The evolution of the volunteering infrastructure and Volunteering Australia: its impact on the history and development of volunteering in Australia 1970-2012

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ABSTRACT

Volunteering is very popular in Australia. Since the first national survey on volunteering in 1995 the number of people volunteering has continued to increase with over 6 million adults volunteering in 2011. Australia's volunteering infrastructure encourages this volunteering effort through advocacy, promotion and support of volunteering but very little research has been undertaken to examine its development, role, or function. This dissertation analyses the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure and its contribution to volunteering in Australia. In this study the volunteering infrastructure is defined as a group of peak bodies, organisations, programs and services that operate within a federated hierarchy. Volunteering Australia is the national peak body, States and Territory volunteering peak bodies are at the second tier, with Volunteer Resource Centres and programs existing at the local and regional third tier. The peak bodies within the volunteering infrastructure differ from other peak bodies in the not-for-profit sector as they add service delivery to their functions.

It will be argued that the volunteering infrastructure was instrumental in providing a framework for formal volunteering, developing definitions, principles, codes of practice and national standards, a substantial and unique contribution to volunteering. The dissertation examines the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure over forty years beginning with the establishment of the first volunteer centre in Sydney in 1974 until the loss of funding forced the national peak body Volunteering Australia to relocate to Canberra, ACT in 2012. The methodology employed a mixed methods approach including an analysis of existing literature, volunteer centre archival material, a survey and oral history interviews of members of the volunteering infrastructure, public servants, and politicians.

As an exercise in contemporary history this study captures the challenges the volunteering infrastructure faced to have the value of volunteering accepted and respected beyond stereotypical depictions as an activity of economic, social and political significance.

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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GLOSSARY & ACRONYMS

Term	Meaning
$	All dollars are Australian unless otherwise stated
Advancing the Community Together Partnership (ACT Partnership)	Partnership agreement between the South Australian State Government and the volunteering community.
AAP	Australian Assistance Plan
AAV	Australian Association for Volunteering
AAVA	Australasian Association of Volunteer Administrators formerly known as the South Australian Association for Volunteer Administration (SAVA) launched at the National Volunteer Conference 2000.
AAVRC	Australian Association of Volunteer Resource Centres
ACOSS	Australian Council of Social Services
ACV	Australian Council for Volunteering
CEV	Centre Européen du Volontariat European Volunteer Centre
CIVICUS	CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation
CEO Network	This network of state and territory volunteer centre CEOs has previously been called, the Australian State & Territory Volunteer Centre Council, the National State & Territory Volunteer Centre Network, or the State & Territory Volunteer Centre Network. Membership of this network is exclusive to CEOs of state and territory volunteer centres in Australia.
COSS	Council of Social Services
CSVC	Council of State Volunteer Centres
CSSS	Community Sector Support Scheme, a Commonwealth Government funding program for peak bodies. This later became the National Secretariat Program.
CVP	Community Volunteer Program, a Commonwealth Government funded program, 1987-1988.
COVERRS	Coordinators of Volunteer Education, Referral & Resource Services, NSW, now VCN (Volunteer Coordinators Network, NSW).
DEWR	Australian Government Department of Education and Workplace Relations (Commonwealth Government)
DSS	Department of Social Security (Australian Government) 1972-1998.
DSS	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs renamed Department of Social Services 2013-ongoing.
FaCS	Department of Family and Community Services (Australian Government) 1998-2006.
FaCSIA	Department Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (Australian Government) 2066-2007.
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (Australian Government) 2007-2013. NB: this acronym does not exactly mirror the title. However this acronym was commonly used by both government and community sector, as demonstrated by this weblink: <http://resources.fahcsia.gov.au/strategicframework/index.html>
Government	Unless otherwise stipulated this indicates the national government of the respective country under discussion.
HACC	Home and Community Care Program funded by the Commonwealth Government and state and territory governments. t
IAVE	International Association of Volunteer Effort
IYV	International Year of Volunteers
NAVRA	National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies
NAVRC	National Association of Volunteer Resource Centres
NCCA	National Community Council of Advice
NCOSS	National Council of Social Services

NCVA	National Centre for Voluntary Action (US, 1970-1979)
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
NVAN	Northern Volunteer Agency Network
Not-for-profit organisation (NFP)	An organisation that does not distribute profit or gain to its members including directors, employees or patrons. In this thesis such organisations may also be referred to as non-profit organisations. The focus of this study is on organisations and groups which involve volunteers.
Peak body	This term is used throughout this dissertation in preference to terms such as umbrella body or intermediary organisation.
RSVP	Retired and Senior Volunteer Program
SACOSS	South Australian Council of Social Services
SkillShare	SkillShare, a Commonwealth Government funded program, 1989- 1997 that brought together three programs, the Community Youth Support Scheme, (CYSS), the Community Training Program (CTP) and the Community Volunteer Program (CVP).
TasCOSS	Tasmanian Council of Social Services
UNV	United Nations Volunteers program
VA	Volunteering Australia
VACT	Volunteering ACT
VCACT	Volunteer Centre of ACT
VCN	Volunteer Coordinators Network, NSW (originally COVERRS).
VCOSS	Victorian Council of Social Services
VCQ	Volunteers Centre of Queensland
VCSA	Volunteer Centre of S.A.
VCTas	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania
VCWA	Volunteer Centre of Western Australia
VE	Volunteering England
VFS	Volunteer Referral Service similar to a VRC. While the name denotes an emphasis on referral of volunteers some VRS's have expanded to incorporate other volunteer services and programs
VI	Volunteering Infrastructure
VMP	Volunteer Management Program, a Commonwealth funded program, established in 1992 and ongoing as at 2012. Both the VWI and the VMP were developed within the context of the Commonwealth Australians Working Together initiative.
Voluntary sector, non-profit sector, not-for-profit sector, third sector	These broad terms encapsulate those organisations and groups that are non-profit distributing entities. These terms are used interchangeably in this study.
Volunteer Action Centres	This term replaced the term Volunteer Bureau recommended by Heather Buck as a result of her travel to volunteer organisations, bureaux and centres in 1978.
Volunteer Bureau	This term was commonly used in the 1960-1970s to identify the emerging volunteer referral/training not-for-profit organisations that were considered, certainly in NSW to be 'clearing-houses' for volunteers. For ease of reading the term volunteer centre will be used except when specific organisations are being discussed.
Volunteer Centres	The collective term for all members of the volunteering infrastructure. A volunteer centre is a not-for-profit organisation whose core business is the support, promotion and advocacy of volunteers and volunteering.
Volunteer Hub	This term usually denotes a program managed by a part time worker, situated within another organisation such as a library or local council office often offering support for potential volunteers. Some Hubs are online programs only without any face-to-face interaction with potential volunteers. Volunteer Hubs can be the result of a partnership such as in the case of the partnership between Volunteering WA and Curtin University to assist students who wish to volunteer.
Volunteering infrastructure	National, state/territory peak bodies, regional networks and alliances, metropolitan, rural and regional Volunteer Resource Centres and Volunteer Referral Services as well as other promotional and referral agencies whose

	core business is volunteering.
Volunteer involving organisation	This term, used by volunteer centres, describes any organisation within the not-for-profit sector that involves volunteers regardless of area of work, organisational type or size.
Volunteer Support Fund	South Australian Government funding scheme. The grants support community organisations to provide training and resources for volunteers.
VNT	Volunteering Northern Territory
VQ	Volunteering Queensland
VRC	Volunteer Resource Centre. These volunteer centres and programs are situated in urban, regional and rural areas. They occupy the third tier of the volunteering infrastructure. Their organisational make-up ranges from local government programs and services to independent, incorporated not-for-profit organisations that consider themselves peak bodies at the regional level.
VSA	Volunteering SA
VSA&NT	Volunteering SA & NT
VTas	Volunteering Tasmania
VWA	Volunteering WA
VWI	Voluntary Work Initiative, a Commonwealth funded program, 1997- 2009. It was administered originally by the Department of Family and Community Services, later the Department of Employment and finally the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.
VYP	Volunteer Youth Program. Commonwealth funded program, 1979-1986. Following an Inquiry into Labour Market Programs, three programs one of which was VYP were amalgamated into the Community Training Program (CTP).
WACOSS	Western Australian Council of Social Services

Previous names of national, state and territory volunteer centres

Organisation / network name	Previous names
Volunteering Australia (VA)	Australian Council for Volunteering
Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV)	Amalgamation of three national bodies: - Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV); - National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA); - Council of State Volunteer Centres (CSVC).
CEO Network	Variously known as the Council of State Volunteer Centres (CSVC), the Australian Council of State & Territory Volunteer Centres, or, the National Council of State & Territory Volunteer Centres
The Centre for Volunteering, N.S.W.	The Centre of Volunteering NSW National Centre for Citizenship & Volunteer Management Volunteering NSW, (VNSW) Volunteer Centre, NSW, (VCNSW) The Volunteer Bureau, Sydney
Volunteering ACT (VACT)	Volunteer Centre of ACT (VCACT) ACT Volunteers' Association
Volunteering NT (VNT)	Now Volunteering SA & NT (VSA&NT)
Volunteering Queensland (VQ)	Volunteers Centre of Queensland (VCQ)
Volunteering SA & NT (VSA&NT)	Volunteering SA (VSA) Volunteer Centre of S.A. (VCSA) Volunteering NT (VNT)
Volunteering Tasmania (VTas)	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania (VCTas) Northern Volunteer Agency Network (NVAN)
Volunteering Victoria (VV)	Volunteer Centre of Victoria (VCV) Volunteer Action Centre (VAC) The Volunteer Action Centre formed as a merger between the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau (SVRB) and the Collective Involving Volunteers in the Community (CIVIC).
Volunteering WA (VWA)	Volunteer Centre of Western Australia (VCWA)

PART A

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two significant events stand out as key moments in the history of volunteering in Australia. The Sydney Olympics saw an army of volunteers mobilised to create arguably the most successful Olympic Games to that time.[1] And, a year later, the United Nation's (UN's) designated International Year of Volunteers 2001 focused the attention of the public, not-for-profit organisations and governments on volunteering as never before. In Australia, volunteering has economic, social and cultural value. In 2010, more than six million, or 36 per cent of the adult population, took part in formal volunteering activity. This is an increase of 12 per cent from the first national statistics on volunteers gathered by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in 1995.[2] By 2010 the Productivity Commission estimated that the monetary value of volunteer work is equivalent to a wage bill of $15 billion per annum.[3] Promoting, supporting and advocating for volunteering is a group of organisations referred to in this study as the volunteering infrastructure (VI). This group of volunteer centres, programs and services also provides direct services such as training, consultancy and volunteer referral. While the roots of the volunteering infrastructure were firmly planted in the community services sector, its members and the results of its work now stretch across all areas where volunteering is practiced.

Very little research on the volunteering infrastructure has been undertaken to examine its development, role, function or contribution to volunteering in Australia. This interdisciplinary thesis analyses the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure and its

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[1] H. Gordon, *The Time of Our Lives: Inside the Sydney Olympics: Australia and the Olympic Games 1994-2002* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2003), 191.
[2] Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), *Voluntary Work Australia 2010,* (2011), Cat No. 4441.0 <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4441.0Main%20Features12010?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4441.0&issue=2010&num=&view=>, accessed 22 April 2014. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Work Australia 1995,* Cat No. 4441.0 (Canberra: ABS, 1996). Note: The ABS originally stated that 19 per cent of adults volunteered in 1995 but later reprocessed this to 24 per cent in light of the results of the 2000 survey on voluntary work (ABS, *Voluntary Work Australia 2000*, Cat. No. 4441.0 (2001), 38-40).
[3] Productivity Commission, *Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector,* Research Report (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2010), XXIII.

national peak body, Volunteering Australia (VA), and will explore the impact the volunteer infrastructure has had on volunteering from 1970–2012. The analysis begins with the establishment of the first volunteer centre in Sydney in 1974 and ends when the loss of funding forced the national peak body Volunteering Australia to relocate to Canberra, ACT, in 2012. The volunteering infrastructure is defined as volunteer centres, services and programs from each state and territory that choose to be affiliated with Volunteering Australia.

The scope of this thesis an examination of the volunteering infrastructure's federated structure and consider the effect of this on external relationships with governments, particularly the Australian Government. It will also examine the internal relationships between the members of the volunteer infrastructure. In short, the research question that this thesis addresses specifically is the effect the volunteering infrastructure has had on volunteering in this nation. The theoretical framework of analysis is based on William Beveridge's concept of the *moving frontier* which is entwined by Young's multilayered model of relationships.[4]. This relationship can be supplementary, complementary or adversarial. In the case of the volunteering infrastructure, it will be argued that state and territory, as well as local and regional volunteer centres, can simultaneously relate to all tiers of government on the three relationship levels suggested by Young. The internal relationships of the volunteering infrastructure are further complicated by its federated structure. The relationships between the three tiers can be less than harmonious with each tier striving to assert its position within the volunteering infrastructure. At the same time, the strength of the volunteering infrastructure is derived from the support volunteer centres extend to each other, both as individual organisations and as separate tiers.

In this chapter, the Introduction, volunteering issues and debates are considered. These provide a base for examining the evolution and effect of the volunteering infrastructure, 1970-2012 on volunteering in Australia. The first section considers my personal and professional experience as a volunteer and employee of volunteer centres. Following are sections that explore volunteering in the research literature, the pivotal role of women in volunteering and the definition of formal volunteering. This particular section places formal

[4] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action. A Report on the Methods of Social Advance* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948). Dennis R.Young, 'Alternative Models of Government-Nonprofit Sector Relations: Theoretical and International Perspectives', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 29/1 (2000), 149-172.

volunteering within a volunteering framework and considers the corresponding language and debates. These sections together with an examination of the definitions of volunteering form the basis for understanding the issues the volunteering infrastructure faced during its development.

Personal and Professional Involvement with the Volunteer Infrastructure

Volunteering has played a prominent role in my life, both personally and professionally, and it was through my experience volunteering that I became interested in researching the history of Volunteering Australia and the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure. Since adolescence, I have volunteered for a range of groups and organisations in sport and recreation, the environment, community services and education. As a paid worker, my interest in the volunteering infrastructure can be traced to my experience as an employee for both Volunteering Victoria (1988-1990), and Volunteering Australia (2000-2009). In those two periods, I was sometimes engaged as a trainer and conference presenter. Over that twenty-year period, I met, worked with and befriended a number of the people interviewed for this study. Such familiarity with interviewees was inevitable due to the size of the volunteering infrastructure (especially at the state and national levels), the duration of their employment and their engagement with volunteer centres at local, state, national and international levels. For example, a person may be employed by a volunteer resource centre (VRC), sit on the board of the state volunteering peak body and, as all state/territory centres are Foundation Members of Volunteering Australia's board, that person may also have input at the national level. Therefore, it is possible for someone to be simultaneously engaged with all three levels of the volunteering infrastructure.

Both periods of my employment at Volunteering Australia and Volunteering Victoria occurred at times of organisational change and growth. Volunteering Victoria had just completed a merger with another not-for-profit body. Volunteering Australia was establishing an autonomous presence and office separate from the volunteering state peak bodies that had managed VA's programs until that time. I found that using a reflective journal and Microsoft Office OneNote 2007 enabled me to explore my feelings and opinions about certain events that I had experienced together with interviewees. I was able to note some of the ethical issues involved with insider research, which is explored further in the Methodology chapter.

And finally, it enabled me to examine research issues and clarify why I decided to use oral history as a method.

Volunteering in the Literature

This section analyses the research literature on volunteering and the gaps that continue to exist in our knowledge. Also explored is formal volunteering, its definition, language and debates. The definition and principles were pivotal to the development of the volunteering infrastructure. Volunteering Australia formed its identity and legitimacy as the national peak body for volunteering underpinned by the definition and principles of formal volunteering.

The rise of the volunteering infrastructure in the 1970s coincided with a growing research interest in volunteering and the not-for-profit sector and has provided a greater awareness and understanding of the intricacies and complexity of volunteering. [5] This scholastic interest in the breadth and depth of volunteering has provided evidence of the changing context in which the volunteering infrastructure developed to support, promote and advocate for volunteers and volunteering. This section considers the research on volunteering, where gaps in our knowledge exist and finally touches on what some consider the dark side of volunteering.

As a phenomenon, volunteering has been depicted as the social glue that holds community together, an antidote to the negative effects of globalisation, and overall, a vital part of a society's social and cultural make-up.[6] Conversely, it has been argued that volunteering did not excite much scholarly interest until the late twentieth century, although this is not a view universally held.[7] When Bittman and Fisher argued that the definition of volunteering needed

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[5] Michael Hall, Comments' in Ronald Hirshhorn (ed.), *The Emerging Sector: In Search of a Framework* (CPRN 01, Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., 1997), 82. Justin Davis Smith and Melanie Oppenheimer, 'The Labour Movement and Voluntary Action in the UK and Australia: A Comparative Perspective', *Labour History*, 88 (2005), 105-120. L. McMillan, 'Unpaid Work: A Case from the Voluntary Sector' in P. Littlewood et al. (eds.), *The Future of Work in Europe* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 118. J. Noble and F. Johnston, *Volunteering Visions* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2001), 153. R. Hoye and G. Cuskelly, *Working with Volunteers in Sport: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1, 75. S. Dolincar and M.J. Randle, 'Cultural Perceptions of Volunteering: Attracting Volunteers in an Increasingly Multicultural Society' (Wollongong: University of Wollongong, 2005) <https://www.uow.edu.au/>, accessed 2 July 2010.

[6] James Kearney, 'Volunteering: Social Glue for Community Cohesion?' *Voluntary Action,* 6/1 (Winter 2003), 45-56. Marian Harkin, 'Draft Report on the Role of Volunteering in Contributing to Economic and Social Cohesion (2007/2149 INI), *Committee on Regional Development, European Parliament* (2008), 6 <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+COMPARL+PE-400.301+01+DOC+PDF+V0//EN&language=EN>, accessed 8 April 2015. Helmut Anheier and Lester Salamon 'Volunteering in Cross-National Perspective: Initial Comparisons', *Law and Contemporary Problems,* 62/4 (1999), 43-65.

[7] For comment on lack of research on volunteering see: Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteering: Why We Can't Survive Without It* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008), 5, 188. Justin Davis Smith and Melanie Oppenheimer, 'The

to include informal volunteering — unpaid emergency services and unpaid caring — they identified 'over 100 volunteering-specific journals', three of which the, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* the *Nonprofit Management & Leadership* and the *Nonprofit World,* published over 300 articles.[8] On closer inspection, these three journals noted, did indeed publish on volunteering and volunteers but they also published articles on not-for-profit organisations, management and leadership, philanthropy and the sector as a whole.[9] Therefore, at first glance, volunteering appears to be of great interest to scholars, but if one looks specifically at volunteering and volunteers, there continue to be areas and disciplines that are overlooked. In Australia and the UK, labour historians have focused on paid work and largely ignored the unpaid work of volunteers.[10] Feminists have argued that the lack of academic interest in volunteering was due to the perception that volunteering was gendered while others assert that the unwaged nature of volunteering deemed it of little economic value and thus invisible in capitalist societies.[11] The predominance of women in unpaid work in the home also went unnoticed and unvalued.[12]

Women and volunteering

Volunteering has long been considered the domain of women, an extension of their caring role in the family.[13] The connection between women and volunteering is further nuanced by issues of invisibility, stereotypes and perceptions of work, traditional organisational practices and societal change. The perception of volunteering as 'woman's work' was exacerbated by

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Labour Movement and Voluntary Action in the UK and Australia: A Comparative Perspective', 105-120. L McMillan, 'Unpaid Work: A Case from the Voluntary Sector', 118. J. Noble and F. Johnston, *Volunteering Visions,* 153; R. Hoye and G. Cuskelly, *Working with Volunteers in Sport: Theory and practice*, 175.

[8] Michael Bittman and Kimberly Fisher, *Exploring the Economic and Social Value of Present Patterns of Volunteering in Australia,* Social Policy Research Paper No. 28 (Canberra: AGPS, 2006), 1 <https://www.sprc.unsw.edu.au/media/SPRCFile/27_Social_Policy_Research_Paper_28.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2014.

[9] Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, <http://nvs.sagepub.com/>, accessed 12 December 2014. Nonprofit Management & Leadership, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1542-7854/homepage/ProductInformation.html>, accessed 12 December 2014. Nonprofit World, <https://www.snpo.org/publications/nonprofitworld.php>, accessed 12 December 2014.

[10] Alice Kessler-Harris, 'Voluntary Work and Labour History: A Postscript', *Labour History,* 81 (November, 2001), 129-133. Joanne Scott, 'Voluntary Work as Work? Some Implications for Labour History', *Labour History,* 74 (May 1998), 10-21.

[11] D. Morris, 'Volunteering: A Nice Little Job for a Woman?' in A.E. Morris and T. O'Donnell (eds.), *Feminist Perspectives on Employment Law* (London: Cavendish Publishing, 1999), 122. Megan Alessandrini, 'The Double Shift and Policy Implementation: A Gendered Analysis of the Supply End of Social Capital', paper given at the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, 29 September-1 October 2003, Hobart, Tasmania.

[12] Marilyn Waring, *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth* (2nd edn., Toronto: University of Toronto Press Inc. 2004), xiv-li.

[13] Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteering: Why we can't survive without it,* (2008), 21.

the stereotype of volunteers described as 'Lady Bountiful'.[14] This described volunteers as middle class and middle aged women and connected volunteering to gender and class. A century later Vellekoop-Baldock updated the 'Lady Bountiful' stereotype to describe volunteers as 'blue rinse ladies patronizing the poor'.[15] The stereotype has been difficult to dislodge particularly in the health, welfare and community services sectors. Glimpses of the stereotype continue to linger through media headlines of 'Do-gooders last longer' and 'Are women do-gooders just in it for themselves?[16] Daniels argues that criticism of wealthy women volunteers hampered investigation of the role such women played in civic leadership.[17] Generally she found the benefits of training and skill development volunteering afforded were overlooked.[18] Mueller also called for feminists to consider the facilitative role that volunteering plays through training and work experience.[19] In response to this call Blau suggested that volunteering, as a method for gaining work experience, was 'unlikely to affect very many women' and that only when the constraints of family responsibility were mitigated by greater flexibility in the labour market could it be said that the 'activity [of volunteer work] is as voluntary for them as it is for men'.[20]

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[14] The genesis of the term Lady Bountiful can be traced to a Restoration comedy, the' Beaux Stratagem' by George Farquhar, 1707. In this play the character of Lady Bountiful is that of a wealthy widow who is popular due to her philanthropy and her talent as a healer. The text of the play is available through the Project Gutenberg <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/21334>, accessed 10 July 2010. When applied to volunteering, the stereotype assumes volunteers are middle class women who can afford to pay others to provide child care and perform housework. See, for example, Dorothy G. Becker, 'Exit Lady Bountiful: The Volunteer and the Professional Social Worker, *Social Service Review,* 38/1 (1964), 57-72. Volunteering Australia Archives: Ann Mission, 'The Traditional Role of Women as Volunteers', *1990 Third Biennial National Volunteering Conference: Conference Papers* (Melbourne: Volunteer Centre of Victoria, 1990), 57-72. Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteering: Why We Can't Survive Without It,* (2008), 121-124. Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Voluntary Work', *The Encyclopedia of Women & Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia,* <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0623b.htm>, accessed 22 June 2014.

[15] C. Vellekoop-Baldock 1990, *Volunteers in Welfare,* 4.

[16] Fiona Macrae 'Are women do-gooders just in it for themselves? Many female volunteers take up charity work as much for their benefit as for others', survey suggests', *Daily Mail,* 3 January 2014 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2532891/Are-women-gooders-just-Many-female-volunteers-charity-work-benefit-survey-suggests.html>, accessed 9 July 2014. Elizabeth Bromstein, 'Do-gooders last longer', *NOW,* 31/8, October 2011, 20-27 <http://www.nowtoronto.com/lifestyle/story.cfm?content=183222>, accessed 9 July 2014. Volunteering SA Archives: Volunteering SA, 'Not Just Do-Gooders' *The Volunteer Centre – Our History 1982-2007* (Adelaide: Volunteering SA, 2007). Bloomsbury Dictionary of English Literature 1997 cited in Wilson, Hendricks and Smithies, '"Lady Bountiful" and the "Virtual Volunteers": The changing face of social service volunteering', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand,* 17 (2011) 128. Arlene Kaplan Daniels *Invisible careers: Women civic leaders from the volunteer world* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 15-17.

[17] Arlene Kaplan Daniels *Invisible careers: Women civic leaders from the volunteer world* (1988), xxii-xxiii.

[18] Ibid, 39

[19] M.W. Mueller, 'Determinants of volunteer work by women', *Signs*, 1/2 (Winter 1975), 334.

[20] Francine D. Blau, 'Comment on Mueller's "Economic Determinants of Volunteer Work by Volunteers', *Signs,* 2/1 (Autumn 1976), 251-254.

On the theme of invisibility, mentioned earlier in this section, Baldock (later Vellekoop-Baldock) identified four types of work: paid work, unpaid work, informal care and unpaid support of partner's paid work. In general only women performed all four types of work, the majority of which was not counted in national economic accounts and was 'devalued in public opinion' and was therefore invisible.[21] The feminist movement also had a role to play in the invisibility of women volunteers. The groundbreaking decision of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam to appoint Elizabeth Reid as a special adviser on women's issues led to a Women and Politics Conference held during the International Women's Year 1975. It was the first time such a conference had been held and its aim was to provide a 'forum for the actual and possible roles of women in political activity and decision making'.[22] Volunteering, neither as a concept nor its impact on women and society were topics for presentations although the two volumes of papers did contain presentations that mentioned volunteering as an activity undertaken by participants and organisers of the conference.[23] This is not surprising as generally the drive for social, legal and economic equality in feminist literature either ignored or was critical of volunteering.[24] Volunteering was considered a mechanism for reinforcing a patriarchal status quo that ensured women did not participate fully in the paid workforce and remained hidden from the public arena.[25]

Kessler-Harris further argued that the term 'worker' was historically applied to males as family breadwinners and that without adjectives such as unpaid or voluntary 'work' was always assumed to be paid.[26] Other criticism came from the belief that volunteering, particularly in charity organisations, was an extension of a sexist attitude that paid work was for men and volunteer work was for women. Certainly in Victoria in 1971, women were predominantly involved as volunteers in social welfare agencies as illustrated by research which found that 238 agencies engaged 42,500 volunteers of which 68% were women mainly

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[21] Volunteering WA Archives: Cora Baldock, 'Contradictions of the Volunteer Role', *WACOSS Conference on Volunteers,* (Perth: Volunteering Western Australia, 18 April 1986), 1-2.

[22] Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Women and Politics Conference 1975,* 2 (Canberra: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1977), vii.

[23] Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Women and Politics Conference 1975,* 2 (1977), 4, 47.

[24] Cora Baldock, 'Feminist Discourses of Unwaged Work: The Case of Volunteerism' (1998), 19-34.

[25] Leticia M. Smith, 'Women as Volunteers: the Double Subsidy' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 4 (1975), 119 -135. Maddy Oliver, 'Killing Lady Bountiful', *Eureka Street*, 18/17 (27 August 2008) <http://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article.aspx?aeid=8598>, accessed 5 September 2012.

[26] Alice Kessler-Harris, 2001, 'Voluntary Work and Labour History: A Postscript' *Labour History,* 81 (November, 2001), 129. K. Bojar, 'Volunteerism and women's lives: a lens for exploring conflicts in contemporary feminist thought, historical importance and socioeconomic value of women's contributions as volunteers' in K. Conway-Turner (eds.), *Women's studies in transition: the pursuit of interdisciplinarity……????* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses Inc., 1998), 36-56.

between the ages of 20 – 60 years.[27] A decade later research commissioned by the Ballarat Volunteer Link-Up (the volunteer resource centre operating at that time) in 1985 found that the majority of volunteers were women and that half of them stated their occupation as 'home duties' although they came from either professional or clerical backgrounds. While organisations continued to attract women as volunteers there was an underlying fear of what would happen if women no longer chose to stay at home but joined the paid workforce. Both the Ballarat Volunteer Link-Up research and an earlier study of Citizens' Advice and Aid Bureaux in Victoria, 1975, were driven to explore the reasons for women ceasing to volunteer. They found a complex set of reasons with paid employment being only one reason to cease volunteering. Family responsibilities and issues related to volunteering were to two major categories. These included illness and pregnancy, husbands retiring, relocation to another community, and volunteer burn-out or dissatisfaction with the volunteer job.[28] The National Womens' Advisory Council found, in 1980, that life stages also played a role in decisions to quit volunteering. Younger women stopped volunteering due to lack of time and paid work commitments whereas older women were more likely to cite age and illness.[29] The author of this Report, Erica Fisher, considered findings from the study carried out by Hamilton-Smith in Victoria together with inquiries in the UK and Canada and found similar issues. For instance the work load of women volunteers could be as heavy as it was for women in the paid workforce. Both types of work entailed women performing a double shift. Further there were the added costs to volunteering such as childcare and transport. The issue of time could be another problem for women who wanted to do both paid and volunteer work as both forms of work were mainly available during 9am–5pm.

Reactions from feminists to people promoting volunteering could be passionate as I experienced first-hand when, as Manager of the Volunteer Action Centre (later Volunteering Victoria) in 1989, I made a presentation to youth workers on the value of volunteering. During question time I was berated from the conference floor by a delegate passionately arguing that volunteering exploited women and all volunteers were scabs taking the jobs away from unemployed young people. In that instance the Volunteer Action Centre was

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[27] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *A Study of Volunteers in Social Welfare Agencies in Victoria*, Technical Paper No. 6 (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1973), 1.
[28] C. Barnett, *Volunteers in Ballarat,* (Ballarat: Ballarat University College, 1986) 3-4, 21. Helen Ferber, *Citizens' Advice and Aid Bureaux in Victoria,* Technical Paper No. 8 (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1975), 42.
[29] Fisher, Erica, *Women's Voluntary Work,* (Canberra: National Women's Advisory Council, 1983), 5.

considered to be an organisation perpetuating a traditional activity that was not to the benefit of women or really anyone else. Later, in 1990 Margaret Bell experienced a similar reaction:

> I spoke at a women's conference in Canberra and the Chair introduced me saying, "I'm now going to introduce the most unpopular speaker of the day" and introduced me to speak on volunteering .The women's movement fought us greatly believing that volunteering was holding women in a nurturing role.[30]

However as in the case of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in the United States of America and the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) in Australia volunteer work played a necessary function in campaigns on equal pay, anti-discrimination and other aspects of women's rights.[31] But while volunteering played a role in the struggle for equality, its connection with patriarchy meant that it was only acceptable when described as social action[32]

From another perspective there was also the argument that organisational practices perpetuated the predominance of women volunteers in community services. Hamilton-Smith found in 1973 that paid work commitments left men only available in the evenings and weekends but that not-for-profit organisations in health and welfare services organised volunteer programs mainly during office hours.[33] In other words the office hours of Monday to Friday, 9am to 5pm precluded the involvement of men and reinforced the notion that volunteering in community services, health and welfare was mainly undertaken by women. This also had an effect on the roles men could perform if they chose to volunteer in community services. For instance, the survey on volunteering in South Australia in 1988 found that 65.4% men and 45.7% women volunteered on committees, being the largest area for volunteering and the absorbing the greatest number of hours.[34] In turn this had an impact on the perception that men were more likely to take on such roles simply because of the hours

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[30] Margaret Bell, Interview with the author, Interview Number 1 [sound recording] (Sydney, NSW, 18 November 2010), in the author's possession.
[31] Marian Sawer, 2008, M. *Making Women Count: A History of the Women's Electoral Lobby,* (2008), 5, 98, 172, 174.
[32] Cora Baldock, 1998, 'Feminist discourses of unwaged work: The case of volunteerism' *Australian Feminist Studies,* 13/27 (1998), 19-34.
[33] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *A Study of Volunteers in Social Welfare Agencies in Victoria*, (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1973), 62-63.
[34] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Community and Volunteer Work, South Australia, October 1988,* Table 10 (Adelaide: Commonwealth of Australia 1989), 11.

they were available to volunteer. Of course the pragmatic view of the impact of time available for volunteering is perhaps superficial when one considers the deeper structural social, political and economic reasons for the gender imbalance that was occurring at the time. But, it is worth noting how something as simple as hours available to volunteer could influence volunteer roles and thus prolong the stereotype of women in volunteering.

The volunteering infrastructure was emerging at the same time as the second wave of feminism. Women have always taken strong leadership operational roles. Over the time of this study 1970-2012 only one man, Cary Pedicini (2007-2012), was CEO of Volunteering Australia, the other two CEOs being Margaret Bell (1993-1999) and Sha Cordingley (1999-2007). State and territory centres, and indeed VRCs have, for the majority, been led by women. Certainly there was sensitivity to the feminist argument about volunteering. In 1982, the term 'volunteer' was so controversial that Volunteering SA questioned whether it should be used in their organisational name:

> Using the word "volunteer" in the title was questioned, as at the time the word evoked a common, though mistaken, concept of volunteering as being the realm of well-off women dispensing charity. Unable to find a more appropriate word, it was used in the title on the understanding that volunteering would be promoted as an activity of choice, covering a wide range of interest areas and involving people from a variety of cultures with different interests, skills and experiences.[35]

Countering prejudices against volunteering, the volunteer centres argued that volunteering was part of the transitionary process for women to join the paid workforce and not simply a charitable outlet. If they chose, women could volunteer as a way of building skills and confidence thus allaying fears of how they would manage both family and work responsibilities:

> Day after day after day we had people coming into the centre saying to us, "I don't know whether I can go back to work, I don't know whether I can manage family and working. So I'd like to do a volunteer job for a day or a week or something like that

[35] Volunteering SA Archives: Volunteering SA, *History of Volunteering SA,* (Adelaide: Volunteering SA, n.d.), 1.

and see how it affects our family life". It was common sense in making that transition and find out.[36]

The theme of volunteering as a stepping-stone to paid work has continued within the volunteering infrastructure not just for women but for all citizens. This important feature will be discussed later in the thesis.

Overall it can be seen through examination of national statistics on volunteering that the areas women choose to volunteer has varied to those chosen by men. As can be seen in Table 1 women have volunteered has been more varied while it appears men have consistently chosen sport and recreation.[37] Regardless of other commitments the rate of women volunteers has increased since the beginning of the new millennium.

Table 1 ABS Cat 4440.1 Voluntary Work Australia 2000, 2006 and 2010 Surveys by gender and organisations

ABS Cat 4440.1	Women	Type of Organisation	Men	Type of Organisation
2000	33%	Community/welfare	31%	Sport/recreation
2006	36%	Education/training	32%	Sport/physical recreation
2010	38%	Sport and physical recreation	34%	Sport and physical recreation

Until the late twentieth century, there was a lack of consistent, comparable statistical evidence on volunteering in Australia. National measurement of formal volunteering did not occur until 1995.[38] Prior to this, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) had gathered statistical data on volunteering in four states Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia during the 1980s.[39] Other research could be found in surveys of smaller samples such as an examination of the work of the Citizens' Advice and Aid Bureaux in

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[36] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1, 18 November, 2010.
[37] Australian Bureau of Statistics *Voluntary Work Australia* 2010, 3
[38] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Work Australia June 1995.*
[39] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Community and Volunteer Work South Australia* (1988), Cat. No. 4402.4 (Adelaide: ABS, 1989). Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Community Work during the Year ended October 1986 New South Wales, Preliminary* (1987), Cat. No. 4403.1 (Sydney: ABS, 6 July 1987). Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Provision of Welfare Services of Volunteers, Queensland, Year ended November 1982,* Cat. No. 4401.3 (Brisbane: ABS, 1984). *Provision of Welfare Services by Volunteers – Victoria Year ended November 1982,* Cat. No. 4401.2 (Melbourne: ABS, 1983).

Victoria, and the Australian Red Cross Society, or in organisational histories such as the Benevolent Society of NSW.[40] Ironmonger argued that volunteering could be captured if non-market activity was measured using the Gross Household Product (GHP). [41] This could measure household production such as the provision of meals, childcare, accommodation, shopping, self-education and voluntary work. By using time use surveys, Soupourmas and Ironmonger were able to explore the value to the community of both formal and informal volunteering, ascribing a monetary value.[42] This has proved popular with the state governments of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia who have sought a better understanding of the value of volunteering in their states.[43]

Areas that have excited research include volunteer motivation. Curiosity about volunteer motivation has led to research in all areas of volunteer activity. A sample of such articles published in the *Australian Journal on Volunteering* addresses volunteer motivation in sport, wildlife protection, heritage, emergency, leadership, management, tourism and education.[44]

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[40] Helen Ferber, *Citizens' Advice and Aid Bureaux in Victoria*, Technical Paper No. 8 (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1975). Frances Donovan, *Voluntary Organisations: A Case Study* (Bundoora, Victoria: Preston Institute of Technology Press, 1977). R. Rathbone, *A Very Present Help: Caring for Australians since 1813, the History of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales* (Sydney: State Library of N.S.W. Press, 1994).

[41] Duncan S Ironmonger, 'An Overview of Time Use Surveys', paper given at the UNESCAP Time Use Seminar, Ahmedabad, India, 7-10 December 1999, 3. For a discussion on the scholarly interaction of Duncan Ironmonger and Marilyn Waring in their efforts to challenge dominant views on economic activity see Marty Grave and Lyn Craig, 'Creating conceptual tools for change: Marilyn Waring's influence in Australia' in Margunn Bjørnholt, Ailsa McKay, *Counting on Marilyn Waring* (Bradford Ontario: Demeter Press, 2013), 211-228.

[42] Duncan Ironmonger, 'Measuring volunteering in economic terms' in Jeni Warburton and Melanie Oppenheimer (eds.), *Volunteers and Volunteering*, (Sydney: Federation Press, 2000), 56-72. Duncan Ironmonger, 'Measuring the Dollar Value of Volunteering', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 3/1 (February, 1998), 19-24.

[43] Duncan Ironmonger, *The Economic Value of Volunteering in Victoria*, (Melbourne: Department of Planning and Community Development Victoria, December 2012), <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Economic-Value-of-Volunteering-in-Victoria.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2014. Duncan Ironmonger, *The Economic Value of Volunteering in South Australia,* (Adelaide: Office for Volunteers, South Australia, c.2011) <http://www.ofv.sa.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/8018/economic-value-of-volunteering-in-sa2011.pdf>, accessed 12 December2014. Duncan Ironmonger, *The Economic Value of Volunteering in Western Australia,* (Perth: Department for Communities, WA, 2009) <http://www.communities.wa.gov.au/Documents/Volunteers/Economic_Value_of_Volunteering_in_WA.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2014. Duncan Ironmonger, *The Economic Value of Volunteering in Queensland: Updated Report,* (Brisbane: Department of Communities, Queensland, May 2008) <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/communityservices/volunteering/documents/economic-value-of-volunteering.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2014. Faye Soupourmas and Duncan Ironmonger, *Giving Time: The Economic and Social Value of Volunteering in Victoria* (Melbourne: Department of Human Services, Victoria, 2002).

[44] Jacqueline Mackaway, 'Why Do They Do It?: A Case Study of National Trust (NSW) Volunteers', 13/2 (2008), 32-39.Russell Hoye, et al., 'Volunteer Motives and Retention in Community Sport: A Study of Australian Rugby Clubs', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 13/2 (2008) 40-48. Jenelyn Hall and Peter Innes, 'The Motivation of Volunteers: Australian Surf Lifesavers', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 13/1 (2008), 17-28. Donna Purcell, 'Allowing Volunteers to Take the Lead', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 12/1

However, there exists a contradiction to the positive image of volunteering, which is the notion of a 'dark side'.[45] For instance, a group may, at first glance, appear to be made up of volunteers and comply with positive attributes and definitions connected with volunteering and social capital. But people outside that group may suffer anti-social, negative and even harmful actions by the group, with the Ku Klux Klan often cited as one such example.[46] Horton Smith argued there are a number of reasons why scholars are reluctant to examine the dark side of volunteering and the not-for-profit sector. [47] These include the lack of theoretical paradigms, the secrecy of deviant groups and volunteers, and the methodological difficulties brought about by studying such groups. Another problem is a positive bias that Horton Smith says casts the not-for-profit sector as above reproach.[48] This idealisation limits our understanding, particularly when facing deviance.

Another example of the dark side is the manipulation of neoliberal proponents who, under the guise of building social capital, encouraged cuts to government-funded welfare services in the assumption that volunteers were at-hand, ready and willing to take over.[49] The dark side of volunteering has also been explored in leisure studies, giving rise to the argument that volunteering is not always a positive experience, but can elicit frustrations and feelings of disempowerment both in the volunteer and the recipients of a particular cause or project.[50] The advent of for-profit business operating in community sector areas has also been described as the dark side of volunteering. Such is the passion surrounding debates on whether a definition of volunteering should acknowledge people volunteering in for-profit aged services that it was described as akin to 'the prostitution of volunteering'.[51] The

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(2007), 64-66. Michael A. Weston, et al., 'A Survey of Contributors to an Australian Bird Atlasing Project: Demography, Skills and Motivation', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 11/2 (2006), 51-58. Trevor Lucas and Neil Williams, 'Motivation as a Function of Volunteer Retention', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 5/1 (2000), 13-21. Joan Hawthorne, 'Volunteering in the Country: Reflections from the other side of the fence', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 2/2 (1997), 26-28.

[45] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 350-363.

[46] Ibid. 22.

[47] David Horton Smith, 'Accepting and Understanding the 'Dark Side' of the Nonprofit Sector: One Key Part of Building a Healthier Civil Society', paper given at the ARNOVA Conference, Philadelphia, PA, November 2008, 22-24 <http://www.davidhortonsmithinternational.com/assets/documents/ARN08.DHSmith.pdf>, accessed 21 September 2014.

[48] Ibid. 23.

[49] Eva Cox, 'The "Light and Dark" of Volunteering', in Jeni Warburton and Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteers and Volunteering,* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2000), 140-149.

[50] Susan M. Aral, 'Volunteers within a Changing Society: The Use of Empowerment Theory in Understanding Serious Leisure', *World Leisure & Recreation,* 39/3 (1997), 19-22.

[51] D.J. Cronin, 'Tales from the Dark Side', *OZVPM,* 1 October 2006, para 6, <http://www.ozvpm.com/2006/10/01/tales-from-the-dark-side/>, accessed 12 April 2015.

volunteering infrastructure is clear in its position that volunteering takes place in the not-for-profit arena but the reality is that people will take on activity they refer to as volunteering regardless of the status of a particular organisation. Such issues touch on discussion about the language and definition of volunteering which is addressed in the next section of this chapter.

Definition of Volunteering: Formal Volunteering

The contribution the volunteering infrastructure has made to formal volunteering has provided a national framework for the management of formal volunteer programs. The volunteering infrastructure has differentiated formal volunteering from other forms of unpaid work. It was believed that a consistent national definition would provide parameters that would aid a deeper understanding of volunteering, its value to the community and enables us to compare and contrast different forms of volunteering. This section discusses the definition of formal volunteering. Also discussed will be the principles, issues, language and stereotypes that informed the development of the definition for formal volunteering. This definition, voted on at national volunteering conference, helped establish the identity and purpose of the volunteering infrastructure for financial, promotional and advocacy campaigns. [52]

The definition of formal volunteering formed the basis of work the volunteer centres began in the late 1980s to encourage and liaise with the Australian Bureau of Statistics in measuring volunteering firstly at a state and later at the national level.[53] The volunteer centres believed that measurement was valuable for comparative purposes, particularly if regular surveys were carried out: 'we were very interested in the statistics and we really wanted the Bureau [ABS] to get on to that'.[54] This would raise awareness of volunteering and 'put paid to the stereotype that all volunteers were "middle-aged, middle-class do gooders" who spent most of their time licking stamps and folding newsletters.' [55] Such stereotypes spilled over to encompass the management of volunteer programs as an occupation without need of professional status.

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[52] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Volunteering: New Identity, New Directions', Second National Conference, Adelaide, 2-3 March 1988, 14.

[53] Volunteer Centre of SA Archives: Joy Noble, 'Chairperson's Report', *Annual Report 1988,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA Inc., 1988), 3. Rosemary Sage, [fax to Sha Cordingley], 'ABS Survey', 2 June 1999. 'Margaret Bell, 'ACV President's Report, period September '94 – September '95', 5. Volunteering ACT Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV), 'Response to VMP Evaluation by Purdon Associates Pty Ltd', (Sydney: ACV, c. 1995), 5. Volunteering Australia Archives: Marion McEwin 'Voluntary Work Survey' [letter to Sha Cordingely], Social Statistics Branch, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 21 December, 1999.

[54] Joy Noble, Interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 21 March 2015), in the author's possession.

[55] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Deborah Cornwall, 'Myths about Volunteers Dispelled' *Advertiser,* 'News', Saturday 5 August 1989, 8.

Tension between informal and formal volunteering is further explored in Chapter 5. During the early days of the volunteering infrastructure the tensions between amateurism and professionalism added weight for the development of a definition of formal volunteering.

In an attempt to address issues of definition, the volunteering infrastructure began work on two sets of national standards, the first for involving volunteers in not-for-profit organisations and the second for volunteer referral/resource centres.[56] Both sets of standards would be underpinned by the definition of formal volunteering. And lastly, a national definition of formal volunteering would provide consistency across the states and territories and provide another step in building recognition of volunteer centres and their work. At this stage, volunteer centres were fairly new and had promoted their own definitions. For instance, in South Australia, volunteering was defined as 'the provision of a service to the community; done of one's own free will, and done without monetary reward'.[57] This South Australian definition encompassed a range of volunteer activity and made no reference to context, principles or the management of volunteers, which were all to be referenced in the national definition.

In Australia the definition of formal volunteering was drafted and redrafted from the late 1980s onwards and officially adopted at the Sixth National Conference on Volunteering in Tasmania in 1996 and reads:[58]

> Formal volunteering is an activity that occurs in not-for-profit organisations and projects and is:
>
> - of benefit to the community and the volunteer
> - undertaken of the volunteer's own free will and without coercion
> - for no financial payment, and
> - in volunteer designated positions only. [sic. bullet points in the original text.][59]

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[56] Volunteering Australia, National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not-for-Profit Organisations, (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2001). Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Victoria, Standards of Practice for Volunteer Resource Centres (Melbourne: Volunteering Victoria prepared for Volunteering Australia, 1997)

[57] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A., 'Active Volunteering: Professional Development Workshop' Session 2 Key Issues in Volunteer Management, (n.d.), 21.

[58] Volunteer centres began to form a national definition of formal volunteering at the Second National Conference in Adelaide in 1988. By 1993 the definition appeared in its final format in draft form.

[59] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering, *Definition of Volunteering* (Sydney: ACT, 1994).

The length of time it took to officially adopt the definition, at least eight years, is indicative of the passionate debates that existed in volunteering at that time. Dingle described the definition of volunteering as a 'contested area' with debates over core criteria, whether the definition met cultural attitudes and where it takes place.[60]

Broadly speaking, volunteers fall into one of two camps — formal or informal. Cordingley argued that context is pivotal in defining whether a person is engaged in informal or formal volunteering.[61] An example of the importance of context can be seen in the simple task of washing cups and saucers. If done in the home, washing cups and saucers would form part of regular household maintenance. If the task is undertaken for a sick relative, it would be considered caring. In a not-for-profit organisation, it might form part of a formal volunteer position. If carried out at the end of a spontaneous community effort to clean up a littered area where children play, it could be considered informal volunteering and so on. The task has remained the same. It is the context that defines the activity and only one of these was formal volunteering.

