly burglary (see Rankin, 1977), or even specific groups of victims such as the elderly. (Maguire & Corbett, 1986) However, at the other extreme some schemes have involved themselves in non-crime referrals, such as victims of circumstance (ie the spouse of a sudden death case). As a NAVSS discussion paper comments:

"Some schemes not only accept such referrals, but also seek to increase their involvement in this wider range of crisis, whereas other schemes have refused to consider such referrals. A third group of schemes appear to take a passive stance, not actively seeking such referrals, but not refusing them if offered. There may be a fourth position beginning to emerge, where a scheme seeks such referral directly from the public and from non police sources." (Original emphasis)

(NAVSS, Undated, Non Crime Referrals)

In providing arguments both for and against involvement in such work, the NAVSS warn of the dangers of becoming "Jack of all trades, master of none". Given the fact that some schemes do accept non-crime referrals it raises the possibility that they also provide a more general assistance service for the police, or involve themselves in other work such as reparation. Since VSSs are the agency most closely identified with the victim (NAVSS, 1981; 1984) it is possible to envisage a role as supervisor to the aggrieved in an interaction with the offender.

So in all VSS volunteers appear, potentially at least, to be involved in a wide range tasks. Prior to discussing issues relevant to why they should want to join VSSs, it is necessary to firstly consider the context in which they work.
4.3 VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES

VSSs are registered charities, and fall into Hatch's (1980) classification of a 'voluntary organisation'. Nevertheless, they do employ paid workers at all levels. Whilst the Home Office have committed resources to the NAVSS itself, not until very recently have resources been made available for the funding of individual schemes (see NAVSS Newsletter, February, 1986). Even this though will be extremely limited and most schemes will be forced to continue to rely on sources such as Urban Aid, Manpower Services Commission, and Opportunities for Volunteering etc. For the most part schemes use money to employ coordinators either at the local scheme, or regional levels, although a few schemes do pay their volunteer visitors (Maguire and Corbett, 1986).

It is the speedy expansion of the organisation coupled with the onerous responsibilities of the coordinator (Maguire and Corbett, 1986) that has highlighted the need for paid positions. In addition, there was a concern that good coordinators were being lost to paid employment in other agencies (NAVSS, 1986). Payment then was seen essential to the development of services for victims, and Maguire & Corbetts (1980) study has indicated the favourable effect they can have in organising their schemes more effectively.

However, not all schemes, not even all urban schemes favour the employment of paid workers. Handsworth VSS is a case in point, as their annual report indicates:

"We have consciously sought to retain what we started out with viz, a service of volunteers totally run on a voluntary basis". (Handsworth VSS, 1985; Annual Report. p 2)

By strict definition Handsworth VSS is not completely voluntary since
they do pay their coordinator an honorarium. Many schemes do in fact make use of honorariums, although there appears to be wide variations in practice. Frequently, an honorarium consists of a lump sum paid as recognition of the coordinator's contribution. In some schemes this is used as a means of covering the coordinator's expenses, with the inclusion of a small financial reward. In others, the honorarium serves purely as a reward with out of pocket expenses to be claimed in addition. Similarly, the amount in question varies considerably.\(^{(7)}\)

So, to the observation noted earlier, that individual schemes vary considerably in their organisational arrangements, can be added to the finding that this extends to the issue of payment. In some instances such is the lack of funds that schemes rely on volunteers' not claiming expenses. Clearly in these circumstances paid positions are in practice not possible. Some schemes, including for a time the first one in Bristol (Rankin, 1977), have had to cease operating because of their financial plight. So in all the variations are quite extensive.

Nevertheless, having discussed the schemes themselves it is relevant now to discuss the previously identified issues in volunteering. This commences via a consideration of why people should want to volunteer to help victims.

4.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF VSS VOLUNTEERS

The low priority accorded to factors influencing people to undertake voluntary work, coupled with the absence of studies of VSSs within the volunteer literature has led to ignorance with regards to factors influencing people to work with victims of crime.
Because of the influence of both the probation and police services in the initiation and development of VSSs it is possible that VSS Volunteers join their organisation due to a mixture of the motives associated with why Voluntary Associates and Specials join probation and police services respectively. Certainly the law and order focus of the police and their strong identification with the victim is but one link. Similarly, the probation service's emphasis on 'caring' work has obvious parallels with the work of VSSs.

On a rather different level, VSSs are a new organisation of which many of the public are unaware (Hough and Mayhew, 1985). As such there exists the possibility that rather than actually deciding to seek work within schemes because of any strong identification with the victim's cause, volunteers are in effect attracted by the novelty of the idea. Simply responding to calls for help or advertisements, effectively drifting into voluntary work provides an equally realistic proposition.

Clearly the dearth of research makes hypotheses difficult, and only serves to underline the value of a comparative study of the motivations of volunteers incorporating the VSS's worker's perspective.

4.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

The hopes of the NAVSS that volunteers should be recruited from all parts of the community (Reeves, 1984) would appear to have been realised in the first VSS in Bristol. At least that was the finding of Gay et.al., (1975). Another study of the same scheme however, revealed a slightly different picture. Rankin (1977) identified two types of volunteer. The "middle aged housewife" with wider volunteer
experience and the "intellectuals" who viewed themselves as "quasi-social workers". Rankin notes that they adopt a different perspective on their work but the limitation of his study prevented any examination of the implications of his findings.

Beyond these two studies of one scheme, and the first one at that, little is known about the social characteristics of volunteers. True, the NAVSS has recently been involved in negotiations to increase the insurance cover on volunteers from 70 years old to (probably) 75 years old, indicating an elderly presence. Yet the proportions of young to old, male to female, married to unmarried have never been researched, or at least published.

Smith (1984) in America has called for research into the types of people involved in campaigns for victim's rights. Such a study would clearly be relevant in the British VSS context. Until then no comment can be made on the shared characteristics between those who volunteer for VSSs, and those who require help because of their victimisation.

Beyond ascertaining details on the type of people who volunteer it is necessary to gain some idea of life styles and perspectives. For example, if they are middle class, how typical are they of middle class people generally? In other words voluntary activity has been viewed as a middle class pursuit, so the more middle class there are the more it may be expected to find a greater past and present voluntary experience. Similarly, it may be expected that the donation of money to other charities, or a desire to receive payment may also be correlated with class.

On a rather different level, it has been noted that workers in some
Women's Refuges (Pahl, 1978), but not all (Gill, 1986), have been politically motivated. Yet the VSSs movement has refrained from political canvassing and avoided the 'anti offender' stance which has characterised NOVA in America. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that the volunteers within schemes are not motivated politically. Ideologically, VSS Volunteers are difficult to place, being a mixture of both probation and police initiatives. Thus research needs to elucidate this matter further.

4.6 BECOMING A VSS VOLUNTEER

It has already been emphasised that the type of recruitment strategy used influences the type of people who join an organisation. Yet despite the avowed intention of the NAVSS that volunteers should be representative of all parts of the community, they have been somewhat less forthcoming as to how best this might be achieved. In an otherwise exhaustive document, the NAVSS Training Manual (1986) raises the issue of the selection of volunteers in the context of stating the 'type' of people they would like to attract without stating how best that can be done:

"They are ordinary members of the community who provide a confidential service to victims of crime. The primary characteristics required are caring, trustworthiness, stability, calmness, friendliness, concern, sensitivity, understanding, ability to learn and seek help and ability to stand back from the victim's distress in order to maintain objectivity."

(NAVSS Training Manual, 1986; p. 1)

What is all the more intriguing is that in some schemes volunteers can be difficult to find, especially in the urban areas. Furthermore, the qualities they seek are those which perhaps, are more associated with the middle class and possibly women, which may be at variance with their own aim to be representative of the community. Therefore the recruitment strategies used are vital. Unfortunately, the only
available information on this issue is presented by Maguire and Corbett (1986), who note the prominence of the word of mouth strategy.

Once recruited into the organisation all volunteers undergo a training programme. The provision of organised training is a condition of affiliation to the NAVSS and is viewed as not only essential in benefitting both the volunteer and the victim, but also in instilling confidence in their work from the police. Maguire and Corbett (1986) identified a number of inadequacies in the training sessions they observed referring particularly to the lack of coordination and organisation of sessions. It remains to be shown of course how typical these comments are of schemes in the South West.

Given the fact that both VSSs Volunteers and Voluntary Associates are involved in one to one case-work with groups associated with the criminal justice system, it would seem likely that there would be a degree of overlap in their business. Certainly, some Voluntary Associates work with VSSs (Volunteer Centre, 1981). Indeed, the NAVSS Training Manual when compared with, for example, Barr's (1971) preparation course, is illustrative of the parallels which can be drawn. Both contain sessions on the penal system focussing particularly on the role of the police and the courts, and the role of their own agency in relation to others, as well as sessions on their own clientele. Here, VSSs concentrate on the impact of crime upon the victim and the means of dealing with the victim's needs, both with regards to sessions on interviewing techniques and knowledge of methods of making criminal injuries and insurance claims.
4.7 THE PROFESSIONALS AND THE VOLUNTEER

It has been shown that as a voluntary organisation VSSs have established an identity separate, although closely linked with statutory authority. As such the connection between volunteers and professionals is somewhat more tenuous than within the two agencies discussed in the previous two chapters. This is so not only because the volunteers in VSSs are not working in the same organisation and therefore directly with the professionals, but also because any interaction with victims support is normally conducted via the management committee as opposed to the volunteers. Nevertheless, what has been highlighted is that the influence of the police and probation service exceeds that of any other group in the context of both the development and operation of individual schemes. The object here then is to discuss their relative influence, starting first with the agency that today is the most influential of the two, the police service.

In the early stages of the victims movement there was much scepticism among police officers as to the value of VSSs (NAVSS, 1983), not least in the role they would play in relation to that of the police. As an NAVSS circular noted:

"Some anxieties are occasionally expressed that victims support could remove from the police one of the most rewarding aspects of their work in the community."

(NAVSS Undated, Notes For Police Officers)

This, allied to the traditional indifference expressed by the officers in working with outside agencies (Alderson, 1979; Moore and Brown, 1981) indicated at best, a slow progression for victims support. However, such a jaundiced view on the part of the police was ephemeral and the confluence of the two groups became inevitable. As the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman concedes:

"there was a growing awareness amongst the police that they had
insufficient resources to commit themselves to work with victims."

(NAVSS, 1983)

In addition, the present vogue of community policing takes as its kernel the interaction and cooperation of agencies within the community to address the crime problem (Alderson, 1979; Gill and Thrasher, 1985; Scarman, 1982). Here VSSs have been particularly successful illustrating the benefits in community coordination:

"Perhaps one of the most rewarding by-products of the growth of victim support schemes has been the successful marriage of a range of individuals and organisations who would not otherwise have come into such close contact."

(Borsberry and Reeves, Undated)

Thus, today the police service and VSSs work in harmony, with recent research revealing that officers at all levels in the police organisation hold very positive views of the victim organisation (Gill and Mawby, 1985). Indeed, both are strongly identifiable with the victims' cause. The fact that the police should be so supportive of VSSs at a time when they have been brought into conflict with some Women's Refuges and Rape Crisis Centres is a reflection of the different ideologies of the agencies concerned. Effectively, only by avoiding confrontation could they hope to establish a working relationship with the police which as stated, has become the hallmark of their progress.

However, to deduce from this that VSS Volunteers must therefore be supportive of the police, is to rely upon assumptions rather than empirical evidence. In any event it has been revealed that as victims progress through the criminal justice system so they become more disillusioned with the police (Maguire, 1980; Shapland, 1985),

109
and it is therefore presumably possible that this view rubs off on the volunteer.

What then of volunteers' relationships with probation officers? The close ties forged with the probation service in the setting up of the first scheme in Bristol (Rankin, 1977) have been maintained over time. The director of the NAVSS is a former probation officer, and the service currently provides office facilities for sixteen of the seventy six schemes with office accommodation (NAVSS, 1985). The NAVSS, keen to foster the support of the probation service, produced a document on 'The Role of the Probation Service In Victims Support Schemes'.

In stressing the interest of probation in the crime problem, the document underlines three general advantages. Firstly, the service has a wealth of experience and expertise in the use of volunteers. Secondly, its presence instills confidence from the police, and probation services can be a useful resource in advising, for example, on potential difficulties with police referrals. Thirdly, probation officers can offer casework experience.

Similarly, the document identifies advantages for the probation service. Amongst them is the suggestion that understanding the effects of crime on the victim may help in work with the offender. In addition, it provides the service with another community link. Perhaps, the most significant statement of this document however, was its highlighting of the political advantages:

"It is useful to consider what victim support schemes could become if the probation service were not involved. Many people expect a 'victims' organisation to be involved in political campaigning eg for stiffer penalties or criticisms of police
questioning etc. This already occurs in other countries and in this country outside the NAVSS. The issue can become polarised leading to competition for resources, press campaigns and a far less constructive service to the public." (Original emphasis)

(NAVSS Undated A; The Role of the Probation Service in VSSs)

Thus, reasons for including the probation service were related in part at least, to the dangers of excluding them. By involving the probation service and utilising their expertise for work with victims, and in emphasising the similarities as opposed to the differences in the two organisations, VSSs have avoided being pulled into the law and order debate. As such they have adhered to their established principle of abstinence from political campaigning.

Nevertheless, it is clear that on an ideological level the probation service and VSSs may be at variance. Earlier, it was suggested that police and VSSs seem to lay on the same side of the ideological fence, given for example their strong identification with the victim. Logically, the probation service's identification with the offender, and the polarisation in view of social work and police agencies (Tregar, 1973), incline towards the suggestion that VSSs volunteers may be less likely to identify with the probation perspective on law and order or to see their relevance to the victim cause.

However, that is derived from a concentration on ideology. In practical terms another hypothesis could be suggested. Probation and VSSs share a commitment to volunteers and focus on the casework approach, detaching them from police work. Clearly, it is a matter which awaits research concentrating on both the political ideological perspectives of volunteers, and the role that they see police and probation services playing in the work of VSSs.
4.8 SUMMARY

In outlining the development of victims services and the discipline of victimology within which the academic study has been conducted, this chapter has highlighted the paucity of research studies. Nevertheless, a review of the available literature has highlighted the central roles victims play in the detection of crime and prosecution of the offender. Not that this is recognised by agencies within the criminal justice system, who fail to keep victims informed of the progress of 'their' case, or supply facilities at court etc. So entrenched is the criminal justice system in the interests of the offender, that policy initiatives have failed to emerge to improve the now widely accepted view that the victim is the forgotten person in the criminal justice system.

It is against this background of a realisation that improved services for victims are long overdue, that VSSs have emerged. However, research on schemes is particularly weak, and on the individual volunteer worker, almost non existent. Given the fact that the volunteers are practically the sole service providers this is an intriguing omission. What happens if volunteers think the service they provide is faulty by some definition? More to the point little is known about the sort of work they do. How for example, do they put in practice a 'first aid' service? Do they ever engage a victim in long term help? Do they believe schemes should accept non-crime referrals? How keen are volunteers to maintain the voluntary principle, and do they welcome paid employees and for what reasons? Moreover, how do they view police and probation service involvement in schemes?
Indeed, the involvement of the police and probation services in VSSs has other implications. It has already been suggested that it may be possible to link the type of people who volunteer with their motivations, to an ideology of volunteering. It has also been suggested that *prima facie* evidence would suggest that in a political context, the Specials are likely to be the right of Voluntary Associates. Given that VSSs are a mixture of these agencies can we assume that on each of the scales designed to measure attitudes which were incorporated into the questionnaire, VSS Volunteers would always be found somewhere between those views expressed by or Voluntary Associates or Specials?

In all the concern is twofold. Firstly, on a practical level, how do VSS Volunteers view their work? Secondly, on an ideological level, what is the political perspective of volunteers and how does this compare with probation and police service volunteers?
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. It is not possible here to enter the issue of what are victims' needs. For a comprehensive discussion see Mawby (1984) and Maguire and Corbett (1986).

2. Unless it is decided that the referral could be more appropriately dealt with by telephone call or letter. Some schemes rely more on these methods than they do visits (see Humberside VSS, Annual Report, 1986). Maguire and Corbett (1986) note widespread variation in the relative emphasis VSS place on different methods.

3. Maguire and Corbett (1986) found that there was little need to match volunteer to victim on the basis of gender and age, since of those victims they interviewed, very few expressed disappointment at the volunteer they received.

4. The number of volunteers per scheme was only 7.38 in rural schemes, but rather interestingly was slightly more for rural/urban schemes (19.0) than for urban schemes (17.1), although this does not affect the overall impression of the results.

5. Maguire and Corbett (1986) do attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of visits by volunteers in the context of victims with emotional, and practical needs. With regards to burglary they note that while some needs were unmet the volunteers nevertheless served a useful purpose even if only at the level of it being recognised that someone cared.

6. Maguire and Corbett (1986) note that only 13% of burglary victims and 34% of victims of violence received a further visit from the volunteer. They add that while overall just over a quarter had any further contact, this appeared to accord with the wishes of most victims.

7. At present there appear to be no national guidelines for the value of honorariums. Nevertheless, by glancing at a sample of Annual Reports it would appear that smaller schemes such as Hemel Hempstead VSS pay around £250 p.a. while schemes such as Barnett VSS, which had 2,786 referrals in 1985 paid £1,000 p.a., and Coventry VSS with 1873 referrals paid £500 p.a.

8. NOVA Newsletter June 1986 includes an article on recruiting volunteers from minorities using the word of mouth strategy.

9. For a discussion of a probation officer's view of VSSs see Devlin (1986).
CHAPTER 5

INTRODUCING DEVON AND CORNWALL AND ITS PROBATION SERVICE,

POLICE SERVICE AND VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES
5.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is merely to describe the South West and introduce the agencies studied. It essentially provides a background to the research area and nothing more than this is intended, facilitating further elucidation in later chapters. Thus, it would seem pertinent to commence by looking at the two counties.

5.2 DEVON AND CORNWALL

The counties of Devon and Cornwall are located on the South West peninsula of England, bordering the English channel to the South, Bristol channel to the North and with the western tip extending into the Atlantic ocean. On the eastern side the counties of Dorset and Somerset border Devon, and (at least parts) are frequently included in the term the 'South West', although in this study the term shall be confined to refer to Devon and Cornwall only.

Devon is the larger of the two counties. Indeed it is the third largest administrative region in Britain, being exceeded only by Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. According to the 1981 Census Devon has well over twice the population of its western neighbour (952,000 compared with 432,240). \(^{(1)}\) Devon contains two cities, the largest Plymouth, falls into the middle range sized cities of Great Britain with a population of 243,895. The other city is Exeter, the administrative Headquarters of the county with a population of 95,621. However, there also exists Torbay, a unit which comprises a total of 3 coastal towns on the South coast, which has a population of some 115,582. In addition Exmouth (28,775) and Barnstaple (18,059) contain concentrated elements of the county's population. Cornwall has only one very small city, Truro, with a population of 16,348, smaller than
Falmouth (18,553) and not much larger than Bodmin (12,269).

In Cornwall the paper making and woollen industries have now subsided, and the once great fishing and tin mining industries are a shadow of their former selves. Certainly, the rural nature of the area has been as much an encouragement to farming as it has to tourism. Indeed, tourism is the major industry in the South West, the many miles of coastline, coupled with scenery which includes Bodmin Moor, Dartmoor and Exmoor and isolated coastal villages have proved particularly attractive, but not only to tourists. There is a high concentration of elderly; it has become a popular retirement place.

Whilst Devon and Cornwall rarely enter into conversations concerned with high unemployment, the South West nevertheless has not escaped from unemployment worries. The unemployment Unit Bulletin in May 1986, lists 17 places in England where travel to work areas have an unemployment rate of more than 20%. Interestingly, 7 are to be located in Devon and Cornwall, namely, Bideford, Falmouth, Helston, Newquay, Penzance and St. Ives, Redruth and Camborne, and Torbay.

Criminal statistics published by the Home Office (1983), show Devon and Cornwall to have a lower than average crime rate. Indeed, the notifiable offence rate recorded by the police per 100,000 population was 4,213, whereas the average for England and Wales was 6,577. Only 4 police areas had a lower crime rate than Devon and Cornwall.

Politically the area is Conservative. Of Devon's 11 MPs, the only non-Conservative is the one SDP member. Similarly in Cornwall, there is 1 Liberal and the remaining 4 are Conservatives. There is therefore very little evidence of political radicalism.
However, to imply from the above evidence that the geographical similarity reflects a shared identity would be misleading. For example, a Cornish Nationalist Party exists which campaigns for the right of Cornwall to govern its own affairs. As Davidson (1978) has written in the introduction to his text:

"Cross the stream and you leave Devon behind you and not only Devon but in the opinion of many - England. Cornishmen are very conscious that their county boundary is a frontier, and certainly no county has so clearly defined a line of demarkation."

(Davidson, 1978; p. 1)

The links between the two are however considerable, facilitated by the building of the Tamar Bridge. Plymouth acts as a centre in many ways to East Cornwall, including the provision of the nearest maternity Hospitals and burial grounds (see Giarchi, 1985).

However, having briefly described the area, the next three sections shall provide a very short introduction to Probation, Police and VSSs in the South West. This will be built on in later chapters.

5.3 THE PROBATION SERVICE IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

The probation service in the research area is divided into two separate administrative units, the Devon Probation Service and the Cornwall Probation Service. Devon consists of a total of 117 Officers including the Chief and 3 Assistant Chief Officers. In all there are 74 males and 43 females. In Cornwall there are a total of 33 Officers including 1 Chief and 1 Assistant Chief Officer. Overall there are 11 female and 22 male officers. There is therefore a slightly higher percentage of females (36.8%) in the Devon Probation Service than there is in the Cornwall Probation Service (33.3%), although this is not marked.
Each probation service is organised on a team basis, with each team headed by a Senior Probation Officer, retaining responsibility either for a specific area or a specific task, or both. Probation volunteers are usually attached to a team although this is not always the case. Probation volunteers could work with more than one team, or simply with an officer rather than a team, but this shall be discussed more fully in Chapter 7. The point here is that in theory at least, Voluntary Associates are organised on a team basis. In some teams it would be the Senior Probation Officer who was specifically responsible for Voluntary Associate coordination but this was frequently delegated to another officer.

Within the research area there were a total of 219 Voluntary Associates, 142 in Devon and 77 in Cornwall, thus there were a higher number of volunteers per officer in Cornwall (2.3:1) than there was in Devon (1.9:1), but again the differences were only slight. Unfortunately, no national figures are available for the number of Voluntary Associates and so it is impossible to judge the representativeness of this sample. However, apart from the size there are no striking differences between the two services.

5.4 THE POLICE SERVICE IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

Following reorganisation in 1967 the police service in Devon and Cornwall is now one Constabulary. It has received widespread media coverage for its adoption of the community policing philosophy, especially during the service of a former Chief Constable (see Gill and Thrasher, 1985), and indeed the community policing approach is still a guiding force behind present policy initiatives (Devon and
Cornwall Constabulary, 1985). The establishment consists of a total of 2,792 officers. (4)

The force is organised into 6 Divisions, 2 in Cornwall and 4 in Devon, each headed by a Chief Superintendent. Each Division is then divided again into sub-divisions. In addition, there are a number of specialist departments including the Mobile Policing Division (MPD) and the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) which are organised centrally from Headquarters in Exeter: so too the Special Constabulary. Devon and Cornwall has a Force Commandant, a former regular once holding the ranks of Chief Superintendent and Temporary Assistant Chief Constable. He is responsible for coordinating the work of the 791 specials (5) and acts as a central liaison with the regulars. He has an office at Headquarters which affords him access to the senior officers of the force.

Specials are, like the regulars, organised on a Divisional basis, each being headed by a Divisional Commandant, with Sub-Divisional Officers and Section Officers constituting the remainder of the Special's hierarchy. For the most part Specials operate on a Divisional basis. There are, however, links between Divisions. During the research period meetings of Divisional Commandants with the Force Commandant were reconstituted. Residential Weekends provide an additional opportunity to meet Specials from other Divisions. But organisationally, Divisions are where policies are applied and at this level there exist considerable variations in practice as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Apart from Special's own supervisors, on the regulars side, the Training Sergeant is responsible for coordinating the work of the
Specials. There is one Training Sergeant per Division and as their title suggests, organising Specials is but one part of a number of responsibilities. They organise and run the training programmes and deal with the immediate concerns of Specials in their Division, including recruitment. They tend to work closely with the Divisional and Force Commandant, although the extent to which this is true varies with the personalities in question.

Given the paucity of research available it is not possible to know how far Devon and Cornwall Constabulary is representative of other parts of the country. However, using data for each Police Authority, available from the Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Constabularies for the year ending on the 31st December 1983, it was possible to compute the number of Specials per 10,000 population. That the lowest number were to be found in Greater Manchester (1.4) and Cleveland (1.7) and the highest in Suffolk (7.1), Lincolnshire (6.1) and Devon and Cornwall (5.5) is evidence of the differences between rural and urban forces. However, statistics do inevitably disguise a variety of other hidden factors, for example, the extent to which an Authority has emphasised the recruitment of Specials. Thus, in stressing caution in such statistics and in underlying the need for an in-depth study of one police area, there nevertheless exists tenuous evidence at least that in some respects Devon and Cornwall is not atypical of other rural constabularies.

5.5 VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

Region 7 of the NAVSS consists of the counties of Devon and Cornwall. At the time of writing there are 19 schemes operational in the area, 9 in Devon (Crediton, Exeter, Exmouth, North Devon, Plymouth, Tavistock, Teignbridge, Tiverton and Torbay), and 10 in Cornwall (Bodmin,
Wadebridge and Padstow Area, Camborne and Redruth, Helston and District, Liskeard Area, Newquay, North Cornwall, Penwith, South East Cornwall, St. Austell and Truro District). There are also moves to initiate schemes in the South Hams and Falmouth, and so since the first scheme in Devon and Cornwall, (Exeter commenced operating in 1978), there has been a speedy growth in the movement, with nearly all parts of the two counties now serviced by a scheme.

With the exception of Tavistock, all schemes are (or had expressed an intention to become) affiliated to the NAVSS and most played a role in the Regional Meetings, organised by the (unpaid) Regional Chairman. Training days for the Region are also held (the most recent being concerned with Rape), and generally regarded as a universal success. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised that the schemes are autonomous bodies and essentially considered themselves as accountable locally to their community, rather than to the Region or the NAVSS. Thus, for some schemes, perhaps even the majority, participation at Regional and National levels was a token gesture rather than a genuine commitment, and their value was frequently being questioned.

The referral rates for schemes were particularly low, and certainly not representative of the county as a whole, although this may in part reflect some difficulties encountered by schemes in rural areas. However, this issue will be addressed more fully in Chapter 9.

5.6 SUMMARY
The largely rural nature of Devon and Cornwall means that it cannot be viewed as typical of the rest of the country and in a study which is concerned with the criminal justice system, this ought to be borne in mind. The South West simply does not have the same amount of crime,
or for that matter serious crime, as other areas. So why was it chosen? Firstly, there was geographical proximity and given the research methodology based on interviews and observations (discussed in next chapter), this was important. Secondly, Polytechnic contacts with agencies in the South West were already strong. Thirdly, studies have focussed on urban areas and viewed them as typical, when in fact most of Britain is rural. Thus this study redresses the imbalance of concentration on the urban. Before discussing the results though, it is necessary firstly to discuss the research methodology.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. This figure includes the population of the Isle of Scilly which accounts for 2,653 people. All figures are taken from 1981 Census.

2. For example Divorce Court Welfare and Community Service.

3. Nevertheless, during the course of the research a questionnaire was forwarded to each probation service in England and Wales requesting basic details such as the number of volunteer per officer and the type of tasks with which the volunteer is involved. That over three quarters replied is encouraging, and while these results are presently unavailable a full discussion will ensue in Gill and Mawby (forthcoming).

4. Figures for 31st December 1985

CHAPTER 6

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
6.1 INTRODUCTION

It has already been noted that research on the voluntary sector is spartan, with the main and most exhaustive discussions such as those of Brenton (1985), Hatch (1980), Johnson (1981) and particularly Wolfenden (1978) concentrating on the organisation rather than the individual volunteer. Furthermore, it was noted that research on volunteers such as that of Aves (1969) and Holme and Maizels (1978) have made reference to the limitations of their own methodology. Even in the much cited work of Barr (1971) caution must be stressed at making generalisations, since like many of the American studies his research focussed on one scheme.

The research methodology is then critical. In this particular project considerable time was spent contemplating the most appropriate methodologies to employ. Previous studies were surveyed in the context of present methodological texts. It became abundantly clear that the project would benefit from a combination of research strategies (see Burgess, 1984; Stacey, 1969), namely an analysis of agency records, semi-structured interviews, observation and participant observation techniques, and informal or unstructured interviews with key personnel. The reasons for this choice of approach are perhaps best illustrated via a discussion of the research process, incorporating specific consideration of each of the chosen methods. The first stage of a study of this kind however, is to gain acceptance from the organisations in question.

6.2 SEEKING PERMISSION

Previous researchers within the criminological field have encountered problems at the level of access to the organisation (see Cohen and Taylor, 1977). It is somewhat fortunate that such difficulties were
minimal in this study. Indeed the interesting finding here is that all the agencies continually expressed a considerable degree of enthusiasm towards the idea of the project. There are several interlinking reasons for this. Firstly, Plymouth Polytechnic had established fairly strong links with the agencies in question, particularly the probation and police services, and thus on one level they were probably keen to strengthen these links. On another level the fact that Polytechnic researchers were known to them may have helped to allay initial scepticism. Secondly, each was aware that volunteering was a vastly under researched area, and the fact that the results would hopefully be of value to them further encouraged their cooperation. Thirdly, volunteers are essentially a low priority and therefore this was not a politically sensitive subject where adverse results would be likely to cause any ultimate embarrassment. (1)

Initially a letter was written to each Chief Probation Officer; the relevant Assistant Chief Constable; and the Regional Chairman of VSSs in the South West. In each case a meeting was arranged in which the plans for the research were outlined. In the case of the Probation and Police Services it was agreed that access would be permitted to files retained by the agency on each volunteer. Here, personal details on social characteristics could be collated which would form the first stage of the research. Furthermore, it was agreed that a sample of volunteers would be interviewed about issues relating to volunteering and their work. Permission was also granted for visits to meetings and training sessions of volunteers. Each agency arranged contacts locally. In the case of the probation services this was normally a Senior Probation Officer, and for the Specials Training Sergeants were nominated, (2) and subsequently these were contacted personally by the researcher.
VSSs however, posed rather more problems, because unlike the police and probation services which required the permission of one Senior Officer, each VSS is an autonomous body. So, while the Regional Chairman was in favour of the research in principal and agreed to write to each scheme introducing the project, it was ultimately the decision of individual schemes to agree to participate and to what extent. (3) Once the researcher had been notified that the letters had been sent, each scheme was then contacted by the researcher who requested the opportunity to speak with a representative (usually the coordinator) about the project. Unfortunately progress was slow at these stages, since many schemes failed to respond to the initial enquiry.

Thus, it was agreed that the researcher would attend a Regional Committee meeting which consists of at least one representative from each scheme. There it was possible not only to outline the research proposal to a captive audience but also to approach individuals personally for an opportunity to discuss the proposals further. This was, unquestionably, extremely productive and was the beginning of many schemes' eventual involvement in the study. However, one scheme did not attend regional meetings and expressed a somewhat jaundiced view of both the Regional Committee and the NAVSS to which they were no longer affiliated. Contacting them was therefore a problem, but they were eventually traced through the local police and they subsequently agreed to participate in the research. In the final analysis, all but 2 of the 14 schemes operational at the time of the research agreed to cooperate fully. However, 1 of the remainder agreed to allow the researcher to visit the scheme for informal discussions and observational work. (4) So only 1 scheme refused to cooperate with the study in all its aspects. Having gained permission
and overcome the initial hurdle of access, the research process was commenced with an analysis of records retained by the agencies on their volunteers.

6.3 THE USE OF CASE RECORDS

Those sociological perspectives which fall under the umbrella of the so-called humanist tradition have expressed considerable scepticism towards research based on surveys, questionnaires, official statistics and agency records, because in part they distort sociological insights and hence hinder understanding of the reality of situations (Benson and Hughes, 1983). The concern of the humanists is a theoretical one, based on the practical problems of interpreting social life through abstract methods not lending themselves sufficiently to comprehending human experience, and the social forces that influence that experience. Whilst there are clearly inherent difficulties in utilising sources such as agency records, not all branches of sociology reject them altogether as the humanists do.

Recently, Plummer (1983) has lamented the exclusion of what he calls more generally 'Documents of Life' from sociological research. He argues that autobiographies, personal diaries and such like provide an additional insight into particular issues and perspectives, which to a certain extent outweigh the disadvantages in terms of representativeness and reliability etc. Moser and Kalton (1979) note that documents must be treated as "subjective statements" and summarise some of the problems associated with their inclusion in research, such as the fact that they may be incomplete; the accuracy of information is inevitably questionable since they were not originally collated for subsequent research; moreover, the terms may be vague or imprecise and perhaps most importantly may be biased. As
they state:

"The value of case records to the researcher is lessened by the extent to which they are reflections of the recorder as well as the case being studied".

(Moser and Kalton, 1979; p. 242)

Certainly, some of the criticisms which have been made of documents apply to official statistics, discussions of which have been considerable since the publication of Kitsuse and Cicourel's (1963) seminal work. Within the criminological field crime statistics have received extensive comment, most notably by Bottomley and Coleman (1981) who have warned against their unqualified application to research situations. Some other problems have been discussed by Baldwin and Bottoms (1976), who in their study used official crime reports of the Sheffield police as a basis on which to develop their research, but added that it was merely a starting point "essentially provisional, seeking more to raise questions than provide answers" (Baldwin and Bottoms, 1976; p. 38). It was as a starting point that an analysis of agency records was undertaken in this study. At least that was one reason, but before examining this further it would seem advantageous to say something of the records themselves.

Each of the agencies in this study retained records on each of the volunteers. The problem here was that they did not all record the same information. There were differences for example between Devon and Cornwall Probation Services. In both cases the records consisted of application forms completed by applicants, but whereas Devon Probation service requested information on motivations to undertake voluntary work, Cornwall did not. Similarly, not all VSSs retained identical information. Thus, it was decided at the outset
only to record details of personal characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, occupational status and where applicable occupation, in order to compute social class using the Registrar General's classification of Occupations. These details were nearly always available for each volunteer in each agency, and could be used as a background with which to compare a sample for representativeness. In any event the preceding chapters have already shown the prominence of questions concerning who volunteers in the literature on voluntary workers.

However, limiting the analysis only to personal characteristics requires further comment. It has been noted that certain types of data which the agency retains are particularly problematic. One such example is on motivations to become a volunteer. Applicants may record, or at least highlight, only those reasons which they think the agency would look most favourably upon. They may perhaps play down, or even leave out altogether, those reasons which although true, they feel may lead to the organisation in question doubting their suitability. Thus, in order to maximise the potential of agency records it was decided that only personal characteristics would be used, since it is more likely that these would be accurate. Not that even here the veracity can be guaranteed, since records pertain to the data collected at the time of their application, with no guarantee this had been updated. This must of course be borne in mind and is one of those problems inherent in using such data. But, it should be emphasised, this was a starting point for the research and nothing more than that.
There is one further dilemma which requires comment here. In the case of Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers it was possible to record information on every volunteer (n = 219 and 107 respectively). However, at the time of the research there were 750 Specials on file and thus rather than analyse each one it was decided to take a random sample of a third (n = 250). Since the files were ordered on a Divisional basis, with the more senior ranking Specials appearing first, after starting with a random number every third case was taken, thereby obtaining geographical and hierarchical representativeness. Having obtained the sample, the interview stage was ready to be commenced.

6.4 THE STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In order to understand the methodological tools adopted in this project it is necessary to return to the aims which were outlined earlier. The primary purpose it will be recalled, and as the title of this thesis suggests, was to compare groups of volunteers working within different agencies within the criminal justice context. The object therefore, logically, was to produce data which lends itself to comparison. The methodological text books note that one of the principal advantages of structured questionnaires is that they provide results which can then be compared with other sources. In other words, asking the same questions to different groups, affords the opportunity of conveniently assessing perspectives of different cohorts to a variety of issues. There have however been a number of criticism of this method. Part of the scepticism related to the theoretical problem discussed in the previous section and following very much the arguments highlighted by the humanist tradition, that researchers cannot hope to understand social contexts via such abstract methods as questionnaires. For simply asking questions and
accepting the replies as definitions of the respondent's views, it is argued, fails to comprehend the variety of individual influences and forces experienced in everyday life. Certainly there is merit in this contention, and it was felt advantageous to incorporate within the methodological approach observational techniques which will be examined later.

Here, it is necessary to draw attention to other practical difficulties in the use of questionnaires. Completely structured questionnaires are rare in research (Burgess, 1984) because they are limiting. Indeed, Moser and Kalton (1979) note that closed-ended questions may force the respondent into categories which do not actually reflect their answers. Thus, providing respondents with an opportunity to give reasons for their answers helps to qualify their original response. Similarly, reasons provide additional data to the researcher which may be important in interpreting views. In a comparative study for example in which a similar proportion within each grouping answered in the same way (or for that matter - differently), it is interesting to know whether the reasons for them doing so were different or otherwise. On another level, questions can only be closed if a range of alternative answers is known beforehand, clearly this is not always the case, especially in fields where previous research is lacking. Moreover, open-ended questions provide a more detailed insight into particular issues. So in all it was decided that a structured interview should be used combining both open and closed questions.

Before examining further the questionnaire used in this study it is necessary to say something about the means by which it was administered. Having decided on a questionnaire there are principally
two ways it can be applied, either through the post or via an interview situation. One of the main advantages of postal questionnaires is that they are cheap (Moser and Kalton, 1979) and permit the inclusion of a far higher number of respondents. However, it has already been noted that previous research conducted through postal (otherwise known as mail) questionnaires, such as that of Holme and Maizels (1978) was limiting. Moreover, the researcher was in the fortunate (and rare) position of having sufficient funds allotted for travelling expenses. Given that the researcher was responsible for all the investigative work under the conditions of PhD study, the cost of labour time (a major limitation to the interview method) was not a problem. Other advantages of being able to probe and clarify responses, and gain a far more in-depth insight than would have been possible with a postal questionnaire, further encouraged the use of the interview method.

The guidance offered to Interview Schedule construction advises that personal and contentious questions should be addressed towards the end of the interview, when the interviewer has had the opportunity to gain the confidence of the respondent. However, in this study personal details were requested at the beginning of the interview. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, it is necessary for researchers if possible, to leave respondents with a favourable impression of the interview. Word soon spreads and any discontented interviewees amongst the early interviews may encourage others to refuse. During the pilot (see later) it became apparent that the law and order questions were particularly popular, and so it was felt that it would be better to end the interview with these. Secondly, there were already contentious questions, for example in respect of voting behaviour (this again became apparent after the pilot), and so rather
than add to the possibility of unnerving the respondent, it was felt best to limit the number of such questions at this point. Thus, having decided that personal questions should not come at the end it was a matter of deciding where they should be placed. Clearly, to place them in the middle would have hindered the flow of the interview between issues, the most appropriate place for them was then at the beginning.

