

Introduction

This article aims to contribute to our understanding of the nature and capacity of the ‘third sector’, also referred to as the voluntary or not-for-profit sectorⁱ, as this is produced through distinctive combinations of paid and voluntary labour that are constituted in particular places. We take our point of departure in the disjunction between national political discourse and the uneven geographies of the third sector ‘on the ground’. On the one hand successive UK governments – and indeed many elsewhere – have placed increasing faith in the sector as a vehicle for service delivery, community regeneration and civic participation across the country (Brown 2000; Kendall 2009; Macmillan and Townsend 2006; Alcock 2010a; Milligan and Conradson 2011; Ware 2012; Mohan 2013). On the other hand, the third sector displays some strong patterns of spatial differentiation both in voluntary activity (Geiger and Wolch 1986; Fyfe and Milligan 2003; Mohan 2011) and the paid workforce (Geyne-Rajme and Mohan 2012). Taken separately, these geographies have prompted concerns that the sector may not be able to respond to needs across the national landscape and, in particular, that those areas with the greatest needs may be least well served. However, to date, understanding of the processes involved and their outcomes is limited because previous research on the geography of labour in the third sector focusses *either* on voluntarism *or* (rather less often) on the paid workforce, and is driven by distinct questions and conceptual approaches associated with one or the other of these. Thus, whilst in practice a hybrid workforce of paid and voluntary labour comprises the third sector, we have very little knowledge or understanding of how geographies of voluntarism and spatial divisions of paid labour intersect in place or, in turn, if and how this impacts on the current capacity and future sustainability of the third sector across different parts of the UK.

To begin to redress this, we investigate intersections of voluntarism and paid employment as these are constituted in three third sector organizations, each established in very different places in the UK: a deprived town in North East England, a coastal village in rural Wales, and a gentrifying area of East London. This organizational lens provides an entry point through which to trace the combinations of paid and unpaid work, in each case, and to explore the making of third sector workforces in place. Through this comparative organizational approach we aim to open up an understanding of some of the complex relationships between place, labour markets and voluntarism and with this to gain new insights to the challenges and opportunities facing the third sector. We commence with a brief overview of previous research highlighting the geographies of the voluntary and paid workforces in the third sector. We show that whilst both streams of research offer important insights, these are grounded in rather separate concerns and perspectives, that largely by-pass synthesis. Attempting to overcome this separation, we take our lead from the ‘new sociology of work’ (Pettinger et al 2005). This insists that we should examine the ‘total social organization of labour’ (Glucksmann 1995), exploring the connections between diverse forms of labour, whether paid or not, tracing how these are constituted in the complex interplay of economic, social and cultural processes operating at a range of scales that intersect in particular places. This theoretical approach frames the empirical analysis that follows. Taking each case study in turn we consider (i) how the organization is made in place; (ii) how the workforce is made in place and (iii) how (i) and (ii) shape relations between the paid staff and volunteers. It is the combination of these processes, we argue, that shapes the capacity and may contribute to the sustainability of each organization in place. We conclude by reflecting on the

implications of our findings for developing a more spatially nuanced understanding of the third sector and the wider policy implications of this for sustaining the sector into the future.

Geographies of Labour in the Third Sector

Although the third sector has attracted an increasing amount of recent research, a relatively small amount of this has concerned those actually responsible for delivering the sector's activities: the paid staff and the volunteers. Far less attention – if any – has been given to the *combination* of paid and unpaid workers in the sector. Rather, there has been particular attention to the motivational factors shaping voluntary activity; and to the nature and consequences of the recent growth of paid work in the sector. Furthermore, whilst each field identifies distinctive geographies neither captures the unique constitution of the sector through both paid and unpaid work or – therefore – enables us to understand more about the capacity and sustainability of the third sector in particular places.

The Voluntary Workforce UK estimates suggest that over 10 million people volunteer at least once a month, equivalent to approximately 1.1m full-time workers (Clark et al 2012). The common framework for analysis of voluntarism is motivational (Taylor 2005), most often exploring altruism – a ‘gift of one’s time’ – but also including a wider range of impetuses ranging from civic engagement to ‘serious leisure’ (Stebbins 1996; Rochester 2011). However, whilst this approach tends towards individualist explanations, linked to personality or disposition (Griffiths 1979; Sheard 1992; Bales 1996), the geographies of voluntarism suggest that a socio-spatial explanation is also required. Specifically, it is well established that there are uneven geographies of voluntary activity in the UK (Mohan et al 2011) linked to demographic characteristics (e.g. Mohan and Bullock 2012), local cultures (Parry et al 1992; Macdonald 1996; Deakin 2001; Williams 2003) and institutional structures such as the local history of welfare provision (Mohan and Gorsky 2001) or funding regimes (Fyfe and Milligan 2003). Mohan and Bullock (2012) have recently shown that almost 90% of all voluntary work in the UK is done by little more than 30% of the population, and that this ‘civic core’ is disproportionately middle-aged, middle-class and female, and resident in more affluent parts of the country. However, whilst this corroborates popular classed and gendered images, it is clear that voluntarism also has a strong heritage through the Friendly Societies, trades unions and co-operatives (Taylor 2005; Davis-Smith 1996) and areas without middle-class demographics also develop local cultures of participation (Macdonald 1996). In short, whilst spatial demographics tell us something about who volunteers, why and where, the geographies of voluntarism are more complex than this: we need better understandings of how different political economic contexts shape the development of voluntarism (Milligan and Conradson 2011).