To illustrate the difference between unpaid roles performed in the community sector Cordingley developed a matrix (see Table 2), showing the elements of the definition of formal volunteering against various forms of unpaid work.[62] The matrix has been adapted to include informal volunteering to show how it differs from formal volunteering. As argued, the main differences between informal and formal volunteering are that informal volunteering does not occur in a not-for-profit organisation, nor are positions designed specifically for volunteers. Another difference is the formalisation of the volunteering experience in not-for-profit organisations and the professionalisation of the management of volunteering. In large part, this has been brought about by the adoption of business methods of management, such as specific accountability requirements of funders, particularly governments, and the development of the profession of volunteer management.[63] By concentrating on formal

[60] Alan Dingle, et al., *Measuring Volunteering: A Practical Toolkit* (Washington: Independent Sector and United Nations Volunteers, 2001), 6-8. Andrea Petriwskyj and Jeni Warburton, 'Redefining Volunteering in a Global Context: A Measurement Matrix for Researchers', *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, 12/1 (2007), 7-13. Ben Leeman, *What sort of volunteer are you?* Victoria University, n.d. <http://newcq.org/pdfs/43/ncq%20volunteer%2043.pdf>, accessed 24 August 2010.

[61] Sha Cordingley, 'The Definition and Principles of Volunteering', in Jeni Warburton and Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteers and Volunteering*, (Sydney: Federation Press, 2000), 73-82.

[62] Sha Cordingley, 'The Definition and Principles of Volunteering', 81.

[63] David Holloway, Hermina Burnett and Megan Paull, *Volunteer Involving Organisations: Governance, Funding and Management in Western Australia in 2009,* (Perth: Volunteering Western Australia, 2010), 28-33. Steven Howlett, 'Developing Volunteer Management as a Profession', *The Policy Press,* 1/3 (2010) 355-360.

volunteering, the volunteering infrastructure helped shine a light on one form of volunteering. In effect, defining one part of the volunteering experience provides parameters for comparison and contrast with other forms of volunteering.

Table 2: Examples of unpaid work adapted to include Informal Volunteering (adapted from Cordingley, 2000)

	Definition of Formal Volunteering				
	Benefits the community	**Through non-profit organisations**	**No renumeration**	**By choice and without coercion**	**In volunteer designated positions**
Formal volunteering	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Informal volunteering	✓	✕	✓	✓	✕
Work experience	✕	✕	✕	✓	✓
Community service orders	✓	✓	✓	✕	✕
Unpaid work in the home	✓	✕	✓	✕/✓	✕
Student placements	✕	✓	✓	✕	✕
Unpaid work trials	✕	✕	✓	✓	✕
Emergency work during industrial disputes	✕	✓	✓	✓	✕
Work for the dole	✓	✓	✓	✕	✓
Caring / carers	✓	✕	✓	✕/✓	✕

Language and Stereotypes

Issues related to definitions are inextricably entwined with the language and stereotypes of volunteering such as 'Lady Bountiful'. The word 'volunteer' as both noun and verb is value-laden and meanings are disputed. An example within the timeframe of this study occurred in 1973 when Richard Crossman was warned when preparing a speech to Oxford University students not to use the word 'volunteer' because it was thought to be:

> … dated, square, positively embarrassing. … The word, I was reminded, has the ring of Baden Powell; the context reeks of middle-class do-gooding. In the social services — at least as seen from this University today — do-gooding, I was reminded, is a word as dirty as philanthropy. These are both babies which have been thrown out with the Victorian, the Edwardian, and the Georgian bathwater…. They [the students] will

> join protest groups: they will recruit themselves into task forces. They will never volunteer to "do good".[64]

Even the terms on volunteering caused consternation within the pages of the *Australian Journal on Volunteering*. Authors debated meanings that could potentially affect the way people thought about volunteering. For instance Gaunt argued:

> the reality of volunteering is that the volunteer works, cheerfully, for no financial reward. Voluntarism, on the other hand is a game to be played by the reciprocal back-scratcher who expects a payback.[65]

From the perspective of people in the field, the volunteer conferences of the 1980s and 1990s offered a forum to discuss and debate issues about formal volunteering and the language of volunteering. For instance, the word 'use' was contentious — organisations should not 'use' volunteers but rather 'involve' them. It was hoped that changing such language might help to change attitudes that volunteers were not at the bottom end of the chain of command to do whatever was bid of them. Similarly, volunteers were discouraged from describing themselves as 'just a volunteer'. It was argued that changing these terms was an issue of respect, that volunteers were 'involved' and not 'used' and that as volunteers played a valuable role in society, using the word 'just' underestimated that value.[66] As Sha Cordingley explained:

> language is indicative of how people are viewed by either the not-for-profit organisations or the community at large. There was a degree of sensitivity around the words 'using volunteers' because using implies that people are being exploited whereas involving volunteers means that you're inviting people in so people tried to have more inclusive language and also to develop language that didn't imply that people who were doing work without pay weren't being exploited. … [similarly] … language to do with 'volunteer managers' implied that there was no investment by the organisation to manage volunteers whereas a 'manager of volunteers' implies that the organisation employed someone to manage the volunteers and that the person is not a volunteer. This was the beginning of not-for-profit organisations recognising that volunteers deserved proper management.[67]

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[64] Richard Crossman, 'The Role of the Volunteer in the Modern Social Service', Sidney Ball Lecture 1973, in A.H. Halsey (ed.), *Traditions of Social Policy: Essays in Honour of Violet Butler,* 12 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), 259.

[65] Joan Gaunt, 'The Language of Voluntarism', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 4/2 (1999), 49-50.

[66] Susan J. Ellis, 'Trends and Issues in Volunteerism in the U.S.A.', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 2/2 (1997), 29-33. Megan Paull, 'In Search of Volunteering; A proposition', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 4/2 (1999), 19-29.

[67] Sha Cordingley, Interview with the author, Interview No. 1 [sound recording] (Melbourne: 28 September 2010), in the author's possession.

The importance of language to describe the involvement of volunteers led to a change to the constitution of the Australian Association of Volunteering (AAV, the first national volunteering body established in 1988) so that 'wherever the words "utilize" volunteers appears in the constitution, the word "involve" be substituted'. This motion was unanimously carried.

Debates

Stipulating that volunteering occurs in not-for-profit sector organisations has drawn criticism as it ignores volunteer programs run by government departments and statutory authorities, such as community guardian programs, emergency volunteer programs and fishery volunteer programs. A further complication is that many local governments have auspice or continue to manage a number of volunteer resource centres (VRCs), all members of the volunteering infrastructure. Also, for-profit businesses have, in certain areas such as health and aged care, begun to manage volunteer programs. Grappling with these contradictions, the volunteering infrastructure's definition of formal volunteering originally stated that volunteering takes place 'in' not-for-profit organisations.[68] Later this was extended to 'in or through not-for-profit organisations or projects' and was sometimes shortened to 'through not-for-profit organisations or projects'.[69] At face value, these minor word changes may appear paltry but they were actually an attempt to reflect the reality of the context where volunteering occurs.

Each of the components of the definition of formal volunteering arose in response to specific issues. The following outlines the components, the issues and the anomalies that continued throughout the period of this study:

Component 1: Formal volunteering is an activity that takes place through not-for-profit organisations or projects. This first statement is the lynchpin of the definition and clarifies the form of volunteering and the organisations targeted by the volunteering infrastructure. Arguably this concentration on formal volunteering occurring in not-for-profit organisations ignores all activity undertaken by informal volunteers as well as the formal volunteering coordinated by government bodies and for-profit business. The danger for the volunteering

[68] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering, *Definition of Volunteering* (Sydney: ACV, 1994).
[69] Volunteering Australia Archives: Sha Cordingley, 'Definition, principles and rights: Using the foundation documents' (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2007), 73-82.

infrastructure is the implication that its role and work is relevant to only one form of volunteer involvement in one particular environment. Awareness of this anomaly has led to calls to widen the definition to include informal volunteers:

> I think more credit needs to be given to informal volunteers because they do a hell of a lot really and it is not acknowledged and where would we be without them … building community, neighbourhoods … it is very important.[70]

Such opinions are reinforced by research on the social and economic value of volunteering which found that formal volunteering in Australia accounts for less than half of all volunteering activity.[71]

The stipulation that volunteering occurs in not-for-profit organisations ignores volunteers working for governments at the national, state/territory and local levels. In 2000 the Australian Bureau of Statistics found a total of 548 government organisations situated across the community services sector with the majority, 502, at the local government area.[72] At the national level, in 2009, the Department of Families, Communities and Indigenous Affairs identified seven Commonwealth departments that supported 30 programs involving volunteers.[73] At a state level, in 2000, Conroy undertook research on volunteers working for the Queensland State Government and found 95,000 volunteers across 16 state government agencies.[74]At the local government level, research has been carried out in two states, South Australia and Western Australia.[75] Both research studies found that the majority of local governments involved volunteers in service provision, although 75 per cent of Western

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[70] Joy Noble, Interview with the author.
[71] Michael Bittman and Kimberly Fisher, *Exploring the Economic and Social Value of Present Patterns of Volunteering in Australia,* v, 17.
[72] Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘Community Services, Australia 1999-2000’, Cat. No. 8696, 25 <www.abs.gov.au>, accessed 30 August 2011.
[73] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australia, Department of Families, Communities & Indigenous Affairs, ‘Commonwealth Programs that Support Volunteers’, (Canberra: Department of Families, Communities & Indigenous Affairs, 2009).
[74] Denise Conroy*, Preliminary Research Findings: Volunteers in Queensland State Government,* Working Paper No. CNP35, Centre of Philanthropy and Nonprofit Studies, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, June 2000, 3, 5, < http://eprints.qut.edu.au/50001/1/50001.pdf>, accessed 19 September 2013.
[75] B. Chappell, *Volunteering in Local Government "A Way for the Future": A Strategic Management Framework for Volunteer Engagement in Local Government* (Adelaide: Local Government Community Managers Group, South Australia, 2008) <http://www.lga.sa.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/Volunteering_in_Local_Government_a_way_for_the_Future_-_Full_Report.pdf>, accessed 1 June 2015. Claudia Amonini and Sandra Vudrag, *Volunteering and Local Governments in Western Australia,* (Perth: Department for Communities, 2011), <http://www.communities.wa.gov.au/Documents/Volunteers/Volunteering%20and%20Local%20Governments%20in%20Western%20Australia%20Full%20%20Report.pdf>, accessed 29 August 2013.

Australian local governments commonly involved volunteers on community advisory committees.[76] This indicates volunteers are highly involved in leadership roles as well as for service provision which, in Western Australia, occurs within emergency services (74 per cent).[77] Australia is not alone in grappling with the large number of volunteers in government as opposed to not-for-profit organisations. In the USA, research on volunteers in state governments found little comparative research on volunteers in the public service or their management even though in 1991 27 per cent of all volunteers worked for governments.[78] In later research, Gazely and Brudney, argued the attraction of involving volunteers in government services is twofold: the potential cost savings and the potential to extend existing services.[79] However, they also noted an increase of concern by managers regarding government capacity, limited funding and a 'substantial increase' of resistance to volunteer involvement.[80]

Still another issue that has dogged this component of the definition occurs when for-profit organisations take over not-for-profit organisations and continue to manage or institute volunteer programs:[81]

> The fact is that many hospitals and aged care facilities have been bought and are now being run by private organisations. Many have adopted the volunteer programs that already existed at the time of purchase, while others have actually instigated brand new volunteer programs. Are we to ignore and/or shun this new trend or are we going to embrace it as another avenue for people exercising their democratic right to volunteer where and how they choose to do so? [82]

In this quote, the author elevates the issue of choice above other considerations and ignores the inherent underpinning of volunteering as an activity that occurs in groups or organisations that do not distribute profit.[83] Further, if it were accepted that volunteering could legitimately

[76] Claudia Amonini and Sandra Vudrag, *Volunteering and Local Governments in Western Australia,* 28.
[77] Ibid. 28.
[78] Jeffrey L. Brudney and J. Edward Kellough, 'Volunteers in State Government: Involvement, Management, and Benefits', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 29/1 (2000), 112, 126. Beth Gazley and Jeffrey L. Brudney, 'Volunteer Involvement in Local Government after September 11: The Continuing Question of Capacity', *Public Administration Review,* 65/2 (2005), 131.
[79] Ibid.133.
[80] Ibid. 140.
[81] Volunteering Australia Archives: Diane Morgan, 'Working for a non-profit??' [email to Kylee Bates], 10 April 2003.
[82] Cronin, D.J., 'Tales from the Dark Side', *OZVPM*, 1 October 2006, para. 6,
[83] Australian Taxation Office: 'Is your organisation non-profit?' 13 May 2014, <https://www.ato.gov.au/non-profit/getting-started-for-non-profit-organisations/is-your-organisation-non-profit-/ >, accessed 1 June 2015.

occur in for-profit business, this would fly in the face of the body of Australian labour legislation.

In 2000, an American website for volunteer administrators, *Energize,* began an online forum questioning the importance of volunteers working in for-profits. [84] Comments were still being added in 2011, an indication of the unresolved and ongoing nature of the dilemma. The volunteering infrastructure in Australia took the position that volunteering in for-profit organisations was exploitative with one VRC, Volunteering Gold Coast, stating 'opposite views have developed because people tend to focus on the things a volunteer can do, rather than focusing on what a volunteer is, as the definition does.'[85]

Component 2: To be of benefit to the community and the volunteer. During a workshop I led at the 1990 National Volunteering Conference in Melbourne, the question of who benefits from volunteering caused most discussion. Altruism was nominated as the traditional motivation but it was thought unrealistic to ignore motivations and benefits of self-interest.[86] Particularly with the rise of research on recreation and leisure, the value of the extrinsic and intrinsic benefits of volunteering have received greater scholarly interest.[87] The acceptance of a wider range of motivations increased the number of potential volunteers to include students and people wanting to improve their CVs. For the volunteering infrastructure, the broadening of acceptable motivations and benefits could be seen in the implicit acceptance of self-interest motivations acknowledged by volunteering centres from the moment they first received funding for the Community Volunteer Program (CVP, a work preparation program) in the mid 1980s. This encouraged young people to volunteer as a way of skills development in preparation for paid employment.

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[84] Susan Ellis, 'Volunteering in For-Profit Settings: Exploitation of Value Added? *Energize Inc,* (February 2000), <https://www.energizeinc.com/hot/feb00.html>, accessed 1 Feb 2014.

[85] Volunteering Gold Coast, *Definition and Principles of Volunteering*, (n.d.) <http://www.volunteeringgc.org.au/pages/resources-definitions-and-principles-of-volunteering.php>, accessed 12 March 2014.

[86] Annette Maher, Notes from 'Definition of Volunteering Workshop', given at the Third National Volunteering Conference, Melbourne, 1990, in the possession of the author.

[87] Aida K.Tomeh, 'Formal Voluntary Organizations: Participation, Correlates, and Interrelationships', *Sociological Inquiry*, 43/3-4 (1973), 89-120. Lynette S. Unger, 'Altruism as a motivation to volunteer', *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 12/1 (1991), 71-100. Jane Allyn Piliavin and Hong-Wen Charng, 'Altruism: A Review of Recent Theory and Research', *Annual Reviews,* 16 (1990), 27-65. Karla Henderson, 'Volunteerism as Leisure', 55-63.

As Information and Research Officer at Volunteering Australia, 2000–2009 I met managers of volunteers who were only interested in recruiting 'true' or 'real' volunteers. This attitude excluded people who wanted to take advantage of labour market programs where volunteering was an option. While such managers may not have held the most common view amongst volunteer administrators, they did highlight a resistance to the notion that the volunteer could intrinsically benefit from the volunteering experience.

Component 3: Of the volunteer's own free will and without coercion. At first glance this may appear to be the most obvious and universal understanding of what it means to volunteer. However, by 1997, Volunteering Australia (then the Australian Council for Volunteering) had won a tender for the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI). Centrelink clients 'who would care to choose volunteering as a work option whilst remaining on unemployment benefits'.[88] The issue of 'free will' became contentious with eventually one volunteer resource centre and Volunteering Tasmania withdrawing from the program in the later stages of the contract (1997–2007). Both argued that Centrelink clients had to comply with one of the three options of the VWI program in order to receive government payments, therefore the ability to freely choose to volunteer was compromised.[89] It is also questionable whether other groups of volunteers comply with this component. For instance, students may not feel they have much choice if 'volunteering' is part of the assessment for their course.

Component 4: For no financial payment. Quite simply, this final component of the definition means that volunteers are not paid for their labour. That said, the volunteering infrastructure was keen to point out that 'no financial payment' did not reflect on the costs of managing volunteer programs. This culminated in promotional campaigns such as Volunteering Victoria's 'Volunteers work for free but not for nothing' in 1992. The *National Agenda on Volunteering: Beyond the International Year of Volunteers* in 2001 called for better funding of volunteer programs, travel concessions for volunteers, adequate volunteer and public liability insurance and volunteer out-of-pocket expenses.[90] The issue of out-of-pocket expenses incurred by volunteers was well known to impact on an individual's decision to

[88] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Margaret Bell, *President's Report 1997*, (Sydney: Australian Council for Volunteering/Volunteering Australia, 1997), 3.
[89] Adrienne Piccone, Interview with the author, Interview Number 1 [sound recording] (Hobart, 22 February 2011), in the author's possession.
[90] National Community Council of Advice, *National Agenda on Volunteering: Beyond the International Year of Volunteers,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2001. Updated 2006), 7 <www.volunteeringaustralia.org>, accessed 10 March 2010.

volunteer and, as previously mentioned in this chapter, the work of Duncan Ironmonger has been most influential in building understanding of the costs incurred by volunteers.[91] Not-for-profit groups carried out two major research studies on the costs of volunteering. The Australian Emergency Management Volunteer Forum assessed the direct and in-kind costs borne by volunteers in emergency services.[92] They found that in the previous year (April 2005–March 2006) the combined average of direct and in-kind costs to volunteers in emergency services was $950 per annum. Volunteering Australia's Costs of Volunteering Taskforce in 2006 found that 10 per cent of volunteers had reduced or stopped volunteering in the past year due to direct and in-kind costs. The following year, 2007, the National Survey on Volunteering Issues reported that 27 per cent of volunteers surveyed listed cost as the reason they ceased volunteering.[93]

Reimbursement of costs was thought to be more possible in city or metropolitan organisations than in rural and remote areas where the reimbursement of petrol for volunteers could be prohibitive for small to medium volunteer-involving organisations. On the other hand, some volunteers were concerned that there might be taxation ramifications if they received honorariums while also receiving government benefits, and so they were loath to receive reimbursements for out-of-pocket costs. They were concerned that the Australian Taxation Office could count some reimbursements, particularly honorariums, as income, and consequently lower the volunteer's pension. There was also concern about some honorariums that were high enough to be seen as a payment, which in turn would raise doubt over whether the activity was really volunteering. The Australian Taxation Office joined the debate and published a clarification about out-of-pocket expenses and 'true' honorariums for volunteers.[94]

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[91] John G. Goss, *The Effect of Reimbursement of Out-of-Pocket Expenses on Low Income Volunteer Leadership Participation'* (August, 1972), ERIC, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED074378.pdf>, accessed 30 November 2011.

[92] Susan King, John Bellamy and Connie Donato-Hunt, *The Cost of Volunteering: A Report on a National Survey of Emergency Management Sector Volunteers,* Australian Emergency Management Volunteer Forum, (Sydney: Anglicare, 2006) <http://www.ses.org.au/154.html?0>, accessed 11 April 2014.

[93] Volunteering Australia Archives: Costs of Volunteering Taskforce, *The Rising Costs of Volunteering,*(Melbourne: Volunteering Australia 2007). Volunteering Australia, *Fast Facts: Cost of Volunteering,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, c.2007). Volunteering Australia, *National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2007,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2007), 2.

[94] Australian Taxation Office, *Honorariums and Reimbursements PAYG Withholding,* Small Business Law, <www.ato.gov.au>, accessed 31 March 2009.

Component 5: In designated volunteer positions only. Originally this component read 'underpinned by Volunteering Australia's Principles of Volunteering' but it was changed in order to protect volunteers, by stipulating that volunteers would work in positions designed specifically for them.[95] This component was so important that it was brought forward from the Principles of Volunteering for inclusion in the definition. There were two reasons for stipulating that people be placed in positions designed for volunteers. The first was to address long-held trade union distrust of volunteers derived from the fear that paid labour could be replaced by volunteer work. Leaders of the volunteering infrastructure negotiated with the ACTU about the relationship between volunteers and paid workers and the role of volunteers in strikes. As a result, the ACTU 'recommended ACV [later VA] be recognised by the Commonwealth Governments as the National Standards Body on Volunteering'.[96] The second reason stemmed from industrial disputes in which volunteers had been used as strike-breakers — although it must be acknowledged that such volunteering would not comply with the definition under discussion.[97] Nevertheless, there were examples of industrial unrest in areas where volunteer programs did exist which deepened suspicion about volunteers.[98] One such example occurred during my work at VA when I met a manager of volunteers from a large hospital whose job had been jeopardised because she initially refused to ask volunteers to work during industrial disputes. She had been threatened with dismissal if volunteers were not organised to help during the dispute.[99] This was an invidious position and she struggled to remain true to the principles underpinning the volunteer program while retaining her job. She was also concerned for volunteers who were conflicted because they did not want to be strike breakers but felt obliged to assist patients during the industrial unrest. When such instances occur, the criteria of volunteers only working in positions designed specifically for them helps to form a basis from which to negotiate.

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[95] Volunteering Australia, 'Definition of Formal Volunteering', *Standards for Volunteer Resource Centres and Volunteer Information Services,* January 1998.
[96] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Margaret Bell, 'Report of President ACV to Membership, October 1995-1996', (Sydney: Australian Council for Volunteering, 1996), 2.
[97] David Baker, "You Dirty Bastards, Are You Fair Dinkum?" Police and Union Confrontation on the Wharf', *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations,* 27/1 (2002), 33-48.
[98] Sha Cordingley, Interview No. 1. Volunteering WA Archives: Australia, Department of Health, Housing and Community Services, Department of Employment, Education and Training, and Department of Social Security, 'The Role and Scope of Volunteerism in Australia in Relation to Commonwealth Programs – A Discussion Paper', a paper given at the Fourth Australian Association for Volunteering National Conference, Brisbane, July 1992, 8.
[99] Annette Maher, Personal communication, 1986, in the possession of the author.

Another reason for including this component in the definition was to forestall issues between volunteering and unemployment. The volunteer centres had argued that volunteering could support people who were unemployed. At the same time, suggestions were being made that volunteer ranks could simply be replaced by unemployed people, a suggestion hotly contested by volunteer centres. Joy Noble argued that ‘such a simplistic response will not serve the unemployed. To link unemployment and volunteering in any way other than to acknowledge that volunteering can help a person while unemployed, is dangerous’.[100] By stipulating that volunteers be allocated only to positions designed for volunteers was a measure to protect volunteers from being placed in positions designed for paid workers.[101] However, the relationship between paid and volunteer workers can continue to be fraught, as indicated by the *National Survey on Volunteering,* 2006, which found that 28 per cent of volunteers surveyed reported that ‘confusion, uncertainty or conflict’ existed between the roles of volunteer and paid workers.[102]

Finally, any definition of volunteering needs to fit the time period and the context in which it is developed. Therefore, it is necessary to revisit the definition in order to gauge its continued relevance. As Margaret Bell, the first President and CEO of Volunteering Australia argued:

> we would have said in 1823, that volunteering is about supporting the homeless and the starving. That would have been right on for what was going on in this colony at that time. When the Benevolent Society started out with volunteers they were the wives of board members who knew absolutely nothing [but] who went out and nursed people because people needed to be nursed ... we don't need volunteer nurses now. We don’t need volunteer teachers but some countries do, so, what do we need? What don’t we need? We don’t need to feel the lack of security. We don't need terrorism. We don't need fear. So what’s volunteerism about now?[103]

During research, several interviewees referred to the definition as ‘Volunteering Australia’s definition’. It may be that knowledge about the process of deciding on the definition has slipped from the collective memory or it may be that the success of promoting the definition by Volunteering Australia has firmly linked the two together.[104] Whatever the reason,

[100] Volunteering ACT Archives: Joy Noble, ‘Opinion, *The Australian Volunteer,* 3 (Winter 1991), 7.
[101] Annette Maher, ‘The Definition and Principles of Volunteering: What’s all the fuss about?’ *The Australian Journal of Emergency Management,* 20/4 (November 2005), 4.
[102] Volunteering Australia, *National Survey of Volunteering Issues 2006*, (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2006) <www.volunteeringaustralia.org.au>, accessed 12 May 2006.
[103] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.
[104] Annette Maher, National Volunteer Conference (2010), Personal communication, in the possession of the author.

discussion about revisiting the definition resulted in a state-wide consultation in Tasmania in 2010. The resultant reworked definition contains no reference to formal volunteering, stating that 'Volunteering is an activity that can occur in any setting' with the three main dimensions of benefit (to community and volunteer), choice and its unpaid nature.[105]

In 2015, Volunteering Australia initiated a review of the definition of formal volunteering.[106] Perhaps the definition of formal volunteering does not suit the needs of twenty-first century volunteering. Stalwarts of volunteering such as Margaret Bell and Joy Noble have long called for the inclusion of informal volunteering in VA's definition of volunteering, arguing that formal volunteering only captures one aspect of volunteering.[107] Further, researchers such as Petriwskyj and Warburton have challenged the viability of continuing research focus on formal volunteering and suggested a broader definition.[108] Such commentary may be the beginning of a refocus that will incorporate both formal and informal volunteering.[109]

Overview of the Volunteering Infrastructure in Australia

The volunteering infrastructure holds a unique place within the volunteering landscape of Australia. The overarching aim of all organisations is the support and promotion of volunteers and volunteering. Consisting of volunteer centres and programs, volunteering infrastructure reflects the federated structure of government in Australia (see Figure 1). The term 'volunteer centre' is used in this study to describe not-for-profit organisations and programs whose core business is the support, promotion and advocacy of volunteers and volunteering.[110] At the national level sits Volunteering Australia (VA), the national peak body on volunteering. At the state and territory levels are Volunteering Western Australia (VWA), Volunteering South Australia and Northern Territory (VSA&NT), Volunteering

[105] Volunteering Tasmania, *Characteristics of Volunteering,* July 2012 <http://www.volunteeringtas.org.au/sites/default/files/documents/Characteristics%20of%20Volunteering%20Statement.pdf>, accessed 2 January 2013.

[106] Volunteering Australia, *Volunteering Australia's National Review of the Definition of Volunteering in Australia,* Issues Paper, (Canberra, Volunteering Australia, December, 2014) <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/wp-content/uploads/Issues-Paper-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 25 March 2015.

[107] Joy Noble, Interview with the author. Margaret Bell, Interview with the author, Interview No. 2 [sound recording] (Sydney, 1 September 2011), in the author's possession.

[108] Andrea M. Petriwskyj, and Jeni Warburton, 'Redefining Volunteering for the Global Context: A Measurement Matrix for Researchers', 7-13.

[109] Joy Noble, Interview with the author

[110] Not all volunteer centres and programs are affiliated with Volunteering Australia. Rather, some organisations and programs consider themselves to be community development programs or are affiliated with other peak bodies or national/international organisations. During interviews for this study, it was the opinion of two public servants that governments should be included as part of the volunteering infrastructure. To provide parameters and for the sake of clarity it was decided that affiliation with Volunteering Australia would define membership of the volunteering infrastructure.

Queensland (VQ), The Centre for Volunteering New South Wales, Volunteering Australian Capital Territory (VACT), Volunteering Victoria (VV) and Volunteering Tasmania (VTas).[111]

The third level consists of 114 local and regional volunteer centres and programs referred to in this study as Volunteer Resource Centres (VRCs).[112] This is an historical term used for expediency and in the knowledge that this third level has grown to include a diverse range of entities with the common aim of supporting volunteers and volunteering. Structurally, they include independent incorporated organisations, a program of a larger not-for-profit or local government, or are the result of a partnership between groups. Among volunteering infrastructures such structural diversity is not unique. In 1997, Points of Light in America found a similar diversity, although the majority of volunteer centres were embedded in one organisation, the United Way (48per cent independent and 34 per cent internal to the United Way).[113] A small number of regional volunteer centres claim that they should also be considered to be peak bodies due to their role, work, the number of communities they serve and the geographical size of their regions.[114] In 1998, Volunteering Australia created the Standing Committee of Volunteer Referral Centres as a consequence of the first meeting of VRCs at the national volunteering conference in Tasmania in 1996.[115] The aim of this Committee was to bring the grassroots perspective to the national arena. One of the first tasks the Standing Committee undertook was to define a volunteer resource centre, or as they were then called, Volunteer Resource Agency, as:

a. A not for profit, community based organisation which utilises the standard code of ethics and principles of volunteering as endorsed by the Standing Committee and Volunteering Australia
b. An organisation which accepts the mandate of "volunteering" as core business

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[111] The Northern Territory received Federal Government funding to establish Volunteering Northern Territory in 1992. It ceased to operate as a peak body in 2003 and Volunteering Australia took responsibility for its administration. Volunteering Northern Territory later merged with the South Australian state peak volunteer centre to become the Volunteering South Australia and Northern Territory. Volunteering South Australia and Northern Territory operate branches in Darwin and Alice Springs.

[112] Volunteering Australia, 'Find your nearest volunteer centre', (n.d.) <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/About-Us/Volunteer-Centres/Australian-Volunteer-Centres.asp>, accessed 17 May 2011.

[113] Volunteering Australia Archives: Points of Light, *1997 Volunteer Center Survey,* (Washington: Points of Light, 1997), 4.

[114] Julie Pettet, Telephone interview with the author [sound recording] (Melbourne, 14 February 2012), in the author's possession.

[115] Volunteering Australia Archives: Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies, Australia, 'Terms of Reference', Melbourne, 1998, 2.

c. An organisation which provides resource and education services about volunteering to their region.[sic. bullet points in original text][116]

Since 1998 the third level of the volunteering infrastructure has become more diverse and may provide only one of the services outlined in the above definition. Nonetheless, for the organisations and programs that consider themselves part of the volunteering infrastructure, there remains a focus on volunteering and volunteers (see Table 15 for examples of the diversity of VRC organisations and programs).

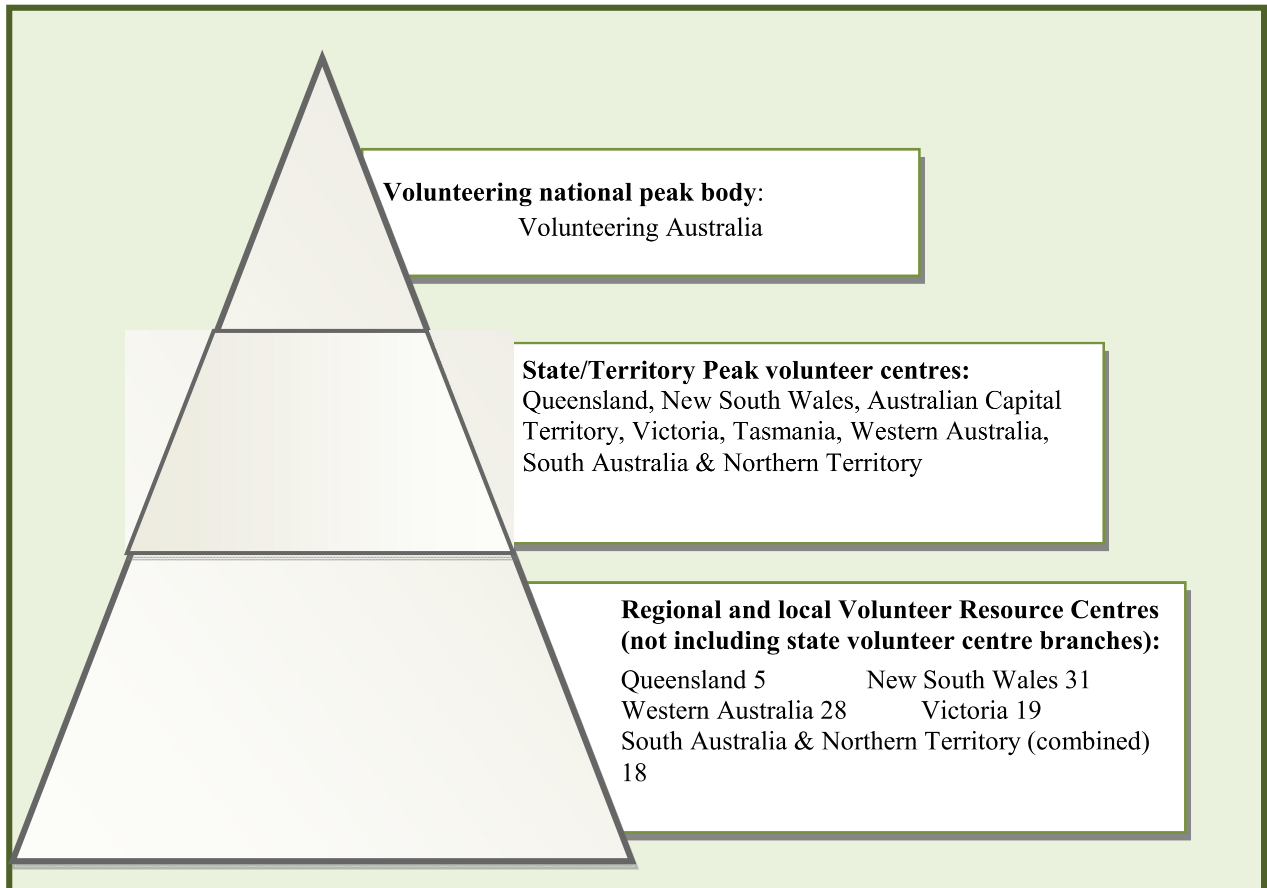

Figure 2 Volunteering infrastructure's federated structure, 2011

The overarching function of all volunteer centres is to provide services, information, promotion, advocacy and advice across volunteer-involving sectors to *other* not-for-profit organisations and groups. They are not restricted to a particular section or area. This includes both businesses seeking to support their employees volunteering and government offices involving volunteers. The word 'other' is stressed as some not-for-profit organisations maintain large volunteer programs. Australian Red Cross is one example, offering volunteer

[116] Ibid. 3.

opportunities across a range of programs at a local, state, national and international level but only within their own organisation.[117]

At the international level the Australian volunteering infrastructure is part of a global movement with strong links to the international body, the International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE). This connection can be traced to the 1970s when pioneers of the volunteering infrastructure travelled overseas to investigate volunteer centres, particularly in the United States of America (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). A number of Australians have held possessions on the Board of IAVE — including Angela Crammond (Volunteering NSW), Joy Noble (Volunteering SA), Mary Porter (Volunteering ACT), Diane Morgan (Volunteering Queensland) and Sha Cordingley (Volunteering Australia). There have also been two Australians elected as World Presidents — Margaret Bell 1988-1996 and Kylee Bates who was elected in 2014. Today, IAVE has a broad membership that includes 54 national volunteer centres in Europe, North and South America, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the Pacific.[118]

While peak bodies and networks have been studied, the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure has not been systematically examined in Australia. This study was an opportunity to examine differences between peak bodies and the volunteering infrastructure. The establishment of volunteering infrastructures is a relatively new development both here and in many other countries. Undertaking this study was an opportunity to analyse the structure, work and contribution to volunteering made by the Australian volunteering infrastructure. Also neglected in the literature is the impact of Commonwealth Government funding, particularly for volunteering as a labour market program, and the resultant repercussions on internal relationships between volunteering infrastructure organisations. This study adds to our knowledge of volunteering as the first comprehensive analysis of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia. This study will shed light on the effectiveness of the volunteering infrastructure in providing a national framework for formal volunteering.

[117] Australian Red Cross, ‘Volunteering’, *Australian Red Cross*, (n.d.) <http://www.redcross.org.au/volunteering.aspx>, accessed 1 September 2014.
[118] International Association of Volunteer Effort, ‘National Volunteer Centres’, *IAVE*, (18 August 2013) <http://iave.org/content/national-volunteer-centres>, accessed on 22 September, 2014.

Theoretical Models

The volunteering infrastructure is part of that section of society that involves volunteers and is variously known as the third sector, voluntary sector, charitable sector or nongovernment sector, as well as the term often used in this thesis, the not-for-profit sector.[1] Just as the terminology varies, so do the models that describe the relationship of the not-for-profit sector with the state. Fyfe argued that characterising the not-for-profit sector as fixed between the market and the state was simplistic.[2] He argued that the third sector exists in a triangular tension with the market and the state, and all bring influence to bear on the relationship.[3] Corcoran similarly described the tension between state, market and the third sector as a welfare triumvirate.[4] Regardless of the ongoing and fruitful relationship between the volunteering infrastructure and the market, the dominant relationship of the volunteering infrastructure has been with government. Therefore, the theoretical models of this thesis focus on that relationship.

Governments at all levels are major funders of the volunteering infrastructure as well as the 'key target of advocacy'.[5] To understand this important relationship, two theoretical models are employed in this thesis. The first is the '*moving frontier*' concept described by William Beveridge at the end of World War 2.[6] The second is Denis Young's multi-layered relationship model.[7] By integrating both models, a greater clarity and understanding of the work of the volunteering infrastructure, its contribution to volunteering and its relationship with government, is provided. The following sections will examine these two theoretical models and their integration.

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[1] R. Courtney, *Strategic Management for Voluntary Nonprofit Organizations* (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2002), 36-53. Sue Kenny, 'Challenging Third Sector Concepts', *Third Sector Review,* 19/1 (2013), 171-188.

[2] Nicholas R. Fyfe, 'Making Space for "Neo-Communitarianism"? The Third Sector, State and Civil Society in the UK', *Antipode,* 37/3 (2005), 537.

[3] Ibid. 538. Adalbert Evers, 'Part of the Welfare Mix: The Third Sector as an Intermediate Area', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations,* 6/2 (1995), 161-163.

[4] Mary Corcoran, 'Dilemmas of Institutionalization in the Penal Voluntary Sector', *Critical Social Policy,* 31/1 (2001), 44.

[5] Volunteering Australia Archives: Cary Pedicini, *National Volunteer Centres: Success Factors for Modern National Peak Bodies,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, November 2009), 3.

[6] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action. A Report on the Methods of Social Advance* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948).

[7] Young, Dennis R., 'Alternative Models of Government-Nonprofit Sector Relations: Theoretical and International Perspectives', 149-172.

Moving Frontier

William Beveridge is most famous as the architect of the British welfare state post-World War 2 and his reports, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* in 1942 and *Full Employment in a Free Society,* 1944, continue to have repercussions today.[1] This thesis concentrates on a third report, published in 1948, *Voluntary Action: A Report on the Methods of Social Advance*.[2] It was in this third report that Beveridge introduced the concept of the *moving frontier* to describe the relationship between government and not-for-profit sector organisations, a relationship whose boundaries move and shift over time.[3] This concept has been very influential. Researchers worldwide use it to examine the relationship between the not-for-profit sector and the state.[4] At a macro level, Oppenheimer first used the concept in the Australian context in her early work on voluntary action during World War 2. Tennant examined the concept in relation to the New Zealand experience, as did Henriksen and Bundesen in Denmark. [5] Both Finlayson and Murphy considered the concept integral to understanding the complexities of the mixed welfare economy.[6] And at the micro level, looking at the relationship between governments and particular not-for-profit organisations, Brasnett used the concept to explore the history of the National Council on Social Service in Britain while Oppenheimer went on to explore the history of the Meals on Wheels Association in Australia.[7]

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[1] William Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied services: Report* (London: H.M.S.O., 1942). William Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1944).

[2] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action. A Report on the Methods of Social Advance* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948).

[3] England, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, 22 June, 1949, vol. 163 cc96 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1949/jun/22/voluntary-action-for-social-progress#column_96>, accessed 8 June 2014.

[4] Geoffrey Finlayson 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History,* 1/2 (1990), 183-206. Melanie Oppenheimer 'Voluntary Action and Welfare in Post-1945 Australia: Preliminary Perspectives', *History Australia,* 2/3 (2005), 82.1-82.16. Melanie Oppenheimer and Nicholas Deakin, 'Beveridge and voluntary action', *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 1-8.

[5] Melanie Oppenheimer, *All Work. No Pay. Australian Civilian Volunteers in War* (Walcha: Ohio Productions, 2002). Margaret Tennant, 'Governments and Voluntary Sector Welfare: Historians' Perspectives', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand,* 17 (December, 2001), 147-160. Lars Skov Henriksen and Peter Bundesen, 'The Moving Frontier in Denmark: Voluntary-State Relationships since 1850', *Journal of Social Policy,* 33/4 (2004), 605-625.

[6] John Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). John Murphy, 'The Other Welfare State: Non-Government Agencies and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in Australia', *History Australia,* 3/2 (2006), 44.1-44.15.

[7] Margaret Brasnett, *Voluntary Social Action: A history of the National Council of Social Services 1919-1969* (London: National Council of Social Services, 1969). Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Volunteering: The Moving Frontier', paper given at the Australian Meals on Wheels Association National Conference, Brisbane, 1 October 2009), 8-9 <http://www.naa.gov.au/Images/oppenheimer-paper-2007_tcm16-35843.pdf>, accessed 25 October 2010.

To understand the *moving frontier* concept, it is helpful to place Beveridge's third report in relation to his earlier first two reports. These advocated an expanded role for the State but did not dismiss the role of the individual or the voluntary sector altogether. Rather Beveridge envisioned all three societal components working together but with an emphasis on the State leading the battle against 'the giant social evils of Want, Disease, Squalor, Ignorance, [and] Idleness'.[8] In the first report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services,* Beveridge based his recommendations on three guiding principles, the third of which spoke of the importance of the relationship between the state and the individual:

> social security must be achieved by co-operation between the State and the individual. The State should offer security for service and contribution. The State in organising security should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility; in establishing a national minimum, it should leave room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than that minimum for himself and his family.[9]

The second report, *Full Employment in a Free Society: A Report,* was again based on cooperation between the major three societal components identified in the first report and Beveridge stated that:

> The underlying principle of the Report is to propose for the State only those things which the State alone can do or which it can do better than any local authority or than private citizens either singly or in association, and to leave to these other agencies that which, if they will, they can do as well as or better than the State. The policy for Full Employment is a policy to be carried through by democratic action, of public authorities, central and local, responsible ultimately to the voters, and of voluntary associations and private citizens consciously co-operating for a common purpose which they understand and approve. [10]

Thus in the first two reports, Beveridge maintained that the voluntary or not-for-profit sector had a vital role to play. By the time Beveridge wrote the third report, however, he was alarmed by the actions of the Atlee Government (1945–1951), which reduced the role of the voluntary sector and spelled the end of friendly societies when the state took total control

[8] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action,* 9.
[9] William Beveridge, 'Three Guiding Principles of Recommendations', *Social Insurance and Allied Services,* (1942), para 9, 6-16.
[10] William Beveridge, 'The State and the Citizen', *Full Employment in a Free Society: A Report* (1944), para. 44, 36.

over the distribution of all benefits.[11] In this third report, Beveridge argued that the voluntary sector's relationship with the state should not simply be complementary but should aspire to be, in the words of his biographer, Harris, 'equal partners and innovators'.[12]

In arguing his case during a debate in the House of Lords in 1949, *Voluntary Action for Social Progress,* Beveridge expanded the concept of the *moving frontier* through which both the voluntary sector and governments worked to address societal need. He made four key points. Firstly, he argued that volunteers and voluntary organisations were more flexible than government and able to respond quickly as the need arose. Secondly, he believed that only totalitarian governments took over everything — an alarming notion for a nation entering the Cold War. Indeed, he believed volunteering to be 'one of the hallmarks of a free society'.[13] Thirdly, Beveridge, using the example of citizen rights, argued the state would be biased and unable to provide advice in the new information centres 'because if the State gives advice the State will make certain not to disclose some of the weaknesses of its own administration'.[14] And finally, he argued that salaried civil servants could not offer the care provided by volunteers whose actions he described as vocational.

Beveridge further argued that the roots of the voluntary sector lay in the two camps of philanthropy and mutual aid. He described philanthropy as action from people who are 'materially comfortable' but feel distressed to see others in need.[15] Mutual aid (a term that can also refer to self-help) was described as action 'from below' where people act to help a neighbour or fellow member of a particular group or section of the community so that all may advance together.[16] Other scholarship on volunteering has extended the typology of volunteering. Currently, the three major international bodies on volunteering, the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) program, the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE) and CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, have added two other forms

[11] England, *Parliamentary Debates,* House of Lords, 25 June 1946, vol. 141, cc1109 (Lord William Beveridge) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1946/jun/25/national-insurance-bill#column_1105>, accessed 3 February, 2015.
[12] Jose Harris, 'Voluntarism, the State and Public-Private Partnerships in Beveridge's Social Thought' in Melanie Oppenheimer and Nicholas Deakin (eds.), *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 9-20.
[13] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action,* 10.
[14] England, *Parliamentary Debates,* Voluntary Action for Social Progress, cc96.
[15] William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action,* 8-9
[16] England, *Parliamentary Debates,* Voluntary Action for Social Progress, cc 93. Dan Weinbren and Bob James, 'Getting a Grip: The Roles of Friendly Societies in Australia and Britain Reappraised', *Labour History*, 88 (May, 2005), 87-103.

of volunteering, civil participation and activism to the original philanthropic and mutual aid types of volunteering as shown in Figure 2.[17] Together, these four types of volunteering can be seen as a continuum of volunteering.

With regard to the *moving frontier*, the roles that the voluntary sector and government play depend on the economic, social and political environment at a particular moment in time. At both extremes of the *moving frontier* are areas particular to that domain. For instance, the voluntary sector is able to first identify and raise issues as they emerge, while at the other end of the spectrum, government is able to formulate policy and pass legislation in response to that particular need. Government is able to exploit the resources of the not-for-profit sector, which is happy to accept the funding, particularly as this leaves the sector 'free to experiment and innovate'.[18] The assumption underlying the *moving frontier* is that governments and the not-for-profit sector work together. In England, Finlayson, in the 1990s, further explored the *moving frontier* arguing that government and voluntary services work together and at times even provide overlapping services. He argued that historians had concentrated on the role of the government and this had glossed over the role of the other three sectors involved, the voluntary, commercial, and informal.[19] Finding evidence of Beveridge's earlier claims, Finlayson noted a number of government committee reports, post-World War 2 that spoke of the continuing role of the voluntary sector, a sector that had not disappeared despite the dominant role of the state.[20] Rather Finlayson pointed to the *Report of the Committee on the Law and Practice Relating to Charitable Trusts* (1952), which found that people volunteered in both state and voluntary sector organisations and he argued that 'tens of thousands' of volunteers were found to work in statutory organisations.[21] Thus part of the activity that occurred in the intersection of the *moving frontier* not only contained similar and/or overlapping services, it was also influenced by the agency of volunteers who worked with equanimity across both sectors.