There was a concern that some people may be embarrassed about stating their age, and so a prompt card was produced with various age classifications and respondents were asked to state which age category applied to them. It was considered that this then became a much 'softer' question than asking age directly. Furthermore, the personal questions came immediately after having reminded the respondent that all information would be treated as confidential and that no names would be recorded. In the final analysis every respondent answered all the personal questions which may appear as justification for this approach. Moreover, because respondents could answer all the questions with ease, it may have had the additional advantage of easing the interviewee into the interview.

The ordering of questions is a particularly important consideration as one text warns:

"It could be that a question asked early in an interview affects answers to subsequent questions and if this order were to be altered in any way it becomes.....difficult to detect the effect this may have on the replies"

(Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981; p. 71)

The problem here is that in a comparative study not all questions are relevant to all the agencies. The early chapters of this thesis
identified a number of issues relevant to volunteers generally, and the interview schedule therefore contained questions on all of these issues, but not all questions were equally applicable. For example, it was relevant to ask Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers about their work with clients, but this was rather different to asking Specials about their work with the public. Similarly, Voluntary Associates and Specials work directly with professionals, indeed they work alongside them to an extent which VSS Volunteers do not. Therefore, the types of questions addressed on the relationship with the professional and interaction with them were exactly the same for the first two groups, but rather different for the third and so on.

In part this problem was overcome by addressing issues affecting volunteers in the three agencies in the same order, with where possible, similar questions. Every attempt was made to standardise the ordering of issues, and it was hoped that this would minimise the potential dangers Ackroyd and Hughes rightly highlight.

The interview schedules were fairly comprehensive, covering the issues discussed in the early part of this thesis. Whilst space does not permit a full discussion here, it would seem pertinent in the light of previous attempts to analyse motivations, to summarise the methods adopted in this study. Towards the beginning of the interview respondents were asked three consecutive questions about their motivations. The first question concerned reasons for undertaking voluntary work, the second, their reasons for joining the organisation that they did. Both these questions were read out together so that the respondent could understand the distinction being made, although as will be shown, for some the two were indistinguishable. These two open-ended questions were then followed by a closed-ended question asking whether they joined their agency because of an interest in
voluntary work, or because of an interest in the organisation specifically. It was hoped that this would provide a check on the veracity of the previous two questions, but also to verify the importance of the organisation for each group of volunteers in their decision to participate in voluntary work.

However, it was decided to incorporate a further check on these answers. Towards the end of the schedule, distanced as far as possible from the original questions on motivations, respondents were provided with a list of reasons as to why some people volunteer and were asked to rank them in order as they applied to them. Thus, through open-ended questions at the beginning and multiple choice at the end, it was hoped that a more detailed insight into volunteer motivations could be gained than had hitherto been the case.

Moreover, since Blau and Scott (1977) rightly assert that a persons' reasons for joining an organisation may be different to why they continue, an open-ended question was asked about their reasons for continuance.

Pilots were carried out with each of the schedules and as a result questions were altered, added, omitted or reordered in order to minimise the shortcomings. This done the interviews were commenced. All the interviews were conducted between November 1984 and August 1985. Most Specials were interviewed at the beginning of this period, Voluntary Associates in the middle, and VSS Volunteers towards the end although there was inevitably overlap especially of the first two groups with the third. One of the main problems encountered during the interview stage was the arranging of convenient times.

Devon and Cornwall it has been shown is a largely rural area, and the
position of Plymouth is such that it possible to travel for over 60 miles in a westerly, northerly, and easterly direction without reaching the outer borders of the counties. Thus, ideally a trip to a distant region would have involved several interviews in the process. However, despite concerted attempts to arrange interviews at two hourly interviews throughout the day and evening, this was rarely possible (and when it did occur it was exhausting!). Voluntary activity for many is conducted during spare time which inevitably falls during evenings and weekends. Consequently many of the interviews had to be conducted during these periods.

For the most part interviews tended to last for approximately one and a half hours. The shortest was 45 minutes and the longest a staggering four and a half hours, mainly because the respondent in question was more concerned at relating her life history, particularly her school days, than she was at addressing the issues of the interview! Such examples were however rare. The most likely place for an interview to be conducted was the respondents' home, although the probation offices were sometimes chosen by Voluntary Associates and the police station by Specials. Occasionally, interviewees were met in a pub or in a cafe and sometimes in the car of either the researcher or respondent. In one instance the respondent, a lorry driver, pulled up his lorry outside the Polytechnic during his lunch break and the interview was conducted in the cabin. Other interviews took place at the researcher's office at the Polytechnic. This was particularly favoured by those who lived locally. A few volunteers preferred interviews to be conducted at their place of work.

So in all, a variety of venues were chosen. It was very much a case of fitting in with the choices and convenience of the respondent. As
Such it was not always possible to ensure that the interviewee was alone. For example, the man interviewed in the lorry had a learner driver with him who was intent on remaining in the cabin for his lunch. In this instance the respondent had indicated that his time was a precious commodity and so rather than cancel the meeting on arrival, it seemed appropriate to continue. (7) Also in pubs and cafes, there was a chance that the possibility of someone overhearing may have thwarted the respondents candidness. Whilst these are clearly dangers which need to be brought to attention the reality was that nobody appeared in the slightest concerned at others hearing their views. Indeed, some claimed that they wished more people would listen. So it is with some confidence that the claim can be made that on the rare occasions when somebody else was present at the interview, it was unlikely to have brought into question the validity of the findings.

6.5 THE SAMPLE
The sample was drawn from the lists of recorded volunteers. The sample size was based on the aim of achieving 50 completed interviews with each group of volunteers, and a variable sampling fraction was used to select samples of about 60-65 for each group. The agency records were already sorted into an area basis and were sampled systematically taking every xth case. (8)

Each case was then contacted either by letter, telephone or in person, (9) and participation requested. In all 66 Voluntary Associates were selected for an interview, of these 5 had resigned and another 2 were about to do so, and 1 was not contactable during the time period allotted for the research. As a result there were 58 completed interviews with Voluntary Associates. Of the 59 Specials
who were approached for interview, 3 had resigned and 2 were about to do so, 1 person had retired, another had joined the regular establishment and since 1 was not contactable during the research period, in the final analysis there were 51 completed interviews with Specials. The original sample of 59 VSS Volunteers was reduced when 2 of the people approached refused, 1 had resigned and 1 was not contactable during the research period, leaving 55 completed interviews in all. So in each agency the original objective of achieving 50 interviews was successful.

When the data were matched to the original population there was very little sample bias on comparable variables. Indeed, the similarities were quite marked, although a few differences are perhaps worthy of comment. The Voluntary Associates sample was slightly biased towards women, there were 55.7% in the original record data, and 60.3% in the sample. The sample was over representative of the employed (60.3% against 50.2%), and under representative of the unemployed (3.4% against 13.2%). This is perhaps evidence of the fact that the records are not updated and so while caution should be attached to these figures on the one hand, the similarity of the sample to the population in all other respects is encouraging.

When the interview data for Specials was analysed, the sample again closely resembled the original population on nearly all comparable variables. The slight exceptions were that the sample reflected a small bias towards women (25.5% as opposed to 21.2% in the population), but was under-represented by housewives (20% as opposed to 6% in the sample). The VSS Volunteer sample was also over-represented of women (63.6% as opposed to 58.9% in the population) although this did not bias the sample in any other way.
So in all the three agencies the sample was representative of the population in most respects. Intriguingly, it was the variable gender that was most biased, in each case in favour of women, and whilst the differences are small this should be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

6.6 OBSERVATION AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The decision to incorporate observational methods into the research study, was based on both practical and theoretical factors. On a practical level the agencies, as stated earlier, generally expressed from the start a very favourable view of the project which resulted in continuous invitations to attend events. This was particularly the case with the police and VSSs, but when Voluntary Associate Groups were approached, all agreed to participate. The welcoming attitude of the organisations then was an encouragement to 'observe'.

On a theoretical level the advantages of observational techniques helped to counterbalance the limitations of the interview method. It will be recalled that one of the major disadvantages of interviews is that they assume an understanding of human behaviour which can be obtained by verbal answers to a set of questions. Interviews fail to take account of the social environment of subjects, and hence the strong identification of humanists with the observation method of sociological investigation (Benson and Hughes, 1983). Burgess (1984) summarised the main advantages of this method:

"The value of being a participant observer lies in the opportunity that is available to collect rich detailed data based on observations in natural settings. Furthermore, the researcher can obtain accounts of situations in the participant's own language which gives access to the concepts that are used in everyday life."

(Burgess, 1984; p. 79)
Before discussing the application of this technique as it applied to this study it is necessary to firstly clarify a theoretical distinction between participant observation on the one hand, and observation on the other. As Stacey (1969) notes, this is a theoretical difference since in practice the overlap is considerable. In illustrating her point she writes:

"In the former case the observer joins the group he is studying as a member and attempts to be at one and the same time one of the observed as well as the observer. In the second case the observer is where his subjects are but is not one of them and not joining fully, and perhaps not at all, in their life.....In practice it is often not possible to draw a hard and fast line between participant and non-participant observation."

(Stacey, 1969; p. 50)

Most of this type of research in this project was observational rather than containing a participant element. For as appendix I illustrates, there was considerable contact with the agencies on an observational level. Many meetings and training sessions were attended with all the agencies, but the role of the researcher varied. For example, at Voluntary Associates' and VSS Volunteers' meetings the researcher would sometimes sit amongst the group and listen and observe proceedings. On other occasions the opportunity was afforded for engaging a group of volunteers on issues relating to them. Sometimes a positive stance was adopted, in that questions were asked and the ensuing discussion recorded (as near as possible) verbatim. At others a more aggressive stance was adopted, replies were cross questioned, issues were teased out to the final detail. The choice of approach varied with the requirements of the research. In the early stages the positive stance was adopted in order to establish issues which the volunteers considered important.

In later stages the more challenging technique predominated. If for
example, at a previous meeting in a different area or via an interview, an issue had occurred which required elucidation and clarification, here lay the opportunity to gather views from a group of volunteers.

For the most part Specials were observed at training sessions. They did not have meetings as such, other than what was incorporated into training sessions. It was also possible to observe Specials on duty, and during the course of the study the researcher was able to accompany Specials on the beat providing a more detailed insight into their organisation than would have otherwise been possible. To a far less extent, time was also spent in two day centres talking to the Voluntary Associates and observing them in their voluntary work. The police held residential weekends for Specials and here it was possible to participate in exercises. Acting as an offender in order to allow Specials to learn the techniques of questioning and arrest provided another view of them. Of course the situations were false and may bear no relation to reality, but in being thrown against a brick wall in pursuit of broadening Special's experience of arrests, did, at the very least, provide a topic of conversation for later.

Perhaps the most crucial fact gathering stage was in casual conversation in the bar after meetings and training sessions. Moore (1977) in his research has noted how the pub provided an insight into the community. The problem here was that the presence of a bar in police stations, and the practice of many Specials as a matter of course, to retire for a drink after sessions to a far greater extent than either Voluntary Associates or VSS Volunteers, meant that rather more information was gathered on the Specials than the other two groups. Nevertheless, the environment was ripe for informal
conversation about issues which were of interest to the project. It provided access to the police sub-culture. For a short spell the researcher was able to become part of the group. This was particularly the case at residential weekends, where in the evenings, someone was inclined to organise a 'whip round' for a party so that drinking could continue once the bar had closed. The fact that Specials did not wear their uniforms at this point, coupled with the fact that most Specials did not know each other, meant that there was far less of a distinction between the researcher and those being researched. Discussions of 'the job' prevailed, and for a period the researcher was exposed to the sub-culture of the Specials. Stories of police practice, misdemeanours, or heroics were prolific and furnished an invaluable insight. There was certainly much truth in the advice of a Chief Superintendent at the beginning of the study that "you should get them pissed Martin they will tell you anything then."

So in all observation took place at meetings which were supplemented by informal discussion. In the case of the Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers this was mainly in being able to lead meetings of volunteers, in the case of Specials this was mostly in the bar after meetings and at residential weekends. But how valid are these data? After all it will be shown that while most did, not all volunteers attended meetings and so their views could not be sought here. Moreover, while there was a strong tendency to visit the bar after sessions not every Special always did so, and again therefore the views may not be representative. This is all the more the case because not all probation groups or VSSs, as will be shown, ran training sessions and meetings. Also one police Division, or more specifically one Training Sergeant failed to respond to calls from the
researcher for invitations to meetings, and so access was limited there. Furthermore, geography played a part; local volunteers were more accessible in the sense that there was less travelling time and so they were visited more frequently. On a rather different level one of the main criticisms of the observational or participant observational approach as Moser and Kalton (1979) among others indicate, is that the researchers' presence may change the behaviour of the subjects under scrutiny, particularly in encouraging them to withhold information.

In respect of the representativeness of the sample it is necessary to keep in mind the way the data were used. The main part of the research and the primary focus of the findings chapters, was the structured interviews. Data here were collected from a representative sample of volunteers in the three agencies which it is hoped reflects the views of the wider research population. The observational data was used merely to supplement this. It was a means of clarifying issues and ambiguities as they arose, and provided the opportunity of reviewing the research field from an alternative angle.

In respect of changing the behaviour of subjects, merely by virtue of the fact that they were being observed, it needs to be borne in mind that after a while there is a tendency for those being studied to forget that a researcher is present (Stacey, 1969). In any event, during the research it was evident that respondents were happy to talk about their voluntary work even when it involved illicit behaviour. The fact that the hierarchy had granted permission, and this was frequently commented upon by the researcher, coupled with the continual reminder that no names would be recorded and that all information would be treated as confidential, appeared to satisfy
most. Shipman's (1981) observation that people enjoy talking about themselves was particularly true here, not least because, and this was often mentioned, they were keen to help someone interested in them "for a change". Furthermore, observation was fairly extensive and it would have been extremely difficult for all volunteers to hide information all the time. In all then, it is unlikely that the subjects could have changed their behaviour or avoided the researchers exposure to the details of their organisation to any significant extent, mostly because they showed throughout they did not wish to. The results were of interest to them and any information they could supply was seen as ultimately being of benefit to them.

6.7 UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND OTHER METHODS

The advantages of unstructured interviews are well documented in introductory methodological texts. As Moser and Kalton (1979) note, informal interviews allow the researcher to tackle complex problems in depth, and to broaden or narrow the scope of the discussion to fit the requirements of the information gathered. Indeed, the main criticisms rest on the foundation that the data collected does not lend itself conveniently to comparison, since different items of information may be collected from each interview. However, since in this study comparative data were obtained from semi-structured interviews, information from the unstructured interviews was not gathered for the same purpose. Rather it was seen as a means of incorporating the views of what Stacey (1969) defined as 'key informants', that is people with a degree of expertise or experience who may be able to provide additional information.

This particular method was used with representatives in all of the three agencies. Some were volunteers who had not been included in the
sample such as Divisional Commandants in the Specials, or some VSS coordinators. Some VSS coordinators were not volunteers but ostensibly committee members as shall be discussed in Chapter 9, and so were never in a position to be a part of the semi-structured interview sample. Yet, their position within the organisation made them particularly relevant to this project. So they, and other committee members of VSS were also informally interviewed. Indeed, there were many others - probation officers who were presently or formerly responsible for organising Voluntary Associates, or Police Officers with a specific interest in the Specials (especially senior officers) and many other personnel who could be classified as 'key informants'.

On a number of occasions people outside the area were contacted by phone or letter requesting either specific or general information about one of the agencies. Indeed, letters were included in local magazines produced by some Probation areas and Police Divisions for their volunteers, both to advertise the project and to encourage participation. One letter printed in Police Review resulted in a number of letters being received from around the country providing additional information. In addition, other areas were visited in order that a more detailed insight could be gained into issues affecting volunteers in the agencies in question elsewhere. All the data collected helped to enrich the study, but it should be emphasised that it was used to supplement that provided by the structured interviews.

6.8 RECORDING AND ANALYSING DATA

That very few texts include sections on the recording and analysis of data (Burgess, 1984) is abundantly clear from even the most cursory
glance at the social science literature. Yet the recording and interpretation of data, particularly qualitative data such as that derived from say, observational techniques (Goode and Hatt, 1952) has important implications for the results. Thus, this section will briefly review the means by which data were recorded and analysed in parts of this study.

Each answer to the open-ended questions was coded separately. There was no attempt to classify qualitative answers into categories initially. The advantage of this method was that it allowed classification to take place and easily be altered after other questions had been analysed. In other words, grouping and regrouping was a much simpler exercise on the computer than it would have been if undertaken manually. In addition, it meant that once groupings had been formed they could, using SPSSX, be compared with other data. Perhaps the best example of how groupings were arrived at is through reference to the questions on motivations - why they want to pursue voluntary work - why they chose the agency they volunteered for - and why they continued in it.

Having coded each answer separately and written each reply out in full so that the information could be reviewed speedily, an attempt was made to classify the answers into categories. This entailed continually reading all the replies to a question and reclassifying answers until satisfied that each answer was categorised correctly. In practice this took several months, since it was helpful to leave intervals of at least three weeks in between each attempt at classification in order that the situation could be looked at afresh. The task was further complicated through the fact that not all answers fitted conveniently into categories resulting from previous research,
and so new groups had to be defined. Interpreting other peoples' answers and imposing the social scientist's impressions of what was meant by what was said is to the purists, fraught with difficulties (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981). There were certainly problems here not least because not all gave single reasons, indeed many gave a combination. However, since the researcher conducted all the interviews, it was standard to ask for clarification then, and an attempt was made to classify answers accordingly. Since in this text, previous researchers have been criticised for not stating the content of their classifications, this is included in Figures 6.1 and 6.2. Once each of the agencies had been classified using the same categories it was possible to carry out comparisons of the data. It will be recalled that partly to overcome the short-comings of the methods used here alternative choice questions were included on the same issue. This will be reconsidered in the following three results chapters.

Figure 6.1
Illustration Of Types Of Reasons Used In Classification Of Motivation Categories For Questions On Why Volunteer And Why Join Agency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other-Directed</td>
<td>Help Other People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offer Skills to Benefit Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Directed</td>
<td>Time to Use Constructively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need to Become Involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Required an Alternative Interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careerist</td>
<td>Join Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obtain CQSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>Interest in Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in Work of Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Christian Beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drift</td>
<td>Result of Others Influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It Just Came Along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asked by Someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saw Advertisement/Talk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 6.2

**Illustration Of Types Of Reasons Used In Classification Of Motivation Categories For Question On Why Continue With Voluntary Work**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivations</th>
<th>Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>Interest in Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enjoy Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-Directed</td>
<td>Help Other People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognise Need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Directed</td>
<td>Need to Become Involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Require an Alternative Interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gain in Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency-Committed</td>
<td>To the Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To the Work (Worthwhile Cause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stickability</td>
<td>Started so will Continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Christian Beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careerist</td>
<td>CQSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Active</td>
<td>Lost Contact with Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only Recently Started</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the main problems of observational or participant observation research techniques is that associated with recording the data. Goode and Hatt (1952) and Shipman (1981) warn of the dangers of not taking detailed notes, while at the same time recognising that there are often limitations. There certainly were in this study. For example, during observation at meetings and training sessions it was relatively easy to take notes verbatim providing the researcher remained alert to each word that was said. However, during informal discussions in the bar after the meetings or whatever, it has been noted that the researcher was keen to become a part of the groups, breaking down barriers between the researcher and the researched. As such it was
less convenient to write down what people were saying there and then. Indeed, it was considered that Specials for example, may be more inclined to relate details of police mal-practice if there was no obvious sign that their stories were being researched for promulgation. Consequently, during this stage of the research, information derived from informal interviews was written up as soon as possible after the sessions. Once this information had been obtained, it too was classified into categories and used as a supplement to data obtained from the interviews.

6.9 SUMMARY

The research therefore consisted of a variety of research strategies which were employed in part to overcome the limitations of each individual method. The analysis of agency records provided a starting point for an insight into the wider volunteer population. The structured interviews produced quantative and therefore comparable data, but were supplemented by observation and participation observation at a variety of volunteer events, but most especially meetings and training sessions where it was possible to study volunteers at the grassroots levels. Interviews with key personnel, requests for information from others, and on a limited scale visits to different parts of the country, further enriched the study, not so much in providing more data, but data based on an alternative viewpoint. The object was to comprehend as fully as possible the various influences and issues affecting volunteers and to avoid at the same time the limitations of previous research. It is against this background then, that the results are discussed.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. This is more so the case with the probation and police services, since VSSs in the South West rely exclusively on volunteers.

2. It will be recalled the Divisional Commandants retained Divisional responsibility for Specials. A very important contact and of invaluable guidance was the Force Commandant for the Special Constabulary, who agreed to act as a liaison for the Constabulary as a whole.

3. Unfortunately the letters forwarded to the schemes were delayed several months. This was not the fault of the Regional Chairman; it was merely that another member of the Regional Committee had agreed to forward the letters but had, at that point, heavy work commitments which prevented the letters from receiving prompt attention. Thus, gaining access was a lengthy process and not only because each scheme had to be approached individually.

4. In fact the coordinator approached each volunteer and asked them if they wished to participate in the project. Whilst it is not known how the idea was 'sold', the majority nevertheless were against involvement.

5. Unfortunately probation records did not record the age of Voluntary Associates.

6. Age and gender were the most reliable variables. The data contained in the following chapters relating to age refers to their age in 1984, rather than that of when they joined in order to lay the foundation for comparisons in Chapter 10.

7. Nevertheless, there appears to be much to be gained from advising the respondent at the initial contact stage of the preference for the interview to be conducted alone.

8. The exception here was that in the two VSSs which had less than 5 volunteers it was decided to approach all members for interview in the hope that small schemes would then be assured of being represented.

9. For example, if they were present at a meeting which was attended by the researcher, they were approached then.

10. However, it should be recalled that the data obtained from agency records was a random sample, a third of the total population. The figures produced by the Force Commandant for the year ending December 31st 1984, some six months after the researcher's analysis of the records, reveals that the Specials in all consisted of 22.8% women. Of course this still means the sample was bias towards women.

11. At training sessions the practice of wearing uniforms varied. Clearly where they were worn the researcher was easily distinguished as an 'outsider'. In practice this probably made little difference since what also characterised the researcher as an outside was the fact that most Specials were at least known to each other, and many, as Chapter 8 discusses, described fellow Specials as friends. The point being made here is that at residential weekends these two factors were less applicable. Uniforms weren't worn while socialising and since the course was run for Specials from across the two counties, most Specials were not known to each other.
CHAPTER 7

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES AND THE PROBATION SERVICE:

THE FINDINGS
It has already been noted that whilst a wealth of research exists on the probation volunteer (at least compared to that on volunteers working within other agencies), there remain large gaps. Primarily, little is known about what precisely motivates volunteers to working with groups which have been described as undeserving (Barr, 1971). Since individuals who wish to offer their time to help others might normally be expected to work with those who are considered deserving such as the elderly or handicapped (Wolfenden, 1978), are Voluntary Associates a different type of volunteer? It has already been noted that in terms of social class, age, marital status and gender they conform very much to the traditional stereotype. However, research has failed to go beyond this to reveal how far middle class volunteers adopt middle class values, say in terms of voting behaviour or in their attitudes to law and order. The point being made is that the probation service is a pro-offender organisation, and therefore by definition at the 'soft' end in terms of ideological and political beliefs. Yet evidence would suggest that Voluntary Associates tend towards the other extreme, that is if they are typical middle class people. Interestingly, there is evidence that the type of people who volunteer, though not representative of the community, and not considered by some officers to be ideal, may in fact be perpetuated by the type of recruitment strategies used. All this however needs to be substantiated by research which takes as its focus the experiences and perspective of the volunteers themselves.

The present pre-occupation of the probation service with the role it should play in the community (Haxby, 1978), has implications for probation volunteers. Voluntary Associates are of course, a community resource, but on a practical level the willingness of Voluntary
Associates to work with offenders within their own locality, (the essence of care by the community), is questionable on the basis that some volunteers have suffered victimisation from their clients (Lacey, 1963). Would this then thwart their enthusiasm to work with clients who were either known to them or lived in their neighbourhood? If the answer to this question is that they would, it clearly brings into question the relevance of care by the community in a probation service context.

On a rather different level research evidence has indicated that Voluntary Associates are under utilised. If as a consequence this leads to a drop in morale, then the warnings of Etzioni (1961) become particularly relevant. Namely, that in order to maximise the volunteer potential it is essential that they are committed to the work. If they are not involved, or simply under utilised, can they really be committed?

It is these issues this chapter attempts to address, focussing specifically on the Voluntary Associate and their own perspectives on their work.

7.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

In Chapter 2 it was noted that Voluntary Associates were involved in a wide variety of tasks, a factor that was highlighted in this study. About a half of the sample were involved in befriending, that is ongoing casework with the client. This frequently, although by no means always, took the form of prison visiting. Rather more Voluntary Associates here, than recorded elsewhere, were involved in Day Centres, reflecting their relatively recent growth within the probation service (James, 1985), and an expanding area for voluntary
activity. Indeed, at least one group was run exclusively by volunteers. Apart from Day Centres, other types of organised activities were common. These included prisoner's wives, alcohol, literacy, and football groups. Of the remainder, some were involved in specialist work, for example one group of volunteers were attached to a Divorce Court Welfare Team, and others dealt only with supervising Community Service Orders. Some occupied their time providing transport facilities, ensuring that wives of prisoners were able to visit their husbands, or accused clients summoned to appear in court arrived on time. Two Voluntary Associates were private landladies, whose tenants were selected almost exclusively from probation service clients.\(^1\) Their accreditation enabled them to claim travelling expenses,\(^2\) a facility not available to the unaccredited. Voluntary Associates were then, involved in many aspects of the work of the probation service.

Earlier it was noted that the Volunteer Centre (1981) warned that many probation volunteers may be inactive, a concern that was accentuated following Hill's (1982) study. Here the results paint an even more dismal picture since 41.4% were inactive at the time of the interview.\(^3\) For some, contact with the service had been severed in that as far as they were concerned they had resigned, although having never submitted an official letter, and having never been asked to submit one, their name remained on record. Others were inactive because they were taking a rest from voluntary work, or because they were otherwise engaged. Indeed, those who were inactive were significantly more likely to be involved in other activities \(x^2 = 4.66 \ P<0.05\).

Nevertheless, a major contributory factor to the high level of
inactivity was the fact that there was a dearth of referrals available. In one instance a Voluntary Associate had never, one year after her accreditation, been approached by the probation service, suggesting that Riddick's (1984) experience was not an isolated case. The significance of this issue was underlined when respondents were asked whether they would like to do more or less work than they were at present. Only 41.4% claimed they were doing the right amount, with 2 people unsure of an answer, and 1 person planning to reduce her commitment. As many as 53.4% wanted to increase their involvement as Voluntary Associates.

Similarly, at a later point in the schedule, respondents were asked whether they considered Voluntary Associates were used enough. Whilst 14% were uncertain of any answer, 59.7% of the total, and 69.4% of those who ventured an opinion, considered that Voluntary Associates could be more widely used. Some typical comments included:

"The probation offices always seem to be very busy. The simple answer is no, because volunteers keep saying they have not got enough to do. The trouble is that you can enlist too many and keep them standing around." (VA 08)

"I would like to know the answer myself. They always say how busy they are, but we don't hear anything for months. They don't say anything." (VA 18)

The role of probation officers as work providers will be evaluated more extensively in section 2.7. Here it is necessary to record that at a time when Voluntary Associates perceived probation officers to be overworked, they were being overlooked as a potential source of help.

Of those who were active, just under a fifth of the total were committed for less than 2 hours weekly, with slightly more than this undertaking between 2-4 hours. The remainder were involved in more (in
one instance amounting to 3 full days each week at a Day Centre).

Just as the hours allotted to voluntary work varied, so did the number of clients with whom Voluntary Associates were engaged. Not surprisingly though, given the paucity of cases available, most were only involved with 1 or 2 clients, but only 3 of the sample had never been on a case. Nevertheless, the previously mentioned prominence of group work was reflected in the fact that 13.8% worked with 8 or more clients.\(^{(5)}\) Of those who had been referred at least one client, contact with them tended to occur quite frequently. For 60.3% it was at least weekly and for nearly a third of these it exceeded once a week. That only 1 person suggested contact would normally be less than once a month is indicative of the commitment of Voluntary Associates to their clients, and an illustration of their potential to assist with cases that demand time rather than professional expertise.\(^{(6)}\)

In section 2.2 it was suggested that whilst various methods of matching volunteer to clients have been devised, little evidence exists on the type of people volunteers would prefer to visit. However, when asked about the preferred age and gender of clients the majority replied that they were unconcerned. Nevertheless, those over 45 years old were significantly more likely to express a preference (comparing opposite and same sex, excluding Don't Knows \(X^2 = 5.96, P<0.05\)). Nearly all of those who did express a preference, and all of the men who did, suggested their own sex and if anything someone younger rather than older.\(^{(7)}\) Thus, just as Barr (1971) has contended that Probation Officers' practices were to match male with male, so it would seem that this was the preference for those male Voluntary Associates who expressed an opinion.
Despite this there was little evidence that matching took place with regards to the interests and character of the Voluntary Associate and those of the client. Indeed, only 4.4% of volunteers had ever been asked by an officer what sort of work they would most like to do, so matching to the task was not common. Well over three quarters claimed they had never refused a client, but for those who had, a lack of time at the point when the request was made was frequently given as a reason. But of particular significance here were those who refused a client because of some knowledge about the case. For example,

"Because I know the family so well." (VA09)

"Because it was somebody I know very well, not that I mind knowing somebody afterwards, it was very difficult beforehand." (VA 36)

Clearly, if Voluntary Associates were concerned about working with clients who were known to them, it brings into question the relevance of care by the community in the probation context. Thus, respondents were asked whether they had ever worked with people from their locality. Although over a half said they had, and few cited problems, they did exist. For example:

"Sometimes it can be embarrassing. I was asked to go to court to look after some offenders, it turned out to be my friend's son." (VA 18)

"Yes, it is a little bit close to the family. It has not been bad for me, but my wife does not like parents coming round here and swearing." (VA 54)

Mostly though these Voluntary Associates were not opposed to working in their home area. This finding was supported when those who had not worked with local clients were questioned as to how they would react if they were asked to do so, indicating their answers on a scale stretching from 'very favourable' to 'very unfavourable'. Whilst over a third were 'indifferent', more were in favour than against. This
latter group expressed concern at the debilitating effect this might have on the client, rather than any adverse inconvenience to themselves.

Nevertheless, as Lacey (1963) found in his study, Voluntary Associates can be victimised their client. Here, 17.6% indicated that they had at some point been victims. For the most part these tended to be minor (4 had suffered bad language being directed at them, and 4 had been taken advantage of), although there were some serious instances.

Such examples became apparent during observation at volunteer meetings. One of the most severe was a female volunteer in her early twenties who was corresponding with an offender in a northern prison. Since the man's offences were violent rape she became concerned when the tone of his letters changed. He declared his love and expressed a wish to live with the volunteer as a cohabitee on his pending release. Unable to stop the letters she approached 'her' probation officer for help who advised that she ignore them in the belief they would cease. However they didn't, and so as the release date approached, to a matter of weeks, she sought help from a Senior Probation Officer. Only then, after several months of distress was action taken, when a ban was put on the man returning to the South West. In this instance, fortunately, the man obeyed the ban, and the memory apart the volunteer escaped unscathed.

Despite the anxiety which victimisation can cause, Voluntary Associates were not in the main opposed to working with clients in their own neighbourhood. Indeed, 42.9% had invited clients back to their home. Those who were more experienced (having been a probation
volunteer for more than three years) were significantly more likely to have done so \( (x^2 = 8.61 \ P<0.01) \). Certainly, those who had been active for less than three years were more likely to state that having clients in their home had caused them problems - 71.4% of those with less than three years service compared to only 18.8% of those with more than three years service, although the figures were too small for a chi square.

But in all rather fewer cited problems than advantages, in some instances for both the Voluntary Associate and the client. For example:

"He was a good plumber, and did my plumbing for me. Did a marvellous job so I gave him a plumb placement." (VA 13)

"We gave a job to the husband. He painted the outside of the house. It was wonderful." (VA 18)

Nevertheless, of those who hadn't invited a client back to their home, most were opposed to the idea. The principal objection lay in complicating their relationship. Some claimed they would resent combining voluntary activity and home life which they preferred to see as separate. Moreover, when asked whether they provided their clients with their home telephone number, 64.3% answered in the affirmative, although of those who didn't, two thirds would not do so.

This would suggest a caucus of Voluntary Associates whose involvement was on a different level to others. The majority were not opposed to working with clients in their home area, and most did or would, provide them with their telephone number and invite them back to their abode. To this extent the role of the community in looking after itself, appears to be an idea which receives some welcome support. However, a caveat is necessary here in that a small but significant
minority had been victimised by their clients, and so those who are particularly vulnerable, ie those living alone, may have more to lose as a result of this type of in-depth involvement. Furthermore, a significant minority wished to see their voluntary work as separate from their immediate vicinity, and this should be borne in mind when advocating policies of care by the community.

However, Voluntary Associates were committed to a wide variety of tasks with many clients. They throughout expressed disillusion at their under utilisation against a background where officers lamented their laden workloads. Once they received a client contact seemed regular, and in many cases involvement extended to an invitation to their home. Some were victimised, in a few instances this was severe, but for the most part it was confined to instances best described as annoying.

7.3 VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

It has also been noted that this study was concerned only with those who had undergone the accreditation process. In other words had submitted an official application, and following the provision of two references and an interview, had been accredited and furnished with a volunteer card indicating their status as official volunteers representing the probation service. During the course of the research however, it became clear that some Voluntary Associates, particularly in one part of Devon, had not undergone the accreditation process. The crucial factor as to whether someone should be accredited was not whether the task warranted it (eg prison visiting), as Reading (1967) had indicated should be the case. Rather it was due to the individual preferences of probation officers and Voluntary Associates. Thus, for some of those working with offenders on a long term befriending basis,
accreditation had never been considered an issue. Alternatively, others who were involved to a far less extent such as transporting clients to court, were accredited. Whilst this is not unusual (Volunteer Centre, 1981), the exclusive focus on the accredited Voluntary Associate requires comment here.

It proved impossible to collect figures on the number of Voluntary Associates who were not accredited. Some probation officers noted in discourse with the researcher that the rapid turnover, coupled with the time that the administration of the accreditation process necessitated, thwarted their enthusiasm for it. Thus, how far were those who were accredited, that is those who were the focus of the research, typical of Voluntary Associates generally? The ad hoc nature in which accreditation took place suggests that it was, to a considerable extent, a matter of chance as to who was accredited and who was not. On this level, resorting to the law of probability it could be suggested that differences between the groups were not likely to be markedly different. It is possible that those probation officers who did prefer to accredit volunteers, and those volunteers who themselves required accreditation might be, in some unspecified way, different. On this issue no definite answer is possible, but those officers who were questioned indicated that differences were unlikely.

However, this should be borne in mind with reference to the findings on specific issues in volunteering. It is the reasons for volunteering that we turn to now.

7.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATES

Given the relative wealth of material relating to probation volunteers
it remains something of a surprise to learn of the dearth of research concerned with Voluntary Associate's motivations. It has been recognised that working with probation clients is tantamount to working with the undeserving (Barr, 1971). This perhaps suggests that those who volunteer for probation work do so because of a specific interest in offenders and their families, rather than simply as a means of pursuing voluntary work generally. Presumably those who are keen to volunteer for reasons normally associated with a desire to give up one's spare time, for example a desire to help other people, would be more inclined to work with other groups. Thus, a particular interest in probation service clientele and the probation service as an agency, would be a precondition for this type of work. However, prior to considering why people volunteer for the probation service, it is necessary to understand why they volunteer in the first instance.

7.4.1 THE DECISION TO VOLUNTEER

When asked what attracted them to voluntary work Voluntary Associates mentioned a wide variety of reasons. The largest categorisation (25.9%) contained those who could be described as volunteering for benefits occurring to themselves, that is Self-Directed reasons. There were three types of answers within this grouping: those who said they had time on their hands which they wanted to use constructively; those who needed to become involved in something; and those who claimed they had required an alternative interest. For example:

"I was staying in someone else's house and wanted an interest to take me away." (VA 08)

"My children had left home and I had time. I was not attracted to all female and all domestic activity." (VA 12)
"Before I came down here I was a Samaritan, but when I arrived I knew nothing about the area so I wanted to become involved." (VA 47)

In addition, 22.4% had volunteered for career reasons in that they viewed their involvement in voluntary work as a prerequisite for pursuing a career in the welfare field, or in one instance, the police service. Careerists, in pursuing their voluntary work for personal gains, share similarities with those who volunteered for Self-Directed reasons, although the different nature of that interest requires a separate consideration. What can be said however, is that close to a half of the sample were attracted to voluntary work for reasons of self-interest.

Two classifications, with 19.0% each of the total, represented most of the remaining reasons for interest in undertaking voluntary work. One group were those who volunteered for Other-Directed reasons. For example:

"I like people and I like to try and help people." (VA 40)

"Because you look forward and see so many in need who are incapable of helping themselves." (VA 52)

Thus, the philanthropic motive would appear less influential in peoples' initial motivations for undertaking voluntary work than had been indicated by Wolfenden (1978). However, perhaps the most interesting finding here was the 19.0% who were said to Drift into voluntary work. Respondents were said to have Drifted into voluntary work if they had not made a pre-determined decision, in particular if they were asked, or simply because the opportunity arose at a time when they were available. For example:

"My wife and I were at an evening class and a Probation Officer gave us a talk and it seem worth doing" (VA 37)
The Drift-Effect is therefore a much neglected part of volunteer motivations and an issue which will be returned to in Chapter 10.

It has already been noted that 22.4% claimed interests in voluntary work linked to career ambitions, most for a social work qualification. It is not axiomatic however that they were interested specifically in the work of the probation service. It could have been that the probation service was just one agency through which they could express an interest in welfare work, thereby laying a foundation for a CQSW. Nevertheless, 10.3% of the sample expressed an interest in the work or the organisation itself. For example:

"When released from custody I came to probation and found they had an interest group which was my interest, and so I kept coming and they accredited me for expenses." (VA 06)

"Interest in probation following a talk by a probation officer." (VA 18)

That only 3.4%, the remainder, were motivated because of Religious-Based reasons requires comment here. In the schedule several questions were asked of the religious convictions of Voluntary Associates. Just over a quarter attended church/chapel at least fortnightly although most of these at least once a week. Of those who were not regular church goers, over half said they did hold religious convictions. However, when respondents were asked whether their voluntary work was linked to their religious convictions, 20.7% of the total replied in the affirmative. This suggests that whilst religious factors do not feature prominently as a primary motivation, they nevertheless may be considered a significant contributory factor.

