Volunteering as Leisure/ Leisure as Volunteering

An International Assessment

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Contents

Managing Volunteers in Different Settings: Membership and Programme Management

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Introduction

> I think the discussion about the 'American model' is not very clear. It is assumed that the USA has the largest non-profit sector in the world, but research has shown that the sector relatively speaking is stronger in The Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium and Israel. And even if the percentage of volunteering in the population is higher in the US, the difference is not so big compared with some European countries.
>
> The real difference, I believe, is not in the scope of volunteering or the sector, but in the way the work is organised. It is not primarily volunteering that is different – that's a result – it is the volunteer organisation that is different. In Europe we have a membership tradition, in the US a service delivery tradition. In the former everything starts with the members. They form an organisation, they decide what it should do, and they do the job. In the latter an organisation starts with the task and then recruits volunteers to do the work. The first model is strong on democracy, the second on service delivery. If helping people is your major aim, the service delivery model is obviously much more efficient. From my European perspective, to combine the strength of the two into one organisation seems to be the best solution. But is that possible?
>
> (Christer Leopold, Senior Officer, Volunteering, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (Leopold, 2000))

This quote from Christer Leopold shows that there is no generic model that can be applied to all volunteering/volunteer management contexts. Volunteering, volunteers and the way they are organized and managed differ from context to context. This chapter delves further into the growing understanding of the diversity of volunteering and volunteer management. The chapter focuses on the different settings in which volunteering takes place. These

different settings are linked to different management approaches: member-
ship and programme management. The first part of the chapter draws the
differences between a membership and a programme approach to manag-
ing volunteers (based upon Meijs and Hoogstad, 2001). In the second part
these two approaches are linked to different organizational and emotional
settings in which people volunteer. The final part draws conclusions on the
relation between organizational context and the way that volunteers should
be managed.

Two Different Management Approaches

Meijs and Hoogstad (2001) observe that European (Dutch, in particular) vol-
unteer organizations take a fundamentally different approach to the manage-
ment of volunteers than do American volunteer organizations. In their
typology, management systems most often focus either on the volunteers
themselves (membership management) or on specific operational tasks (pro-
gramme management). In the former system, common to European organ-
izations, tasks are created such that they fit the expectations of the volunteers
existing within the group. Conversely, organizations adopting the more
'American' style of programme management begin by identifying the tasks
to be done and then find volunteers to do them. The international literature
on volunteer management is dominated by this programmatic approach,
which can also be typed as the workplace model (see e.g. Brudney, 1990;
Wilson, 1990; Ellis, 1996). The membership model is less known, although
some writers explain that this is also important (Smith, 2000).

Membership management is capable of generating broad, multi-
faceted involvement of volunteers, leading perhaps to greater overall satis-
faction with the volunteer experience. By focusing first on the volunteers
(who are treated as members and have a strong sense of belonging to the
organization) and their goals, the membership-managed organization
shapes itself to the needs and desires of its membership annex volunteers.
Through careful attention to who is to be admitted to membership, it guards
against the introduction of members whose goals may be contrary to those
of the existing membership. This leads to a very 'our breed of volunteers'
way of selecting volunteers and a difficulty in working with diversity.
Because it is tailor-made to the specifications of the membership, it would
be difficult for a member to find such a good fit with any other organiza-
tion. Because the costs of both entry and exit are high, the membership-
managed organization may cultivate considerable loyalty among its
individual members. Entry costs are high because people need to develop
trust with the organization (typically this is done by all kinds of social activ-
ities such as playing cards with existing volunteers). Exit costs are high
because people lose long-time friendships when leaving. By these means a
strong organizational culture is developed.