[17] Karena Cronin, *Volunteering and Social Activism: Pathways for Participation in Human Development (CIVICUS, IAVE and UNV, 2008)* <http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/img/wvw/Volunteerism-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 6 September 2010. Justin Davis Smith, 'Volunteering and Social Development', *Voluntary Action,* 3/1 (2000), (Original journal printed but page numbers on web copy were not provided) <http://www.ivr.org.uk/component/ivr/volunteering-and-social-development>, accessed 31 May 2015.
[18] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, 293.
[19] Geoffrey Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-1949', 184-185.
[20] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, 291-292.
[21] H.L., Nathan, *Report of Committee on the Law & Practice Relating to Charitable Trusts* (London: HMSO, 1952), Par. S1-S4, cited in Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, 288.

Others have argued that unlike time, the *moving frontier* is not linear but has 'constantly reinvented and redefined itself in response to social [economic] and political change'.[22] The relationship between state and voluntary sector has been likened to a dance 'between partners, circling, briefly touching, sometimes embracing, sometimes out of step, and not always dancing to the same tune'.[23] Whether in step or not, there are practical benefits to working together closely.

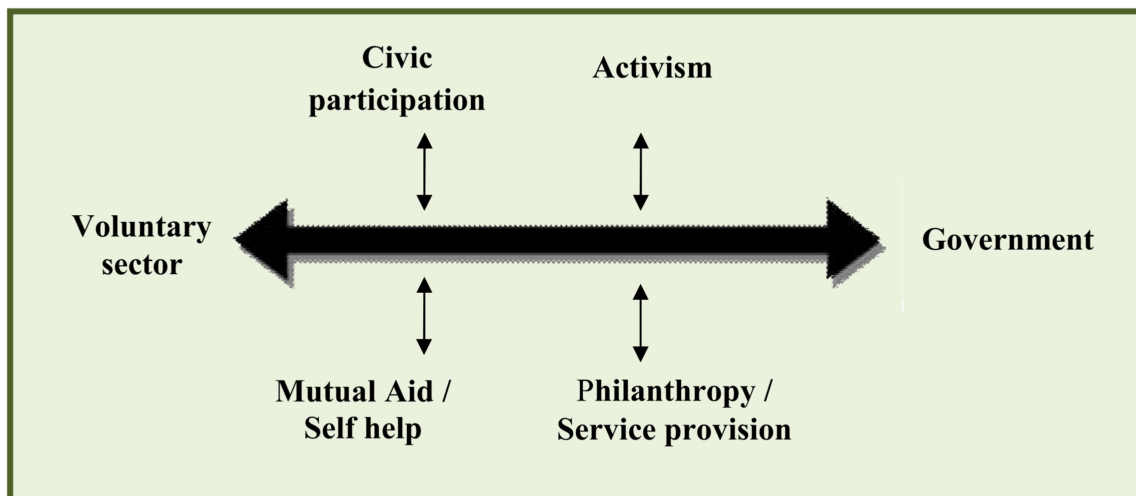

Figure 2 The moving frontier adapted from Beveridge—the relationship between state and voluntary sector and the contribution of four major forms of volunteering

A difference between the UK and Australia is that in this country, volunteering and the voluntary sector were not seriously considered to be an alternative to government services as had been the case in England.[24] Indeed, in early white settlement, government was responsible for the establishment of services and government support was necessary to establish many voluntary services, as demonstrated by the involvement of Governor Macquarie in the birth of the Benevolent Society in Sydney.[25] To further complicate the government perspective were the arguments that, as in the UK, leftist governments were hostile towards the voluntary sector. This, Deakin and Davis Smith argued was not the case

[22] Matthew Hilton and James McKay, *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1- 2.
[23] Margaret Tennant, The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005 (Wellington, NZ: Bridger Williams Books Ltd., 2007), 20.
[24] Paul Smyth, 'After Beveridge: The State and Voluntary Action in Australia', in Melanie Oppenheimer and Nicholas Deakin (eds.), Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 150.
[25] R Rathbone, A Very Present Help: Caring for Australians since 1813, the History of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales (Sydney: State Library of N.S.W. Press, 1994), 13.

in Britain; nor was it the case in Australia.[26] Indeed it was the Labor Government that provided the initial national funding for the volunteering infrastructure. Taken all together, the complexity and nuance in the relationship between the voluntary sector and government can be explored using the concept of a perpetually *moving frontier.*

Multi-Layered Relationship

The second model used in this thesis is adapted from Young's multi-layered concept, developed to analyse government and not-for-profit sector relationships in the USA, UK, Japan and Israel.[27] He argued that this relationship could be supplementary, complementary or advocacy/adversarial and could occur simultaneously, sequentially or in isolation as no single lens can capture the nuanced relationship between not-for-profits and government. Young later used the model to examine the history of the USA not-for-profit sector relationship with the government, tracing it back to the beginning of European settlement.[28] Other researchers, Reisch and Sommerfeld, used the model to explore the relationship after the introduction of social welfare legislation in the USA.[29] Using a sample of 90 organisations in Detroit, they found the supplementary aspect prevalent due to government shifting of responsibility for social services to the not-for-profit sector. In considering the relationship between not-for-profit organisations and local government, Reiock and Andrew argued that the model was too broad and the complexity of the relationship was better explained by expanding the model into six classifications.[30] For the purposes of this dissertation, Young's original three types of relationship are used as the framework of analysis.

As with Beveridge's *moving frontier* model, Young's multi-layered model can be adapted to explore the relationship between governments and the volunteering infrastructure. The *moving frontier* illustrates the importance of volunteering as the creative and first response

[26] Nicholas Deakin and Justin Davis Smith, 'Labour, Charity and Voluntary Action: The Myth of Hostility' in Matthew Hilton and James McKay (eds.), The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 69-93.

[27] Dennis R. Young, 'Alternative Models of Government-Nonprofit Sector Relations: Theoretical and International Perspectives', 149-172. Dennis R. Young, 'Organizational Identity and the Structure of Nonprofit Umbrella Associations' *Nonprofit Management & Leadership,* 11/3 (Spring 2001), 289-302.

[28] Young, Dennis R., 'Complementary, Supplementary, or Adversarial? Nonprofit-Government Relations', in E. T. Boris, and C.E. Steuerle, (eds.), *Nonprofits and Government: Collaboration & Conflict* (Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, 2006), 37-80.

[29] Michael Reisch and Davied Sommerfeld, 'Welfare Reform and the Future of Nonprofit Organizations', *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 14/1 (2003), 40-41.

[30] Richard C. Feiock and Simon A. Andrew, 'Introduction: Understanding the Relationships between Nonprofit Organizations and Local Governments', *International Journal of Public Administration,* 29/10-11 (2006), 759-767.

from people to societal need over time, and the multi-layering helps to explain the complexity of the relationship at the organisational and program/project levels within not-for-profit organisations and governments. This section considers the three components of the multi-layered relationship using examples from the volunteering infrastructure and government. This section concludes with discussion of the 'fit' between the two models and how, together, the relationship between the volunteering infrastructure and government is better understood.

Supplementary

At the supplementary level, a not-for-profit organisation provides services to cover community needs unmet by government. Volunteer referral services introduced by volunteer centres fit this criterion. Until the introduction of volunteer referral services by volunteer centres, each not-for-profit organisation recruited its own volunteers and guarded them jealously.[31] Volunteer referral services were completely new and helped differentiate them from other volunteer-involving organisations. When the national peak body was launched as Volunteering Australia, it introduced an online national volunteer referral service, *GoVolunteer,* which listed all volunteer vacancies placed with volunteer centres around the country, as well as individual volunteer-involving organisations not affiliated with the volunteering infrastructure. This example of a service at a supplementary level has a clear connection with Beveridge's *moving frontier* in which the not-for-profit organisation identifies a need and steps in to develop responses to an area unmet by government. On the *moving frontier* spectrum, the supplementary relationship occurs towards the not-for-profit section as shown in Figure 2. The uniqueness of the referral services was amplified by the stipulation that organisations who wanted to advertise their positions on *GoVolunteer* and at volunteer centres had to invest in appropriate insurance protection for volunteers. The insistence on both volunteer (personal) insurance and public liability insurance ensured a minimum level of protection and consistency across all volunteer-involving organisations making use of GoVolunteer or the referral services of volunteer centres around the country. This insistence on a minimum level of protection for volunteers had been sought by volunteer centres and reinforced through contracted programs such as the labour market program, the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI).

[31] The Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Rose Miller, 'An Outline History of the Establishment of the Volunteer Centre of N.S.W. February 1974 – July 1981', (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 1986), 4.

Complementary

The complementary level describes delivery of services on behalf of, and funded by government. In the case of the volunteering infrastructure, volunteer centres receive government funding to deliver services ranging from peak body services to the volunteering field to the delivery of specific projects such as transport services. For state volunteer centres, an early example of the complementary relationship is the Volunteers Centre of Queensland which began to deliver the Volunteer Youth Program in 1983, a year after it was established.[1] For Volunteer Resource Centres (VRCs) funding for delivery of services can include funding from one, two or all three tiers of government for specific projects to support volunteers and organisations.[2] At the national level, Volunteering Australia (VA) successfully tendered for two major volunteer programs funded by the Australian Government, the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI, 1997-2007), a response to high unemployment, and the National Volunteer Skills Centre (NVSC, 2001-2009) a clearinghouse for volunteer training. In the case of the NVSC funding, Australian Government research found that in 2001, there was no overall strategy for training volunteers such as existed in the sport and emergency sectors, and there was also evidence of duplication of services.[3] On the basis of this research, funding the NVSC enabled Volunteering Australia to work with TAFE colleges to develop a range of accredited training and materials for volunteers and managers of volunteers (see Appendix B). Further, government funding enabled VA to provide those materials online and free of charge to volunteer-involving organisations. This made access to a series of high-quality and adaptable training materials very easy for all volunteer-involving organisations. In reference to the *moving frontier*, the VWI and NVSC programs are examples of government responding to economic and volunteering issues by funding a not-for-profit organisation — in this case Volunteering Australia — to deliver public services with Volunteering Australia and the government working in accord.

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[1] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Vicki Tolstoff, 'Volunteer Youth Programme', *Volunteers Centre of Queensland Annual Report 1984* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1984), 7-8

[2] North East Region Volunteer Resource Centres Inc., *Volunteers of Banyule 2011 Annual Report,* <http://www.volunteersofbanyule.org.au/VBDocs/file/Annual%20Report%20%20--%202011.pdf>, accessed 31 May 2014.

[3] Volunteering Australia Archives: Amanda Everton, *History and Key Achievements of the National Volunteers Skills Centre,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 5 November 2009). Volunteering Australia Archives: Thomson Goodall Associates Pty Ltd., *Nationwide Analysis of the Training Needs of Australian Volunteers,* Vol. 1 (unpublished, 2001).

Adversarial

Described as adversarial, the third view of relationships occurs when organisations advocate on behalf of their members, clients/consumers or field to influence government policy, services and public opinion. Examples of advocacy include volunteer centres lobbying the Australian Bureau of Statistics to measure volunteering nationally, and Volunteering Australia's 'Cost of Volunteering' campaign, which resulted in out-of-pocket expenses being included as acceptable expenses in funding applications for the Volunteer Small Grants Scheme by the Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FACSIA).[1] Arguably, there is a difference between political reaction to advocacy in support of volunteering and advocacy undertaken by other not-for-profit organisations which aim, for example, to alleviate poverty, or protect the environment. This stems from the very basis of volunteering which is a 'good news story', a praiseworthy activity necessary in many of the services considered vital to society such as fire fighting, surf life-saving and supporting people in need. Politicians have been vocal in their support for volunteering:

> As noble as politicians may like to think we are, it is the spirit of the volunteer – your spirit, giving freely to others – that embodies true nobility.[2]
>
> The efforts and contributions of volunteers are among the essential ingredients of a healthy community.[3]
>
> Volunteering in Australia is a part of our culture in a way that is distinctly Australian – it's part of our culture of a "fair go" and helping out a mate. Observers overseas admire our ethos of volunteerism and, in fact, one of our biggest exports out of the Sydney Olympic Games was our volunteer management expertise.[4]

These examples from both major political parties in Australia point to a general agreement that volunteering is valuable to society. So while politicians may be in conflict with

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[1] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Margaret Bell, President's Report – Period September '94 – September '95', *Australian Council for Volunteering* (Sydney, ACV, 1995), 5. Volunteering Australia Archives: Costs of Volunteering Taskforce, The Rising Costs of Volunteering, (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia 2007).

[2] Brett Mason, 'Remarks – International Volunteer Day' by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, (18 September 2013 – 23 December 2014), 6, <http://ministers.dfat.gov.au/mason/speeches/Pages/2013/bm_sp_131205.aspx?ministerid=5>, accessed 27 May 2015.

[3] Amanda Vanstone, 'Volunteers in our Communities – International Year of Volunteers 2001', paper given at the 6th National Rural Health Conference, Canberra, ACT, 4-7 March 2001, 2001 <http://www.ruralhealth.org.au/papers/6_KN_14.pdf>, accessed 27 May 2015.

[4] Ursula Stephens, 'Launch of National Volunteers Week, Canberra' speech given at the Great Hall Australian National University, 10 May 2010, 5 < http://www.formerministers.dss.gov.au/4265/launch-of-national-volunteers-week-canberra/>, accessed 27 May 2015.

volunteering activism or organisations that criticise government policy, there exists little evidence of politicians criticising volunteering per se.

Volunteering may not excite negative criticism by itself but the needs of volunteers need to be addressed. An example of the adversarial layer of Young's model can be demonstrated through the volunteering infrastructure campaigns for appropriate levels of volunteer insurance cover. Through the establishment of the first national body, the Australian Association for Volunteering, volunteer centres were able to extend their lobbying for a national volunteer insurance scheme.[5] By 1995, the Australian Council for Volunteering (later Volunteering Australia, see Appendix A) had partnered with insurance company Minet Australia Limited (later AON) to develop a *Volunteer Vital Pack* which aimed to provide 'Affordable and comprehensive insurance cover for Organisations/Agencies who involve volunteers'.[6] When Volunteering Australia established *GoVolunteer*, advertising volunteer positions was free, but with the stipulation that organisations, both not-for-profit and statutory, had to provide documentary evidence that volunteers were protected by an appropriate level of insurance before they could post volunteer positions to the website. Thus volunteer centres were able to reinforce their advocacy for better volunteer protection by the provision of volunteer referral services.

Theoretical Models Combined

Both models offer an understanding of the relationship between the voluntary/not-for-profit sector and the state. Beveridge fashioned the concept of the *moving frontier* to describe a relationship between the voluntary sector and the state that is fluid and in constant movement. Young's model of a multi-layered relationship between the voluntary sector and the state also implies dynamic movement. A difference between the two models is that Beveridge's concept is all embracing while Young's model unpicks the relationship, suggesting a division

[5] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Diane Morgan, 'AAV Insurance/Magazine' [memo to All AAV Board Members], (3 August 1990), 1. Centre of Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Volunteer Insurance Seminar', *The Volunteer Issue,* 2/3 (November 1991), 10-11, 19. Volunteer Centre of NSW, *Guidelines for Volunteer Insurance* (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 1994). Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, 'Submission to the Economics References Committee', *Inquiry into the Impact of Public Liability and Professional Indemnity Insurance Cost Increases* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2002).

[6] Volunteering Australia Archives: Minet, *Volunteer Vital Pack*, [brochure], (Canberra, ACT). Volunteering ACT Archives: Peter Davidson, 'Report on Insurance', [memorandum to the Board of Directors, Australian Council for Volunteering], 4 October 1995, (Canberra, ACT). Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A., 'Health, Safety and Insurance', *South Australian Volunteering* (September-November, 1988), 4. Volunteering Australia, *Insurance Information for Volunteering Australia's Network,* October 2002, (Adelaide, SA).

of three main interactions. For this study, the two models have been combined with Young's multi-layered relationships fitting within the broader *moving frontier* as shown in Figure 3. In this, the *moving frontier* is depicted as a two-ended arrow with a large middle section where the main interaction between the not-for-profit sector and government occurs. It is within this area that Young's multi-layered model is situated. The multi-layered model is shown as three distinct arrows that, while separate, move in relationship to each other.

For the volunteering infrastructure, combining the fluid and continuous movement of Beveridge's *moving frontier* with Young's multi-layered model illustrates a complexity in their relationship with government, and provides a framework for examining their relationships with government.

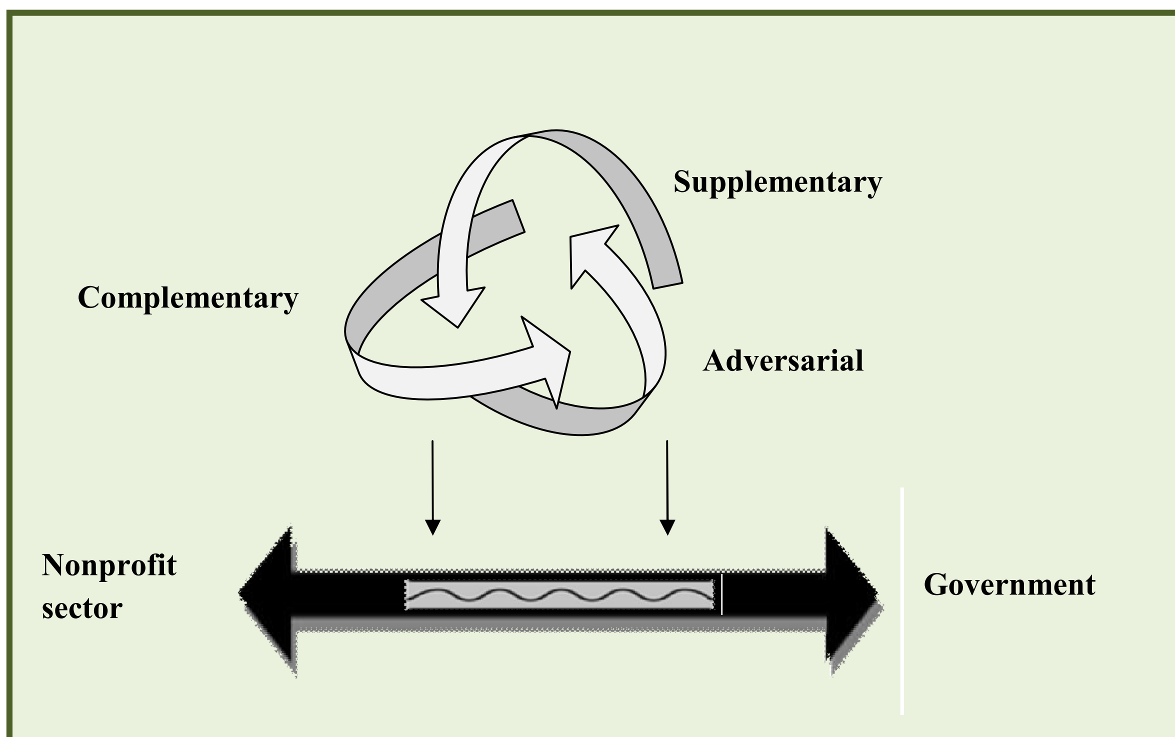

Figure 3 The adapted and combined models – the *moving frontier* concept and the multilayered concept of relationships between the not-for-profit sector and government.

Research Questions

The focus on the recent history of the volunteering infrastructure and Volunteering Australia begs the question, where does their history start and end and where does the present begin? McLeod and Thomson argue that the past does not exist separate from the present but is

'indissolubly connected to the present', a sentiment that Hoxie had believed to be axiomatic.[7] Volunteering Australia has its beginnings in the volunteer centres, both state and regional, which established the national centre. So, should the history of each of the state centres be the focus, leading to the point where Volunteering Australia was incorporated and established its own office and identity? Certainly the state centres took a leading role in establishing the early versions of a national centre and indeed sat on the initial board of Volunteering Australia after it formed. Further, by the end of the period covered by this thesis, Volunteering Australia appeared to be travelling almost full circle back to the days when state centres managed national projects on behalf of the national body. The financial security in 1997 that led to the establishment of an independent identity and office away from state centres was maintained until the loss of major Commonwealth funded programs in 2012 caused the loss of all staff and office in Melbourne, Victoria, (although it must be noted that the support of state volunteer centres, corporate and some Commonwealth funding enabled the re-opening of Volunteering Australia in Canberra, ACT, in 2013). Reflection on this circular journey gave rise to the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods that involved oral history interviews, the analysis of archival material and the development of a survey of Volunteer Resource Centres.

The theoretical models of the moving frontier and the multi-layered relationships together with my own involvement with the volunteering infrastructure, raised a number of research questions that are addressed in this thesis:

1. Why is it necessary to have a volunteering infrastructure? What is the organisational profile of the volunteering infrastructure? How do volunteer peak bodies differ from other peak bodies in the community services sector?
2. What effect has the volunteering infrastructure, particularly Volunteering Australia, had on volunteering in this country?
3. What role has government labour market policies played in the development of the volunteering infrastructure?
4. How has the federated model of governance helped or hindered relationships within the volunteering infrastructure?

[7] Julie McLeod and Alistair Thomson, *Researching Social Change: Qualitative Approaches* (London: Sage Publications, 2009), 38. R.F.Hoxie 'Historical Method vs. Historical Narrative', *Journal of Political Economy,* 14/9 (1906), 568-572.

5. How have internal relationships affected the course of Volunteering Australia over its lifespan of 23 years?
6. What effect has government funding had on the volunteering infrastructure — on its independence and internal relationships?
7. Since 2000, state governments have increased their 'hands-on' engagement with volunteering. How has this affected the relationships and the separation of roles between the volunteering infrastructure and government offices?
8. The pioneers of volunteer centres visited similar organisations overseas seeking information on how to set up centres in Australia. Australians have often acted as board members and two have been elected to the position of World President of the International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE). How has that engagement affected the development of the volunteering infrastructure and volunteering?

Underlying these research questions are five themes that continued to appear throughout the period of research. The first theme addresses the belief by volunteer centres and programs that volunteers have rights, deserve respect and provide a value to society beyond economic replacement cost. Volunteering Australia and the volunteering infrastructure have strongly advocated for volunteer rights and protection in the workplace while promoting the 'social, cultural and economic value' of volunteering.[8] Closely related is the second theme and the drive by the volunteering infrastructure to expand public understanding about volunteering. This involved promotion of volunteering beyond the areas of health and welfare. Situated and funded as organisations within the community services sector, volunteer centres have striven to promote volunteering in sport and leisure, the environment, the arts and emergency services. The third theme concerns the relationship that the volunteering infrastructure, particularly Volunteering Australia, has with the Commonwealth Government in promoting volunteering, advocating for the rights of volunteers and seeking sustainable funding for itself and the volunteering infrastructure.

The fourth theme pertains to volunteering and unemployment. A lucrative element in the development of the volunteering infrastructure has been the Commonwealth Government funding for services to support unemployed people who volunteer as a way of learning new skills, maintaining existing skills and building confidence. This funding has certainly

[8] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, *Annual Review 05-06,* (Canberra), 01.

supported the longevity of volunteer centres but it has come at a cost to internal relationships between the different tiers of the infrastructure. Further, this funding highlighted a philosophical issue concerning the issue of 'choice', whether people on benefits were able to freely choose as stated in the foundational definition of formal volunteering.

The final theme concerns the interaction the volunteering infrastructure has had at an international level. Initially, visits to the US and UK in the early 1970s by people such as Rose Miller and Heather Buck (New South Wales), John Wise and Margaret MacGregor (Victoria) provided knowledge and confidence to establish volunteer centres in Australia. Heather Buck and Margaret MacGregor undertook extensive study tours, and the Volunteer Bureau NSW joined the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE), the oldest international body on volunteering having begun in 1970. This engagement extended to inviting to Australia researchers and practitioners well known for their expertise to broaden the exchange of ideas at conferences and seminars, and members of the volunteering infrastructure taking on the role of President of IAVE (Margaret Bell, 1988–1996 and Kylie Bates, 2012 ongoing). As President of IAVE, Margaret Bell was instrumental in 2001 being declared the International Year of Volunteers. This engagement at the international level helped form and strengthen volunteer centres.

Thesis structure

This thesis is written from an interdisciplinary perspective. Over the last 20 years, there has been a growing trend in interdisciplinary research by PhD students.[9] Shier and Handy found a similar trend in their examination of theses in not-for-profit studies and suggested that one reason for this can be found in a trend by universities to promote interdisciplinary studies.[10] It was initially envisaged that this thesis would be situated within the history discipline. However, as the research progressed, many contemporary themes developed and conventions from other fields were adopted. This has resulted in a chapter structure that does not neatly fit the conventions of any one particular field but instead reflects the dynamism of interdisciplinary study.

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[9] Chaoqun Ni and Cassidy R. Sugimoto, 'Using Doctoral Dissertations for a New Understanding of Disciplinarity and Interdisciplinarity', *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology,* 49/1 (2012), 1-4.

[10] Michael L. Shier and Feminda Handy, 'Research Trends in Nonprofit Graduate Studies: A Growing Interdisciplinary Field', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 43/5 (2014), 826.

The thesis is structured in three parts. Part A consists of three chapters and provides the basis on which the following chapters are based. The Introduction begins with a brief outline of the volunteering infrastructure and theories on which this dissertation is based, the theoretical model *moving frontier* model and the multi-layered model of relationships on which this dissertation is based is examined. The Introduction examines formal volunteering, its definition and principles and explores the differences with other definitions of volunteering. This exploration of the definition is important as much of the work of the volunteering infrastructure is based on this and other Foundational Documentation. This is coupled with an overview on the role of women in volunteering.

Chapter 1 explains the methodology used in this thesis. The first section explores issues that arose due to my involvement with the volunteer centres and ultimately the choice of methods used in this study. A mixture of both qualitative and quantitative methods included oral history interviews, a survey of volunteer resource centres, archival material and secondary sources. Part B contains three chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the role of peak bodies in Australia. Peak bodies play a major role in the volunteering infrastructure but deviate from other peak bodies in that they also provide direct services to members and the volunteering community at large. Chapter 3 considers the development of state and territory volunteer centres, particularly the political and social context in which each arose. The final chapter in Part B, Chapter 4, concentrates on the contemporary experiences and relationships of the third level of the volunteering infrastructure, the volunteer resource centres (VRCs). This chapter draws on findings of the survey undertaken for this research and provides information on the complexity and diversity of this group of programs and organisations.

Part C contains four chapters that consider the main themes of this study over a period of 40 years. Chapter 5 considers the decade beginning in 1970 and examines the social and political changes that led to the development of the first volunteer centres in Australia. Chapter 6 introduces neoliberalism and its positive impact on the development of the volunteering infrastructure in the 1980s. This was the decade of ‘firsts’, the first attempt at forming a national peak body on volunteering, the first national and international conferences on volunteering to be held in Australia, and, the first national campaign for funding and expansion of the volunteering infrastructure.

Chapter 7 examines the establishment of Volunteering Australia and the successful tendering of the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI) in 1997. It will be argued that the VWI introduced an internal tension to the volunteering infrastructure by changing the internal dynamics from collegial networking to contractor/sub-contractor. Chapter 8 explores the greater involvement of governments, particularly at the state/territory levels in the new millennium. This included the introduction of government volunteer offices and secretariats. At the same time, the professionalisation of volunteering gained pace with Commonwealth funding for a national training and information clearing house, the National Volunteer Skills Centre, based at Volunteering Australia. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the main themes and poses questions about the future of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a snapshot of the context and major elements that impact on the volunteering infrastructure. Firstly as a past employee of both Volunteering Victoria and Volunteering Australia, my personal and professional involvement with the volunteer centres and their employees, volunteers and board members was declared. This was followed by an introduction to volunteering in the literature with an emphasis on formal volunteering. Formal volunteering is very important in understanding the volunteering infrastructure as it is argued in this thesis underpinned the identity and legitimacy of the volunteering infrastructure.

This chapter introduced the two theoretical models employed, William Beveridge's *moving frontier* model and Denis Young's multi-layered relationship model. Both models help us to understand the complexity of the relationship among the volunteering infrastructure organisations and programs, as well as the volunteering infrastructure's relationship with government. Lastly, this chapter highlighted the gap in our knowledge about the volunteering infrastructure in Australia. The research questions were provided together with an outline of the thesis structure.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methods used in the thesis to examine the history of Volunteering Australia, the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure, and the contribution the volunteering infrastructure made to volunteering in Australia from 1970 until 2012. This interdisciplinary thesis employed both qualitative and quantitative methods but placed greater emphasis on the qualitative. Oral history techniques were used to interview 71 members from the volunteering infrastructure, the International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE), politicians and bureaucrats. The interviews were carried out by telephone (18), Skype (4) or face-to-face (49).

The variety of communication mediums in the modern world offers flexibility in interview formats.[1] Originally, it had been anticipated that all interviews would be face-to-face, but interviewee schedules, geographic distance and financial considerations made this impractical. For instance, five interviews with international volunteering leaders were planned to take place in London at the IAVE Conference in 2012 but interviewee schedules, pre, during and post conference, made this impractical. Finally, only one interview took place face-to-face in London while the other four were conducted by Skype.

It was alway anticipated that interviews would be the main method of data collection but it soon became clear that due to the large number of potential interviewees across the three tiers of the volunteering infrastructure other methods were needed. Therefore a survey of the third level of the volunteering infrastructure which consisted of 114 volunteer resource centres and programs (VRCs) was incorporated into the data collection. Further, archival research was undertaken at state, territory and national volunteer centres. Information from these archival records was then triangulated with interview transcriptions and survey findings.

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[1] Robert M. Silverman, Kelly L. Patterson, *Qualitative Research Methods for Community Development* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 72-73. Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (4th edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 488.

This chapter begins with a discussion of my professional involvement in the volunteering infrastructure and ethical considerations. This is followed by a discussion on interviews and the issues encountered such as anonymity which was also found to be relevant in designing the survey. Other sections explore the archival research and the survey.

Professional Background and Personal Ethical Considerations

One of the first methodological issues I needed to address when beginning this thesis was my personal and professional involvement with the volunteering infrastructure and volunteering. I had volunteered for a range of groups and organisations in sport and recreation, the environment, community services and education and for most of my professional life I have worked for not–for-profit volunteer-involving organisations as well as being employed at the state and national levels of the volunteering infrastructure (Volunteering Victoria and Volunteering Australia respectively). Over the years I had met or worked with many of the people I sought to interview for this thesis and some potential interviewees were acquaintances and friends. Some I admired and respected, but there were one or two people I have never held in high esteem or thought their actions commendable. Interviewing people who were known to me raised the question of: Whose history is this? I am proud of my contributions to both organisations but in light of the overall achievements of Volunteering Australia and the volunteering infrastructure, that contribution is miniscule. This led to another concern about how to keep the issues of importance during my employment in perspective with the overall development of the volunteering infrastructure. Ultimately, I was concerned about how objective I could be considering my past involvement. For example, during my employment there were instances where I disagreed with decisions and therefore, through the analysis phase, it would be important to consider my own bias.

To counter my personal and professional bias, two processes were incorporated into the research design. The first was to keep a reflective journal of my memories often triggered by interviews and the examination of archival material. This was a valuable reference during analysis as it helped to differentiate my experiences, thoughts and beliefs from those of the interviewees and comments made in the surveys. The second process occurred during those interviews where the interviewee and I had experienced the same events. At such times, I expressed my recollection of events. This had two effects, it opened discussion and provided the opportunity to compare and contrast joint recollections of events, and it fostered trust and

honesty between us. Thus such discussion countered my individual perspective, placing it within the overall context.

Ethics Approval

This candidature began at the University of New England from 2010–2013. Approval for this study was granted in accordance with the Ethics Approval for Research Involving Humans, Human Research Ethics Committee, University of New England, Approval Number HE10/141. Each participant was provided with information about the study and gave written consent for both the interviews and the survey. Similarly volunteer centre executive officers gave written permission for the examination of their organisational archives.

The interview and survey consent agreement allowed participants to withdraw at any stage. Participants were asked to choose anonymity or to be identified which is discussed in detail later in this chapter. All interviewees chose to be identified, although a small number asked that they approve direct quotes used in the dissertation, prior to submission. Supervision was provided by Associate Professor Melanie Oppenheimer (principal supervisor) and Professor Michael Bittman (secondary supervisor).

In July 2013, Professor Melanie Oppenheimer became Professor of History, School of International Studies, Flinders University. To continue under her supervision I sought and was granted permission to transfer to Flinders University. At this time, Professor Michael Bittman, University of New England, ceased supervision and Dr Catherine Kevin, School of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Flinders University, agreed to become co-supervisor.

Mixed methods

This section describes the methodological framework of this study which fits within a mixed methods approach. This approach uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and is considered pragmatic as it allows a flexible research design with different data collections taking place either simultaneously or sequentially. As Mason argues, mixed methods allows for creative design 'outside the box' and away from strict qualitative and quantitative parameters.[2]

[2] Jennifer Mason, 'Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way', *Qualitative Research,* 6/1 (2006), 13-14.

At the time of this study the volunteering infrastructure consisted of over 100 volunteer centres and programs across national, state/territory and local/regional levels with a pyramidal structure (see Figure 1). It was decided that the best way to elicit information on the similarities and differences between the three levels would be to interview the chief executive officers and board members of the national and state/territory volunteer centres. It was further decided to survey members of the largest group of volunteer centres and programs at the local and regional level. This would be followed by a small number of targeted interviews of VRC personnel. The survey contained closed questions on demography, funding and services, and open-ended questions for comment on issues regarding relationships and networks. The design of the survey was partly determined by the initial examination of the themes emerging from the interviews. As a courtesy, the survey was sent to state centres for their information.

A distinguishing feature of the mixed methods approach is the integration of findings.[3] Integration of findings is achieved when all the data is gathered, compared and contrasted.[4] Bryman argued that without integration of findings, the result would be two independent studies, one qualitative and the other quantitative. Both would be valuable but integration provides a bigger picture or greater understanding of the area being studied.[5] Moran-Ellis et al. developed the 'following a thread' approach.[6] This occurs when a question or theme is identified in one set of data and then followed through other data. In this way, evidence is built or other questions raised, resulting in further exploration. In this study, following a thread was very helpful when interviewees gave differing accounts of incidents, particularly around the dates of events. Checking against meeting records and other published documentation by the volunteering infrastructure helped ascertain the correct sequence of events, their context and related issues. Through re-listening and transcribing the interviews, a number of themes began to emerge, as noted in the Introduction of this dissertation. The following sections discuss various aspects of the methodology, particularly the interview stage.

[3] C. Teddlie and A. Tashakkori, 'Mixed Methods Research: Contemporary Issues in an Emerging Field' in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 285-299.
[4] Jo Moran-Ellis, et al., 'Triangulation and Integration: Processes, Claims and Implications', *Qualitative Research,* 6/1 (2006), 45-59.
[5] Alan Bryman, 'Barriers to Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research', *Journal of Mixed Methods,* 1/1 (2007), 8. Alicia O'Cathain, Elizabeth Murphy and Jon Nicholl, 'Three Techniques for Integrating Data in Mixed Methods Studies', *BMJ,* (2010) <http://www.bmj.com/content/341/bmj.c4587.full>, accessed 24 February 2015.
[6] Jo Moran-Ellis, et al., 'Triangulation and Integration: Processes, Claims and Implications', 54.

Oral History Interviews

The allure of the oral history method used in this study grew from an awareness that not all centres would allow access to their paper-based records and that those records made available might be incomplete. This is a common situation in organisations, as ‘company archives are at best fragmentarily kept, often off-limits for outsiders (including researchers), offer only limited accessibility and are rarely well-catalogued’.[7] Ryant argued that:

> Oral history is a particularly valuable tool because it can fill in the gaps in the historical record created by the practice of making important decisions without much paper documentation and can provide information about members of the work force for whom few archival records are maintained.[8]

Undertaking oral history interviews provided an opportunity to capture the memories of people who were involved in the development of small grassroots organisations into peak bodies and, in turn, the impact those organisations on volunteering. Oral history offers the possibility of integrating the official and objective with the personal as it stems from the ability to tell the story of those who might otherwise remain silent. Proponents of oral history have argued its uniqueness and value as ‘history from below’, and it has been used widely to explore the experiences of women, the illiterate, indigenous peoples, sufferers of trauma, factory workers, family members, and labour activists — common persons, or as described by Gluck when discussing women’s oral history, the ‘historically voiceless’.[9] In part, this was a response to the ‘top-down’ post World War 2 American approach where oral history was employed to gather the words of men holding elite positions in society.[10] Still others have argued that using oral history techniques to gather the perspectives of elites provides an opportunity to ‘document our society more widely and to step outside our comfort zones and engage with interview subjects which challenge our radical credentials’.[11] Hoffman argued

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[7] Sjoerd Keulen and Ronald Kroeze, ‘Back to business: A next step in the field of oral history – the usefulness of oral history for leadership and organizational research’, *The Oral History Review,* 39/1 (2012), 15-36. S. Lewenson and E.K. Herrmann, E.K. (eds.), *Capturing Nursing History: A Guide to Historical Methods in Research’* (New York: Springer Publishing, 2008), 81.
[8] Carl Ryant, ‘Oral History and Business History’, *The Journal of American History,* 75/2 (1988) 560.
[9] Alistair Thomson, ‘Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History’, *The Oral History Review,* 34/1 (2006), 52. Sherna Gluck,’What’s so Special about Women? Women’s Oral History’, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* 2/2 (Summer, 1977), 3.
[10] Alistair Thomson, ‘Dancing through the Memory of our Movement: Four Paradigmatic Revolutions in Oral History’, paper given at the XIVth International Oral History Conference, Sydney, 2006, 1 <http://oralhistorynsw.org.au/files/media/read-listen_dancing_through_the_memory_of_our_movement__a_thomson.pdf>, accessed 9 April 2014.
[11] Rob Perks, ‘The Roots of Oral History: Exploring Contrasting Attitudes to Elite, Corporate, and Business Oral History in Britain and the U.S.’ *The Oral History Review,* 37/2 (2010), 215.

against any divide between oral history from below and oral history for the elite. She argued that oral history could be utilised to hear all voices and from their own perspective: 'Oral history can make it possible for a person to recover, preserve, and interpret his own past, and not have it interpreted for him or imposed upon him'.[12]

Contrary to the argument that oral history need concentrate on the 'historically voiceless' Keulen and Kroeze argued that oral history of elites and business organisations would result in a better understanding of leadership.[13] They argued that oral history combined with organisational and business history 'strengthens the scientific soundness of oral history'.[14] And at an industry level Perks listed a number of commercial and service industries in Britain from which the British Library had collected over 1000 oral histories.[15] Oral history has also been used to investigate the development of professions such as accounting, auditing, nursing and radiography.[16] While such strides have been taken to consider combining oral history and business history, similar oral history research at the community organisational level was not found.

Leavy maintained that oral history interviews contained a series of distinguishing features.[17] The five most relevant to this study are the micro-macro linkages, collaboration in the generation of data process, a focus on the participant's perspective, comprehensive understanding, and filling in the historical record. The micro-macro linkage provided a connection between an individual's experience and the social and historical context. In the interviews for this thesis, interviewees related experiences and events at their local level to the volunteering infrastructure as a whole or the Australian Government or the volunteer movement internationally.

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[12] Alice M. Hoffman, 'Who are the Elite, and what is a Non-Elitist? *Oral History Review,* 4 (1976), 1-5.
[13] Sjoerd Keulen and Ronald Kroeze, 'Back to business: A next step in the field of oral history – the usefulness of oral history for leadership and organizational research', 15-17.
[14] Ibid. 17.
[15] Rob Perks, 'The Roots of Oral History', 217.
[16] Marilynn Collins and Robert Bloom, 'The Role of Oral History in Accounting', *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal,* 4/ 4 (1991), 23-31. Garry D. Carnegie and Christopher J. Napier, 'Accounting's Past, Present and Future: The Unifying Power of History', *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal,* 25/ 2 (2012), 328-369. Sola Decker and Ron Iphofen, 'Developing the Profession of Radiography: Making Use of Oral History', *Radiography*, 11 (2005), 262-271. Christine Ferris and Michelle Winslow, 'Oral History in Radiography: Listening to Pioneers', *Radiography,* 15/Supplement 1 (2009), e62-e66. Sola Decker, 'The Lived Experience of Newly Qualified Radiographers (1950-1985): An Oral History of Radiography, *Radiography,* 15/Supplement 1 (2009), e72-e77.
[17] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 16-25.

Leavy argues that both the interviewee and the interviewer collaborate in the generation of data, that creating meaning is a process that results in the interview transcription and an engagement in the study beyond the interview event.[18] Many participants of this study suggested issues to explore post interview, potential interviewees and other resources to consult. The interviewees were not passive in the interview process. Some of the interaction was directive, with some interviewees saying 'you should speak to …' or 'have you got [name of resource]… I'll send it to you'. This engagement was not unexpected as I was aware of the passion many participants felt for volunteering and their belief in the role and value of volunteer centres.

Another distinguishing feature identified by Leavy is the focus on the participant's perspective. Oral history interviewees have a role in shaping the content as the questions are open-ended and unstructured. Initially guided by my questions, the interviewees introduced new subjects or dwelt on specific events/issues, which, from their perspective, were important. Added to this Leavy argued that together with the open-ended questions, the inductive and lengthy oral history interviews combine to provide a comprehensive understanding.[19] For example, in this study, some interviewees have an involvement with the volunteering infrastructure that spans over thirty years. One such interviewee, Margaret Bell, held leadership roles at a state, national and international level. During our interviews, one issue or event might have related to only one of her roles, but more likely had influenced all three roles. The final and fifth feature identified by Leavy concerned the importance of adding to the historical record. In effect it was an opportunity to gather first-hand accounts of the development of a unique group of not-for-profit organisations, the volunteering infrastructure. Filling in the historical record was a motivation for undertaking this study and a reason given for agreeing to be interviewed as one person stated, 'it will be good to have it all down so we know what happened'. Hiller and DiLuzio argued the motivation for interviewees fell into three categories:

> when 1) the announced topic is one in which the potential participant has ego-involvement; 2) participation conceivably allows for reflection and articulation of personal experience; and 3) the potential participant possesses thoughts and feelings

[18] Ibid. 18.
[19] Ibid. 17.

> that have few outlets or little legitimacy in current communities of interaction, or that are difficult to express without sanctions or censorship.[20]

These reasons resonated with many interviewees. Partly, due to a perceived lack of general awareness of the volunteering infrastructure and their work, the interviews took the shape of a legacy by documenting experiences, thoughts and feelings. Examples of comments included, 'what really happened? I always wanted to know' or 'I want to set it straight'. Such statements indicated that people wanted to take part in the study so their work and achievements in volunteer centres could be acknowledged in a broader Australian history of volunteering.[21] The sense of legacy extended to the donation of papers for volunteer centre archives. At the end of the group interview at Burnie, Tasmania, one interviewee, Helen Whitehead handed me documents to pass on to Volunteering Tasmania in Hobart. These papers documented the early development of Volunteering Tasmania's (VTas) antecedent, Northern Volunteer Agency Network (NVAN) saying, 'that's the final thing I can do for VTas'.[22]. To the interviewees who had been involved when volunteer centres were small groups of people meeting around someone's kitchen table, in a café or a borrowed office, their stories and memories were not simply about the establishment and development of an organisation, they were also about the growth of the volunteer movement in Australia and their individual contributions.

Collaborative Interviews

Leavy argued that oral history interviews are a collaborative exchange where both interviewer and interviewee bring elements that enrich the interview process.[23] The interviewer designs the research, has themes and issues to be explored, decides on potential participants, controls the recording of the interview (either by note taking, using an audio recorder or filming) and interpretation of the results. On the other hand, the interviewee has control over the time and venue of the interview, and if the situation is not to their liking, the interviewee can simply refuse to take part. In this study, the interviewee could choose to be identified or remain anonymous. At any stage, an interviewee could leave the research process and stipulate if the interview could be directly quoted. Most importantly, the

[20] H.H. Hiller, and L. DiLuzio, 'The Interviewee and the Research Interview: Analysing a Neglected Dimension in research', *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 41/1 (2004), 8.
[21] Lenore Layman, 'Ethical imperatives in Oral History Practice', *Studies in Western Australian History,* 26 (2010), 145.
[22] Annette Maher, Journal entry 21 February, 2011, in the possession of the author. Helene Whitehead, June Hazelwood and Sylvia Godman, interview with the author [sound recording] (Burnie, Tasmania, 21 February 2011) in the author's possession.
[23] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research,* 17.

interviewee has control over the amount of detail divulged.[24] An example of this control occurred on one occasion when an interviewee waited until the end of the interview to say what he really considered to be the truth. When the interview began, the interviewee answered every question but with little expansion or detail. But, at the end of the interview, he introduced a new topic by referring to a previous CEO, 'She ruined this place, you know. We were all friends and now it's just a business'.[25] When I asked him if he'd like to elaborate, he agreed and returned to the formal interview. On reflection, it appeared that the first interview had been an opportunity to gauge the interview experience. Questions and comments indicated the interviewee was interested in my study, proud of his volunteer work and the contribution he had made to the work of the volunteer centre. I suspect that building a rapport with me, the interviewer, was an important part of the first part of the interview. He appeared to need to build trust before making any statements that were critical of the previous management and which might reflect poorly on the volunteer centre. Many people interviewed in the course of this dissertation had experience of taking part in or supporting research projects on volunteering, as well as being interviewed by the media. For example, a number of interviewees asked that the audio recorder be turned off while they related an incident they wanted off the record, or they asked to see any direct quote before it was included in the final text.

Interviewing Colleagues

An important issue to consider in this thesis was anonymity. The volunteering infrastructure includes volunteer centres where leadership has been fairly steady over a lengthy period of time. The volunteering network provides opportunities to interact at a local, regional, state and national level. Prospective interviewees knew each other, worked with each other on campaigns, projects and submissions, and had generally had numerous opportunities to build both professional and personal relationships. This amount of interaction meant that it could be very easy to identify an interviewee by connecting an event or issue to a particular state or territory. Therefore all interviewees were offered the opportunity to choose anonymity but all chose to be identified with caveats regarding direct quotes as mentioned in the Ethics Approval section of this chapter.

[24] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research,* 6.
[25] Anonymous interviewee, April 2011.

An obvious issue in undertaking this study was my familiarity with the people I would interview or survey. This has been termed insider research and occurs when the researcher is a member of the group under investigation.[26] Advantages of insider research are that rapport has already been established when the researcher possesses in-depth knowledge of the culture, language and jargon of the organisation.[27] Connected to this is an understanding of the organisational culture. For instance, I was aware that employees and volunteers were not only highly motivated and committed but were unofficially expected to be so as these comments attest, 'after all, you don't come all these years for nothing' and 'she only works here for the wage, she's not really committed'.[28] At a practical level, an insider can find it easier to gain approval to access the organisation's archives. And lastly, it can be easier and quicker to arrange interviews because the researcher knows who to approach.[29]
In contrast to the positive aspects of insider research, McEvoy outlined a number of limitations.[30] A major limitation was a lack of objective perspective as membership of the group discouraged investigation into accepted behaviour that may be peculiar to that group. He argued that common experiences can be taken for granted. Such experiences might be questioned by a researcher who has not been so intimately involved. A further limitation concerned interviewees who might be reluctant to talk about sensitive or contentious issues to people they consider part of their group — although the inverse may also occur. On the other hand, Dwyer argued that, in her experience, being an insider did not make her a worse or better researcher 'it just makes me a different type of researcher'.[31]

A common risk of insider research is that familiarisation with the interviewees, the organisation and its culture can lead to assumptions about behaviours, language and innuendoes, resulting in deeper meanings being overlooked and thus remaining unexplored.