The Paid Workforce In 2012 it was estimated that there were 760,000 (617, 000 full-time equivalent) third sector employees, an increase of 40% in the period 2001-2010 (Clark et al 2012). The majority of this growth is accounted for by the expansion of two rather different types of work. First, the increased ‘mainstreaming’ of the sector has resulted in formalization, bureaucratization and professionalization, increasing demand for professional and managerial staff (Hadley 1995; Amin 2009). Second, the contracting out of statutory services to third sector organizations has led to a rise in the number of health and social care staff in the sector (Moro and Mackay 2009). This work is low paid, with poor and often worsening working conditions

both in the UK (Cunningham 2008; Cunningham and James 2009) and elsewhere (Baines 2009; Baines et al 2011). Thus, although there has been some attention to the careers and motivations of third sector employees (Lewis 2008; Amin 2009) and particularly to the challenges of retaining workers despite the worsening terms and conditions of employment (Baines and Cunningham 2011) the central focus is on the dynamics shaping these worsening terms and conditions, underpinned by a broader critique of neo-liberal welfare policy. Nonetheless, there are some significant spatial implications of these drivers for growth. Whilst it has been suggested that contracting out of government services might lead to a 'new localism' - redistributing previously centralised public sector employment more evenly across the country - recent research has shown this to be unfounded (Geyne-Rajme and Mohan 2012). Indeed paid work in the third sector is strongly concentrated in London and the South East: 37% of third sector employment is in these two regions (Geyne-Rajme and Mohan 2012), a greater proportion than for either the private or public sector (at 28% and 24% respectively) and this trend has strengthened significantly in the last 5 years (ibid). This is explained largely by the concentration of large charities and social enterprises in the region that positions the geography of paid work in the third sector within a familiar spatial division of labour (Massey 1984) with a concentration of head offices and producer services with their associated managerial and professional labour in the South East of the UK. Less is known about the geography of contracted-out health and social care services, but outside London and the South East there is clearly an uneven spread of paid work in the sector, with some of the poorer regions (e.g. the North East and the North-West) gaining relatively low employment from these changes (Geyne-Rajme and Mohan 2012).

One Workforce? Previous research offers good insights to the geographies of voluntary and paid work in the third sector workforce; however these have developed in largely separate streams with little integration. This makes sense in terms of the specific questions that are being asked: who volunteers, where and why? What are the employment implications of increased contracting-out of welfare services to third sector organizations? But the segregated approach means that *we know very little about if and how the two elements of the workforce come together to produce third sector activities and deliver services, let alone how these are shaped by the distinctive geographies that - as we have seen - are associated with each.* To begin to address these questions more directly, we draw from the 'new sociology of work' (Pettinger et al 2005) which insists on a broader conceptualisation of 'work'. Rooted in feminist perspectives on work, this approach begins from the premise that a given activity cannot be distinguished as 'work' simply by whether it is paid (or not). Identical activities may be paid or unpaid – childcare, decorating or car mechanics – and the conditions under which these come to be employment, voluntary work or domestic labour, for whom, where, and when, should be a matter of investigation rather than assumption.

Building on this, Glucksmann (2000; 2005; 2009) makes three points that are particularly important for our concerns here. First, the social organization of work is relational: there are interdependencies between the organization of paid and unpaid work. How labour is organized within each has implications for the other, and we must explore their interdependencies. We can see the relevance of this in glimpses of evidence from the third sector, where it appears that increased professionalization and new managerial structures have led to tensions between managerialism and voluntarism, (Parsons and Broadbridge 2004; Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003) with volunteers sometimes feeling squeezed out (Davis Smith 1996): the changing organization

of the paid labour force impacting on the experience of work by the voluntary labour force in ways that may ultimately be counterproductive (Hustinx and Lammerstyn 2003). In this sense, the hybridity of the third sector workforce lies not just in the combination of volunteers and paid staff, but in the ways that these co-constitute each other. Overall, however, as we have noted above, we know very little about the intersections of paid work and volunteering in the third sector.

Second, these are historical processes. The organization of labour as paid or unpaid is dynamic, contingent on particular circumstances that evolve over time. In particular, Glucksmann (2005) argues we should pay attention to shifting welfare regimes - what is provided by the state and how this shapes the opportunities for commercial activity and the nature of work that falls to unpaid domestic labour. This has clear echoes with developments in the third sector in the UK, which has grown directly as a consequence of the contracting out of public sector services and concern in the sector that volunteers may be used to undertake work previously done by paid staff (<http://www.volunteering.org.uk/component/gpb/jobsubstitution> accessed 05/02/15).