However, membership management does not always provide a stable basis for the continuity of an organization. While individual volunteers may indeed remain loyal to the organization for long periods of time, the organization itself risks stagnation, lack of growth and eventually extinction. One practical challenge of membership management is that it assumes the necessity of a close connection between the board and the volunteers. While the extensive and prolonged involvement of board members in this system provides continuity to the organization, it makes it very difficult to adapt to environmental changes or even demographic shifts in the membership base. In many cases the board is more 'old fashioned' than the volunteers, while the volunteer is outdated compared to the diversity in the population and the needs that must be addressed. Because of this, the membership-managed organization may eventually face a slow and painful death! Consider the example of traditional women's emancipatory organizations, which are unable to change their organization to attract younger women, who do not need the traditional development activities within the safe organizational setting anymore. It also means that in membership management the border between leisure and volunteering is unclear because there is so much social activity involved.

Programme management, on the other hand, is designed with an eye toward continuity for the output and impact. The general focus on carefully specified tasks guards against any one volunteer becoming indispensable. The limited scope of involvement expected of any volunteer facilitates both the entry and the exit of volunteers, who may affiliate with the organization only for the purpose of performing one specific, time-limited task. Because the tasks to be accomplished take priority over the aims of the volunteers performing them, the programme-managed organization is capable of maintaining smooth, consistent operations over extended periods of time. Because each task is, for the most part, a self-contained unit, change in response to environmental shifts involves only the reworking of single components rather than an overall shift in ideology or target population. The programme-managed organization is resilient and flexible.

Programme management, however, may not cultivate – and may even discourage – loyalty on the part of volunteers. Members who join an organization in order to participate in programmes of limited duration or those focused on specific activities are less likely to identify themselves as members of the organization than are those whose involvement is broader (see Karr, 2001). While capable of continuity over time, the programme-managed organization is dependent on the availability of fresh supplies of volunteers, thus risking high turnover, impersonality and cooptation.

In national organizations, membership management results in local branches that carry out the same activities as the national body, while programme management leads to national organizations with local branches (if there are any) that are much less diverse. So in the Dutch case the national animal protection organization runs three 'tasks': animal shelters, animal

ambulances and campaigning for animal rights. In the Dutch situation the expectation is that local groups perform all three tasks although the local situation may ask for a larger regional area for the ambulances than for the shelters. On the other hand, in many cases volunteers do not want to do all three tasks, so some tasks are 'stepchilded'.

To show the differences between the two approaches two exhibits are presented. The first one describes how, within a typical Dutch sport association, programme and membership management would lead to different solutions. The second exhibit describes the differences between Girl Scouts USA and Scouting Netherlands on the different steps in the organizational process (based upon Karr and Meijs, 2002). It shows that the US model is based upon a programme approach, exemplified by the 'on my honor' opening sentence of their vow. The Dutch model is membership-based, which is shown by the 'you can count on me' last sentence of the Dutch vow.

Exhibit 1: Going from membership to programme management in a sport association

Hoogendam (2000) looks at four ways to reduce the workload within local sport associations (in the Dutch context typical mutual support organizations using a membership approach) for the current volunteers:

1. *Discarding tasks or activities.* Organizations should make a critical appraisal of the present parcel of tasks. Certain of these tasks were probably introduced some time ago and are now carried out largely as a matter of course. The organization might conclude that some of these tasks should be dropped.

2. *Obligation.* Members should be obliged to take on some of the less pleasant routine jobs such as serving at the bar or cleaning. Although this method has been criticized as conflicting with the true spirit of volunteering, studies have shown that it is increasingly being applied in mutual support organizations, particularly sports clubs. Janssens (2000) reports that the proportion of sports clubs in which the volunteer is obliged to carry out one or more organizational tasks was still only 43% in 1998, but had already risen to 62% by 2000. What is remarkable is that so many members took a positive attitude towards this obligation: 42% were in favour, 15% neutral, 40% against and 3% undecided.

3. *Flexibilization.* The third method suggested for relieving the workload of active volunteers is what Hoogendam calls 'flexibilization'. The principle behind this is that the organization should use the talents and potential of the members as efficiently as possible. For example, the situation often arises where certain members are available for short periods only, when they can help with large one-off jobs. This means that the 'permanent' volunteers do not have to concern themselves with these jobs.