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[26] Marilyn Asselin, 'Insider Research: Issues to Consider when doing Qualitative Research on your own Setting' *Journal for Nurses in Staff Development,* 19/2 (2003), 99-103.
[27] Ann Bonner and Gerda Tolhurst, 'Insider-Outsider Perspectives of Participant Observation', *Nurse Researcher,* 9/4 (2002), 8. Rachel Harding, Grahame Whitfield and Neil Stillwell, 'Service Users as Peer Research Interviewers: Why Bother?' in I. Greener, C. Holden & K. Kilkey (eds.), *Social Policy Review 22: Analysis and debate in social policy* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2010), 324.
[28] Annette Maher, Journal entry 20 January 2011, in the possession of the author.
[29] Marilyn Asselin, 'Insider Research', 99.
[30] Phil McEvoy, 'Interviewing Colleagues: Addressing the Issues of Perspective, Inquiry and Representation', *Nurse Researcher,* 9/2 (2001), 49-59.
[31] Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle, 'The Space Between: On being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 8/1 (2009), 56.

Consequently, the end product is a good story but is limited in terms of historical analysis.[32] Conducting interactive interviews allowed both the interviewee and me, as interviewer, to broaden and deepen our understanding of events and issues, as we were both 'in different ways involved in the production of knowledge'.[33]

To counter familiarisation it was important to encourage interviewees to give their perspective and understanding and not allow the research to be limited by my own experience. On a couple of occasions this annoyed interviewees who remembered my involvement. In frustration one person said, 'you were there, you know this'. This outburst required me to restate my role as interviewer and the importance of hearing the interviewee's perspective uncoloured by my memories. Usually a few words pre-interview were enough to shift the dynamic between us from old colleagues to interviewer/interviewee. But there were occasions when interviewees asked for my help to recall events. I could not claim ignorance as that would have been disrespectful to us both, especially if we both knew I had been involved or had knowledge of the event in question. On these occasions, the dynamic between us once again became one of old colleagues with statements such as 'Now what was that, can you remember?' On these occasions, I might offer names (if I remembered) or acknowledge that my own memory might be faulty saying 'from what I remember'. But if the interviewee was asking about an aspect of my work at Volunteering Australia I would provide the information. The most confronting and rare question I encountered was, 'What do you think?' The first time I was directly asked my opinion of an event, the interviewee contradicted my opinion with 'no, no, that's not it'. In this instance, my version of events facilitated the interviewee to clarify their thoughts. On the next occasion, the interviewee listened but made no comment and she linguistically sidestepped to a related but different topic. The next day she approached me, referred to my opinion, and suggested other ways to view the situation. She used both of our opinions to arrive at a combined and deeper understanding, for which I was grateful. Another time, I stated my recollections and was told I was wrong. The interviewee then provided intricate detail about what 'actually happened' as she said I only had 'half the story'. These occasions were both a risk and a benefit: a risk because my 'voice' could interfere with the interview, a benefit because the interviewees felt

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[32] Marilyn Asselin, 'Insider research', 99-103. Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, with Olivia Bennett and Nigel Cross, 'Ways of Listening', in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (2nd edn., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 143-154.
[33] George Gaskell, 'Individual and Group Interviewing', in M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook* (London: Sage, 2000), 45.

relaxed and confident enough to contradict my version of events thus providing a deeper understanding.

During interviews, participants requested that certain anecdotes not be included, particularly if they thought another's feelings might be hurt, 'You won't include this will you? It's about [the centre] not [person's name], right?'. Or, if it might be damaging or embarrassing, 'turn the tape off and I'll tell you'. In one early interview, this was said so often that the amount of off-the-record information was greater than that captured by the sound recorder. On another occasion, the interviewee continued to question how I might include sensitive information and each answer I gave was met with more questions until I finally said, 'I'm not out to get anyone'. With this blunt statement, the interviewee relaxed and the official interview commenced. It appeared that interviewee was concerned this study would expose problems between centres or individuals which the interviewee hesitated to make public. Overall, the interviews were as likely to identify more instances of collaboration than contest.

One reason for the concern among some interviewees about how conflict between volunteering infrastructure members would appear in this study, related to a specific Commonwealth Government funded program, the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI). Volunteering Australia won the tender to deliver VWI in 1997, and, in effect, became the program contractor with volunteer centres, at the state/territory and local/regional levels, becoming sub-contractors. This introduced a new dynamic to the internal volunteering infrastructure relationship. Where the VWI was concerned, the relationship between different levels of the volunteering infrastructure moved from network collaboration to contractor/sub-contractor. Occasionally, this new internal relationship dynamic caused tension and disagreement. Yow described such instances of conflict as situational: caused by inadequate structures and lack of clarity in roles.[34]

Corridor Talk

There are four parts to an actual interview: greetings and introductions, the interview, conversation post-interview, and leave-taking. I found that the pre- and post-interview conversations could open a line of enquiry that had not been anticipated through background research or my own memory of events. Goffman referred to those spaces between

[34] ValerieYow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005), 139-142.

introductions and interview and post interview and leaving as a strip of time.[35] Elsewhere, such conversations have been described as corridor talk.[36] These are conversations that may occur between researchers or between interviewer and interviewee that are considered not part of the official interview. On examining the literature, Warren et al. found that social class, age and work commitments were all thought to affect the likelihood of conversation at the end of interviews.[37]

Pre- and post-interview, I found people were more relaxed and often took the initiative conversationally, asking who I had already interviewed, planned to interview or relaying anecdotes. Gabriel argued that 'Stories, along with gossip and jokes, represent attempts to humanize the impersonal spaces of bureaucratic organizations, to make them as human territory, as does the vase of flowers or the family picture on the executive desk'.[38] As the majority of interviews took place at the interviewee's place of work, gossip was an acceptable and light way of communicating, a way of bonding and building rapport, something that usually occurs just before a meeting that is considered serious business. In this case, the interview can be likened to serious business with no space for levity. But it is the moments of levity that can have real impact on the interview. Further, some of the conversations prior to a face-to-face interview enabled rapport to be built. Conversation prior to interviews could sometimes also offer new avenues for investigation. For example, one CEO made derogatory comments about a board member as we were walking into the interview room. These comments alluded to tensions between management and governance and were later explored during the interview.

Post-interview corridor talk was different. Once the audio recorder had been turned off, people relaxed. Warren argues that switching the recorder off is the signal for the relationship between interviewer and interviewee to once again become mutual.[39] If there was a pre-existing relationship between the interviewee and me, the post interview conversation often

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[35] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), 10.
[36] Carol A.B. Warren, et al, 'After the Interview', *Qualitative Sociology,* 26/1 (2003), 95, 97. Ronald J. Grele, 'History and the Languages of History in the Oral History Interview: Who Answers Whose Questions and Why?', in E.M. McMahan and K.L. Rogers, (eds.), *Interactive Oral History Interviewing* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 9;
[37] Carol A.B. Warren, et al, 'After the Interview', 106-107.
[38] Ibid. 93-110. Yiannis Gabriel, *Storytelling in Organizations: Facts, Fictions and Fantasies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 57.
[39] Ibid. 96-97.

re-established that relationship whereas if we were unknown to each other, I found that the end of interview conversation could be described as 'getting in, getting on and getting out'.[40] One aspect of the post-interview conversation was that it could act as a hook in that it anticipated the next interview. For example, when walking away from an interview, one interviewee looked over her shoulder and said, 'well, if you think that was tough [referring to a contentious period while she was CEO] wait til you hear …' at which point a member of the volunteer centre interrupted the conversation.[41] Of course, after such a tantalising comment, I requested a follow-up interview as soon as possible. But, even though little time might elapse between interviews, such hooks did not always result in new or different information. This may be due to the gap of time which allowed the interviewee to reassess or it may simply have been a conversational hook to encourage further communication. Regarding this particular 'wait til you hear' comment, at the next interview, the interviewee could not remember what she had been about to disclose.

Interview Formats

A great advantage of face-to-face interviews is that the interviewer can use visual cues such as facial and body language, which, in connection with voice and intonation, combine to add a meaning that words alone may not express. However, technological advances have introduced alternative options such as email, telephone and Skype and debate on their applicability and robustness abound.[42] Reflecting on their PhD research, Deakin and Wakefield found the majority of the literature concerned face-to-face interviews with a growing interest in other methods, but with little research available on multiple interview techniques being used for the same research project.[43]

While there has been a perception that telephone interviews are more suited to quantitative than qualitative research, other researchers found little discernible difference between the

[40] H.J.Irvine and M.Gaffikin, 'Getting in, Getting on and Ggetting out: Reflections on a Qualitative Research Project, *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal,* 19/1 (2006) 115-145.

[41] For pre-interview and post-interview conversations, quotes are anonymous as the importance of corridor talk was not realised until the analysis stage.

[42] Raymond Opdenakker, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Raymond Opdenakker, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Four', 7/4 Art. (September 2006), 1-10. Stephanie J. Morgan and Gillian Symon, 'Electronic Interviews in Organizational Research', in Catherine Cassell, Gillian Symon (eds.), *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 23-33.

[43] Hannah Deakin and Kelly Wakefield, 'Skype Interviewing: Reflections to Two PhD Researchers', *Qualitative Research,* 14/5 (2014), 604.

richness of face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews.[44] For instance, it has been argued that telephone interviews provide a level of ease and control of the interview space, time and anonymity not possible in face-to-face interviews, all of which combine to help the interviewee feel more relaxed and expansive.[45]

A benefit of telephone interviews is that without the physical context of the face-to-face interview, the telephone interview ensures analysis remains with the transcription and is not clouded by the interviewer's impressions of either the context of the interview or the visual cues given by the participant.[46] This argument does not reflect the importance of the other sounds in the interview. I may not have been able to see the interviewee but I could hear voice inflections, hesitancies, laughter, sighs and abrupt changes in direction which could all be explored further. In telephone interviews, I found it was necessary to speak at regular intervals making small utterances such as 'umm' or 'oh' to ensure interviewees knew I was listening and engaged.[47] Without such cues, I found interviewees more likely to check whether I was listening, which disrupted the flow of the interview and the rapport between us.

Skype was the only online mechanism used for interviews in this study. In line with Deakin and Wakefield, I found that Skype interviews held many advantages.[48] For instance, unlike the telephone interview, the Skype interview allowed a visual connection. Also there was no cost except for Internet provider charges, as Skype is free software, a particular advantage for international interviews. Skype provided an integration of both face-to-face and telephone interviews. The only drawback was a slight time difference in some interviews. At times, this resulted in the interviewee not having completely finished an answer before the next question was asked. This interrupted the flow of the interview requiring the question or a comment to be repeated.

[44] Gina Novick, 'Is There a Bias Against Telephone Interviews in Qualitative Research?', *Res Nurse Health*, 31/4 (August 2008), 391-398. Judith E. Sturges and Kathleen J. Hanrahan, 'Comparing Telephone and Face-to-Face Qualitative Interviewing: A Research Note', *Qualitative Research,* 4/1(2004), 107-118. Amanda Holt, 'Using the Telephone for Narrative Interviewing: A Research Note', *Qualitative Research,* 10/1 (2010), 113-121.
[45] Vicente M. Lechuga, 'Exploring culture from a distance: the utility of telephone interviews in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 25/3 (2012), 251-268.
[46] Amanda Holt, 'Using the Telephone for Narrative Interviewing: A Research Note', 115-117.
[47] Neil Stephens 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists', *Qualitative Research,* 7/2 (2007), 203-216.
[48] Hannah Deakin and Kelly Wakefield, 'Skype interviewing: reflections to two PhD researchers', 607.

Each interview format, telephone, Skype and face-to-face interviews was chosen to meet the needs of the interviewee. There were distinct differences between each format, but the depth of information across interviews was comparable. I believe this was partially due to two points: one was the interviewer/interviewee familiarity with the volunteering infrastructure and the other was the ease of using modern technology in everyday life. I found Gaskell's description of an interview as 'an interaction, an exchange of ideas and meanings, in which various realities and perceptions are explored and developed' relevant for all interviews, irrespective of the format used.[49]

Archival Research

The volunteer centres at state, territory and national levels allowed access to their paper-based archives, which included documentation, ephemera, correspondence, and hand-written notes. Together, these provided a picture of the issues and decision-making over time. As the reliance on electronic documentation grew, the amount of paper-based documents dwindled. This meant that the great value of the archives was to give an account of early development that could be compared with interviews.

The amount of documentation held in the volunteer centre archives varied. In many instances, staff had little knowledge of what documentation had been saved. At one centre, staff informed me that a previous CEO had ordered the destruction of older documents. This was done due to the lack of physical space required to house documents and the cost of maintaining archives.

Three volunteer centres, Volunteering Australia, Volunteering Queensland and Volunteering Victoria provided limited access to archival material. Volunteering Australia denied permission to examine financial documents and Volunteering Queensland denied permission to access board minutes or internal correspondence. Volunteering Victoria offered access to archival material if three conditions were met. The second of these requested:

> acknowledgement and confirmation by you and other associated parties that Volunteering Victoria would be able to view and edit the proposed references to Volunteering Victoria prior to publication.[50]

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[49] George Gaskell, 'Individual and Group Interviewing', 45.
[50] Diane Embry email to Annette Maher, 'Information for VV Board', 3 February, 2011, in the author's possession.

This demand to edit was unacceptable as it would impact on the analysis of findings and place Volunteering Victoria in the position of dictating what would be included in this thesis. Also, if this condition were met, a ramification might be the requirement to offer similar conditions to all state peak centres and Volunteering Australia. The lack of access to archival material at Volunteering Victoria was overcome to some extent by examination of early records of the volunteer centre held at the State Library of Victoria, and by interviewing Volunteering Victoria staff members, both past and present.[51]

The documentation held in the state/territory volunteer centres and Volunteering Australia was rich in content and covered a wide range of material: board meeting minutes; incorporation certificates; correspondence with governments, politicians and corporations; submissions; campaigns; histories of the centres; publications; and ephemera including photos, brochures, badges and awards. Overall, volunteer centres were keen to maintain their historical development and Volunteering WA had commissioned a history, *It makes a difference to this Jellyfish: A History of Volunteering Western Australia 1988-2000,* as part of the Centenary of Federation celebrations.[52] Two other state volunteer centres, South Australia and Tasmania, were engaged in collecting information and recollections from previous members to ensure their history was not forgotten. Fortunately, Volunteering Victoria documents covering its early development from 1976-1985 had been donated to the State Library of Victoria.[53] The State Library of Victoria appeared to be the only state library with a significant holding of volunteer centre papers. Other unsuccessful attempts to donate volunteer centre papers to state libraries had been made by Volunteering WA and Northern Volunteering SA.[54] Internationally, Volunteering England had been more successful; a partnership with the London School of Economics (LSE) resulted in the donation of its comprehensive archives (1966-2008) to the LSE.[55] Using the experience of the Volunteering England and LSE partnership, a similar partnership might be fostered between the volunteering infrastructure and universities in Australia in the future.

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[51] State Library of Victoria: Volunteer Action Centre (Vic.), Manuscripts Collection MS Box 2536-2541.
[52] Marian Brockway (ed.), *It makes a difference to this Jellyfish … A history of Volunteering Western Australia 1988-2000,* (Perth: Volunteering Western Australia, 2001).
[53] State Library of Victoria: Volunteer Action Centre (Vic.), Manuscripts Collection MS Box 2536-2541.
[54] Sallie Davies, interview with the author [sound recording] (Perth, 4 April 2011) in the author's possession. Peter Heyworth, telephone interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 28 March, 2011) in the possession of the author.
[55] Georgina Brewis and Anjelica Finnegan, 'Archival Review: Volunteering England', *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012), 119-128.

Survey of Volunteer Resource Centres

Another methodological tool used in the thesis was the dissemination of a survey to Volunteer Resource Centres (VRCs) across Australia. Volunteer Resource Centres make up the third tier of the volunteering infrastructure and is located in regional, rural and metropolitan areas of Australia (Appendix B provides information of VRCs, the date of their establishment and location in each state). The diversity of organisations and programs in this third tier of the volunteering infrastructure ranges from regional volunteer peak bodies to programs maintained by a part-time worker in a local council office. Within this mix are VRCs that have expanded their support role for volunteers to include direct volunteer program services such as community transport, Home and Community Services, and criminal identification checks.

The number of VRCs swells and contracts for various reasons. These include the inability to attract ongoing funding beyond the initial seed funding period, or merging with other not-for-profit organisations. Prior to 2000, there were 55 volunteer centres funded by the Australian Government under two programs, the Volunteer Management Program centres and the Voluntary Work Initiative. [56] Of this group, a small number received no funding at all from the Australian Government but relied on mainly local government funding. As can be seen in Appendix B, the number of VRCs has more than doubled in size since the beginning of the twenty-first century. This was mainly due to the injection of funds by Australian and state governments so that when this study began in 2010, there was a total of 114 VRCs listed on the websites of Volunteering Australia and state volunteering peak bodies. Due to the size of the VRC tier and the organisational diversity of its members, it was decided to design a survey concentrating on the structure, administration and work of the VRCs, their relationships with other levels of the volunteering infrastructure and governments.

Contact details of VRCs are listed on all national and state volunteer peak body websites. They can also be found on state government websites and the Australian government provides a link to the Volunteering Australia website list, which identified the 114 volunteer resource centres or volunteer referral services. Two filters were then used. If centres did not have a clear web presence, they, or their auspice body, were contacted. This process revealed

[56] Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services, 'Table 99: Services to the public provided by government, profit and not-for-profit organisations 2000-01', *Annual Report 2000-01,* <http://resources.fahcsia.gov.au/annualreport/2001/4/4.9.html>, accessed 12 June 2014.

that VRCs without a clear web presence had either stopped operation or were still in the process of becoming VRCs but did not identify themselves as such at the time the survey was undertaken. The second filter involved removing branches of state volunteer centres. Four state volunteer peak bodies operated or jointly managed seven VRC branches or services. Volunteering Tasmania operated one branch office at the time the survey was undertaken, although another VRC has since become operational. Volunteering Queensland operates one branch in Logan. Volunteering South Australia and Northern Territory manages two branches in Darwin and Alice Springs, Northern Territory. In Western Australia (WA), the VRC in Joondalup was developed through a partnership arrangement between Volunteering WA and the City of Joondalup. Volunteering WA also formed partnerships with two universities, University of Western Australia and Murdoch University to establish volunteer hubs for their students. The Australian Capital Territory (ACT) has one peak body, Volunteering ACT, only. Originally, the plan was to capture information from the regional offices managed by state volunteer centres. However, during the pilot stage a survey sent to two regional offices in different states referred me to the state volunteer centre for information and survey completion. It appeared that by including branch VRCs, there was a risk that the perspective of the state volunteer centre would be heard rather than the particular VRC. On this basis, it was decided not to include branch VRCs of state volunteer centres.

Of the remainder, one VRC was listed twice due to a name change and four declined to take part for reasons of lack of time or permission from the hosting organisation and two declined because they did not feel they fulfilled the functions of a volunteer resource centre. Lastly, seven VRCs appeared no longer to exist. This left a total of 98 centres, of which 39 completed and returned surveys (39.8%) as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Number of volunteer resource centres and survey response rate

State	Number of VRCs in Australia	Number of VRCs surveyed	Number of returned surveys	Percentage of responses
New South Wales	31	29	11	41%
Western Australia	31	28	8	29%
Victoria	25	20	9	45%
South Australia & Northern Territory	21	16	7	44%
Queensland	5	5	4	80%
Tasmania	1	0	0	0
A.C.T.	0	0	0	0
Total	**114**	**98**	**39**	**39.8%**

The survey consisted of 27 questions, a mixture of both closed and open questions (see Appendix E for the survey questions). The closed questions related to demographic information, funding and services. The open questions concerned internal relationships within the volunteering infrastructure and external relationships with local, state and federal governments. During the design phase of the survey, three formatting issues were considered in an attempt to make the survey as easy to use as possible. From my employment experience at Volunteering Australia, I knew that the Internet band-width among VRCs varied from very sophisticated to basic, so I decided against using an online survey. Rather, I decided the easiest method was to use a Word document format attached to an email. This meant that participants could download the survey as a Word document, save it on their computers, complete when convenient and return as an email attachment. Another reason for using a Word document format was that the survey could be received, completed and returned by email. The survey was tested by four current and past managers of VRCs and it was found that the survey would take approximately 30 minutes but could take longer depending on the amount of detail participants chose to include. Originally, a timeline of three weeks was given but I later learned that the survey coincided with a Federal Government review of the Volunteer Management Program (VMP), a significant funding program for many volunteer centres. Consequently, the survey deadline was extended until after the completion of the VMP review.

As with the interviews, participants completing the survey were offered the opportunity either to be identified or remain anonymous. Similar to interviews where the majority chose to be identified, 22 of the 39 respondents of the survey elected to be named. Offering the choice of being identified or remaining anonymous was justified, as it was for the interviews, due to the familiarisation of participants with other members of the volunteering infrastructure. Even so, 17 survey respondents wished to remain anonymous, did not respond, were ambiguous or made special requests (see Table 4). For example, one respondent requested that any quote, that might be considered derogatory to another member of the volunteering infrastructure, not be included. In light of such concerns and the number of unclear responses, it was decided to strip identifying features from the analysis of the survey.

Table 4 Respondent choice on anonymity (N=39)

Agreed to be identified in the research	22
Identified but with conditions	2
Anonymous	11
Preference ambiguous	3
Preference not stated	1

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of my professional involvement with the volunteering infrastructure and considered ethical considerations of insider research. As a past employee of both Volunteering Victoria and later, Volunteering Australia, I personally and professionally knew many of the participants in this study. In light of this a mixed methods approach containing both qualitative and quantitative methods was employed. The qualitative research method consisted of a series of collaborative oral history interviews. Interviews concentrated in the state/territory and national levels of the volunteering infrastructure together with a small number of politicians and public servants.

The quantitative aspect of this study centred on a survey of 114 organisations and programs at the local and regional level of the volunteering infrastructure. The survey process led to thirteen interviews being conducted. Three of these interviews were structured according to the survey questions as the respondents chose to take part but preferred to provide answers via the telephone, arguing it was easier and that they could provide more in-depth information. The other interviews of this level of the volunteering infrastructure were chosen due to the complexity and diversity of organisations and programs.

The third aspect of the research included archival analysis of state and territory volunteer centre documentation. These archives are held by Volunteering Australia, the Centre for Volunteering NSW, Volunteering Tasmania, Volunteering Queensland, Volunteering ACT, Volunteering SA & NT and Volunteering WA. Volunteering Victoria chose not to allow access to their archives but did take part during the interview stage. The themes emerging from the interviews and survey were triangulated with archival research and secondary publications. This allowed a comparison of themes and highlighted new aspects for further examination.

PART B

CHAPTER 2

VOLUNTEERING INFRASTRUCTURE: DEFINITION, ROLE, FUNCTION AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

This chapter explores the volunteering infrastructure as a distinct organisational grouping. It will examine the definition, role and function of a volunteering infrastructure. It also explores the development of volunteering infrastructures overseas and provides a brief overview of their growth in England and the US. These two countries are chosen because of their influence on formal volunteering in Australia. Volunteering infrastructures vary according to national contexts. In Australia, the volunteering infrastructure is reflective of the Australian federation and consists of peak bodies at national and state/territory levels, volunteer resource centres and programs at the regional and local level, and networks at the regional and state levels.[1]

Further, this chapter will provide an overview of research on component parts of the Australian volunteering infrastructure — particularly peak bodies and networks. International volunteering infrastructures, particularly their development in the USA and Britain will be examined as both countries have been the most influential to the Australian way of volunteering. It will be argued that volunteering infrastructures have limited recognition as an organisational grouping in research but that recognisable characteristics exist both here in Australia and internationally. This chapter forms the first of three in Part B analysing the volunteering infrastructure in Australia. The second chapter of Part B (Chapter 3) examines the development of state and territory peak bodies which is the second level of the volunteering infrastructure, and, the third chapter (Chapter 4) considers the third level of

[1] Annette Maher, 'Formal Volunteering, Volunteering infrastructure and Government' in Melanie Oppenheimer & Jeni Warburton (eds.), *Volunteering in Australia* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2010), 91-105.

volunteer resource centres and programs. This third chapter will also analyse the findings of the survey carried out for this thesis on the volunteer centres and programs at the regional and local level.

Definition of a Volunteering Infrastructure

Within a year of the merger that formed Volunteering Australia (VA — formerly the Australian Council for Volunteering), a standing committee to the VA Board was formed to strengthen links between all three levels of volunteer centres to build what they then termed 'a national infrastructure'.[2] In part, the need for a national infrastructure was driven by the national government by an invitation to Volunteering Australia to submit a proposal for enhanced funding of the Volunteer Management Program (VMP). This would give volunteer centres unprecedented financial security but there was a proviso: government not only sought successful program outcomes, it also insisted that as a group, the volunteer centres must present a 'unity of purpose'.[3] Thus the government was taking a hand in developing the volunteering infrastructure by insisting there was a coherency between the volunteer centres and that they were fixed on missions to support volunteers and volunteering. This is in line with Cheverton's argument that the federal government wanted autonomous advice from genuinely representative bodies 'while at the same time proscribing the management structures and representative processes of these organisations'.[4]

As a coherent organisational grouping, volunteering infrastructures can be traced back to the development of the first volunteer centres established in 1919 in the US, 1937 in Canada and post World War 2 in the UK, Europe.[5] In Australia, the term volunteering infrastructure is not often used, except in the documentation of volunteer centres or in joint publications with

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[2] Volunteering Australia Archives: Sallie Davies, 'Standing Committee for Regional Centres', [fax to CEOs of state volunteering centres], 13 May 1998.
[3] Volunteering Australia Archives: Sallie Davies, 'National Volunteer Week', Seminar Presentation Peel Volunteer Centre, WA, 12 May 1998, 3.
[4] Jeff Cheverton, 'Past their Peak? Governance and the Future of Peak Bodies in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 40/3 (2005), 430. Marian Sawer and James Jupp, 'The Two-Way Street: Government Shaping of Community-Based Advocacy', *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 55/4 (1996), 82-99.
[5] Lars Skov Henriksen, 'Local Volunteer Centres in Denmark' paper given at the Invitation Conference Volunteering Infrastructure and Civil Society, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, 24-25 April 2008, 1<http://www.eyv2011.eu/funding-opportunities/item/147-local-volunteer-centres-in-denmark-skov-henriksen-aalborg-university-2008>, accessed 12 February, 2014. Håkon Lorentzen and Lars Skov Henriksen, 'The Invention and Institutionalization of Volunteer Centers: A Comparative Analysis of Norway and Denmark', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* XX/X (2013), 1-20.

government departments.[6] One example is a joint project by Volunteering New South Wales (NSW) with the NSW Ageing and Disability Department, and, Home and Community Care to undertake an examination of the New South Wales volunteering infrastructure and their work on the recruitment, placement, training and support of volunteers. From this key issues and strategies were recommended for recruiting and retaining volunteers in community services.[7]

In a submission to the Productivity Commission in 2009, Volunteering Australia made a number of statements about the Australian volunteering infrastructure. It defined the purpose of the volunteering infrastructure as:

> … the provision of organisational support and development, resource development, coordination, representation and promotion to front-line community and statutory organisations that use volunteers in the delivery of services. [8]

The submission went on to state that the VI membership consisted of 'national and state peak bodies, regional cluster networks and alliances, local Volunteer Resource Centres (VRC's) and other promotional and referral agencies'. Finally, the submission argued that the volunteering infrastructure should be well resourced so that it could meet the needs of volunteering and clarified the relationship with government as independent but collaborative.[9]

With this set of statements, Volunteering Australia provided a definition that was current with other definitions designed during the first decade of the new millennium in England and Europe. There are two issues to consider about the VA definition. Firstly, it does not include

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[6] Volunteering Australia Archives: Sha Cordingley and Kylee Bates, *Supporting Volunteering in Australia,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, September 2004), 6-7. Cary Pedicini, *Developing Volunteering Infrastructure in Australia: Towards IYV+10'* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2009). Cary Pedicini, *Contribution of the Not For Profit Sector,* Submission to the Productivity Commission (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, May, 2009), 13. Claudia Amonini and Sandra Vudrag, *Volunteering and Local Governments in Western Australia: Final Report,* (Perth: Department for Communities, 2011), 11 <http://www.communities.wa.gov.au/Documents/Volunteers/Volunteering%20and%20Local%20Governments%20in%20Western%20Australia%20Full%20%20Report.pdf>, accessed 28 February 2014. Government of SA, Volunteering SA& NT, Local Government Association of SA, Business SA, *Achieving Change – Focus Area Operation Plan Volunteering Strategy for South Australia 2014-17,* <http://www.savolunteeringstrategy.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Volunteering-Strategy-for-SA-OPERATIONAL-PLAN-as-of-16-May-2014.pdf>, accessed 27 April 2014, 9.

[7] The Centre of Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteering NSW, *Volunteering Infrastructure Stocktake and Strategy Project Report,* (Sydney: Volunteering NSW, February 2000).

[8] Volunteering Australia Archives: Cary Pedicini, *Contribution of the Not For Profit Sector*, 13.

[9] Ibid. 13.

the role of the volunteering infrastructure in the development of volunteering, which Ogle argued is a key function of peak bodies.[10] Secondly, the concentration on the delivery of services is only one aspect of the work of volunteer centres and the volunteering infrastructure. Points two and four are possibly the most interesting. On the surface, both statements are correct, but point two does not clarify that some member organisations and programs are local government services. In other words, local government is a part of the third tier of the volunteering infrastructure. Further, in point four, the volunteering infrastructure does act independently and advocates on the needs of volunteers to all three levels of government, even though local government is embedded within the volunteering infrastructure. This apparent disconnect between different levels of government and the independence of the volunteering infrastructure points to the complexity of relationships explored earlier through Young's model of multi-layered relationships (see Introduction chapter of this thesis). Questions on the independence of not-for-profit bodies that advocate for a cause while at the same time receiving funding from government have been raised in the past.[11] Onyx et al. argue that this form of advocacy has become less politically overt as the sector has become more professionalised.[12] And certainly the volunteering infrastructure would be a case in point. However, a membership that includes local-government-managed organisations in a national body that includes advocacy as part of its mission is yet to be fully explored.

Volunteering Australia's definition reflects the English definition of a volunteering infrastructure. This definition came from the United Kingdom Treasury's Cross-Cutting Review, which was part of the process that aimed to reform the public service and in turn necessitated a heightened role for the voluntary sector in service delivery.[13] The voluntary sector infrastructure was considered to be the 'backbone' of the sector and the 'interface

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[10] Greg Ogle, *Unique Peaks: The definition, role and contribution of peak organisations in the South Australian Health and Community Services Sector*, Information Paper (Adelaide: SACOSS May 2011), 6 <http://www.sacoss.org.au/sites/default/files/public/documents/Reports/110614_Unique_Peaks_Def_Value_%26_Contribution_Paper.pdf>, accessed 10 February 2014.

[11] Joan Staples, 'NGOs out in the cold: The Howard Government Policy Towards NGOs*',* Democratic Audit of Australia, Discussion Paper, 19/06 (Canberra: Australian National University, 2006), 7-12. Rose Melville, 'The State and Community Sector Peak Bodies: Theoretical and Policy Challenges', *Third Sector Review,* 5/2 (1999), 25-40.

[12] Jenny Onyx, et al. 'Advocacy with Gloves on: The "Manners" of Strategy used by some Third Sector Organizations Undertaking Advocacy in NSW and Queensland', *Voluntas,* 21/1 (2010), 41-61.

[13] Helen Haugh and Michael Kitson, 'The Third Way and the Third Sector: New Labour's Economic Policy and the Social Economy', *Cambridge Journal of Economics,* 31/6 (2007), 973-994. OPM/Compass Partnership, *Working Towards an Infrastructure Strategy for the Voluntary and Community Sector,* (London: Active Community Unit, Home Office, February, 2004) <http://www.compasspartnership.co.uk/pdf/pr_1.pdf>, accessed 14 May 2014.

between government, other agencies, and the sector' and infrastructure organisations were defined as:

> Voluntary organisations whose primary purpose is the provision of infrastructure functions (support and development, co-ordination, representation, and promotion) to front line VCO's [voluntary and community organisations].[14]

In 2004, Volunteering England released a volunteering infrastructure strategy to 'provide effective and cohesive support for volunteering in England' and as a 'sector-led companion' to the government's work on voluntary and community sector infrastructures.[15] Penberthy and Foster drew attention to the difference between the volunteering infrastructure and other infrastructures in the voluntary and community services. They argued that the definitions formed during the Cross-Cutting Review focused on organisations and groups, while the work of Volunteering England and its network concentrated on the individual volunteer as the primary audience of the volunteering infrastructure.[16]

> Volunteering infrastructure exists to encourage people to volunteer, to make the process of engaging in voluntarism as easy as possible and to ensure that the quality of the volunteering experience is as good as it can be.[17]

The following year, 2005, United Nations Volunteers defined a volunteering infrastructure as 'the systems, mechanisms and instruments needed to ensure an environment where volunteerism can flourish'.[18] This definition differed from others due of the emphasis on the environment in which volunteering existed. This definition recognises the very different cultures and forms of volunteering around the world. Four key factors necessary to developing an infrastructure were identified. The first is a common understanding of volunteering and its value to society. The second concerns establishing a favourable policy and regulatory framework, national leadership and promotion of volunteering. The third

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[14] OPM/Compass Partnership, *Working Towards an Infrastructure Strategy for the Voluntary and Community Sector,* 7, 9.
[15] Chris Penberthy and Andy Forster, *Building on Success: Strategy for Volunteering Infrastructure in England 2004-2014*, (London: Volunteering England, 2004), 6.
[16] Ibid. 15.
[17] Ibid. 4.
[18] United Nations Volunteers (UNV), *Developing a Volunteering infrastructure: A Guidance Note,* (Bonn: United National Development Programme, 2005), 6-7, <http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2003/Develop_InfraSt_V_Guid_Note_UK.pdf>, accessed 12 September 2012.

concerns effective facilitation and adoption of a range of approaches. And, lastly sustainable funding is necessary for the development and continuity of a volunteering infrastructure.[19]

In Europe, the European Volunteer Centre (CEV) leads a network of national, regional and local volunteer centres. With more than 100 million volunteers in Europe, CEV aims to 'strengthen the volunteering infrastructure in Europe and to create an enabling environment for volunteering to flourish'.[20] The interest in a European Year of Volunteering in 2011, together with economic, social and environmental crises drew attention to the potential role of volunteering.[21] However, the CEV General Assembly warned that 'volunteering must not be exploited as "alternative employment measure"', and that volunteer centres 'must not become a replacement or appendix to employment agencies'.[22] By holding such general assemblies, CEV as the overarching body funded by the European Commission, is able to draw attention to the issues of the day and their effect on volunteering and volunteering infrastructures. But due to the political, economic and social differences in each country, the definition of a volunteering infrastructure remains flexible. Regardless of the lack of a clear definition, volunteering infrastructures in Europe found common ground in their work supporting volunteering, volunteers and organisations, as well as acting as a conduit between volunteering and governments:

> Examples prove that successful and quality volunteering is linked with an effective volunteering infrastructure. All over Europe, volunteers need support and information to carry out their voluntary activities in a secure, efficient and rewarding way. Organisations need an enabling volunteering infrastructure in order to carry out effective management and be able to attract volunteers from all horizons. The volunteering infrastructure is also necessary for governments and policy makers to understand volunteering and be aware of opportunities how to best encourage volunteering.[23]

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[19] UN Volunteers, *Developing a Volunteer Infrastructure: A Guidance Note,* 8-28

[20] European Volunteer Centre (CEV), *Annual Report European Volunteer Centre (CEV)* 2008, 5 <http://www.cev.be/initiatives/volunteering-infrastructure/>, accessed 24 March 2011.

[21] EYE 2011 Alliance Secretariat, 'Policy Agenda for Volunteering in Europe', 6, <http://www.eyv2011.eu/images/stories/pdf/EYV2011Alliance_PAVE_copyfriendly.pdf>, accessed 10 June 2015. François Schneider, Giorgos Kallis and Joan Martinez-Alier, 'Crisis or opportunity? Economic Degrowth for Social Equity and Ecological Sustainability', *Journal of Cleaner Production,* 18 (2010), 511-518.

[22] European Volunteer Centre (CEV), *Volunteering as a rout (back) to employment*, General Assembly, Final Report (Paris: CEV, 23 March 2007), 6, <www.cev.be>, accessed 13 April, 2012.

[23] European Volunteer Centre (CEV), 'An enabling volunteering infrastructure in Europe: Situation - Trends - Outlook', CEV General Assembly Conference, Malmo, Sweden, 15-16 October 2009 <www.eyv2011.eu>, accessed 2 October 2013.

Further, CEV argued that the European Year of Volunteering was the impetus for greater awareness and understanding of volunteering by recognising the support volunteering infrastructures provided to volunteers in Europe. To this end, CEV published reports from 29 national volunteering infrastructures in Europe.[24] This document provides a comprehensive guide to European volunteering infrastructures, their strengths and weaknesses.

Role and Function of Volunteering Infrastructures

In 1989, the first Australian national peak body on volunteering, the Australian Association for Volunteering, developed eight core functions for state volunteer centres. The first of these declared that a state volunteer centre was a ‘peak body providing an authoritative state voice on volunteering’.[25] The other core elements included promotion, resource provision and consultation, training, advocacy, service provision, being a catalyst for change, and networking. The inclusion of service provision in this list is peculiar to volunteering infrastructures and sets them apart from other voluntary and community sector infrastructures.[26]

Through consultation with volunteer centres in England, a set of core functions that differentiate the volunteering infrastructure from other voluntary and community infrastructure organisations was developed. Volunteering England has provided an accreditation process for volunteer centres measured against the five core functions of strategic development of volunteering, good practice development, developing volunteering opportunities, voice of volunteering, and brokerage.[27] At the same time as the English core functions were being developed, the volunteering infrastructure engaged in a similar exercise. Volunteering Australia, described the core functions as:

- Strategic development of volunteering to meet human, social and environmental need
- Policy advice and advocacy on volunteering issues

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[24] European Volunteer Centre (CEV), *Volunteering infrastructure in Europe,* (Brussels: CEV, 2012), Foreword <http://www.cev.be/initiatives/volunteering-infrastructure/>, accessed 31 January 2013.

[25] Volunteering ACT Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, ‘Eight Core Elements Relating to the Role of a State Volunteer Centre’ (Melbourne, Volunteer Centre of Victoria, 6-7 February 1989).

[26] Chris Penberthy and Andy Forster, *Building on Success: Strategy for Volunteering Infrastructure in England 2004-2014,* 8-9. Volunteering England, ‘Volunteer Centre Quality Accreditation’, (n.d.) <http://www.volunteering.org.uk/component/content/article/12-volunteer-centres/353-volunteer-centre-quality-accreditation?qh=YTo2OntpOjA7czo0OiJjb3JlIjtpOjE7czo5OiJmdW5jdGlvbnMiO2k6MjtzOjEwOiJmdW5jdGlvbmFsIjtpOjM7czo4OiJmdW5jdGlvbiI7aTo0O3M6MTE6ImZ1bmN0aW9uaW5nIjtpOjU7czoxNDoiY29yZSBmdW5jdGlvbnMiO30%3D>, accessed 10 June 2015.

[27] Ibid. 15.

- Promotion and support of best practice in volunteer involvement through the development or provision of tools, resources and training for the sector
- Promotion of volunteering and its principles to ensure that volunteers are protected and the activity of volunteering is sustainable
- Brokerage through the provision of information and referral services to prospective volunteers [sic. bullet points in original text].[28]

In his analysis of volunteer centres in eight countries, Van den Bos found broad consensus for the English core functions in the eight countries he studied.[29] However, as definitions for volunteering infrastructures vary according to national contexts, so too do their core functions. For example, New Zealand includes the need to honour the Treaty of Waitangi.[30] In Australia, a code of ethics was added to underscore the major points of the core business of VRCs:

1. Volunteers are given sufficient information and support in order to make informed choices about volunteering;
2. The *Principles of Volunteering* are actively promoted and adhered to;
3. Volunteers are referred to not-for-profit organisations and projects only;
4. Volunteers are not referred to organisations involved in industrial dispute;
5. A volunteer is not knowingly referred to a job which directly replaces a paid position;
6. Volunteers are not referred directly to individuals; and
7. Confidentiality is maintained. [sic. bullet points in original text][31]

This code of ethics reflects the definition of formal volunteering while also responding to myths and criticisms of volunteering. Specifically, the first three points emphasise the importance of choice, the principles of volunteering and the environment in which volunteering work is undertaken, thereby differentiating it from other forms of unpaid work. The fourth and fifth points relate to the relationship between volunteers and paid workers, ensuring that neither is exploited. The sixth point ensures that volunteers are referred to organisations and programs in order to be adequately protected by insurance and relevant workplace legislation and regulation.

[28] Volunteering Australia, *Supporting Volunteering in Australia* (September, 2004), 6. <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/wp-content/files_mf/1376978763VAPolicySubmissionsOctober2004SupportingVolunteeringinAustralia.pdf>, accessed 26 April 2012.
[29] Cees van den Bos, *Using Volunteering Infrastructure to Build Civil Society*, PhD thesis (Rotterdam, Erasmus University, 2014), 26.
[30] Cheryll Martin, 'Core Functions of Volunteer Centres', [email to Annette Maher] (3 June 2014).
[31] Volunteering Australia, *Volunteer Resource Centres, Definition and Code of Ethics,* (Melbourne, Volunteering Australia, c.1997-2000).

The main point of difference between the core functions developed in England and in Australia is that the Australian core functions never progressed to an accreditation process. This is partly due to the federated nature of Australian volunteer centres that is absent in England. Another factor was the change in relationships brought about by a contractor/sub-contractor dynamic that resulted after winning major government contracts. Such contracts brought financial stability but at a cost to the network collaboration of the volunteering infrastructure. Both these points will be addressed in this thesis.

Development of the Volunteering Infrastructures Internationally

Influenced by Giddens and his thinking, the election of the Tony Blair and his New Labour Government (1997–2007) aroused a new interest in volunteering and the voluntary sector.[32] Interest in the voluntary sector was part of Blair's attempt to modernise Britain and necessitated massive reform of the public service.[33] This reform marked the third phase of public service change since World War 2 and would necessitate engagement with the voluntary sector in order to realise government policy. Rather than a simple shift of government services to the voluntary sector, Blair's vision was an overhaul of the relationship to one of collaboration and partnership.[34] Indeed, the very terminology was changed. No longer would government be working with the traditional voluntary sector, it would engage with a Third Sector incorporating the traditional with the community sector and new groups such as social enterprises.[35] Thus Blair attempted to change the dynamic between government and voluntary sector. Not content with moving the frontier, Blair's New Labour endeavoured to remake the relationship. It was within the context of developing a national agreement between the Third Sector and government that an understanding of volunteering infrastructures first began. The agreement, known as a Compact, was emulated in other countries such as Canada, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Sweden and Australia.[36] In contrast to other countries where national governments initiated discussion on

[32] Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: Renewal of Social Democracy* (London: Polity Press, 1998).
[33] Simon Lee and Richard Woodward, 'Delivering Public Services Mechanisms and Consequences: Implementing the Third Way: The Delivery of Public Services under the Blair Government', *Public Money & Management,* 22/4 (2002), 49-50.
[34] Jane Lewis, 'New Labour's Approach to the Voluntary Sector: Independence and the Meaning of Partnership', *Social Policy and Society,* 4/2 (2005), 124.
[35] Pete Alcock, *Partnership and Mainstreaming: Voluntary Action under New Labour,* Working Paper 32, (Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre, University of Birmingham, May 2010), 2.
[36] Marta Reuter, Filip Wijkström and Johan von Essen, 'Policy tools or mirrors of politics: Government-Voluntary Sector Compacts in the Post-Welfare State Age' *Nonprofit Policy Forum,* 13/2 (2012), 1-22. John Casey, Bronwyn Dalton, Rose Melville and Jenny Onyx, 'Strengthening Government-Nonprofit Relations: International Experiences with Compacts', *The Policy Press,* 1/1 (2010), 59-76.

Compacts, the Australia state and territory governments took the lead in establishing formal agreements with the Third Sector and volunteering before the national government became involved after the election of Kevin Rudd in 2007.[37]

At the same time that Blair sought a change of relationship between the voluntary sector and government, the United Nations declared in 1997 that 2001 would be the International Year of Volunteering (IYV).[38] The success of the IYV can be measured by the involvement of 126 countries which mobilised US$30million towards activities for the Year.[39] The success of IYV broadened the scope of United Nations Volunteers (administered by United Nations Development Programme, UNDP) from individual volunteer placement to cover all forms of volunteering that included engagement in furthering UN recommendations to support volunteering.[40] These included the development of volunteering infrastructures that were considered effective in supporting volunteering and the sector as a whole.[41] National volunteer centres were identified as providing 'effective leadership in the formal volunteer movement' and 'regional and local centres ensure linkages with the grass-roots communities and organizations'.[42] Hence, a similar theme on the value of volunteering infrastructures as a method of increasing volunteering was being developed in Australia, Europe and through the UN as part of their Development Programme.

Research on Volunteering Infrastructures

The concept of a volunteering infrastructure (VI) is relatively new and more commonly used in Europe where 29 countries consider volunteering infrastructures to be 'crucial for the long-term sustainability of volunteering, for keeping standards high and for attracting and retaining volunteers'.[43] Overall, research on volunteering infrastructures is a relatively unexplored area

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[37] John Casey, et al., *Advocacy in the Age of Compacts: Regulating Government-Community Sector Relations in Australia,* 4-19.
[38] United Nations, 'International Year of Volunteers, 2001', Resolution adopted by the General Assembly A/RES/52/17, 52nd Session Agenda item 12 (New York: United Nations, 20 November, 1997) <http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/52/17>, accessed 29 July 2012.
[39] Justin Davis Smith and Angela Ellis, *IYV Global Evaluation* (London: Institute for Volunteering Research, England and Development Resource Centre, South Africa, September 2002), 9-10.
[40] United Nations Volunteers (UNV), *UNV Strategic Framework 2014-2017,* <www.unv.org>, accessed 16 June 2015. United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 56/38. Recommendations on Support for Volunteering', A/RES/56/38, Fifth-Sixth Session, Agenda Item 108 (New York: United Nations, 10 January 2002) <http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2007/N0147881.pdf>, accessed 20 June, 2015.
[41] Ibid. 4.
[42] Ibid. 1, 4.
[43] European Volunteer Centre, *Volunteering Infrastructure in Europe,* (2012), Foreword <http://www.cev.be/initiatives/volunteering-infrastructure/>, accessed 31 January 2013.

or, put more bluntly, ‘woefully lacking’ in the opinion of one interviewee.[44] As part of volunteering infrastructures, research on volunteer centres is also limited, although three dissertations written since 2000 concerning volunteer centres were identified in a literature search. These examined the relationship between government and volunteering, an analysis of a local volunteer bureau in England, and, the value of volunteer centres to civil society.[45] In part, the lack of academic interest in volunteering infrastructures may be due to their position in operating behind the scenes in supporting volunteers and organisations, as opposed to front-line engagement of volunteers to meet an identified societal need.[46] The earliest mention found was in 1998, in an article by Justin Davis Smith, then CEO Volunteering England, in the first issue of their peer-reviewed journal, *Voluntary Action.*[47] The most comprehensive examination and comparison of volunteering infrastructures came about through the doctoral thesis of Cees van den Bos, Director, Volunteer Centre in Arnhem, The Netherlands, in 2014.[48] Van den Bos analysed the volunteering infrastructures of eight countries in Europe and North America and the contribution they make to civil society.[49] The volunteering infrastructures he studied were from the Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Denmark, England, Germany, Finland and the United States of America. Van den Bos found that in all eight countries, concerns about declining volunteer numbers led to interventions that included the establishment of volunteer centres.[50] Such development was either at the initiative of not-for-profit organisations or national governments.