Third, the organization of labour is shaped by space and place, with distinctive and shifting geographical outcomes. Here Glucksmann (2000) draws strongly on Massey's account of place (1995), proposed as a dynamic '... node in network of relations' (Glucksmann 2000; 131) both local and global, that combine to produce distinctive combinations of culture, community and identity: a sense of 'what it's like around here' (ibid; 146). In her later work Massey (2005) extends this, integrating the subjective meanings of lived place with an appreciation of other, multiple and diverse relations – national government policies, global finance, popular culture, for instance – that contribute to the making of place. Place comes to be understood as a point of intersection, produced from the interactions of relations 'from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny' (Massey, 2005: 9). Previous research shows indeed that the third sector workforce displays some distinctive geographies, linked both to spatial divisions of labour and cultures of voluntarism, but we have less knowledge of how these intersect, or co-construct each other over time and in place.

To summarise, Glucksmann's argument is that we need to understand '... how the organization of labour in any one instance is dependent on the organization of other forms of work' (2005; 21) and we should be concerned with *the 'overall articulation of interconnected work activities' (ibid) as they are constituted in particular times and places*. In what follows, we draw broadly on the three principles outlined above to explore how this approach might extend our understanding of the capacity and sustainability of the third sector as it is made in particular places. In the remainder of this paper, we turn to this task by exploring the relations between voluntarism and paid work in three local third sector organizations established in very different places in the UK. By taking an organizational lens we aim to explore how the third sector is made 'on the ground', in the life stories and everyday practices of the volunteers and employees who work to sustain them. In doing so, and this is critical to our argument, we also demonstrate how the everyday activities of third sector work are not only a local matter; but rather are the effects of the stretching of social, political and economic relations over space and time, constructed and negotiated at interlocking scales of individuals, communities, regions and nations (Dyck 2005:235).

Methodology

This research is part of a wider programme investigating the workforce and workplaces of the third sectorⁱⁱ. This paper is based on one project that aimed specifically to explore the working lives of both volunteers and paid staff working the third sector in England and Wales. The research began in 2010 and was conducted over a two year period. We adopted a qualitative comparative case study methodology, based primarily on observations and in-depth interviews. The full study involved six organizations of different sizes, from long established to new, involved in different activities across the sector. In this paper we draw on three of these case studies, to allow us to go into some depth in each case. We selected these three from the wider set for three key reasons: each had been first established in the site where we conducted the fieldwork; each is located in a very different kind of place, both with respect to the geographies of voluntarism and employment in the third sector described above and, more generally, with respect to broader processes of economic, social and cultural differentiation across England and Wales; and each illustrates a very distinctive formation of voluntarism and paid work that is nonetheless clearly grounded in place. A summary of the key features of each organization and the research conducted there is provided in Table 1.

Futures Bright	Wylden Green	Waste Foodie
Large town, North East England	Small village, West Wales	East London
Day centre for adults with learning disabilities; youth club for local children and children with special needs	Environmental and energy advisory agency	Collects waste food from supermarkets & uses to run cafés and pop-up restaurants
17 full time staff and 100 volunteers	10 full-time & part-time staff and 7 volunteers	7 full time staff & 13 volunteers in head office & additional volunteers in cafes and restaurants
Interviews with 13 paid staff and 9 volunteers; 75 hours observation.	Interviews with 10 paid staff and 3 volunteers; 50 hours of observation	7 paid staff and 15 volunteers; 80 hours observation.

Table1: Overview of Case Study Organizations and Fieldwork

Researcher C spent at least a week working in each organization, amongst other things helping with origami classes, collecting waste food from supermarkets and running an alternative energy stall in a wet and windy field! We endeavoured to interview every paid member of staff and all the volunteers who were present during our fieldwork. In individual interviews we invited participants to narrate their work-life histories, explicitly asking about both voluntary and paid experience, and describe in detail their experience and everyday practices in the particular organization that we were studying. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, and were saved in Atlas.ti along with detailed observational field notes. Together these data were analysed according to core themes, including career, voluntary work, gender, class, organization and place, using Atlas.ti to explore these within and between sites. This was complemented with systematic reading of transcripts and documents by the authors and iterative comparison of interpretations within the research team. In what follows we take place as our primary category, examining three key questions in relation to this in each case: (i) How is this organization made in place? (ii) How is the workforce made in place? (iii) How does place shape the relations and capacity of this workforce and organization?

Making Community: ‘Cod-head through and through!’

‘Futures Bright’ⁱⁱⁱ, a day centre for adults with a range of learning and physical disabilities and – by evening – a youth club for children with special needs, is situated in ‘Norton’, one of the most deprived local areas of the UK. The town has the second highest unemployment rate in the country, with youth unemployment twice the national average. Historically the local economy was built on its globally renowned fishing industry which flourished in the first half of the twentieth century, providing secure employment, strengthened in the post-war boom by the growth of food processing, chemicals, engineering and tourism. However, the late twentieth century saw successive waves of collapse, through the ‘Cod Wars’ of the 1970s, market competition from imported fish, and globalization of the food processing industries (Storey 1992). The recent recession from 2008 onwards only exacerbates this long-term trajectory of decline.