4. *Professionalization* is the final option. This means assigning tasks to paid staff, who can be either hired for the occasion or employed on a project basis.

Meijs and Hoogstad (2001) translate these into programme management:

- The first solution, *discarding*, is a common occurrence in programme management. That is to say, when an organization starts a new programme with a fresh combination of tasks, it may at the same time discard the existing tasks and programmes.
- The option of making tasks mandatory *(obligation)* is not open to organizations practising programme management, because they start with the tasks that need to be done and only then do they look for suitable volunteers to carry them out. However, making tasks mandatory does occur in another form, representing an important source of volunteers for many organizations. Organizations practising programme management are often able to recruit from amongst groups that are more or less forced to make a contribution: for example, offenders doing community service, students volunteering as a part of the school curriculum or employees taking part in corporate volunteering.
- The third solution, *flexibilization*, is inherent in programme management. The basic idea is, after all, to match the demand (volunteers) to the existing supply (the tasks within the organization). In this way, organizations attempt to achieve a perfect fit between the nature of the tasks and the potential and availability of the volunteers.
- *Professionalization* can also play a part in programme management: for example, a paid manager may direct the volunteers in the performance of the required tasks and coordinate the entire programme.

Exhibit 2: An illustration from the world of Scouting (based upon Karr and Meijs, 2002)

	Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA)	Scouting Netherlands (SN)
Vow	On my honor, I will try: To serve God and my country, To help people at all times, And to live by the Girl Scout Law. (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2003)	I promise to do my best to be a good leader for you, and help you to be good Scouts. I also promise consciously both to seek and to carry out that which is good. I will accomplish this together with the other leaders of our group. You can count on me. (Scouting Nederland, 1992)

Continued

	Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA)	Scouting Netherlands (SN)
Development	Founded 1912 National organization within 3 years Top-down roll out.	1910: formation of several geographically dispersed groups of boys. After some years groups joined to form five national Scouting organizations. 1973: merging of all into SN.
Integration	National level grants charters and oversees the work.	A national level, 48 regions and more than 1000 local groups. The national level attending mainly to its own agenda and the local units attending largely to theirs – often to the extent of ignoring each other altogether. This disconnection does not lead to chaos.
Local troops	Primary vehicle for delivering the Girl Scout programme, structurally the weakest entity. A troop committee, consisting largely of parents of the girls in the troop, provides the leaders with assistance and support. Troops maintain financial responsibility, but fund-raising is controlled at the council level (Girl Scouts of the USA, 1993).	Primary vehicle for delivering the SN programme and structurally strong link. A group board, consisting of parents and previous leaders, officially governs the group. Troop leaders (being 17–25 years and not parents) are highly self-governed. National level does not control and is not aware of financial situation of local groups.
Recruitment	Recruitment activities for adult volunteers are carried out throughout the entire annual work cycle of a Girl Scout council. 1. Major recruitment drives for girl members at the beginning of each school year. Membership in a troop is highly dependent upon the availability of sufficient adult volunteers. 2. In spring, as existing leaders decide whether to continue their activities. 3. Campaigns may be carried out through community clubs, churches and other associations to recruit leaders for new troops to be formed in the autumn. There is an application, a review	Scout leaders in SN tend to be 'home-grown'. The most prominent goal of the SN programme is to teach young people to take more responsibility for themselves. Beyond the age of 17 or 18, they are generally considered too old to remain as members of the playgroups, and are faced with the choice of either leaving Scouting or becoming a troop leader. It is also possible for them to form or join an existing group for older members ('stam'), which serves the dual functions of providing recreation for its members and a support system for other Scout leaders. The primary recruitment tool in SN appears to be peer pressure.

	Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA)	Scouting Netherlands (SN)
(Recruitment continued)	process, a written job description and a letter of agreement signed by the new leader and the designated council representative.	
Training/ socialization	A new Girl Scout leader is usually required to participate in at least one formal training course. During special meetings, new leaders come into contact with experienced leaders, participate in Girl Scout games, ceremonies and songs, and gradually come to understand the meanings behind particular Girl Scout expressions and traditions.	Training and socialization are two entirely separate and 'conflicting' processes in SN. About one-third to one-half of all Scout leaders have completed this obligatory basic training, depending on the availability of trainers in their areas and their own willingness to be trained.
Retention	The retention of volunteers in Girl Scouting is strongly related to the retention of girl members, and both are vital to the continuing healthy operation of Girl Scouting at all levels. A highly developed system of formal volunteer recognitions at the national, council and local levels exists. Volunteers are able to nominate their fellow volunteers for appropriate recognition, in the form of patches, pins or other tokens for activities such as completing training courses, participating in activities, or turning in required forms and reports on time.	Retention poses a double challenge for SN. The first retention challenge is that of keeping members of around the age of 12–14 involved in the organization. The age that younger members become volunteers corresponds closely to the age at which they are finishing secondary school and preparing for entry into higher education or the workforce. In many cases they keep involved in Scouting because volunteering and membership in the 'stam' fulfils the need of young adults to maintain ties with their hometowns and social circles. The greatest retention problem therefore occurs several years after a member has finished school. There is no official policy for recognition in SN. Meijs and Olde Hanter (2002) report that there is an ongoing debate in some local groups regarding the position of the 'speltak' leaders. In some groups, the board members define 'speltak' leadership as Scouting for grown-ups, and simply refuse to give recognition.

Table 9.1 summarizes the differences between the two approaches (for a more detailed explanation, see Meijs and Hoogstad, 2001).

Organizational Settings and Volunteer Management

In this section a number of existing organizational settings are reviewed. The first is based on the sector in which the volunteering takes place. The second classification is concerned with the relationship between paid staff and volunteers. The third is based on the goals of the organization, and the final classification makes use of the recently developed 'contingency approach' for small local volunteer organizations.

By sector

Non-profit organizations are: organized, institutionalized, privately managed, separate from the government and not aimed at making profit – any profit made is not distributed among shareholders or members but is applied towards the goal (the 'non-distribution constraint'). In addition, the organization is responsible for its own administration, is able to manage its own activities and has considerable input from volunteers, in the form of either voluntary financial support or volunteering. This is the basic approach used by the Johns Hopkins Third Sector Comparative Research project. In The Netherlands, most volunteers are connected with non-profit organizations, which is a bit different from the USA, where volunteers are also involved in government (Brudney, 1990). But as Hupe and Meijs (2000) make clear, the distinction between government and non-profit in The Netherlands in many cases is unclear to the people involved, as with parent participation in primary education.

The sector, whether business, government or non-profit, is relevant to volunteering if the volunteers have a strong personal motivation. In a government agency, there is little or no room for the transfer of one's own standards and values; this is one of the most important points about volunteer management in the government sector (Brudney, 1990). On the other hand, a non-profit organization can be entirely based on its own standards and values; the volunteers might share an interest in, say, old sailing boats, table tennis or butterflies (Meijs, 2000) but also, of course, religious norms and values (West and Meijs, 2001). However, in organizations that are legally seen as non-profit organizations, personal norms and values are in many cases not supposed to be used (see Box 9.1).

Table 9.1. Comparison between programme management and membership management (from Meijs and Hoogstad, 2001).