In all then a variety of factors seem to be influential in determining a persons' decision to volunteer. Particularly relevant here though
are the personal gains in so doing. There were others who could be
described as volunteering for Self-Directed reasons, who were keen to
help others. Equally, there were as many who were said to have
Drifted into voluntary work as a result of circumstances pertaining at
the time, rather than being a pre-determined decision. However, the
relevance of these findings needs to be considered in the context of
people's motivations for joining the probation service.

7.4.2 THE DECISION TO JOIN THE PROBATION SERVICE

When asked about their motivation for probation work specifically,
there were three main groupings. The largest contained those who had
expressed an interest in the probation service organisation,
accounting for 36.8% of the total. Some of these were interested in
the criminal justice system focus, but in the main it was the service
and the work which appeared most attractive. For example:

"I was interested in why people commit crime, having been in
the Police....I was keen to know the other side." (VA 08)

"I was interested in probation because I was interested in a
playgroup they ran and it all stemmed from that." (VA 46)

Thus, the organisation itself appeared particularly attractive to
Voluntary Associates. Moreover, just over a fifth had stated that
their interest in voluntary work was based on career intentions, so
the same number, claimed this to be the reason for joining the
probation service as a volunteer.

However, there was one other categorisation which contained 26.3% of
the total and concerned those who could have been said to have
Drifted into voluntary work with the probation service. For example:

"While a youth leader I had people on community service and
that led to working with probation." (VA 10)
"The Intermediate Group led me on to probation, it was a snowball effect." (VA 48)

This Drift-Effect as it has been termed, is significant not only in peoples' initial decision to volunteer, but even more so in terms of the agency they chose. Thus, it is possible to assume that at the very least, for over a quarter, being a Voluntary Associate was just a form of voluntary work they had happened to become engaged in. Presumably had a representative of other agencies influenced the respondent in some way at the time they had become a probation volunteer, they might easily have ended up working elsewhere. Indeed, since 5.3% were classified as wanting to join the probation service for Self-Directed reasons, and 7.0% for Other-Directed reasons, in total 38.6% were not initially attracted to being a Volunteer either with the probation service specifically or offenders in particular.

When respondents were asked whether they were interested in voluntary work or interested in the probation service specifically, a slight majority 51.7% expressed an interest in the service itself. With 5.1% unable to provide an answer, still 43.1% claimed that they had seen it as just one form of voluntary work. This suggests a degree of consistency between the open-ended and alternative choice answers. More importantly it provides further evidence that whilst the probation service is prominent in attracting the majority of volunteers, this is only a slight majority, with approximately two fifths being attracted by the opportunity it afforded for undertaking some type of voluntary work.

Near the end of the interview schedule Voluntary Associates were asked to rank in order of importance a set of statements which detailed various reasons for volunteering. From this an average score was
calculated for each item. Because the statements were based on motives considered important in other studies, the Drift-Effect did not exist as a possibility. Herein lies one of the difficulties of cafeteria style questions (Moser and Kalton, 1979).

This particular concern was echoed almost immediately since the most popular statement, as table 7.1 illustrates, was that their reasons for undertaking voluntary work were linked to a genuine desire to help other people. This would of course, have been classified as Other-Directed which, as stated, received only a little support in the open-ended questions. The difference can perhaps be explained by the attractiveness of this particular option; it is the most widely recognised reason for voluntary work (Wolfenden, 1978). As such it may have appealed as a 'common sense' reason for volunteering, and may therefore have been overstated by respondents.

Nevertheless, interest in the organisation, the availability of time, and career intentions, were all represented in that order, as the next three statements in the scale. Whilst there was support for the statement indicating a desire to help the probation service with the crime problem, a statement suggesting they were strongly committed to law and order was considerably less popular - indeed a desire to meet people was considered more relevant. There was therefore support for the findings of previous questions on motivations, that the organisation itself is crucial to attracting a core of volunteers, but that for many others it merely represents a form of voluntary work.

In order to develop this view however, it would seem appropriate to consider people's reasons for wishing to remain a Voluntary Associate.
Table 7.1
Motivations to Become a Voluntary Associate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIVATIONS</th>
<th>RANK SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Desire to Help Other People</td>
<td>7.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Thought Being a Voluntary Associate Would Be Interesting and Exacting Work</td>
<td>6.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Had Time to Use Constructively</td>
<td>5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wished to Join Probation Service in The Future</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Believe Public Should Help Police Solve Crime Problem</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted to Meet New People</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Are Strongly Committed to Upholding Law and Order</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted To Enhance Your Civilian Job Promotion Opportunities</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused Entrance Into Probation So Voluntary Associate Provided Alternative</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.3 CONTINUING AS A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATE
Perhaps not surprisingly, when asked why they continued as Voluntary Associates, the largest grouping contained those who stated that they enjoyed their voluntary work. Enjoyment accounted for 37.9% of the answers. Some typical answers here were:

"I enjoyed it, felt I was doing something worthwhile, which I hadn't previously." (VA 03)
"I think I am quite good at it, I enjoy it, and most of those I meet I enjoy meeting and would have met them no other way. Also I find it interesting." (VA 43)

The second most popular categorisation here were those who gave Other-Directed reasons: they continued in their voluntary work because of the opportunity it afforded of helping other people. Contrastingly, only 8.6% cited Self-Directed reasons for continuing their involvement. The extra emphasis here on Other-Directed motivations as opposed to Self-Directed motivations, compared with their respective influence in response to the earlier question concerned with their initial attraction to voluntary work, can perhaps best be explained by the fact that whilst people were initially attracted by having spare time which required occupying, or the need for involvement, the voluntary work itself fulfilled those needs. Thus, rather than viewing their continued commitment in terms of their original needs, those now fulfilled, they look to other advantages that their involvement realises - either the fact that they enjoy it or the opportunity it affords to help other people. Some examples of those considered to have carried on for Other-Directed reasons were:

"Because I want to. I am well organised and well able to help people. Most seem to have had a poor start in life and I feel I can put them on the right track." (VA 20)

"Because I am socially very aware. All of my life I have done some work. My philosophy of life is to help others, I am aware of their needs and want to give out what I can. I have a social conscience." (VA 39)

Moreover, others who were similarly classified described a type of help which was perhaps not in accordance with the traditional caring role of Voluntary Associates. For example:

"Two reasons. One, when I was in the services I was a disciplinarian, and I think that youngsters need discipline. 
Two, I just like to see youngsters who have had a 'right too' with parents put in the right place. You must say there is more to life than getting drunk." (VA 34)

It was noted in section 7.2 that many Voluntary Associates were inactive, and that some had now severed their contract in all practical senses. Thus, 15.5% responded here that they no longer were continuing with their work. Only 1 person cited the need to gain a CQSW as a reason for continuance, although 5.2% were said to be Agency-Committed. For example:

"My involvement is now minimal but I have a great commitment to the probation service." (VA 21)

"Because I think it is worthwhile. You get through to a lot of people." (VA 04)

Thus, most respondents continued with their work as a Voluntary Associate because they enjoyed it, although the opportunity to help others was only slightly less popular. A word of caution is however necessary here. It is possible, perhaps even likely that these two groupings overlap considerably. Some Voluntary Associates received their enjoyment because they were able to help other people, similarly people help others because they enjoy doing so. It may also be true that people 'need' to become involved (Self-Directed) because they wish to help others (Other-Directed) and so on. None of these groupings can, or should, be seen as mutually exclusive. However, in recognising this limitation on interpreting the results, it is also necessary to underline the fact that in this study an attempt was made to overcome this drawback, by directing questions associated with the various stages of the 'motivations process'. The results show that the Drift-Effect is prominent, that for many entrance into voluntary work is less pre-determined. For others it represents an opportunity to pursue a career, and for others still the opportunity to fulfill Self-Directed needs, and realise Other-Directed desires.
With regards to the choice of agency, the evidence would again suggest the importance of the Drift-Effect. Whilst for a slight majority the probation service is of a specific interest, for many others it is simply one agency through which they are able to express their volunteer related needs and desires. To suggest that people continue, as they say they do, because they enjoy it may be interpreted by some as to be suggesting the obvious. After all, as Dollarhide (undated) has argued, why should people give up their time to help others if they do not gain some form of payment in return i.e. satisfaction? What can be summarised is that there exists within the probation service a wealth of commitment to helping others in the form of the Voluntary Associate. It is to determine who these people are that we now turn.

7.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

When analysing data from the agency records it was clear that the middle class bias of previous research was confirmed here. While 57% were from social classes I (8.3%) or II (48.7%), only 10.9% were drawn from social classes of IV (9.0%) and V (1.9%), and the vast majority (73.1%) were from non-manual occupations. Nevertheless, only 50.2% were classified as employed, with the second highest category being housewives (19.5%). In all 13.2% were unemployed and 7.3% were students, considerably lower than the 25% in Davidson's et. al. (1985) study.

Given the low number of students, indeed less than the number of retired people (9.8%), it was to be predicted that there would be more people over 60 yrs old (17.2%) than up to 30 years old (13.7%). Yet, these were the two least populated categorisations, with the most populated age group being the 41-50. This provides yet further
evidence that Voluntary Associates tend to be middle aged.

Whilst the findings provided further support that the typical volunteer would be a woman, this was only marginally so. The male contribution as Barr (1971) has noted, is frequently underestimated. The fact that within the research area 44.3% were men further underlines the extent of male participation in voluntary work. Similarly, just as Aves (1969) has contended volunteers tend to be married, so, the results showed, were Voluntary Associates (69.0%), with 14.1% of the total being single.

From the interview data it was possible to collect additional information on the number of children, previous occupation and educational qualifications. The fact that 76.0% of the sample had children, and half of these were of school age or below, (mainly being at middle school), is a reflection of the age distribution. The middle class bias was supported, not surprisingly, when previous occupation was analysed. The most populated occupational grouping was that of 'Professional' and there was a strong non manual predominance. Similarly, with educational qualifications, Voluntary Associates were well qualified. Over two thirds had pursued their education beyond school, with 13.8% of the total having obtained higher educational qualifications. Only 10.3% could claim no certification at all. These results tend to confirm those of previous research which have indicated a middle age, middle class, married women bias.

But what of the inclusion of minorities? Since Devon and Cornwall does not contain many representatives from the ethnic minorities it was predictable that they would not be represented in the probation service. However, 3 volunteers were ex-offenders, two of whom in
earlier life had been recidivists. This information was recorded on
their application forms. Given that all three had admitted their
previous misdemeanours the service took the view that, this in itself
should not be a reason for refusal. It was simply noted that they
should be afforded extra supervision, although all were subsequently
accredited. Similarly, one Voluntary Associate was a self confessed
homosexual, but given that he conceded this on the application form,
the service reasoned this alone was not sufficient to refuse the
application.

One group of Voluntary Associates did have a chairman who was
physically disabled and confined to a wheelchair. The volunteer
meetings were conducted at his own home, and he frequently had clients
visit him there, enabling a degree of participation in voluntary work
that hitherto has received surprisingly little comment. This was
however the only disabled person accredited to the probation service
at the time of the research.

In section 2.5 it was suggested that it may be possible to go beyond
noting the distinct types of people who become Voluntary Associates
and gain a better understanding of those who volunteer by questioning
them about modes of behaviour, assessing the extent to which these
accord with those of middle class people. Since voluntary work is a
middle class characteristic, it may be expected that Voluntary
Associates would have previous experience of voluntary activity, and
perhaps be involved in other voluntary work in addition to that of the
probation service. It might also be anticipated that they would show
a willingness to give money to charity, and be less inclined to desire
payment for their services. On a rather different level, the link
between being middle class and voting Conservative has already been
indicated.

Over three quarters of the sample had previously been involved in other voluntary work. Whilst the range of organisations varied, caring work of some description featured prominently. Only a half of the Voluntary Associates were presently involved in other voluntary activity, but as stated earlier those who were inactive were more likely to be \( x^2 = 4.66 \, P<0.05 \), suggesting perhaps that voluntary work with the probation service was insufficient to meet their needs. Nevertheless, it would appear that these volunteers have a tradition of voluntary activity.

That 27.6% of respondents donated monies on a regular basis to a charity, and the majority 81.0%, were against any form of payment for their voluntary work, may further support the claim that in general Voluntary Associates accord to middle class lifestyles. Nevertheless this needs to be evaluated comparatively with Specials and VSS Volunteers, and will be re-examined in chapter 10.

However, with regards to voting behaviour the link with middle class modes of behaviour was not supported. The respondents were asked two questions: firstly, who did they vote for in the last general election (June, 1983); then who would they vote for if there was an election tomorrow? Firstly, in June 1983, the Conservatives were slightly more popular with 37.9% voting accordingly, although the Alliance vote was only slightly less (32.8%) and the Labour Party was well represented with 20.7% of the total vote. Secondly, with their future voting intentions, there was predictably a swing away from the government, the Conservatives (27.6%), but also the Labour party (15.5%) to the Alliance (41.4%).
As a result, the Voluntary Associates showed that their link with political right was somewhat weak, unlike what one may have expected given their class bias. However, there is also little support that Voluntary Associates tended to be particularly left wing as Barr (1971) has suggested. Rather, it would seem that politically they adopt the middle ground centralism of the Alliance. The fact that they are not to the political right may be crucial in explaining the 'ideology' of probation volunteers, the subject of chapter 10.

7.6 BECOMING A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATE

When asked where they first heard about voluntary work with the probation service, 52.5% revealed a probation source. The vast majority of these cited probation officers, supporting Barr's (1971) observation that Voluntary Associates themselves were less inclined than their professional counterparts to influence people to undertake voluntary work with the probation service. Indeed, probation officers giving talks to local groups was frequently cited. The prominence of word of mouth as a recruiting method was underlined by the fact that the second largest category, containing 16.9%, claimed to have initially heard about Voluntary Associate work from either friends or relatives. In fact, only 11.9% responded to advertisements in their local volunteer bureau or newspaper.

During the researcher's observation at meetings and training sessions it was often commented that there was little need to advertise. As section 7.2. has already indicated, there was insufficient work available to meet the existing needs of Voluntary Associates. In addition, inquiries from the general public were normally sufficient to meet any need that did arise. This is not to suggest that advertisements were never used, simply that they were not common, and
tended to be popular only when a group was being initiated.

Having heard about the work, and submitted an application to become a volunteer, all applicants were interviewed by a probation officer, usually at the probation offices, although sometimes at the volunteer's home. In addition two references were requested and carefully analysed. If as a result of this, if any information came to light which might impede their work with clients, then they would either be rejected or identified as warranting extra guidance and supervision. Since records were not kept of those who were rejected it is impossible to determine any trend in failed applications. Nevertheless, casual conversation with probation officers revealed a degree of scepticism towards those who were either 'too authoritarian' or 'too easily taken advantage of'. This apart, most who applied were deemed acceptable. Once accredited Voluntary Associates were provided with an identity card indicating that they were official representatives of the probation service.

Given the almost universal acceptance that Voluntary Associates should be provided with a degree of training, it may have been expected that all respondents would have considered it necessary. However, when asked whether they regarded it as necessary, 13.6% replied in the negative, and in addition 8.4% were unsure of an answer, indicating a degree of doubt about its value. Even amongst those who answered in the affirmative, many qualified their answer with comments like "some" or "to a certain extent". Some examples of those who were at least not certain of the need for training include:

"No, but I think you should be prepared." (VA 12)

"No, but guidelines, you cannot train a volunteer." (VA 41)
In section 2.6. it was noted that Reading (1967) had considered the term 'preparation' as opposed to 'training' but that this was more a concern with semantics than practical differences. However, it would appear that there are other advantages in using the term 'preparation' not least in allaying the disquiet of a minority of Voluntary Associates.

The antipathy that was expressed towards the need for a training programme was surprising but can perhaps be explained by individuals' own lack of involvement in training. Indeed, well over half received no form of training at all before commencing their voluntary work, and others received only guidance. For example:

"None, but strict guidance as everything, you could say that was training. The more he saw the less restrictions he gave." (VA 06)

Even amongst those who claimed to have undertaken a programme, there were many who drew attention to its ad hoc nature as the following answers indicate. For example:

"Just a few training lectures at a couple of meeting that was all." (VA 14)

"2 or 3 meetings where volunteers' problems were being chewed over." (VA 52)

Given then, the dearth of instruction at this initial stage in their voluntary work, it may have been anticipated that they would have received an educative programme at some other point. In practice the reverse was true. Only 3 Voluntary Associates had attended any organised sequence, and for only a half was any form of the same received, usually at volunteer meetings. These were seen as an opportunity to discuss cases as well as holding a lecture on anything they considered relevant at the time. For example:
"Every so often we have lectures." (VA 32)

"Only discussion at meetings and among volunteers and probation officers." (VA 40)

The subject of those courses that were held varied considerably between offices. Normally though, an attempt was made to trace the development of the probation service, followed by an account of its present responsibilities. From this point some concentrated on sentencing practices, the alternatives and why they exist, others on general issues such as juvenile crime, the police or counselling. Broadly therefore, the subjects covered were not dissimilar from those used by Barr (1971).

Perhaps not surprisingly given the ad hoc nature in which training was conducted, the majority of Voluntary Associates were able to cite subjects that were excluded that they would have wished included. Their suggestions spanned many areas but information on the workings of social security and relevant benefits were prominent, as well as that of counselling skills and forming relationships. Some required general information on the law or the justice system, and guidance on the role of the Voluntary Associate within the probation service was telling in the light of their under utilisation. Only 2 Voluntary Associates cited training that was unnecessary, although in addition 1 referred to "a lot of time wasting", and some commented that the casual manner in which training was approached meant anything was beneficial.

Thus, whilst the majority had not received any training, and a minority doubted its necessity, in the main it was looked upon with a degree of scorn that they were not afforded the opportunity of at least some degree of preparation for their voluntary work. The
training that was offered was poorly organised and inadequate in meeting volunteers' needs, suggesting a future direction of probation service initiative.

There was however, no evidence of a relationship between those who had received training and those who had not with any other variable. As such the suggestion raised in section 2.6 that courses may act as one method of inculcating the probation culture is brought into question. However, given the wide variation in the organisation, style and subjects covered, generalisations about the importance of this finding are difficult.

7.7 THE PROBATION OFFICER AND THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATE

Earlier, the role of the probation officer as a provider of referrals and a model for behaviour was stressed. It was also noted that their efficiency or suitability in this respect may be thwarted for a variety of reasons, some agency specific, some individual specific. Most prominently though, was Fielding's (1984) finding, that probation officers view the advantages of their role in terms of the autonomy it affords them. Either as a result of this, or for other reasons mentioned, eg the threat it poses to their professionalism (Clarke, 1975), probation officers have looked upon Voluntary Associates with considerable scepticism. In section 7.2 this point was underlined with evidence that Voluntary Associates generally lamented their under utilisation. The point here is to establish how far an inability to form a working relationship with a probation officer contributes to the latter's lack of commitment to refer cases.

Nearly half the sample (46.6%) worked with just one probation officer, and another 15.5% worked with either one or two. Only 8.6% drew their
referrals from the whole team. There was a wide variation in practices throughout the research area. In one region of one service, Devon, a volunteer coordinator was appointed on half time salary. This afforded the opportunity to systemise the method of referrals. The coordinator attempted to collate background information on each volunteer, their interests with regards to Voluntary Associate work, their availability, as well as their social characteristics and a contact telephone number. In providing each probation officer with this information it was hoped they would be more inclined to make use of their lay partners. At the end of each month a form detailing which Voluntary Associate(s) each probation officer was using, was collected by the co-ordinator (or at least that was the idea). This way a record could be kept of who was being used and for what purpose. The co-ordinator also offered to act as an intermediary in contacting any Voluntary Associate(s) on behalf of any officer who required their services.

The merit of this arrangement in theory was fraught with difficulties in practice. Probation officers were frequently too busy to fill in forms. In any event those who did use Voluntary Associates (and not all did) tended to patronise those they knew best. Furthermore, the part-time nature of the coordinator's employment limited the extent to which he was able to follow up probation officers for referrals.

In other probation teams similar methods were applied, although without a paid coordinator and with less sophistication. The success of this method appeared to be related to the size of the team, the commitment of probation officers generally, and most especially the Senior Probation Officer. In small teams, where it was possible for a few probation officers to get to know a few Voluntary Associates its
viability was more apparent. Even in these circumstances there was a tendency for one officer to utilise the services of one Voluntary Associate he or she had come to recognise as reliable. Similarly, Voluntary Associates seemed keen to align themselves with one officer who would be likely to provide them with sufficient work. Thus, even where in theory a group of volunteers were attached to the whole team, in practice it tended to be that a Voluntary Associate would attach himself/herself to an officer considered likely to be forthcoming with cases.

In order to gain an insight into the intricacies of the probation officer/Voluntary Associate partnership, respondents were asked four questions. In each they were required to grade their answers on a scale stretching from 'very favourable' to 'very unfavourable'. They were asked to state the attitude of probation officers to themselves, and later their own attitude to the probation officers with whom they worked. They were also questioned about the attitude of probation officers to Voluntary Associates generally, and of other Voluntary Associates to probation officers. The results are displayed in Table 7.2. Quite clearly Voluntary Associates believed emphatically that probation officers displayed a positive attitude towards them personally. As some explained:

"I think we work very well together. We get on well." (VA 14)

"They treat me like another probation officer but without the pay." (VA 21)

Others saw the reasons in their own qualities:

"I seem to be one of the ones with a client straight away. Some were being used for transport and were without a client." (VA 01)

"I am pleasant, I am willing, I am caring, I believe I am good as a volunteer, I ask questions when I don't know, I
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Voluntary Associate's Perception of the Probation Officer/Voluntary Associate Partnership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Favourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Probation Officers to Voluntary Associates Personally n=56</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Probation Officers to Voluntary Associates Generally n=55</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes of Respondents Towards Probation Officers They Work With n=57</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Voluntary Associates Generally Towards Probation Officers n=57</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
report back and I am not afraid to make myself heard if necessary. That all adds up to be positive. Also I have been reliable, I have turned up. Well, you did ask." (VA 17)

Those who answered indifferently or were not sure of an answer reasoned that the variations in attitudes between probation officers made generalisations difficult. For example:

"Extremely mixed. The one I work with most was extremely helpful. Others I thought were unhelpful. There was a great feeling of threat among probation officers, but they (Voluntary Associates) are becoming more common now." (VA 12)

"The last probation officer resented us and was always undermining what we were doing, but the new one is marvellous, nothing is too much trouble (and) asks our advice." (VA 43)

When asked to consider the attitude of probation officers to Voluntary Associates generally, the results were somewhat less positive; given that fewer were considered to be 'very favourable'. Once again though there were many volunteers, whatever their initial answers, who commented upon the wide variations between officers. Some took this a stage further and noted that the haphazard way in which they were organised as a group was indicative of a certain amount of antipathy. This was particularly true amongst those who answered 'indifferent'. For example:

"Reading between the lines I get the impression there is not a lot of coordination." (VA 56)

"If you are going to use Voluntary Associates that needs a bit of your time. It is not highly organised and that makes things difficult." (VA 57)

So whilst Voluntary Associates considered that probation officers had a high regard for them personally, they also believed that this did not always extend to their volunteer colleagues.
Volunteer's opinions of probation officers were, given the lack of previous research, less easy to predict. However any notion that they might be less than positive given the inadequacy of training, the high rate of inactivity, the unavailability of work and the indifference of some officers, all supplemented by poor organisation, were without foundation. Indeed 89.5% answered positively with, once again, well over half the total answering 'very favourable'. The respondents not only viewed probation officers as a meritorious group, but also paid tribute to their commitment. For example:

"They are all brilliant. Never had any trouble with any of them." (VA 06)

"I think they are fantastic, very professional, no criticism whatsoever." (VA 14)

"I respect them. I like the way they do their job." (VA 51)

Even though the majority were positive there were some who were keen to add caveats. Variations between individual officers featured prominently, and this was once again mentioned by a number of Voluntary Associates whatever their initial answers. For example:

"It varies, there are some I would like to get hold of and shake, and get them to change their attitudes a bit. They are very positive with clients, you are never sure whether they think they can do the job better than you, or whether they just don't pass the job down for some other reason." (VA 46)

"It would depend on the officer. I think they attempt to do what their job is and are successful, but in some instances the justification of their job, and their own image appears to be more important to them than the job itself." (VA 07)

However, there was one respondent whose attitude towards 'her' probation officer was described as 'unfavourable'. This particular Voluntary Associate whose commitment exceeded 8 hours weekly, was plagued with problems resulting in administrative inefficiency on the
part of the professional in question. On one occasion she was left to meet a £50 bill incurred by a client which the probation service took several months to reimburse. Apart from a continued failure to fulfil supervisory appointments, and remain consistently unavailable when required for advice, the respondent was able to relate several circumstances which had caused her personal embarrassment. Little wonder then that she should reflect:

"I am hoping he will leave and a new probation officer take over." (VA 47)

The question concerned with the attitude of Voluntary Associates generally to officers however, continued the theme of consistency regarding the favourable light in which probation officers were held. Some examples of respondent's impressions of other Voluntary Associate's attitudes included:

"They respect the professionals for what they do and appreciate they have a difficult job." (VA 32)

"Most appreciate the difficult job they have, and they are working for the good of the client." (VA 41)

Nevertheless, amongst those either answering positively or 'indifferent', were a caucus who expressed the discontent felt by some Voluntary Associates over their lack of work. Some typical responses included:

"Frustrated at the lack of things to do, you are continually wondering why you are doing this. It must be favourable otherwise they would not do it." (VA 32)

"They all complained about not being used enough, this is the only thing. It also depends on the area." (VA 49)

However, of no less significance in answer to this question, was the finding that over a quarter were unable to provide an answer.
Clearly, the lack of a training programme, and high rates of inactivity were contributory factors here. This limited the extent to which Voluntary Associates could meet others and thereby gain an insight into their views.

The two conclusions drawn here, that Voluntary Associates were despondent at their inactivity, and that those who did work tended to do so in isolation, were supported in answers to other questions. It has already been stressed in section 7.2, that when asked whether they were used enough 69.4% replied that they were not. Similarly, when asked whether they had friends who were probation officers or Voluntary Associates, many replied in the negative (36.2% and 44.8% respectively). Some preferred to describe their relationship as one of acquaintance as opposed to friendship. Moreover, when asked whether they socialised with either probation officers or Voluntary Associates, only just over a quarter claimed that they did. Even then the term 'socialise' was sometimes interpreted to include one-off Christmas or office parties, and as such may overstate the level of socialisation which took place.

Nevertheless, with regards to the discussion of cases contact was more regular, but of course depended on the case in question, making difficult any precise statement of frequency. The majority were in contact whenever it was necessary, whether that be daily or weekly, and most were not without some contact at least monthly. However, many commented that it was they who were pro-active in updating the probation officer, who tended to take a back seat role as reactive agents to any crises or enquiries that did occur. Indeed, when a case was referred to a volunteer, it was normally, although by no means always, left exclusively to them to
decide its progress. At best guidelines would be given, but even these seemed general as opposed to specific. For example:

"They always left it up to us. We were amazed how much they handed over initially, the confidential files, everything, and this was in the beginning. We have never been told what to do, and they have confidence in us." (VA 13)

"Normally my case is explained, then they advise: "chat to them", but that is all. Not really advice it is left to common sense." (VA 18)

Even so, although guidelines were only occasionally given, 77.2% of Voluntary Associates were allowed to see the probation files on the client, which provided them with some background information. In fact only 7.0% replied that they were not allowed, or, would not want access here. For the remainder the issue had never arisen.

Thus, Voluntary Associates in general displayed a very positive attitude to probation officers and respected them for the work they did. In noting that their attitude to volunteers was variable, they added that most were very positive. Nevertheless, as providers of cases probation officers were erratic. Consequently many volunteers considered it an advantage to align themselves with a professional worker they knew to be 'reliable'. But in many ways Voluntary Associates were isolated from professionals. It has already been stated they lacked organised training, suffered poor attendance by officers at volunteer meetings, and endured sometimes long periods of inactivity. Moreover, many considered they didn't have friends, or even less socialised even on a casual basis with either probation officers or other volunteers. When cases were referred, few guidelines, if any, were attached as to how the case should be handled. The 'rule of thumb' was that should any problems occur they would be happy to answer volunteer questions; that apart, the case
became the exclusive responsibility of the volunteer. There was little evidence, as probation officers have claimed (Davidson et al., 1985) of case sharing. Professionals, as Voluntary Associates readily recognised, simply didn't have the time. Thus, as both case providers and models of behaviour, probation officers were lacking in commitment. In the minds of volunteers this anathema to their own role was balanced by the dedication of officers to their work. Similarly, there is a case for arguing that the commitment of Voluntary Associates is reflected in the fact that they had not resigned.

7.8 SUMMARY
This chapter has confirmed the findings of previous research that Voluntary Associates, although involved in a wide variety of tasks remain under utilised. Their own desire to become an active appendage to the work of the probation service had not been matched by the commitment of officers. According to the volunteers some officers have displayed considerable scepticism and in some circumstances antipathy to their use. This is not to suggest that this enforced inactivity coupled with other factors relevant here, particularly poor organisation (especially of training) and indifferent supervision (of those who were active), had manifested itself in any adverse attitude towards probation officers. Indeed the reverse was true. Voluntary Associates expressed either 'favourable' or 'very favourable' impressions of officers and believed this perspective was reciprocated towards them, although many drew attention to the variations that existed.

Despite scepticism from some officers, probation volunteers displayed a strong commitment to their work. Those who were working with
clients were in contact regularly, and the majority of the total indicated a desire to become further involved with more referrals and more, and better training courses. There was a strong identification with the probation task extending beyond their favourable impression of probation officers. They displayed a political ideology, somewhat to the left of that which their social class would suggest. Thus, their commitment was at two levels, firstly to the officers and the service via its ideology, but also towards the client. Their compliance to use Etzioni's (1961) terminology was normative, reflected in their rejection of payment for their work. However, many of those who expressed an interest in receiving payment did so because of a desire for recognition. Presumably therefore, a greater concentration of effort on volunteers by the service, resulting in increased use and status of the volunteer would decrease the sense of isolation felt by many.

On a rather different level, it was noted that the present vogue of care by the community was given favourable encouragement by probation volunteers. Despite the service's clientelle being considered by some as undeserving (Barr, 1978) Voluntary Associates did not concur with this view. They, in general, expressed a willingness to work locally despite experiences of victimisation. This did on occasions result in instances of embarrassment and it was suggested that care by the community, may in a probation context, be less applicable to the more vulnerable volunteers.

Nevertheless, the evidence presented here would suggest that against a background of organisational chaos, and probation officer scepticism, there exists in volunteers a committed community resource. This issue
will be developed in Chapters 10 and 11, in comparison with the two other agencies, the first of which, the police Specials, we will now consider.
1. In this instance their professional and volunteer roles were intermixed as to be indistinguishable, although as accredited volunteers their views were included here.

2. One volunteer who undertook statistical work for the service was accredited purely to enable him to claim travelling expenses. He was not however, a part of the interview sample.

3. Those who were not active at the time of the interview were asked to answer all subsequent questions (where that was possible) on the basis of the experiences they had undergone as Voluntary Associates.

4. This particular Voluntary Associate was at the time of the interview overburdened with work in his/her professional occupation and was thus making plans to reduce his/her commitment.

5. In organised activities clients would be referred as and when the need arose. They were not chosen by the probation officer in quite the same way as for those involved in befriending work.

6. An example of this, frequently quoted at volunteer meetings, was clients who required assistance in handling their finances. The task of helping either an individual or a family to organise their financial commitments is time consuming but nevertheless does not require the professionalism of the probation officer.

7. Thus, just as Lacy (1963) in Britain and Horejsi (1971) in America have suggested, clients of volunteers should ideally be of the same sex and if anything slightly younger, so this would be the personal choice of volunteers at least of the minority who expressed a preference.

8. During the interviews volunteers were asked how long after becoming a volunteer were they accredited. Some expressed surprise that they were at all. Others assumed it was done immediately or within three months, which accounts for 64.9% of replies. Moreover, 12.1% replied that they were not sure.

9. As stated the probation services did not record the volunteers' ages. Thus the following information was gleaned from the interview data.

10. Since no records are kept of those whose applications to become a Voluntary Associate are refused, the significance of this factor as a feature in failed applications was impossible to determine. Nevertheless, from casual conversation with officers the impression gained was that generally they would look favourably upon the applicant and not see previous convictions as a reason in itself for refusal.

11. The Chairman in this group was a Voluntary Associate who was responsible for coordinating the work. As will be shown their responsibilities varied.

12. As was stated in Chapter 5, Devon and Cornwall is a largely Conservative area, and that so may were not Conservative is worthy of consideration here.
CHAPTER 8

SPECIALS AND THE POLICE SERVICE:

THE FINDINGS
8.1 INTRODUCTION

Studies of the Special Constabulary are distinguished by their absence, somewhat surprising given the growing volumes of literature on policing, not least on police/public relations. Even though involving the public in crime prevention initiatives has received encouragement from governmental quarters (Home Office Circulars 114/1983; 8/1984), there are few specific references to the Special Constabulary. Even within the volunteer literature the Specials have escaped the focus of academic attention, yet their role in rendering state agencies accountable may be particularly relevant in the context of policing.

However, there appears much to hinder Special's integration into the police service, for despite the avowed intention of the Working Party Reports (1976 and 1981) to improve the relationship between the Special and the professional, there remains evidence that scepticism and antipathy abound. Part of the problem is the strong police sub-culture which breeds suspicion of outsiders. But even if Specials were to gain access to this sub-culture it provides them with an interesting dilemma. For the secrecy code may involve covering police mal-practice, and as part time police officers they would be expected to support colleagues. However, as members of the public they would according to Morris (1969), be expected to bring to wider attention any transgression of guidelines.

In any event, research on the Special Constabulary is long overdue. Here the object is to highlight issues pertaining to a Special's role as a volunteer but also as a part-time police officer.
8.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF SPECIALS

The Working Party Report's (1976) observation that Specials tended to work with a regular officer as opposed to another Special received support here. Indeed, about two thirds indicated they would normally go out with a regular, while 17.6% claimed their more likely partner was another Special. For the remainder (15.7%), a regular or Special were equally possible. No Special said he/she normally patrolled alone, although occasionally some did, and even those Specials who tended to partner other Specials added that they had, or sometimes did, work with regular police officers.

When Specials accompanied regular officers they tended to 'ride shotgun' - that is doubling up and acting as an observer in a panda car - or partner an officer on foot patrol. Very few attached themselves to a single officer. The vast majority claimed that when they worked with a regular officer it was a different one each time. Alderson's (1978) notion of Specials attaching themselves to their local community policemen did happen, but this was not common. Many noted that they were frequently used for traffic duty or crowd control, particularly at local events such as carnivals, fetes or football matches. Indeed, almost every Special had at some point been deployed in this type of activity. Thus, just as the Working Party Report (1976) indicated, whilst routine patrolling was the most common task, local events when they arose also formed a major part of Specials' activities. There were some Specials (graded officers) who refrained from beat work, concentrating on administrative tasks. This included ordering uniforms, administering travelling expenses, liaising with regular officers and so on.

Occasionally Specials would take on other duties. Some officers
managed to gain attachment to the Criminal Investigations Department (CID), but this was rare, and was very much dependent on "putting oneself about" and "getting to know the right people". A few Specials had escorted prisoners to prison, but again this was extremely uncommon. Nevertheless, tasks such as these, partly because they were out of the ordinary (to the Special at least), or because they involved 'real police work', were extremely popular.

Specials displayed much keenness to become integrated into the police service. Only 3 Specials were inactive at the time of the interview, 1 of these was suffering from health problems, the other 2 were considered 'dead wood'.(1) Under a quarter engaged in less than 2 hours a week duty on average, while for 41.2% between 2 and 4 hours more accurately reflected their weekly commitment. Therefore, 29.5% of Specials claimed they were involved in more than what the Working Party Report (1976) considered to be optimal.(2) A word of caution is necessary here. The research was conducted in part during the period of the miners dispute which deprived the regular establishment of many of its officers. The opportunity for Specials was therefore increased. Whilst on the one hand this is evidence of their potential to supplement the regular service, it nevertheless may overstate the amount of hours normally undertaken by Specials.(3)

These figures also required one further qualification. The means by which Specials became involved in duty varied between stations. In some small stations an annual rota was operated starting from January 1st in any one year. Others simply rang the station when they wanted to go on duty, while there were those who waited to be asked. Some Specials were given say, 2 dates, eg the 7th and 22nd, and on these dates each month they would register for police duty. Similarly, some
undertook duty every Friday or Saturday night. Indeed, in a few areas, particularly the most rural, Specials were only required on a Friday or Saturday night and this clearly limited the extent to which they were able to become involved regardless of their preferences. So too the length of shifts varied; the majority appeared to commit 4 hours at any one time, although 8 hour tours of duty were not uncommon. One Special noted that on one occasion he had undertaken 16 consecutive hours of police work, and while there were other similar examples these were rare.

Thus the number of hours Special's spent on duty did not necessarily reflect the extent to which they would like to become involved. This suggestion was supported when Specials were asked whether they would like to do more or less duty than they were then presently undertaking. Only 41.2% claimed they were doing the right amount. The remainder (58.8%) indicated that they would prefer to increase their commitment. It would appear then that there is much untapped volunteer potential amongst the Specials.

Attention has already been drawn to the advantages and the dangers in Specials being used to patrol their own areas. It has also been noted that in Devon and Cornwall Specials were not normally attached to a community constable. However, during the interview a question was included on the extent to which Specials were involved in patrolling (either on foot or in a car) their own neighbourhood. The responses revealed that only 11.8% never did so, although another 23.5% 'rarely' did. The vast majority, 64.7% did at least 'sometimes' patrol their neighbourhood. Very few of these were able to cite difficulties in so doing, and even those who could tended to consider them as minor inconveniences (isolated threats or snide comments) rather than
serious dilemmas. Certainly there was little evidence of physical abuse. Indeed, of those who did not patrol their neighbourhood, all but one said they would be prepared to do so. Moreover, all of the 82.4% who were known as a Special in their neighbourhood considered this to be an advantage.\(^5\)

The community orientation of Specials was further reflected in both their attitude to community policing and their perceived role for Specials within it. In all, 96.1% stated that they were in favour of community policing, citing advantages in an officer being recognised as part of the locality, and involving residents in the fight against crime. Some drew parallels with the "old village bobby". Nearly everyone envisaged a role for the Specials here acting as either a general assistant, an informant, or even as a replacement. For example:

"A large role. They are able to assist (the) community officer in the patrolling of the beat, and assist him with their local knowledge." (SC 37)

"Mainly in terms of information. Picking up information from the community and passing it on." (SC 44)

"A large part. This is where we come in. Like me coming from the back woods. In these villages we play a big part. There is no local bobby out there so we could be good." (SC 45)

Generally speaking Specials were very much assistants to regular officers, complementing their role, and were rarely involved in the 'hard' end of policing (although when they were it formed the focus of much attention as section 8.7 will show). Indeed, only 15.7% had individually made an arrest, and over a quarter had never been involved in arresting someone. When Specials were asked what they considered to be the role of the Special Constabulary, every respondent highlighted its value as a 'back up' or support to the regular establishment, with many adding that this was preparing them
for any eventuality necessitating them to assume the police function.