Figure 1: The declining docklands

Futures Bright occupies a slice of the former main street leading from the docks. Once the heart of a thriving port, the physical infrastructure is now blighted with over 50% of the buildings boarded up and the remainder occupied by charity shops, discount food stores and loan companies. In a converted side street terrace Futures Bright delivers social care and education to more than 300 adults and children each week, who come to take classes from flower arranging to computing and Tai Chi; to use the brand new cafe facilities; or join in the youth club, run in a newly converted attic that spans the length of the terrace. These facilities are a direct product of Futures Bright’s location: houses are cheap and high scores in official deprivation indices have opened up opportunities for successful EU funding bids. Whilst there is no need – in terms of client base – for the organization to be in this part of town, it makes sense that it is. Futures Bright could not exist in this form without the cheap property and grant income that the neighbourhood affords.

In turn, the workforce – both paid and voluntary – is strongly attached to and shaped by the history of Norton. Out of a total of 17 paid staff and 100 volunteers, all those we met were born and grew up in the town, with the exception of one employee - whose wife had always lived here. Just as this organization is both in and of place – both located here and made at the

intersection of economic, social and institutional processes that meet here – so too is the workforce. Most literally, they were born and grew up here; but volunteers and staff also share local histories that link them through their wider labour market experiences and commitment to the local community.



Figure 2: A collage of the local area created by service users

Indeed, their accounts are more differentiated by generation than by any division between paid staff and volunteers. The older generation share a history of de-industrialisation and disinvestment in the local economy that has shaped their working lives over decades. The senior managers and administrators (all paid) started their working lives in food processing, retail or management and have moved into the third sector often after redundancy and lack of opportunities in the private and public sectors. They find themselves surprised to be in this type of organization, but utterly committed to it. Patricia, the Operations Manager worked for most of her life on the factory floor in the frozen food industry explains:

I've headed cod – you name it, I've done it... and all of a sudden there's this job where, I don't know, I could give something back, maybe, or something I could get some sort of pleasure from seeing somebody else being rewarded. ... I'm just so passionate, even six years down the line - I'm still so passionate about working here.'

This history is shared by the older generation of volunteers, many of whom have also experienced periods of prolonged unemployment and come into Futures Bright through benefits-related training programmes or following family and friends already involved in volunteering with the organization. These volunteers describe Futures Bright as a lifeline following redundancy. Ron, a voluntary trustee in his 60s, who was once a musician touring all over the world before returning to work in the frozen food industry said

I can't see me ever finishing really! ... [I want to] put something back ... 'my home's always been in Norton....roots are roots aren't they?'

Such palpable commitment and attachment to place was evident in many accounts: indeed, this mutuality of purpose defines the workforce. As Jerry, an older volunteer puts it, *'I'm born and bred Norton... cod-head through and through'* (our emphasis) whilst Ken explains

‘... I was only born round the corner ... the area has been good to me all my life ... so I was going to give some of it back ... so I took it upon myself to become a trustee of three organizations ... A lot of my ex-colleagues who’d gone into business and who hated it were saying “Oh I wish I had the courage [to do that]” but it wasn’t courage it was a conviction thing’(Ken, 50s, ex-food industry, voluntary trustee).

Younger staff and volunteers at Futures Bright are also distinctively shaped by the economic and cultural history of place. All the more junior staff have come into the organization on job-centre placements or schemes for the long-term unemployed, often initially unpaid and then subsequently converted into permanent paid jobs funded through grants that the managers and trustees work hard to secure, not least so that they can offer paid work to young volunteers. However, the younger volunteers articulated greater ambivalence to their role than their older colleagues. As Daniel (in his 30s) explained, he feels that some might say *‘... you’re only volunteering because you can’t get a job’*. Daniel’s sense is that this stigmatisation is stronger in Norton than it would be in an area with less unemployment, or for middle class graduates, where volunteering might be seen as more of a career and/or lifestyle ‘choice’. The younger volunteers all hope that their experience here will lead to paid work, either at Futures Bright or elsewhere. Notably, this is a goal that the paid staff shares: beyond the intrinsic aims of Futures Bright in providing a service for clients, the managers and administrators are all strongly committed to building paid work for young people in Norton, and future plans for organizational expansion are explicitly aimed to fulfil these dual purposes. Proposals to develop respite care – much needed as a service for clients – are explicitly articulated in relation to the jobs and accommodation that they would provide for staff. As Michael, a Director explains:

‘Rightly or wrongly, we’ve always looked and tried...when people are good volunteers to give them employment opportunities...I don’t think that’s a bad thing’

Here we begin to see the complex relationalities of third sector work in this place, and time; a particularly challenging dynamic of inflated unemployment and urban decline which frames workforce configuration and relations across the voluntary/paid divide. The capacity of Futures Bright is tied to this part of town, with its cheap property and grant potential, but also to the stagnating local labour market, industrial decline and associated government policies. Together these have provided the supply of managerial/administrative skill, volunteers and job centre placements that fuel Futures Bright’s successful grant capture and organizational growth. This has been mobilised across the staff through a strong sense of community and pride in local place, articulated both in memories of the past and in current representations of the place. These community commitments intersect with processes which range from the globalization of industry and consumption, changing public funding regimes, housing and labour markets, to social networks with other agencies involved in regeneration. It is this particular combination of belonging, identity, politics and history in place which has blended the workforce, enabling the creation of a successful and highly motivated organization, that is well on-track with an ambitious expansion plan. In turn, the organization has contributed to ongoing place-making, bringing new meanings to an area previously defined by fishing and its subsidiary industries. So distinctive are these relations that some of the workers question whether this could be reproduced anywhere else:

'This is the Futures Bright model, This Town. There's no question that it works ... The next step will be to see if we can replicate it outside' (Daniel).