To support the English Compact, five codes of practice were developed, one of which focused on volunteering.[51] The aim of the Volunteering Code of Good Practice articulated the principles and undertakings of how the national government and community sector would ‘work together to support and promote volunteering and voluntary action’.[52] It has been

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[44] David Styers, Skype interview with the author [Skype sound recording] (27 January 2013), in the author’s possession. Stephen Osborne, ‘Volunteer Bureaux and the promotion and support of volunteering in local communities in England’, *Voluntary Action*, 1/3 (1999) 70.
[45] Gary Malone, ‘For a greater tomorrow: A critique of the government’s role in volunteering’, M.B.A. Thesis (University of Abertay, Dundee, 2008). Frances J. Hawker, ‘Evaluation of a Volunteer Bureau’, MPhil. (University of Leicester, 2005). Cees van den Bos, *Using Volunteering Infrastructure to Build Civil Society,* PhD Thesis (Arnhem, Netherlands: Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2014).
[46] European Volunteer Centre (CEV), *Volunteering Infrastructure in Europe,* (Belgium: CEV, 2012), 6.
[47] Justin Davis Smith, ‘Making a Difference: Can Governments Influence Volunteering? *Voluntary Action,* 1/1 (Winter 1998), 7-20.
[48] Cees van den Bos, *Using Volunteering Infrastructure to Build Civil Society,* PhD Thesis (2014).
[49] Ibid. 34.
[50] Ibid. 105.
[51] Commission for the Compact, *Volunteering Compact Code of Good Practice* (London: 2001 revised 2005) <http://www.compactvoice.org.uk/sites/default/files/volunteering.pdf>, accessed 31 January 2015.
[52] Ibid. 3.

argued that the impetus for such compacts can be traced back to the late 1970s when governments became increasingly interested in the voluntary sector and volunteering, but were simultaneously concerned about the sector's ability to be accountable and efficient.[53] To remedy this inconsistency, governments sought to add parameters by making the relationship with the sector more formal and measurable, hence the development of compacts. Plowden argued that the compact-like partnerships were an attempt to codify the relationship between governments and the not-for-profit sector.[54] In effect, governments were not only asking not-for-profit organisations to take on a greater role in service delivery, there was also an expectation that they would operate like statutory services. As such, it can be argued that the volunteering infrastructure and its work, particularly in the development of standards and management carried out in support of volunteering, is part of that codification process.

Peak Bodies in the Community Sector

In Australia, the volunteering infrastructure is made up of peak bodies and networks in a federated system. This and the next section will consider the literature on peak bodies and networks.

The term peak body is commonly used in Australia. Other terms such as national secretariat, advisory body, and national council are also favoured while in other countries umbrella or intermediary organisation are more familiar. [55] The number of peak bodies in the health, community and welfare sectors in Australia has been difficult to estimate. The Industry Commission in 1995 identified three reasons for this: the variety of structures and functions, accountability to and representation of their memberships, and the 'conceptual differences between direct service and services provided to members and interested parties'.[56] In Australia, state and federal government funding reviews as well as the relationship between peaks and government have been the major focus for research.[57] The focus on relationships

[53] Matthew Hilton, et al., *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 193.
[54] William Plowden, 'The Compact: Attempts to Regulate Relationships Between Government and the Voluntary Sector in England', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 32/3 (September, 2003), 416.
[55] Jeff Cheverton, 'Past their Peak? Governance and the Future of Peak Bodies in Australia', 431. Rose Melville, 'Nonprofit Umbrella Organisations in a Contracting Regime: A comparative Review of Australia, British and American Literature and Experiences', *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law,* 1/4 (June, 1999) <www.icnl.org/research/journal/vol1iss4/art_2.htm>, accessed 8 March 2013.
[56] Industry Commission, *Charitable Organisations in Australia,* Report No. 45, (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 16 June, 1995), G4-G5. <http://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/charity>, accessed 20 October 2010.
[57] J. Cheverton, 'Past their peak? Governance and the future of peak bodies in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 40/3 (2005), 429. R. Melville, ''Giving peaks a voice' - conceptual challenges, mapping and

with governments is perhaps not surprising as many Australian peak bodies rely on government funding for their sustainability. Indeed, government inquiries since the 1990s have investigated the role of peak bodies, whether they should be funded and their accountability. Examples include broad investigations of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs in 1991, the Industry Commission Inquiry in 1995, and, the Productivity Commission in 2009–2010.[58] At the departmental level, both Commonwealth and State Government Departments have evaluated the role and work of the peak bodies they fund.[59] Academic research has focused on the history of peak bodies, definitions, their role and function, advocacy and representation in a neoliberal context, their role in a democratic society, and their relationships with governments.[60]

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analysis of advocacy organisations in policy research', *Third Sector Review: Doing Third Sector Research,* 9/2 (2003), 95-106. Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community (HORSCA) *You have your moments: A Report on Funding of Peak Health and Community Organisations,* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1991). Productivity Commission, *Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector* (2010). Volunteering Australia Archives: Coopers & Lybrand Consultants, *Review of the Community Sector Support Scheme (CSSS),* Revised Draft Report, (Not stated: Department of Health and Family Services, December 1996). Volunteering ACT Archives: RPR Consulting, *Moving Beyond the Purchasing Model: Future Relationships Between the NT Government and Community Sector, Including the Role of Peak Councils and Networks* (Canberra: RPR Consulting, 2004).

[58] Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community (HORSCA), *You have your moments: A Report on Funding of Peak Health and Community Organisations,* (1991). Industry Commission, *Charitable Organisations in Australia,* Report No. 45 (16 June 1995). Productivity Commission *Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector,* (2010).

[59] Australia, Department of Families, Housing, Community Services & Indigenous Affairs, *Disclosure Log,* Documents Relating to the Funding of Peak Bodies through the National Secretariat Strategy. FOI Reference No. 13/14-069 <https://www.dss.gov.au/about-the-department/freedom-of-information/disclosure-log>, accessed 24 March 2014. Volunteering Australia Archives: Coopers & Lybrand Consultants, 'Review of the Community Sector Support Scheme (CSSS), Revised Draft Report – Part 1' (Commonwealth Department of Health and Family Services, December, 1996). Human Services Chief Executive Officers (HSCEOs) NSW, NGO Development & Support Working Group, *Reference Paper: Service Outcomes for Peak Bodies,* (Sydney: HSCEOs, 2007).
<http://www.community.nsw.gov.au/docswr/_assets/main/documents/peaks_referencepaper.pdf>, accessed 22 October 2010. M. Strickland and K. Goodes, *Review of Tasmania DHHS-Funded Peak Bodies and the Development of a Peak Body Strategic Framework,* 3pconsulting, (Hobart: Office for the Community Sector Department of Health and Human Services, November, 2008).

[60] Suzie Quixley, *What is a "Peak Body"? Summary & Analysis of Key Documents 1995-2005* Youth Affairs Network of Queensland (Brisbane: YANQ, 2006). Grey Ogle, *Unique Peaks: The Definition, Role and Contribution of Peak Organisations in the South Australian Health and Community Services Sector*, Information Paper, (Adelaide: SACOSS, May ,2011). Rose Melville, ''Giving peaks a voice' – conceptual challenges, mapping and analysis of advocacy organisations in policy research', *Third Sector Review: Doing Third Sector Research,* 9/2 (2003), 95-106. Marian Sawer and James Jupp, 'The Two-Way Street: Government Shaping of Community-Based Advocacy', 82-99. Philip Mendes, *Inside the Welfare Lobby: A History of the Australian Council of Social Service,* (Portland, Oregon: Sussex Academic Press, 2006). M. Sawer, 'Governing for the Mainstream: Implications for Community Representation', *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 61/1 (2002), 39-49.

Defined in its simplest form, a peak body exists to ‘cater for the needs, interests and aspirations of its members’.[61] The benefits of membership are twofold. Firstly, their investment of time and energy into joining and supporting peak bodies ensures their voice will be heard by government. Secondly, members gain ‘access to information, advice and support from people who are cognisant of all the layers of complexity contained in the modern … environment’.[62] For governments, the value of peak bodies is consultation and communication with particular groups and people from one central point:[63]

> They are seen as an important channel for representation of issues and as an interface between government and the wide range of consumer and community service organisations which are in touch with community needs and issues on the ground. Where they have reasonable capacity such organisations allow government agencies and other community organisations to tap into a broader wealth of experience and knowledge.[64]

The 1995 Industry Commission found that although the first peak body still in existence was established in 1905, the Australian Government first funded a peak body in the community sector in 1939 when it funded the Australian Pre-School Association. Since then, the Commonwealth Government has continued to fund an increasing number of peak bodies.[65] The Fraser Government (1975–1983) established a Task Force on Co-ordination in Welfare and Health (1976–1977).[66] The resulting Bailey Report did not strictly differentiate between large national organisations, such as the Royal Flying Doctors Service and peak bodies, but it made the first attempt to provide a framework for classifying peak bodies in order to better understand their role in health and welfare.[67] By the 1990s, the Australia Government had begun to question the role of funded peak bodies. The first examination by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs, 1991, recommended continued government funding for peak bodies ‘on the basis that public education, public debate and community consultation assists the development of appropriate policies and programs,

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[61] Jean Roberts, *Role of a Peak Body - from the Perspective of the Membership Base* (2010) <http://www.jeanroberts.com.au/non-profit/role-of-a-peak-body-from-the-perspective-of-the-membership-base/#>, accessed 25 August 2011.
[62] C. Hodge, ‘A National Peak Body: Why Australia’s Grandparents Need One’, *Elder Law Review,* 6/1 (2010), 1-5.
[63] John May, ‘The Role of Peak Bodies in a Civil Society’ in Adam Farrar and Jane Inglis (eds.), *Keeping it Together: State and Civil Society in Australia* (Leichhardt, NSW: Pluto Press, 1996), 251-252.
[64] RPR Consulting, *Moving beyond the purchasing model,* 2.
[65] John May, ‘The Role of Peak Bodies in a Civil Society’, 251-252.
[66] Sue Regan, *Australia’s Welfare System: A Review of Reviews 1941-2013* (Canberra: HC Coombs Policy Forum, Crawford School of Public Policy, The Australian National University, June 2014), 14.
[67] Industry Commission, ‘Appendix G: Peak Council Survey’, *Charitable Organisations in Australia,* G1-G3.

especially where disadvantaged groups are concerned'.[68] Four years, later the Industry Commission carried out the largest inquiry (to that time) into charitable organisations.[69] Suter argued that it was never clear why the Industry Commission had been asked to examine charities as they were 'outside the usual economic paradigm of the Industry Commission' arguing that 'volunteers give their labour to a charity (rather than sell it)'.[70] He assumed that the influence of rational economics with its emphasis on the value of markets, small government and deregulation was the reason for this examination of the charitable sector as an industry, even though charities at that time took exception to the notion. The Industry Commission Report recognised that funding from a single government program area could compromise peak body autonomy, and recommended cross-program funding.[71] It also extended the definition to exclude direct service delivery:

> A peak council is a representative organisation that provides information dissemination services, membership support, coordination, advocacy and representation, and research and policy development services for its members and other interested parties. …. The peak council role does not involve direct service delivery.[72]

In common with other research on peak bodies, the final criteria of the Industry Commission, that peak bodies do not deliver direct services, is a point of differentiation with the peak bodies of the volunteering infrastructure. The vast majority of volunteer centres do provide direct services, often providing volunteer referral services, and/or consultations on establishing volunteer programs, plus support with problem solving and the delivery of training of volunteers. Further, this direct support is not limited to membership. Historically, volunteer centres have always focused their energies on direct services as well as promotion and advocacy of volunteers and volunteering. Governments have provided funding for direct service delivery as well as peak body services. This division in funding has protected volunteering peak bodies from the vicissitudes of government funding, particularly when governments have threatened to or actually withdrawn funding from advocacy focused peak bodies.[73]

[68] House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community (HORSCA) *You have your moments,* vii.
[69] Industry Commission, *Charitable Organisations in Australia,* Report No. 45, (16 June, 1995)
[70] Keith Suter, 'The Industry Commission Inquiry into Charitable Organisations', 18, 25.
[71] Industry Commission, *Charitable Organisations in Australia,* XLIX, 194.
[72] Ibid. 181.
[73] Sarah Maddison and Richard Dennis, 'Democratic Constraint and Embrace' 387.

Until 1996, the Commonwealth Government funded a small number of national secretariats, or peak bodies, under the Community Organisations' Support Program (COSP). The adoption of neoliberal policies and a greater demand for accountability of publicly funded organisations led to the replacement of COSP with the Community Sector Support Scheme (CSSS), which tied funding to outcomes. The emphasis on the connection between funding and outcomes was part of the requirements of contracting for government service delivery. Within the context of the National Competition Policy, such requirements were intended to improve efficiency and effectiveness.[74]

The more recent research on peak bodies by Melville and Perkins explored the impact of neoliberal policy on the advocacy of peak bodies in the community sector 2000–2002.[75] This research identified 400 peak bodies in the sector, of which 142 peak bodies agreed to be surveyed and 89 peak body executives and government officials were interviewed. They argued the most functional definition suggested by a respondent was:

> A 'peak body' is a non-government organisation whose membership consists of smaller organisations of allied interests. The peak body thus offers a strong voice for the specific community sector in the areas of lobbying government, community education and information sharing between member groups and interested parties.[76]

Ogle later used this definition in his research on state peak bodies in South Australia. He argued that the definition did not encompass the diversity of the community sector because it limits membership to smaller organisations. In effect, such a limitation excluded both programs and large not-for-profit organisations.[77] He asserted that peak bodies also had a role in the development of the sector as a whole beyond membership and this should also be included in a definition. Ogle maintained that the continued growth in peak body numbers is testament to their importance in the eyes of their memberships: 'without members

[74] John McDonald, 'Analysis of Models of Funding for Not-for-Profit Community Services: A Report for the Queensland AIDS Council', (Ballarat: Centre for Health Research and Practice, University of Ballarat, May 2004). Australia, Department of Health and Family Services, 'When is Competition the Answer?' HFS Occasional Papers Series No. 2 (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1998). Jacqueline Ohlin, 'Will Privatisation and Contracting Out Deliver Community Services?', Research Paper 15 1997-98 (Canberra: Social Policy Group, Parliament of Australia, 2 June 1998) <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RP15>, accessed 17 November 2013.

[75] Rose Melville and Roberta Perkins, *Changing Roles of Community-Sector Peak Bodies in a New-Liberal Policy Environment in Australia* (Final Report, Wollongong: Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong, 2003).

[76] Ibid. ix, 5.

[77] G. Ogle, *Unique Peaks*, 5.

committing time, resources and passion, there would be no peak bodies'.[78] However, with increasing numbers of peak bodies, the Federal Government has given preference to those with 'organisational models ... [that] mirror those in favour [with] government'.[79] This places pressure on peak bodies to ensure they remain true to their mission and goals, and do not slip into a relationship with government whereby they become a de facto arm of government.[80] This is not an issue peculiar to peak bodies, and researchers have investigated the implications of not-for-profit organisations balancing their advocacy role with the need for financial survival.[81]

Melville and Perkins found that the neoliberal environment of the Howard Liberal Government (1996–2007) had witnessed deterioration in the relationship between peak bodies and the Commonwealth Government. In this period, the Government threatened to, or, actually cut funding to more than half of the 142 peak bodies in Melville and Perkins study, due to their political activity and advocacy activities.[82] Of this group, more than 20 national peaks lost Commonwealth Government funding.[83] Not surprisingly the neoliberal context and the threat of funding loss, real or potential, focused peak body attention on their relationships with the Commonwealth Government.

In 2010, the Productivity Commission reported that 'Peak bodies can provide a mechanism for coordination, but they are often focused on managing relationships with governments rather than promoting collaboration between NFPs'.[84] Drastically, after the Abbott Government was elected in 2013, its first budget cut $240 million from the community services sector in 2014. This included cuts to the funds allocated to the National Secretariat Program (NSP) and the number of national secretariats the NSP funded.[85] As a result, a

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78 Ibid. 2.
79 Marian Sawer, 'Governing for the Mainstream: Implications for Community Representation' *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 61/1 (March, 2002), 42.
80 Rose Melville and Roberta Perkins, *Changing Roles of Community-Sector Peak Bodies in a New-Liberal Policy Environment in Australia,* vii
81 Jenny Onyx, et al., 'Implications of government funding of advocacy for third-sector independence and exploration of alternative advocacy funding models' *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 43/4 (2008) 631-648. Rose Melville, 'Voice and the Role of Community-Sector Peak Bodies', *Third Sector Review,* 7/2 (2001) 89-109.
82 Rose, Melville and Roberta Perkins, *Changing Roles of Community-Sector Peak Bodies in a Neo-Liberal Policy Environment in Australia: Final Report,* (Wollongong: University of Wollongong, September 2003), 120.
83 Ibid. 104.
84 Productivity Commission, *Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector*, 229.
85 Department of Social Services, *Annual Report 2013-2014,* (2014) <https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/10_2014/dss_ar_2013_14_web.pdf>, accessed 24 January 2015. Real Community Services, 'News Update – Fewer Peak Bodies to be Funded', *real community*

number of peak bodies lost their core or major project funding. These include the Alcohol and Other Drugs Council of Australia, Refugee Council of Australia, Australian Youth Affairs Coalition, National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, National Shelter, Homelessness Australia, Community Housing Federation and Financial Counselling Australia, Brain Injury Australia, and Blind Citizens Australia.[86] The Australian Council of Social Services criticised these funding cuts: 'Treasurer Joe Hockey has declared that 2015 [would] be a year of community consultation, yet the government is dismantling the very mechanisms that [would] allow that to happen effectively'.[87] There was little indication the Abbott Government was swayed by this argument. The very new Turnbull Government has yet to indicate any change of policy regarding the not-for-profit sector.

Networks and the Federated Nature of the Australian Volunteering Infrastructure

The federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia has had important implications for both its internal relationships and how the volunteering infrastructure itself has evolved. Its federated nature has also had implications for its external relationships with government. Galaskiewicz argued there were three main reasons organisations form relationships with each other. Firstly, there is the need to procure and allocate resources; secondly, the need to advocate at a political level; and, lastly, to provide organisational legitimacy.[88] Oliver acknowledged the work of Galaskiewicz and other researchers in the field of corporate inter-organisational research and concluded there were actually six reasons

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services, (n.d.) < http://realcommunityservices.com.au/news-update-fewer-peak-bodies-to-be-funded/>, accessed 23 January 2015.

[86] Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS), *Funding uncertainty hurting Australia's Community Sector*, (Sydney: *Australian Council of Social Service*, December 2014) <http://acoss.org.au/images/uploads/Funding_uncertainty_factsheet_Dec14.pdf>, accessed 28 January 2015. Tanya Nolan, 'Alcohol and Other Drugs Council of Australia in voluntary administration after Coalition cuts funding', *ABC,* (27 November 2013) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-27/alcohol-and-other-drugs-council-adca-administration-funding-cut/5119744>, accessed 26 January 2015. Adrian Rollins, 'Shock Funding Cut Silences Top Voice on Alcohol, Drugs', *Australian Medical Association,* (n.d.), <https://ama.com.au/ausmed/shock-funding-cut-silences-top-voice-alcohol-drugs>, accessed 26 January 2015. Samantha Donovan, 'Federal Government cuts funding for housing programs, shocking peak bodies' *Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC),* (23 December 2014) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-12-23/funding-cuts-to-housing-and-homelessness-programs/5984576>, accessed 26 January 2015. SBS, 'Govt 'grinch' on pre-xmas funding cuts', *SBS*, (23 December 2014) <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/12/23/govt-grinch-pre-xmas-funding-cuts>, 26 January 2015. ProBono, 'Welfare Peaks to Fight 'Devastating' Funding Cuts', *ProBono News,* (6 January 2015), <http://www.probonoaustralia.com.au/news/2015/01/welfare-peaks-fight-%E2%80%98devastating%E2%80%99-funding-cuts>, accessed 26 January 2015.

[87] Fernando de Freitas, 'Shutting Down Community Voices will Weaken Government's Ability to Make Effective Reforms', *Australian Council of Social Service,* (23 December 2014) <http://acoss.org.au/media/release/shutting_down_community_voices_will_weaken_governments_ability_to_make_effe/>, accessed 28 January 2015.

[88] Joseph Galaskiewicz, 'Interorganizational Relations', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 11/1 (1985), 282.

for the formation of federations.[89] The first reason is necessity due to legal or regulatory requirements. The second is asymmetry, which concerns the potential for power, influence or control over organisations that possess scarce resources. Thirdly, in contrast to asymmetry, is reciprocity, which occurs between organisations so they can achieve common goals for their mutual benefit and reflects an attitude of 'collaboration, and coordination …rather than domination, power, and control'.[90] The fourth reason is efficiency, driven by internal desires to 'improve its internal input/output ratio'.[91] Oliver argues that the cheaper the transaction cost brought about by internal efficiencies, the more competitive the inter-organisational network will be in the market place. Stability is the fifth reason brought about by the uncertainty of resource sustainability or a lack of comprehensive knowledge of the field. Stability is important as it creates a predictable and dependable relationship. Finally, legitimacy occurs through affiliation with other organisations and as a joint force improving 'reputation, image [and] prestige'.[92] Context determines which of Oliver's reasons apply for the establishment of a particular federation. In the case of the volunteering infrastructure, the impetus for coming together as a group touched on reciprocity and its potential for working collaboratively to provide a national message about volunteering. A national network can provide stability and legitimacy that individual volunteer centres could not achieve.

Selsky's longitudinal study on the formation of not-for-profit sector federations found they may be created in response to crisis or a chronic problem, but over time they try to influence and adapt to pressures from both above and below. In other words, federations may form to respond to global issues and the needs of their members while simultaneously being active in trying to draw attention to new areas of need. [93] In Australian experience, the state and territory volunteer centres did not seek to establish a formal federation. Rather, they set out to establish a national volunteering peak body that would provide a conduit to the national policy arena and national funding. So while the problem the volunteer centres identified was the lack of a coherent national voice on volunteering and funding for volunteer centres, breaking the state ties to form one formal national federation was not enough. As will be

[89] Christine Oliver, 'Determinants of Interorganizational Relationships: Integration and Future Directions', *The Academy of Management Review,* 15/2 (April 1990), 241-265.
[90] Ibid. 244.
[91] Ibid. 245.
[92] Ibid. 246, 251.
[93] J.W. Selsky, 'Developmental dynamics in nonprofit-sector federations', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations,* 9/1 (1998), 285.

discussed later, this has been a continuous problem but possibly has also saved the national body from extinction.

The federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure has also had governance and membership implications. In terms of governance, all state and territory peak volunteer centres sit on the Board of Volunteering Australia and are referred to as the Foundation Members. As a group, VRCs at the local and regional level have no direct representation on the VA Board. To have a voice on national issues and strategies, they were required to join their respective state and territory volunteering peak bodies, which in turn represent that state's position at the national level. To ensure greater representation VRCs in some states have formed networks whose representatives sit on their respective state peak body boards.

Within the volunteering infrastructure are networks at state and local levels. In common with networks elsewhere, the volunteering infrastructure networks are made up of legally autonomous organisations to advance both their individual organisation goals and the goals of the collective.[94] The attraction of networks is their flexibility, they can adapt more easily than hierarchies, which can be bureaucratic.[95] There is a network of CEOs at the state and territory level, a network of VRCs in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia, and both state and regional volunteer centres facilitate networks for organisers and managers of volunteers. The VRC networks were established 'to lessen their isolation and to give them a consolidated voice on issues such as funding, advocacy and presenting the view of the volunteer sector on matters which concerned them all'.[96] Networks of organisers and managers of volunteers are a mechanism for learning and responding to grassroots issues on volunteering. However, networks can also be arenas of dissension. For instance, VRC networks may or may not include their state volunteer centres as members. Conversely, some VRC networks were only established with the support of their respective state volunteer centres. Only one VRC network, the Coordinators of Volunteer Education, Referral & Resource Services, NSW, (COVERRS – later renamed as the Volunteer Coordinators Network, NSW, VCN) has been incorporated as a distinct body within the volunteering infrastructure.

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[94] Keith G. Provan and Patrick Kenis, 'Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory,* 18/2 (2007), 231.
[95] Ibid. 4.
[96]COVERRS Archives: Volunteering Central West, *History of the Forum,* (Bathurst, NSW: COVERRS, 1987), 1.

The Coordinators of Volunteer Education, Referral and Resource Services, (COVERRS), first began to meet in 1987, and became incorporated in 2001, after which it successfully applied for project funding in its own right.[97] In 1998, COVERRS accepted Volunteering NSW's offer to become its 'regional council of advice'.[98] The strength of the VCN continues with representation as a group on the board of the state body, the Centre for Volunteering, NSW. In this way it is able to address issues pertinent to regional volunteer centres. In effect, the networks at the local/regional levels have created another influential structure.

International Volunteering Infrastructures

This section will examine international volunteering infrastructures, with a focus on the United States of America and Britain. These countries provided models of volunteer centres that strongly influenced the founders of the Australian volunteering infrastructure. This, together with the influence of research literature and publications from the field on volunteering makes their developmental experiences worthy of examination. It will be argued that similarities between volunteering infrastructures exist but they also vary due to local understandings of volunteering according to political, economic, social and cultural contexts. Regardless of differences there is a consistency of purpose 'over time and space'.[99]

Volunteering Infrastructure: USA

Volunteer centres have existed for nearly a century. The oldest and, at times, largest grouping of volunteer centres is in the United States. The first volunteer centre to be established by the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies was the Volunteer Service Bureau in 1919 'in the hope of conserving the war time enthusiasm for peace time needs of the community'.[100] Another very early volunteer centre, the Boston Volunteer Service Bureau was established in 1926.[101] In a later interview, its founder, Helen Morton, discussed developmental aspects that are familiar in volunteer centres elsewhere. These aspects include the support of other not-

[97] Ibid. 1

[98] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteering NSW, 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of Volunteering NSW', 30 June 1998 (Sydney: Volunteering NSW, 1998), 3.

[99] Jeffrey L. Brudney, 'The Volunteer Centre National Network: All It Can Be?' in Arthur C. Brooks (ed.), *Gifts of Time and Money: The Role of Charity in America's Communities* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 77.

[100] Points of Light Foundation 'Volunteer Centres: A History of America' (Points of Light Foundation, 2005), 3 <http://www.handsonnetwork.org/files/resources/VCs_A_History_of_America.pdf>, accessed 9 March 2013. Ruth Sikes, 'A Volunteer Service Bureau' *The Family: Journal of Social Casework*, Volumes 3-4 (1922), 92.

[101] e-Volunteerism, 'The 25th Jubilee of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus: Except from Proceedings, 1976' IX/1 (October, 2008) <http://www.e-volunteerism.com/quarterly/08oct/08oct-voices>, accessed 20 April 2015.

for-profit organisations and groups, the leadership of individuals, and the initial focus on volunteer recruitment that soon extended to include support, training and advocacy of volunteers. During the interview Helen Morton noted the role the Boston Volunteer Service Bureau played in identifying the need for volunteer coordination:

> After we started placing volunteers, say at the Massachusetts General Hospital, we found that they needed a person on the grounds to be in charge of the volunteers … [someone] to whom you could refer to be sure that the person who was placed there got the kind of introduction, support, training, and evaluation that was needed. In other words, the Bureau spurred the need for a volunteer coordinator …[102]

This interview is also the earliest account found of a volunteer centre hiring paid staff (1929) and the first paid Director, Paulene Lehrburge in 1932.[103] At the national level the National Committee on Volunteers also began in response to the Depression in 1932. By the time America entered World War 2 in 1941 there were 50 volunteer bureaux that expanded rapidly to meet the war effort under the federal government's Office of Civilian Defence.[104] After the War, volunteer bureaux became autonomous from the United Community Chests and Councils of America, and formed the national Association of Volunteer Bureaus in 1951.[105]

Three things facilitated this early establishment of volunteer bureaux and centres. Firstly, as previously mentioned, early volunteer bureaux and centres were established in response to world events, particularly the disasters of the 1930s Depression and two world wars.[106] Secondly, national and international not-for-profit associations and organisations such as the Red Cross and the Junior League (an international women's volunteer association that began in America) supported volunteer centres. For instance, the Boston Volunteer Service Bureau credited the Junior League with supporting the establishment of a number of volunteer centres in America and across the border in Canada, whose first centre was established in Montreal in 1937.[107] Thirdly, the social policy of various American Presidents had a direct

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[102] Ibid. 3
[103] Ibid. 2.
[104] Susan J. Ellis, *Volunteer Centers: Gearing Up for the 1990s* (United Way, 1989), 1 <https://www.energizeinc.com/sites/default/files/volctrs.pdf>, accessed 8 May 2014.
[105] e-Volunteerism, 'The 25th Jubilee of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus: Except from Proceedings, 1976', IX/1 (October 2008), 3.
[106] Susan J. Ellis, 'Volunteer Centers: Changing Rationale and Roles', *e-Volunteerism,* X/4 (15 July- 14 Oct 2010) <http://cabm.net/sites/cabm.net/files/images/Volunteer_Centres-_evolution.pdf>, accessed 27 April 2015. Points of Light Foundation 'Volunteer Centres: A History of America', 3.
[107] Volunteer Bureau of Montreal, 'History', *Volunteer Bureau of Montreal*, (n.d.) <http://cabm.net/en/who/history>, accessed 10 August 2014. The Volunteer Centre of the East Bay, 'Mission and History', The Volunteer Centre of the East Bay (2015) <http://www.volunteereastbay.org/about-

effect on the development of the American volunteering infrastructure. This has been closely connected to the history of Americans and their strong 'ethic of service' and citizen participation, an enduring theme in American politics.[108] For instance, President George Bush spoke of a 'thousand points of light' in his 1989 inaugural speech, encouraging Americans to volunteer as 'duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.'[109] This led directly to the establishment of the Points of Light Foundation in 1990, which merged with the Hands on Network in 2007.[110]

Since 1961, American presidents have made volunteering 'a staple of presidential agendas'.[111] For the purposes of this study, the role of two presidents, President J F Kennedy in the growth of volunteering and President R M Nixon in the development of volunteer centres will be examined. President J F Kennedy called on young people to take an active interest in volunteering.[112] Led by his brother-in-law, R Sargent Shriver, Kennedy established the Peace Corps in 1961 as an agency within the national State Department. Promoted as a vehicle for world peace, its genesis lay in the Cold War and the Soviet Union's encouragement of its citizens to undertake development work overseas.[113] In this way, the relationship between government and volunteering became one of absorption. Kennedy used volunteering as a method of political manipulation tied to the American fear of communism.

An election promise made by President Nixon resulted in the announcement to establish of the National Centre for Voluntary Action (NCVA) in November, 1969.[114] President Nixon

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us/mission/>, accessed 1 May 2015. Propellus, 'Our History', Propellus, (n.d.) <http://propellus.org/about-2/history/>, accessed 1 May 2015 (Note: Propellus was formally registered as Volunteer Calgary). Junior League of Akron 'The Junior League of Growth and Community Service' (n.d.) <http://www.juniorleagueakron.org/membership/ajli/>, accessed 1 May 2015. Energize,'The 25th Jubilee of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus: Except from Proceedings, 1976', IX/1,

[108] Arthur C. Brooks, (ed.), *Gifts of Time and Money: The Role of Charity in America's Communities,* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005). David Reingold and Rebecca Nesbit, *Volunteer Growth in America: A Review of Trends since 1974* (Washington: National & Community Service, 2006), 1. John H. Strange, 'The Impact of Citizen Participation on Public Administration', *Public Administration Review,* 32 (1972), 457.

[109] George Bush, 'Inaugural Address, 20 January 1989', *The American Presidency Project,* (1999) <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16610>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[110] Points of Light, 'Our History', (2015) <http://www.pointsoflight.org/who-we-are/our-history>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[111] Paul C. Light, 'The Volunteering Decision: What Prompts It? What Sustains It?', *Brookings Institute,* (2002), 1 <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2002/09/fall-civilsociety-light>, accessed 19 November 2014.

[112] Ibid. 1-2.

[113] John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'Peace Corps, *JFK in History* (n.d.) <http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/Peace-Corps.aspx>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[114] Points of Light Foundation, *Volunteer Centers: A History of America,* (2005), 4. Richard Nixon, 'Executive Order 11470 - Prescribing Arrangements for the Structure and Conduct of a National Program for Voluntary

called for the ‘energies and resources of its people – not as substitutes for government action, but as supplements to it’ and announced the creation of the National Program for Voluntary Action with the aim of eradicating urban and poverty-related problems.[115] Nixon believed that governments had at times been a ‘jealous competitor of private efforts’ and sought to remedy this by devising a two-pronged strategy involving both the public and private sectors working together in a ‘creative partnership’.[116] The public commitment was the formation of a Cabinet Committee on Voluntary Action with Secretary George W Romney (Department of Housing and Urban Development) as chairman and a new Office of Voluntary Action as its operating arm to develop a clearinghouse for information on volunteering organisations. Both were based in the Department of Housing and Urban Development with Romney, as chairman, reporting on the Cabinet Committee on Voluntary Action directly to Cabinet. It placed the direction and leadership of volunteering within the hands of government while simultaneously giving volunteering its closest connection to the formation of social policy. Six months later, after a national consultation with not-for-profit organisations, President Nixon announced the establishment of a not-for-profit National Centre for Voluntary Action (NCVA). [117] Its role was to ‘encourage and assist effective voluntary action’.[118] Described as a ‘creative partnership’, the government would not ‘direct [volunteers], or … impose priorities upon them, or … organize them in any kind of master plan’.[119] Regardless of this pronouncement, the first hurdle for the new body to overcome was that Nixon was, indeed, ordering people to volunteer and ‘go around doing good by Presidential Decree’.[120] Another

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Action 26 May 1969’ (1999-2015) Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley (eds.), *The American Presidency Project* <www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=105987&st=Nixon&st1=National+Voluntary>, accessed 19 November 2014

[115] Richard M. Nixon, ‘177 Statement on Government Support of Voluntary Action, Gerhard Peters & John T. Wolley (eds.), *The American Presidency Project* (30 April 1969’), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2027>, para. accessed 19 November 2014. Robert Young, ‘Help Solve Problems’ *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, 1 April 1969), 10/1 <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1969/05/01/page/10/article/nixon-asks-citizens-help-solve-problems> accessed 19 November 2014. Anonymous, ‘Voluntary Action,’Notes and comments’, *Social Service Review,* 44/4 (December, 1970), 463-364.

[116] Richard M. Nixon, ‘177 Statement on Government Support of Voluntary Action, 30 April 1969’, 341.

[117] Richard M. Nixon, ‘427 Statement About the National Program for Voluntary Action’, Gerhard Peters & John T. Wolley (eds.), *The American Presidency Project* (4 November 1969), <www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2305#axzz1peSUJvxB>, para. 9, accessed 29 July 2012. Anonymous, ‘Voluntary Action: Notes and comments’, *Social Service Review,* 44/4 (December, 1970), 463-364. Anonymous, ‘National Volunteer Centre Formed’, *The Blade* (Toledo, Ohio: 5 November 1969), 64 <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=8_tS2Vw13FcC&dat=19691105&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>, accessed 19 November 2014.

[118] Richard M. Nixon, ‘427 Statement About the National Program for Voluntary Action’, para 9.

[119] Richard M. Nixon, ‘427 Statement About the National Program for Voluntary Action’, paras 7, 4.

[120] J.F. Ter Horst, ‘Office of Voluntary Action is Nixon’s Test of JFK Challenge’, *The Daily News* (St Thomas, Virgin Islands, Monday 9 June 1969), 9

issue of concern was the fear that government bureaucracies might implement guidelines and regulations that would discourage people from volunteering. Having the federal government take such an active role in 'aiding and guiding voluntary action' was a step into unchartered waters. This was a situation worthy of research as it indicated a new future in volunteering in the United States of America (US).[121]

Since Nixon's presidency, various national volunteer bodies have developed through new initiatives in the field, government strategies and mergers of not-for-profit organisations and associations.[122] Early in its history, the Points of Light Foundation merged with the Volunteer Center National Network, effectively becoming the national peak body for volunteering.[123] By 2007, the Points of Light Foundation and Volunteer Center Network consisted of 29 state or regional Volunteer Center Associations (VCA). In turn, these VCAs had a membership of 463 volunteer centres.[124] Volunteer Center Associations are in many ways similar to the Australian state and territory volunteer peak bodies with the major exception that they could apply to the national body, the Points of Light Foundation, for grants of US$100,000 to help build organisational capacity.[125] The global financial crisis saw Points of Light lose US$10 million from the federal government. In response to this massive loss of funding, paid staff numbers were reduced from 175 to 100.[126] Five years later, the merger was judged financially successful due to less dependency on government funding.[127]

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=757&dat=19690609&id=G6xOAAAAIBAJ&sjid=rUcDAAAAIBAJ&pg=6281,4432580>, accessed 19 November 2014.

[121] David Horton Smith 'Major analytical topics of voluntary action theory and research: Version 2', *Nonprofit and Voluntary sector Quarterly,* 1/1 (1972), 16.

[122] Susan J. Ellis, 'History of Volunteerism Organizations in the United States' (Spring 2001) <www.e-volunteerism.com>, accessed 11 April 2014.

[123] Deborah Edward, 'Getting to Yes: The Points of Light and Hands on Network Merger', *RGK Center for Philanthropy and Community Service,* (Austin: The University of Texas (2008) <https://www.rgkcenter.org/sites/default/files/file/research/gettingtoyes.pdf>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[124] Points of Light Foundation, 'Developing and Sustaining Volunteer Center Associations', *Volunteer Centers of Michigan* (1st edn., Points of Light Foundation & Volunteer Center National Network, 2007), 1 <http://www.mivolunteers.org/nnsa.aspx>, accessed 19 June 2013.

[125] Points of Light, 'Developing and Sustaining Volunteer Center Associations', (2007), 4

[126] Points of Light, 'Five-Year Reflections on the Merger of Points of Light Foundation and Hands On Network', *Points of Light* (2012), 2 <http://www.pointsoflight.org/sites/default/files/site-content/files/five-year_reflections_on_the_merger.pdf>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[127] Points of Light & HandsOn Network, 'Five-Year Reflections on the Merger of Points of Light Foundation and Hands On Network', (2012), <http://www.pointsoflight.org/sites/default/files/site-content/files/five-year_reflections_on_the_merger.pdf>, accessed 4 May 2015. David Styers, David Styers, Skype interview with the author, Interview No. 1 [sound recording] (Melbourne, 27 January 2013) in the possession of the author.

Rather than funding, possibly the greatest hurdle for this merger was dealing with the different organisational cultures. Ellis pointed to four distinct differences.[128] The Hands on Network has a single focus of placing volunteers (particularly young professionals) in one-day volunteer positions while the Points of Light has a broader agenda that includes advocacy, promotion and support of a volunteering infrastructure that is made up of autonomous volunteer centre associations and volunteer centres. The Hands on Network consists of affiliated organisations rather than autonomous organisations and their focus is on placing individual volunteers who are members of those affiliates so the relationship, membership and loyalty of the volunteer remains with Hands On rather than the volunteer organisation where they may be placed. This is achievable due to the short, often once-only volunteer placements. In the case of Points of Light, volunteers become members of the organisations to which they are referred, regardless of the term of the placement. In this manner, volunteer centres act as conduits. Volunteer centres support a broad spectrum of organisations whereas Hands On Network selects specific organisations to send volunteers. The last difference is that Points of Light has a concentrated national focus whereas Hands On Network has national and international aspirations.

Since the merger of Points of Light Foundation and Hands On Network, there has been a shift in the relationships between the national body and volunteer centres. Based on the list of 29 Volunteer Center Associations (similar to the Australian state/territory volunteer centres) that were listed by the Points of Light in 2007, a website search found nine still existing, fourteen could not be found and six have either changed their names or affiliation. [129] According to Styers, the Volunteer Center National Network continues to exist but has dramatically changed into 'a transactional membership network [rather] than truly building a national network of local entities working together or having a commonality to be a force within the country'.[130]

With regard to the local volunteer centres, the situation is possibly more complex. In 2002, a third of volunteer centres listed on the Points of Light Foundation website were found to be

[128] Susan J. Ellis, 'The Big Merger: Many Unanswered Questions', *Energize,* [web article], (August 2007) <https://www.energizeinc.com/hot-topics/2007/august>, accessed 13 June 2013.
[129] Points of Light, 'Appendix 13 – Listing of Volunteer Center Associations in the United States', *Developing and Sustaining Volunteer Center Associations*, <http://www.mivolunteers.org/CMDocs/VCM/About%20VCM/NNSA/Developing%20&%20Sustaining%20VC%20Assoc.pdf>, accessed 27 January 2014.
[130] David Styers,Sype interview with the author, Interview No. 1. [sound recording] (27 January 2013), in the author's possession.

direct services of the United Way.[131] This had two consequences. The first is that volunteers are more likely to be placed in organisations funded by United Way, thus limiting volunteer opportunities to community services rather than the wide spectrum of volunteering areas. Secondly, the network of volunteer centres as a whole has been affected:

> United Way is hinged in by its own structure. So it can only work within its own network of the United Way where Points of Light did have the ability to work not only with the United Way Volunteer Centers but all the independents as well. This has bifurcated the national network. So those volunteer centers who are in the United Way do their thing together and then there's everyone else.'[132]

This bifurcated situation for volunteer centres, the merger between Points of Light Foundation and Hands On Network, the economic recession and the lack of a unified network of volunteer centres has possibly led to an unintended consequence. For instance, in many countries, including Australia, National Volunteer Week is a concentrated national celebration of volunteering and an opportunity to promote and recruit volunteers. Led by national volunteer centres and funded by governments, business and other donors, promotional material for National Volunteer Week is distributed to volunteer centres. Regardless of who funds the activities of the week, the focus is volunteering and its benefits to the individual and the community. In 2014, the Points of Light Foundation deviated from this by accepting sponsorship that in effect co-branded volunteering with the product, Advil®, a pain relief medication made by Pfizer. In doing so, the traditional messages of National Volunteer Week became fudged, for example, 'During National Volunteer Week Advil® will be celebrating volunteers' dedication to helping others, relieving the aches and pains that come with giving back, and encouraging others to join the movement'.[133] Of the 11 key marketing messages Points of Light provided for not-for-profit causes and organisations to use during National Volunteer Week, six made a connection to Advil®.[134] One of the key messages from the promotional materials stated:

> National Volunteer Week, a program of Points of Light and sponsored by Advil® as a part of the Advil® Relief in Action campaign, was established in 1974 and has grown

[131] Susan J. Ellis, 'United Way is Not the Way for Volunteer Centers', *Energize,* [web article] (December 2002) <https://www.energizeinc.com/hot-topics/2002/december>, 10 May 2014.
[132] David Styers, Skype Interview No. 1.
[133] Susan J. Ellis, 'Branding National Volunteer Week: Whose Week is it anyway?' *Energize,* [webarticle] (May 2014). <https://www.energizeinc.com/hot-topics/2014/may>, accessed 1 May 2015.
[134] Points of Light, *National Volunteer Week 2014 Resource Guide,* (2014), 6, <http://www.pointsoflight.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/nvw_celebrate_service_resourceguide10jan13.pdf>, accessed 9 May 2015.

> exponentially each year, with thousands of volunteer projects and special events scheduled throughout the week.[135]

Without careful examination of the placement of commas in this key message for National Volunteer Week, one could be forgiven for assuming that Advil® had been sponsoring both the celebration and Points of Light since 1974. In short, the celebration of National Volunteer Week became an opportunity to promote a particular brand of painkiller and by using the marketing provided by the national volunteer centre, not-for-profit organisations were inadvertently endorsing that company and its product. Needless to say, the promotional campaign for 2015 contained messages specific just to volunteering.[136] This example highlights the dilemma for many not-for-profit organisations. Volunteer centres can have difficulty locating funding, as mentioned earlier, but must be alert for alliances that could potentially damage their reputation and goals.

This section has explored some of the issues in the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure in the US. The US was the first to develop volunteer centres in the twentieth century, numbering over 400 at their pinnacle. The direct involvement of the head of state in volunteering and the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure is a distinct difference between the US and many other countries. In terms of the moving frontier, the movement in the relationship between volunteering and government has not necessarily been one of flow but of specific initiatives of new Presidents such as Kennedy, Nixon and Bush who directly introduced new elements to volunteering and the volunteering infrastructure. The new millennium has brought new challenges such as the loss of funding, the loss of volunteer centres and resulted in mergers between organisations in order to survive.

Volunteer Infrastructure: Britain

As previously stated, the years 1960–1979 were a period of renewed interest in volunteering and the not-for-profit sector. In Britain by 1969, 23 volunteer bureaux had been established by Councils of Social Service although only eight had either full-time or part-time paid organisers.[137] With the advent of the Welfare State post-World War 2, it was presumed that

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[135] Ibid. 6

[136] Points of Light, 'Celebrate Service National Volunteer Week April 12-18', 2015, 6, <http://www.pointsoflight.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/nvw_celebrate_service_toolkit_22sept2015.pdf>, accessed 9 May 2015.

[137] Geraldine Aves, *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Service,* (London: National Council of Social Service, 1969). 103. Cameron Fitzwilliam-Grey, 'Volunteer Centre Camden Archive' [email to Annette Maher], 29 August 2014, in the possession of the author.

volunteers and charity would become irrelevant. However, in a presentation on volunteer centre development, Howlett argued against this, saying that Beveridge, the architect of the welfare state, valued volunteering as important to democracy, and that volunteering occurs beyond the confines of the nationalised health service and welfare services. Howlett went on to argue that the presumption underestimated the importance of volunteering in social activism and serious leisure.[138]

The National Council of Social Work and the National Institute of Social Work Training initiated an independent commission in 1966 'on the place of and scope of volunteers in the social services in England and Wales'.[139] Chair of this Commission was Geraldine Aves and in 1969 its resulting publication, *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services* (known as the Aves Report), called for the establishment of a national bureau, more waged coordinators of volunteers, and a network of local volunteer bureaux.[140] The Aves Report was written at a time when it was perceived that the Welfare State did not meet the needs of the population. Partly, this realisation was driven by the very existence of the Welfare State which 'had raised expectations and resulted in an increased demand for services'.[141] Edward Heath became Prime Minister in 1970 and, intent on developing closer ties with the voluntary sector he set up a Voluntary Services Unit within the Home Office in 1972 to provide a link between not-for-profit organisations and government departments. [142] The following year Heath appointed a Minister to coordinate government support for the not-for-profit sector.[143] This was the first time, outside of periods of war, that communication with the voluntary sector was placed so closely to the seat of power.