Some typical peoples replies were:

"A reserve forces to back up regulars in times of stress, and all work must be training for times of stress and training for professionalism." (SC 04)

"To assist the regular force. To help new constables to get into the area. Also to help with the various village affairs where the regular cannot cope, although I would never do the regulars out of overtime." (SC 07)

"To assist the regular force in any way they can, in every aspect of police study and to know police rules or regulations in case there was a time when the Specials had to take over." (Sc 25)

Quite clearly Specials were involved in a wide range of responsibilities within the police service. They were principally concerned with supporting the police in all their endeavours. They were generally in favour of working locally suggesting that much more could be made of the Specials in the context of community relations.

Before moving on to consider specific issues as they relate to the Specials it would appear pertinent to comment on Special's perspective of their volunteer role.

8.3 SPECIAL CONSTABLES

While the following sections will highlight issues relating to volunteer use, here, by means of an introduction, it is necessary to say something about the Specials as volunteers. That they are a distinctive type of volunteer was evidence by at least an element of support for payment. In this study 47.1% favoured payment, particularly those engaged in over 2 hours work weekly ($x^2 = 4.60$ $P<0.05$). Some felt this would increase commitment, but most believed that the 'professionalisation' of their service would encourage a more favourable impression from the regulars. Of course the majority did not favour financial gain, ironically, some argued, because it would
most likely rival and annoy the regulars. Nevertheless, the fact that many should want payment in a sphere of activity which has a long tradition of voluntary service is intriguing. Moreover, many felt that the Specials should be termed 'Police Reserve', some believing that would be a step towards a more disciplined and organised service as Olsen (1982) advocated.

So there is evidence that Specials are distinct types of volunteers, and it is against this background that the issues related to volunteering are discussed.

8.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF SPECIALS

It has already been indicated that little is known about what motivates a person to become a Special. Unlike the probation service, there would appear to be only a tenuous link between joining the Specials and a view to a career in the police. Yet, similar to the probation service there is a stigma as Bittner (1975) has noted, attached to the work itself. This would suggest that those who are motivated to join the police service as a Special have a particular interest in the police organisation, or an attitude to law and order which they identify with the police role. Thus, whilst the prominence of the organisation has been largely ignored in the context of volunteer motivations, here *prima facie* evidence would suggest it could be of particular importance. Certainly, as one Chief Superintendent suggested during an informal discussion with the researcher, the reasons for volunteering are obscure:

"As a policeman I find it very difficult to understand why they do it for nothing. I have been paid, paid well in my career, and it just seems incredible someone should do it for nothing. I suppose it must be the excitement of doing something different."
As with Voluntary Associates, this issue will be considered under three separate sub-headings: the decision to volunteer, the decision to join the police service and reasons for continuing.

8.4.1 THE DECISION TO VOLUNTEER

When asked what initially made them want to undertake voluntary work Specials espoused a variety of reasons. By far the largest grouping however, were the 43.1% who were classified as volunteering for Self-Directed reasons. Whilst a few of these wished to use their spare time constructively, the majority either required an alternative interest or felt a need to become involved in some type of activity.

For example:

"Spare time on my hands and wanted to do something totally different." (SC 40)

"I like to become involved in things, I think everyone should be involved in something. I find that people who do something are usually asked to do more. It is a difficult question." (SC 38)

The next largest category contained those who were interested in the police as an organisation. In other words, their decision to volunteer could not be isolated from their interest in the police. This accounted for 19.6% of the total sample. In addition, the aforementioned low priority attached to the Specials as a career route was confirmed since this was the primary motivation of only 3.9%. It is possible however that a future study may find this to be of greater significance, since Devon and Cornwall Police appeared to be moving towards the practice of advising candidates for the police force to gain an insight into police work via the Special Constabulary.

Nevertheless, many of those interested in the police had at some previous point considered joining as a regular officer. For example:
"I always fancied being in the police but had a height problem so I decided to go in on a voluntary basis." (SC 34)

"I often thought about joining the police and then did the next best thing I joined the Specials." (SC 31)

"I was very friendly with the training sergeant. I always wanted to join the police but went into the navy and came out at the age of 27, married, and the police were not interested in me. So I joined the Specials at a later date when it was suggested." (SC 17)

For some then, joining the Specials was something of a consolation prize! Additionally, 17.6% claimed they were attracted to voluntary work for Other-Directed reasons, i.e., a desire to help other people. But interestingly for 17.6% their involvement could more accurately be described as the result of 'Drift'. In other words they did not make a pre-determined decision, rather it was the result of other influences in their lives, particularly of other people. For example:

"I just got talking to a friend at work who told me all about the Specials and I followed it up from there." (SC 30)

No one claimed that work with the Special Constabulary was inspired primarily by Religious-Based reasons, although 41.4% claimed to have religious beliefs. Thus, there is little evidence to support the suggestion that those motivated by religious concerns would be more likely to volunteer in caring work, such as with the probation service or VSSs, than at the harsher end of law and order. In any event, religion was not prominent in the motivations of Specials to give up their spare time to volunteer.

8.4.2 THE DECISION TO JOIN THE POLICE SERVICE

When asked to state their reasons for volunteering to work with the police service specifically, over 90% of the answers were classified into one of two categories. By far the majority, 58.8%, expressed an
interest in the police organisation itself. Whilst for some the attraction of the police lay in the opportunity it afforded for helping to halt the crisis of law and order, for most others their motivations to join the Specials were linked to having once considered joining the service as a regular. For example:

"I wanted to join the police force but was too old when I made my mind up, also an interest in police work." (SC 42)

"I fancied joining the regular force but age and height stopped me." (SC 23)

"I wanted to be a regular officer but I was too small." (SC 24)

Thus the organisation itself was a particular attraction to the majority of Special Constables. However, and conversely, 28.1% claimed not to have made a specific decision to join the Specials. This group can be said to have Drifted into the agency. For them it is possible to suggest that had other influences been operational at the time of their joining the organisation, they may have engaged in other activities, or equally plausible, had they not been influenced to join the Specials they may never have volunteered at all. For example:

"Originally I tried the fire service but the firm said no. I was quite friendly with PCs and they encouraged me to join." (SC 20)

"If I had been near the sea I would have joined the lifeboats, if a fire station I would have joined them, I was near a police station." (SC 43)

Perhaps more than anything these findings highlight the importance of Specials and regular officers in encouraging others to join the police as a volunteer.

The fact that the majority of Specials were motivated to join the police because of an interest in the organisation, rather than viewing
it simply as a form of voluntary work was further supported when Specials were asked this question directly. Whilst 1 person was not sure of an answer, 21.6% of the total claimed an interest in voluntary work, and 76.5% an interest directly in the Specials. Whilst there is a slight variation in the emphasis in these two questions, it can be accounted for in part because 3.9% were Careerists, therefore with a police specific motive. In addition, amongst those who Drifted into voluntary work, were some who only joined the Special Constabulary because someone influenced them to do so. These may have seen their interest in terms of the police organisation, since for a few it is true, if they had not joined the Specials they would not have undertaken any voluntary work at all. What is crucial here is that the police service itself was of primary importance in the decisions of members of the public to apply to become a Special.

As in the case of the probation service, towards the end of the questionnaire Specials were offered a list of statements indicating why some people had volunteered, and a rank score for each was then calculated. Unfortunately, as with Voluntary Associates, no option was included allowing Specials to say they Drifted into voluntary work. This, as has been stated, is a limitation of closed ended questions, but can act as a guide to the varacity of previous answers.

As table 8.1 indicates Specials, like probation volunteers, ranked a genuine desire to help other people as the most popular reason for joining the police service. Similar to probation again, this would not have been anticipated given the previous answers and can perhaps best be explained by the attractiveness of this option, in that because helping other people is strongly associated with public definitions of voluntary work, respondents may have overstated this
### Table 8.1

Motivations to Become a Special

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIVATIONS</th>
<th>RANK SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Desire To Help Other People</td>
<td>7.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Thought Being A Special Would Be Interesting And Exacting Work</td>
<td>6.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Believe Public Should Help Police Solve Crime Problem</td>
<td>5.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Are Strongly Committed To Upholding Law And Order</td>
<td>4.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Had Time To Use Constructively</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted To Meet New People</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused Entry Into Police So Specials Provided An Alternative</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wished To Join The Police Service In The Future</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted To Enhance Your Civilian Promotion Opportunities</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Option in terms of how it applied to them personally as opposed to volunteers generally. Certainly, the importance of the organisation was emphasised in the next three highest ranking scores. Specials were not only interested in the work, but also wanted to assist with the crime problem given their commitment to upholding law and order. The category indicating that they joined the Specials because they were refused entry to the regulars, and thus volunteering provided an alternative, would most likely have been given greater emphasis according to their previous answers, had it not included "refused entry". Many Specials during the interview indicated that whilst this
was another means of becoming involved in police work, they had never been refused entry because they had never applied. This is but another limitation of precoded questions.

One other comment is necessary here in interpreting the results. Bristow (1969) has mentioned that Specials may volunteer because of benefits to their ego. It is true that the police, a profession, are accorded much status. Certainly as police officers their powers are considerable. Yet, during the interviews not one respondent indicated that their motivation to become a Special was linked directly to the status, or the power, or the prestige associated with the uniform. It would have been a little surprising if they had, since volunteering for status, whilst not unknown (Morris, 1969) is linked with all the wrong reasons for undertaking voluntary work.

Nevertheless, during the course of casual conversation with Specials during the research period, it became clear that some were aware that they enjoyed the status of being a police officer, albeit part-time. Many were also aware that this was not obviously associated with bona fides and attempted to suppress it. For example:

"I suppose deep in the heart I know that the uniform is an attraction, although I try not to think about that side of it."

"Don't get me wrong Martin, I am not saying I am a Special because it gives me improved status, it is just that I notice the differences in attitudes towards me when I walk the street in uniform as opposed to normally."

"I don't think we consciously volunteer for the uniform, although some sub-consciously are aware that it does give them status and power."

Clearly, the prominence of this motivation is difficult to assess, not least because of a reluctance to concede it. All that can be noted here is that consciously or sub-consciously, the uniform of a police
officer and the consequential status it implies was for some a contributory factor in their decision to become a police volunteer.

In all then, Specials demonstrated a keenness to volunteer because of an interest in the organisation. Additionally, they revealed a desire to use their spare time constructively. This has been shown to be true via a variety of questions. It seems pertinent at this juncture to consider why Specials continue to remain a part of the police organisation.

8.4.3 CONTINUING AS A SPECIAL

When asked why they continued with their voluntary work, 62.7% replied that it was because they enjoyed it. Some typical answers were:

"Because I just love it, I just enjoy it." (SC 10)

"I still enjoy doing it and I feel as though I am doing something. I must enjoy it to get home at 1.30 and up again at 6 o'clock. Also I feel wanted." (SC 48)

This result is interesting since it has already been noted that most police work is mundane, although there is a substantial difference between working full-time as an officer, and being involved for only a few hours each week. Here the potential that excitement could occur was sufficient to maintain interest. Indeed, during the course of the research at least two Sub-Divisional officers noted that it was easy to recruit Specials for duty on a Friday or Saturday night.

In addition to those who claimed their continuing involvement in voluntary work was linked to their enjoyment of it, were 15.7% who claimed Self-Directed motivations either because of a need for involvement generally or more specifically that they required an alternative interest. Of course, those who enjoy it could be
classified as continuing for Self-Directed reasons since from their work they gain the personal benefit of enjoyment. However, it is equally possible that this group obtained their enjoyment from helping others and so could be volunteering for Other-Directed reasons. Thus, Enjoyment warrants a separate classification, although the links here should be borne in mind.

The remaining responses were classified in minority categories. For 1 Special continuance with voluntary work was linked to Other-Directed reasons, 1 other did so because of Stickability, in that he/she believed that once something was commenced it should be continued. There were also 5 Specials who stated that they were committed to the agency itself, in other words were Agency-Committed. (6)

In all then, this section has noted that whilst Specials are for the most part attracted to voluntary work for Self-Directed reasons, the police service itself is crucial to volunteers in their choice of agency. Indeed, despite the method of questioning which may have encouraged respondents to see their decision to volunteer as different to that of becoming a Special, for nearly a fifth of police volunteers they were inseparable. Nevertheless, some of these Drifted into police work. Had they not been influenced to do so it is possible they would have joined other organisations or not volunteered at all. Of particular significance here is the importance this may have to future recruitment campaigns where the role of Specials and regulars in central, an issue which will be re-examined in section 8.7. It was not surprising, following Dollarhide (undated) to find that most Specials continued with police work because they enjoyed it. However, this is significantly different to Voluntary Associates and so will be
considered comparatively in Chapter 10.

8.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

The paucity of studies on the Special Constabulary has resulted in a lack of clarity as to the type of people who volunteer for police work. Evidence that is available would suggest them to be lower middle class, in their twenties, and male, but clearly this needs to be tested by some rigorous research. It will be recalled that the findings here were derived from a sample of records retained by the police on the Specials (n=250) which has been supplemented by additional data obtained from questions to the volunteer sample (n=51).

It was possible to classify social class in 229 cases. The results showed that there were nearly as many in social classes IV (17%) and V (5.7%) as there were in social classes I (3.9%) and II (23.6%). Nearly a half (49.8%) were in social class III. Overall a slight majority were from manual occupations (52.4%).

There was little support here for Hope and Lloyd's (1984) finding that Specials tended to be particularly young. Whilst each age grouping was represented there was a tendency for Specials to be in their thirties, or if not then in their forties. If anything Specials were likely to be slightly younger than middle age. The majority of Specials were men, 78.6% as might have been anticipated from a male dominated organisation.

From the interview data, information was obtained on marital status, siblings, educational attainment and previous occupation. Given the age of the sample it was not surprising to find that 74.5% were
married and only 17.6% single. No-one was widowed. Similarly, as might have been expected given the concentration of ages, over two thirds had children, mostly of school age.

When answers to questions about education were analysed it was revealed that 30% had no qualifications whatsoever, and only 12% had proceeded to higher education. Whilst over a third (35.9%) had post secondary qualifications it would be fair to state that Specials were not over endowed with qualifications, which may have been anticipated from their social class.

In all then, Specials tended to be lower middle and skilled working class, with a wide spectrum of ages, although predominantly, slightly younger than middle age. They tended to be married and male. In most respects therefore they do not conform to the typical volunteer as defined by Aves (1969), but support in general (with the exception of age), the findings of Hope and Lloyd (1984) in their small study of one division in the Metropolitan police. There were very few minorities in the Specials, but there are very few from this group resident in the South West, so little can be drawn on this issue from the results here.

So how far do Specials conform to modes of activity consistent with their social characteristics? That 41.2% had previously been involved in voluntary work, and 43.1% were currently involved in voluntary work in addition to being a Special needs to be evaluated comparatively, and will be reconsidered in Chapter 10. Similarly, only 7.8% gave money to charities on a regular basis. In contrast 47.1% were in favour of receiving payment for their work, questioning the extent to which Specials are typical of volunteers generally. Indeed, this may
serve to further support some findings mentioned earlier in this section that Specials are atypical volunteers.

With regards to voting behaviour, Specials displayed a fairly strong link with the Conservative party, although were perhaps more distinguished by their avoidance of voting Labour. When asked who they voted for in the general election in June 1983, 64.7% indicated Conservative party support, whilst only 5.9% voted Labour, and 21.6% Alliance. (7) When asked who they would vote for if there was an election tomorrow, there was a swing away from the Conservatives. The support for this party dropped to 52.9% with the Alliance's share increasing to 25.5%. Interestingly only 1 person said they would vote Labour, with 19.6% being either unsure or saying they would not take part in the elections. Specials were then aligned with the political right, but perhaps were distinguished because of their obvious detachment from the left, although this issue will be considered more extensively in explaining an ideology of volunteering, the focus of Chapter 10.

8.6 BECOMING SPECIAL

When respondents were asked whether they were aware that the numbers of the Special constabulary had been consistently declining, over three quarters answered in the affirmative, although some added, correctly, that this trend was now reversing. (8) A variety of reasons were offered as to why this might be the case including a reluctance to volunteer for the controversial area of law and order; a problem related to volunteers generally in respect of fewer being prepared to engage in work without financial gain; and a lack of commitment on the part of the police to encourage applications. Indeed, 70.9% felt police initiatives on this issue were insufficient. For example:
"Every divisional parade it would appear the figures are down and we are asked to coax people to join. But there should be a stronger recruitment ploy directed at helping the community aspect." (SC 50)

"It is non existent, just the odd booklet or poster. There is never any mention of the Special constabulary in the media, it rubs a little bit." (SC 33)

"I have never heard anything much about the Special Constabulary. I would have been interested a few years ago." (SC 30)

It would thus seem advantageous to firstly review the recruitment strategies employed by the Devon and Cornwall police. Methods varied considerably throughout the force, being dependent not only on the willingness of the Training Sergeant to commit time to this issue, but also on initiatives taken by Specials themselves. In some areas where the local police organised, or were involved in night schools or open days, Specials were afforded the opportunity to be represented to outline the role of the Police Reserve. In one Division the Training sergeant and the Divisional Commandant developed an innovative idea of attending all the summer Fayres and fetes etc in their area advertising the Special Constabulary. With considerable organisation they arranged for local Specials to be photographed by 'Scenes of Crime' at distinguished and recognisable places within the Division. It was hoped that via this method, the public could identify the work of the Specials with their own community and thereby serve the dual purpose of attracting attention to their work and encourage others to develop an interest in becoming a Special. (9) This initiative was undertaken against a background where the Force Commandant appeared on local television advertising the Special Constabulary.

Such appeals however were rare. For the most part the police relied on casual enquiries from the general public. Many Specials stated during the course of the research that they initially heard and/or were encouraged to apply to the Constabulary by another (former)
Special or regular. This then would suggest further support for the contention that word of mouth is the most common form of volunteer recruitment. This point is underlined by the results of section 8.4, which noted that of those Specials who Drift into voluntary work and police work, many were classified as such because of the influence of others in encouraging them to offer their services.

The selection process itself, although subject to area variations, shared common elements in terms of being rigorous and time consuming, rarely being completed within six months.\(^{(10)}\) A typical selection process was as follows. The completed application form was assessed by the Training Sergeant who would deal with any obvious problems pertaining to the applicant's suitability.\(^{(11)}\) If the applicant lacked the minimum educational qualifications \(^{(12)}\) he/she was invited to sit the Police Initial Recruitment (PIR) test.\(^{(13)}\) Having passed their test, candidates were then visited at their home, sometimes by the community constables, sometimes by a sergeant (or even an inspector) and in some areas both of these. Frequently a graded Special would accompany them, usually a Sub-Divisional Officer. As one Training Sergeant remarked the main purpose of the visit was to see:

"What they looked like and whether their house was clean and tidy."

Other assets being sought were 'character', 'confidence', 'motive', 'bearing' and 'enthusiasm'. References were always taken up, sometimes, and where it was possible, referees were interviewed by a constable. With all this information, a recommendation was made to the Chief Superintendent and subject to his agreement, forwarded to Headquarters for processing. The new Special was then required to
attend court for attestation, and be fitted and supplied with a police uniform before being allowed to start work as a police officer.

The selection process is seemingly as exhaustive as any offered on behalf of any other voluntary agency. Recently recruited Specials who were interviewed informally throughout the research period, often reflected with disillusionment on the length of the selection process although that aside many stated that they were "proud" to have been accepted. It was proof to them that not everyone could become a Special and may have contributed to building up a sense of purpose about being involved in the Police Reserve. Similarly, the rigour with which the application process was applied, and the fact that it should be so rigorous in the first instance are reflections of the emphasis the police place on recruiting, and may therefore serve as a rite de passage to the occupational culture. This issue however cannot be seen in isolation from the training programme.

Training was conducted on a Divisional basis bi-weekly through the winter months. The subjects covered bore a close similarity to those suggested by the Working Party Report (1981). Since the training normally finished in April, it was possible for a Special joining in May to undertake a summers duty without formal preparation for the work. In these circumstances efforts were made to ensure that the Special was accompanied by a regular or experienced Special which was normally the case anyway. Some Divisions ran one or two day induction courses, which were popular and valuable in providing basic information on the role of the police officer. Indeed, training was highly valued by all Specials interviewed who all considered it to be necessary. However, when asked whether training was adequate for police duty, only 51% replied in the affirmative. Many of these drew
attention to the fact if a serious matter arose then regulars would assume responsibility, and thus training was adequate for the less demanding tasks with which Specials were in the main concerned. For example:

"With what we deal with. I would say yes, because mostly a regular would take over." (SC 23)

"Yes, for the services we are required to perform at the moment. Special's aren't equipped to go out alone or with other Specials and I am dead against this. Some of them rely to heavily on uniforms, especially the younger ones." (SC 17)

A consistent theme running through not only those who answered the question in the affirmative, but particularly amongst the 39.2% who considered that training was inadequate for police study, was its tendency to be factual or theoretical (despite the Working Party Reports 1981 warning), at the expense of a practical orientation. For example:

"At training we are given fact after fact that we don't seem to get it related when we go out on the beat." (SC 07)

"Regulars get twelve weeks hard training, ours is spread over the winter months which is all theory and not practice. I wouldn't know how to arrest someone if I had the chance." (SC 11)

Similarly, those answering in the affirmative confirmed the value of learning by experience:

"That has improved in the last few years, although we get most of our training by actually going on the beat." (SC 38)

"But a lot you don't learn until you go out on the streets." (SC 43)

The veracity of this finding was illustrated by the fact that those over 40 years old, and with more life experience (excluding don't knows $x^2 = 12.73 \ P<0.01$) and those with over three years service as a Special, and so with greater police experience (excluding don't knows $x^2 = 12.41 \ P<0.01$) were significantly more likely to consider training
to be adequate. Indeed, some of these reflected on the fact that the repetition, if advantageous and necessary for newer recruits, was nevertheless tedious for them.

The desire for more practical training was reiterated when Specials were asked to cite subjects they considered worthy of inclusion but were not presently offered. In all 54.9% were able to do so, and suggestions varied but covered traffic signaling, crowd control, first aid, report writing and form filling. Rather fewer, 23.0% were able to give examples of where training was unnecessary. Here though many commented that whilst all subjects provided a more detailed insight into the work of the police, some such as those on the dog section, or police helicopter unit, were marginal to the work of the Specials. Thus against a background of widespread acceptance of the need for training was considerable scepticism towards present arrangements.

It has already been noted that being accepted by regular officers is to some extent dependent on accessing their sub-culture. In the following section this shall be examined in detail. What is of importance here is to determine the extent to which training sessions facilitate the opportunity to learn the police sub-culture.

Lectures were nearly always conducted by police officers, normally a sergeant, although sometimes a constable or an inspector. This enabled officers to communicate police values in the course of a lecture. In other words purely by being taught by police officers, they were being told consciously and sub-consciously how they ought to behave. For example, in learning how they should make an arrest in theory, they were also told how it would be done in practice. Similarly, there were occasions when Specials were taught how to
interview a subject according to each letter of the regulations, but then it was explained how this would be done in reality. Sub-consciously values were transmitted through for example, terminology, and interestingly this became a central feature of the Special's own vocabulary during discourse with the researcher. Nevertheless, if values were initially formed in the lecture room they were reinforced in another way.

It was common after a lecture for Specials to socialise in the police bar. Inevitably the conversation focussed on policing. Here, Specials were able to relate stories of experiences on the beat, or catch up on police gossip (such as which regulars had been promoted). It was also where values could be transmitted: 'police words' such as 'feeling a collar', 'shout', 'tour', became an integral part of conversation. They helped to provide a sense of identity with the service. But, in addition, they were also a means by which newer recruits could learn how to behave. Thus, if a Special retold a story of how they had infringed regulations in pursuit of police objectives, so other Specials came to learn that these were acceptable parts of police behaviour. From the lectures the idea had been 'formed' that there was frequently a difference between theory and practice. The formation of these ideas in class then could be reinforced in the bar.

This issue is particularly relevant in the context of the police sub-culture. Through the lengthy and rigorous selection procedure the police weed out those they consider unsuitable. Indeed, that people maintain an interest in pursuing their application is indicative of their enthusiasm to become a Special. They therefore have a pro-police recruit who has probably already achieved a sense of identity with the service by virtue of having successfully passed the hurdles
towards acceptance. It is now necessary to train them as police officers, not only providing them with knowledge and skills to undertake their duties, but also to inculcate the norms and values of the service which underpin police work. Holdaway (1983) has illustrated the importance of the sub-culture to successful police work and at the same time stressed the dangers of 'disarmers'.

The importance of training therefore as a facilitator for the transmission of what 'real police work' entails, is magnified. If then, values are 'formed' in the classroom, 'reinforced' in the bar, it needs to be assessed as to how far they are translated into action on the street. In other words, how far are Special's prepared to imitate the behaviour of the regular? This needs to be assessed in the context of their relationship with them.

8.7 THE POLICE OFFICER AND THE SPECIAL

The role of volunteers as a potential threat to professionalism is now well documented. In the context of the police service this is no less the case. At least that is how some police officers have perceived their volunteer partners. The concern has been further fuelled by the threat Specials pose to officers' over-time. Specials also present a danger in terms of their involvement on the margins of a sub-culture where the necessity to cut corners, frequently bordering and sometimes crossing illegality, requires dependence on colleagues not to 'grass'. Since volunteers have been eulogised in terms of acting as public voices in state services, bringing to wider attention illicit behaviour (Morris, 1969), they essentially pose a threat to the fabric underpinning police officer's methods. All this allied to the traditional scepticism displayed by the police to some outside agencies (Alderson, 1979; Holdaway, 1983; Moore and Brown, 1981) does little to induce harmony between professionals and volunteers in a
The crucial factor then, is whether the Specials are willing to adopt the police sub-culture and all that it implies. This is itself dependent on whether the police are willing to involve their volunteer partners in police work. Here, it has already been shown that the majority of Specials work with regulars most of the time, and all do so for at least some of their duty hours. Nevertheless, for the most part they remain on the margins of police activity, acting as a general assistant to the regular. Indeed, this was how the Specials themselves saw their role even though they expressed a keenness to become further integrated into police work. Certainly as far as specialist work was concerned, establishing a rapport or friendship with a regular officer was imperative. At the same time little is known about the intricacies of the professional volunteer relationship.

In order to rectify this deficiency, respondents were asked four questions, precisely the same as those addressed to Voluntary Associates, and were required to grade their responses on a scale from 'very favourable' to 'very unfavourable'. They were asked to state the attitude of police officers to themselves and then their own attitude to the officers with whom they worked. Then their opinion was sought on the attitude of police officers to Specials generally, and of other Specials towards police officers. The results are displayed in Table 8.2. Since, as Skolnick (1966) has observed, police officers tend to socialise with other police personnel, acceptance into the police sub-culture may be determined by the extent of informal contacts between them, and so questions were addressed at this. In so doing it was hoped to gain an insight into not only the
Table 8.2
Special's Perceptions of the Police Officer/Special Partnership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neither Positive or Negative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Favourable</td>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td>Indifferent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n %age</td>
<td>n %age</td>
<td>n %age</td>
<td>n %age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Police Officers to Respondents Personally n=50</td>
<td>23 46.0</td>
<td>22 44.0</td>
<td>4 8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Police Officers to Specials Generally n=51</td>
<td>9 17.6</td>
<td>29 56.9</td>
<td>10 19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Respondents Towards Police Officers They Work With n=51</td>
<td>27 52.9</td>
<td>24 47.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of Specials Generally Towards Police Officers n=51</td>
<td>16 31.4</td>
<td>25 49.0</td>
<td>4 7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
professional/volunteer relationship, but of equal importance, the
degree to which Specials are able and willing to adopt the police
perspective and thereby access the police sub-culture.

Specials stated with considerable confidence that police officers
displayed a positive attitude towards them personally. Indeed, 90.0%
considered police officers to be 'very favourable' or 'favourable' in
their attitude. Interestingly those who worked more than 2 hours a
week as a Special were significantly more likely to reply 'very
favourable' (combining all other categories $x^2 = 4.73$ P<0.05),
suggesting that frequency of contact with the police, perhaps linked
to becoming recognised at the police station, is a factor in being
regarded in a very favourable light by police officers. Some
explained the perceived 'very favourable' impression of regulars
towards them in these terms:

"Perhaps because I do more hours than most and therefore meet
them more." (SC 23)

"Most of the regulars are great.... anyway they prefer the more
experienced Special. They have to prove themselves." (SC 48)

Others placed emphasis on their own attitude, particularly in ensuring
they did not encroach upon the professional's domain. For example:

"I get on with 95% of them because I don't push myself. If they
ask me to do something I do it. If they don't I shut up." (SC 07)

"They seem friendly, we don't step on their toes, in fact we
stand back and do what we are told." (SC 10)

There were those who noted that views varied considerably between
officers, as one Special replied:

"They know I were there if I were needed. We have had a few
anti-regulars, but then we have had a few who are anti the whole
human race." (SC 43)
The variations in attitudes was, along with the threat Specials pose to regular's overtime, a major feature of replies by those who considered regular's attitudes towards them to be 'indifferent'.

Nevertheless, when Specials were asked the attitude of regulars to Specials generally (as opposed to them personally), the answers were slightly less positive. Here, there was a shift in responses with a majority answering 'favourable' and a large minority 'indifferent'. Throughout these answers the themes of wide variations in attitudes and threats to overtime were consistently repeated. This latter concern was considered of such prominence, that some Specials felt as a consequence some regulars were 'unfavourable' to Specials. For example:

"I think they are anti. They believe we are taking duties from them when they could be paid overtime for taking those duties." (SC 06)

"I think they think we are taking their overtime, that is the long and short of it." (SC 44)

Even so, Specials felt that for the most part regulars recognised the advantages of using Specials in supplementing and complementing the work that the regulars themselves did. For example:

"They like the company of being double crewed, and also we are sometimes useful. There was a sticky patch when they were worried about overtime, but that has blown over and gone by now" (SC 26)

"Most do see our uses. Like when we have a marathon, most don't want to be involved in that, so they see our use." (SC 36)

Thus, it was the view of Specials that police officers generally displayed a positive attitude towards them personally and, but to a slightly less extent, the Special Constabulary in general. Advantages were cited, as the Working Party Report's (1976 and 1981) outlined,
both in terms of assisting officers in their tasks, and also in
undertaking duties which regulars would not, by preference, wish to
do, or that would or could not justify the presence of a police
officer (such as attending village carnivals). Some felt that the
views of regulars were heavily influenced by the individual attitude
of Specials while others saw the scepticism, which sometimes extended
to antipathy, on an organisational level, specifically with reference
to the potential threat volunteers posed to police overtime,
suggesting that the problem which was the focus of Working Party
Report's (1976) deliberations has not yet disappeared.

However, any suggestions that because of a lack of enthusiasm from
some officers Specials may be inclined to look upon regulars
negatively proved unfounded. Most Specials displayed a 'very
favourable' attitude to regulars, and the rest were 'favourable'.
Comments were littered with praise, occasionally bordering on
admiration. For example:

"I look up to the officer." (SC 28)

"If you consider the type of jobs they do from catching a thief
to a sexual offender, they have to be a certain type of super
person:" (SC 31)

"Smashing, first class, good mates." (SC 33)

"A great bunch of blokes with a bloody difficult job to do." (SC 48)

When asked the attitude of other Specials to regulars, the response,
though still generally positive, contained rather more who were either
indifferent or who were not sure of an answer. Those answering either
'very favourable' or 'favourable' tended to highlight points already
raised in terms of Specials respecting regulars for the difficult job
they undertake. Whilst some were unsure because their contact with
other Specials was limited, others felt that such was the variation in attitudes amongst Specials they were unable to provide an answer, an issues which again featured prominently amongst those who responded 'indifferent'.

Thus, whilst Specials displayed a very positive attitude to regular officers, and believed that generally this was reciprocated, there were references to a caucus of professionals who expressed a jaundiced view of volunteers. Particularly common here was the threat Specials posed to regulars' overtime. The favourable impressions of professional towards Specials however, may be an overstatement of what in reality was the case. After all there is scope of arguing that since Specials were keen to become further involved in police activity, they may be less likely to espouse anti-regular views.

Nevertheless, those Specials who considered regulars' attitudes towards them personally to be very favourable were, it has been noted, significantly more likely to have been involved in more work. Similarly, those who on average undertook in excess of 2 hours police duty each week were significantly more likely to say they had police officers as friends ($x^2 = 7.59 \ p< 0.01$ after Yates correction), and also spent more of their leisure time with regulars ($x^2 = 4.8 \ p<0.05$). This would suggest that in order to gain acceptance by regulars Specials needed to show commitment, they had to become known and illustrate their qualities as police officers. The processes by which they were able to prove their reliability is worthy of comment here.

It should be stressed at the outset that Specials were very pro-police. At the end of the questionnaire Specials were asked to respond to a set of statements indicating their degree of agreement or
otherwise on a scale stretching from 'agree strongly' to 'disagree strongly'. Whilst these will be analysed in more detail in chapter 10, it is worth drawing attention here to Special's responses to those items pertaining to the police. All felt that the majority of the police did a good job and most believed that there were not enough police officers in Devon and Cornwall at present. Specials also felt the public criticised the police too often, and disagreed, for the most part strongly, with the statement suggesting the police were not interested in serving the interests of the community. The Specials did then, strongly identify with the police role.

However, it has already been noted that police work involves, or may involve, circumventing regulations, and that this had contributed to a solidarity amongst officers in what Bittner (1975) has termed a "one for all, all for one" spirit. But, do Specials recognise this? One statement which they were asked to respond to stated, 'There are quite a lot of dishonest policemen in Devon and Cornwall?' That 13.7% agreed a little with this statement and 27.5% neither agreed or disagreed, means that over 40% did not say they disagreed that quite a lot of officers were dishonest. The point here is not to dwell upon the various interpretations which could be applied to 'dishonest' or 'quite a lot', suffice to say that a large minority of Specials recognised that police officers were capable of behaving if not illicitly at least without always being principled. In recognising that Specials were pro-police, but that officers could be insincere, it remains to be shown whether Specials themselves would be prepared to support any dishonest conduct in the pursuance of police objectives. In other words, it has been shown that norms and values are formed in the lecture room and reinforced in the police bar. So how far does this amount to imitation on the beat in work with regular

226
The most popular stories in the police bar were those where Specials had been involved in 'real police work' as defined by Cain (1973). Car chases, but especially fights or any other instance where there was at least a hint of illegality or general excitement, were always related enthusiastically to an appreciative audience, that being other officers, regular or Special, but most frequently the latter. On one occasion a group of Specials were talking when during the course of conversation a graded officer retold an event which had occurred several years previously:

"I was out on one occasion with a group of officers, quite a few of us there were, when we came across a bunch of yobs. They were a bit hippy, and we realised we would have to do something about it. So, we began to argue (with them) a bit. Then one police constable, standing away from us all, bent over pretending to have been thumped. He hadn't of course, but we had so many statements saying he had been hit it was incredible. Anyway, we had the yobs, it was a good night".

The audience of Specials applauded what they considered commendable police work, the rules had been broken, but this was justifiable in order to detain 'yobs'. This story was told quite candidly and sparked off a sequence of similar memories of instances where Specials had been involved in 'real police work'.

Specials defined their role as helping regulars, it was viewed as a sacrosanct principle that if a regular required assistance every Special should oblige. Nearly always they did, but on one occasion a Special didn't, and was the cause of considerable concern amongst the Special Constabulary as a whole, as the following dialogue illustrates:
Special: "This regular was on duty when he got into a fight. Then he saw a Special off duty in the crowd watching and so the regular called for help. The Special didn't bloody move - did he? - the silly old sod wouldn't help out. Well you can imagine what we all thought can't you?"

MG: "Well what did you think and did you find out?"

Special: "How did we find out? Christ, every Special rang every other Special with the news, it was round the Division within an hour. The Special concerned is an old guy. We all thought he would get the sack but it looks like he is just going to be carpeted for it."

MG: "What did the regulars think?"

Special: "Well for those who don't like Specials, you can imagine this was perfect ammunition. But the majority realised this was just one of those things that we all deplored. In fact the truth is the Specials were more annoyed than the regulars. Anyway, about two weeks later (a week ago) we were redeemed when a Special did help out in a tight spot. We really needed that lift we are popular once again, but that old sod better never turn up again, we could well do without that type".

Thus, the values of the Specials were based primarily in offering assistance to the regulars (whatever the circumstances) and this included upholding the secrecy code. However, it should not be deduced that the secrecy code always worked in their favour. It didn't. Where regulars were prepared to involve their volunteer colleagues, and they usually were, Specials engaged in day to day policing duties. There were instances however where Specials were used rather differently. For example:

Special: "I used to go out with this regular who really used me. One day we were going out on an eight hour shift and we drove straight to this house on the edge of the city. He asked me to stay in the car and listen to the radio. So there I was bored to tears waiting for this radio to bleep while he was knocking off this bit of stuff."

MG: "Did you report this to anybody?"

Special: "Don't be stupid. If I did that they would call me "squealer". I would never be spoken to again. It is something I just have to put up with".
Thus, even where it entailed personal inconvenience Specials were not prepared to engage in 'grassing'. There were then, two interlinked reasons for this. Firstly, to do so would bring disrepute upon the whole Special Constabulary at least from the regulars' perspective, which would lead to a reluctance on the part of the regular establishment to utilise the services of Specials. Secondly, and allied to this, is the personal isolation which would result. Specials like other volunteers, give of their time to engage in activity. To do so successfully in the police service requires accessing the police sub-culture. This itself takes as its primary value the secrecy code, that is the confidence that a policing partner will not "squeal" on any misdemeanour.

Thus, Specials were prepared to support the police in their work even where it entailed transgression of guidelines in the pursuance of police objectives, or where it doesn't come under the guise of police objectives, but caused personal inconvenience. However, when occasionally police conduct extends beyond what could be viewed as 'justifiable'. What would Specials do then? It has already been noted that Specials were reluctant to say they would bring to wider attention police mal-practice, but as the following dialogue reveals this was not universally the case. Here the regular and Special had arrested a known local "yobo", who was struggling to escape from being taken to the police station. The Special had, however, maintained a tight grip:

Special: "There was no way he could get away Martin, no way at all. Yet this regular came up and kicked him in the balls really hard. What's more he was a big police officer and the offender was a mere titch".

MG: "Did you report the incident?"
Special: "No, that would have been no good at all. The next day though I did happen to see this guy and I told him if he put in an official complaint, I would back him all the way. Without him my complaint would not have stood up. However, his solicitor advised him not to take the matter further so the incident was forgotten."

MG: "How many times has this sort of thing occurred?"

Special: "In my presence only once, just that one time. The police are normally quite good. Obviously we would all like to bash these yobs, but the police don't, they are normally very good indeed."