Criteria	Programme management	Membership management
Structure		
Flexibility of approach	From task to volunteer	From volunteer to task/assignment
Integration	Free-standing programmes	Integrated approach
Direction of integration in national organization	Vertical	Horizontal (i.e. per branch)
Management	One single manager	Group of 'managers'
Executive committee	Arm's length	Close by
Culture		
Organizational culture	Weak	Strong
Volunteer involvement	Low	High
Volunteer involvement in more than one organization	Often	Sometimes
Level of homogeneity among volunteers	Low	High
Relationships between volunteers	People do not know each other	People know each other well or very well
Volunteers' motivation 1	Goal-orientated	Socially orientated
Volunteers' motivation 2	Increase in external status	Strengthening internal status
Process		
Cost of admission	Low social costs	High social costs
Cost of transfer	Low	High
Expectations	Explicit	Implicit
Recognition	On basis of performance	On basis of number of years as member
Hours spent/invested	Low	High
Environment		
Necessity of conforming to environment	Major	Minor
Possibility of conforming	Good	Poor

> **Box 9.1.** The importance of personal standards and values in volunteering.
>
> When it comes to running summer camps, there are successful and less successful organizations. Traditionally, the programmes of such camps set out to combine the provision of leisure opportunities, the teaching of skills and the passing on of standards and values. The camp volunteers find that their motivation is based on the same kind of combination: their involvement affords them pleasure and allows them to pass on to the children skills and values that they believe will benefit them. As already stated, non-profit organizations can be firmly based on a set of distinctive standards and values – as in the case of evangelical summer camps. On the other hand, it is possible for a non-profit organization to be a public body and be regarded as part of the government, which is essentially 'neutral'; by contrast, such an organization does not, and cannot, have its own set of standards and values.
>
> Many of the summer camps are offered by semi-governmental organizations such as community centres and umbrella welfare bodies. As a result, the camps fail to profit from a very important set of motivations, especially among those who work with children. Many summer camp programmes have a strong missionary element, which community centres and umbrella welfare bodies cannot satisfactorily include. (Note that the personal standards and values we are discussing are not necessarily religious standards and values.)
>
> Source: Meijs and Hoogstad (2001)

By relationship between paid staff and volunteers

Another classification of volunteer organizations takes into account the relationship between paid staff and volunteers. Meijs and Westerlaken (1994) make the following distinctions:

- The *volunteer-governed organization* is one in which volunteers set the goals and form the management/board, but where the preparation and execution of policy is in the hands of paid staff.
- In the *volunteer-supported organization*, paid staff are mainly responsible for formulating goals and policy and for carrying out the primary process. Volunteers are only involved to a limited extent, in carrying out specific tasks. Some organizations are both volunteer-governed and volunteer-supported, which means that there is no real connection between the two groups of volunteers and that paid staff are performing most of the primary processes.
- In *volunteer-run organizations*, the goals of the organization are set and realized by volunteers. Paid staff might support them in this.

There is a big difference in the way that volunteer-supported and volunteer-run organizations work with volunteers. The former will continue to operate

even when there are no volunteers present. If the volunteers disappear, the quality of service may deteriorate, but the organizations themselves will not be in any danger. This makes possible a more demanding approach to managing volunteers. In these organizations the metaphor of the workplace is and can in many cases be used. In volunteer-run organizations the situation is different. Caroll and Harris (1999, p. 16) explain that in the campaigning and volunteering organization context of Greenpeace in the UK, the workplace model simply does not work. As Meijs and Westerlaken (1994) make clear, volunteer organizations by contrast face discontinuity when volunteers drop out. Volunteers will drop out, either by leaving (voting with their feet) or by just doing what they see as appropriate instead of what the 'manager' sees as appropriate (voting with their hands).

By goal

Another means of classification, as proposed by Handy (1988), recognizes three distinct types of non-profit organization. According to the goals of the organization, a distinction can be made between 'service delivery', 'campaigning' and 'mutual support/mutual benefit' organizations. Meijs (1997) has described this threefold division for volunteer organizations operating nationally.

1. *Service delivery organizations* aim to provide a service to an actual customer or client outside the organization. The volunteers and employees of these organizations usually try to deliver a good service to the customers. This means that they are prepared to submit to management, selection, recruitment and coordination. Volunteers can only work for a service delivery organization if they possess the required qualifications. This sometimes means that the volunteer has to undergo training – as in the case of AIDS buddies or telephone help lines – but there are also many fields (such as visiting) where the volunteer does not have to undergo training or possess specific skills. Service delivery organizations are characterized by a high level of professionalism and by customer orientation. This professionalism, defined as doing one's job well, can be seen among both paid staff and volunteers.