The importance of the Aves Report should not be underestimated. Zimmeck argued that the needs of volunteers and voluntary organisations identified in the Aves Report were the basis

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[138] Steven Howlett, 'Lending a hand to lending a hand: The role and Development of Volunteer Centres as Infrastructure to Develop Volunteering in England', a paper presented at the *Volunteering Infrastructure and Civil Society Conference,* Aalsmeer, The Netherlands, 24-25 April 2008, 2, <http://www.kansalaisareena.fi/Local_Volunteer_Centres.England.pdf>, accessed 12 February 2014.
[139] Anjelica Finnegan and Georgina Brewis, 'The Volunteering England Archive: An Overview and Historical Bankground', London School of Economics, [online article], 3-6, <http://lib-161.lse.ac.uk/archives/digital/Volunteering_England.pdf>, accessed 15 September 2012.
[140] Geraldine Aves, *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services,* (London: National Council of Social Service, 1969). Georgina Brewis and Anjelica Finnegan, 'Volunteering England' *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012) 119-128.
[141] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 316-317, 321.
[142] Hilton, Matthew, McKay, James, Crowson, Nicholas, & Mouhot, Jean-François, *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 192-193.
[143] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990,* 321.

of volunteering infrastructure's work for the next 40 years.[144] With its national focus, the original functions would concentrate on building and disseminating knowledge about volunteering, building a consistent level of training around the nation, providing advice on how to manage volunteers, promoting research into volunteering, and generally giving 'attention to the needs of volunteers and how to meet them'.[145]

One of the Aves Report recommendations was to build the volunteering infrastructure by funding new local volunteer centres. In 1969, Aves found 23 local volunteer centres. By 1978, the number had risen to 180.[146] The size, funding and structure of local volunteer centres vary. Some are autonomous entities while others are connected to local government or councils of social service. Supported by the Volunteer Centre UK, the local volunteer centres formed an independent organisation, the National Association for Volunteer Bureaux, and, eventually becoming Volunteer Development England in 2002. It later merged with the National Centre for Volunteering and the Consortium for Opportunities for Volunteering to become Volunteering England in 2004.

The growth of volunteer centres continued as a result of national government interest in volunteering, and successive government campaigns to encourage people to volunteer. Partly, this was because both Conservative and Labour Governments recognised the ability of volunteering to substitute the delivery of direct services and to provide a practical response to unemployment. Added to this was the advent of Margaret Thatcher's neo-liberal philosophy of 'rolling back the state'.[147] An initiative of Thatcher that was developed by Prime Minister John Major, the 'Make a Difference' initiative encouraged more people to volunteer. It also allocated funds for the establishment of more volunteer centres. The expansion of volunteer

[144] Meta Zimmeck, 'Government and Volunteering: Towards a history of policy and practice' in Colin Rochester, Angela Ellis Payne and Steven Howlett (eds.), *Volunteering and Society in the 21st Century,* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 88.
[145] Volunteering England Archive: Geraldine M. Aves, 'A Volunteer Foundation', 10 March 1970), 2 Volunteering England/1: Aves Commission 1952-1990, London School of Economics.
[146] Anjelica Finnegan and Georgina Brewis, 'The Volunteering England Archive: An Overview and Historical Bankground', 11-12. Georgina Brewis & Anjelica Finnegan, 'Archival Review: Volunteering England' *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012), 124.
[147] Sue Pryce, 'Putting the Great back into Britain? The Thatcher years – political analysis', *Grantham Journal,* [online article] (15 August 2002), <http://www2.granthamtoday.co.uk/gj/site/news/thatcher/analysis.htm>, accessed 5 May 2015. Nicholas Deakin, 'The Perils of Partnership: The Voluntary Sector and the State, 1945-1992' in Justin Davis-Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector,* (London: Routledge, 1995), 40-65. Justin Davis Smith, 'Making a difference: Can governments influence volunteering? *Voluntary Action,* 1/1 (1998), 7-20.

numbers was less than impressive; greater success was achieved in the growth of professional volunteering practices and the raised profile of volunteering.[148]

In 1992, the first external review of the Volunteer Centre UK found that the Centre's aims of promoting volunteering, encouraging good practice and influencing government policies supported the 'considerable growth in opportunities for volunteering' beyond health and social services.[149] Not surprisingly, the first recommendation of the review was for continued funding by the Home Office.

The election of Blair's New Labour Government, (which ran from1997–2007), coupled with economic stability, saw a renewed enthusiasm for volunteering and the voluntary sector. Kendall argued that part of the allure was the perception that the voluntary sector was different to both state and market. It carried none of the exploitative connotations of the market and, unlike government, it was considered 'unbureaucratic, responsive, decentralized and close to the community'.[150] It was felt that the voluntary sector made positive contribution in terms of trust and social capital, and was 'deeply connected with local, national and international economic success'.[151] For the government, volunteering was a vehicle to deliver policies on social inclusion, sustainable communities and anti-social behaviour.[152] Under the Blair Government, England was the first country to design and implement a National Compact.[153] This aimed to change the policy environment from contracting to a complementary partnership relationship.[154] Over this period, volunteering infrastructure organisations flourished throughout the devolved United Kingdom. National volunteer centres were situated in England (Volunteering England), Northern Ireland (covered by Volunteering I [Eire]), Scotland (Volunteer Development Scotland) and the

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[148] Justin Davis Smith, 'Making a Difference: Can Governments Influence Volunteering? *Voluntary Action,* 1/1 (1998), 13-14.
[149] Compass Partnership, *The Volunteer Centre UK: A Review,* (London:
[150] Jeremy Kendall, 'The UK: Ingredients in a hyperactive horizontal policy environment', in Jeremy Kendall (ed.) *Handbook on Third Sector Policy in Europe: Multi-level Processes and Organized Civil Society,* (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., 2009), 69.
[151] Jeremy Kendall, *The Voluntary Sector,* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.
[152] Colin Rochester, Angela Ellis Payne and Steven Howlett, *Volunteering and Society in the 21st Century* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 2.
[153] Home Office, *Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England,* (London, Home Office, England, 1998).
[154] Jane Lewis, 'New Labour's Approach to the Voluntary Sector: Independence and the Meaning of Partnership', *Social Policy and Society,* 4/2 (April, 2005), 121-131.

Wales Council for Voluntary Action.[155] The Welsh peak body is different from the other bodies in that it supported the whole of the voluntary sector with volunteering as just one aspect of their work.[156] By 2004, three national organisations — the National Centre for Volunteering, the Consortium on Opportunities for Volunteering, and Volunteer Development England — merged to become Volunteering England, and designed a 10-year strategy for the volunteer infrastructure organisations which could be evaluated.[157]

On 23 April 2008, Justin Davis Smith, then CEO of Volunteering England, stated at the Volunteering England National Convention that 'Volunteering, I think, has never had it so good'.[158] However, this boom time for volunteering was short lived. In a review of the *The Compact Code of Good Practice on Volunteering*, Zimmeck argued that since its publication in 2001, government appeared to be less enthusiastic that volunteering was a 'key contributor to the success of its wider policy agendas'.[159] Rather, government 'has downgraded volunteering to a subordinate role'.[160] This claim was based on an examination of 41 pieces of legislation and policy documents of which only 20 referred to the Compact and only one referred to the Code of Practice on Volunteering.[161] Government was described as having an 'abiding distaste for the bread and butter work of promoting best practice, supporting the grassroots volunteering infrastructure and putting hands in pockets to pay for this work'.[162] The combination of the global financial crisis, the election of the more conservative Cameron Coalition Government (2010–ongoing) and budget cuts resulted in the fortunes of the volunteering infrastructure being reversed when the Government's Strategic Partners Program, which funded national infrastructure organisations, was phased out.[163]

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[155] Meta Zimmeck, 'Government and Volunteering: Towards a history of policy and practice' in Colin Rochester, Angela Ellis Payne and Steven Howlett (eds.), *Volunteering and Society in the 21st Century,* 91-93. NB: Wales does not have a national volunteering infrastructure body. The relevant body in Wales is the Wales Council for Voluntary Action. Penberthy, Chris and Andy Forster, *Building on Success: Strategy for Volunteering Infrastructure in England 2004-2014,* 4.

[156] Wendy Osborne, Skype interview with the author [sound recording] (19 November 2012), in author's possession.

[157] Chris Penberthy and Andy Forster, *Building on Success: Strategy for Volunteering Infrastructure in England 2004-2014,* 8.

[158] Justin Davis Smith, 'Volunteering: where we're at now (1 of 3)' [youtube] (6 May 2008), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f3O1IBAynfo>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[159] Meta Zimmeck, *The Compact Code of Good Practice on Volunteering: Capacity for change: A review,* (London: Institute for Volunteering Research, 2009), 2.

[160] Ibid. 2.

[161] Ibid. 2.

[162] Ibid. 4.

[163] Andrew Curtis, 'Volunteering and volunteering infrastructure in the current economic climate: Volunteering for Stronger Communities research project Year One Report', *Newsletter für Engagement und Partizipation in Europa,* 2/15, 5. <http://www.b-b-e.de/fileadmin/inhalte/aktuelles/2015/02/enl02_Gastbeitrag_Curtis.pdf>, accessed 2 June 2015.

A bright light during this period was the London Olympic Games in 2012: 'for six weeks in the summer volunteering became cool and the must-do activity. A poll carried out after the Games suggested that 44% of the British population said that they wished they had been Games Makers [volunteers]'.[164] Unfortunately, this shining moment was not to last. At its final annual meeting in 2012, Volunteering England, the CEO, Justin Davis-Smith stated:

> Two years ago I spoke of the feeling that we in the volunteering movement inhabit parallel universes: in one, there is huge political and public acclaim for volunteering and the role it plays in society; in the other, there is the daily struggle to make the case for even the most basic investment in the systems and structures that make volunteering work. This year unfortunately I need to report that these parallel universes have drifted even further apart.[165]

Without financial support of HM Government Volunteering England was no longer able to exist as an independent, national peak body on volunteering. By 2013, Volunteering England had merged with the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), effectively becoming an arm of the larger umbrella body.[166] This merger ended the forty-year life of the independent national volunteer centre in England. Davis Smith's 'parallel universes of volunteering' may in part be the result of a general assumption that when need arises, volunteers step in and fill the void. This is evidenced worldwide, most notably in times of disaster. Whereas the ongoing need for proper support and resourcing in the ongoing day-to-day management of volunteering is much harder to achieve. As Davis Smith put it:

> the inalienable truth that for volunteering to flourish we need to invest. In volunteering management; in training and support and recognition for volunteers; and in the local infrastructure that provides the underpinning to make volunteering work.[167]

[164] Justin Davis Smith, 'Volunteering England AGM Speech, 4 December 2012', (London: Volunteering England, 2012).
[165] Ibid. 1.
[166] Mark Locke, interview with the author [sound recording] (7 December 2012) in the possession of the author. Justin Davis-Smith, 'The Future of Infrastructure', paper given at *Big Assist National Conference,* London, blog (3 July 2013) <*blogs.ncvo.org.uk/.../Justin-Davis-Smith-NCVO-Speech-to-Big-Assist-co...*>, accessed 16 January 2014.
[167] Justin Davis Smith, 'Volunteering England AGM Speech, 4 December 2012', (London: Volunteering England, 2012), 3.

There have also been cuts at the local level. Local volunteer centres are commonly funded by local government but have experienced a sharp fall in national government funding.[168] By 2013, 68% of local volunteer centres had become part of other infrastructure bodies such as Councils of Voluntary Services.[169] This means that the majority of volunteer centres are no longer independent at either the local or the national level, but are integrated with other voluntary and community infrastructures.

Mergers may be a realistic option for volunteer centres when the alternative is closure due to loss of ongoing government funding. Certainly, Sir Stuart Etherington, Chief Executive, said of the merger: 'we look to put volunteering at the heart of all our work'.[170] Curtis believes that the volunteering infrastructure is at a crossroads.[171] Merging with other organisations and infrastructure bodies may mean the shift from a concentration on the volunteer to the organisation, a differentiation Penberthy and Foster made a decade earlier.[172]

Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed volunteering infrastructures as a distinct organisational grouping within the not-for-profit sector. To this end, definitions, role and core functions were examined. Research on peak bodies and networks was explored and considered within a federated structure. Understanding of the role and functions of the Australian volunteering infrastructure provides a platform from which to explore volunteering and is worthy of further research

International volunteering infrastructures, particularly the development of national peak bodies in the US and Britain was also explored. The loss of funding has caused the national

[168] Andrew Curtis, 'Adjusting to change: Volunteering Infrastructure in England', *Newsletter für Engagement und Partizipation in Europe,* 2(2015), <http://www.b-b-e.de/fileadmin/inhalte/aktuelles/2015/02/enl02_Gastbeitrag_Curtis.pdf>, accessed 2 May 2015. Andrew Curtis, 'Volunteering and volunteering infrastructure in the current economic climate: Volunteering for Stronger Communities research project Year One Report', <http://2d.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/VSC-Year-1-Report-Final.pdf>, accessed 2 June 2015.

[169] Gareth Lloyd, *Annual Return for Volunteer Centres 2012/13: Summary of high-level findings,* (London: Institute for Volunteering Research, 2013), 2.

[170] NCVO, 'Justin Davis Smith announced as NCVO executive director for volunteering' [media release], Thursday 15 November 2012, <www.ncvo.org.uk>, accessed 14 August 2013.

[171] Andrew Curtis, 'Volunteering and volunteering infrastructure in the current economic climate: Volunteering for Stronger Communities research project Year One Report', *Newsletter für Engagement und Partizipation in Europa,* 2/15, 6. <http://www.b-b-e.de/fileadmin/inhalte/aktuelles/2015/02/enl02_Gastbeitrag_Curtis.pdf>, accessed 2 June 2015.

[172] Chris Penberthy and Andy Forster, *Building on Success: Strategy for Volunteering Infrastructure in England 2004-2014*, 6.

bodies of both countries to cease operation as independent organisations and merge with other national groups. The experience in England, with its a change in government policy has had a major impact on the volunteering infrastructure, leaving volunteer centres unsure of their future viability.

This chapter has also demonstrated how the moving frontier has affected volunteering infrastructures when governments take the leading role. It has also shown how the complementary level from Young's model of multi-layered relationships has come to the fore with governments wanting to shift service delivery to the not-for-profit sector and how volunteering infrastructures has enabled this shift through the codification of volunteering.

CHAPTER 3

THE RISE OF AUSTRALIAN STATE AND TERRITORY VOLUNTEER CENTRES

All state volunteering centres are peak bodies and are focused on the support, promotion and advocacy of volunteers and volunteering. Historically, state and territory volunteer centres can trace their beginnings to the need for new ways to recruit volunteers, better matching of volunteers to positions, provision of a range of volunteer and management training, support and advice to volunteer programs and generally, the broad promotion of volunteering. Similarities appear in the development of state/territory volunteer centres. These include the determination of pioneers working to establish volunteer centres, the support of networks and organisations such as state Councils of Social Services, support through networking with other volunteer centres to establish new centres, and the importance of conferences in raising awareness, identifying issues and building networks. Even so, there were evolutionary differences between the peak volunteer centres. This chapter will analyse the creation, different influences and context that affected the development of state and territory peak volunteer centres in Australia over two decades commencing in 1974. It will argue that the volunteer centres arose through a clear need for better coordination and development of volunteering.

Volunteering infrastructure peak bodies are different from other peak bodies as they include direct services as part of their role, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. Direct services such as training volunteers and managers, mentoring and consulting volunteer-involving organisations and the recruitment of volunteers have historically been a part of the work of the volunteer centres. As important as the provision of direct services was the need to advocate for the rights of volunteers. These rights included good working conditions, and positions that matched volunteer skills and motivations. Further, volunteer centres promoted volunteering as necessary to a vibrant society. The development of volunteer centres was not a sequential process that began with the offer of recruitment services and then grew to

promote the concept of volunteering. Rather, the promotion of volunteering, and advocacy for volunteers were incorporated into the arguments for the establishment of volunteer centres.

Development of the First State and Volunteer Peak Centres in the 1970s

This section will consider the first two peak state volunteer centres to emerge during the 1970s.

New South Wales

Organisations have moments they can point to as the beginning of development. For the volunteering infrastructure, that moment was at a small desk in a corner of the Sydney Town Hall during the three-day festival for 'Old People's Week' in October 1972. Over the three days of the festival, '82 people were interviewed and 63 of them referred to 25 voluntary agencies in Sydney and suburbs' and so the Volunteer Bureau in Sydney was born.[1] The idea for a Volunteer Bureau emerged when Sydney resident Rose Miller visited the Volunteer Bureau in San Francisco and the National Centre for Voluntary Action in Washington in 1971.[2] At the time, she was a volunteer at the NSW Council for Ageing. Earlier, she had established a volunteer program at the Grosvenor Hospital, Sydney in 1967. As a manager of volunteers she found that:

> In Sydney 1970, many organisations were having difficulty obtaining volunteers – each organisation jealously guarded their "serving volunteers" and often found it difficult to recruit new volunteers. To establish a new organisation without any particular "following" in the community one relied mainly on "who you knew" and persuading them to help out. However their inexperienced recruits were unaware of what was involved in the voluntary work and often produced disastrous results both for those "offering to help" and those "requiring the assistance".[3]

Conversely, at the New South Wales (NSW) Council for Ageing, the opposite problem was the case. There they were turning away potential volunteers who wanted to volunteer for

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[1] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Council of Social Services New South Wales, 'The Seminar Discussions – Group Topics and Questions Raised', *the volunteer,* seminar proceedings, (Sydney: University of Sydney, 10-11 November, 1972) 54. Margaret Bell, *Silver Breeze: Celebrating Volunteering NSW Silver Anniversary,* (Sydney: Volunteering NSW, 1999), 5.

[2] Margaret Bell, *Silver Breeze: Celebrating Volunteering NSW Silver Anniversary,* 5

[3] Rose Miller, 'An Outline History of the Establishment of the Volunteer Centre of N.S.W. February 1974 – July 1981' (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 1986), 4.

Meals on Wheels. This was ‘clearly a waste of good helpers’.[4] Rose Miller had seen how volunteer centres in San Francisco and Washington operated as clearing houses, unheard of in Australia, but to Rose this appeared to be a solution to the recruitment problems of not-for-profit organisations.

With approval and support from the NSW Council for Ageing, a Volunteer Bureau Pilot Project led by Rose Miller and other volunteers based at the Council’s office began in 1974. The significance of a Volunteer Bureau and how it could help recruit volunteers was first recognised by other not-for-profit organisations such as the NSW Council for Ageing. Their in-kind support together with donations from individuals, foundations, philanthropic trusts and the Catholic Church made it possible for the Volunteer Bureau to grow. So, philanthropy, one of the driving forces in community services of Beveridge’s moving frontier (shown in Figure 2), can be seen to be a driving force in the development of the first volunteer centre in Australia. Further, this volunteer bureau spearheaded something new in the relationship between the not-for-profit sector and governments, drawing the focus to volunteers and their intrinsic value in society.

The Volunteer Bureau was a very new and untried venture in Australia. According to Young’s model, this would be at the supplementary level where unmet needs are met through innovations by not-for-profit organisations. However, within a very short time and while still a pilot program, the Volunteer Bureau’s very existence was threatened by an evaluation conducted by the Social Welfare Commission.[5] The evaluation’s leader, Michael Horsburgh of Sydney University, was not at all enthusiastic. Undertaken just six months after the Bureau first opened its doors, the evaluation was sceptical that the Bureau was viable:

> in view of the costs involved it would need to be shown both that those volunteers [placed in not-for-profit organisations] are of special value to the social welfare scene and that other methods of recruitment will fail to attract them. We do not believe that it is possible to sustain such a view.[6]

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[4] Bill Wells, ‘The Remarkable Story of Sydney’s Volunteer Bureau’, *The Australian Women’s Weekly,* 10 August, 1977, 16-17, in Trove, accessed 20 July 2014.
[5] Social Welfare Commission, *The Volunteer Bureau: A Pilot Study,* (Queanbeyan, NSW: AGSWC, October, 1975).
[6] Ibid. 24.

As Marie Coleman, Chairman of the Social Welfare Commission wrote, 'the Commission prefers to remain neutral about the utility of a voluntary workers "clearinghouse" until there has been a thorough test of the concept'.[7] This view was supported by the Social Welfare Commission's Project Team Leader, R G Bell, who questioned the evaluation's methodology and challenged its conclusions: 'It seems invalid to judge such a bureau in the short term merely on the number of volunteers placed and their social class'.[8] Bell was inclined to give the new bureau the benefit of the doubt:

> To admit that the Volunteer Bureau Pilot Program was not an overwhelming success is not to say that the concept of a central bureau should be dropped. On the contrary, it seems that a strictly controlled test, over a longer period of time, with more explicit objectives and with a simultaneous and thorough evaluation is called for. The bureau should be autonomous and operated outside the framework of any one agency.[9]

In a rider to the evaluation and included in the final report in 1975, Heather Buck, the Executive Officer, responded to criticisms by noting improvements such as promotion of the Bureau, the employment of a five-day-a-week worker, and the first hint of a database of spontaneous volunteers who offered to help following the Cyclone Tracy disaster in Darwin, Christmas 1974.

In his evaluation of the Bureau, Horsburgh considered the Volunteer Bureau to be a centralised bureau that did not fit the concept of regionalism. He declared it to be only a stopgap until regional volunteer bureaus could be set up. The Whitlam Government (1972–1975) wanted to change the federalist model of Australian Government by reaching past state governments to local governments, which would then be 'a genuine partner in the federal system'.[10] Known as regionalism, this would encourage greater citizen participation.[11] Over time, many understood regionalism as an opportunity to access federal government funding and control over programs.[12] And so for the new Volunteer Bureau, being considered a regional organisation had implications for funding and the development of more volunteer

[7] Ibid. 2.
[8] Ibid. 28.
[9] Ibid. 29.
[10] Gough Whitlam, 'It's time for leadership', Australian Labor Party, Policy Speech, Blacktown Civic Centre, 13 November, 1972,<http://whitlamdismissal.com/1972/11/13/whitlam-1972-election-policy-speech.html>, accessed 10 December 2013.
[11] C.J. Lloyd and G.S. Reid, *Out of the Wilderness: The Return of Labor* (North Melbourne: Cassell Australia Ltd., 1974), 275-208.
[12] J.M. Power and R.L. Wettenhall, 'Regional Government versus Regional Programs', *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 35/2 (June, 1976), 123.

bureaux in regional areas. Again, R G Bell disagreed with Horsburgh, arguing that the Volunteer Bureau Pilot Program was 'consistent with the objects of community development in regional social planning to direct resources from a region where there is an excess to one where they are in short supply'.[13] The concept of regionalism and the Social Welfare Council's Australian Assistance Plan would open the way to the establishment of more volunteer bureaus in both regional and local areas in New South Wales and Victoria. In the Hunter Region, NSW, the Hunter Volunteer Resource Centre was established in Newcastle in 1977 at the impetus of community health service centres, which wanted greater formalisation in the recruitment of volunteers. The case for greater regional support had begun two years earlier when the Social Welfare Commission filmed Newcastle to demonstrate the many social, economic and cultural needs of the region and the potential benefit of the AAP to Hunter communities.[14]

Victoria

Quite different from the experience in New South Wales with its reliance on philanthropy, the support of not-for-profit organisations and individual endeavour to develop, the Victorian state volunteer centre can be traced to the determination of a network of social workers, research and funding from both the Commonwealth and State Governments. Whitlam's Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) influenced the establishment of volunteering infrastructure organisations at a regional level well before the idea of establishing state and national bodies was envisaged. In Victoria, the AAP 'had a significant impact in increasing the number of relatively informal community action groups', which in turn would 'make the role of a bureau even more important and diverse' in supporting the new groups to build their organisational capacity.[15] At the state level, the interest of the Victorian State Government's Minister for Sport, Youth and Recreation, the Honourable (Hon.) Brian Dixon, played a significant role in keeping the fledgling volunteer centre alive, as will be illustrated later in this section.

The financial support from both tiers of government was underpinned by research commissioned by the Victorian Council of Social Service (VCOSS) that highlighted the need

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[13] Social Welfare Commission, *The Volunteer Bureau: A Pilot Study,* 29.

[14] Film Australia, *A Say in Your Community with The Australian Assistance Plan* (Lindfield, NSW: Film Australia for Social Welfare Commission, 1974) University of Newcastle Archives, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ec_28AvXfyQ>, accessed 17 December 2014.

[15] State Library of Victoria: Ray Judd, *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* (Hampton: Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau, 1979), MS 12055, No. 2536/7, 63-64.

for a volunteer centre. But first and foremost, the Victorian state volunteer centre owes its existence to a group of dedicated individuals, specifically a network of social workers in the southern metropolitan region of Melbourne. The Southern Region Social Worker's Group (SRSWG) formed in 1971 and evolved as 'a spontaneous expression of the … Australian Government's regionalism policy'.[16] By 1973, two of its members, John Wise, a social worker for Mordialloc City Council and Mrs Margaret McGregor, Director of Southern Family Life Service Association, independently visited the United States of America (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) to investigate the work volunteer centres and volunteer management. Their experiences, together with research on the needs of the Southern Region, led to a seminar being held on 4 March 1975. The 55 people representing 33 organisations in the region voted to investigate setting up a volunteer bureau.[17] This was reinforced by a survey of the region, confirming the need and potential function of a volunteer bureau.

Support from not-for-profit organisations and advocacy groups were also factors in the development of the peak volunteer centre in Victoria. In 1972, aware that the Social Worker's Group had been formed and research was being carried out in the US and the UK, the Victorian Council of Social Service commissioned research to 'widen knowledge about existing practices in the use of volunteers'.[18] Of the 238 responding not-for-profit organisations, 42,500 volunteers had been involved in the previous calendar year.[19] Volunteer turnover (which was as high as 50–100%) and training were identified as the major issues for respondents. The author of the report, Jean Hamilton-Smith, believed that volunteer centres based on the UK model could be developed under the auspice of VCOSS to provide services to its membership and act 'as a resource centre to the regional councils of social development' being developed through the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP). This would open the door to both state and federal government funding.[20] For example, the AAP, through ACCESS (Outer Eastern Regional Council for Social Development) funded Volunteers Unlimited, a pilot project which later evolved into today's Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre Incorporated. When funding to ACCESS ceased in 1978 due to the demise of the AAP, the volunteer centre survived with a mix of funding from the state government and in-

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[16] Ibid. Appendix III, 74.
[17] Ibid. 5.
[18] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *Volunteers in Social Welfare Services in Victoria,* for the Victorian Council of Social Service, Technical Paper No. 6, (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1972), 11.
[19] Ibid. 1-2.
[20] Ibid. 85.

kind support from local government.[21] Albury-Wodonga Volunteer Resource Bureau (based in Wodonga, Victoria) also emerged in 1975/76 and while evidence was not found that the AAP directly funded this volunteer resource centre, the possibilities offered by the Regional Council for Social Development within that region, could have played an influential role.[22]

Not all groups vying to establish volunteer centres were funded through the AAP. For instance, the Southern Region Social Worker's Group struggled to find funding for the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau (SVRB) partly, Ray Judd argued, due to the lack of clarity of its wide-ranging goals, which were philosophical rather than directional.[23] Governance was as another philosophically-based problem. The constitution, in line with health and social work concern about the rights of the client or consumer, stated that the Managing Committee was to be made up of 'two categories of committee members, volunteer workers and others'.[24] For Ray Judd, this was simplistic and perhaps a cause of some frustration as he recommended future volunteer bureaus needed to ensure 'their organisation is entrusted to appropriate people'.[25]

As well as these internal organisation issues, Judd felt external factors made locating funding difficult. Such external factors included a lack of understanding of how many people volunteered, what they did, their motivations and their management. In funding applications, the SVRB quoted American census statistics on volunteer numbers, the first cost benefit analysis of volunteer work (again borrowed from Chicago in the US) and their knowledge of volunteer bureaux in the US, Canada and England. Another problem was accessing philanthropic funding as the SVRB was considered to be a coordinating body rather than a charitable entity. At this time, SRVB did not have tax-deductibility or sales tax exemption, a pre-requisite demanded by many philanthropic trusts. This left the SRVB struggling to stay afloat. However, recognition and opportunity were at hand in the form of the Victorian Government Minister for Social Welfare and Minister for Youth, Sport and Recreation, the

[21] Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre, 'Thirty Years of Community Service', *Eastern Volunteers 30th Anniversary,* (Ringwood: Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre, n.d.).
[22] Volunteering Australia Archives: Cathy Nash, 'Mapping Report', [fax sent to Sheila Narrayan], Volunteering Victoria, 26 October1999, suggesting the commencement date was a year earlier in 1975.
[23] State Library of Victoria: Ray Judd, *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* , 7.
[24] Ibid 8. Lois Bryson and Faith Thompson, 'Professional or Personal Values in Community Organisation?', *Australian Journal of Social Work,* 23/1 (1970) , 9.
[25] State Library of Victoria: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* 8..

Hon. Brian Dixon (1973–82).[26] Aware of the difficulty of the SVRB in securing funding, he funded the entire pilot period of two years from his discretionary Minister's Fund in December 1976. Costing $44,995.00, this was significant support. Dixon saw the potential of volunteer bureaux and willingly approved the funding so that bureaux could be established in other regions throughout Victoria.[27] In the journey to become the state peak body on volunteering, Heather Buck was invited in 1980 to visit Melbourne and discuss the Volunteer Centre of NSW's experience.[28] And so, even though the centres began from differing perspectives, they began to create links with each other thus building a supportive network environment.

Comparing the Early Development Experience of State and Territory Centres in the 1970s

In comparing the two centres that would become the state peak bodies in NSW and Victoria definite differences are found. The Volunteer Centre of NSW relied on philanthropy for funding and philanthropists and business people for governance in its early days, clearly seeing its role as supporting organisations through the recruitment of volunteers, which evolved into greater organisation support. In Victoria, the impetus for a volunteer centre came from professional workers in local council and not-for-profit organisations. The vision for a volunteer centre was to 'improve the effectiveness of volunteer programmes in the region. … under the auspices of a committee elected from representatives of Voluntary Agencies, Federal, State and Local Government welfare and related services operating in the area'.[29] Therefore, the emphasis was on organisational and community development, community education, social action and social planning.[30] Interviewing and counselling were mentioned but community development was a primary aim. In common to both was the role international experience had on the development of the volunteer centres through overseas travel, bringing volunteering experts to Australia and attending training courses in the US.

The volunteer centres of NSW and Victoria knew they had a good idea that worked overseas. Their initial work was buoyed by the positive response of volunteers and not-for-profit organisations. But, ultimately, setting up volunteer centres was a gamble because they were

[26] Parliament of Victoria, 'Dixon, Brian James' (n.d.), <http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/re-member/bioregfull.cfm?mid=1022>, accessed 29 September 2014.
[27] State Library of Victoria: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau*, 9.
[28] Margaret Bell, *Silver Breeze,* 8.
[29] State Library of Victoria: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau*, 75.
[30] Ibid. 63.

establishing a new type of service without any guarantee that they would be successful in Australia. The efforts to establish a new service in NSW and Victoria are seen in both Young's model of multi-relationships and Beveridge's broader moving frontier model. Both models recognise the innovative role of the not-for-profit sector which is here adapted to the development of volunteer centres.

Development in the 1980s

The 1980s led to the establishment of peak volunteer centres in every state and territory. In the 1970s, the road to establishment was influenced by a mix of pioneers, not-for-profit organisational support, philanthropists, networks and international travel. New South Wales developed first. Originally, it had relied on the NSW Council for Ageing and philanthropists. Victoria's process included a network of social workers, the Commonwealth Government program, the AAP, and the example of volunteer centres overseas. In the 1980s, state volunteer centres in other states and territories would begin their journey to establishment. As will be shown in this section volunteer centres again relied on the foresight of pioneers, Councils of Social Service as well as State and Commonwealth funding.

Queensland

For Queensland, 1982 was momentous for volunteering. It was the year the XII Commonwealth Games were held in Brisbane, an event employing '5500 Foundation staff, volunteers and sporting officers', the first state-wide survey of volunteers was undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and the fledgling Volunteers Centre of Queensland (VCQ) opened its doors.[31] A year earlier, on 20 July 1981, Heather Buck, Director, Volunteer Centre of NSW, had been invited to Brisbane to attend a meeting of people interested in setting up a volunteer centre in Queensland. The enthusiasm shown in this meeting led to the Volunteers Centre of Queensland being officially opened in June 1982. Within six months, the new Centre could boast 100 financial members and 110 volunteers placed in not-for-profit organisations[32].

[31] Liane Maxfield, 'Brisbane gears up for the Games' *The Australian Women's Weekly,* Wednesday 18 August 1982, 22-23, in Trove, accessed 1 October 2014. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Provision of Welfare Services by Volunteers, Queensland Year Ended November 1982,* Catalogue No. 4401.3 (Brisbane: ABS, 1984). Volunteering Queensland Archives: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 'Chairman's Report', *First Annual Report 1983,* (Brisbane: Volunteer Centre of Queensland Inc., July 1983), 1. This link between large sporting events and volunteering would recur with the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and the International Year of Volunteering in 2001 and was noted by Volunteering England in 2012 (see Chapter 2).

[32] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 'Chairman's Report', *First Annual Report 1983,* 1.

Life for the new Volunteers Centre was busy but tough. In the early years, the lack of funds led to almost annual shifts in accommodation and, of course, no funding for office removalists. The anxiety caused by the lack of funding and constant relocation is obvious in this sample of quotes taken from the Annual Reports of 1984, 1985 and 1986 by the Chairman, Reverend C R Arkell:

> 1984 – The Volunteers Centre offers a free service to all, and with lack of regular funding, it is a constant worry making ends meet.[33]
>
> 1985 – Premises must be found or the Centre will cease to exist. We have written to various organisations who own city property asking for help … The cost of premises will probably be the deciding factor in the survival or otherwise of the Volunteers Centre of Queensland.[34]
>
> 1986 - … last year was no less traumatic than previous years. The office was again moved … The Committee was given to understand we were "safe" for some years, but rumours of demolition [of the building] are rife.[35]

As Chairman, Reverend Arkell believed in telling members exactly how things stood even if the situation appeared gloomy, 'I believe I am being realistic'. [36] However, the reports also demonstrated a determination to keep the doors of VCQ open with stories related in a humorous manner:

> Around this time we were obliged to move our office … and on the week-end of May 2nd an interesting cavalcade of volunteers, each bearing a chair, type-writer, file or other item of office paraphernalia could be seen bustling along Queen Street. During one of these "runs", we were even cheered by Sunday bystanders.[37]

Unlike the problems SRVB in Victoria experienced attempting to secure charitable status, Volunteers Centre of Queensland secured tax deductibility status from the Australian Taxation Office within its first six months of operation.[38] This meant that any donation to VCQ was an allowable income tax deduction. The reason for its success in this matter may

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[33] Volunteering Queensland Archives: C.R. Arkell, 'Chairman's Report', *Second Annual Report 1984* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1984), 2.

[34] Volunteering Queensland Archives: C.R. Arkell, 'Chairman's Report', *Third Annual Report 1985* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1985), 1.

[35] Volunteering Queensland Archive: C.R. Arkell 'Chairman's Report', *Fourth Annual Report 1986* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1986), 2.

[36] Volunteering Queensland Archive: C.R. Arkell, 'Chairman's Report', *Third Annual Report 1985*, 2.

[37] Volunteering Queensland Archive: Jenny Ferguson, 'Director's Report', *Second Annual Report 1984* (Brisbane, Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1984), 3.

[38] Volunteering Queensland Archive: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 'Chairman's Report', *First Annual Report 1983,* 2.

have been due to the SVRB being perceived as a co-ordinating body rather than a hands-on deliverer of services claimed by Queensland. Volunteers Centre of Queensland saw a direct link between itself and volunteers through 'placing of volunteer workers where they are most needed'. [39] VCQ's concentration on the needs of volunteers to find a volunteer position and volunteer training was more task-oriented than the community development of its sister centre in Victoria. In the first year of operation, VCQ relied on funding from membership, donations and fundraising efforts made up of raffles, street collection, a jumble sale and a carol concert. While its fundraising was hand-to-mouth, its belief in its own future resulted in a partnership with TAFE Kangaroo Point College delivering a basic training course for volunteers.

The Volunteer Centre of NSW had begun its Youth Program in 1979 to encourage young people to volunteer. The Volunteers Centre of Queensland extended that concept to concentrate on young unemployed people with funding from the Commonwealth Government's Volunteer Youth Program (VYP).[40] This Fraser Government initiative was the first time that a labour program had been specifically designed in recognition of the role volunteering might play as a response to unemployment.[41] The connection between volunteering and paid employment in the VYP guidelines required that every effort be made 'to match young peoples' work aspirations with their voluntary work placements, to give them useful and relevant work experience'.[42] Jenny Ferguson, Executive Director of the Volunteer Centre, was positive about the value of the Volunteer Youth Program and the VCQ's involvement particularly, as 'some of our recommendations have appeared in the final report' of the Inquiry into Labour Market Programs (the Kirby Report, 1985).[43] In effect, Ferguson saw this as a validation of the work of VCQ and its successful management of the VYP. Through the Volunteer Youth Program, VCQ could demonstrate that volunteering did help people transition into paid work, and that VCQ was making a difference in the lives of young people 'It is pleasing to see the self-confidence in some applicants, who, after working

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[39] Ibid. 2.

[40] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Jenny Ferguson, 'Director's Report' *Third Annual Report 1985* (Brisbane, Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1985), 3,

[41] Geoff Winter, *The Development of Commonwealth Labour Market Programs: A Chronology,* 16/1994 (Canberra: Department of the Parliamentary Library, 1994), 10 http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprspub%2FJLV10 %22>, accessed 1 September 2011.

[42] Kirby et al., *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs, (Canberra, Commonwealth of Australia, January 1985), 164-165.

[43] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Jenny Ferguson, 'Director's Report' *Third Annual Report 1985*, 3.

for a time in a voluntary job, realise that they are not after all "useless", as they had supposed'.[44] The bonus for the Volunteers Centre of Queensland, of course, was the financial security the VYP represented.

The Volunteer Youth Program was unique among labour market programs for young people aged between 15 and 25 years in that it reinforced evidence of a gender split in the paid workforce and the notion that volunteering was 'women's work'. The Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs (the Kirby Report) in 1985, found that in the previous year, labour market programs were more likely to have been directed at traditionally male industries even though there was a higher percentage of young women in VYP, reflecting 'traditional fields of women's work and the high degree to which volunteerism is dependent on women'.[45] This finding concurs with the experience of the Volunteers Centre of Queensland, shown in Table 5, where, in 1986, three times more young women used the service than young men. But rather than choosing to take part in VYP because volunteering was the natural milieu of women, it may be that many other labour market programs were promoted as specifically for males so that VYP offered easier access to young women.

Table 5 Volunteer Youth Program at Volunteers Centre of Queensland (1984-1987)

Year	Men	Women	Total	No. of participants who left program for paid employment or further education
1984	54	102	156	This covered the first six months of operation only and no data was given on whether people had found paid work during this short period.
1985	88	324	412	159 (39%) paid employment 30 (7.30%) further studies
1986	94	302	396	143(36%) paid employment 44 (11%) further studies
1987	142	394	536	238 (47%) paid employment 55 (11%) further studies

In 1986, the Commonwealth Government renamed the program the Community Volunteer Program (CVP) and extended the upper age limit beyond 25 years.[46] By 1988, this extension in eligibility led to a 47.1 per cent increase in new participants, with 360 being over 25 years

[44] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Jenny Ferguson, 'Director's Report' *Second Annual Report 1984*, 3.
[45] Kirby et al., *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* 68.
[46] Maureen Cane Personal Archive: Australia Department of Employment Education & Training, *Towards One Program, SkillShare The Community & Youth Network for Employment & Training,* (Canberra: Department of Employment, Education & Training, 1988), 22.

and 364 participants being 25 and under in 1988. While successful and lucrative, the CVP was only one group making use of the referral service. People outside the CVP guidelines were increasingly using the referral service, with more than 1,000 volunteers placed with volunteer involving organisations in 1987.[47]

The CVP, however, was short-lived. In September 1987, the Hawke Government sought to amalgamate three national labour market preparation programs, the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS), the Community Training Program (CTP) and the Community Volunteer Program (CVP) into one new labour market program, SkillShare. The amalgamation occurred for a number reasons that included 'more effective and consistent use of available funds' and to 'ensure that funding is directed to projects with the best employment outcomes for disadvantage unemployed people'.[48] SkillShare was to be an 'integral part of the Government's employment and training measures' and would capitalise on the best features of the three existing programs, but volunteering had been sidelined.[49] Many volunteer centres relied upon the CVP to fund their volunteer recruitment and placement services and the Volunteers Centre of Queensland considered itself no longer eligible under the new SkillShare program guidelines.

This was devastating to the Volunteers Centre of Queensland. The new Executive Director, Diane Morgan, stated, 'Had it not been for the State Government Family Service Grant, of $30,000 for 1989, the VCQ would have been forced to close'.[50] Four paid staff, including the founding director, Jenny Ferguson, sought other employment, leaving Diane Morgan to act in an honorary capacity to rebuild the organisation with the support of a part-time administrative officer on a six-month contract. Its survival was largely due to the hard work of volunteers.

In 1988, the Australian Bicentennial celebrations were in full swing and the World Expo 88 was drawing large crowds in Brisbane. Nearly 4000 volunteers took part in the World Expo, attracting interest in volunteering from the media and other sectors. Following the Expo,

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[47] Volunteering Queensland Archive: C.R. Arkell, 'Chairman's Report' *Sixth Annual Report 1988* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland Inc 1988), 2-3. Neil Kempe, 'Community Volunteer Programme Project Officer's Report' *Sixth Annual Report 1988* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland Inc 1988), 4-7.

[48] Maureen Cane Personal Archive: Australia Department of Employment Education & Training, *Towards One Program, SkillShare The Community & Youth Network for Employment & Training*, 10.

[49] Ibid. 10. Maureen Cane, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Canberra, 16 June 2011, in the author's possession.

[50] Volunteering Queensland Archive: Diane Morgan, 'Executive Director's Report' *Annual Report 1989* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland 1989), 5-6.

many volunteers chose to volunteer for other organisations including VCQ. According to Diane Morgan, the volunteer effort at the World Expo 88, weekly radio interviews and new programs for older Queenslanders dramatically increased public awareness of VCQ. The greater public profile was an impetus to lobby the Queensland State Government for training programs and volunteer recruitment programs for newly arrived immigrants, students, retired people and potential volunteers with physical, emotional or intellectual disabilities.[51] A funding application to the Queensland Department of Family Services and Housing Welfare in 1989 articulated VCQ's efforts to move away from the notion that volunteers and volunteering belong within welfare:

> As a nation we are growing in awareness and action to move from a welfare dependent society to one that assumes responsibility for its own needs. Community based volunteer agencies are increasingly taking up this responsibility. The Volunteer Centre of Queensland has a vital role to play in this change for improved community development.[52]

This statement is indicative of the efforts of volunteer centres around the country trying to change public and government understanding of volunteering. 'Change in attitude and practice is essential if volunteering is to continue to develop and grow as a relevant and valid part of community life'.[53] By extension, such a shift in attitude would also benefit the volunteer centres as they continued to argue for funding across a range of government portfolios.

South Australia

The impetus for the establishment of a volunteer centre in South Australia can be traced to the re-election of Don Dunstan as Premier of South Australia (1970–1979). Dunstan heralded change in philosophy and programs, 'we knew … this man was really thinking something different about those most in need'.[54] Previously, Don Dunstan had been Attorney-General and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Social Welfare, 1965–67 when Joy Noble was the District Officer at Port Augusta for the Department of Social Welfare. She related an amusing anecdote of an occasion when the Minister of Social Welfare visited the Port Augusta office.

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[51] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Diane Morgan, 'Executive Director's Report', *Annual Report 1990,* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1990), 6.
[52] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Volunteer Centres of Queensland Inc., *Submission to the Department of Family Services and Housing Welfare,* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland Inc., 1988), 1.
[53] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Chris Chappell (ed.), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers,* (Adelaide: SACOSS, December, 1980), 4.
[54] Ian Cox, interview with Bruce Guerin, [sound recording] (Don Dunstan Oral History Project, 5 July 2007) < https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/jspui/bitstream/2328/25994/1/COX_Ian_cleared.pdf>, accessed 8 May 2012.

The anecdote underlies the extent to which church influence had permeated the public service at that time:

> …the secretary came into me and said "oh, I've made a terrible mistake. The Minister's here and when he came up to the counter, he said "I'm the Minister, I want to see the District Officer" and she replied "oh, what denomination are you?".[55]

During Dunstan's time as Premier, the newly employed Ian Cox, Director General of the Department of Community Welfare (1972–1985) considered public servants in welfare to be heavily influenced by their religious beliefs. Until then, Cox felt there had been an inclination to hire personnel who were 'dedicated church people', which he argued 'locked in the way people thought about the poor and … connected sinners and theology all together'.[56] In other words, personnel were suspicious of welfare recipients whose behaviour, if they broke the rules, was considered evil as well as illegal. This was one of the reasons Cox argued that Dunstan was determined to professionalise welfare services, thereby removing charitable overtones. Other objectives included the decentralisation of services, better collaboration between government departments, and finding alternatives to institutional care for young people.

Joy Noble was promoted to Regional Director, Department of Community Welfare, Port Augusta, and she credits the new and radical Community Welfare Act 1972 as the impetus for a new program within the Department where volunteers worked with social workers to meet the needs of clients. When she met some of the volunteers:

> I thought, 'how crazy, why haven't we done this before?' People were having difficulties at home with a social worker going in every month or so to check on things. That wasn't what they wanted, they really wanted someone who had been through the same experiences as them as more of a friend and a mentor.[57]

At the same time as Whitlam was pushing the boundaries of the moving frontier by initiating change through regionalisation, the introduction of the Social Welfare Commission and its Australian Assistance Plan, the Government of South Australian under the leadership of Don Dunstan was equally leading the push for change:

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[55] Joy Noble, interview with the author.
[56] Ian Cox, interview with Bruce Guerin.
[57] Joy Noble, interview with the author.

> … [there] seemed to be an inbuilt threat in the Dunstan sympathy for social welfare. Peter Travers, then Chairman of the Executive Committee [SACOSS] remembers that, "Ian Cox, Director-General of the Department of Community Welfare, was such an extremely able and dynamic personality, we were afraid his department might take over everything and there'd be no role left for SACOSS. There seemed no bounds to the government's ambition in the social welfare field."[58]

It was in this environment of change in community services and the need for more volunteers that the South Australian Council of Social Services (SACOSS) set up a task group in 1976 to develop a draft volunteer policy for organisations and support working groups and networks on volunteering. Their survey found that in 1979, 18,899 people volunteered in 116 organisations and an issue highlighted was the need for better training of volunteers.[59]

By this time, Joy Noble had retired from the Department of Community Welfare and witnessed the frustration of a friend whose multiple skills were ignored by the not-for-profit organisation where he volunteered.

> … a friend of mine, who was quite an intelligent guy volunteered for an organisation and after a month or so, he said 'I'm leaving, it's ridiculous, I go in there and I do nothing, they're not using what they could get out of me'. So I was thinking, 'yeah we need an organisation where we know what skills are required and there's a good matching of the skills with the person and the organisation.[60]

Involved with SACOSS, Joy was aware of their research and its identified need for volunteer training, 'so I was thinking, 'we need an organisation where we know what skills are required and there's a good matching of the skills with the person and the organisation'.[61] Mavis Reynolds newly arrived from NSW knew about the volunteer centres in NSW and could see the potential for a volunteer centre in South Australia. Together, these women launched the Volunteer Centre of South Australia (VCSA) with the support of past colleagues willing to volunteer in this new endeavour, Lange Powell (Executive Director of SACOSS 1980–1985) and SACOSS itself, corporate-sector funding plus a small grant from the Department of Community Welfare. The newly elected Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Mrs Hazel Hawke became patrons of the fledgling centre.