That some Specials at least would be prepared to support a complaint against a police officer is significant. Nevertheless, it is also true that the Special was not prepared to report the matter to senior officers, being aware that his observation alone was not sufficient to support a Prosecution. Moreover, but for the suspect's chance encounter it is likely the Special's views would never have been known to him. There were then limits in the extent to which Specials were prepared to bring mal-practices to light. Organisational restrictions were apparent in addition to the personal views of the Special. Thus, even when they were aware of misdemeanours the gains in reporting them have to be viewed in the context that they would be unlikely to result in disciplinary charges being brought (at least not without corroboration), and at the same time there was the risk that Specials as a whole, let alone the individual, may suffer isolation from the regulars. (18)

In all then Specials could be described more as "police spies on the street" as one sergeant considered them, than public eyes in the police as Morris (1969) envisaged. It was clear that Specials strongly identified with the police perspective, reflected not only in questions directed at their role of the police in society, but also in questions concerned with their own attitudes towards regulars. It was clear that accessing the police sub-culture was crucial and here
Specials showed a willingness to bend those rules that "necessarily" had to be broken (and even those that didn't) in the pursuance of policing objectives. It would seem pertinent however to summarise the findings of this section in the context of other information, presented in this chapter.

8.8 SUMMARY

The Specials saw their role as one of support to the regulars as the Working Party Reports (1976 and 1981) intended that they should. For the most part they worked with regulars on routine patrolling, although occasionally a Special, usually through knowing a regular, would be deployed in a specialist department. Whilst they enjoyed their duties, this being the main reason for continuing with their service, it is also true that they gain particular satisfaction from engaging in 'real police work'. Just as Cain (1973) has argued that regular officers derive most satisfaction from fights and car chases, so this was the case with the Specials. Their role as supporters and the small amount of time they spent on duty limited the extent to which they were likely to encounter such instances, but this served only to magnify their importance when they did occur.

There was little doubt that the Specials were very much a pro-police group. Most had joined the Specials because of an interest in the police, indeed many commented that they would have liked to have joined the service in the past. Similarly, when respondents were asked a sequence of questions on policing their identification and support for the police function was again highlighted. Furthermore, Specials revealed strongly favourable impressions of police officers and considered, to a slightly less extent, that these were reciprocated. Given these findings, it was perhaps not surprising to
find that they were prepared to support police officers in their work and all that it implied. Specials, when on duty, considered themselves as police officers, and it was understood in 'the job' that circumventing or even breaking regulations was 'necessary'. Thus rather than being public voices in the police by uncovering mal-practices, Specials became an extension of the police role in the community. In this sense then, they were pro police rather than pro-community, and this should be borne in mind when public participation in an agency is seen as synonymous with accountability.

The Specials then gained access to the police sub-culture, but the means by which this was achieved was interesting. Traditionally training has been viewed as a form of preparation for police work. However, given the norms and values which comprise the police sub-culture, the training sessions furnished an additional advantage. It was here that Specials began to learn those norms and values - that what was supposed to happen in theory bore little relation to what actually happened in practice. Rule-breaking, they began to understand was inimicable to good policing. These norms and values were formed in the minds of recruits in the lecture room, they were reinforced during informal socialisation in the police bar. In the 'private space' of the police station, as Holdaway (1983) termed it, Specials spoke candidly of their experiences and listened to the regulars do the same. Here Specials began to understand still further what practical police work entailed. Conversation in the bar was almost always about policing and although stories were exaggerated, they nevertheless stressed the excitement that police work can, occasionally at least, entail. Training then, was rather more valuable than the police have so far understood it to be.
It was also shown that Specials have a significant, and largely untapped contribution to make towards policing in the community. Most Specials were known as volunteer police officers in their locality, and saw advantages in so being. There were few who were opposed to patrolling their neighbourhood, most commented that they had done so and few problems had resulted. Indeed, this was similar to the findings of a question directed at the amount of abuse received off duty. Whilst some were able to cite instances where they had suffered they considered this as merely one of the consequences of being a 'police officer'. For those who had been injured, they of course were compensated in that it provided involvement in real police work and topical conversations in the bar.

In all then Specials are an atypical group of volunteers who were able to strongly identify with the police role and become integrated into their function. Whilst principally they were assistants, they rarely shirked the responsibility of engaging in real police work.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. 'Dead Wood' is the term used to describe those officers who while still registered as Specials were no longer active. When the sample was selected for interview some Specials were excluded because they were dead wood, and the service no longer was aware of their addresses. Where they could be contacted they were approached for interview. Nevertheless that only 2 of 51 were Dead Wood here may underestimate the figures for the service as a whole.

2. Furthermore these statistics do not take into account time allotted to training. The force policy was that Specials should normally not undertake on average more than 4 hours a week in addition to training.

3. According to the Force Commandant's figures the number of hours of practical police duty in 1985 totalled 74,501 compared with 67,267 in 1984. However, in order to understand these figures in their context it is worth adding that the increase between 1984 and 1985 was less than that between 1983 and 1984. Therefore the miners strike may have been only a part of the reason for the increased number of hours, factors such as more Specials being prepared to engage in more duty also being relevant.

4. Whatever the policy of deploying Specials, all could be asked to become involved in specialist activities such as carnivals, polling station duty etc when they arose.

5. The idea of being attached permanently to a local community constable was not tackled specifically during the interviews. Informal interviewing with Specials tended to confirm Hope and Lloyd's (1984) finding that this would not be viewed with favour. As section 8.7 illustrates they tended to define real police work in terms of fights, car chases etc and whilst it was accepted that their role as community representatives was potentially beneficial to the service and the public, they preferred to see this as a part of their function and not necessarily its substance.

6. Four respondents claimed to be inactive and were not actually continuing with their work. Earlier it was suggested that only 3 were inactive, 1 for health reasons and 2 were dead wood. The additional 1 here was a respondents who claimed that, while he was not interested in police duty anymore he had been asked to stay on the book for emergency use only. So while he were not dead wood, he nevertheless considered himself inactive.

7. Three Specials did not vote and 1 person could not remember.

8. At the time when the questionnaire was being designed in early 1984, the statistics revealed that the numbers were still declining. Since interviews were still being conducted in the summer of 1985, some were aware that the first increase in 30 years had occurred. The point here is more the explanations as to why the Special Constabulary appears to encounter difficulties in attracting recruits.

9. Whilst applications to the Division did increase it is difficult to link this directly with their recruitment initiative. Nevertheless, the Specials themselves were convinced this made a positive contribution to public relations in spreading knowledge about their work.
10. That is from the application stage to being attested as a Special.

11. Such as belonging to an inappropriate profession. See Working Party Report (1976) Para 53. A criminal Record check was also undertaken, sometimes at this point, sometimes later in the selection process, very much depending on the preference of the training sergeant.

12. Four 'O' levels to include English and Maths.

13. Whilst those with the required minimum education qualifications were not requested to sit the examination, this was not the case for applicants to the regular establishment where they were required to sit the exam regardless. At the time of writing plans were in hand to regulate this so that all Specials, whether or not they had attained the minimum educational requirements, would be required to sit the exam. Nevertheless, whereas applicants to the regulars were expected to obtain at least 50%, for Specials the pass mark was only 40%.

14. If a new senior officer was arriving the crucial question centred on whether they were pro or anti Special. The key to the successful integration of Specials lay in the attitude of senior offices, and thus this issue never failed to attract attention.

15. Make an arrest.

16. A call for assistance.

17. A tour of duty, the period while on duty.

18. It needs to be emphasised that nearly all police officers are against the use of unjustifiable violence. Specials did point this out continually throughout the research, and in so doing may serve the purpose of spreading such knowledge amongst wider society. The point being made here is that even if a Special does come into contact with unjustifiable violence any report would require corroboration. The real issue here is about misdemeanours which the police view as justifiable and the Specials too.
CHAPTER 9

VOLUNTEERS AND VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES:

THE FINDINGS
9.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been emphasised that research on VSSs is scarce. Studies of the victim however have shown that despite the enormous part they play in apprehending the offender - purely by supplying details of the offences committed against them - they are nevertheless treated unsympathetically by agencies within the criminal justice system. It is against this background that VSSs have grown. They have always stressed their role as a first aid crisis support agency, yet little is known about the nature of that service.

On a rather different level, little is known about the type of people who volunteer nor why they should be motivated to help the victim. Indeed, the unanswered questions are numerous. In addressing them here the hope is not only to increase knowledge of the workings of schemes on the local level, but also to understand the motivations and commitment of workers within them.

9.2 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VSS VOLUNTEERS

Whilst it is the policy of the NAVSS that coordinators should involve themselves in VSSs at the level of the management committee, only half the schemes adhered to this arrangement. For the rest, coordinators were ostensibly volunteers but given the additional responsibility of coordination. This was more than a theoretical distinction with practical implications in the sense that as volunteers coordinators were available to visit victims, as committee members they were not. In an emergency this could and did prove useful. In one scheme the distinction between volunteers and management was blurred. The scheme consisted of a group of people who met three times annually in a Volunteer/Committee Meeting (plus one Annual General Meeting). One part of the group were responsible for visiting victims, although some
of these also held committee positions. Thus, whereas the Vice Chairman was a volunteer, the coordinator was not involved in any direct work with victims. Whilst the coordinator saw no merit in any strict division of labour, and the volunteers were as keen equally to extol its advantages in terms of integration, it needs to be added that this was a particularly small scheme dealing with less than twenty victims annually.\(^{(1)}\)

Whether a Volunteer or Committee Member the coordinator served the same function - acting as an intermediary, receiving the police referral and sending a volunteer accordingly.\(^{(2)}\) During the process of the research all the coordinators were interviewed.\(^{(3)}\) When questioned on the criteria used for judging which volunteer to send, there was little support for Barr's (1971) method of matching. True, there was a slight tendency not to send a male volunteer to a single female victim, and a preference not to send a female volunteer to a single male victim, especially at night. Volunteers expressed little preference for either the sex or the age of the victims they would prefer to visit. Yet when asked whether they had visited someone of the opposite sex, those over 55 years old were significantly more likely to reply in the affirmative \((x^2 = 6.81 \text{ P}<0.01)\), possibly because the problems envisaged in visiting someone of the opposite sex become less with age. But for the most part the volunteer living closest to the victim or the nearest one available was the most likely to be asked.

Clearly, matching and its consequent advantages of pairing the needs of the victim with the skills of the volunteer could only be realised if sufficient information and details of the victim could be made available to the coordinator. When volunteers were asked how much
they knew about the victim prior to their visit it was clear that information was sketchy. Most knew the address, sex and the nature of the crime, sometimes the age and marital status. Occasionally more than this, but very close to half those volunteers who had undertaken visits were able to cite examples where details they had been given were factually incorrect. For example:

"They said the offender was in custody when I was visiting the wife, when he walked into the room." (VS14)

"75% of the time at least one address, age, telephone number is wrong. Even what the police tell you is not always true. You need to be quite a detective." (VS45)

Consequently any attempts to introduce matching must await the development of more informative referrals from police to VSSs. This will necessarily entail improvements in police recording, where details such as the distress of the victim and the kinship networks available to them would need to be made available. Given the role of VSSs in relieving the burden on an already overworked police service (NAVSS, 1983), this would seem an unlikely prospect.

In moving on to consider the number of referrals, Table 9.1, shows that the number per scheme varied considerably. It has been mentioned previously that two principal factors which are ultimately influential in determining the number of referrals are the referral policy and as Johnstone's (1986) figures suggest, its geographical location. Most of the schemes in Devon and Cornwall claimed to work on automatic referral, although in practice they tended not too. One scheme for example claimed it did on the grounds that the police automatically contacted them when they considered a case was worthy of the VSSs attention.

239
More normally though a coordinator would contact the police every day, usually speaking to a specific person who they came to recognise as their liaison. But even at this stage practices varied. Some police officers referred literally every case, others referred only those they considered or knew to be likely to require VSS assistance, and obviously this affected the number of referrals received. In one instance the coordinator attended the police station daily and was allowed to view the crime book personally. This same coordinator also arranged to meet each police shift, reminding them of the role of the VSS. The number of referrals to this scheme did subsequently increase considerably. So referral policy and establishing a close contact with the police were the key to maximising the number of referrals received, and certainly the three schemes with the highest referrals displayed in Table 9.1 had all prioritised these two issues over a number of years with some success.

As stated, the other factor that was deemed to be influential was geographical location. Here the results were interesting. It has been noted that Devon and Cornwall is a rural area with three cities, which under normal circumstances would be likely to have more crime and therefore more victims. Whilst it is not surprising that Exeter and Truro should receive comparatively more referrals than most other schemes, that Plymouth (nearly 3 times more populated than Exeter, and 15 times more so than Truro) should receive so few is worthy of further comment here.

At the time of the research Plymouth VSS was facing something of a crisis. It was unable to find a coordinator and the responsibility for same was incumbent upon the Council for Voluntary Service (CVS). This arrangement suited neither party. The representative of the CVS
Table 9.1

Number of Referrals Per Scheme For Stated Year And Number Of Volunteers Per Scheme in 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Scheme</th>
<th>Exeter</th>
<th>Truro &amp; District</th>
<th>Torbay</th>
<th>Camborne &amp; Redruth</th>
<th>Plymouth</th>
<th>Exmouth</th>
<th>Bodmin &amp; Wadebridge Area</th>
<th>North Devon</th>
<th>St Austell</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Teignbridge</th>
<th>Tiverton</th>
<th>Helston &amp; District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Volunteers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was too busy to dedicate the required time to coordinating responsibilities and consequently the scheme suffered. The Volunteers did not hold meetings and anyway there was so few of them that the co-ordinator was unable to respond to police calls for assistance (despite an 'indirect' or 'selective' referral policy). At the time of writing plans are in process to rectify these deficiencies but the problems in not presenting an organised image to the police service are well illustrated.

Other schemes faced slightly different problems. North Devon VSS for example covered a large geographical area and liaised with a number of police stations - and with well over 20 miles between some - building up an identity with the police was difficult. This, coupled with a referral policy closely resembling that of Plymouth VSS, suggests that organisational arrangements can limit the potential of the scheme. In other schemes the wide geographical catchment area required that large numbers of volunteers be recruited, the problem here though was that the low number of referrals resulted in many inactive volunteers. As in Maguire and Corbett's (1986) study, a number of volunteers during the course of the research period commented to the researcher their dissatisfaction with this arrangement. Indeed, when the sample were asked whether they felt they were used enough, only 16.4% replied in the affirmative, with 29.1% being unable to provide an answer and 54.5% answering negatively.

Nevertheless, it was also true that those who had undertaken more than 4 cases were more likely to state that they were used enough, which although not quite statistically significant (excluding don't knows \( x^2 = 3.61 \ 0.10<P<0.05 \)) suggests the inexperienced amongst the sample,
were those who felt they could be used more. In all, 14.5% of respondents had never been called to a victim and in addition a quarter had attended no more than 4 victims. Nevertheless, at the other extreme 29.0% had been on over 20 cases with half of these saying they had visited over 40 victims.

Overall, the most common offence attended by the volunteer in rhythm with national tendency was that of burglary. When volunteers were asked what type of work they did with the victim the majority stated "listening" or "talking", emphasising the value of 'counselling' although volunteers did not call it this. For example:

"Listening ear most of the time, just let them tell you what has happened." (VS05)

"Firstly, I get them to tell me if they are very distressed. I try to get them to make me a cup of tea to get them doing something and make a point of not knowing anything. Let them talk, tell them its confidential and it works." (VS39)

Thus, volunteers perceived the victims to be in need of company, of someone to talk to who understands their predicament. They were however, on occasions, called upon to offer advice or practical help. For example:

"It depends, if a metre break in you advise DHSS. Normally advice as much as anything." (VS41)

"Normally try to console them and understand their problems. You can help them tidy up, block windows, mend locks. Once I had to rehouse a lady, but then the cantankerous old bitch wouldn't go. They were the vicar's words not mine." (VS54)

These findings were confirmed when volunteers were asked what they considered to be the purpose of victims support. They stressed assistance to victims via counselling, advice and practical help. Volunteers were clearly able to assist with a wide range of tasks and a variety of different victims. While it has been already noted that
respondents expressed little preference to the sex and age of the victim they would prefer to help, they were also asked to identify groups of victims which they believed to be most in need of the VSS service, and also those groups least in need. In response to the former question the majority stated the elderly and those who lived alone.

What was perhaps more poignant was that nearly half the sample were able to identify groups who would not need the help of VSSs, although these became significantly less with the numbers of visits they did. Thus, while 68.8% of those who had done 4 or less visits were able to identify such groups of victims, only 35.5% of those who had visited victims on more than 4 visits were able to say the same ($x^2 = 20.7$, P<0.01). So, just as Reeves (1984) has suggested that the needs of victim cannot be realised either by knowledge of the crime or the victim's characteristics, so too did the more experienced volunteers.

In Chapter 4 the apparent contradiction between the victim's need of long term support, and the NAVSS policy of crisis help was discussed. In the research, questions were addressed to this issue. Initially, an attempt was made to understand the details of crisis service offered. For example, volunteers were asked to state how soon after receiving a call to visit a victim they would leave home. Amongst the replies were those who claimed that this was dependent not only on their own commitments or on their perception of the seriousness of the crime, but also on the advice of the police:

"Sometimes you are asked to wait. Last time I was asked to wait a week because she had somebody with her." (VS17)
And volunteers also learned from experience:

"If elderly straight away, but up to 40 (years old) they are usually working, you learn after a while so you wait." (VS10)

Nevertheless, the tendency was to leave as quickly as possible with 40.0% stating that they would leave within 1 hour and 87.3% claiming that on average they would leave the visit no longer than 2 hours. Indeed, only 1 person said they would leave their visit longer than 1 day, but added, "in an urgent case I would go in my pyjamas." (VS44). Furthermore, coordinators argued that when a case was urgent the primary criteria for deciding which volunteer to send would be their instant availability. So in all, VSSs in the South West appear to respond more speedily than other parts of the country, at least according to Maguire and Corbett's (1986) findings.

When asked whether they ever revisited a victim, over three quarters of those who had undertaken a visit answered in the affirmative. Those who had been with the scheme longer ($x^2 = 10.91 \ P<0.01$), or worked within the more established schemes in Devon ($x^2 = 4.35 \ P<0.05$ with Yates Correction), were the most likely to have done so. Reasons for calling back varied. On some occasions volunteers needed to report back on enquiries made on behalf of the victim, for example on insurance matters or legal issues. Sometimes it was necessary to check that other agencies had fulfilled their obligations. Frequently it was just to ensure that the victim was recovering sufficiently, or even for their own peace of mind. For example:

"With somebody who has been shaken up you like to check back a little later. I had one on the go for several months for my own piece of mind. You do this occasionally." (VS05)"

"I had an old lady in her eighties who was upset and I wanted to make sure she was coping. I live alone myself and know that things get much harder when living alone." (VS06)
"Further needs, like when someone had glasses smashed after a mugging and I went and found out details for him to get more, but I never visit more than twice." (VS27)

"I wanted to make sure a girl had got her cheque." (VS34)

Mostly volunteers would revisit on about 20%-50% of cases and do so on their own initiative. However, since they left a 'support card' with the victim (which contained the address and telephone number of the scheme), it was possible for the volunteers to be contacted at the victim's request, although in practice this happened only occasionally. A few volunteers admitted they left their home telephone numbers with the victim despite the general tendency of most schemes to advise against this.

Most volunteers stated that they would maintain contact for as long as necessary. However, in practice this rarely amounted to more than 2 visits and normally 1 was sufficient (as has been shown elsewhere see Hungtindon area VSS, 1983; Maguire and Corbett, 1986)), although there were some notable exceptions where contact was maintained over several months. For example, in one instance a volunteer met a rape victim soon after the reporting of the incident, and didn't cease contact until after the court case was over. There were few examples of referring victims on to other agencies for long term and professional guidance - indeed it was argued by one volunteer that the victim with whom she was working was keen to distance herself from the statutory authorities preferring voluntary assistance.

So far in this chapter the word 'victim' has been used without qualification. Yet, as was outlined in chapter 4, the NAVSS produced a discussion paper concerned with the advantages and disadvantages of assisting non-crime victims. In the South West all the schemes
involved in the research expressed willingness to accept referrals of 'victims of circumstance'. In fact 2 schemes offered a similar service to the fire brigade as they did to the police, and were in contact with the fire station daily for referrals of 'victims' who might require support following a fire or whatever.

When volunteers were asked whether they should accept non-crime referrals, 90.9% of respondents replied in the affirmative. Some typical answers included:

"If there is nobody else why not? Suffering is suffering, whatever the cause." (VS14)

"We do, they are victims of something which is not their own fault with no agency to help them. Also there are not many victims of crime in this area, we can afford to help them." (VS19)

"It is just support in a crisis." (VS49)

It also needs to be emphasised that the schemes were not suffering from a burdensome amount of work and therefore had the time to commit to other types of victims. However, not everyone was happy about this broader role; 4 were concerned that they could lose sight of their original objectives with unfavourable consequences. For example:

"My own personal view is that I volunteered to help victims of crime and hardship and distress covers everybody. You must get optimum from time which will be impossible." (VS36)

"If it went, well into that, it could snowball into other things. We need another little scheme to cope with that." (VS40)

Not one of the volunteers who had visited a non-crime victim expressed any difficulties at having done so. Generally they, as in Maguire and Corbett's (1986) study, dwelled upon the advantages of being able to serve people who were facing, through no fault of their own, a crisis in their lives. However, in some schemes work went beyond work with
'victims' to work with the offender. For example, at one management meeting a police inspector was being questioned about the low number of police referrals when he proposed their work in the following way:

"I had four or five old women in a row, all poor old dears hauled in for shoplifting, all were alone, all had no pets or relatives. In my book they were all victims who wanted support. Do you regard these as within your ambit?"

The scheme did consider this to be within their scope and by the end of their financial year had received 3 such cases. One other scheme had offered a very similar service as one volunteer explained:

"We did try and help the elderly people in their eighties who stole things. They needed help, victims of society I think. I did about 3 cases and it was most rewarding. But the probation service did something and we had to drop it."

Schemes tended to define their role in terms of how it pleased the local police. Thus, when one police station was being troubled by a lack of 'observers' while juveniles were being interviewed, the local VSS in the absence of anyone else, agreed to fulfil this function. Nevertheless, there was a limit to the range of services they felt happy to offer. For while volunteers were in favour of the introduction of reparation as a sentence, when asked whether VSSs could play any part in this, 63.0% answered with a negative. Whereas those in favour of VSSs participation in reparation outlined a role as assistant to the victim, some of those against expressed concern at becoming too involved with the criminal justice system. For example:

"I don't think they should. The VSSs must walk a tightrope and not be seen as part of the enforcement of law or part of that process." (VS01)

"Because it would be a sentence of the court and those who arrange these are agents of the law under such control as volunteers are not." (VS12)

"They are starting to become part of the establishment. Not supporting the victim but supervising would change their role." (VS30)
What is significant is that VSSs were involved in a wide range of work with a variety of victims, not only crime victims but also victims of circumstance and, on occasions, with offenders. Nevertheless, scepticism was expressed about becoming involved in reparation. Here, apart from fears about the time involved and their own lack of professional status, volunteers were concerned about entering the legal system. Clearly though, volunteers working within VSSs are involved not only in a wider variety of cases than had previously been realised but also are committed to them in far greater depth. Thus, just as Dussich (1984) among others has argued on an academic level that the subject area of victimology should be broadened to include non-crime victims, so in practice VSS Volunteers favoured a broader range of clientele.

9.3 VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES

Not one of the schemes in the South West utilised paid employees. This was certainly not because of insufficient funds since most were quite wealthy with over £750 in their account; indeed one scheme never had less than £4,000. Rather it was a mixture of the fact that for most there was insufficient work, and that they were a voluntary organisation which they believed excluded financial gain. This was also the view of volunteers. They rejected the idea of receiving payment for their work largely because of a strong attachment to the volunteer principle. In addition, many did not claim out of pocket expenses, and others claimed and then donated them back. Moreover, the regional committee rejected any possibility of applying for government funding to support a paid position of regional co-ordinator.

To deduce from this however, a total rejection of payment under any
guise would not quite be true. Some schemes offered co-ordinators an
honararium although this was not always claimed. Nevertheless, in one
instance a co-ordinator had not received an increase in the rate of
her honorarium in seven years and "embarrassingly" had to personally
request her committee for a rise. Schemes tended to offer about £250
p.a. (1985 figures), and in one instance at least the hire of a
telephone specifically for VSS work was paid for as well.

For the most part then individual schemes were keen to remain
voluntary. They generally rejected outside interference of any kind
and that extended to the regional committee. At committee level
schemes rejected the need for paid employees, and volunteers
themselves frequently did not claim expenses. It is against this
background that issues in volunteering are discussed.

9.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF VSS VOLUNTEERS

In order to provide a foundation for a comparative analysis for
motivations to volunteer, the object here will be to record the more
salient findings of questions concerned with the motivation of VSS
volunteers. Since as previously noted, almost exactly the same
questions were addressed to each volunteer within the three agencies,
the results will be analysed under similar separate sub-headings.

9.4.1 THE DECISION TO VOLUNTEER

When volunteers were asked why they wanted to undertake voluntary
work, 40.0% provided answers which were classified as volunteering for
what has been termed Self-Directed reasons. The 22 respondents in
this classification provided three sets of answers; there were those
who volunteered because they had time on their hands; those who wanted
an alternative interest; and others who wished to become involved
either to meet people or to get to know their area. For example:

"Children left home and I had time on my hands." (VS13)

"Something additional to do, I felt I just wanted something to do." (VS22)

"I hate to sound pie but when I came down here I had no job and needed to be part of the community." (VS19)

This was by far the largest category. The second and third most popular classification contained very similar proportions. Firstly, 18.2% could be said to have volunteered for Other-Directed reasons, being keen to help other people. And 16.4% could be said to have Drifted into voluntary work. Examples of these two classifications included:

"I have worked all my life for payment and thought it was time to help other people with the knowledge I have gained. I like people." (VS17)

"I should feel so shockingly selfish if I did what I wanted to do all the time." (VS38)

And,

"I suppose because mum and dad always have." (VS20)

"I was asked to." (VS54)

Whilst only one person viewed voluntary work as a means to a social work career there were two other classifications appropriate for similarly sized minority responses. One comparatively small group (12.7%) contained those who volunteered because of Religious-based reasons. For example:

"Because of the fact that I am a christian," (VS01)

"Just a natural follow on from my beliefs. If you have a christian outlook this is automatic." (VS41)

The other group consisted of those volunteers who claimed a specific interest in the VSS organisation (9.1%). In other words their
interest in volunteering could not be isolated from an interest in VSSs specifically. For example:

"I didn't think of it as voluntary work. It was the particular scheme and I was keen to do it." (VS05)

"I suppose because of experiences as a policeman having visited loads of homes and the growing realisation that we were doing so much for the offender rather than for victims, and recognised the needs as a policeman but like social services we had no time. This was an area of much development." (VS33)

So, when analysing people's motivations to do voluntary work it is interesting that in the context of VSSs, the organisation appears of little importance. However this needs to be considered in the context of why volunteers claimed they joined VSSs.

9.4.2 THE DECISION TO JOIN VICTIMS SUPPORT SCHEMES

While 1 person was motivated to work with VSSs because of Other-Directed intentions and another because of career concerns, all the remainder - some 96.2% - could be classified either as Drifting into work with VSSs (56.6%), or else because of a specific interest in the organisation (39.6%). Of the 30 people who claimed they Drifted into work with VSSs, nearly two thirds were so classified because they claimed they were asked. This underlines the popularity of the word of mouth recruitment strategy. Some typical answers here included:

"I was asked if I would be interested when it started up." (VS16)

"One of the people I know said I had been recommended would I like to try it. Well, I thought this sounded a good thing so I thought I'd try it." (VS38)

"A local policeman came to see me and said "do you think it would be a good idea?" And so I said "yes", and that was it." (VS45)

Others were said to have Drifted into voluntary work either because working with victims support was an incidental off-shoot of working with another agency; because they were directed by a volunteer bureau;
or because they claimed that the opportunity to work with victims support just happened to rise at a time when they were seeking participation in a form of voluntary activity. To give one example:

"It wasn't particularly victims support it just came along when I needed it." (VS04)

However, of the 22 people who claimed an interest in the organisation itself (ie Organisational reasons), about three quarters were categorised as such because of an interest in the victim specifically. For example:

"I worked with the offender and wanted to find out about the other side." (VS15)

"I was speaking to a probation officer about how much the system was offender orientated and the victim was missed out, so this led him to getting me a place on VSSs." (VS30)

Thus, whilst for the majority VSS work was just one form of voluntary activity, for well over a third there was an interest in the organisation specifically. Nevertheless, a rather different emphasis was revealed four questions later. In response to two statements on reasons for undertaking voluntary work, 49.1% claimed an interest in working with victims specifically, while 45.5% agreed with the statement suggesting they were attracted by the idea of being able to undertake voluntary work. Since the question provided only two alternatives (plus don't know) it may have forced some respondents into a category, and may thus be an overstatement. What can be said is that for a significant minority (at least one third) of volunteers, the attraction of working with victims was a prime motivator in pursuing their voluntary activity.

However, a rather different picture was revealed when responses to the multiple choice questions were analysed. The problem here was that of
the nine possible answers there was no option available for respondents to record the fact that they had Drifted into voluntary work. Furthermore, it needs to be stressed that the options available to volunteers here were not the same as for Voluntary Associates and Specials. Because of the nature of the agency, original options were replaced with statements suggesting they volunteered because they believed victims need particular help and they were attracted because they were once a victim themselves. The results are displayed in Table 9.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivations</th>
<th>Rank Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Desire To Help Other People</td>
<td>7.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Considered Victims Were In Particular Need Of Help</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Thought Being A VSS Volunteer Would Be Interesting And Exacting Work</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Are Strongly Committed To Upholding Law And Order</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Had Time To Use Constructively</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted To Meet New People</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Were Once A Victim And So Wanted To Help</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wished To Join The Probation or Police Services In The Future</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Wanted To Enhance Your Civilian Job Promotion Opportunities</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in the previous two agencies volunteers placed a genuine desire to help other people as the most important reason for their volunteering. Given that this contrasts with the previous answers it might also be said here that because it was such an appealing category it attracted rather more attention than it merited. Nevertheless, that an interest in the organisation was considered important in the open ended questions was strongly supported here in the following two categories in order of ranking. There was also confirmation that having once been a victim, or a desire to pursue a career in the welfare or law and order field, was not in itself a reason for volunteering to work with victims support. In all then, the multiple choice questions provide considerable support that the organisation is worthy of consideration as a reason for undertaking voluntary work in this agency.

In the first part of this section it was shown that peoples' decisions to do voluntary work are different to those, in some instances at least, influencing people to join VSSs. Thus, whilst people expressed Self-Directed reasons for undertaking voluntary work in the first place, the Drift-Effect primarily governed their choice of agency. The multiple choice statements were intended to be a check on peoples' motivations, but in practice this was complicated by a number of factors. Firstly, the most popular reason in the open ended questions did not appear as a possibility in the multiple choice statements. Secondly, whilst the later statements were to be a test of people's motivations for working with victims specifically, (and this was emphasised at the time of the interview itself), in practice the statements contained possibilities which respondents had noted as being influential in their decision to volunteer for voluntary work generally. Since the distinction between the two original questions
was a theoretical one and most likely not considered separately by the
volunteers, they unconsciously combined their answers to the first two
open-ended questions into their multiple choice answers. Thirdly, as
was suggested with the previous two agencies, a genuine desire to help
other people, and an interest in the work are popular reasons and ones
most people would like to believe they had volunteered for.
Additionally they are immediately identifiable as factors normally
associated with voluntary work, and as such may have rather more
attention than was genuinely the case.

It would appear that peoples' motivations for voluntary work can be
seen as different from factors influencing their choice of an agency,
at least in the case of VSSs. Nevertheless, there are clear
methodological difficulties in researching this point. Here, it would
seem that rather than being embarrassed at stating purely altruistic
motivations respondents admitted that they wanted to volunteer for
Self Directed reasons. Furthermore, that the choice of agency was for
many, largely incidental. Nevertheless, the influence of the
organisation should not be underestimated. It was the only other
classification that was significantly populated and so for a large
minority the interest in the scheme was important.

However it was hoped that some of the ambiguity that exists could be
clarified by asking respondents why they continue to volunteer.

9.4.3 CONTINUING AS A VSS VOLUNTEER

Volunteers reasons for continuing with their voluntary work were
different to their initial motivations for joining. Interestingly the
most popular responses recorded here were those who continued for
Other-Directed reasons, accounting for 27.3% of the total. Some
typical replies here included:

"I care I think. I don't profess to know the answers, but if you can help them all well and good." (VS22)

"I still want to help people and if I am of any use I am ready to help." (VS26)

Against this only 1 person claimed to continue because of Self-Directed reasons, while a significant minority claimed to be Agency-Committed (23.6%) and another 14.5% continued because of Stickability. These two reasons are closely interrelated, but in the former they stated quite explicitly that they were committed to VSSs, whereas in the latter case people were so classified if they stated that they did not give up something once they had started. The former then was a specific interest in the organisation and the latter may simply have been a character trait of perseverance. For example:

"I felt what I have done has been worthwhile. Our particular group is a good one, we are all interested in each others work. And also all the victims have been so appreciative." (VS13)

"I feel committed at this stage because it hasn't got off the ground." (VS15)

The fact that the agency was new and the victims movement as a whole was struggling to establish itself was influential in building up a sense of commitment amongst the volunteers. The cause was worthwhile, and the volunteers both believed in this and wanted to be a part of its development.

Far less VSS Volunteers (14.5%) than Voluntary Associates or Specials claimed to continue with work because they enjoyed it. This is probably because there was far less of it so they were not involved to the same extent (see Chapter 10). Rather, their involvement was on the level of trying to establish an agency's identity in its push for
recognition of the victim's cause. Amongst the remainder were 5.5% who continued because of Religious-Based reasons, underlining once again the strong links between religion and VSSs. (8)

So in all VSS volunteers were motivated to voluntary work primarily by Self-Directed reasons and tended to Drift into work with victims. The prominence of the organisation was secondary for most although not for a significant minority. In the context of why people continue, a far greater variety of reasons were prominent. A desire to help others (Other-Directed), Agency-Commitment and Stickability all being popular, with Enjoyment, though gaining as many as 14.5% of the total, being less popular than with Voluntary Associates and particularly Specials. VSS Volunteers were more committed to the cause.

9.5 WHO VOLUNTEERS

The dearth of research on VSS volunteers has resulted in an ill-defined picture as to who is involved in VSS work. The little evidence that does exist suggests on the one hand that they may be recruited from all sections of the community and on the other that they are mainly women with an elderly element. It will be recalled that the results recorded here were derived in the main from schemes themselves on all their volunteers (n=107), and supplemented by additional questions included in the questionnaire to the volunteer sample (n=55).

The typical volunteer as defined by Aves (1969) of a "middle-aged, middle-class married woman" could be fairly accurately applied in most respects. Data obtained from agency records showed a major difference only with regards to age, with 61.7% over the age of 50 and very close to a third over the age of 60. Not surprisingly therefore a high
number, 33.6% were retired, but of the rest 17.8% were housewives (retired housewives were coded as retired) and 46.7% were employed, mainly in middle class and non manual jobs. Indeed 62.0% of the employed were classified as social class I (17.2%) or II (44.8%) and only 1 person in social class IV (1.8%) with no-one classified as social class V. The majority of those for whom data were available were married. In terms of gender, the VSS Volunteers unquestionably conformed very much to the traditional stereotype in that whilst the majority were women (58.9%), the male presence (41.1%) was significant.

From the interview data additional information was gathered on siblings, educational statement and previous occupation. Not surprisingly the data tended to support the findings above. For example, while 90.0% of the sample had children, two thirds of these were over the compulsory school age, reflecting the age bias of their parents. With regards to their age one might have anticipated modest levels of educational attainment given the significantly lower emphasis placed on paper qualifications in the first half of the century. However, the volunteers proved well qualified; 36.4% had experienced higher education and another 21.8% had pursued post-secondary education, again underlining their middle class bias.

The VSS volunteer could best be described, to remould Aves’ typology, as an elderly, middle class, married woman, with the caveat that to do so is to border on pushing the significant male contribution into obscurity. Nevertheless, the volunteer does share characteristics with those groups defined by volunteers themselves as being most in need of VSS help (see 9.2), and in addition with those who are considered as the most likely to fear crime. At the same time they
are not atypical of those perceived to be involved in voluntary work generally.

However, earlier it was suggested that it may be possible to understand the type of people who volunteer by ascertaining more details about their modes of behaviour. This does of course need to be evaluated comparatively, but it is worth reiterating here, at least by mentioning those variables considered relevant. Some 61.8% said they had been involved in voluntary work previously and a similar proportion said they were currently so involved, which is above those figures provided by Humble (1982) and is further evidence of their strong middle class bias. Additionally, over half of the sample gave to charity on a regular basis, with only 1 person claiming they never did.

Given their middle class bias, it may have been anticipated that they would vote Conservative. The respondents were in fact asked two questions, firstly who they voted for in the previous general election in June 1983 and then who they would vote for if there was to be an election the next day. With regards to the previous election, just under half the total (49.1%) voted Conservative and just over a third (34.5%) the Alliance, with only 3.6% (2 people) having voted Labour. With regards to an election the following day, the results showed a swing away from the Conservatives (38.2%) to the Alliance (45.5%) with little change in the Labour vote. In all then the ties with the Conservative Party were not as strong as their social class would suggest. Nevertheless, there was little support for the main opposition Labour Party, suggesting that VSS volunteers distance themselves from the political left, many preferring the centrist Alliance ground.
These results provide an insight and an understanding of the type of people who volunteer for VSSs. However, they need to be analysed comparatively and will thus be reconsidered in Chapter 10.

9.6 BECOMING A VSS VOLUNTEER

It was suggested in Chapter 4 that like most volunteers, VSS workers tended to be recruited via word of mouth. Evidence already presented in this chapter offers support for this. For example, it was found that many drift into voluntary work because they were asked. Moreover, in the previous section it was shown that volunteers varied very little from one another in terms of their social characteristics. In Chapter 1 the problems inherent in word of mouth recruitment strategies were discussed focusing on the end result of volunteers being of the right type, but also the same type emphasising their middle age, middle class bias.

When volunteers were asked to state where they first heard about VSSs, the popularity of word of mouth as a recruiting tool was, once again, underlined. Indeed, most volunteers first heard of victims support from someone they knew personally. Moreover, there were some who were unaware of work with victims until a letter arrived from a scheme to an organisation with which they were then working. Indeed, this was a fairly common method of recruitment. VSSs would write to other voluntary organisations advising them of their need for volunteers and thereby attract those they considered to be the right type of people.

The recruitment process though did vary between schemes - from the casual informal to the structured formal. At one extreme was a scheme which recruited all its volunteers exclusively from another voluntary
organisation, WRVS. Rather differently, a new scheme keen to attract its first group of workers, advertised in the local press (where applications exceeded vacancies three fold). Each potential volunteer was asked to fill in an application form, supply referees (which were subsequently taken up), and attend an interview conducted by three members of the new scheme's Steering Group. Generally though, 63.6% remembered being asked to supply references to their character with most respondents aware that these had been taken up, and 80.0% noted that they had initially been required to complete an application form.