The staff's strong sense of *belonging* in place and to the local community has been the key resource for building Futures Bright, providing the passion and commitment to develop a sustainable organization, drawn upon across the boundaries of paid and voluntary work. Indeed, against the background of austerity, the organization is doing well, with a growing workforce based both on volunteers from the local job centre and a steadily rising paid workforce supported by several major grant income successes of the Chief Executive, whose imaginative and relentless approach sees him spending all his evenings writing bids for funding (himself blurring the boundaries between paid and unpaid work). However, the placed nature of the organization is also, potentially, a weakness. Larger and more commercial providers of social care are moving in to the sector rapidly, as the market opens up under new welfare regimes that offer lucrative contracts to any qualified provider (Health and Social Care Act 2012). Whether such local organizations can compete on costs, or will be undercut by major providers willing to take a hit to secure the market longer term, remains to be seen.

Making lifestyle: 'Where I live is more important than the type of job that I do'

The Wylden Green Centre (WGC) is an environmental and energy advisory agency, situated in a small village on the Welsh coast. The area has a distinctive history of some renown: in the 1970s, its remoteness and the physical attractions of the local landscape led those seeking 'alternative' lifestyles to establish several local communes here, attracting 'incomers' from across the United Kingdom, most temporarily although some still live here today. Primarily invested in farming, the local labour market offers few employment opportunities beyond the art galleries, cafes, health food and gift shops that cater to Wylden's holiday makers and second home owners. Very distinct from the local population in Norton, this intersection of 'born and bred', lifestyle migrants and semi-detached second home owners makes for a diverse population in which the meaning of 'local' is complex. Martin, a WGC Manager explains:

'There's an interesting sense of what constitutes 'local'. I mean, the town council is mostly made up of local people, Welsh people, a couple of long-term incomers, generally regarded as a much more local institution than, say, the Chamber of Trade, or the Boat Club or any of these other things where English people have come in, set up businesses and then join ... The Boat Club is where all the sort of "hoorays"²⁰ hang out... there is a sort of core, local Welshness to it, but generally it's run by people who live in London. There are a lot of local people on the Committee as well, I have to admit, but even some of those are, sort of, not very local people in terms of where they're from'.

With its early roots in the green agendas initiated by the alternative communities, the WGC began as an entirely voluntary organization, a space of resistance to the prevailing energy policies of the time. WGC was set up by:

'... a very small group of friends who wanted to do something about what we saw as an increasing obsession with centralised energy supplies ... with nuclear power – and all the hazards associated with that – and we wanted to take back control' (Tony, voluntary trustee)

For this group, Wylden was a place to live out their activist goals, where alternative lives could be lived and through which alternative politics could be articulated.



Figure 3: Wylden High Street

An early leader in its field, over the past 30 years WGC has attracted EU and Welsh Government funding and grew to employ 20 paid staff at its peak. Located in the old Victorian school, in the heart of the village, the Centre employed nine staff and had seven voluntary trustees at the time of our research. Their life-stories are mixed both in terms of expertise and relation to place. Those already living in the area had gained work either through volunteering first, or by applying for paid roles requiring generic skills. Amanda, for example, had little knowledge of renewable technologies, but began by volunteering and then *'blagged [my] way through the interviews'* but says *'the fact that I was from Wylden and I know quite a lot of people helps'*. Similarly, Martin says he's *'not a natural green...'* but

'I work here because I live here – I'd been unemployed for years when I got the job and I was just happy to get a job... It happened to be the day after I was getting married, but I hadn't had a job for five years so I thought I'd better take it!'

Meanwhile, Craig – a qualified engineer – had moved to Wylden for this job, but the place had a high priority in the decision to move

'I'm from here and we wanted to try living in the countryside and me especially has got a bit tired of living in cities, so we came here... I didn't have a particular desire to work for the third sector, but what brought me here was my desire to work in this area, in sustainability, and I think at the moment...a lot of it seems to be with the third sector...And I guess a feature of this area is there is less opportunity and places to work and a bit more limiting.'

For all, living in Wylden is a firm priority and one that transcends environmentalism or working in the third sector, which are merely the means to this end. Some were born in the village, and sat as school children in the very same room where they now work as energy advisors. They want to stay in the village because this is where they feel their ‘roots’ are. Others have more recent connections to place, driven by lifestyle aims. Martin, whose wife is local, likes Wylden because

‘the idea the idea of living in a little village and working there and shopping locally and sending my kids to the local school was what I was quite keen on’.