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[58] Lange Powell Personal Archive: Michael Page, *The SACOSS Story: 1947-1997,* (Adelaide: SACOSS 2002), 67.
[59] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Chris Chappell (ed), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers;* 38. Lange Powell, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Adelaide, 23 March 2011), in the author's possession.
[60] Joy Noble, interview with the author.
[61] Joy Noble, interview with the author.

> the thing about starting that Centre was that it was not difficult. I'd heard about them and I'd been thinking about it myself and talking to friends and old colleagues about it. At the same time, Mavis [Reynolds], who had come over from NSW knew about the Volunteer Centre in NSW was saying 'We want to have a centre here'. … So we started off with a referral service and training and we got lots of people coming to our referral service and our training service. We didn't have to advertise much, we just had to send the message out and having the cooperation of SACOSS was good because… we were starting it particularly because of [their] research.[62]

In South Australia, the impetus to establish a volunteer centre partly arose from the belief that volunteering was changing. Volunteers expected more from the experience and the organisation, and organisations were becoming increasingly aware of the costs of running effective and successful volunteer programs.[63] VCSA argued that a successful volunteer program needed better matching of skills, training, support, evaluation and the tools necessary for allotted tasks. Whereas, a decade earlier, Rose Miller in New South Wales, began the development of a volunteer centre based on the needs for alternative organisational volunteer recruitment methods, a starting point for Joy Noble were the needs of volunteers for better matching processes.

From early documentation found in the Volunteering SA & NT archives it is clear that the early centre was based on a community care model that focused on volunteer recruitment, referral and consultancy.[64] Therefore, this was not the grass roots experience of the Volunteer Centre of NSW, growing and clarifying its role as it developed, or the Volunteers Centre in Queensland that concentrated on the needs of young people. The South Australian experience sought to 'present a global view of volunteering which respond[ed] to the challenges of today's society'.[65] It would appear that each centre arose in response to the needs of their volunteering communities.

In South Australia, the needs of volunteers in the workplace, their conditions and relationships with paid workers were major topics for seminars held by the infant Volunteer

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[62] Joy Noble, interview with the author..

[63] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Chris Chappell (ed.), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers,* 9.

[64] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Anonymous, *Proposal for Volunteer Centre of S.A. Scheme: Establishment of a volunteer recruitment, referral and consultancy service,* (Adelaide: circa 1981-1982). Volunteering SA, 'Not Just Do-Gooders', *The Volunteer Centre – Our History 1982-2007 (Adelaide: Volunteering SA, 2007).*

[65] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. *Annual Report 1985,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 10 September 1985), 1.

Centre. An early innovation was visiting not-for-profit organisations to gauge the conditions volunteers experienced in the workplace:

> … going out to different organisations and seeing the site where the volunteers would work, to see what their conditions were like because often they didn't have a place to put their valuables or they … didn't have any special rules for whatever job they did. Actually job descriptions were not used at all, [volunteers] used to just report or go to … the lady at the desk and she would say what was needed [that day] and a lot of times it was … things that didn't use the volunteer's experience. So, we learned a lot and different people came to be interviewed and that taught us a lot.[66]

Offering organisations a new way to recruit volunteers came with demands. The VCSA challenged organisations to think about their management systems, 'some were doing it [but] some thought, "oh we don't know, it just depends on the day, what's needed"'. [67] Similar to the experiences of the volunteer centre in New South Wales, the founders of VCSA felt this put volunteers in a vulnerable position where they could be exploited and where, at the least, they were not respected as workers.

Throughout the 1980s, the relationship between volunteers and paid workers was an ongoing issue. In 1977, Adelaide was the only capital city where the ambulance service relied extensively on volunteer labour — 150 paid workers and 600 volunteers:

> The paid workers are on duty during normal business hours – a total of about 60 hours a week. For the remaining 108 hours, the job is done entirely by volunteers, who have worked throughout each night and at weekends.[68]

The Ambulance Employees Association of South Australia (AEASA) began lobbying St Johns Council for South Australia Incorporated for greater differentiation between paid and volunteer staff. The paid ambulance drivers wanted better pay and training to reach national standards and parity with other states.[69] The relationship between paid and volunteer ambulance workers had been fraught for some time, as both paid and volunteer staff alternated shifts, carrying out the same or similar work. Feelings ran high with volunteers

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[66] Mavis Reynolds, interview with the author [sound recording], (Sydney, 18 November, 2010), in the author's possession.
[67] Mavis Reynolds, interview with the author.
[68] South Australian Correspondent, 'Storm in South Australia over Volunteer Services' *The Canberra Times,* (Canberra, Saturday 9 July 1977), 2
[69] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Chris Chappell (ed.), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers,* 60. Ambulance Employees Association of South Australia 'A Brief History', <http://www.aeasa.com.au/index.php/about>, accessed 28 September 2014.

forming an action group with the slogan ‘The volunteer has a role in freedom. Volunteerism can be an extension of the right to vote’.[70]

The focus of the Volunteer Centre of SA was on volunteering and the valuable service volunteers provided to the state of South Australia and the ambulance service itself. VCSA argued this was the best course of action, particularly in light of the experience of other Australian states where the phase-out of volunteers in ambulance services had resulted in a reduction of ambulance service:

> the volunteers and paid staff must each have payoffs meaning wages, skill development and job satisfaction for paid workers and the opportunity for volunteers to participate in something they were interested in and provided skills and job satisfaction.[71]

VCSA advocated for a partnership between paid and volunteer workers and wrote a number of times to the St Johns Council to this effect.[72] However, within the ambulance service, volunteers felt vulnerable and saw the dispute as a territorial one with paid ambulance workers trying to oust them, as shown in this VCSA newsletter article:

> While the paid staff were adamant their quarrel was not with the volunteers, the volunteers believed that at least some members of the paid staff were hoping to dispense with the services of volunteers. The atmosphere was said to be so tense and unpleasant in some stations that volunteers will in fact leave.[73]

The Volunteer Centre continually argued that volunteer roles were transformative and benefited any area in which they were involved, and thus should be allowed to continue without compromising the rights and value of paid workers. As an example of the value of complementary roles and the benefit they brought to the community as a whole, Joy Noble spoke of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, 1984. This, she argued, was an outstanding success due, in large part, to the involvement of volunteers who ‘can enhance and extend the

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[70] South Australian Correspondent, ‘Storm in South Australia over volunteer services’ *The Canberra Times,* (Canberra, Saturday 9 July 1977), 2.

[71] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A., ‘Tremendous pool of skill in the community’ *South Australian Volunteering,* 20th edition, (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, June-August 1989), 3.

[72] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Joy Noble, ‘letter to *Advertiser* newspaper Friday 17 March 1989’ cited in ‘Tremendous pool of skill in the community’*,* 1.

[73] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, Anonymous, ‘Tremendous pool of skill in the community’, *South Australian Volunteering,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1989), 1-3.

services offered to the public … this community effort raised individual and city morale and had a great unifying effect on a city of many nationalities'. [74]

The Volunteer Centre of South Australia sought to raise awareness of volunteers as a staffing issue. Their concerns were highlighted in the 1984 seminar 'Volunteering: A Growth Industry':

> - Is volunteering a useful and appropriate labour force in your organisation for the recipient of service, the organisation and the volunteer ….?
> - How do you ensure that the job opportunities of the unemployed are not undermined by employing volunteer labour?
> - Management issues such as decision making responsibilities by the volunteer Committee of Management members and paid staff. [sic. bullet points original text] [75]

The words used such as 'growth industry', 'appropriate labour force', 'management issues' and 'undermined by employing volunteer labour' challenged traditional thinking of volunteering as an activity of 'little old ladies doing good works'. The message that volunteering was a workforce and management issue was reinforced by inviting the Minister for Labour and Industry, the Honorable Jack Wright, to make the opening address for this seminar rather than the more predicable choice of the minister who held the welfare and community services portfolio. Such seminars challenged other preconceptions about volunteers: increasing women volunteers in sport and recreation, volunteering as leisure, volunteers in tourism and the arts.[76] These seminars did two things. They provided information and education on volunteering and they raised awareness of the role and value volunteers played in a range of contexts other than the traditional health and welfare areas.

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[74] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. Inc., 'Grand Prix Volunteers'*, Volunteering,* (Adelaide: Volunteering Centre of SA, December 1985-February 1986), 1.

[75] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, *Two Reminders: A Major Seminar on Volunteering to be held on 24.9.84'* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1984).

[76] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, *Kitchen to Committee: The Vital Role of Women Volunteers in Sport and Recreation* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1986). Volunteer Centre of SA, *Work, Leisure and Volunteering:, New Perspectives Seminar* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1983). Volunteer Centre of SA, *Ageing: a beginning not an end* (Volunteer Centre of SA, 1984). Volunteer Centre of S.A., *Volunteer Programmes for the Intellectually Disabled* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1984). Volunteer Centre of SA, *Work, Leisure and Volunteering: New perspectives* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1983). Volunteer Centre of SA, *Volunteers in the Arts* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, n.d.)

Simultaneously, the Volunteer Centre called for better recognition of volunteer co-ordinators, 'It's time you were recognised as an expanding professional body'.[77] There was a double incentive for the recognition of volunteer managers as a profession. Firstly, arguing that volunteers deserved professional management was an extension of the Volunteer Centres' work to improve volunteer workplace conditions. The reasoning being that highly skilled and knowledgeable management for volunteers was an extension of the Volunteer Centre's advocacy for volunteer rights. And, secondly, being managed by professionals would raise awareness of volunteers as part of an organisation's staffing and that volunteers should be considered in the management of the organisation overall. This was not an issue peculiar to South Australia. When working at the Volunteer Action Centre Victoria, I was aware of volunteer managers not being included in management meetings as somehow managing volunteers was considered almost an addendum to the organisation. For instance, I once listened to a manager of volunteers lament that she was the only manager not included in management meetings even though she organised 400 volunteers, a figure many times greater than the number of paid staff of that organisation.

Western Australia

By 1985, volunteer centres existed in Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia and the first national conference on volunteering had been organised that year by the Volunteer Centre of NSW. Volunteer centres were no longer a new phenomenon. Robyn Barrows, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Western Australian Council of Social Service (WACOSS), took a leading role, fostering the development of a volunteer centre by beginning with a seminar on volunteering.[78] Today, seminars and conferences addressing volunteering are familiar events but, in 1985 in Perth, it was quite novel and reaction was not universally supportive. One group of volunteer coordinators was so concerned they wrote to Robyn Barrows claiming that any conference lasting more than a day would not suit time-poor volunteers and that volunteers felt the proposed conference program was 'too high-browed and awe-inspiring' and more suited to the needs of management.[79] Their letter went on to argue that any money provided by the State Government for the seminar would be better spent directly on volunteer programs rather than an event whose main audience would

[77] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, *Volunteer Coordinators!* [brochure] (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1986).
[78] Volunteering Western Australia Archives: Robyn Barrow, [letter to the Hon. E.K. Hallahan M.L.C., Minister for Community Services, WA], 20 March 1985.
[79] Volunteering Western Australia Archives: Elizabeth Dalzell, [letter to Robyn Barrow, WACOSS], 10 December 1985.

be managers of volunteers. This protest appears to espouse the belief that money, time and energy are best spent on the outcome of volunteer labour, rather than volunteers who are the vehicle through which peoples' needs are met. This was very different to the thinking of those who wanted to set up a volunteer centre:

> We were all unhappy about 'it's just a volunteer' [attitude]. We wanted to recognise the professionalism of [volunteering] and wanted to see more training. We wanted to get rid of that phrase 'I'm just a volunteer'.[80]

Regardless of protest, the initial seminar resulted in WACOSS setting up a Task Group on Volunteers to plan the establishment of a volunteer centre. In the planning stages, it held an in-house discussion on the philosophical basis of the new centre and how it would deal with criticisms from both the left and right of the political spectrum.[81].When the initial funding from the State Government, was granted it enabled the establishment of the Volunteer Centre (VWA) with enough funds to hire its first Director, Tina Siver.[82]

By the time the VWA was open for business in 1988, there had been both a national and international conference on volunteering in Australia and the Red V had been accepted as the national brand for volunteering (see Chapter 5). This engendered a feeling of cohesiveness, of a movement that was not based in a region or particular state but was gathering national momentum. For the first time, a state peak volunteer centre began highlighting the management of volunteers as can be seen in the VWA aim to 'provide support to volunteers and agencies by *fostering the development, utilisation and management of human resources* available in the voluntary sector which respond to the challenges of our changing society' [emphasis added].[83] One strength of VWA was its library on volunteering, which grew to be a substantial holding and the best of any library held by volunteer centres with subscriptions to 35 journals and magazines on volunteering-related issues and newsletters from 230 not-for-profit organisations.[84] Another strength was in bringing together West Australian university academics interested in volunteering. In the 1990s, Volunteering WA began the

[80] Jan Knight, interview with the author [sound recording] (Perth, 4 April 2011) in the author's possession.
[81] Volunteering Western Australia Archives: WACOSS Task Group on Volunteers, 'What is Volunteer Work in Community Services? (How wil the volunteer centre present itself?) – Developing a philosophical basis to handle criticisms from left and right', an In-House Discussion, 28 October 1987.
[82] Volunteering Western Australia, *It makes a difference to this jellyfish: A history of Volunteering Western Australia 1988-2000*, (Perth: Western Australia, 2001).
[83] Volunteering WA Archives: Volunteer Centre of Western Australia, *Annual Report 1989* (Perth, Volunteer Centre of Western Australia, 1989) 1.
[84] Ibid. 3.Volunteering WA, *It makes a difference to this jellyfish!*, 36-38.

Volunteer Research Network and worked towards setting up a research protocol for volunteer-involving organisations and researchers to clarify such issues as ownership of raw data.[85] These actions were a reflection of the role of volunteering peak bodies. By this stage in the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure, state volunteering peak bodies were becoming a recognised form of not-for-profit organisation and established volunteer centres were moving beyond having to argue the need for establishment. Rather, centres such as Volunteering WA strengthened their peak body status by developing credibility as experts in volunteering and facilitating research.

Australian Capital Territory

Canberra, the capital city of Australia, is a fairly small metropolis with a sophisticated and well-educated population and a community services sector proportionately small in comparison to other state capital cities. The development of the volunteer centre in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) varied to the development of other peak volunteer centres as it was led by a group of people volunteering for a government department as well has having early involvement from businesses. Mary Porter (later to become the CEO of the Volunteering ACT and President of Volunteering Australia) had arrived from the Northern Territory in 1977 and volunteered as a way of integrating into her new community.[86] One activity she took up was to become a volunteer trainer for the Community Volunteer Course, run by the Community and Occupational Development Unit, a program of the Mental Health Branch of the then ACT Health Commission. In November 1986, the Community Liaison Group attached to the Community Volunteer Course ran a series of seminars and Volunteer Expo to celebrate Volunteers Week.

This Volunteer Expo, held in the centre of Canberra, was a major catalyst in developing a volunteer centre in the ACT. The success of the Expo highlighted the needs of managers of volunteers:

> ‘This was great but you know, we need something done about insurance for volunteers We need something done about further training for volunteers and people who work with volunteers. We need something done about recruitment and retention and all these other things’. And we’re saying [volunteer organisers of the Volunteer Expo] ‘hang on a minute, we’re just a bunch of volunteers that work with the

[85] Megan Paull, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Perth, 5April 2011), in the author’s possession.

> Community Volunteers Course and we have run this because we thought you needed it, but you're asking for a lot of things that we can't actually provide you. Training is what we do and this was just a thing we thought would be nice to do, this Expo.[87]

In response a small group of people including some from the Community Volunteers Course held a forum and from this it was decided to establish a volunteer association to meet the needs of volunteers, managers of volunteers and not-for-profit organisations. Thus the development of the peak body in the ACT sprang from the work of a volunteer program based within an ACT government department, the Department of Mental Health. The ACT Volunteers Association was incorporated in 1989 with Senator Margaret Reid as its first patron. Within a year of operation, the ACT Volunteers Association established its volunteering expertise by adapting existing training programs to meet the needs of Canberra organisations and to undertake research on the needs of organisations and the role the new volunteer centre could play.[88] Respondents identified eight areas where they needed help. The first four concerned training, particularly in areas of special need, the dissemination of news about training opportunities and resources by other organisations and research on volunteering.[89] This need for training, information and research was similar to the experiences of volunteer centres in other States – gone were the days when volunteer management could be assumed to be serendipitous. The volunteer centres could clearly play a role in the progression of the professional manager of volunteers.

Another early initiative of the ACT Volunteer Association was a Volunteer of the Year Award with a prize of $1,000 to be donated to a not-for-profit organisation of the winner's choice. This was popular and secured sponsorship from a large business, Lend Lease, for the continuation of the Award. [90] The concentration on promotion was a different emphasis in comparison to other volunteer centres whose focus strongly favoured recruitment of volunteers and improving management. An early example of the focus on promotion included hosting a regular radio segment.[91] The new Association also displayed a keen interest in

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[87] Mary Porter, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Canberra, 24 May 2011), in the author's possession. Volunteering ACT Archive: Volunteering ACT, *A History: The ACT Volunteer Association and Volunteering ACT,* (Canberra, Volunteering ACT, circa 1998), 1.

[88] Volunteering ACT Archives: ACT Volunteers Association, *Newsletter,* June 1990 (Canberra, ACT Volunteers Association 1990), 3.

[89] Volunteering ACT Archives: ACT Volunteers Association, *Newsletter,* November 1990 (Canberra, ACT Volunteers Association 1990), 2.

[90] Mary Porter, interview with the author.

[91] Volunteering ACT Archives: ACT Volunteers Association, *Newsletter* 1, April 1989 (Canberra, ACT Volunteers Association, 1989), 3.

understanding volunteering and the education of volunteers and managers in other states in Australia and internationally. For instance, the ACT's first conference was held in the first year of operation in 1990; nationally, they sought membership to the Australian Association for Volunteering, and promoted international engagement through IAVE Conferences.[92] This is not surprising considering the basis for establishment of the ACT Volunteers Association was the promotion of volunteering, learning opportunities provided through volunteer seminars and workshops.

Tasmania

The experience of the development of Volunteering Tasmania was similar to the experience of Victoria a decade earlier in that its evolution can be traced back to a network of like minded people working with volunteers. In Victoria, it was a network of social workers (Southern Region Social Worker's Group) whereas in Tasmania the network consisted of people managing volunteers in the north of the state. Established in 1989 the Northern Volunteer Agency Network (NVAN) was based in Launceston in the north of Tasmania. Its membership was made up of an enthusiastic and adventurous group of people; confident of their skills and knowledge about volunteering and its value to Tasmania. Most importantly, they were convinced of the need to support and promote volunteers and managers of volunteers.[93] It was envisaged that NVAN would be used to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas, promote the sharing of resources and make it easier for volunteers to move between organisations. Soon it became apparent two issues dominated meetings – the need for more comprehensive training for volunteers and a central register for volunteers and organisations advertising available placements.[94] The City of Launceston was approached to set up a register in the north of the state although lobbying the Tasmanian Government for funding proved fruitless. As state and federal government funding was already allocated for training by existing individual programs there appeared little incentive to provide funding for a central service.[95] In true network style NVAN looked to members and their affiliates to fill the identified gap. A joint initiative with Adult Education North resulted in a training course

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[92] Volunteering ACT Archives: ACT Volunteers Association, *Newsletter 2,* August 1989 (Canberra, ACT Volunteers Association, 1989), 2.
[93] Helen Whitehead, interview with the author [sound recording] (Burnie, Tasmania, 21 February 2011), in the author's possession.
[94] Volunteering Tasmania Archives: Northern Volunteer Network, Press Release, c.1990.
[95] Volunteering Tasmania Archives: Hon Judy Jackson, Minister for Community Services, [letter to Mrs Shirley Haas, Northern Volunteer Network], 11 December 1990.

that addressed both philosophical and ethical aspects of volunteering, awareness of clients' needs and rights as well as well as the practical issue of back care.[96]

When the Commonwealth Government funded the establishment of new volunteer centres through the Volunteer Management Program (VMP) in late 1992, NVAN members felt they had achieved what they had all worked so hard for, a state body. But this was to come at a cost. The Commonwealth Government insisted that the new state volunteer centre be situated in the capital city, Hobart, at the other end of the island and suggested that the Tasmania Council of Social Services (TASCOSS) be the auspicial body. This highlights a feature in Tasmania not found in other states. The smallest state, Tasmania has historically been divided into two main areas, the north and the south, and it was not unusual for not-for-profit organisations such as the Australian Red Cross to respect this divide by setting up committees in each division.[97] Indeed the sensitivity to regional individuality was reflected in early annual reports which included separate entries for the northern, the north west and the south regions.[98] It was therefore very important when working towards establishing a state volunteer centre that would cover all regions, meetings were held in both Burnie and Hobart.[99]

The geographical location and Commonwealth funding provided the turning point from a grassroots network to a formal peak body. NVAN had grown from a small local and regional network made up of people bold enough to offer Tasmania as the next state to hold a national volunteer conference without the assurance of any other organisational backing. The national conference was used by NVAN as evidence of the commitment to volunteering in Tasmania. The new volunteer centre was heavily influenced by NVAN grassroots philosophy, 'we wanted it [the national conference] to be different, we wanted to be grassroots, we wanted to be sound and true and involving, therefore we did all the things we wanted to see … and we got volunteers in for free or at cost'.[100] The grassroots philosophy was reflected at the 1996 National Conference when VRCs (at that time called VRAs) met at a pre-conference

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[96] Volunteering Tasmania Archives: Northern Volunteer Agency Network, 'Volunteering in the Human Services: An introductory course', c. 1990-1991.
[97] Melanie Oppenheimer, *The Power of Humanity: 100 Years of Australian Red Cross 1914-2014,* (Sydney: Harpers Collins, 2014), 22.
[98] Volunteering Tasmania Archive: The Volunteer Centre of Tasmania Annual Report 1993/94 (Hobart, Volunteer Centre of Tasmania, 1994), 9-10. The Volunteer Centre of Tasmania Annual Report 1994/95 (Hobart: Volunteer Centre of Tasmania, 1995), 8-10.
[99] Helene, Whitehead, interview with the author.
[100] Sylvia Godman, interview with the author.

workshop. This was 'the first experience of a national identity for VRA coordinators'. A subgroup arising from this meeting later developed the first *Standards for Volunteer Referral Centres.*[101] The importance of this was to consolidate VRCs into one coherent group who together considered themselves in close connection with Volunteering Australia.[102]

Time and again the support of agencies working together was fundamental to the sustainability and growth of the volunteering infrastructure in Tasmania. Sylvia Goodman encapsulated this in her article for the *Australian Journal on* Volunteering describing the success of the national volunteering conference in 1996:

> At that stage Tasmania had no Volunteer Centre, no Nick Toonen [CEO Volunteer Centre of Tasmania], just raw enthusiasm, an active network in Launceston and a few *oddbods* in the north-west and south; the key link was Jill Lohrey (HACC Volunteer Training Service). We have grown and the Conference was a focus and a benchmark.[103]

Comparing the Early Development Experience of State and Territory Centres in the 1980s

The momentum for development built to a crescendo until volunteer centres had been established in each state and territory by the end of the 1980s. In comparison with the previous decade, a notable difference was that new state and territory volunteer centres had the older state centres of NSW and Victoria as examples. They knew that the volunteer centre model was viable. By the end of the decade, a number of VRCs also existed in four states (NSW, SA, Victoria, Queensland). This was the birth of a national network.

By 1988, the second national conference on volunteering, Joy Noble and Marjon Martin, from the Volunteer Centre of SA were working to clarify the role and function of a state volunteer centre, differentiating its role and function from those of volunteer resource centres and other not-for-profit organisations.[104] The need to differentiate separate functions was necessary for funding, authority and structural purposes. It helped to reinforce the notion that state centres were resources that other groups could look to for assistance in supporting

[101] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies, Australia, 'Terms of Reference', 22 September, 1998.
[102] Ibid. 3.
[103] Sylvia Godman, 'ACV Conference, Tasmania', *Australian Journal on Volunteering, 1/2* (1996), 37.
[104] Volunteering ACT Archives: Joy Noble and Marjon Martin, 'The Role of a State Volunteer Centre',(Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 27 April 1990).

volunteers. Volunteer centres were not only advocating for the rights of volunteers, they were also advocating for the professional role of managers of volunteers by offering training, seminars, networking and information. In 1990, Joy Noble and Marjon Martin had developed eight core elements of state volunteer centres and offered it to developing centres. For instance, state volunteer centres were to have an 'authoritative state voice on volunteering', act as an advocate, act as a catalyst, and, encourage networks.[105] Thus, after two decades of development, state and territory volunteer centres were clarifying their role and identifying what made them different from other not-for-profit organisations involving volunteers.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the development of the state peak volunteer centres around Australia over two decades from 1970. Each volunteer centre was affected by the context in which it developed. In the 1970s, the Whitlam Government policy on regionalisation and introduction of the Australian Assistance Plan opened possibilities for new forms of organisations, networks and individual endeavour. Further international travel convinced the pioneers that volunteer centres would benefit volunteering in Australia. Taking advantage of these events and experiences and the support of existing not-for-profit organisations, the early pioneers from NSW set about opening the doors of the first volunteer centre in Australia. This process was quickly followed in Victoria where the work of networks and the financial support from state government led to that state's first volunteer centre.

Volunteer centres developing in the 1980s could better argue the merit of establishing volunteer centres in their states and territories because the precedent existed in other states. Their development relied on a mixture of support from networks, not-for-profit organisations, being auspiced by state level Councils of Social Services, and finally, funding from Government. The Commonwealth Government supported the establishment of volunteer centres in each state and territory, partly due to the belief that volunteering was beneficial to people who were unemployed. Ultimately, all centres benefited from the work of individuals who believed that this new form of not-for-profit organisation would benefit volunteers, not-for-profit organisations and the wider community.

[105] Ibid. 3

CHAPTER 4

VOLUNTEERING INFRASTRUCTURE: VOLUNTEER RESOURCE CENTRES AND SURVEY FINDINGS

This is the final chapter of Part B. The role of these chapters is to provide an understanding of concept of volunteering infrastructures, particularly the federated structure in Australia. This chapter examines the third plank of the volunteering infrastructure, the volunteer resource centres (VRCs).[1] Their services can include promotion, advocacy and support for volunteers, organisations and volunteering. Being situated in local communities provides VRCs with an understanding of volunteering across metropolitan, regional and rural environments. Amongst other volunteer centres in the Australian volunteering infrastructure, the VRCs contain the most organisational structures, partnerships and functions. Their numbers and location have fluctuated over time due to lack of or changes in government funding, merging with another organisation or change of direction and mission. Appendix B provides information on the number, location and establishment dates of VRCs at the time of this study.

To understand the role and function of VRCs, a survey was undertaken in 2011. In particular, the survey was designed to understand their work, the issues they face and their relationships with the other levels of the volunteering infrastructure and governments. This chapter will analyse the findings of that survey and argue that VRCs provide a unique perspective on volunteering. At the time of the survey, 114 VRCs were listed on the Volunteering Australia website. As discussed in Chapter 1, the application of filters resulted in a total of 98 VRCs undertaking the survey. Thirty-nine completed surveys were returned, a response rate of 39.8 per cent. This chapter begins with an exploration of VRCs including demographic, membership, stakeholder and networking. The second section considers the structure and role

[1] The use of the term VRC reflects their categorization on Volunteering Australia's website, <www.volunteeringuastralia.org> accessed 31 July 2011.

of VRCs. The third section considers VRC internal relationships with other levels of the volunteering infrastructure and external relationships with governments.

VRC Profiles

This section explores the establishment of VRCs, their membership, staffing and stakeholders. Survey respondents provided the decades and reasons their VRCs were established (Table 6) and Appendix B provides a list of establishment dates for the majority of 114 VRCs that were operational during the time period covered by this study. There was a marked increase in VRC establishment in two decades, the 1980s and the 2000s. This appears to be due to the greater involvement of local government and funding by state governments. After 2000, establishing VRCs involved a mixture of complex and sophisticated arrangements between multiple levels of the volunteering infrastructure, multiple levels of government and community. As shown in Table 6, state governments played a much larger role in the role of volunteer centres and this will be discussed later in Chapter 8. While the decades prior to establishment dates post 2000 appear more straightforward it may be that reasons for establishment were more recent and may have been experienced first hand. Therefore the complexity of establishment of VRCs post 2000 may, in fact, be similar to earlier decades. Unfortunately, in some instances, that recollection may not have been captured for later generations of workers and board members and thus appears simpler.

Table 6 VRC foundation decade and reasons for establishment (N=39)

Decade	VRCs established	Reason for VRC Establishment	Survey Responses
1970s	3	Community identified need to set up VRC No response	2 1
1980s	11	Community identified need to set up VRC Initiative of: - state volunteer centre - local government - neighbourhood centre Combination of stakeholders	7 1 1 1 1
1990s	6	Community identified need to set up VRC Initiative of: - state volunteer centre - local government - volunteer management network	3 1 1 1
2000s	17	Community identified need to set up VRC Initiative of: - local government Combination of: - state volunteer centre and community - State volunteer centre, state government and local government - VA, state volunteer centre and community - state government and community - local government and community	6 4 2 1 1 2 2
No response	2	-	

Geographic Spread of VRCs

Respondents were asked to nominate the geographical spread of their VRC (Table 7). Originally, it was anticipated that this question would provide information on the number of VRCs in urban, regional and rural areas. However, this proved not to be as straightforward as anticipated. Respondents provided multiple responses to this question and these fell into three main categories. Firstly, some VRCs were set up to cover vast geographical areas, as one respondent calculated '[we cover] approximately 21,000km, nearly the size of Tasmania' and so might elect to nominate operation in more than one area.[1] Secondly, potential volunteers might approach a VRC because it was close to their employment, shops, or university but want to volunteer close to home at nights or weekends. This would necessitate a VRC being in contact with organisations outside their geographical area. And, thirdly, the fast growth of

[1] UD, 'VRC Survey', 2011

outer metropolitan suburbs meant a VRC might find itself responding to rural, regional and metropolitan issues. Such considerations led eleven respondents to give multiple responses: 8 chose both regional and rural and 3 chose metropolitan and rural. Appendix B provides maps of VRC placement in each state. The geographic spread of VRCs relates to issues regarding membership and registered users. The following section will expand on these issues.

Table 7 Geographical areas of VRCs (N=39)

Geographic region	Number of VRCs
Regional	18
Metropolitan	17
Rural	12
Mixture	8 (regional and rural) 3 (metropolitan and rural)

Membership and registration

People and organisations can choose to become members of either a VRC or state volunteer centre or both. The issue of membership is not straightforward. Some centres charge a membership fee, others do not and prefer the term ‘registrations’ or ‘registered users’. Further, there was a strong belief by VRCs that the support, promotion and advocacy they provide benefited groups well beyond any membership grouping, ‘we all work together towards achieving a common goal of promoting growth and sustainability in the volunteering sector’.[2] In fact, this is true of volunteer centres at all tiers of the volunteering infrastructure as many of their resources are freely available on their websites. This is an ongoing dilemma. All volunteer centres want to broadly support volunteering so they provide free access to many of their learning and information materials. But they also want to improve and maintain funding sustainability; membership fees are one option that supports this.

As a result of the concern that a membership fee might prove a barrier to potential users, many VRCs instituted a system of free registrations, although one VRC was about to re-introduce a membership fee at the time of the survey. There was no uniform approach to membership of VRCs. Another perspective to the issue of membership and/or registration was expressed by one respondent who stated ’[we are] not membership based but there exist 200 members of the volunteer network we convene’.[3]

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[2] KS, ‘VRC Survey’, 2011
[3] XS, ‘VRC Survey’, 2011

In calculating the number of VRC members and registered users, it was found that reference was often made to a sub-grouping of active and non-active users. These terms are self-explanatory. Active users have an ongoing if not regular relationship with VRCs. Non-active users may pay a fee or be registered but have little interaction with current VRC programs or services either face-to-face or through the VRC website. As one VRC put it, 'officially [we have] many hundreds [of members] but only 50-100 are active'.[4] If VRCs choose to inform all members about their work, it may appear to be a meaningless endeavour to differentiate between active and non-active members/registrations. However, the relevance is connected to a VRC's authority on local volunteering issues. If the same group of active members is alerting VRCs to the issues of the day on which campaigns and opinions are based and trends identified, then there is a danger of narrowing the value of their work to meet the needs of a few rather than the many. For this reason, VRCs endeavour to increase their number of active users

Table 8 provides the numerical range of members/registrations. Commonly, VRCs identified a wide range of between 51–300 members. Of the three VRCs with membership numbers below 50, one had recently commenced operation and planned to increase membership, while another only operated an online search service. The question about membership also found a difference between independent VRCs and VRCs embedded in local government services. One reason for the difference between the two is the need to provide sectoral information for funding accountability purposes. For programs embedded in local governments, it was not always required by Council and therefore not gathered.

Table 8 Number range of VRC membership/registrations (N39)

Number range	VRCs
0-50	3
51-100	7
101-150	10
151-200	3
201-300	7
401-500	1
700	1
No membership or registered organisations listed	4
No response	3

[4] VV, 'VRC Survey', 2011

Table 9 VRC membership spread across the community sector

Areas involving volunteers	100-75%	74-50%	49-25%	24-10%	9-0%	No response	Total
Community/welfare	7	8	9	6	0	9	39
Parenting/children/youth	-	-	1	12	15	11	39
Education and Training	-	-	-	8	20	11	39
Environment/animal welfare	-	-	-	6	23	10	39
Arts/heritage	-	-	-	4	24	11	39
Sport/physical recreation	-	-	-	3	25	11	39
Religious	-	-	-	2	27	10	39
Health	-	-	-	2	28	9	39
Emergency services	-	-	-	1	27	11	39
Other recreation/interest	-	-	-	1	26	12	39
Other	1	-	1	7	18	12	39

The spread of membership, registrations and networks across volunteer-involving sectors is shown in Table 9. This indicates that the majority of member or registered organisations of VRCs work within the community and welfare sector. This is a sensitive issue to a volunteering infrastructure striving to be representative of volunteers and volunteering in all sectors. One respondent refused to make any categorisation and stated members/registrations were '100% individuals'.[5] Another respondent chose not to mark membership/registrations according to specific areas, arguing that members work across sectors particularly in the case of large not-for-profit organisations that manage a number of programs in different areas such as youth welfare and recreation. In part, the concentration of members from community/welfare sector can be seen in the historical roots of the volunteering infrastructure and major funding bodies. Historically, the volunteering infrastructure was developed to respond to the needs in the community and welfare sectors and this has continued despite other areas being encouraged to participate. Further, the major state/territory and federal government departments which fund volunteer involving organisations and the volunteering infrastructure are concerned with community and welfare aspects of society. They therefore demand that funded organisations meet the needs of people from those spheres.

Tied to membership and registrations is an understanding of the major stakeholders of VRCs as shown in Table 10. In line with other volunteering infrastructure organisations, the core business of VRCs is volunteering and volunteers were nominated as the most important

[5] BW, 'VRC Survey', 2011

stakeholder. By combining groupings, it appears that other important stakeholder groupings are not-for-profit organisations/members and the three levels of government.

Table 10 VRC major stakeholders

Major stakeholder	Number	Combined groupings
Volunteers	22	
Not-for-profit organisations	16	30
Members (and registered not-for-profit organisations)	14	
Federal Government (departments and programs)	10	29
State Government (offices, departments and programs)	7	
Local Government	12	
Community	12	
VRC organisation's board and Paid/Volunteer Staff	5	
Sponsors/donors/funders	4	
Business partners	2	
No response	1	

Staffing

Table 11 indicates the number of paid and volunteer staff working at VRCs. The question on staffing asked for a simple numerical response. The responses routinely provided extra information on the complexity of staffing arrangements. Paid staffing numbers were often couched in terms of full-time and part-time hours. For example: 'I work 8 hours a week on this project and another worker provides some administrative support)'.[6] Another example stated '4 (3 FTE)'.[7] However, as the survey did not ask VRCs to specify the number of hours paid staff worked, this information was not uniformly provided. Therefore, the number of paid staff listed in Table 11 indicates the number of paid people rather than their full-time or part-time status. This information on hours, when connected to the diversity of work undertaken (see Tables 16 and 17) sheds light on frustrations (Table 23) and threats to sustainability (Table 24) experienced by VRC paid staff.

Similar to information of the variety of paid worker numbers, the question on the number of volunteers working at VRCs indicated complex management arrangements. Without prompting, four respondents divided volunteers into two categories: ongoing and event

[6] WW, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[7] MB, 'VRC Survey', 2011. Note: FTE is an abbreviation for full-time equivalent.

volunteers. For example: 'between 3 and 30 depending on the time of year/events'.[8] Two respondents who did not involve volunteers were VRCs embedded in local government offices, but one of these did involve volunteers in events. The two VRCs with the largest number of volunteers (130 and 110 respectively) were both situated in major metropolitan areas and had been operating for more than 30 years. This is not to imply that these VRCs received the most funding. This was not the case. Rather, over time they had established a strong identity in their communities. This strong presence resulted in the ability to attract ongoing funding, manage a number of programs, employ staff and involve a larger number of volunteers.

Table 11 VRC paid and volunteer staffing (N=39)

Number of VRCs	Number of Volunteer Staff	Number of Paid Staff
2	110-130	15-20
10	11-30	1-5
19	0-10	1-5
4	31-60	3-7
3	0	1
1	No response	No response

Networks

Networks are very important for the dissemination of information, identifying volunteering trends and encouraging best practice management of volunteers. This section considers two types of networks: those facilitated by VRCs and made up of managers of volunteers, and those that act as a peer group for VRCs.

Networks Facilitated by VRCs

Eighty-two percent (82%) of VRCs facilitate networks predominantly made up of managers or volunteers (see Table 12). The networks can be local or cover a large geographic area. As the geographical areas can be quite large, VRCs will alternate venues around the region. This adds to the cost of facilitation but it does offer the opportunity to meet representatives from new volunteer-involving organisations who may not wish or cannot afford to travel to central locations. To entice involvement, VRCs might offer specific training or emphasise individual support by holding meetings that provide the opportunity for people to share food such as breakfasts and lunches.

[8] CO, 'VRC Survey', 2011

The nine other VRCs facilitated networks for the development of specific projects such as volunteer transport services, disaster response, and a local government professionals' special interest group.

Table 12 Networks facilitated by VRCs (N=39)

Name of Network	Yes	No	No response
Managers of Volunteers Networks	32	6	2
Other	9	11	19

Broadly, the facilitation of networks benefits VRCs by encouraging the professional development of managers of volunteers, building volunteer program capacity and promoting volunteering as shown in Table 13. Multiple benefits were identified and in the words of one respondent, facilitating networks is an opportunity for:

> Demonstrating a good leadership and facilitation profile, personal contacts, ensures a forum to share information, potential partnerships, identification of issues. They are an ideal forum to promote volunteering and gather support for specific projects.[9]

Table 13 Benefits of facilitating networks

Benefits of facilitating networks	No.
Information dissemination, training and resource sharing	20
Peer support for managers and individual mentoring that builds strength of members individually and as a group	12
Maintain contact with local organisations for referral, training and support	11
Professional development of managers	11
Demonstration of good leadership in best practice of volunteer management and promotion of volunteering	9
Opportunity to develop potential partnerships and cooperation	7
Identification and discussion of issues and needs of managers of volunteers	7
Personal contacts and building relationships	7
Develop local and regional strategies on volunteering as a group	5
Mentoring	4
Lessens isolation	2
No response	4

VRC Peer Support Networks

Within each state are networks of VRCs either facilitated by the state centre or operate as a network where the state centre may be a member. Table 14 indicates the reasons VRCs

[9] VV, 'VRC Survey', 2011

maintain these networks. Information sharing for VRC Networks is the most cited reason. The benefits of both facilitated networks and peer networks were similar; the exception was the scale of endeavour. The VRC Networks met and worked to advance volunteering in their respective states as opposed to the region or local area. Another differing aspect concerned the identity of the VRC peer networks as a distinct group. Comments reveal that the value of the peer networks lies in the opportunity to 'collaboratively advance volunteering', '[develop] of a more strategic, proactive and relevant network for the broader volunteering community' and provide 'collegiate support and access to lobby government'.[10] The VRCs clearly saw their peer networks as having a wide influence and effect on state and national volunteering issues. One VRC network, the Volunteer Centre Network, formerly COVERRS based in NSW, is incorporated and has successfully applied for project funds. In some states, such as Western Australia and NSW, the VRC Networks are now represented on that state volunteer peak body's board. There was one dissenting voice who stated that the 'VRC network [is] run by [the state centre] and is used as a vehicle to inform VRCs of the state centre's activities'.[11] This comment was not in accord with the opinions of other VRCs in that particular state. However, as only 39.8% of VRCs returned a completed survey, further research into the role of state volunteer centres in networks is needed.

Table 14 Reasons for involvement with VRC Network at regional and state levels

Reason for membership of VRC network	Agree	Disagree	Could improve	No response
Information sharing	36	1		2
Exchange of professional knowledge	34	2		4
Peer support	33	4		3
Develop joint projects for volunteers and organisations	32	4	1	2
Problem-solving	31	5		4
Develop new and innovative ideas	31	5	1	2
Discussion about government policy	30	6		2

The following section of this chapter will consider the role and structure of volunteer resource centres in Australia.

[10] NS, VV, NC, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[11] OP, 'VRC Survey', 2011

VRC Structure and Role

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the VRCs met for the first time as a group at the 1996 National Volunteering Conference in Tasmania. This was momentous as it provided a national identity and cohesion among volunteer centres at the local and regional levels. By 1998, Volunteering Australia had facilitated the development of a Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies that prepared the *Standards for Volunteer Referral Centres.* This document makes reference to working collaboratively with Volunteering Australia and 'other bodies deemed appropriate'.[12] One can assume that this clause refers to state and territory volunteer centres, for they are not mentioned elsewhere. Clearly, VRCs wanted a direct relationship with the national body but were ultimately thwarted by the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure. From the perspective of the national body, authority in volunteering stemmed from Volunteering Australia's knowledge of volunteering around the country. Therefore, it was in VA's interest to form links with VRCs, particularly as the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure hindered direct interaction with the exception of accountability requirements for specific projects such as Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI). In accord with its federated nature, it was expected that, communication between VRCs and the national body would go through the state volunteer centres. In reality, this was not always the case. Individuals might form good working relationships and thus bypass official communication channels, particularly for promotional campaigns for National Volunteer Week. Such interaction resulted in VA having an official and unofficial relationship with VRCs, which is explored in the section on Networks in this chapter.

By 2012, the VRC structure was much more diverse. To demonstrate this diversity, Table 15 lists the organisational make up of a small sample of VRCs, which can be independent organisations, part of a larger not-for-profit organisation or local government, or the result of a partnership between not-for-profit organisations and/or local governments.

[12] Volunteering Australia Archives: 'Terms of Reference', Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies, Australia, 22 September, 1998 (Canberra).

Table 15 A sample of the diversity of organisations and programs in the third tier of the volunteering infrastructure

Type of service/program	Name
Independent VRC	Eastern Volunteers, Victoria
Regional Volunteer Centres that see their function as a peak body for their region	Volunteering Western Victoria
Local Volunteer Centres that are managed by local government	Boroondara Volunteer Resource Centre
Services operated by state volunteer peak bodies	Volunteering Tasmania – NorthWest, North Volunteering SA & NT – Darwin & Alice Springs Volunteering Queensland - Logan
Services developed through a partnership between a state volunteer peak body and local government	Joondalup Volunteer Resource Centre
Services operated by local governments	City of Subiaco
Volunteer Centres that have expanded to offer a range of direct community services	South East Volunteers Volunteering Gold Coast
Information and Neighbourhood Centre that operates two VCs	Volunteering Central Tweed and Volunteering Bathurst

The services provided by VRCs can be divided into three main categories: volunteer referral, capacity building, and promotion and advocacy (see Figure 4). A VRC may provide one or all of the following:

1. Brokerage. Volunteer referral or information so that a person can volunteer in another organisation or service. This can be an online service or face-to-face interview. The face-to-face interviews are beneficial to special populations, such as people with culturally and linguistically varied backgrounds, or people with special needs. Brokerage includes building awareness of volunteering opportunities.
2. Building organisation capacity to involve volunteers. This can include consulting with organisations planning to involve volunteers and the implementation of the *National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not-for-Profit Organisations.*
3. Professional development. This includes training for volunteers, managers of volunteers and committee/board members; information dissemination; facilitation of networks; advice and support on volunteer management issues; and encouragement of best practice management of volunteers and advocating for volunteer rights.

4. Promotion and advocacy of volunteering. There are two aspects to this function: the micro level encouraging the rights of volunteers; and the macro level promoting and advocating volunteering as an activity of economic, cultural and social benefit.

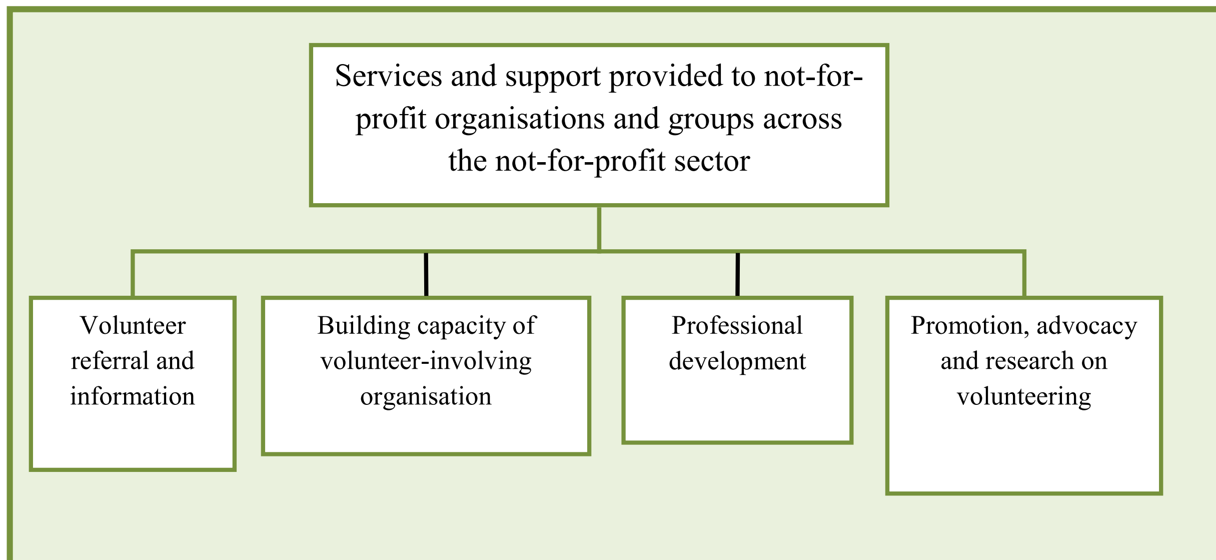

Figure 4 Functional categories of a Volunteer Resource Centre or Program.