Given the fact that most volunteers (61.8%), were recruited having undertaken previous voluntary activity coupled with their relative age and thus wealth of life experience, it was wondered whether training might not have been considered necessary. However, when asked, all but one respondent felt that volunteers should be trained. For the most part they considered the specialist knowledge VSS work required could only be obtained through a training programme. Some typical answers included:

"Definitely, because do gooders do more trouble, do you know what I mean? Everybody needs training. The chairmen have had no training which causes problems but they will not give up." (VS06)

"It is a new sphere to most people. So you need some training." (VS23)

A core of volunteers mentioned that without training there was a danger of their being more of a hindrance than a help:

"There are quite a few occasions when it would be possible to do more damage than has already been done." (VS20)

"Because it is quite easy to give someone incorrect information. Also, depending on the type of crime you do more damage than good." (VS48)
A number of respondents noted that training was more necessary for some than others, but its general relevance was hardly questioned.

The organisation of the programme varied considerably, generally lasting between 4 and 10 weeks. One volunteer did not attend a programme as such, but visited the relevant professionals - probation officer, solicitor etc at their offices for a talk about the role of these agencies with particular reference to VSSs. In one instance where a single volunteer was recruited he attended the training sequence organised by a neighbouring scheme. When schemes had recruited volunteers and organised a training programme, old volunteers were invited along for a refresher course. Similarly, volunteer meetings, where they existed, were utilised for additional lectures on any subject considered of practical relevance at the time.

The content of the training consisted, with different degrees of intensity, of most of the subjects recommended by the NAVSS Training Manual (1986). Nevertheless, when volunteers were asked whether there was anything excluded from their training which should have been included, 23.6% answered in the affirmative. The suggestions varied widely. Some wanted more information on the social services, the police and probation services, as well as crime and particularly juvenile crime. More specific suggestions included additional knowledge on interviewing victims and medical information. However, since training was so short and therefore inevitably likely to skate over subjects of relevance or interest to some volunteers, what is perhaps more significant is that 67.3% were satisfied with its content.

This favourable reflection of training programmes was confirmed when
volunteers were asked whether there was anything they considered unnecessary. Of the 52 who answered the question, only 7 (13.5%) identified subjects that were not relevant. Furthermore, no subject was mentioned twice and criticisms were more of individual lecturers or lectures than the subjects themselves.

Thus, not only was training considered necessary, the programmes offered were considered interesting and relevant. In addition, as one volunteer noted, "it established camaraderie between the members". This point was commented upon frequently in casual conversation with volunteers after meetings and training sessions. In all, just under half of the sample claimed they had friends who were fellow VSS volunteers, although presumably this figure would be higher had more of the volunteers not been with the schemes for such a short period. Nevertheless, the point of particular relevance here is that training (and volunteer meetings), did serve an additional function in facilitating the opportunity to meet others and this was considered important in discussions with volunteers.

9.7 THE PROFESSIONALS AND THE VOLUNTEER

The involvement of the police and probation services in both the development and present day to day running of VSSs has already been emphasised. In this context the views of VSS volunteers were sought on the relevance of police and probation involvement in individual schemes. At the end of the interview a series of statements on police, offenders and the crime problem were included and the sample was asked to state whether or not they agreed with each and to what extent.
However, the need for police involvement on the committee of VSSs was hardly questioned by respondents. Indeed, 90.9% of the sample considered police involvement necessary, 1 was not sure of an answer and 4 were against - mainly because they believed the work of victims support to be separate from that of the police. Not surprisingly, the major reason offered for supporting police involvement was that victim support as a service was dependent upon police cooperation for referrals, which in itself necessitated a close liaison. For example:

"They are the ones who refer people to us." (VS15)

"All the referrals are from them so they need to be represented, also the need to know our views and who we are." (VS18)

The other major reason offered for considering police involvement on the committees necessary was that they have the professional training, experience, and influence available to assist the volunteers in their function. Some typical answers here included:

"We have found their advice and assistance of help. Also as volunteers we need to have groups about for advice and they are there. Besides, they all have more money than anyone else." (VS54)

"They are the professionals who are dealing with the situation. In any event who will have to bring the offender to court?" (VS55)

To justify police involvement on the grounds that VSSs are dependent upon them for referrals and that the police have the relevant expertise, carries no assumption that volunteers support the police as an organisation, or that they identify with the police perspective on law and order. Nevertheless, when the results to a list of statements on the police were analysed it was clear that they developed a very favourable attitude towards the police, as Table 9.3 reveals.
As can be seen the volunteers were almost as committed to the idea that the police did a good job as they were against the suggestion that the police were not interested in serving the community. The volunteers did not perceive them as dishonest and considered that their establishment should be increased. The close identification with the police role extended to the point that the vast majority stated positively, that they believed

Table 9.3
VSS Volunteer Responses to Individual Items on Police Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>A little</td>
<td>Combining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of police in Devon and Cornwall do a good job (n=55)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police are not interested in serving the interests of our community (n=55)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are quite a lot of dishonest policemen in Devon and Cornwall (n=55)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are not enough policemen in Devon and Cornwall at present (n=55)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People criticise the Police too often (n=55)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
people criticised the police too often.

As will be shown in detail in Chapter 10 analysis of statements on offenders and the crime problem revealed that VSS volunteers could be closely identified with Specials and were distanced from Voluntary Associates, suggesting a more extensive identification with the police perspective. Thus, even though schemes suffered problems with lack of referrals this never manifested itself in any adverse attitude towards the police. Indeed, the reverse was true, volunteers were not only understanding of, and sympathetic towards the police role, they strongly adhered to the general police perspective on the crime problem.

With regards to the necessity of probation service involvement on the committee, VSS were somewhat ambivalent. While 1 person was not sure of an answer, only 50.9% of the total viewed such involvement as necessary. For most volunteers the range of knowledge and depth of experience was viewed as beneficial to the scheme, both generally and with regards to the other 'side of the coin' the offender. For example:

"The vast experience they have in dealing with people who are the subject of crime. Also they are in touch with so many voluntary organisations." (VS46)

"They are dealing with the offender side and to obtain a balance it is a good idea to have those guys on the committee." (VS50)

There were others who thought that the probation service should be involved because it was a relevant agency in the community and because they had been concerned with VSSs from their inception. The fact that probation officers were seen to play an influential part in individual
schemes was also seen as important. So while some didn't see their involvement as necessary as the question had asked, they nevertheless saw advantages in them being present. For example:

"But I do think it is advisable, I have a high opinion of them, they have a lot of experience to share." (VS25)

There were others who felt that VSSs concentration on the victim, by definition detached them from the offender. As such, some thought work with VSSs was beyond their field of focus. Two volunteers added that they had a jaundiced view of the probation service.

It is evident that VSS volunteers more closely identified with the police as an organisation and were more likely to see a role for the police than the probation service in the running of VSSs. On the one hand this is a little surprising given the fact that many schemes had suffered an acute shortage of referrals, which of course the police held responsibility for. Against a background where VSS volunteers considered they were not used enough, an adverse attitude to the police was perhaps all the more likely. On the other hand the victims movement shares with the police an identification with the victim. That this appears stronger than the characteristic they share with the probation service of casework orientated tasks requires further consideration. This will be incorporated into Chapter 10 via a comparative analysis of the three groups of volunteers studied in this thesis.

9.8 SUMMARY

It was argued in Chapter 1 that the voluntary sector consisted of a variety of organisational types. This chapter has revealed that amongst those groups working under the umbrella of the VSS title were
schemes which were organised quite differently. While all schemes consisted of a committee and a group of volunteers, their respective responsibilities were not always clearly delineated. So too, it was shown, the referral policy varied and this in part explained the variations in the number of referrals received. However, the number of referrals was also reflected in the organisation of the scheme. Those that could present themselves to the police as an organisation worthy of support were relied upon for assistance. Those that could not or did not wavered accordingly. Herein then, lies evidence of a voluntary organisation adapting its business to appease the statutory sector, only in this instance not for funds, but for referrals.

By and large VSS volunteers displayed a somewhat jaundiced view of statutory involvement. They were volunteers in a voluntary organisation and committed to the volunteer principle. Many did not claim expenses, others claimed and donated them back and similarly so with honorariums paid to some coordinators. This study has uncovered another form of statutory involvement in the voluntary sector via coordinators, such as the social worker, who was able in theory at least, to disperse costs to the local authority. This issue may require further consideration in future discussion of the statutory/voluntary partnership.

Due to the relative novelty of VSSs, many volunteers were initially involved in their work via the Drift-Effect, although once selected they relished being part of a new cause and movement. Volunteers mostly worked with burglary victims, with their counselling skills being most frequently required. Their service was mainly crisis orientated although there was a willingness to engage in long term work where this was required. Indeed, it was felt by some that this
was preferable to referring them on to the less caring statutory agencies, reflecting once again their strong commitment to the volunteer principle.

The debate over whether VSSs should engage in work with non-crime victims was answered in the affirmative. Indeed, some had extended their service to cover offenders, and in one case acted as a general police assistant. There were however limits although volunteers were generally in favour of reparation as a sentence, they felt that this was beyond the scope of VSSs. It does need to be emphasised though that these results may not be typical of the country as a whole. Volunteers in the South West were generally under utilised, as such the possibility of more referrals may have appeared particularly attractive. Equally, schemes in other areas may have different attitudes towards reparation.

The type of people who volunteer conform very much to Aves' (1969) stereotype except that they tended to be somewhat older. This may have been due to the fact that they are the type of people who are perceived to be most suitable, although it was reinforced by word of mouth recruitment strategies. Training was popular and for the most part considered relevant; indeed because of the special skills and knowledge which the work required, it was seen as essential.

Finally, it has been shown that VSS Volunteers appeared to identify closely with the police and certainly more with them than with the probation service. However, this and the many other findings contained herein can perhaps best be evaluated in the context of a comparative study, the focus of the following chapter.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Nevertheless this can work in larger schemes see Handsworth VSS (1985).

2. In most cases with all schemes a volunteer would be sent to visit the victim. However in some schemes, particularly those with a large number of referrals, some victims might be dealt with either by a letter or by a phone call. This was thought far less common than Maguire and Corbett (1986) found in their study, probably because most schemes in the South West had few referrals.

3. Because some of the coordinators were volunteers and others were committee members, logically not all coordinators were available to be included in the sample (consisting of volunteers only) selected for interview. However, during the course of the research all coordinators were interviewed informally.

4. Figures were unfortunately not available for Tavistock VSS (they had 4 volunteers). I am especially grateful to Teignbridge VSS for although those volunteers could not be included in the sample, they nevertheless provided me with a breakdown of their referrals.

5. While Table 9.1 shows there were 7 volunteers in fact the majority of these had joined the scheme in the month before the data was collected.

6. At the time of writing the scheme has appointed a new chairman, secretary, coordinator and president and is speedily reconstructing its relationship with the police.

7. Some expenses incurred by the regional chairperson are defrayed by the NAVSS, although it is expected that affiliated schemes will contribute towards regional costs. However, despite the regional committee’s agreement that each scheme should contribute a small levy of £5, six months later not one scheme has contributed the agreed amount.

8. 12.7% of the total replied that they were not active and so not in a position to say why they continued.
CHAPTER 10

TOWARDS AN IDEOLOGY OF VOLUNTEERING
10.1 INTRODUCTION

The object of this chapter is to compare the different groups of volunteers to see to what extent it is possible to envisage an ideology of volunteering. In other words, how similar or different are the processes of recruiting volunteers, integrating them and maintaining their interest within each of the three agencies? At what point and in what ways do the processes differ and how far does this affect the nature of volunteering? It was noted in Chapter 1 that theoretical discussions are infrequent in the volunteer literature. The object is to fill this gap and suggest some paths for a theory of volunteering, at least in the context of the criminal justice system and within the agencies studied.

It would thus seem useful to structure this chapter by considering the various decisions either made by the volunteer, or the agency, which ultimately affect the volunteer's integration into the organisation. This may be called the Volunteer Process. Figure 10.1 provides an ideal type example of the sorts of decisions a volunteer, or an agency, may be expected to make with regards to the suitability of each to the other.

It needs to be stressed that this is only an example of a Volunteer Process. Indeed, there are a number of limitations. For example, the initial consideration of why a person wants to undertake voluntary work is seen as separate from the decision to join an agency. Yet, it has already been shown that this is not always the case. Similarly, the organisation may omit decision B, simply reacting to public enquiries for voluntary work, rather than proactively seeking volunteers. In a rather different way the process essentially misses out the decision an organisation may make in considering the
Figure 10.1
A Simplified Example of a Volunteer Process

Decision Making Process

A. Why Do I Want To Do Voluntary Work?

Organisation May Omit Decision B And Make First Decision Here

B. How Do We Attract Volunteers?

C. Why Join This Agency?

D. How Do We Decide Applicants Acceptability?

E. How Do We Integrate Volunteers?

F. What Do I Think Of My Work In This Agency?

G. Why Do I Continue Volunteering?

H. Why Do I Leave

Volunteer Decision

Organisational Decision
volunteers' acceptability sometime after they commence work as volunteers. The fact that many volunteers were under utilised may be due to an organisational decision that some were unsuitable. Unfortunately, this particular issue was beyond the scope of this enquiry. It has therefore been purposively omitted from this process.

The object in this chapter is to discuss chronologically each of the decisions made, evaluating the differences between groups of volunteers and agencies.

10.2 VOLUNTEER: WHY DO I WANT TO DO VOLUNTARY WORK?

In previous studies the decision to volunteer services has not been separated from the decision to join a particular agency with most concentrating on the latter. The treatment of these two decisions as different entities produced some interesting results which are illustrated in Tables 10.1 and 10.2.

As is shown no less than two fifth's of both Specials and VSS Volunteers stated that their initial reason for joining was linked to gains accruing to themselves, in other words they were Self-Directed. Whilst initially Voluntary Associates may appear less Self-Directed it needs to be noted that more than a fifth volunteered with career interests in mind. Essentially, if someone volunteers because of a desire to pursue career ambitions, he/she is clearly interested in gaining personally; it is then, a specific form of Self-Directed reasoning. However, there is a case for arguing that in certain circumstances and particularly in welfare related work, people wishing to pursue a career because of a desire in their career choice to help other people, are in fact volunteering for an Other-Directed reason. Thus, career motivations need to be considered separately, although that the fact someone should want a career and see voluntary work as a
## PRIMARY MOTIVATION FOR BECOMING A VOLUNTEER

### MOTIVATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To Voluntary Work</th>
<th>To Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>Specials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Directed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-Directed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisational</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious-Based</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 10.2**

### NO STATED MOTIVATION FOR BECOMING A VOLUNTEER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To Voluntary Work</th>
<th>To Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>Specials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRIFT</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 58
TOTAL = 51
TOTAL = 55
TOTAL = 57
TOTAL = 51
TOTAL = 55
means of gaining experience (and in some cases it is a necessary prerequisite for pursuing a career), means that most probably people's career motivations are linked to Self-Directed reasons. If Self-Directed and Career motivations are combined it can be seen that the differences between the agencies are small, indeed given the size of the samples they are remarkably similar.\(^1\)

Such marginal differences are also apparent when Other-Directed reasons are analysed, although the 'Other' in question varies. For Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers, Other-Directed related more to wanting to help individuals, while Specials were more likely to see the community as the main group they wished to assist, particularly through the need to help with the law and order problem. Of course, this has some bearing on the type of agencies they choose since Voluntary Associate's and VSS volunteer's work is more readily identified with helping other individuals, whereas Special's work involves working in and with the community rather than individual people, an issue which will be returned to later.

There were also similar numbers of those who Drift into voluntary work suggesting that the Drift-Effect is a characteristic of voluntary work generally rather than being agency specific. The main differences between the samples relates to the Organisational and Religious-Based motivations. It was said at the beginning of this section that the decision to undertake voluntary work was separated from the reasons for joining a particular agency. However, for those classified as Organisational they were inseparable. In other words, these were attracted to becoming volunteers with a particular agency. As can be seen this was particularly the case with Specials who in nearly a fifth of cases were attracted directly to police work. The
prominence of Specials here is not altogether surprising since the Special Constabulary is the only means of becoming involved as a volunteer in grassroots police work. It would have been surprising if the organisation had been important for many VSS volunteers because they are relatively new and there remains much public ignorance surrounding their function (Hough and Mayhew, 1985). Similarly, both probation service and victims support volunteering represents just one form of caring work. There are many others (eg Marriage Guidance, Samaritans) and thus compared to the uniqueness of the Special's role, it is not surprising that Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers were less likely to state that the organisation was the main reason for them deciding to undertake voluntary work. With regards to Religious-Based motivations, Table 10.3 indicates attendance at a place of religious worship on a regular basis.

Table 10.3

Volunteer Attendance At A Place Of Religious Worship On A Regular Basis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Attend On Regular Basis</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n %age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15 25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>43 74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( (x^2 = 10.96 \text{ P}<0.01) \)
The influence of religion in motivating VSS volunteers needs to be considered in the light of the presence of religious representatives on the committees of VSSs, which provided a link with the church/chapel rather more than would have been the case for the other two organisations. Nevertheless, a greater proportion of VSS volunteers who did not attend a place of religious worship claimed that they did hold religious beliefs. So in all while the more active religious (as defined by attendance at a place of religious worship, which is admittedly rather weak) are not more likely to volunteer for work in caring agencies, it is true that those in caring agencies were more likely to state that their initial reason to volunteer was encouraged by religious beliefs.

The problem here is the small numbers involved, but it is possible to make some comments about why people undertake voluntary work, at least for these three agencies within the criminal justice system. Somewhere between a sixth and a fifth do not make a predetermined decision to volunteer but are guided by the Drift-Effect in that their involvement in voluntary work was the result of influences from a variety of sources. A very similar proportion volunteer because of a desire to help others, either an individual, a group, or a community. However, the most significant factor containing over twice as many as those who either Drift or are Other-Directed, and pushing near to half the total, are those who are attracted because of benefits pertaining to themselves (ie they are Self-Directed). In some agencies this will be largely represented by those pursuing voluntary work because of career ambitions, although even then it remains a minority. The Specials, a unique form of voluntary work in that it is the only type of its kind, claimed that police work was the attraction. It is tempting to conclude that in agencies whose work is out of the
ordinary, for example the Territorial Army or the Scouting movement, then a larger proportion of the volunteers will join because of an agency specific interest. Similarly, the lower prominence this was accorded by Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers was due to the fact they worked in agencies which were one of many involved in either 'caring', 'one to one' or 'welfare' work. These types of agencies, while not containing more religious people, do seem to contain more who claim they volunteer for religious reasons. So an ideology of volunteering is possible, in that reasons for undertaking voluntary work vary very little for over three quarters within each agency. This combination of permanent and variable facts is illustrated in Figure 10.2.

Figure 10.2
Permanent and Variable Factors in Reasons for Volunteering

Permanent factors
\[ n = \frac{3}{4} \text{ approx.} \]

- Other-Directed
  \[ \frac{1}{6} > n < \frac{1}{5} \text{ approx.} \]

- Self-Directed
  \[ \frac{2}{5} > n < \frac{1}{2} \text{ approx.} \]

- Drift
  \[ \frac{1}{6} > n < \frac{1}{5} \text{ approx.} \]

Variable Factors
\[ n = \frac{1}{4} \text{ approx.} \]

- Organisation
  \[ \frac{1}{10} > n < \frac{1}{5} \text{ approx.} \]

- Religious
  \[ n < \frac{1}{8} \text{ approx.} \]

These reasons for undertaking voluntary work need to be assessed in the context of the methods used by agencies in their recruitment of volunteers.
10.3 ORGANISATION: HOW DO WE ATTRACT VOLUNTEERS?

Just as there appear to be common reasons for people deciding to pursue voluntary work within the three agencies, so there appear common elements in the means by which agencies attract their volunteers. Informal methods, particularly word of mouth are the most popular here, supporting the findings of previous research (Aves, 1969; Humble, 1982; Jackson, 1985). Against this though, organisations did advertise when they needed to increase their volunteer group. For Specials this was a permanent feature. Their numbers nationally and locally had until recently been decreasing and as Devon and Cornwall Constabulary's Annual Report (1985) indicates, the Specials are some 1900 officers under strength. Because of this, local television campaigns and other formal methods of recruitment mentioned earlier have come to the fore. The Specials then resort to formal recruitment methods even though many present volunteers claimed they were attracted to the agency by other regulars and Specials.

So parallels here can be drawn with Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers. These two groups relied on word of mouth to attract volunteers but they were rarely short of numbers. Indeed, it has already been shown and will be illustrated further later, that for these two groups in particular there was insufficient work to occupy those volunteers presently engaged. However, when there was a paucity, and this was usually when a new probation group or VSS was being initiated, formal methods of volunteer recruitment were utilised. In all three agencies then, word of mouth and enquiries from the general public (which were sometimes the same thing) predominated, but when shortages were apparent formal recruitment methods came to the fore.
The means by which an agency attracts or attempts to attract a volunteer can be isolated from the reasons a volunteer has for joining the organisation. It is this motivation which is the focus of the next section.

10.4 VOLUNTEER: WHY JOIN THIS AGENCY?

It should be emphasised in the context of why people volunteer that two distinct decisions may be made, we should thus not assume that the reasons are identical. Nevertheless, there were similarities again between the three groups. In the case of Specials and VSS Volunteers over 90% of responses could be classified into two categories, either they Drifted into work with their particular agency or they had a specific interest in the organisation. That is, their motivations were Organisationally rooted. However, the relative importance of these two reasons varied. For Specials more than the other two agencies, the interest in the organisation, already apparent, was reinforced here. Against this 31.4% Drifted into voluntary work with the police. In contrast most VSS Volunteers tended to Drift into the agency, with nearly all the rest citing an interest in the organisation. The salience of the Drift-Effect was to be expected since VSSs are a new agency and so many would not have been aware of their existence, let alone their function. For those who had heard of victims support though, it represented a new and exciting idea and thus VSS volunteers were keen to become involved in a new cause.

Voluntary Associates however were slightly different. True, these same two categories were prominent, but whilst the Organisation was the primary attraction and well over a quarter Drifted into voluntary work with them, there were a significant group of well over a fifth who were primarily attracted to the probation service because of
career interests. Certainly Voluntary Associates were the only group studied who attracted significant numbers of Careerists (although it should be noted that this trend may be increasing among Specials). Some Careerists stated they wanted to be a probation officer, others some form of employment within the wider welfare field, claiming an interest in pursuing a CQSW without specifying further. Therefore, amongst Careerists were a group who were specifically interested in the probation organisation. Indeed, of the 13 people who claimed to be interested in voluntary work for career reasons, 10 of these also stated this was their reason for joining the probation service. In that they chose the probation service as opposed to some other organisation, the interest in the organisation is further highlighted.

Thus, it is tempting to conclude that the organisation itself is the primary attraction to most volunteers, at least of those included in this study, except where an organisation is new. In this case, many uncertain of its tasks will simply Drift into voluntary work with it. Nevertheless, the wider importance of the Drift-Effect has been highlighted and this in itself is due to the prominence of the word of mouth recruitment strategy. People pass on information about the need for volunteers within an agency and this prompts people to volunteer. There was no link between reasons for undertaking voluntary work or reasons for joining a particular agency with any other variable, and the importance of this finding might best be judged in terms of its contribution to organisational recruitment policy which will be returned to in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, the word of mouth method of recruitment coupled with an interest in the organisation encouraging general enquiries and applications from interested people has other connotations. In
particular what is the interest in the organisation? It has been stressed that police, probation and VSS present three very different types of agencies, both in the nature of the work and the degree of accompanying responsibility, but also in the relationship with professionals whether it be voluntary or statutory. Particularly interesting here is the fact that each agency is identified with a particular ideology. At one extreme is the police who have been identified with the 'hard' end of the political spectrum adopting an overt right wing stance (Hain, 1979) and the probation service towards the 'soft', treatment end, generating a suspicion that they may identify more with the left of the political spectrum. It has also been suggested that VSSs may be a mixture of the two, with an ideology somewhere in between. For although the NAVSS has been keen to refrain from adopting a political line, it nevertheless remains true that VSSs development can be traced to a confluence of probation and police service's initiatives.

It has already been stated that there was no relationship between reasons for undertaking voluntary work and joining an organisation with any other variable, which might suggest that the ideology of the organisation is unimportant, or that the agency could have an effect on all no matter why they joined. Certainly the potential of an organisation to inculcate its workers with a particular ideology should not be overlooked. Etzioni (1961) has argued that compliance in a voluntary agency is normative in that without coercion or renumeration people must acede with the aims of that agency in order to pursue its work. In the following sections the role of the organisation in inculcating its ideology will be discussed. Firstly however, it is necessary to show how, whatever their initial motivation, there exist within each of the three agencies a distinct
ideology, a volunteer sub-culture which for the purposes of abbreviation can be termed a *volunculture*. In other words, how far is it possible within the three groups of volunteers to distinguish a similar set of people with a similar set of views pertaining to the ideology of their organisation?

In order to illustrate the different types of people who volunteer for different organisations, it seems apt to concentrate on a comparative analysis of the social characteristics. Firstly, with regards to social class. As Table 10.4 shows it is Specials who are distinctive in terms of class. Indeed, Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers conform very much more to the stereotype of the typical volunteer, although the middle class bias is stronger for the latter than the

| Social Class | The Agency | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|              | Voluntary Associates | Specials | VSS Volunteers |
|              | n | %age | n | %age | n | %age |
| I and II     | 18 | 56.2 | 16 | 32.7 | 17 | 63.0 |
| III Non Manual | 8 | 25.0 | 12 | 24.5 | 9 | 33.3 |
| III Manual IV and V | 6 | 18.8 | 21 | 42.8 | 1 | 3.7 |
| Totals       | 32* | 100 | 49 | 100 | 27* | 100 |

* Lower numbers here created by the large numbers of female and retired volunteers; an analysis of previous employment for the latter revealed the same pattern.
former. This class bias was reflected in the higher educational qualifications of VSS Volunteers. As Table 10.5 shows they were significantly more likely to have pursued higher education than either Voluntary Associates or Specials, although the former were better qualified than the latter. Indeed, whilst approaching a third of Specials had no qualifications at all and while for VSS volunteers this figure was over a fifth, it needs to be re-emphasised that the the VSS sample was considerably older and so their early education was during a period when paper qualification were less accessible and necessary, only underlining again their strong middle class bias. In terms of age VSS volunteers were distinctive as Table 10.6 shows. The VSS Volunteer tended to be older, with Specials appearing as the

### Table 10.5

**Educational Qualifications of Volunteers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications Obtained</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Secondary</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Comparing higher education with the rest $x^2 = 22.51 P<0.01$)
Table 10.6
The Age of Volunteers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>Specials</td>
<td>VSS Volunteers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%age</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 30 Years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40 Years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50 Years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60 Years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 Years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

youngest group, which is slightly surprising given Voluntary Associates involvement for career purposes coupled with the traditional scepticism of young people towards the police (Belson, 1975; Jones and Levi, 1983). However, both could be (broadly) described as approaching middle-age, although perhaps not as emphatically as Aves (1969) would have us believe. Explaining VSS volunteers distinctiveness in this respect is problematic. One school of thought may suggest that the nature of their work, in that they had to be available when called rather than regulate their involvement according to their own preferences, was more attractive to those who had more time ie the elderly or more specifically the retired. As Table 10.7 illustrates VSS Volunteers were significantly more likely than Voluntary Associates to be retired, a result that
would have been anticipated given the age differences.

Table 10.7
The Occupational Status of Volunteers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Comparing retired Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers with the rest $x^2 = 31.41 \, P<0.01$)

It has been speculated that voluntary activity is, potentially at least (Gay and Hatch, 1983) a valuable form of activity for the unemployed yet only Voluntary Associates contain some any sizable number, despite, as already noted, the advantage of having volunteers available at any hour\(^3\) and the high unemployment rates in the region. The higher number of housewives amongst Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers is of course a reflection of their female bias, as Table 10.8 indicates.
Table 10.8

The Sex of Volunteers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Voluntary Associates</th>
<th>Specials</th>
<th>VSS Volunteers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>% age</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

($x^2 = 74.04 \ P<0.01$)

It would seem that the much described female predominance in volunteering gains support here, although the involvement of males is considerable. The Specials presents an exception. The police service is a profession which stresses traditional male attributes such as the ability to fight, and drink in the police bar (Holdaway, 1983). As such is likely to attract more men even though in practice they fulfill, as shown, a more service orientated function. Here though it was noted that the presence of women is on the increase. Such findings as presented in Table 10.8 lead one to conclude that women are more likely to be involved in caring voluntary work and men in non-caring, or to put it another way, that women are more likely to be involved in voluntary work than men unless the organisation is such that it contains attributes likely to make it more appealing to men (eg The Specials and The Territorial Army). This is not to suggest that they could not each fit into the different stereotype roles. In practice of course they do, and with the gradual wearing away of
traditional gender roles this may increase. In any event, the point here is that the attractiveness of the organisation can be viewed from the type of work with which it engages, and this is more likely to appeal to certain types of people.

Such a consideration as shown here extends beyond gender. The need for VSS Volunteers to be available when required, in other words to be available at all hours of the day, (but particularly mornings), results in VSSs preference for retired people and housewives. The intriguing finding here is that another group with these attributes, the unemployed, are absent from VSSs. It may well be suggested that the class factor is crucial here. The unemployed might feel isolated or ill at ease in such a predominantly middle class group and therefore refrain from volunteering their services, and anyway working class people are not normally associated with caring type voluntary work.

Similarly, the absence of a middle class predominance amongst Specials or perhaps more accurately the presence of a large working class element, is itself derived from the task of the police which as stated, stresses the need and willingness to fight, a strong sub-culture based on collective responsibility, and is, it could be suggested, more immediately attractive to working class people, but definitely men.

Voluntary Associate work covers a far wider variety of tasks from writing letters to prisoners, to organising groups, to transporting clients to court, to befriending offenders and assuming the role of a probation officer. They were therefore able to involve a greater variety of people in terms of social characteristics. The fact that
they tended to be, and this is a generalisation (which should be emphasised as such) middle aged, middle class, married women is *ceteris paribus* because these are the types of persons who are most likely to volunteer (Aves, 1969). In other words, to look at the class factor alone and to conclude that the middle classes are more likely to be involved in caring work is tempting, but overlooks a host of factors relevant to the organisation and its work that can help to explain the type of people it involves.

Thus, when asked why they joined the organisation they did, probation and police volunteers stressed a specific interest in the work of that agency while VSS Volunteers tended to Drift. It has also been shown that the type of people who are recruited into an agency correspond to the requirements of the voluntary work. In one sense this is what we may expect to find but the motivations link to the type of people recruited has hitherto not been mentioned let alone analysed. The findings suggest that certain types of people are popular within certain types of organisations, and there is a case for arguing that the typical Special, who joins because of an interest in policework and is keen to gain access to the police sub-culture, would not be content with VSS volunteering work and vice versa. There are certain types of organisations for certain people, according to their personal characteristics.

Thus, it is possible to see within each agency a group of people with similar characteristics. To base a theory of *volunculture* on this alone would be to say the least, shaky. It is necessary to show that they share a similar perspective in some way or other. Within the study a variety of questions were included to test attitudes to law and order so as to determine whether volunteer's views resembled in
any way those of to the ideology of the organisation. Firstly, they were asked to state their agreement with certain types of 'hard', and 'soft' sentences for adult offenders. Later they were asked a series of questions designed to ascertain their perspective towards police, offenders and the crime problem (using a revised version of an attitude scale used by Bottoms et. al., 1979). They were all then asked two questions regarding their political opinions.

It would appear that police service has now aligned itself with the right wing ideology of the Conservative government, prima facie evidence would thus suggest that Specials would pertain to the political right – that is of course if organisations can inculcate their volunteers sufficiently or if the organisation is selective enough to recruit only a particular type of volunteer. By the same token, it may be expected that Voluntary Associates would pertain to the political left, or at least to the left of Specials, since the probation service is a care-treatment orientated organisation. With VSS Volunteers, given the central non-political stance adopted by the NAVSS and their development as a mixture of police/probation influence, we might expect volunteers to be somewhere in between. With respect to views on sentencing practice for adults there was much to support this hypothesis as Table 10.9 reveals. There were significant differences between samples in attitudes towards capital punishment ($x^2 = 31.79 \ P<0.01$), corporal punishment ($x^2 = 13.31 \ P<0.01$) and Community Service Orders ($x^2 = 12.21 \ P<0.01$). In the latter case this was due to the differences in all three samples but in both the former it reflected the distinctive views of the Specials. In other words, the Specials did favour harsher sentences and were least enthusiastic about Community Service Orders, which as an alternative to prison they may have considered a 'soft option'.
Table 10.9
Volunteer Sample Who Felt That For Some Adult Offenders The Following Might Sometimes Be An Appropriate Sentence*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Sentence</th>
<th>Voluntary Associates</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
<th>VSS Volunteers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%age</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital Punishment</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal Punishment</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation Order</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service Order</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caution</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In each case excluding those who said they did not know

Moreover, although in attitudes towards probation orders and cautioning, differences between the three samples were not significant, it was true that Specials were significantly more likely than VSS Volunteers to reject probation as an alternative for adults ($x^2 = 5.11 P<0.05$).

Thus, while Specials more strongly identified with the harsher sentences VSS Volunteers aligned with Voluntary Associates in being more likely to support softer sentences, expressing a more jaundiced view of the punishment ethic. Given the fact that these two groups were involved in caring work and Voluntary Associates at least with
the treatment model, the results are intriguing.

However, views on sentencing say little about definitions of the crime problem itself. Towards the end of the schedule, respondents were set a series of statements on the police, offenders and the crime problem and asked to state whether they agreed with each and to what extent. The results are displayed in Table 10.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject of Statements</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Scale +</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender Scale</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Problem Scale *</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Excluding Don't Knows
- (Min 5, Max 25) High Score Indicators Support for Police
- (Min 6, Max 30) High Score Indicators Distancing from Offenders
- (Min 5, Max 25) High Score Indicators Concern Over Crime Problem

The previous alignment of VSS Volunteers with Voluntary Associates was not repeated here. Indeed, VSS Volunteers more closely identified with the Specials in all three scales. They had a high regard for the police (although not quite as high as Specials), distanced themselves...
from offenders (in contrast to Voluntary Associates, who do of course work within an offender orientated organisation), and shared with Specials a far greater concern over the crime problem than did the probation volunteer.

In questions on sentencing and law and order the results show Specials to be at one end, Voluntary Associates at the other, with VSS Volunteers somewhere in between. It could be said that VSS Volunteers shared with the police the same definition of the crime problem, but preferred probation service solutions. They saw the issue of law and order as severe, at least more than Voluntary Associates, but shared with them to a certain extent anyway a sympathy with the treatment solution. There was then within each agency an ideology amongst the volunteers and this very much reflected that of the organisation. There is then yet more support for the existence of voluncultures.

However, it is possible to go still further in the linking of ideologies towards volunteers in different organisations. Since the election of the Conservative Party to government in 1979 law and order came to the forefront of the political agenda, with the party allying itself with its traditional 'hard' policies role. Expanding prison building programmes, reaffirming the value of the so called short sharp shock, increased funding to the police service and revitalised the debate for the restoration of capital punishment to name but a few trends. Thus, it may have been anticipated that Specials would identify with the Conservatives in voting behaviour, Voluntary Associates with one of the opposition parties and perhaps with VSS Volunteers being a mixture of both. Tables 10.11 and 10.12 display the results to the two questions asked of respondents on who they voted for in the previous General Election in June 1983, and also as
to how they would vote if there was an election on the day after the interview.

Table 10.11
Voting Behaviour Of Volunteers In The June 1983 General Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party For Which Vote Was Cast</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA/DK/No Vote</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Comparing Conservative, Alliance and Labour $x^2 = 14.82$ P<0.01)

Looking firstly at the results of Table 10.11. It is clear that Specials identify much more strongly with the Conservative party than either Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers, and Voluntary Associates were only group with any notable support for Labour, although the Conservatives still remained the most popular party. Indeed, VSS Volunteers were a mixture of the other two groups but although with them too Conservative support was the strongest, there was still a clear tendency not to vote Labour. Again the results were
The results of Table 10.12 reflect the traditional swing away from the party in government. Nevertheless, Specials were still statistically significant.

Table 10.12
Voting Intentions Of Volunteers If Election The Following Day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Voting Intentions</th>
<th>Voluntary Associates</th>
<th>Specials</th>
<th>VSS Volunteers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%age</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA/DK/No Vote</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Combining Alliance and Labour vote and comparing with Conservative \(X^2 = 10.21 \text{ P}<0.01\))

significantly more likely to vote Conservative, and again it is clear that Voluntary Associates were the least likely to identify themselves with the political right.

This section commenced with a consideration of why people join a particular agency and it has been argued that a specific interest in
the organisation is prominent. It has also been shown that certain types of people join different organisations not only with different expectations of the type of work they wish to do, but also because they share with the agency an ideological perspective or equally possible, having been carefully vetted as the right type of person, they join the organisation and adopt its perspective. The volunteers appear to share a view of the world, thus it has been argued it is possible to speak of voluncultures, a similar type of people with views or ideologies which are those of the agency they join. The relevance of this finding will be discussed more fully later, here it is pertinent to consider how the agencies under study decide which volunteers are suitable, a crucial factor in the development of voluncultures.

10.5 ORGANISATION: HOW DO WE DECIDE APPLICANTS ACCEPTABILITY

Whilst all three agencies tended to rely on word of mouth the selection process varied. There was a highly structured process in the Specials slightly less so in the probation service and a largely informal arrangement in some VSSs, although informality was closely linked to knowing the people concerned. In the Specials the formalised procedures can be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, Specials in uniform and on duty are not easily distinguished from regular officers and are expected to fulfil police functions as a regular would. So the importance of having only reliable and efficient Specials is essential in presenting an able image to the public and thereby earning its confidence. Secondly, it has been noted that the Specials were keen to organise themselves on a basis resembling as closely as possible to regular officers. Thus, since rigorous procedures exist for professionals, a keeness to be thorough here is not surprising. Thirdly, the police have a sub-culture which

298
is integral to their practices and where outsiders are treated with suspicion: only by ensuring that the people recruited are sufficiently able can they guard against even stronger resistance from regulars to inclusion in police work. Fourthly, the legal powers incumbent upon a Special made selection a particularly crucial issue. This is not to suggest of course that only the work of the Specials was important. Far from it, VSSs needed to present themselves as efficient in order to optimise referrals from the police, and for Voluntary Associates the need to present themselves as competent was crucial to gaining the confidence of a probation officer. In all the agencies the selection procedures here guarded against the obviously unsuitable from becoming involved. However organisational arrangements accentuated their importance to police volunteers.

There are several points which need to be emphasised about these findings. Firstly, the selection process was geared to ensuring that only certain types of people, the right type, were selected. This is important in the context of voluncultures since only people who it is believed could properly 'fit' into the organisation were accepted, thereby laying the foundation for a volunculture to form. Secondly, there is evidence that the type of organisation and the type of work involved for its volunteers will dictate the amount of emphasis they place on their volunteer selection. Thus the Special, being a highly visible volunteer and not easily distinguished from the professional, must meet greater minimum requirements than other volunteers. This could be compared at the other extreme with the probation volunteer involved only in transporting clients to court. The primary criteria of this Voluntary Associate is access to a vehicle. The fact that they had to undergo a selection procedure was derived from their wish (or that of the professional) for them to be accredited. There were
probation volunteers who were involved in all types of work who were not accredited, and thus had not undergone such rigorous procedures, presumably because they had convinced the selecting officer that they were reliable.