Martin suggests that for all his staff, attachment to place and the lifestyle offered by Wylden outweighs working for this particular organization: *‘We get a high level of commitment. I think some people appreciate local work, however low paid, over having to travel around’.* Craig, agrees: *‘I’ve always felt that **where I live is more important to me than the type of job that I do**’* (our emphasis).

The WGC workforce attachment to place combines a sense of rootedness and belonging to a community with a more *‘elective belonging’* (Savage et al 2005) than we saw in Norton:

‘There is a big sense of community here, people are very wedded to the area, they love it because it’s... what makes Wylden more special than other places is the juxtaposition of the mountains and the sea, and the town right on the coast. You’ve got things here that you just don’t have anywhere else. Everywhere else is nice, other places are lovely, but there is something here that allows you to get out of your kayak, walk up the hill for an hour and be at the very top of [the mountain]’. (Martin)

This is a lifestyle choice –how the volunteers and paid staff want to live their lives through place, as Craig explains

‘I grew up here so I have got strong roots here. I always thought that I would... you know, my big desire was to go travelling and I spent three years abroad doing that, and I always thought I would find some little town or village somewhere and turn up and go, oh yeah, this is the place that I want to settle, but it actually never happened and what I came to realise was, no I actually want to be back at home ... and it’s nearly a year now that we’ve been back and bought a house here, and just realising the kind of lifestyle that we can have here is very positive.’

What are the implications of this workforce in place for the capacity and future of Wylden Green? Whilst there is undoubtedly some of the passion for the job that was demonstrated in Norton, for the paid staff, working for the Centre is more clearly a means by which most seek to achieve their aims of living *and staying* in Wylden. It is the place which motivates the workforce, and the organization is more a means to sustain a lifestyle in this place than a vehicle for commitment to local community or service delivery. At times, this clashes with the aspirations of those who set up WGC: the unpaid trustees, older, retired, and no longer dependent on a pay cheque to maintain their life in the village, are still driven by their original mission. Tensions were emerging between the trustees and the paid staff, the former still driven by environmental ideologies, the latter more concerned with economic sustainability, even if this did mean creative diversification and ‘mission drift’. This tension was exacerbated by the fact that, at the time of our research, WGC was entirely depending on a dwindling supply of public funding. Several large grants had recently been rescinded and the Centre was consistently losing new bids in the

competition with the larger providers that have moved into the field over the past decade. In response, the Centre had implemented a shared cut-back to paid hours, supplementing this with increased hours of unpaid work by staff. This is what ‘volunteering’ meant here: a blurring of the distinction between paid and volunteer work, such that it was often unclear when one stopped and the other started.

The contradictions which existed between the aims of the paid staff and the unpaid trustees were not resolved: the power vested in the voluntary role of trustee ultimately held sway over the ambitions of the paid workforce. Since we left the field, the WGC has shut down, all avenues of solely environment-related funding exhausted. The staff is left with an uncertain future, not only in terms of employment but their lives in place, to which they were so committed. Meanwhile, the empty offices in the old schoolhouse continue to contribute to the making of place, starkly symbolizing the uneven connections of the village with the broader agendas of third sector organization, environmentalism and government policy.

Making identity: Where do I actually belong?

Our third organization is Waste Foodie, a charity which takes the best-before-date expired food that supermarkets throw out to run two permanent cafés and a range of pop-up kitchens and events across England. The organization was started in London and the head office is located in a regenerating section of the East End^v, a diverse and dynamic urban landscape long characterised by successive waves of migrants living in poverty and urban blight (Riseboro 1996) but which, since the 1990s, has become significantly more ‘middle class’ in terms of the occupations, educational backgrounds and property ownership of its current residents (Rustin 1996). Fashionable for its edgy, multicultural streetscapes, the place is marked by an eclectic mix of traditional corner shops, supermarkets and clothes stalls selling goods from all over the globe, art galleries, trendy bars and eateries and a range of small businesses from charities and social enterprises to artists, architects, designers and other creative industries.



Figure 4: London's East End

The head office of Waste Foodie is situated in a small mews off one of the main high streets, housed in a former Victorian stable block re-styled into open plan 'studio spaces'. At the time of our research, the head office employed five paid staff and seven unpaid 'interns', with a further six voluntary trustees, whilst the cafes and local hubs are largely run by volunteers. None of the head office workforce had roots in the area, nor plans to settle here. This is not a workforce 'of place' as was that of Futures Bright, or even Wylden Green, but it is, nonetheless, a workforce 'in place': attracted to Waste Foodie partly by its mission, but also by its particular location in an area of distinctive urban vibrancy. This is most evident amongst the unpaid interns, whose presence here is not a consequence of the local labour market, as we saw in Futures Bright, but of changing patterns in youth transitions to employment, not only linked to the national and global downturn in youth employment opportunities but also to wider shifts in employers' demands for new types of cultural capital (Jones 2011). As such, their presence is the result of a calculated strategy by the organization to associate its identity with the local area as a means of recruiting well-educated, talented staff and volunteers, who are drawn in not only from across the UK but also from Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong. As Amelia, one of the paid managerial staff explains:

'The whole point of Waste Foodie is that it's a bit cool. You want to attract young interns and you're like 'hey come to the East End'. It's a little bit better than if you're like 'hey, come to Lewisham!'