2. The *campaigning organization* does not have individual customers or clients, but sets out to convince the entire world. For this type of organization, the rule is that every 'believer' counts – anyone who supports the cause can be accepted as a volunteer. Any contribution is welcome and cannot really be rejected. This results in a situation where there is scant acceptance of management – organization is not an issue in a campaigning group. Most of the volunteers, and even the paid staff, feel that the organizing will just have to be done by someone else. Within campaigning organizations, the fiercest discussions usually concern the effectiveness of methods and the

correctness of ideology, and such discussions are firmly based on a specific set of values.

3. The *mutual support organization* exists because a certain group of people have come together around an issue that links them: for example, a particular illness, a sport or a shared interest in collecting teacups. Such organizations set out to encourage mutual support and assistance among their members, or to gain a mutual advantage for them. Solidarity and cam-araderie are the most important qualities. Mutual support organizations have a culture of 'doing things together': the people involved work together to set up the organization. The major frustrations in such organizations arise when the others just want to play sport, collect postage stamps or be ill and avoid volunteer work that supports these interests. The real strength of mutual support organizations can be seen when the 'hobby energy' of individuals is freed for the benefit of an activity or the organization itself – then, just about anything becomes possible.

To some extent, nearly every organization displays a combination of the three organizational types: for example, it is very difficult to raise funds without campaigning. Handy states that non-profit organizations can find themselves in trouble if they combine these three types of organization without being aware of the internal tensions between them.

By 'contingency'

Van Walsem (2001) has specifically researched the all-volunteer organization at the local level (see also Smith, 2000). He has developed a 'contingency approach' that recognizes four distinct types of local branches of national organizations. The four types are not completely separate entities, but can be seen as the successive forms through which a local volunteer organization develops.

According to Van Walsem, such an organization will, in principle, start up as a local initiative: a small group of volunteers come together to pursue a single goal or to carry out one particular programme. The organization is characterized at this stage by a *simple structure*: everyone is busy trying to achieve the mutual goal, and the means available to do this are very limited. In addition, the contact between the volunteers is informal and the organiza-tion is internally orientated. As the number of volunteers and members grows, the organization will develop into a *simple structure plus*. The form of the organization is much the same as before; however, an important group of volunteers have now formed themselves into an executive committee. The next step is the development towards a more externally orientated organiza-tion, known as the *policy structure*. This step makes greater demands on the (new?) members of the executive committee; after all, in addition to the basic, often internally orientated activities, they now also have to deal with

policy and planning activities (externally orientated towards the current environment or to the future). The manner in which the organization is set up will also exhibit more formal characteristics; however, the informal character and the overall goal of the organization still remain important. In contrast, the following *complex structure* will pursue several programmes at the same time and with equal emphasis. This usually requires a formal organizational structure in which there is a division of labour and task specialization: for example, in the form of committees and/or branches.

By emotion

Cultural factors such as language and social perception may also affect the way that people perceive volunteering and how they expect to be treated by the organization. For example, Dekker (2002) argues that cross-national differences in the culture of volunteer work may be traced, in part, to language and the words that are used to discuss volunteer work. For example, volunteering in the USA and the UK is most often perceived as unpaid labour. In Sweden, however, volunteer work is commonly perceived as *ideellt arbete* (idealistic work), implying extra effort on behalf of associations of which a person is already a member. The German *Ehreamt* (honorary post) refers for the most part to involvement in a board or other governance function.