This issue links to the third point, that the organisation of volunteers will affect the type of selection procedures deemed necessary. The Specials were highly formalised, so were some VSSs, and so indeed were Voluntary Associates working in some probation offices. But in these latter two agencies the structure was not always formal. Thus, even in a highly organised agency such as the probation service the organisation of volunteers at some offices did not match those of some of the voluntary sectors VSSs. For probation it was shown that the appointment of a volunteer coordinator could be useful but that a small team with highly committed officers, particularly a committed Senior Probation Officer was crucial. In other words, to talk about organisations per se ignores the fact that volunteers within them may be organised in different ways with varying degrees of enthusiasm and indifference.

However, in the context of an ideology of volunteering the means by which volunteers are selected are crucial in that they ensure that only those desired by the organisation were ultimately accepted. However, once appointed the process by which they become integrated (or not) into the organisation is of particular relevance.

10.6 ORGANISATION: HOW DO WE INTEGRATE VOLUNTEERS?

Early writers on volunteers (Aves, 1969; Barr, 1971) stressed the value of training in providing voluntary workers with the requisite knowledge and skills for their activity. In the field of policing it
has been noted by Banton (1973) and Fielding (1984a) among others, that training may play a part in inculcating officers with the norms and values of the organisation. This contention is absent from the volunteer literature and yet of crucial significance. This study has already shown that training plays a role in firstly, providing volunteers with skills pertaining to their voluntary work and secondly, as a means of integrating them into the organisation (or not doing so). The means by which the agencies in this study attempted to involve their volunteers is worthy of consideration here.

Prima facie evidence would suggest the value of training will depend on the nature of the task. It could be argued that for those whose voluntary work involved specialist tasks, such as advising on DHSS or insurance claims, or the law would require knowledge of DHSS, insurance or the law in order to pursue their voluntary activity. Conversely, those deployed in activities such as transporting clients would be less likely to require specialist preparation. In the context of the three agencies studied here such a comparison is interesting.

All Specials and VSS Volunteers potentially at least, could conceivably be required to impart specialist advice as a part of their voluntary work. Specials require knowledge of the law and police function in order to operate as police officers. VSS volunteers require counselling skills but as importantly, knowledge on how to make insurance claims, compensation rights and the processes of crime detection to advise victims accordingly. This knowledge is provided through a training programme.

Voluntary Associates are, however, rather different since some were
involved in what might be described as marginal tasks. To describe them as such is not to devalue their importance but in running football teams, in writing letters to prisoners, in transporting clients to court, training, though not unnecessary (5) is perhaps less essential. Befriending however, the main task of the Voluntary Associate, is rather different of course, requiring, as Barr (1971) has noted the need for some knowledge of what to expect as well as how to counsel clients.

It is perhaps not surprising therefore to find that Specials were significantly more likely than Voluntary Associates to claim that training was necessary (excluding don't knows $x^2 = 12.97$ P<0.01) as were VSS Volunteers (excluding don't knows $x^2 = 11.03$ P<0.01) although to conclude that this was due in its entirety to the fact that not all Voluntary Associates required specialist knowledge, is to overlook other explanations. For example, Voluntary Associate's work is always the responsibility of the professional who acts as an advisor with the two liaising regularly. In VSSs the coordinator assumes the role of advisor but the volunteer is responsible for the case. Similarly in the Specials, where although the regulars would normally in practice take upon themselves responsibility for say an arrest, the Special is still invested with the powers of a police officer and anyway some claimed they had individually made an arrest. And so Voluntary Associates unlike VSS Volunteers and Specials did not hold ultimate responsibility for their work, and consequently may not have viewed training as quite so paramount.

It could be equally true that Voluntary Associates were less inclined to value training because many had never benefitted from it.

Reference has been made to the ad hoc nature of probation volunteer
training much unlike the other two groups studied, since they were the only ones where training was not an automatic requirement of becoming a volunteer. It is true that the probation service recommended that they should, but this was not enshrined in agency regulations in the same way as it was in the police service and VSSs. This makes volunteers' views difficult to interpret. On the one hand it is possible that the scepticism of some Voluntary Associates towards training may have encouraged the service to approach it haphazardly; conversely, it could be argued that the disorganised programmes, and their absence altogether in some places, led some Voluntary Associates to view them as worthless. The two are undoubtedly interlinked.

In all though, volunteers were in favour of training, it merely being that this was less the case with Voluntary Associates. Nevertheless, the considerable scepticism regarding the training they had received is illustrated in Table 10.13.

It was mentioned at the beginning of this section that the main purpose of training was to provide volunteers with the necessary skills and knowledge to undertake their work but these findings cast aspersions on the extent to which present arrangements meet this expectation. A majority of Voluntary Associates and Specials were able to cite instances where subjects had been excluded from training, although these two agencies were at variance when asked to consider subjects that were unnecessary. Here Voluntary Associates drew attention to the fact that such was the poor organisation that any subject could prove useful, and many highlighted the need for a properly arranged course. The Specials posed rather a different reaction in that they were all in favour of training, but also shared with Voluntary Associates the belief that their arrangements were
Table 10.13
Volunteers Reflections On Training Programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is There Anything That is Excluded From Training?</th>
<th>Voluntary Associates n %age</th>
<th>Specials n %age</th>
<th>VSS Volunteers n %age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32 62.7</td>
<td>28 54.9</td>
<td>13 24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16 31.4</td>
<td>22 43.1</td>
<td>37 69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>3 5.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(excluding don't knows $x^2 = 17.54$ P<0.01)

Is There Anything In Training That Is Considered Unnecessary?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>2 3.4</th>
<th>12 23.5</th>
<th>7 13.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>56 96.6</td>
<td>39 76.5</td>
<td>45 86.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

($x^2 = 9.66$ P<0.01)

insufficient. Here though the complaint was not that the commitment of the agency was lacking, more that the subjects were not always the most relevant, and particularly that it was theory as opposed to practically based. VSS Volunteers were overall the least critical, although many volunteers were new and inexperienced, and so not in a position to state conclusively that training was not insufficient.

So what comments can be made with regards to the role of training in providing volunteers with the knowledge and skills to pursue the task? It would be tempting to suggest that those in specialist work require specialist knowledge but otherwise it is unnecessary. Certainly this was the view of some Voluntary Associates, but such generalisations should not be seen in isolation from other factors. Firstly, this is
also likely to be the view of the organisation. Where they deploy volunteers on specialist tasks they are also likely to extol the merits in them being prepared. Whether the organisation influences the volunteers or vice versa is an issue which is so interlinked that the arguments become indistinguishable. Secondly, apart from the work and whether it is specialist or not is the accompanying responsibility for it. In the case of Specials and VSS volunteers authority rests squarely on their shoulders. Nevertheless, to move on slightly, it was true that most volunteers wanted training but there was large scale dissatisfaction with the present arrangements. At least there was amongst Voluntary Associates and Specials, suggesting that agency efforts were insufficient for meeting volunteer needs. Here though the reasons for disenchantment were different. For Specials, courses tended to be too theoretical whereas for Voluntary Associates they were disorganised and did not exist at all in some instances. This particular finding has important implications for the second issue in respect of training programmes, in that they facilitate the transmission of the norms and values of the organisation.

In the next section volunteers' attitudes towards their work will be discussed, but here it is necessary to comment on the extent to which this may be influenced by training. The Specials were the only group to undertake regular and continuous training. For VSS volunteers it was only at their initial introduction to the agency with occasional 'refreshers' particularly at volunteer meetings, while with Voluntary Associates their appeared no standard regulation. This afforded the opportunity for Specials to inculcate the values of the organisation: essential to the integration of Specials into police work. The continuity of the programme also assisted in maintaining Specials' interest since it could be interpreted from the volunteer perspective.
at least, that the agency was interested in them and their work. Beyond accessing the police sub-culture, it also allowed them to enjoy an evening or weekend amongst people they knew and in many cases people they would call friends. In other words, the presence of training programmes and all that they entailed helped to maintain volunteer interest and provide a means by which they could become integrated into the organisation.\(^6\)

Thus, if training is important in building up a sense of commitment as has been suggested, then it would be expected that Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers because of the relatively weaker programmes, would be less likely to be integrated. As it was noted, VSS Volunteers received a course at their induction to the agency. Therefore it may be anticipated that while their initial enthusiasm would be high, this would fall away gradually unless revitalised either by sufficient work to occupy them, or else some other expression of agency interest in the volunteer. Similarly Voluntary Associates: often without an initial training programme and without sufficient work may lose interest in the probation service, although this may be rekindled by later courses or conferences. Certainly the Annual Voluntary Associate Conference in two parts of Devon was seen as evidence that the probation service were interested in them.

The role of training was then important in all three agencies, although the function it fulfilled in each differed. Clearly, in the context of maintaining interest or commitment this cannot be isolated from other issues, and perhaps can more usefully be discussed under the more general issue of what volunteers think of voluntary work in their agency.
10.7 VOLUNTEER: WHAT DO I THINK OF MY WORK IN THIS AGENCY?

It has been noted that training may be important in building up a sense of purpose and resolve amongst volunteers, which can be maintained if not increased by on-going courses. And so it may be expected that the commitment of Specials would be greater than that of volunteers in either of the other two agencies. Unfortunately, 'commitment' is less easy to measure although information derived from some interview questions, coupled with ethnographic data may throw some light on this issue.

Volunteers' commitment towards their work may in part be judged by the extent of their involvement in it. Again however, caution should surround any such comparisons. VSSs are a new organisation, both nationally and in some areas of the South West. This coupled with the low number of referrals resulted in large numbers of inexperienced volunteers (some having undertaken no work at all) who had not been afforded the opportunity to show their commitment, although of those who had visited a victim most were happy to revisit and few placed restrictions on who they would or would not feel able to help. It should be re-emphasised here that the indications of the high levels of interest in VSSs by its volunteers may in part be explained by the training programme that they initially received, in that it built up a sense of commitment. Most schemes of course held regular volunteer meetings where cases would be discussed, and this may have served to maintain the interest of those who had served for a considerable period.

However, comparing Specials and Voluntary Associates reveals an interesting picture as Table 10.14 displays. Large numbers of Voluntary Associates were no longer active at the time of the
interview and not all of these were 'dead wood'. Conversely, of the 3 inactive Specials only 2 were 'dead wood', the other suffering long term illness. Indeed, while only 39.6% of Voluntary Associates undertook more than 2 hours duty the same was true of 70.4% of Specials. Specials then, appeared to be more committed in terms of hours per week than Voluntary Associates.

Table 10.14

Hours Per Week Spent Working As A Volunteer In Named Agency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Hours Spent As Volunteer</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
<td>Specials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n %age</td>
<td>n %age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>24 41.4</td>
<td>3  5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than 2</td>
<td>11 19.0</td>
<td>12 23.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 4</td>
<td>12 20.7</td>
<td>21 41.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 8</td>
<td>10 17.2</td>
<td>12 23.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 8</td>
<td>1 1.7</td>
<td>3  5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58 100</td>
<td>51 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Comparing less than 2 hours with 2 hours or more $x^2 = 10.46$ P<0.01)

If commitment is measure in time spend with agency then the same results appear, in that Specials were the most likely of the three groups to have been within their organisation the longest. Indeed, Table 10.15 shows that a third had served for over 12 years, while well over a half of Voluntary Associates and just under a quarter of
VSS Volunteers had been a volunteer in their agency far less than 3 years. Nevertheless, these findings need to be placed in context.

Firstly, attention has already been drawn to the fact that VSSs are Table 10.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Spent Working As A Volunteer In Named Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Years Spent as Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Comparing under 4 years with 4 years and over $x^2 = 23.57 \ P < 0.01$)

new, the first scheme in the South West was only initiated in 1978 and obviously there was a limit to how long they could have served.

Secondly, periods of service cannot be isolated from reasons for joining, and it was noted that between a quarter and a fifth had cited career ambitions for becoming a Voluntary Associate. It may be expected then that their service would be shorter, since having gained the experience they would presumably wish to move on to pursue their career intentions.

To dwell too heavily on these factors however may result in
underestimating the extent to which Specials are in practice more highly committed. That they attached a higher significance to their undertaking was expressed in other ways. They for example, most strongly identified with the organisation in their decision to volunteer (in other words they did not want any type of voluntary work), and section 8.7 illustrated the considerable extent to which they were prepared to engage in police work, not only in a preparedness to fight but also in transgressing guidelines in pursuit of police objectives. Furthermore, as Table 10.16 shows, they were the group who were most likely to feel they should receive some form of financial compensation for their work. It has been noted that Specials were of the lowest social class, but the argument that payment was justified on the grounds of their need for money is somewhat diminished by their own contention that payment would serve

Table 10.16

Volunteer's Views On Whether They Should Receive Payment For Their Voluntary Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Should Receive Payment</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(excluding Don't Knows $x^2 = 30.05$ P<0.01)
as a means of professionalising their service, and thereby increase its status.

The table shows that VSS Volunteers least wanted compensation, in part linked to their higher social class. Moreover, they worked within a voluntary organisation and so were not as likely to see compensation as a viable proposition. For Voluntary Associates who were themselves significantly more likely to want payment than VSS volunteers (excluding Don't Knows $x^2 = 5.66 \ p<0.05$), the major reason offered was that it would enable them to feel appreciated, in other words as a form of recognition. In all though the preference to work without payment is a reflection of the strong identification with the volunteer principle.

The distinctiveness of Specials in gaining status from their voluntary work was illustrated further elsewhere. In America, volunteer awards are popular as a means of encouraging commitment and as a form of recognition for voluntary effort (Scheier, 1968). Thus, volunteers in this study were asked if they felt there should be a volunteer of the year award and Table 10.17 displays the results. Quite clearly it is Specials who are the exception in considering merits in this arrangement. Indeed, within the research area the police service was the only agency to offer awards to their volunteers. The Burgoynne Cup is awarded annually to a Special involved in a meritorious act on duty and in addition, there were commendations awarded by the Chief Constable to any Special who was involved in distinguishable police work. Furthermore, all Specials were awarded a long service medals on completion of 9 years, and bars to that medal after 19 years and 29 years. These were seen as a form of commending their public spirited work.
Table 10.17

Volunteer's Views on The Merits Of A Volunteer Of The Year Award

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Should Be Volunteer of Year Award</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(excluding Don't Knows $x^2 = 15.78$ P<0.01)

It has also been noted that the attraction of the uniform was important to some Specials serving as a form of job enrichment and added status to their voluntary work. It also was a means of identifying with the police and contributed to increasing their satisfaction with, and commitment to, the service. More importantly though Specials were involved in the everyday happenings of the organisation or at least the potential was there for them to be so. This is in stark contrast to probation and VSS volunteers.

Voluntary Associates were limited in what they could do, mainly because of the unavailability of work. Since they did not work directly with the professional they were not visible to the same extent as Specials were, and so could neither prove themselves as capable, nor offer the same permanent reminder of their presence as
the Special could. The lack of opportunities to get to know officers socially, and the fact that in any event they were not ultimately responsible for the work further hindered their integration. Similarly, VSS Volunteers also suffered a shortage of voluntary work, and were further isolated by the fact that responsibility for obtaining more referrals, which given the crime figures they believed to be obviously available, was outside their control. For these latter two groups there were limits as to how far they could become involved.

Greater involvement in the organisation also had other connotations which were likely to increase their interest and satisfaction with the work. As Table 10.18 shows the Specials were significantly more likely to state that they had friends who were volunteers in their agency than were either of the other two groups. Of course this is

Table 10.18
Friendship Of Respondents With Other Volunteers In Their Agency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Have Friends</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 20.48 \ \text{P}<0.01 \)
largely due to the fact that on-going training and socialisation afterwards increased the opportunities for doing so. Moreover, Specials had served longer and so were able to build up friendships over a greater time period, but having friends is also likely to increase their interest in the Special Constabulary. Indeed, Specials were more likely than Voluntary Associates to spend their leisure time with other volunteers \( (x^2 = 4.43 \ P<0.05) \) and professionals \( (x^2 = 9.6 \ P<0.01) \) in their own agency, and also to have friends who were professionals \( (x^2 = 21.6 \ P<0.01) \) within their agency.

The advantages then manifested themselves. After training sessions and volunteer meetings it has been noted that Specials retired to the bar, whereas Voluntary Associates rarely did this (see appendix 1). More commonly a cup of coffee during the meeting and casual conversation for a few minutes afterwards was the limit of interaction. For VSS Volunteers this varied. Occasionally when meetings or training sessions were held in the police station the propinquity of the bar attracted some volunteers to socialise, but this was less customary than for Specials, and where meetings were held elsewhere little attempt was made to move to a pub.

Commitment can also be measured by the extent to which volunteers would like to increase their involvement. The results to this particular question are illustrated in Table 10.19. Whilst an initial reaction to these figures may indicate a similar commitment to voluntary work from all respondents it needs to be recalled that both Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers were less active or involved than Specials. Given this it might have been anticipated that their keenness to become further involved would have been greater than the Specials. As such the results may in fact be interpreted as revealing
a stronger commitment on the part of the police volunteer. They were already more deeply involved and were similarly inclined to wish to undertake more duty.

Table 10.19
The Amount Of Work Volunteers Would Like To Undertake

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Work</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like To Do More</td>
<td>31   53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like To Do Less</td>
<td>1    1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Right Amount</td>
<td>24   41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>2    3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58   100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all then, Specials appeared to be the most committed group. This was linked not only to their reasons for joining, itself linked to an interest in the organisation, but also to organisational factors which encouraged greater integration. Training was merely a part of this process, the nature of the work further enhanced this commitment. Thus, while the probation service and VSSs could integrate their volunteers more fully and thereby increase their commitment by holding regular and more frequent training sessions and meetings, it is unlikely they will be able to increase it to the extent of the Specials because of their organisational constraints. They did not work alongside professionals to the same extent as Specials did, and
this, as has been shown, was limiting, not least because there was always the possibility of a Special 'double crewing' with a regular any time of day or night. This had other connotations. They defined their work as important, and wanted it 'professionalised', illustrated through the considerable support for the idea of receiving payment. These issues will be addressed in a rather different light in the following chapter, the point here is that there were less difficulties for Specials in identifying and being identified with the agency. The conditions were more perfect to induce a stronger commitment.

However, volunteers' attitudes towards their work can also be considered from the perspective of why they continue with it. It is to this issue we now turn.

10.8 VOLUNTEER: WHY DO I CONTINUE VOLUNTEERING?

It has already been noted that reasons for volunteering might be better understood by asking volunteers why they continue with their voluntary work. Moreover, why people continue may also reveal something about their attitude to their work or their commitment to the agency. Ideally this should be assessed in the context of why volunteers leave their work. While a questionnaire was forwarded to those leaving the police and probation services this additional survey was necessarily a long-term one, and it is unfortunately not possible to include the results here.

It is however possible to consider why people continue with their voluntary work and Table 10.20 displays the results for each of the three agencies, showing marked differences between them. For Voluntary Associates and Specials, Enjoyment is the most frequently cited reason, although the relative popularity of each is worthy of
additional comment. For Specials little of the other reasons feature

Table 10.20
Primary Reasons For Continuing With Their Voluntary Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason For Continuing With Voluntary Work</th>
<th>The Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n %age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>22 37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-Directed</td>
<td>16 27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Directed</td>
<td>5 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency-Committed</td>
<td>3 5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stickability</td>
<td>2 3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious-Based</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
<td>1 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Active</td>
<td>9 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>58 99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

prominently. They were involved in the organisation to a much greater extent and therefore had more reason to contend that they derived satisfaction from it. Of course this was the case for some Voluntary Associates, but few VSS Volunteers, largely because of their inexperience and the lack of work available. In other words, the relative emphasis of Enjoyment may have been expected given their
respective degrees of integration.

For VSS Volunteers the most popular reason for continuing was Other-Directed, the second most popular category amongst Voluntary Associates, although with very similar proportions of emphasis. Since this was mentioned by only 1 Special it conveniently raises the aforementioned hypothesis, that those involved in caring work are more likely to want to help other people. Clearly then, both organisational factors and the type of work, and these two are themselves closely inter-linked, are influential in maintaining the interest of the volunteers.

It is also significant that a far greater proportion of VSS Volunteers claimed to be Agency-Committed or continued for reasons of Stickability. It should be borne in mind and this point again requires particular emphasis here, that VSSs were relatively new in the South West. It is common that in the early stages of their existence schemes need to establish their identity, and prove their usefulness, to a police organisation traditionally sceptical of outsiders. As Chapter 9 showed, many schemes lacked referrals although they remained convinced that their work was beneficial, and that they should persevere in illustrating their value to the police. Given this then, it is not surprising that VSS Volunteers should emphasise Agency-Commitment and Stickability. They were not yet so integrated that they could claim to enjoy it, the situation with them was that they were with a new organisation struggling to establish an identity and their objective was to ensure that their continuance helped to achieve these ends. They were therefore committed in a rather different way to Specials.
However, before assessing this further it is worth drawing attention to one other difference between the agencies displayed in Table 10.20 concerning the relative popularity of the Self-Directed category. It has already been noted that Specials more than either of the other two groups gained status from their voluntary work. The uniform and the power derived from being a police officer were relevant factors here. This impression was further enhanced by the fact that they were the group who most wanted payment and volunteer awards as a means of recognising their considerable efforts. Given that Specials were also the group most involved in the work and integrated into the agency it is not surprising that it was they who most continued for Self-Directed reasons. They, by virtue of their greater involvement, had most reason to continue in their voluntary work for the benefits occurring to themselves. Indeed for them it was the second most popular reason. Voluntary Associates also cited this reason to a greater extent than VSS Volunteers, as they did in the context of reasons for joining the agency. This may reflect the fact that their work was more on-going and regulated than the occasional call to visit a victim which was the case for the VSS Volunteers, so they too had more reason to consider their type of work as primarily beneficial to themselves.

In all then the degree and nature of commitment varied for each group of volunteers. Specials were interested in the police organisation because of the opportunity it afforded for police work. This was enjoyable and their main reason for continuing, although for some the personal benefits were cited, which of course derived its own sense of enjoyment. VSS Volunteers were committed to the organisation, it was new and struggling to establish its identity and the volunteers were committed to achieving these ends. They also saw, in a rather
different sense, their continued involvement as a means of helping other people. It was unlikely that they could describe their voluntary work as enjoyable because the very nature of the work was ad hoc, and in addition there were limited opportunities for involvement. Voluntary Associates however, were to a certain extent, a mixture of the two. They were committed to the service, but the lack of work coupled with organisational restrictions hindered the extent of their integration. Furthermore, they were also attracted by the opportunity their work offered for helping other people. Overall, Voluntary Associates derived their satisfaction from the work, although not to the same extent as the Specials.

In the next chapter these findings will be elucidated further. Here it would appear advantageous to summarise this section in the light of the rest of this chapter.

10.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has comparatively analysed the motivations, integration and role of volunteers within the probation and police services and VSSs, and realised some interesting findings. Not least has been the discovery of the similarity of issues between the groups on the initial stages of volunteer work with the agency. In the initial decision to volunteer it was shown that for all three groups similar degrees of emphasis were apparent on certain factors. Most volunteers here noted Self-Directed reasons, confirming Sherrott's (1983) findings where he noted that volunteers were initially concerned with personal benefits. Moreover, while the debate has focussed on whether a motive is based on a pre-determined decision in terms of either altruism or egoism, it is apparent that this is not the case for a sizeable minority of volunteers who in fact Drift into voluntary work.
The Drift-Effect, as it has been termed, was true for as many volunteers as the much discussed philanthropic motive which here has been termed the Self-Directed reason for volunteering.

Such observations however, have only been possible by assessing people's reasons for volunteering as separate from those of why they join the agency. For some, but only a few, such a distinction was not possible. Specials in particular stressed an interest in the organisation; in other words, they volunteered directly because of a wish to participate in police work. However, even in assessing motivations for joining an agency there were salient similarities.

An interest in the organisation was prominent, particularly for Specials, a confirmation of their answers to the previous question and a reflection of the fact that the Specials is a very distinctive type of voluntary work. Thus, it was emphasised less by Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers where for them their work is merely one option of many types of caring and similar tasks. For Voluntary Associates career motivations feature predominantly which, while meriting separate classification, is also a reflection of their interest in the probation organisation. It was this agency as opposed to many others which they chose as a basis to prepare them for a welfare career.

VSSs are a new form of organisation of which there is much public ignorance (Hough and Mayhew, 1985), and so the organisation was emphasised least of all. Indeed, most volunteers Drifted into work with them, a factor though influential to all groups, which was particularly salient in the agency of which there is least public awareness. From this it is possible to suggest that while the agency
is of relatively little importance in the initial decision to volunteer, it can be of prominence for the person as to which type of work they wish to do. This is only true however when all other factors are equal. VSSs are distinct here in that they were new. Thus the Drift-Effect became all the more salient.

There were also similarities in the recruitment and selection procedures adopted by the organisations. All placed emphasis on the word of mouth recruitment process, only resorting to more formal methods in times of need. This ensured that only certain types of people came forward, but further vetting ensured that only those who were considered entirely suitable for voluntary work were left. The more stringent process of Specials was reflective of the nature of the work, but before discussing this it is necessary to emphasise the importance of rigorous selection procedures to the development of voluncultures.

The care placed on selecting only the right and same type of people, formed a foundation on which the agency inculcated its volunteers with its norms and values. Of course, there were inter organisational differences in terms of personal characteristics. Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers were similar but the latter contained higher proportions of the elderly, and also many housewives because the nature of the work required they be available, by preference, at all times but particularly during the day. The Specials were different again, but a larger working class and male element reflects the perceived character of police work as being male dominated, aggressive and assertive and thereby most likely to attract that type of person over the typical volunteer, which overall was far less salient than Aves (1969) indicated. Voluntary Associates were the
most eclectic group, but they were also the group involved in the
greatest variety of work and so distinct types were less necessary.

Similar types of people undertaking similar types of work is a sound
foundation for the development of voluncultures. However, these were
reinforced by providing volunteers with a training programme and it is
at this point that the similarities between the agencies subside and
the differences become emphasised. The strongest sub-culture was
unquestionably that of the Specials because the ground was more
fertile for its development. The on-going training programme provided
an opportunity to meet and socialise with other volunteers and
professionals. The presence of a police bar in each station further
encouraged this process since it facilitated to a greater degree the
opportunity to access the police culture, and to make friends amongst
police personnel.

For VSS Volunteers, an initial programme was available supplemented by
on-going meetings, and while they were often housed in the police
station they were less frequent and were not to the same extent in
their own territory like the Special. The police volunteers were able
to establish an identity with the station, it was 'their' station.
Perhaps because of this there was far less of a tendency for VSS
Volunteers to socialise in this way after a meeting.

Voluntary Associates fared worse. Many had received no training at
all and many of those that had commented on its disorganisation. This
limited the extent to which they could become integrated initially and
was not helped by a further lack of volunteer meetings. Thus
training, normally viewed as a means of providing skills also had an
influence upon the integration of volunteers into the organisation.
Of course training is only one dimension to the development of voluncultures, the nature of the organisation and its work is also important. Again for Specials there were distinct advantages. The opportunities for voluntary work were considerably greater. Policing is a 24 hour a day practice and Specials could work either alone or accompany a professional. The fact that they worked with a professional is also important here since this in itself provided them with a model; it increased the numbers of people they knew and thereby enhanced their integration into the organisation. Furthermore, they wore a uniform and this provided a sense of identity with the police service; they were recognised as police officers by the general public. Again Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers were less fortunate in that they suffered from a lack of work, itself limiting the extent to which they could become involved. Moreover, neither worked with a professional directly. For probation volunteers and for that matter VSS Volunteers, help was there when needed, but they could not identify to the same extent as the Specials. As a result their volunculture was somewhat weaker.

A strong volunculture improves commitment or at least provides for integration, which was more readily apparent for Specials. This in itself increases satisfaction with the work and Specials were most likely to say that they continued with it because they enjoyed it. This was predictably emphasised less by Voluntary Associates who mentioned the benefits their volunteering offered in helping others, as did VSS Volunteers. Indeed, this latter group emphasised their commitment to the agency. It was new and struggling to establish an identity and they were keen to support the bona fides of the organisation. So while Specials were committed to the work and the volunculture, VSS volunteers, who were mostly too inexperienced to say
they enjoyed it, stressed a commitment to the agency. Voluntary Associates are less easy to place, although their commitment was less strong because their was little work and little obvious reason (to them) for this to be the case.

Thus, initial motivations but also organisational practices are crucial in terms of obtaining maximum commitment from volunteers. Where organisations are geared consciously or not to integrating volunteers, providing them with a sense of purpose and identity, then the rewards in terms of output may be higher. It would be interesting in this context to compare reasons for leaving but this was not possible to complete during the research period.

It has also been shown that volunteers adopt ideologies which appear similar to those of the organisation. Thus, Voluntary Associates favoured softer sentences, had a less rosy picture of the police, saw offenders in a more favourable light, were less concerned about the crime problem and identified more closely with the political left, while Specials were the antithesis of this, with the VSS Volunteers consistently somewhere between the two.

In all then it is possible to argue a case for an ideology of volunteering within this study, in that for the initial parts of the Volunteer Process factors influential on both the volunteer and organisation remained similar. It is only as the volunteer becomes further involved in the organisation that it is at the mercy of the agency which is able then to influence the nature of the volunculture, in other words the degree of integration and commitment it affords its volunteers.
1. The figures for Self-Directed reasons would then be as follows; Voluntary Associates 48.3%; Specials 47.0%; and VSS Volunteers 41.8%.

2. Earlier it was suggested that social class also needs to be evaluated in terms of behaviour. For example, it may be expected that the more middle class the group the more likely they would have past and present voluntary activity and also give to charities on a more regular basis. When asked about previous voluntary work, Voluntary Associates were the most likely to have done so (75.9% of total) with VSS Volunteers only slightly less (61.8%) and Specials considerably less involved in this way (excluding don't knows $x^2 = 13.17 P<0.05$). When present voluntary activity was analysed, again more Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers were more likely to be involved than Specials although this was not statistically significant. Moreover, while over a half of VSS Volunteers (54.4%) donated money to charities on a regular basis, this was true for over a quarter of Voluntary Associates (27.6%) but only 7.8% of Specials (comparing giving on a regular basis with the rest $x^2 = 27.6 P<0.01$).

3. Gay and Hatch (1983) make the point that deliberate efforts will have to be made if agencies are to maximise the volunteer potential amongst the unemployed.

4. It needs to be borne in mind that Devon and Cornwall is a largely Conservative area as was noted in Chapter 5. The Voluntary Associate Support for Labour is well above that for the two counties as a whole.

5. It could be argued that there exists some therapeutic benefit in running a football team as group work. Or alternatively transporting clients to court affords the opportunity to meet and gain the confidence of a client or to gain necessary information or whatever. The point that is being made here is that training may be more important for some tasks than for others.

6. The police were able to reinforce this through the running of Residential Weekend Training courses, which was evidence to the Specials that their contribution was recognised and valued.
CHAPTER 11

ORGANISATIONAL POLICY AND VOLUNTEERS
11.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 it was shown that comparing agencies within the voluntary sector was problematic because of the variety of organisational types that exist (Hatch, 1980), and that comparing volunteers within different state agencies had attracted little attention. All too often the difficulties have been highlighted at the expense of a concerted effort to attempt some comparisons. On the other hand, studies of volunteers in one agency have encouraged a narrow analysis.

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to compare the different groups of volunteers. It was shown that it is possible to determine an ideology of volunteering which transcends the boundaries of different agencies. Here, it is the intention to discuss organisational policies and the various ways they affect the volunteer, thereby suggesting how best organisations can adopt a stance which maximises the volunteer potential. Whilst clearly this will be undertaken with specific reference to the three agencies studied, it is hoped the suggestions may have a more practical relevance within the wider volunteer field.

Essentially, it needs to be asked, how best can volunteers be organised? This entails a discussion of the three agencies means of organising volunteers, indicating the most favourable policies and outcomes while at the same time identifying the worst excesses. The problem can be approached by firstly looking at the role of the professional, which, as has been shown, is central to successful volunteer integration, and then against this background look at more specific policies operated by agencies. It is however necessary to guard against over-identification, and this will form the focus of the third section.
11.2 THE PROFESSIONAL AND THE VOLUNTEERS

It was noted in Chapter 1 that professionals and volunteers working alongside each other can be found in both the voluntary and statutory sectors. In this study a voluntary organisation was included, which, in the South West at least, consisted of volunteers only. This enabled a more detailed analysis of the role of the professional in volunteer use than might otherwise have been the case. Professionals were in effect gatekeepers to involvement and also role models, and that they existed for Voluntary Associates and Specials and not in this latter respect for VSS volunteers is worthy of further comment here. The point is that probation and police volunteers needed as individuals to show they were capable of becoming involved in the work of their agency. In the case of the VSS Volunteer the need to prove their necessity to the police fell upon the organisation as a whole (or more specifically the committee), rather than the individual. This difference is important.

The *prima facie* evidence would suggest that police officers were more likely than probation officers to resist the use of volunteers. They after all were sceptical of outsiders and probably work with outside agencies less. Moreover, the volunteers actually worked alongside them and thus could pose a more direct threat to their sub-culture. In probation this is less evident, and in any event Voluntary Associates tended to work separately. For these and other reasons there is a case for contending that the police were likely to be more sceptical, yet as the previous chapter illustrated, it was Specials who appeared to be the most integrated. The reason for this was that for Specials the conditions were more conducive to integration. So what can be learned from them in respect of maximising the volunteer potential?
Specials actually accompanied professionals in the normal course of their duty to a far greater extent than Voluntary Associates. They could be seen to be doing and indeed were doing 'real police work' and even where they worked alone, they were still fulfilling the same duties as any officer. Voluntary Associates however were frequently on the margins of activity. When they did work with clients either on a one to one basis or within groups, the professional was less likely to be 'there', and this in itself had ramifications. Thus, it was easier for Specials to become integrated into the organisation. They had greater contact, and consequently they were able to prove themselves more easily.

Of course police stations contained bars, easily and readily identifiable means of socialisation, and enabled the Specials to meet professionals in an informal atmosphere. This in itself facilitated the opportunity to develop friendships or at the very least become identified as a police officer. Moreover, Specials could at least be identified and recognised as a part of the organisation. As one police officer commented during a conversation in the police bar:

"Some Specials complain that they don't know the regulars very well. It is not surprising if they never come down here (the bar). I mean this is where you are going to meet policemen, not in the street. I don't care if they drink orange juices all evening as long as they come down and join in the laugh."

This facility was not readily available for Voluntary Associates. The fact that they worked less with the professionals further hindered the extent to which they were in a position to meet officers socially. There is not the same tradition in the probation service as there is in the police, of meeting and socialising after work. Furthermore, by virtue of being a Special police volunteers were members of the police social club and thus could, and did, visit the police bar in their
leisure time. This further enhanced their integration into the police and ensured a greater identity with it. These two factors were indistinguishable and acted as mutual reinforcers.

It has been noted that the police possess a strong sub-culture which is likely to discourage a favourable view of outsiders (Holdaway, 1983). Whilst this is clearly true it nevertheless needs to be added that once Specials had proved their capabilities and become ensconced in the organisation, then the advantages were plenty. They became a part of the police service and gained a sense of belonging. This was due not only to the fact that being incorporated into the sub-culture provided for this, but also that they had been required to prove themselves and had done so successfully. They had earned the right to be looked upon as a good police officer in the eyes of their professional colleagues, and this reinforced their own sense of worth. Indeed, it will be recalled that volunteers considered professionals to have a more positive attitude towards them personally than they did towards the Special Constabulary as a whole. Many commented on the indifference of some police officers for example, so they recognised that their own position was one of privilege; there was scepticism, but they were one of the 'chosen few'. Again, this reinforced their own sense of belonging. For Voluntary Associates no such sub-culture existed, so whilst initially there was not a barrier to integration, there were also none of the advantages which can be derived from a shared identity with a group of people.

VSS Volunteers did not work alongside the professional and were not in direct contact with them. While police officers were responsible for providing referrals it was not the volunteer's responsibility to prove the value of the organisation. This was the purpose of the committee
as the NAVSS guidelines have sought to adumbrate. Thus, VSS Volunteers were powerless when it came to proving their own value. They were distanced, because of the nature of their organisation, from the gatekeepers. Even if they successfully helped the victim with complex problems there was no guarantee the police referrer (nor the individual officers who initially attend the scenes of the crime), would be aware of this. True, all committees contained police representatives who it was hoped would pass back to colleagues the bona fides of the volunteers, but in practice it was impossible for all officers to be made aware of the good work of each volunteer. The police officer already uncertain of outside agencies, could not be made aware of individual VSS Volunteers' achievements,\(^1\) so VSS Volunteers could not prove themselves to quite the same extent.\(^2\) As a result the amount of work they received was lower, and their integration into their own agency was thwarted.

This situation was certainly not eased by virtue of the fact that VSSs were new. While this initially was sufficient to maintain their enthusiasm and interest - they were part of a new cause - this was in danger of being threatened. Certainly one scheme folded because of, in part, a lack of referrals and elsewhere at least one coordinator was so disillusioned as to consider resignation, only prevented by cajoled persuasion from the Vice Chairman. VSSs then suffered not only from being voluntary organisations and therefore separate from the professional, but also being new and without an established identity.

In all the following situation is apparent. The Specials were well integrated into the police.\(^3\) They did the same work as the professional working alongside them; they were able to define it as
'their' service, at least they were once they had proved themselves. This in itself only encouraged integration since they had successfully jumped the hurdles which had confronted them. Here morale was higher.

For Voluntary Associates the conditions pertaining to the organisation were not conducive to maximising volunteer potential. They worked away from the professional, contact was minimal in that it was frequently confined to occasions when advice on casework deemed it necessary. Thus, it was less easy for Voluntary Associates to illustrate their own value and commitment to the officers who referred cases. This situation was not assuaged by the preference of probation officers to maintain their working autonomy and this led to a sense of confusion among the volunteers.

For VSS Volunteers the problems are perhaps more severe. On the one hand they needed to prove themselves but the responsibility for this was not theirs. They were distanced from the professionals not only in being an outside agency but also in it being the committee's task to establish contact. On the other hand, the fact that VSSs were new built up a sense of purpose amongst the volunteers. They were committed towards establishing the organisation, indeed many cited this as their reason for continuing with their voluntary work. The danger here is that if the scheme fails to provide sufficient work to maintain volunteer interest they could, as a consequence, suffer a reduction in, or filtering away of, the volunteer commitment. The advantages of a longitudinal study here are obvious.