Megan, one of the interns agrees:

'It wouldn't suit Waste Foodie to be in a sterile office in the City, surrounded by middle class white people ... I mean, when you come out of [the underground station], I feel like you're not in England!'

Waste Foodie makes deliberate use of its East End location and this is clearly an attraction, for both paid and unpaid workers alike. However, it is clear that this is not a demonstration of attachment or commitment to place through any sense of community or rooted belonging, as the Wylden residents aimed to achieve. Rather, this is a form of 'selective belonging' (Watt 2009), whereby certain aspects of place are emphasised whilst simultaneously constructing clear boundaries from other, less 'desirable' areas close by (Benson and Jackson 2012). This is strategically mobilised by the paid staff to attract and select their unpaid colleagues, upon whose talents and (free) time the sustainability of the organization depends. The result is that the volunteers in many ways appear to mirror the paid workers, many of whom are themselves ex-volunteers, in terms of class, educational background, taste and lifestyle. Whilst an underlying current of exploitation characterises their relations, there is nonetheless the sense that this is a sustainable delay in the new middle-class trajectory that sees a period of unpaid work as an increasingly expected investment for career development (Leonard, Halford and Bruce 2015).

For the volunteers being in *this* place combines hopes of gaining paid employment, either at Waste Foodie or with another third sector organisation, with other aspects of identity-making. The transience of these young workers makes them respond to place as tourists or consumers – separating physical closeness from any moral proximity (Bauman 1993) – as Adil, a recent PhD graduate, now an intern explains:

'I don't feel attachment to any area, specifically, in that way, I don't think I'm working in Waste Foodie to help the local community. It's just how Waste Foodie does bring people together is what seems to cool and interesting.'

..[the area is] Brilliant! I love it! ... so many different types of people ... creative and different ...off the wall slightly'

For this group of young people, their engagement with this part of London is as important as gaining experience in the third sector. Waste Foodie is thus both underpinning and benefitting from the rapid expansion of a sector of the youth labour market who are more than willing to offer their free labour for a spell in the East End. This is a workforce that does not exist in Norton or Wylden Green.

However, at the same time, this is a highly mobile workforce, attracted to place for identity-making but, not committed to it in the long term. For these workers, Waste Foodie is a means to a personal end: the work is enjoyable but it's not for the long term. The paid workers are also transient: most hope for even more security, and more remuneration, and would move without compunction. Many of the staff display little attachment to place in terms of community. The CEO himself talks of 'upping sticks':

*I'm not attached personally to anything ... **Where do I actually belong?** ... I need my bike and I need my laptop and I need a pair of jeans and I'm away' (Our emphasis)*

As such, the organisation has inherent instabilities and is potentially unsustainable. Since our fieldwork, all but one paid member of staff and only one intern remain constant. The organization's sense of impermanence is nothing new to this area of London, marked as it is by ever-changing landscapes of both residents and architecture. The revolving door of Waste Foodie's workforce, forged through the distinctive character of a graduate labour market in economic recession, thus serves to contribute still further to the instability inherent to local place-making. Unpaid workers either transform into paid employees, or leave when their period of volunteering

Discussion & Conclusion

For all the expectations that have been invested in the UK's third sector, there is relatively little understanding of its capacity to deliver the kind of promises made by recent governments (e.g. Kendall 2000; Conservative Party 2010). In order to develop this, it is essential that we appreciate that it is the social organization of labour in the sector – across boundaries of paid and voluntary work – and the spatialities of this, that contribute to its capacity in place. To be sure, existing knowledge of the 'civic core' – the classed and gendered nature of voluntary work and its bias towards the more affluent areas of the country – is important here. So too, are spatial divisions of paid work and the dominance of the South East in offering managerial and professional opportunities across the sector. At the very least, we need fine grained analysis to trace how these two geographies are overlaid. But we have proposed more than this here. Specifically, we have argued that the workforce capacity of the sector is not only differentially mapped across space, but that it is actively produced in place.

It is clear from the case study organizations described above that the collective capacities of paid and voluntary labour are profoundly shaped by relations to place and that these relations are

heterogeneous, produced at the intersection of multiple relations and processes, articulated within particular organizations. In each case study we found a distinctive workforce that was not simply the combination of volunteers – most readily understood in individualistic terms of motivation – and paid staff, usually understood in conventional labour market terms or by reference to qualifications or career. To be sure, the distinctive concepts and approaches associated with volunteering and employment are relevant here but, more than this, our findings reveal the connections between these apparently diverse forms of labour, not only as individuals move between them, but as they operate to constitute each other. For example, the global economic and labour market changes in Norton that diverted experienced staff from manufacturing into the third sector where they grew a small army of volunteers and – at the same time – strive to create paid work for local youngsters who, in turn, acquire a commitment to voluntary participation directly associated with the poor labour market opportunities in the area. In order to understand the third sector workforce we cannot continue to see paid and voluntary work as driven by two separate sets of processes – as parallel workforces that are simply added to each other in particular organizations. Rather this is a ‘hybrid’ workforce in which the elements shape each other and must be understood as more than the sum of separate parts.