In the setting of unpaid labour, public appeals are often the most effective means of recruiting volunteers, followed by the offer of such instrumental rewards as status and marketable skills. Immediate rewards are of least importance. In the context of *ideellt arbete*, appeals from the membership and peer pressure are of greatest influence in this setting, followed by such immediate first-order rewards as fun and excitement. Status rewards come only from within the group itself, and are therefore of less influence. In this context, public appeals and status rewards are the strongest motivators, with less emphasis placed on immediate enjoyment. Such perceptual differences will probably lead to markedly different styles of volunteering. It will also lead to different managerial approaches to managing volunteers. The concept of unpaid labour leads to more rigid styles than the *ideellte arbete*. The concept of *Ehreamt* is less clear because it simply leads less to the idea of volunteers being managed too!

Recent research into cross-national perceptions of volunteering suggests important differences in the types of work individuals in different countries consider to be volunteer work (see e.g. Handy *et al.*, 2000; Meijs *et al.*, 2003), and supports the distinctions made by Dekker (2002). For example, in the USA, working overtime without pay is much more likely to be considered volunteer work than it is in The Netherlands, some element of gain-seeking in the American perception. On the other hand, assuming additional responsibility within a membership association – such as leading a group of joggers at your country club – is less likely to be perceived as volunteer work

in the USA than it is in The Netherlands. These two differences suggest that the Dutch perception of volunteer work assumes a stronger normative component.

Discussion

Now the question can be posed: in which context should membership or programme management be used?

     The effects on managing volunteers in the different organizational settings can be analysed from the point of the possible and needed use of less or more rigid management approaches, simplified as the difference between membership- versus programme-management approaches. So looking at the difference between volunteer management in public and private organizations, due to the fact that there is more need to control the (mis)use of private norms and values, and that the organizational setting generally is more bureaucratic, volunteer management in public organizations must be more in control than in private organizations. Controlling the volunteer is much easier in a programme approach, in which volunteers can more easily be dismissed individually.

     The same type of reasoning can be applied to volunteer-supported versus volunteer-run organizations. In a volunteer-supported organization, volunteers perform tasks that are less crucial to the continuity of the organization. Also volunteers perform tasks that are less integrated into the organization.

     For service delivery organizations, the idea that there is a customer outside and that there is the all-felt urge to do a good job opens the door to more rigid managerial approaches such as in programmes. This is in contrast to the mutual support organization in which the social relations between the volunteers are more important. Mutual support organizations are in essence membership-based, so the management system should also be membership-based. Campaigning organizations can probably be less clearly put in the dichotomy, although Caroll and Harris (1999) say that the workplace model does not work in campaigning organizations. Campaigning organizations face a dual primary process of decision making and activism to put this opinion forward. This dual primary process in many cases leads to a dual managerial system. Decision making in many cases is based upon membership models because trust in the others norms and values is needed. Activism leads to more programmatic approaches because in many cases the more people that support the good cause, the better it is.

     In the contingency approach for small local non-profit organizations, the 'we are all in this together' way of working in the first two models leads to membership-based ways of managing volunteers. In the other two models management must be much more clearly defined, which leads to a more programmatic approach, although in the complex model there is room for membership management within the separate parts of the organization.

Table 9.2. Linking organizational contexts to programme and membership management.

	Programme management	Membership management
By sector	Public	Private
By relationship between paid staff and volunteers	Volunteer-supported	Volunteer-run
By goal	Service delivery	Mutual support
	Campaigning?	
By contingency		
		Simple structure
		Simple structure +
	Policy structure	
	Complex structure?	
By emotion	Unpaid labour	*Ideellte arbete*
	Active citizenship	

Looking at the emotions the picture is clear for *ideellte arbete* (which is active membership) and unpaid labour. The first is membership management, the second fits into a programme approach. The issue of active citizenship is more complicated (see Table 9.2).

The next question, of course, becomes what happens with management if contexts mix. As can be observed in The Netherlands, the emotion of active membership (*ideellte arbete*) and the tradition of membership management also lead to the dominance of this model in service delivery organizations such as the Red Cross. According to reactions at workshops on the Meijs and Hoogstad (2001) paper, sport associations in the USA are blocked by a dominant perspective of programme management in all the normative, recipe-like books they can get. As always, more research is needed!

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