Any eulogy of the police service here however needs to be considered in the light of the consequences. Specials identified with the police service but to such an extent that they were prepared to cover up police mal-practice. In one sense they over identified. Voluntary
Associates were the reverse. They lacked integration and were not able to identify enough. VSS Volunteers were able to identify but the problem here is that this may be short term with a fear that ultimately they may slip into a similar position as that of Voluntary Associates. So how can an agency ensure that it benefits from the best points of each mentioned here, but at the same time minimise the less attractive elements?

11.3 MAXIMISING THE VOLUNTEER CONTRIBUTION

The previous chapter underlined the fact that volunteers were involved in different ways and committed to varying degrees. Here the object is to indicate areas where organisations could, through policy changes, improve for the better the conditions under which their volunteers are deployed, and thereby maximise the potential which exists in volunteers. It is perhaps best to consider this issue under sub-headings.

11.3.1 RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Much has been made so far of the word of mouth recruitment strategy coupled with strict selection procedures which have resulted in only certain types of people ultimately being accepted as volunteers. Rather less has been made of the implications of this. Writers from Beveridge and Wells (1949) to Wolfenden (1978) have seen a major role for the voluntary sector and volunteers in offering a means by which all can become involved in their society. In practice there is much to question the belief that participation is open to all. True, mainly working class groups of volunteers such as tenants associations have evolved (particularly vis a vis self-help groups) but in most areas of the welfare state at least, participation on a voluntary level has been restricted to the middle classes.
To extend this a little further, much could made of the argument that volunteers working in state agencies are a means of democracising those agencies. This is very much back to the 'roots in the people' notion which was discussed at the beginning of this thesis. But accountable to whom? Seemingly those who do become involved are distinct either in terms of their social class (Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers) or in being strongly in favour of the methods of their organisation (Specials) or both. So how can agencies rectify this dilemma by incorporating a much wider 'type' of person?

It has been mentioned that Holme and Maizels (1978) discovered one probation officer who was opposed to the use of volunteers because they were viewed as 'do gooders', a comment that has been frequently mentioned in the wider volunteer literature. What has not been considered is the extent to which this is determined by the professional's own selection procedures. There is much support here for the contention that professionals must be made more aware of the issues surrounding the use of volunteers. This is not a new suggestion but it stems from the criticism that sequences on volunteers are a much neglected part of welfare related professional training. The problem here is that it appears rather more effort has been channelled into identifying the problem than has been directed at overcoming it. This is regrettable to an extreme. Until this deficiency is rectified words such as 'participation' and 'accountability' will remain relevant only within the boundaries of academic discussion.

Of crucial relevance here is the importance of recruitment and selection procedures. By broadening an awareness of the way volunteers are selected, the problem of a middle class bias can in
part be overcome. Of course there are difficulties in all methods but there exists much untapped potential amongst the working class and unemployed. The latter at least have time, an important element in voluntary work, and yet little effort is made to tap this source. A concerted effort, perhaps by advertisements in DHSS offices and job centres might be a useful starting point. It has already been noted that Hadley and Scott (1980) encouraged some people to volunteer who might not otherwise have done so and this study has already revealed the prominence of the Drift-Effect.

In terms of recruiting locally within a community, much more could be made of advertisements in shop windows and libraries. Such methods would also have the advantage of advertising the work of the agency within the local community and also add meaning to local accountability. It has already been shown that volunteers are, for the most part, happy to pursue voluntary activity within their own locality. Clearly this should be seen as paralleling efforts made by professionals (trained and conversant with the issues mentioned above) in encouraging volunteer recruits from within their own community. By this means then the chances of widening the variety of people applying might be increased, and consequently bring alive the debate that volunteers are a means of all levels of society becoming involved in the state or welfare work.

11.3.2 TRAINING, COORDINATING AND INVOLVEMENT THROUGH SOCIALISATION

The need for training was doubted by only a few of the total number of volunteers and these were mostly Voluntary Associates, reasons for which have already been discussed at length. Nevertheless, in seeing a need for training to provide them with the necessary knowledge in order to pursue their activity, they support the observations of
previous research in this area (Aves, 1969; Barr, 1971; Dollarhide, undated). What has been less recognisable from previous studies and what this research has hopefully illustrated, is that training also serves other functions which are not immediately apparent. It is for example evidence that the agency is interested in its volunteers and provides it with a means of inculcating volunteers with its norms and values. This in itself is crucial in integrating volunteers into the agencies work and providing them with a sense of belonging and purpose. Thus, for VSS Volunteers the initial training they received helped to provide them with the commitment and notion that they were involved in an agency struggling to establish a worthy cause. Volunteer meetings helped to build upon this, but that they were not universally held was a common lament. Voluntary Associates benefitted from training least of all. It was often not provided in the initial stages and frequently was either absent altogether or so ad hoc as to not constitute a proper programme. That many worked alone and not directly with a professional increased the scope for feelings of isolation. Specials were the most contented in that they had on-going training (admittedly through the winter months only), which served to endorse their compliance.

There is much that could be gained from a joint training programme of volunteers in the criminal justice system. There would be several benefits to this. Firstly, it would result in a more informed understanding of the judicial process and serve as a public relations device. Secondly, it would encourage inter-agency cooperation. Thirdly, it would involve a pooling of resources which may ultimately benefit the hard pressed voluntary sector. Fourthly, given that many people appear to drift into voluntary work is it possible that some are not involved in work most closely allied to their interests.
Joint training preceding their entrance into an agency would facilitate a more informed decision. Fifthly, it would allow all persons to understand their roles as volunteers. From the public's point of view teaching concepts such as 'accountability' and 'democracy' as they relate to volunteering, may help to build an identity as a volunteer. This may be particularly important in the context of the police service where Specials over identify with the organisation (see next section). Presently, the tendency for each group of volunteers to work, for the most part, in isolation, thwarts such initiatives. Clearly though there would be gains.

Certainly there exists a strong foundation on which to recommend that all volunteers should be provided with a training programme on their induction to the agency, which should be topped up on a regular basis. In the case of Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers the need for such in-depth training such as that of the Specials is less apparent, but regular volunteer meetings can serve a useful purpose. They provide an opportunity for asking questions and discussing cases, but also for including lectures on any topic considered of importance at the time. Experienced Volunteers could also be included in programmes for new recruits both in attending them as refreshers, and as teachers relating experiences of what the work entails. This would also benefit new volunteers who would gain a far deeper insight into the organisation and help them decide if this is the type of work they wished to do.

The involvement of the professional in volunteer training is also crucial. It provides them with the opportunity of advising volunteers of their expectations and of inculcating them with the norms and values of the organisation. It is true that professionals are busy
people, and volunteers recognised this, but there is a case for arguing that they could attend on an organised rotational basis, one professional being assigned to attend each meeting.\(^{(5)}\) Such a policy would also be of value in illustrating to volunteers that they are appreciated by those who are responsible for allocating the work.

Organisations also need to be responsive to volunteers' views on programmes. Here the position of a supervisor or coordinator is of importance. Probably the most effective coordinators were those in VSSs. They were all voluntary, mostly housewives or retired and had the time and status within their organisation to act upon volunteer wishes. In the Probation Service the one paid coordinator of volunteers was not a qualified probation officer and was therefore most likely not viewed as a fellow professional by other officers. The position therefore lacked the necessary status within the probation service hierarchy. The post certainly did not carry the status which would be necessary to coordinate effectively. In the case of the Specials the problem was the reverse. Specifically appointed sergeants coordinated volunteers. They had the status to act upon volunteer concerns but lacked the time since the Special Constabulary was only one of their many responsibilities.

As a result, there is much to commend the appointment of a coordinator, certainly in the Probation and Police Services, who is a professional but whose primary responsibility is the coordination of volunteers. If this appears naive given the heavy workloads already incumbent upon professionals, then attention need only be drawn to the wealth of resources which properly prepared and organised volunteers can provide. The problem presently is that very little attention is paid to maximising this potential. A professional coordinator is one step towards achieving that end.
However, simply appointing designated professionals to coordinate volunteers will not in itself be sufficient. Few, if any of those presently coordinating volunteers within the three agencies studied had received any training for their task. Yet the interesting, and much under referenced work of Richards (1977), revealed that organising volunteers is a highly skilled job requiring specific expertise which needs to be acquired through training (see also Doran et. al., 1981; Gooch and Wright, 1981). So in addition to educating professionals generally on issues relating to volunteer use, it is equally essential that volunteer organisers, as Richards termed them, be appropriately prepared for their function.

It was suggested above that VSS coordinators locally were probably the most efficient of all because they had the time, and in most cases, relatively little work to do. In other parts of the country, such is the burden on coordinators, that schemes have sought funding to support a paid position. It will be recalled that partly because of the workload, some VSS Volunteers considered there was justification for employing the regional coordinator rather than rely on a volunteer as was presently the case. The point is that they saw value in having an overseer to coordinate the work of VSSs in the South West. In the police a similar volunteer coordinator existed in the Force Commandant. The present incumbent of this post was a former senior police officer in Devon and Cornwall Police. He was familiar with police organisational practices, and now retired also had the time to commit to the Specials. He had an office at Headquarters which afforded him access to senior officers, and was thus ideally placed to coordinate the activities of Specials. Indeed, Training Sergeants (and other regulars and Specials) would frequently contact him either at his office or at home to seek his advice. He was the resident
expert on the Specials and was viewed as such by regular officers. So in addition to training Sergeants locally, there was the Force Commandant. In the probation service it was noted that only one area coordinator existed and he lacked status within the organisation. Given the benefits derived from appointing a retired senior officer as Force Commandant in the Specials, there appears much to commend a move by the probation service to do the same. Hadley and Scott (1980) have revealed the enormous volunteer potential amongst the elderly generally. Rather less attention has been paid to retired professionals returning to their agency to offer their experience voluntarily, although clearly there is considerable scope for this.

Of course this alone whilst improving the organisation of volunteers, and thereby integrating them more into the agency, is unlikely to be sufficient to overcome the barrier of a lack of professional interest in them. In all probability it will be necessary to employ a professional in addition to illustrate to colleagues the importance attached to the volunteer contribution, but working in harmony with the retired professional coordinator. The appointment of the latter could be seen as a step towards the employment of the former. Nevertheless, the point is, as Quinne and Bazalgette (1979) found, supervision and coordination are essential in maximising the volunteer potential.

The Specials also benefitted from a greater degree of socialisation. They were able to meet professionals and other volunteers and therefore build up a rapport with the organisation. This unquestionably aided their integration. To recommend the same for other groups of volunteers is to border on the naive. Clearly the Specials here had distinct advantages in the propinquity of the bar.
One probation group did, however, attempt to integrate their volunteers in rather a different way. The Senior Probation Officer was keen that Voluntary Associates should feel a part of the probation team, and so regular volunteer meetings were organised in which the officers were encouraged to participate. More importantly though the Senior made it clear that the staff room was their staff room, and they were welcome at any time to drop by for a coffee and meet anyone who was available. They were also given access to telephones and secretaries, and it was arranged that all typing should receive punctual attention. The Voluntary Associates were also given a notice board where messages could be left in the hope of retaining the interest of the volunteers. Unfortunately, this innovation came towards the end of the research period and so the long term benefits could not be fully evaluated. Nevertheless, it represents a means by which Voluntary Associates could build up an identity with the service and it is therefore to be welcomed. It certainly appears more inviting than the occasional social evening which was the most common form of socialisation between Voluntary Associates and probation officers.

In all then training and coordination are crucial elements in maximising volunteer interest and commitment, which can be enhanced by socialisation, all helping to build up a sense of belonging to the agency. The role of the professional is obviously crucial and this is underlined further in a consideration of the deployment of volunteers.

11.3.3 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

Perhaps the most crucial factor in the use of volunteers is the provision of sufficient work to occupy their time and fulfil their expectations. It is safe to suggest that all people who volunteer are
keen to engage in the work of the organisation. True, it is possible to advance an argument that if people volunteer because of, say, the status attached to being a Special, then it cannot automatically be deduced that they would want to become involved in the work, their needs having been met in holding the office of Special. However, rigorous selection procedures guard against this, and the results showed little evidence that this was the case in practice. Since they want to become involved then, the provision of work is essential.

In this study the majority of volunteers in each agency claimed they would like to take on more work. Some Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers complained that they had never been approached to take on a client. Such a state of affairs does little to induce enthusiasm. Low morale can lead to isolation and the consequent frustration of volunteers. As such many of the advantages of having volunteers, say in them spreading a favourable and informed impression of the agency amongst the general population, is lost. They become a burden and an anathema to the organisation in question.

There can be little doubt that Voluntary Associates were the more critical. They had most reason to be. Their agency was already the least interested in their volunteers, reflected by their higher rates of inactivity. They of course, were generally not critical of the professionals, indeed eulogies were common and there were frequent comments to the difficult circumstances - particularly the pressures of heavy workloads - under which professionals were required to operate. Nevertheless, organisational policy was not conducive to integration.

In part, this situation could be rectified by the implementation of
suggestions discussed above; training, proper coordination, contact with the professionals, would all be likely to make them better placed to engage in work. It would also allow for proper efforts to be made on volunteers' induction to an agency to outline to them what they might reasonably be expected to do. Also to obtain from the volunteers the type of tasks they would like to pursue and the amount of time they would be able to commit. Taking note of and attempting to meet these requests are influential in meeting volunteer expectations.

This is however, somewhat less easy for VSSs. Since many schemes were new, they were unsure as to how many referrals to expect and this gave way to problems. One rural scheme for example, based its anticipated number of referrals on half that of a neighbouring city scheme, following a talk in its embryonic stages from the city scheme's coordinator. Consequently volunteers were appointed and were primed as to the minimum number of referrals that they may each expect to receive in the coming year. Whilst it is not unusual for schemes to receive a low number of referrals in their first year of operation, in this case they were particularly infrequent, in part due to their failure to convince the police of their value. As a consequence the volunteers, though still committed to the victims cause, were deprived of the opportunity to engage in voluntary work to the extent that they would have preferred and had been led to expect.

In another scheme a rather different but parallel problem existed. This was a particularly large scheme covering almost the whole of one of the six police Divisions in Devon and Cornwall. This meant that large numbers of volunteers were required to cover all areas. But because of a poor referral policy, and the organisational problems of
maintaining volunteer interest when training and volunteer meetings were rendered impractical, many volunteers were for the most part inactive. (6)

There are at least two lessons that can be learned from this. Firstly, it is important that volunteers should only be recruited when there is a guarantee that a minimum amount of work is available. Where this is less easy to regulate or predict, as in the case of a new VSS, it is essential and common courtesy that volunteers should be advised of this fact and that only the minimum number of volunteers should be recruited. It is possible to draw up a reserve list of volunteers who could be trained and deployed as and when there is sufficient work available. Training does build up an eagerness to engage in the work. In the circumstances it would appear advantageous to occupy a few fully (according to their own preferences) as opposed to many more only a little. Secondly, there are merits in organising volunteers in small units. This way they can identify with the agency more, but also with the locality and as such offer meaning to the concept of local accountability.

Part of the problem regarding the professionals' reluctance to engage volunteers in their work relates to the fact that they remain unconvinced by the argument that volunteers save time, which has been advanced in the American literature with respect to the amplification factor (Scheier, 1968) discussed in Chapter 1. Such discussions cannot be isolated from the fact that professionals are not trained in the use of volunteers, and therefore not in a position to judge the potential of the lay presence, although it still has not been shown that volunteers do in fact save time. There would seem merits here in advocating a research project to elucidate this. Nevertheless,
volunteers in all the agencies studied served other purposes to the professionals in releasing them to pursue other tasks and in the case of the Specials provided them with company and even support when situations demanded. Again then the need to train the professional is cardinal in discussions of successful ways of integrating volunteers.

11.4 THE LIMITS TO INTEGRATION

So far this chapter has discussed methods of integrating volunteers drawing particularly upon the Police Service as the most successful in maximising the volunteer potential. It has left unchallenged the idea that there are inherent problems. Yet, this thesis has shown that in their role as part-time policemen Specials identify strongly with the police perspective. In some instances they were prepared to view police mal-practice when it occurred as a normal part of policing and necessary in achieving police objectives, rather than as a transgression of legal guidelines which should be brought to wider attention. In terms of accountability therefore the Specials fail to live up to expectations articulated by Morris (1969) vis a vis volunteers in general. In a sense the problem with the Specials is that they over identify with the organisation. This is in stark contrast to Voluntary Associates where it has been shown that a lack of training and work has led to an under-identification with the Probation Service. Means of integrating volunteers has already been discussed, but how can over-identification largely in the interests of employees, be controlled?

It would perhaps seem pertinent to commence this discussion by looking at the factors which enable Specials to become integrated to the extent they do, and consider ways in which these may be organised differently in order to generate an alternative response. One method
is through the highly structured training programme and the socialisation afterwards. However, while it has been shown that there was some doubt as to whether training was organised to the best advantage, there was no question that it was necessary. Indeed, such were the advantages in training volunteers the writer has argued elsewhere that this should be a condition of their use. Similarly so with socialising from which Specials not only derived enjoyment but also friendships. Moreover, there is little evidence that reduction in either would ensure any benefits, since it was their absence among Voluntary Associates that was considered so detrimental.

The point is to encourage Specials to view their work as voluntary and not as that of part-time policemen. There would thus seem advantages in 'distancing' them from regular officers in order that they might not identify with the police so emphatically. One idea would be to make their uniform different, modelling it less on that of the regular officer. However, this was undertaken by the Working Party Report (1976) and as Chapter 3 discussed was much lamented by a caucus of Specials as the Working Party Report (1981) readily acknowledged. Indeed, within Devon and Cornwall there was much antipathy from the Specials towards a former Chief Constable who had not permitted their wearing of the chequered hat bands (as the regulars do), both against the recommendation of the Working Party Report (1976) and out of alignment with force policy in other Constabularies. Moreover, it was a common complaint of many women Specials that they were required to wear blue uniforms, where for regulars and other women Specials they were black. The women complained that they were frequently mistaken for traffic wardens or bus inspectors. As such any differentiating on the basis of uniforms would likely to be viewed as an indication that the police valued them less, especially since the policy had been
tried and failed once already. Thus, while any change in uniform may serve to encourage Specials to look upon themselves less as police officers, there is no evidence that they would be more likely to view themselves as volunteers.

Perhaps a more viable method, on the face of it anyway, would be to train Specials to view their role as volunteers rather than as police officers. Section 11.3.2 noted the advantages of a joint training programme which might allow a Special to build up an identity as a volunteer, rather than a police officer. Understanding concepts such as 'accountability' in the context of volunteering are paths to achieving this aim.

Teaching Specials to define their role less as police helping the police, and more as the public helping the public is fraught with difficulties for at least two reasons. Firstly, the whole point about Specials' integration is that they were able to access the police sub-culture, the key to which was proving that they were a 'good' Special. To advocate any policy that would impede their involvement would result in them being engaged in police work less. Regulars are the gatekeepers, and if it was apparent that Specials en masse were a threat (and some felt this anyway under present arrangements), then the result would be a general disregard for the volunteer leading to alienation. The Specials have fought hard to be accepted, any suggestion or policy threatening this position would be likely to meet with universal disregard from both the professional and the lay counterpart. Secondly, the fact of the matter is that any enquiry into police mis-conduct would require corroboration. Without other evidence it is unlikely that a Special's word against a regulars would be sufficient to support a charge.
In all then total integration has a price for the public in over-identification, and while there are means by which this could be challenged it could not easily be undertaken without a consequent drop in morale. Indeed, there is a case for arguing that in the Probation Service for example, the probation officer may be more inclined to use a volunteer if they were certain the volunteer had common aims to themselves, or were unlikely to question methods used or pose a threat in any other way. Unfortunately therefore, solutions to this problem are fraught with difficulties.

Thus over-identification is a price the public must pay for fully integrated volunteers, and at this point it seems poignant to dwell on the advantages of volunteer use such as providing an extra resource, allowing people to express feelings of altruism and so on. But how important is over-identification? After all amongst academics the notion that volunteers can report misdemeanours, democratising the system etc is seen as one of principal benefits. Clearly this is an issue, but it should be emphasised that professionals generally do not conduct themselves in a manner likely to offend most members of the public. Specials did state this, and the fact that they received this impression from the public's viewpoint was encouraging. Moreover, it might also be added that the mere presence of a volunteer may at least thwart any unprincipled intentions on the part of the professional. Thus, the advantages of a lay presence, even under these conditions outweigh the disadvantages.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that it would not be in the best public interest to pay Specials, and thereby encourage them to define themselves as police officers on a semi-professional footing. This would only serve to further distance them from the public.
Furthermore, at least by having a lay presence agencies think about volunteers. To take away their voluntary nature may therefore not prove conducive to community minded thinking, a policy which is presently so popular. Similarly, agencies must guard against over-training by providing volunteers with so many skills that they begin to consider their role differently. Volunteers properly used provide many positive elements against which the disadvantages appear small.

11.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed ways in which organisational policy can determine the extent to which the volunteer potential is maximised. By taking the best policies from each of the three agencies studied it is possible to put forward a model for successful volunteer integration. Of course the application of the model will vary between organisations according to their own needs, but nevertheless will emphasise similar issues.

Of primary importance is the training of the professional: without a greater stress placed on this all other policies are likely to have only a marginal effect. The training of probation and police officers presently lacks this component. They are not genuinely encouraged to look upon volunteers in a favourable light because they are not taught or helped to examine the conditions necessary to maximise the volunteer contribution. Their role as gatekeepers in respect of volunteers' access to voluntary work is barely recognised, and yet is crucial at all levels of the Volunteer Process. Words such as 'accountability' and 'democracy' abound within the volunteer literature but little effort has been made, certainly within the agencies studied, to attach significance to their meaning and to
adopted policies likely to meet such requirements.

No better example exists than that of the type of people who are recruited. It has been commented frequently and lamented regularly, that volunteers tend to be middle-aged, middle-class, married women and at the same time there is little or no recognition that this is determined by organisational policy. Thus, there is much to commend a much wider recruitment and selection process, or at least to build within it an awareness of who is excluded, who is wanted, and why.

Similarly training, much eulogised for providing volunteers with knowledge and skills does not take account of the fact that it serves other purposes, not least in providing the volunteer with a sense of worth thereby integrating them into the organisation's work. Thus, there is merit in providing an initial programme topped up by further and on-going Training. Volunteer meetings can be used here to maintain interest, and facilitate additional lectures to attract the volunteer interest. As new volunteers join the agency, obviously new programmes need to be provided. Experienced volunteers can be invited to attend these, both as a refresher for them, and in enabling them to meet the new volunteers, itself assisting in building up a rapport amongst the group. This would ensure that new volunteers could be made aware of the experienced volunteer's perspective, from the horse's mouth as it were, but also provide the volunteers with the impression that their views are valued and recognised. The input of the professionals though is crucial. All too often one person takes responsibility, but involving more on a rotational basis encourages a much wider appreciation of the volunteer's value. At the same time it avoids the burden of administration and organisation falling on one overworked professional.
This point leads neatly to the next requirement. That volunteers receive a low status within a statutory organisation's hierarchy stems from the ignorance which abounds about their use, and can only be overcome, as has hopefully been emphasised, with professionals trained in the use of the volunteers. Highlighting the prominence of volunteers can be overcome by appointing a professional as a coordinator. The criticism here is not that it is not done, merely that such a position is accorded to professionals in addition to other tasks. Appointing a professional with specific and sole responsibility for coordinating volunteers would not only provide volunteers with status within the organisation. It is also a condition necessary to ensure that they overcome the prejudices and barriers which presently thwart their integration. Any criticism that this is unrealistic given the pressures on time which presently face professionals, fails to recognise the value to the organisation of properly prepared and organised volunteers.

Of particular salience in maximising the volunteer potential is the provision of sufficient work for their successful integration. Underworked but willing volunteers are anathema to the agency cause. Apart from leading to a sense of alienation there are other disadvantages to the agency. One principal advantage of using volunteers is that they spread knowledge of the organisation amongst the population. It is assumed that this will be favourable, but clearly a dissatisfied volunteer is unlikely to be impressed by agency failure to make use of him as a resource. This may consequently work against rather than for the organisation within the community. This leads to the second point, which is that by having able but underused volunteers an organisation fails to make the best use of all the resources available to it, what is effectively bad management. The
token gesture of having volunteers as a means of involving the public needs to be redefined to consider ways in which they can be most appropriately utilised to maximise agency efficiency. The provision of work, above all else, remains a primary criterion in this respect. If a person offers time and it is accepted, then the least the organisation can do is ensure it fulfils its obligations. Indeed, this is a minimum requirement.

This research project has also uncovered dangers in total integration in terms of the over-identification of the police Specials. It was also shown that means of limiting this, or of rectifying it, are fraught with problems in working against the volunteer's integration in other ways. Thus, it was argued, there was a need to be aware of this issue but to regard it as a small disadvantage which should be viewed against the many other advantages in using volunteers. The process of encouraging volunteers (and for that matter professionals) to see the volunteer role in part as democracising or making the service accountable, has never been seriously addressed. This is unfortunate given the community orientation of most public agencies. The issues of over-identification and accountability, are of course inter-linked, and it was argued that a major objective is to encourage lay personnel to view their role as a public presence in an agency, rather than anything else. The means by which this may be achieved will require careful consideration, but a starting point may be a joint training programme.

However, what is clear is that organisations have considerable scope to determine the degree of commitment they encourage from their volunteers. That this is barely recognised in indicative of the general ignorance which surrounds volunteering. Until this is
overcome the chances of maximising the volunteer potential remain at best, extremely low and at worst non-existent.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. Mawby and Gill (forthcoming) note that there was a high level of support for VSSs amongst police officers at all levels of the Devon and Cornwall Police, although few had actually made referrals. They also revealed that as a whole they had received very little education of the VSS purpose. So there was much support on a theoretical level, but in practice there was a lack of knowledge which may have contributed to the low number of referrals. As was shown earlier referrals to schemes were particularly low. It was a problem of proving their value not only to a sceptical police service, but a largely ignorant and overworked one.

2. This was not quite the case for coordinators who were sometimes volunteers. They were in contact with the police on a regular basis, often daily, and so could keep the police informed. In practice though the police were too busy, and so most information which was passed back was at the level of committee meetings, on which the coordinator sat. The point being made is that while volunteers in general were not in contact with the referrers, there was an exception here in the coordinator who was sometimes also a volunteer.

3. Although they probably would not accept this. Specials claimed throughout the research they wanted to become more alike the police. They wanted to do more duty, become involved more in the Specialist Departments etc. They were keen to do everything the police did. However, in that they were involved in the day to day duties they were integrated into the police, some, admittedly only a few, did access specialist departments and it is on this basis that total integration is being judged.

4. A method which SOVA claimed to have used with some success.

5. At least one probation group worked on this basis, which meant that in all each officer would only be expected to attend 2 meetings a year.

6. Also relevant here is the fact that although victims were usually referred in the morning they could be referred at any time of day. So to ensure that someone was available when required it was necessary to engage the services of a suitable number of volunteers which may be more than that considered ideal given the amount of work available.

7. This incidentally was mentioned as a common mistake by members of the public prior to the introduction of chequered hat bands. The debate over Specials uniforms continues. See letter to Police Review 29/8/86 p. 1773
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS
FOR FUTURE RESEARCH
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis commenced with a consideration of a number of issues in volunteering. It has been shown that by linking and exploring them it has been possible to develop an ideology of volunteering. At the same time it has demonstrated that within communities there is a wealth of volunteer potential. Presently too much lip service is paid to using volunteers; enthusiasm is not being translated into action.

In terms of policy, this study evaluated voluntarism within three agencies within the criminal justice system. From an organisational perspective perhaps the most important finding is the extent to which organisational policy influences the nature of volunteering. Who applies, who ultimately is selected, the integration into the work, the satisfaction derived from it, are all affected and conditioned by the agencies themselves. This point is rarely recognised and certainly wasn't within the organisations studied.

On an academic level this study has noted that it is possible to theorise about volunteering. Previous research has identified a similarity of issues both within and between organisations and countries, but no study to-date has collated the material within one volume to highlight this. Linking issues such as who joins and why they do so have rarely been considered, making it difficult to explore the ideology of volunteering. This thesis has examined these linkages and introduced the concept of 'voluncultures', that is a volunteer sub-culture. However, it would seem pertinent to review the findings on the organisational and academic level separately.

The criticism that volunteers are atypical of the population generally received some support in this study. More importantly
though evidence was presented which suggested this may be due to organisational recruitment strategies ((particularly the heavy reliance on word of mouth) and the selection procedures. In a keenness to recruit the right type of people, organisations in so doing, involve the same type of people and consequently perpetuate the stereotype.

Perhaps the most crucial (and unrecognised) dimension of organisational power in respect of the unpaid worker, is its influence to determine both the degree of volunteer satisfaction with their work, and their commitment to it. The provision of training programmes and volunteer meetings had a number of positive effects. They allowed the volunteer to acquire skills to assist them in their work, thereby increasing the abilities and confidence of volunteers to undertake it. In a rather different way it was evident that the agency valued their contribution. It provided them with a sense of belonging not least because they were able to meet fellow volunteers and build up a rapport, even friendships with them. That training was more regulated for Specials than the other two groups, and because they were able to socialise to a greater extent contributed to the police being more successful in achieving a higher commitment from their volunteers.

Training had another connotation. It familiarised volunteers with the organisation. This is of particular significance where a strong organisational sub-culture exists eg in the case of the police. The Specials were able to learn the rules of the sub-culture which governed police conduct. This enhanced their 'acceptability' to sceptical professions. As a consequence they became more integrated into the organisation and this helped to maintain their interest.
Apart from training the provision of work is essential. It has been argued that willing but inactive volunteers are an anathema to the agency cause. Activity is a minimum requirement of integration. Thus, the police who were able to offer more work to their volunteers derived benefits from it. Nevertheless, it appeared that they were able to do so was because of the nature of the police organisation rather than the commitment of the professionals. Policing is a 'round the clock' activity. Thus, Specials could be used at any time of day or night. In addition, they could be deployed either with a professional complementing them in their work, or else used separately to supplement the work of the service, such as patrolling the streets alone or with another Special.

So in all, the greater commitment the police obtained from their volunteers was achieved unwittingly. The training programme was a requirement; the fact that they need training because of the specialist nature of the work happened to bring them other advantages. The presence of the police bar encouraged socialisation. The nature of the work permitted greater participation. Even the strong sub-culture, with its suspicion of outsiders, brought advantages once access had been achieved. Not only because they became part of a select group, but because in addition they had overcome the hurdles to selection.

The favourable conditions pertaining to Specials are perhaps best illustrated via reference to Voluntary Associates and VSS Volunteers. In the case of the former training frequently did not exist, and where it did it was frequently so ad hoc and disorganised that its potential benefits were diminished. In the case of the VSS Volunteers, training existed, that was a condition of affiliation to the NAVSS, but often
only at the induction to the agency. Both groups of volunteers were
under utilised to an extent that some had never engaged in any
activity. This was partly because unlike Specials, neither worked
alongside the professional, the gatekeeper to the work. VSSs suffered
because they were a voluntary organisation relying exclusively on
voluntary activity, and were dependent on an outsider organisation,
the police, for their work. At grassroots level volunteers were not
easily able to prove their efficiency to the gatekeepers. This was
the responsibility of a different part of their organisation.

However, it needs to be underlined that Specials benefitted from the
nature of the organisation with which they were involved, rather than
any concerted effort to integrate volunteers on the part of the
police. Moreover, it was noted that there may be advantages for the
public in the over identification of Specials. The problem is that
rectifying this deficiency would work against the interests of the
group in other ways. Whilst this should be borne in mind it was
nevertheless possible to offer pathfinders to organisations keen to
maximise the use of volunteers.

Training programmes are essential. Yet they need to be properly
organised and relevant to the volunteer's work - not all were. This
can in part be encouraged by effective coordination. Presently
volunteers lack status and so the appointment of a coordinator, who is
(or was) a professional may overcome this difficulty. Most
importantly of all is the training of the professionals in the usage
of volunteers. It has been argued that unless they recognise the
central role they play in using volunteers, community development
policies are doomed to failure. This study has shown that a wealth of
potential exists within communities. Presently insufficient attention is paid to harnessing this support, not even in agencies keen on extolling their own commitment to community orientated policies. Organisations must recognise their own responsibilities and the considerable power they wield in directing the extent of community commitment. This has been the first finding of this project.

On an academic level the results were interesting, of least in the context of motivations. Contrary to popular belief the volunteers in the three agencies studied were not primarily motivated by philanthropy. Self-Directed reasons (that is for reasons of immediate benefit to themselves) were most commonly cited. Indeed, the results of this study display considerable scepticism towards evaluating motivations in terms of egoism and altruism. It has become clear that a minority within each organisation did not make a predetermined decision to volunteer. Rather they Drifted into work with an agency. The results showed that the Drift-Effect was as likely a motivation to volunteer as Other-Directed reasons (at least in their initial decision to volunteer), and that was true for each of the organisations studied.

Similarities in these aspects between the volunteer groups were quite marked. Indeed, volunteers only varied to any great extent over their relative emphasis on Religious-Based or Organisational reasons. Thus, whilst Self-Directed, Other-Directed and Career reasons, plus the Drift-Effect were permanent factors, Religious-Based and Organisational motivations were variable. VSS Volunteers were distinctive in terms of Religious-Based reasons because of the influence of religious representatives on the committee of most schemes. Specials were distinctive in terms of Organisational
reasons, because Special's work is a very distinct type of voluntary activity. This point was emphasised further when respondents were asked why they joined their particular organisation.

Specials generally expressed a main interest in the organisation specifically, although approximately a third tended to Drift. VSS Volunteers stressed the same two factors although their relative emphasis was reversed. This was because VSSs were new, and without an established identity. It would have been surprising if it had been emphasised to any great extent. Voluntary Associates also mentioned organisational reasons and then the Drift-Effect as guiding their choice of agency, but a significant minority were also motivated by career interests. This, as was shown, is a specific type of interest in the organisation. Thus, it was suggested that an interest in the organisation will feature prominently in people's choice of agency, unless the organisation is new, when the importance of the Drift-Effect will be accentuated. This ignores the part career reasons may play in choice of agency, which will not always be the same thing as a specific interest in that organisation. Nevertheless, in both the initial decision to volunteer, and in the choice of agency, there were marked similarities between the groups. Indeed, the difference can largely be explained by the nature of the organisation itself.

The prominence of the organisation was reflected in other ways. There was evidence that certain types of people are involved in certain types of voluntary work. There were two influences here, people's initial motivations, and agency selection procedures. Nevertheless, the police service with its strong police sub-culture which stressed values such as assertiveness and drinking in the police bar, was more
attractive to men. VSS work required availability during the day; thus the preference for the retired and housewives. Moreover, the nature of their work as caring was more likely to appeal to the middle classes, and similarly so with Voluntary Associates. However, because the latter were involved in a greater variety of work, they contained a more eclectic group of volunteers. So the findings support Aves' (1969) stereotype but with the important caveat that this will vary according to the nature of the organisation and its work.

In considering ideological perspectives a new concept of 'voluncultures' was introduced. Within each organisation there was a volunteer sub-culture whose perspectives conformed to those of the organisation. Thus, on all questions included in the questionnaire, the Specials were on the political right with 'hard' attitudes to law and order. Voluntary Associates were towards the left with 'softer' attitudes, and VSS Volunteers were consistently somewhere in between. VSS Volunteers generally shared the same definitions of the crime problem (law and order focus) with the police but aligned with Voluntary Associates in possible solutions (treatment, caring focus).

The development of voluncultures could be traced to motivations and organisational policy. However, where they were strong, as in the police, so commitment was higher. Where they were weak, commitment was lower. This may be of importance to organisations geared towards maintaining the interest of voluntary workers, especially in the context of Etzioni's (1961) discussion of normative compliance. As he notes, for voluntary workers to be effective, they need to be committed to the organisational goals.

However, effectiveness was one aspect this study did not seek to
assess. Yet, at a time when economic considerations appear to override all others, there would seem much to commend a project to concentrating on this with regards to volunteers. In addition, the project had other limitations. It has been noted that volunteers adopt the views of the organisation in terms of ideology. It was not possible to reveal when this occurred. Do volunteers only apply to organisations which reflect their perspectives? Do organisations only select those whose views pertain to that of the organisation? Or is it that a volunteer is inculcated with these perspectives once trained or integrated into the agency? Clearly, much could be gained from a longitudinal study of volunteers as they pass through the various stages of the Volunteer Process, evaluating changes in ideological perspectives. Case studies of volunteers may be relevant here.

This study began by identifying a number of issues in volunteering. Examining and linking these issues served to illustrate the similarities between agencies within the criminal justice system. It has yet to be shown that an ideology of volunteering is possible for other groups of volunteers, say within the Health Service, and this may be a useful starting point for future research. Such projects might also incorporate the professional's perspective, and other issues such as why volunteers terminate their work with the organisation. These were recognised during the course of this enquiry and the work is presently ongoing.

In all it has become clear that any attempt to maximise the volunteer potential requires a recognition of the volunteer contribution by the agencies themselves. Until this is done, the possibility of harnessing the wealth of community effort stands little realistic chance of success.
APPENDIX I

PERIODS OF OBSERVATION AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION
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<td>Meeting of Voluntary Associates</td>
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<td>Informal Interview with the Director of the 'Society for Voluntary Associates' (SOVA)</td>
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15.01.85 Plymouth 'Observed' Applicant to Become a Voluntary Associate Being Interviewed
15.01.85 Plymouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
05.02.85 Teignmouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
19.02.85 Plymouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
22.02.85 Plymouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
05.03.85 Plymouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
23.03.85 Exeter Regional Conference of Voluntary Associates
25.03.85 Camborne Visit Day Centre Run by Voluntary Associates
26.03.85 Bodmin Meeting of Voluntary Associates
28.03.85 Exmouth Meeting of Voluntary Associates
24.04.85 Camborne Meeting of Voluntary Associates
30.04.85 Barnstaple Meeting of Voluntary Associates
22.07.85 Essex Visit to Essex Probation Service

Contacts made with the Police Service in addition to interviews.

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26.04.86  B. Division  Tour of Duty

*12.05.86  Plymouth  Divisional Parade

*04.07.86-06.07.86  Headquarters  Residential Training Weekend

Contacts made with Victims Support Schemes in addition to interviews.

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14.06.85  Crownhill  Regional Meeting
02.07.85  St. Austell  Volunteer Meeting
03.09.85  Truro  Committee Meeting
*30.09.85  Exmouth  Committee Meeting
11.11.85  Torbay  Annual General Meeting
09.12.85  Exeter  Volunteer Meeting
10.12.85  Teignmouth  Committee Meeting
06.01.86  Teignmouth  Informal Interview with Committee Representatives
13.01.86  Helston  Social Evening with Volunteers and Committee Present
*26.01.86  Exmouth  Committee Meeting
21.01.86  NAVSS  Visit to Headquarters in London
*28.02.86  Torbay  Volunteer Meeting
*10.03.86  Exmouth  Annual General Meeting
26.04.86  Crownhill  Regional Training Day
01.05.86  Barnstaple  Annual General Meeting
03.05.86  Tavistock  Volunteer Meeting and Training Session
21.05.86  South East Cornwall  Committee Meeting
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