Across all three organizations we saw that this hybrid workforce is constituted distinctively in place. We have used the term ‘belonging’ to capture this, but differentiated between a conventional use to describe Futures’ Bright – where workforce is grounded in lifetime residence and explicit commitment to community; an ‘elective belonging’ in Wylden, where lifestyle migrants identify with the opportunities to make the lives they seek here, and through the WGC, whether as a political commitment or a pragmatic means to stay in the village; and a ‘selective belonging’ in the East End where the cultural capital that the area offers can be appropriated to make the identities of highly qualified and (apparently) effortlessly mobile young people. Whilst paid staff and volunteers are positioned more or less differently in their relations to place, in all cases place plays a significant role in shaping their participation in their particular third sector organizations.

This is emphatically not to say that each of our three case study organizations is ‘representative’ of all third sector organizations in that place. Indeed, if we take Massey’s conceptualisation of ‘place’ seriously, we must recognise that place is much more complex than this: multiple, at least, and often contested. We cannot answer empirically how each of our three places is articulated through other third sector organizations located there. Theoretically we would expect there to be some continuities – places are not infinitely plastic – but we would also expect differences. In part these will be linked to the heterogeneity of the third sector itself, in terms of size, focus, organizational form, type of income, relations with the state and so on (Cunningham 2008; Buckingham 2011). More specifically, a social care organization working with residents in the East End might look very different to Futures’ Bright, as too a waste food organization in Wylden or an environmental charity in Norton. Certainly it is hard to imagine that the organizations we spent time could exist in the form they did in any of the other locations we visited, and this in itself is telling. Not least, the available forms of labour are distinctive as are the wider set of relational processes (local cultures, organizational funding, economy, history, community and so on) in play.

In presenting these findings and making this argument about them, we do not however simply wish to add to the stream of research that deconstructs the ‘third sector’, pointing out that it is so diverse as to render any cross-sectoral analysis impossible (6 and Leat 1997; Corry 2010). Rather, as Cunningham (2008) and Buckingham (2011) have suggested, it is important to find analytical approaches that enable sensitivity to difference whilst also making a constructive contribution to our understanding of the sector. Whilst Cunningham and Buckingham make helpful suggestions regarding the continuum of relations that exist in different third sector organizations relations with the state, our approach adds attention to hybrid workforce, its character and sustainability in place. It is through these multifaceted attachments between people and place which exist within and between different labour markets that much of the dedication represented by third sector employees, both paid and unpaid, is produced. For some communities, such as Norton and Wylden Green, attachment to place may result in an unwillingness to leave the local area - the sort of immobility which is often decried by governments keen to get people into work whatever the personal toll. However, it is on this very commitment to place and community that the ‘passion’ which is so vital for the effective delivery of services at low cost relies. A sense of belonging and ‘giving back’, aspects much valorised by the ‘Big Society’ campaign promoted by the Conservative Party during the run up to the 2010 election and immediately afterwards (Ware 2012), is indeed an essential resource on which the third sector depends. However, this cannot be simply *mapped on* to communities: we have seen how this is cultivated slowly over time, through the capacity of places to consume identities (Urry 1995) and produce senses of comfort and ‘home’. In other communities, such as that in which Waste Foodie has elected to locate itself, it is through the imagination and the cultural consumption of place that attachment is forged. The touristic appeal of distinctive landscapes and alternative cultures offer different sets of resources by which to construct identities and lives. Some people elect to belong to such places, seeing that they offer appropriate opportunities for the construction of a desired sense of self, even if this means working in an unpaid capacity for a period of time. Thus although the relationship between place and identity is complex and diverse, the fact that place matters is a vital resource for third sector organisations.

It is important for policymakers and funders to understand this. Whilst there has been some recent attention to ‘localism’ in UK political discourse (Hickson 2013), this refers more to the general principle of transferring power and resources from national to local level, rather than an appreciation of the multiple ways in which organisations are made in place by the volunteers and paid staff who work within them. Consequently, we suggest that attempts to stimulate commitment to the third sector, active citizenship or the ‘big society’ (Alcock 2010c) would benefit from an understanding of the interrelated nature of the paid and unpaid workforce in the third sector as well as the context in which they operate.

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ⁱ The definition of this sector is broadly taken as the activities that sit between the state and the market. Although in detail the distinctions are somewhat (and perhaps increasingly) blurred this remains a distinctive area of activity (Alcock 2010b).

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ⁱⁱⁱ All names are pseudonyms, apart from those covered by note iii below.

^{iv} Pejorative slang phrase, shortened from 'hooray Henrys' signifying wealthy, upper class men displaying loud arrogance and superiority.

v As the East End of London, is a large and diverse area this has not been anonymised.