Table 16 combines the categories and activities of survey respondents. As can be seen, the most common activity is the referral of volunteers through online referral services and/or face-to-face interviews. This activity is the lynchpin of VRCs' services. For those VRCs offering a range of services, volunteer referrals can be the first reason a potential volunteer or organisation may become involved with a VRC. Recruitment of volunteers is a constant issue for many volunteer-involving organisations. In the *National Survey of Volunteer Issues 06,* 97 per cent of organisations listed attracting suitable volunteers as crucial for the sustainability of organisations that heavily or completely rely on volunteer labour.[1] From referrals, VRCs build volunteer organisation/program capacity by the provision of other services such as advice to organisations on managing and developing volunteer programs, provision of resources, and information and strategic project development. Building capacity can overlap with advocacy and the promotion of volunteering. For instance, promotional campaigns and speaking engagements can result in organisations interested in involving volunteers seeking the advice of VRCs.

Another example of services and activities facilitating VRC work is networking. Respondents were engaged in a variety of networks but the two most common were networks of managers

[1] Volunteering Australia, *National Survey of Volunteer Issues 06,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2006), 4.

of volunteers which VRCs managed and participation in a state-wide VRC network. The VRCs less likely to facilitate networks of managers of volunteers were VRCs providing volunteer referrals only, or were new and developing VRCs. Networks of managers of volunteers concentrated on information dissemination, awareness raising of funding opportunities, good management of volunteer practices and supporting the professional development of managers of volunteers. Underpinning both referral and capacity-building activities is the promotion of volunteering to the broader community, to build awareness and reaffirm the value of volunteering to society.

Table 16 Activities of VRCs (N=39)

Category	Activities	Provided	Not provided	No response
Referral	Volunteer Referral	39		
Capacity building	Advice to organisations on managing a volunteer program. Consultations with organisations to develop and/or review volunteer programs. Identifying and addressing barriers to volunteering. Mentoring managers of volunteers.	38	1	
	Network facilitation and support	33	6	
	Manager/Coordinator Training	33	6	
	Volunteer Training	33	6	
	Board/Committee Training	25	13	1
	Corporate volunteering	27	11	1
Promotion	Promotion of volunteering. Volunteer award events	38	1	
	Advocacy for volunteers	30	8	1
Non VRC core business services delivered directly or in partnership	Supporting people from CALD communities, e.g. humanitarian visa holders, Golden Gurus, Community Visitors Scheme, youth, people with disabilities, corporate volunteer programs, school volunteering opportunities such as high school students teaching seniors. Police Record Checking Service, Safety Register			

Respondents were also asked to nominate other services or activities outside core VRC. Reasons for the provision of such services related to a mix of specific local needs and funding opportunities. For example, during the deinstitutionalisation process of people leaving Maydale Hospital in Beechworth to live in the community, a number of clients attended day

programs in Wodonga, Victoria.[2] As other transport services did not exist, the Albury Wodonga Resource Bureau agreed to run a bus service. So, for VRCs, the needs of their local community can add a dimension to their programs that was not envisaged during their development. The second reason for non-core VRC programs and services is the need for funding, which is addressed later in this chapter.

The VRCs were also asked to list their three major activities, which are shown in Table 17. The results reinforce the importance of volunteer referral and placement, training, promotion and capacity-building as major activities for VRCs. Whereas in Table 16 advocacy was a common activity for 77 percent of respondents, it was only mentioned once in Table 17 as a major activity. It is not clear why this disparity exists and further research is required, although it was suggested that some VRCs might see advocacy as part of their promotional and capacity-building activities.[3]

Table 17 Selection of the three most important activities of the VRCs

VRC activities according to importance	1	2	3
Volunteer recruitment, referral and placement	33	6	
Training of volunteers, managers of volunteers, boards and committees	4	10	11
Promotion of volunteering, including events, public speaking engagements to schools and groups	2	7	13
Capacity-building: advice, support to managers of volunteers, information dissemination and volunteer policy formation/review	4	8	4
Facilitating networks		3	3
Providing volunteer transport services		2	1
Providing volunteer support and recognition/awards		2	1
Advocacy			1
Developing and sustaining VRC			1
Other programs: Transport Services. Safety Register and police checks. Activities – sewing, craft	1	2	2
No response	1		

NB: Some respondents nominated multiple activities.

Funding

The Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) of the Whitlam Government (1972–1975) provided an opportunity for local people to identify and address regional needs. Commonwealth

[2] Cathy Nash, interview with the author [sound recording] (8 August 2011), in the author's possession.
[3] Julie Pettet, interview with the author [sound recording] (14 February 2012), in the author's possession.

Government funding could be accessed by small regional groups. As mentioned earlier the AAP resulted in the establishment of VRCs in New South Wales and Victoria. This connection between local and regional VRCs to the Commonwealth Government continued through the Volunteer Management Program (VMP). A continuing program from 1992, VMP aims to support the management of volunteers.[4] This places VRCs in a unique position within the volunteering infrastructure as it can access funding from all three tiers of government whereas the state/territory centres can access state and federal governments and the national peak body is limited to the Commonwealth Government. This means that Volunteering Australia is the most restricted access to government funds and the VRCs have the widest options

State government interest increased after 2000 when a number of state governments funded the development of more VRCs as can be seen in Appendix B. However, not all VRCs are funded by state and national governments. Some VRCs have attracted neither state nor federal funding and are totally reliant on local government funding and support.[5] For example, Volunteering Glen Eira, in Victoria, only receives local government funding.

To become established, develop, and remain sustainable, VRCs need to secure funding from a variety of government, philanthropic and other sources, which are illustrated in Table 18. The variety of funding options include fee for service, donations and philanthropic trust funding, but these are all less common than government funding. It appears that the smallest funding source is from philanthropic trusts. This is not unexpected, considering that trusts fund discrete projects. The final category for funding consisted of sponsorship, bank interest and one-off grants from business, again for specific projects. Local government funding offered the most comprehensive support as it might include core funding, specific grants and in-kind support (see Table 21).

[4] Purdon Associates Pty Ltd, 'VMP Evaluation' Report to Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health, 11 August, 1995, 1.
[5] Laurel Thompson, interview with the author [sound recording] (12 October 2011), in the author's possession.

Table 18 VRC Funding sources (n=39)

Funding source	Yes	No	No response
Federal Government	27	11	1
State government	27	10	2
Local government	25	12	2
Fee for service	15	18	6
Membership fees	15	19	5
Donations	8	25	6
Philanthropic trusts	4	29	6
Other	12	9	18

Table 19 demonstrates the spread of funding across different levels of government. Of the 30 respondents who calculated the percentage of funding received from the different levels of government, twelve received the majority of their funding (76–100%) from Commonwealth, State or Local Government.

Table 19 Distribution of funding across different levels of government

Percentage of funding	Commonwealth	State/Territory	Local	Unknown government level
0-25%	2	8	4	1
26-50%	4	5	3	2
51-75%	5	2	2	1
76-100%	4	4	4	
No response	9			

Table 20 provides a breakdown of annual income. As a part of local government community services, one VRC program did not have a separate budget and so did not provide an income range and another respondent did not provide a breakdown. Of the thirty-seven respondents who answered this question, 14 had an annual income of $50,000–$99,000 and 13 reported an annual income of $200,000–$399,999. Of this second group of 13, the majority (10) were independent VRCs.

Table 20 VRC income range (N=39)

Annual income range	Number of VRCs
$0	1
$1-$49,000	7
$50,000-$99,999	14
$100,000-$199,999	2
$200,000-$399,999	13
$400,000-$599,999	1
$600,000-$799,999	-
$800,000-$999,999	2
$1,000,000+	-
No response	1

Funding is only one way VRCs are able to remain sustainable. Similar to many other not-for-profit organisations, VRCs also receive in-kind assistance as shown in Table 21. The diversity of in-kind support ranges from the tangible to the intangible. Tangible support included items such as furniture, no-fee for the use of meeting space, or training by local government. Intangible support took the form of services provided to the VRC from local businesses, local government or other not-for-profit organisations. Examples of in-kind support included the development of a marketing plan for the VRC by local business, local media advice to support volunteer promotions, and the organisation of professional speakers for VRC training events. Recipients who did not access in-kind support were likely to be VRCs embedded within local government services. The provision of in-kind support is interesting as an indicator of community involvement whereby VRCs, like other not-for-profit organisations, have to access methods, other than funding, to remain vibrant and sustainable. Research on VRC sustainability is limited, particularly where it concerns in-kind cashless community support and this requires further investigation.

Table 21 Number and examples of VRC in-kind support (N=39)

VRCs receiving In-kind support	
Yes	23
No	15
No response	1
Categories of In-kind support	
Tangible support	Intangible Support
Office equipment Prizes for raffles Printing of flyers Use of vehicles	Research projects with universities IT support Expert training Marketing services Local media support Catering for volunteer events Hotel subsidized events Shared educational resources Reduced rental Meeting/training rooms at no charge

The survey asked for the number of contracts currently managed by VRCs. As can be seen in Table 22, the majority of contracts numbered between one and five. The number of contracts needs to be considered in light of the number of staff and income of VRCs. For small organisations, the cost of applying, managing and evaluating contracts can be exorbitant.[1] Seven VRCs stated they were not managing any contracts. These VRCs were part of local governments, which may explain their lack of contracts.

Table 22 Number of government contracts to VRCs (N=39)

Government Contracts	VRC
0	7
1-2	17
2-5	11
6-10	2
No response	2

Frustrations experienced by VRCs

Table 23 identifies the frustrating aspects of managing a VRC. Most often cited were inadequate funding and too much paperwork. A number of comments were added under the 'Other' category. These provided more detail and related to a number of aspects of the

[1] Myles McGregor-Lowndes and Christine Ryan, 'Reducing the Compliance Burden of Non-Profit Organisations: Cutting Red Tape', *The Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 68/1 (2009), 21-38.

respondents' work. Listed were relationships with government and volunteering centres at the state and national levels, the impact of legislation and the lack of recognition for volunteering. This sample makes reference to the relationship with other levels of the volunteering infrastructure. One respondent bemoaned the absence of a strong peak volunteering body and:

> the absence of a unified volunteering peak body structure across Australia that is constituted under a single legal entity.[2]

Another respondent was frustrated by the expectations of bodies such as Centrelink:

> [There is an] overload of clients referred from Centrelink and Job Service Agencies and the expectation that we are able to refer all to organisations. Some of their clients are not appropriate and many organisations do not have time or resources to supervise volunteers for 15+ hours per week.[3]

Underlying this frustration is the inferred notion that all people are 'volunteer ready', a term volunteers use to indicate a person can be referred to a volunteer position, and that all not-for-profit organisations are equally able to cater for all the needs of potential volunteers. Another issue was the impact of legislation on a small organisation:

> The amount of legislation and paperwork like the new OH&S changes and nobody knows what's going on. All the bureaucracy and policies now attached to volunteers, now makes it so difficult to encourage people to get involved. It is now so different for volunteers with all the forms they are required to fill in and complete.[4]

One VRC felt that there was an increased demand for service without any commensurate funding. Respondents also took the opportunity to note the effect these frustrations were having on their own wellbeing due to being time-poor and fatigued, with one even fearing burnout. Together, these frustrations point to the difficulties faced by small organisations dealing with the complexities and demands of the not-for-profit sector.

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[2] VV,'VRC Survey' 2011
[3] ST, 'VRC Survey' 2011
[4] WW 'VRC Survey', 2011

Table 23 Frustrations experienced working as VRC

Frustration	Yes	No	No response
Inadequate funding	28	8	3
Too much paperwork	20	17	2
Lack of communication with Volunteering Australia	15	19	5
Lack of communication with state volunteer centre	14	23	3
Unclear boundaries with state volunteer centre	11	24	4
Bureaucratic interference	8	27	2
Too many demands from stakeholders reporting	7	27	5
Competition with other not-for-profit organisations	5	30	4
Unclear boundaries with govt vol office	5	29	5
Competition with state government volunteer office	4	30	5

NB: Multiple answers were given to this question.

Greatest threat to VRC sustainability

The question about the greatest threat to VRC sustainability was open ended and allowed respondents to make multiple statements. Considering the results listed in Table 24 shows how precarious the majority of respondents consider the ongoing sustainability of their VRCs. This reinforces the results on Table 23.

Table 24 Greatest threat to VRC sustainability

Threat to VRC sustainability	Response
Funding: Its withdrawal reduction of current funding inadequate funding for the services provided non-recurrent unpredictable government funding	28
People not wanting to volunteer	3
Loss of community support	3
Increasing demands	2
Lack of strategic vision from VRC	1
Loss of appeal to key stakeholders	1
Loss of support from Local government	1
Focus of government on large community organisations able to attract major funding incomes	1
VRC culture resistant to change	1
No response	1

NB: Multiple answers were given to this question.

Relationships

The third section of this chapter considers the relationships that VRCs have with other levels of the volunteering infrastructure as well as external relationships with governments at the state and federal level.

VRC Relationships with State Volunteering Peak Bodies

The promotion of volunteering was clearly the most common experience of VRCs working with their respective state volunteering peak bodies (Table 25). Often promotional activities were tied to recognition and award opportunities, 'events are invaluable in promoting volunteering to the broader community, and also for giving recognition and thanks to the many people who volunteer in the local community'.[1] For the other categories, the responses concerning the relationship between VRC and state volunteer centre were fairly evenly spread. Indeed, the responses on advocacy were evenly spread between the 'yes' and the 'no' options. Reasons for this may be that resources and support are available to VRCs from other quarters. It may also indicate a response to feelings of competition alluded to in Table 26. Further research to explore relationships within the volunteering infrastructure may provide a better understanding.

Eight respondents had collaborated with their state peak body to provide training, developing the Volunteering WA online database, the NSW Volunteer of the Year Awards, and addressing issues through networks such as the Victorian Volunteer Resource Network. One respondent described the relationship as a working collaboration:

> We have a service agreement with [the state centre] so we're able to provide a broader range of services through them, e.g. Support and training. They're delivered a couple of volunteer management training sessions for us and we have quarterly phone-in's where we share best practice with other VRCs. But we tend to do that [networking] ourselves without going through [the state centre].[2]

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[1] CT, 'VRC Survey', 2011

[2] WW, 'VRC Survey', 2011

Table 25 Interaction and benefit of relationship with state volunteer peaks

Interaction with state centre	Yes	No	No response
Promote volunteering	30	7	2
Raise awareness of the rights of volunteers	20	15	4
Lobby government for change	19	16	4
Advocate on behalf of volunteers	17	17	5
Improve the working situation of volunteers	16	19	4
Improve the working situation for managers of volunteers	13	22	4

When asked to nominate an area where the relationship with the state volunteering centre had benefited the VRC, 30 responses were made. These were divided into two groups. One concerned direct benefits in the form of support to establish and develop the VRC, improved lobbying, joint promotion of volunteering, and, greater training opportunities for VRC members. The second benefit identified was an acknowledgement that the state volunteer centre raised the profile of volunteering at the state level and therefore, indirectly, benefited all VRCs within that state.

Concerns about the relationship were also expressed. VRCs and state volunteer centres were identified as being in competition for funding from State and Commonwealth Governments. As one respondent put it, 'as long as … we are in competition with each other for funding … then the relationship will never be perfect. We [VRCs] learn to work above and beyond this, but at the end of the day our state centre is better resourced and has more staff'.[1] The same respondent went on to state:

> State Centre [is] currently providing many of the same services as a VRC in conjunction with peak body type services - conflict of interest prevents lobbying for additional funding for VRCs or any other service or funding which would increase competition or take away from State Centre.[2]

Competition for funding has a negative effect on relationships as reflected in the following comment:

> The [state centre] does not actively seek to support regional centres, in fact it acts in competition with regional centres. The only time we collaborate with them is for the

[1] SH, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[2] Ibid.

> annual regional ceremony for the Volunteer … Awards and this is purely a case of VRC sourcing the location for the ceremony and [the state centre] undertaking all other aspects.[3]

Competition for funding effects reporting required for accountability purposes. In the case of volunteer training, state volunteer centres can offer training throughout the state while VRCs are restricted to their local or regional area. As can be seen in Appendix B, the majority of volunteering infrastructure centres are situated where the population is most dense. If there is not a good communication between the two groups, VRCs can be frustrated when state volunteer centre training is perceived to compete for the same audience, particularly as measurement of users of VRC services is required for accountable reporting.

Discussion of competition for funding also raised the spectre of conflict of interest:

> Communication although getting better is an issue at times as is conflict of interest with the State Centres' dual roles of VRC and PEAK body. A more collaborative rather than prescriptive approach is encouraged.[4]

The potential for conflict of interest is possibly the most damaging for the relationship between VRCs and state volunteer centres. Arguably, it is the cohesion of the volunteering infrastructure that gives it strength and authority on volunteering throughout Australia. Conflict between the two layers would completely undermine this.

Areas for Improvement between State and Local Volunteer Centres

As with all dynamic relationships, there are opportunities for improvement between state and local volunteer centres as indicated in Table 26. Suggestions for improving relationships with state volunteer centres included greater cooperation and communication, and more working parties to encourage greater unity. Comments were divided into two groups. The first considered the relationship would benefit from interaction between VRCs and the state centre, 'We are proactive in achieving positive relationships'.[5] The second group seemed to place responsibility for an improved relationship at the door of their state volunteer centres. One suggestion being, 'Having a dedicated (sic) contact who perhaps makes an annual visit to the [VRC] to assist with ideas and advice on volunteering'.[6]

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[3] NS, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[4] YD, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[5] ST, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[6] MP, 'VRC Survey', 2011

One respondent suggested that the relationship would benefit from the involvement of a third party, the Commonwealth Government, '[we need] to have the role of the state volunteer centre clearly clarified by the Commonwealth Government in terms of relationship and obligations to VRCs'.[7] This comment appears to assume that the Commonwealth Government is the final arbiter of relationships within the volunteering infrastructure. It may also reflect the importance of the Commonwealth Government as a major funder for the majority of volunteer centres.

Table 26 Current positive relationships with state centres and identified areas for improvement

Relationship with state volunteer centre could be improved	
Yes	31
No	5
No response	3
Examples of improvements to relationships with state volunteer centres	
State centres could develop a greater understanding and engagement with rural/regional needs	9
Greater collaboration between regional and state centres, particularly lobbying government for funding, the formation of submissions and policy issues	13
Greater cooperation and communication with the state centre	4
Need more face-to-face meetings regardless of geographic distances	4
Lack of framework and standards for VRCs	1
Need for greater trust between state and regional levels	1

The following section will consider VRC relationships with Volunteering Australia.

Relationship with the National Peak Body on Volunteering: Volunteering Australia

At the time the survey was undertaken, it was not clear whether Volunteering Australia (VA) would be able to continue to exist. By 2011, the Commonwealth Government had ended two major projects (Voluntary Work Initiative, VWI and the National Volunteer Skills Centre, NVSC). Volunteering Australia had relied heavily on these now defunct projects for funding. Volunteering Australia was in discussion about relocating from Melbourne, Victoria, to Canberra in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). Few staff remained, paid or volunteer and VA's remaining projects had been delegated to state centres. By 2012, VA was housed in the offices of Volunteering ACT. The following comment from a VRC reflects this period of confusion and uncertainty:

[7] NN, 'VRC Survey', 2011

> What's the point? What would be achieved? I think my colleagues have some angst but where are they (VA) mentioned? They are not visible. They should provide services but they are just not around.[8]

There is almost an element of desperation in this comment. It reinforces the sense that the volunteering infrastructure was more than a group of individual organisations. Another comment was more practical, counting the practical benefits obtained from the relationship with Volunteering Australia:

> Unfortunately all these [benefits of a relationship with VA] are in the past -
> - Provision of National Conferences (which I cannot attend due to the costs)
> - indirectly the opportunity to be involved with the Active Volunteering Certificates initially developed by VA and resources from the National Volunteer Skills Centre [a program of VA]
> - past access to volunteering journal [*Australian Journal on Volunteering ceased publication in 2009]* which was excellent and provided opportunity for research and sharing of ideas
> - the only real [connection] in the last 6 months has been increased communication through the helpful policy communiqué. [sic. bullet points in text][9]

When asked to nominate the three most important benefits VRCs received from their relationship with VA thirty-two responses were made, and respondents graded the benefits in importance (Table 27). Highlighted is an appreciation that VA's peak body role, as discussed in Chapter 2 benefits the development of VRCs. Most important were information and resources, followed by the promotion of volunteering in National Volunteer Week and the opportunity to learn and network at the National Conference.

One aspect that did appear through commentary was an expectation that VA could do more to support VRCs through the development and implementation of standards for VRCs. Previous attempts to implement VRC standards were not universally accepted or adopted in each state and territory. One respondent argued that the development of such a set of standards would help to clarify the role of VRCs for state governments:

> The one off funding by the [state government] has resulted in a range of 'VRC's' set up around the state. Some are sustainable, most are not and some are only Information Hubs. All are supported by Local Councils with varying levels of support over the

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[8] VM,'VRC Survey' 2011
[9] SH, 'VRC Survey', 2011

> long term. The lack of clarity around the definition of a VRC by VA has meant a lack of understanding in the eyes of state government. The paper developed in 1997 as a set of standards for VRC's seems to have gone nowhere and not been implemented. This paper, if endorsed, would provide a solid foundation and starting point to pre-empt confusion from state governments.[10]

This quote reinforces other comments made by VRCs which assume that the national body, VA, can take autonomous action such as defining the role and function of VRCs. Such assumptions ignore the importance of the federalist nature of the volunteering infrastructure and the necessity for all states and territory engagement. There is an underlying assumption from VRCs that VA is unilaterally able to make decisions that would affect all members of the volunteering infrastructure. It also points to the desire by VRCs to have greater contact with VA.

Table 27 Benefits of relationship with VA

Peak body role	Benefits of relationship with VA	Order of importance		
		1	2	3
Information dissemination	Information and resources e.g. reports and information sheets produced by VA; links to national and international groups; free 'how to material'	10	4	2
	Current news on the voluntary sector	1	3	3
Promotion of volunteering	Promotion of National Volunteer Week and International Volunteers Day and access to merchandise	6	5	2
	GoVolunteer	3	3	
Professional development	National Conference	6	1	1
	Best practice and capacity building e.g. National Standards for involving volunteers	1	2	1
Policy development	Overview and updates on policies relevant to volunteering	1	3	1
Member support	Collegiate support	1	1	1
	Support for VRC programs	1		
Research	Access to research material		2	
Advocacy	Advocacy as the national voice			1

Five respondents did not record any benefits and one was unsure but the majority of respondents could articulate the benefits they received. One respondent stated their

[10] SH, 'VRC Survey', 2011

relationship with VA was 'Everything. We wouldn't be able to run our service if we didn't have a link with them'.[11] Certainly, VRCs felt that VA could do more to support the work of VRCs. Practical suggestions concentrated on professional development using the opportunity provided by National Conferences. In particular they wanted a less expensive conference, a specific stream for VRCs and a review of the Standards for VRCs and eventually their implementation nationally. Overall, VRCs wanted greater engagement with VA on regional and rural issues. This included the promotion of volunteering, management of volunteers in regional and rural areas, more personal contact and information and involvement in national issues and policy formation. The request for more personal contact rather than, or as well as, contact via newsletters, might be a statement of the isolation felt by some VRC managers in small projects/organisations and differences in their issues as opposed to other volunteer-involving organisations in their area.

However, there were also comments that pointed to problems in the relationship between the national and regional/metropolitan centres including geographic distance and time, and the attitude of VA staff, such as, 'Volunteering Australia tends to have a slightly paternalistic attitude to the regional centres and our opinion is not sought or welcomed'.[12] This statement and others seeking greater interaction and direct membership of Volunteering Australia seem to have been made without reference to the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure or awareness of the VA constitution, which affords membership to national bodies and state/territory volunteer centres in their role as Foundation Members. Rather VRCs sought to bypass the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure structure and be 'able to become a member of VA not just state centres [this would provide] an opportunity for VRCs to be represented at a national level.[13] This area of the relationship with the national body requires more research and discussion among all volunteer centres. This small snapshot of the experiences and opinions of VRCs, while being made at a time of confusion and upheaval, nevertheless reflects VRCs' desire for a more collegial relationship with Volunteering Australia.

The following section considers the relationships VRCs have with state and national governments.

[11] WW, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[12] NS, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[13] BE, 'VRC Survey', 2011

Relationship with Government

VRCs saw themselves as holding an intermediary position in their communities. They stressed that as communities vary, VRCs are in a unique position to give voice to these differences and advocate for volunteering. As one respondent stated:

> We are the only local organisation that acts as a 'go to point' for potential volunteers and volunteer involving organisations. We have a strong focus on implementing strategies appropriate to our community that will embrace the changing nature of volunteering and prepare the community for this change and support regulatory requirements of organisations. We are proactively working and advocating for volunteers and volunteering – developing a regional strategy for volunteering. We develop training specifically for volunteers because nothing exists in our community that is accessible financially. Who would do any of this, plus more, if not for us?[1]

This statement captures the valuable role of VRCs at the local and regional level. They argued that it is due to this position they are able to offer government a unique perspective on volunteering. Table 28 provides further benefits that governments gain from the role and work of VRCs.

Table 28 Benefits that government gains from VRC's 'on the ground' knowledge and expertise

VRC perceptions of benefit to state and federal governments	
Identification of current issues, emerging trends and statistics on volunteering and gaps in services	35
Local knowledge and linkages to local networks, groups/organisations	23
An intermediary between government and local organisations	9
Provision of local input to state volunteering policy and development of regional volunteer strategy	5
Ability to respond quickly to government requests	2
Option for government services and development of local partnerships e.g. transport for isolated people	2
Barriers to volunteering including costs for both volunteers and organisations, training needs etc.	1
No response	4

Similar to questions about whether relationships could be improved with other volunteer centres at other levels of the volunteering infrastructure, 24 respondents argued there was also room for improvement in their relationships with the state and federal governments.

[1] CG, 'VRC Survey', 2011

Respondents were asked to provide examples of how their relationship with state and federal governments could be improved and their suggestions are detailed in Table 29. One respondent stated that relationships with both state and federal governments were positive. However, at the end of the statement, the words 'believe they know all and do the VRC job' indicates a level of resignation to an unequal relationship with government:

> [there is] always room for improvement in any relationship. But it is satisfactory. The relationship with Federal government is good to excellent. They have been very supportive and encouraging. State government relationship is also positive - we talk alot and have had a good relationship. I don't always feel the state government listens to us. [They] believe they know all and can do the VRC job. Apart from that we have a relatively good relationship.[2]

Varying from such ambivalent statements about relationships with state/federal government there were also two respondents who considered the relationship non-existent. Table 29 shows that for nine respondents, ongoing funding would result in a better relationship. This almost tongue-in-cheek response indicates how paramount the need for funding is among VRCs.

It is interesting that in this section on relationships, the VRCs wanted to have more direct contact with government 'rather than relying on state centres and VA which do not reflect the needs of the sector at grass roots level'.[3] Thus the implication was that VRCs could make a contribution on volunteering that was unique to the local and regional experience.

[2] SH, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[3] BE, 'VRC Survey', 2011

Table 29 Suggestions for improved relationships between VRCs and governments

Suggestions that would improve state and federal government relationships with VRCs	No. of responses
Additional funding (long term)	9
A more personalised approach in developing relationships and communication,	7
Greater recognition of the work VRCs	2
Improved partnerships /collaborations and genuine consultation	4
Better mechanisms to link to VRCs	2
Greater recognition of the contribution of volunteers	2
Assistance with lobbying local, state and federal MPs	1
More knowledge of contract timelines	1
Legislate for the removal of cross border anomalies, e.g. Working with Children Checks	1
Better understanding of unique issues for isolated and remote VRC	1
No response	9

Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the results of a survey conducted in 2011 for this study. Forty percent of VRCs generously provided information about their role and structure, their relationships with other levels of the volunteering infrastructure and their relationships with government at the state and federal levels. The VRCs strongly identify their role to be the referral of volunteers, capacity-building of volunteer programs and organisations, and the promotion of volunteering. In particular, this chapter revealed the importance of networking at the local and regional level. It is this direct contact with grassroots not-for-profit organisations that provides a unique understanding of the trends and needs of volunteers.

This chapter marks the end of Part B. In this Part the volunteering infrastructure in Australia has been examined. Firstly, the definition and role of volunteering infrastructures was examined with attention paid to the development of British and American counterparts. The second chapter of this Part explored the similarity and contrast of development of volunteer state centres from the 1970s to 1992, when the Commonwealth Government provided funding for the two Territory volunteer centres and the establishment of a state peak body on volunteering in Tasmania. The third chapter provides a contemporary overview of the volunteer resource centres and programs (VRCs) which make up the third tier of the volunteering infrastructure. This was enabled through the analysis of a survey which had a return rate of 40 per cent.

In Part C, the issues that influenced the development of the volunteering infrastructure over the decades from 1970 until 2012 will be examined. The chapters concentrate on each decade and the major issues that effected volunteering and the development of the volunteering infrastructure.

PART C

CHAPTER 5

EARLY DAYS 1970–1979

This chapter begins in 1970 and explores the social and political environment that led to the development of the first volunteer centres in Australia. The election of the Whitlam Government in 1972 and its Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) was enormously important. The AAP provided funding and the development of groups that would become volunteer bureaux beyond the capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne to regional areas. The establishment of volunteer centres in Australia drew heavily from international experiences particularly the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK).

This chapter discusses how volunteering became to be perceived as a leisure activity. This change was important, for it created a new way of thinking about volunteering. Conversely, in the 1970s the possibility of volunteering as a labour market opportunity for unemployed people was introduced. The tensions between professional groups such as social workers and the traditional amateur volunteer will also be explored. This chapter argues that these threads set the tone for the development of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia.

Social, Political and Economic Context

The first volunteer centres began in a decade riven with economic, social and political turmoil. For women, the traditional volunteers in health and welfare, the Whitlam Government (1972-1975) introduced a number of initiatives such as the single mother's benefit in 1973, the introduction of parental leave for Commonwealth employees, the establishment of the Family Court of Australia, removed restrictions on oral contraceptives and instituted a no-fault divorce law. [1] Combined, these and other measures brought more

[1] Glenda Strachan, 'Still Working for the Man? Women's Employment Experiences in Australia since 1950', *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 45/1 (Autumn, 2010) 121-122. Sean Scalmer *Dissent Events: Protest, the*

women into the paid workforce and, it was feared, away from volunteering. An early Victorian study reinforced anecdotal knowledge that women were predominantly involved as volunteers in social welfare agencies with 238 agencies engaging 42,500 volunteers of which 68 per cent were women, mainly aged 20–60 years.[2] Churches, many providing community services, worried about declining numbers at their services, particularly at a time when poverty was 'rediscovered'.[3] A greater awareness of poverty led to a Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Australia's first systematic attempt to measure poverty.[4] Other social movements involving volunteers demanded changed attitudes and policies in the environment, women's rights and indigenous rights.[5] Self-help groups introduced a new perspective to health and welfare, and the peace movements attracted thousands of people into the streets to demonstrate against Australia's involvement in the conflict in Vietnam.[6] Volunteers in groups such as Save Our Sons (SOS) lobbied government to end conscription and, in Victoria, five women became known as the 'Fairlea Five' when they were imprisoned for handing out anti-conscription leaflets. The resulting media coverage and protests gained the movement valuable public attention.[7]

Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia, 12-34. Judith Smart, 'Anti-War and Peace Movements', *emelbourne* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, July 2008) <http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00071b.htm>, accessed 15 March 2015. Whitlam Institute, 'Women and Social Reforms', *Whitlam Government Achievements'* (Sydney: Western Sydney University, 2015), paras. 5, 6, 7, 10 <http://www.whitlam.org/gough_whitlam/achievements/womenandsocialreforms>, accessed 1 May 2015.

[2] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *A Study of Volunteers in Social Welfare Agencies in Victoria*, Technical Paper No. 6 (Melbourne: Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1973), 1.

[3] David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the1960s: The Experience of the Australian Churches', *Journal of Religious History,* 21/2 (1997), 209-227. Mark Lyons, *Third Sector: The contribution of nonprofit and cooperative enterprises in Australia,* 53-58.

[4] Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, *Poverty in Australia: First Main Report, April 1975* (Canberra: Australian Government, 1975). V. Archer 2007, 'Rights to Welfare and Rights to Work: Challenging Dole Bludger Discourse in the 1970s', in Julie Kimber, Peter Love and Phillip Deery (eds.), *Labour Traditions: The Tenth National Labour History Conference,* 4-6 July 2007(Melbourne: Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 2007) <https://labourhistorymelbourne.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/proceedings-papers-december-2008-labour-traditions.pdf>, accessed 14 October 2010. Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 'Development of the Henderson Poverty Line' (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 27 September 2011) <http://melbourneinstitute.com/labour/research-topics/Poverty_and_social_exclusion.html>, accessed 22 September 2014.

[5] Lesley Hewitt and Carolyn Worth, 'Victims Like Us: The Development of the Victorian Centres Against Sexual Assault', C*ASA Forum,* (n.d.) <http://ww.casa.org.au/about-the-casa-forum/victims-like-us-the-development-of-the-victorian-centres-against-sexual-assault/>, accessed 15 January 2015. The Wilderness Society, 'The Franklin River Campaign – Part 1 – The beginnings of Australia's Environmental movement', *The Wilderness Society,* (n.d.) <https://www.wilderness.org.au/campaigns/river-protection/franklin-river-campaign/frankin-river-campaign-part1>, accessed 15 January 2015.

[6] Judith Smart, 'Anti-War and Peace Movements', *emelbourne* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, July 2008). <http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00071b.htm>, accessed 15 March 2015.

[7] Australia, Department of Veterans' Affairs, 'Save Our Sons: The Fairlea Five', *Australia and the Vietnam War,* <http://vietnam-war.commemoration.gov.au/conscription/save-our-sons_fairlea-five.php>, accessed 28 September 2014. Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteering: Why we can't survive without it,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008), 90-92.

Volunteers were the backbone of so many of both the traditional programs and the new forms of social movement. However, success in recruiting volunteers varied across sectors. New opportunities in the environment and heritage movements attracted large numbers of volunteers.[8] Volunteers suddenly had more opportunities, more choice. In response, organisations began to target different demographic groups such as older people, to design volunteer roles to attract specific professions, and to build a greater awareness that 'self-oriented motives' were as valid as the traditional altruistic motivation for volunteering.[9]

It's Time!

Gough Whitlam led the Australian Labor Party (ALP) to election victory in 1972 with the slogan 'It's Time' signifying the need for electoral change after 23 years of conservative rule. In the lead-up to the general election of 1972, Whitlam captured the nation's longing for change:

> Men and Women of Australia! …. There are moments in history when the whole fate and future of nations can be decided by a single decision. For Australia, this is such a time. It's time for a new team, a new program, a new drive for equality of opportunities: it's time to create new opportunities for Australians, time for a new vision of what we can achieve in this generation for our nation and the region in which we live. It's time for a new government – a Labor Government.[10]

From the outset, the international situation made it difficult for the largely inexperienced Whitlam government, (1972-75) and the ramifications of the devastating oil crisis, brought about when the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised the cost of crude oil dramatically and cut production. This action was a response to the Yom Kippur War (6 October 1973-26 October 1973) and the Israeli annexation of the West Bank and the Golan Heights.[11] The cheap oil that had fuelled post-war prosperity on which Whitlam based his

[8] Bruce Tranter, 'The Environment Movement: Where to from here?' in Rob White (ed.), *Controversies in Environmental Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 189-203 <http://sociology.sunimc.net/htmledit/uploadfile/system/20110523/20110523215447769.pdf#page=197>, accessed 13 February 2015.

[9] Jean Hamilton-Smith, 'Changing Trends in Volunteering', *Australian Social Work,* 26/2 (1973), 15-20. Jeni Warburton, 'Older people as a 'rich resource' for volunteer organisations: An overview of the issues', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 2/1 (1997), 17-25.

[10] Gough Whitlam, *It's time for leadership,* Australian Labor Party, Policy Speech, Blacktown Civic Centre, 13 November 1972 <http://whitlamdismissal.com/downloads/72-11-13_whitlam-policy-speech_moad.pdf>, accessed 14 October 2010.

[11] George Megalogenis, *The Australian Moment: How We Were Made For These Times,* (Camberwell, Victoria: Hamish Hamilton, 2012), 41-44.

program of change dried up. Unemployment rose, and the economy stagnated. A rise in unemployment occurring with growing inflation is known as 'stagflation', an unprecedented situation causing both the US and the UK to enter a recession.[12] Workers took to the streets in fear, and protesters sought wage increases to match rising costs.[13] Unfortunately for the Whitlam Government, its major social reforms, such as the introduction of universal healthcare, free university education, and the return of some traditional lands to Indigenous Australians were based on the assumption of continuous prosperity. Nor did the Labor Government anticipate the dramatic rise in the price of oil, the downturn in manufacturing due to the high quality of Japanese and German goods or the loss of exports when Britain joined the Common Market.[14]

For the purposes of this study, perhaps Whitlam's most significant reform was the formation of the Social Welfare Commission, established to advise the Australian Government on social welfare. Funded by the Department of Social Security, the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) was overseen by the Social Welfare Commission.[15] The AAP is important to this study as it supported and initially funded the development of a new type of organisation: volunteer clearing-houses, the very basis of the volunteering infrastructure.

Australian Assistance Plan

The Australian Assistance Plan is important to the story of volunteering in Australia for a number of reasons. It was the first attempt by the Commonwealth Government to include, at the local level, volunteer-involving organisations in social policy. The AAP drew attention to the breadth of voluntary services and by engaging the middle and working classes, the AAP would address the needs of communities, and 'Voluntary organisations would no longer be taken for granted'.[16] To facilitate this new activity, a network of Regional Councils for Social Development was set up around the country, coinciding with local government boundaries.[17]

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[12] Barrie Dyster and David Meredith, *Australia in the Global Economy: Continuity and Change,* (2nd edn., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012),243

[13] R .Kuhn, 'Marxist political economy since the mid 1970s', *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 50 (2002), 108-109.

[14] Brenner R, *The boom and the bubble: the US in the world economy today,* (London: Verso, 2002), 15. Tom O'Lincoln,'Work or riot': The unemployment crisis', *Years of Rage: Social Conflicts in the Fraser Era* (Melbourne: Bookmarks Australia, 1993) <https://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/years/7riot.htm>, accessed 29 September 2014

[15] Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Voluntary Action, Social Welfare and the Australian Assistance Plan in the 1970s', *Australian Historical Studies,* 39/2 (2008), 172.

[16] Ibid. 173.

[17] Ibid. 7.

Funding by the Commonwealth Government to not-for-profit organisations increased from $44.6m (1973/4) to $131m (1975/6). It was little wonder that the needs of volunteer involving organisations as major deliverers of services accelerated accordingly.[18]

Through the AAP seven volunteer bureaux were established or evaluated during the 1970s (see Appendix B).[19] Together with other Whitlam Government initiatives, the Commonwealth Government reached out to local and regional areas attempting to 'integrate and improve welfare services through the combined efforts of Australian, State and local government agencies and voluntary organisations and local community effort'.[20] Thus the AAP affected volunteers in two ways. It offered voluntary groups an extra funding option and more importantly, opened the way for groups to develop relationships with all three levels of government. Until this time, Commonwealth governments had stressed that services delivered by volunteers were under the province of the states and territories.[21]

Graycar and Adams argued that introduction of the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP), 'epitomised both a restatement of welfare thinking and a restatement of thinking about federalism'.[22] Certainly, Whitlam was frustrated with the federated structure of three tiers of government:

> There is less contention in Australia today about what activities should or should not be the responsibility of government than there is about which tier of government should discharge the responsibility for those activities. It is not so important, however, to determine which government carries out some particular function as to ensure that the function should be properly carried out.[23]

The Whitlam Government was arguably the first to by-pass state governments to engage with people and groups at the regional level, a 'pioneering experiment in community

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[18] Ibid. 176.

[19] Anecdotal evidence indicates more volunteer centres were developed but were unable to secure long term funding. Other volunteer centres such as Knox Community Volunteers Inc. in Victoria lost funding but was to re-emerge later when their application for funding was successful (see Appendix B)

[20] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Social Security and Welfare Services', *Year Book,* Cat. No. 1301.0 (1974), 447 <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01974?OpenDocument>, accessed 27 July 2014.

[21] Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Voluntary Action, Social Welfare and the Australian Assistance Plan in the 1970s', 181.

[22] Adam Graycar and Joanne Davis, 'Federalism and social welfare' *The Australian Assistance Plan Evaluation Report No. 2* (Canberra: Deparmtent of Social Security, Commonwealth of Australia, 1979), 5, 43.

[23] E.G. Whitlam 'A New Federalism', *The Australian Quarterly,* 43/3 (1971), 8.

involvement'.[24] Driving this agenda was Whitlam's belief that 'public participation by the governed is a fundamental characteristic of democratic government'.[25] The AAP was a manifestation of this belief, supporting 'the development of regional social planning, and the involvement of local residents and organizations in each region to help overcome their common and shared problems'.[26]

Criticism of the Australian Assistance Plan included the accusation that the AAP was a mechanism to introduce centralism, and that 'a bloated bureaucracy' would unleash 'unfeeling public servants in Canberra [and] destroy community initiative, community involvement'.[27] Whitlam argued that the Commonwealth was actually countering state government centralism by encouraging regional engagement and that the increased level of involvement of groups and individuals would be 'more relevant, more rewarding, more effective, more exciting, than ever before'.[28] To allay fears of the Australian Government trespassing in state government areas, the Social Welfare Commission offered grants to state government Departments of Social and Family Welfare so they could 'establish, or … enlarge, their social planning capacity'.[29] By 1974, this new arrangement had been accepted by all states with the exception of New South Wales and Queensland. The Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) monitored response to the AAP through discussions with its membership and committees and found the reaction to be welcoming and favourable.[30]

The Global Informing the Local

Many of the ideas explored in the development and promotion of the early volunteer centres had originated in trips overseas to investigate volunteer centres in other countries. Rose Miller was the first to introduce the idea of volunteer centres after her trip to the US. Her trip was the first contact between Australian volunteering and the newly developed international organisation, the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE). Overseas experts were also invited to Australia to share their experiences and knowledge. In 1973, Dr Ivan Scheier, Director, National Information Center on Volunteerism in the US, was invited to

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[24] Ibid. 39. Melanie Oppenheimer, *Volunteering: why we can't survive without it,* 133.
[25] E.G. Whitlam, 'People and Power – Community Participation in Federal Government', 38.
[26] Social Welfare Commission, 'Progress Report 30 August – 31 December 1973', *Australian Assistance Plan,* (Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1974), 18.
[27] E.G.Whitlam, 'People and Power – Community Participation in Federal Government', 37.
[28] Ibid. 37-38.
[29] Social Welfare Commission, 'Progress Report 30 August – 31 December 1973', 3, 18.
[30] Australian Council of Social Service, 'Comments on Discussion Paper No. 1', *Australian Assistance Plan* (Sydney, ACOSS, 1974).

Victoria to share his experiences in establishing volunteer centres. This learning has continued with international experts on volunteering regularly being invited to address Australian audiences at national conferences.

The connections between Australian volunteer bureaux and their international peers continued when Heather Buck (CEO, Volunteer Bureau of NSW) was awarded a Churchill Scholarship. Set up in 1965, the Churchill Scholarship provides Australians the opportunity to travel overseas to conduct research not possible in Australia.[31] In 1979, Buck visited volunteer bureaux and not-for-profit organisations to 'study the operational and organizational methods of Volunteer Bureaux' and to learn of their funding models.[32] In total, she visited five countries: Israel, the Netherlands, the UK, Canada and the US. In the UK, volunteer bureaux numbers had grown to 170, a few funded under the UK Government's Urban Programme. Set up in response to the worsening economic crisis, it provided funds for economic improvements, better physical environments and social conditions through the Urban Aid Grant.[33] Groups had to have their local authority agree to provide 25 per cent of the funds. The steering group of a future volunteer bureau would firstly have to approach the local authority, get agreement to fund 25 per cent of the cost of establishing the bureau, and then, if the group passed this barrier, the application would be considered. Thus the local authority would choose and prioritise a final group to send to the Home Office for consideration and hopefully, eventual approval.[34] Volunteer bureaux set up during this period thus owed their existence to local authorities and the UK Government, making them accountable to two levels of government. Similarly, the Australian volunteer bureaux found themselves in a similar situation; due to the Australia federation, they could be held accountable to all three levels of government.

Heather Buck found that the national UK Volunteer Centre had extended its role to act as a conduit between government and organisations on current developments in the field of

[31] Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, 'About the Churchill Trust', 2015 <https://www.churchilltrust.com.au/about/the-trust/>, accessed 1 September, 2015.
[32] Heather M. Buck, *Report on a Study Visit in 1978 as a Churchill Fellow to Israel, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Canada and The United States of America on the Operation of Volunteer Bureaux and the Effective Management of Volunteers* (Sydney: Volunteer Bureau of New South Wales/Voluntary Action Centre, 1979), 1.
[33] Andrew Tallon, *Urban regeneration in the UK,* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2nd edn., 2010), 38.
[34] Heather Buck, *Report on a Study Visit in 1978 as a Churchill Fellow to Israel, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Canada and The United States of America on the Operation of Volunteer Bureaux and the Effective Management of Volunteers*, 39-41.

volunteering. The Volunteer Centre promoted volunteering as community involvement that provided benefits to all — clients, workers and the community. This moved volunteering away from the traditional welfare and the charitable stereotype of the Lady Bountiful.[35] Included in Buck's report are the Sydney Volunteer Bureau's guidelines for establishing steering committees in new volunteer bureaux. Amongst these guidelines was a recommendation to reimburse out-of-pocket expenses to volunteers. This was a fairly novel idea that challenged existing perceptions by being at odds with altruistic motivations of volunteers.

The idea of establishing a national body on volunteering was first proposed by Joan C Brown, Secretary General, Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS), in an internal document in 1973.[36] Joan Brown knew of overseas models and experience in England, the US, Canada and Hong Kong. She believed volunteer bureaux could be developed under the auspice of ACOSS and was the first to refer to volunteer referral services as 'employment agencies' for volunteers.[37] While Brown's idea was not taken up, state Councils of Social Service (COSS) were active to varying degrees in developing state volunteer centres in South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, while ACOSS remained involved in volunteering through its research and advocacy. [38]

Changes to the Volunteering Environment

In Australia, numbers of not-for-profit organisations burgeoned from 1960 until1980. This experience was replicated in other countries. Canada, France, Italy and the United Kingdom witnessed a massive growth in health, education and social services. In the US, 'over a dozen new national organizations were formed to foster voluntarism'.[39] Salamon found that this growth was even more dramatic in developing countries such as India, the Philippines, Brazil

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[35] Dorothy G. Becker 'Exit Lady Bountiful: The Volunteer and the Professional Social Worker, *Social Service Review,* 38/1 (1964), 57-72. M. Openheimer *Volunteering: Why We Can't Survive Without It,* 121-124.
[36] Volunteering Australia Archives: Joan C. Brown, 'The Need for Volunteer Bureaux: Draft for Discussion', Agenda Item IV(4), Australian Council of Social Services, 2 May 1973.
[37] Social Welfare Commission, *The Volunteer Bureau: A Pilot Study,* (Queanbeyan, NSW: Australian Government Social Welfare Commission, October, 1975) 2. Joan C. Brown, 'The Need for Volunteer Bureaux: Draft for Discussion', 1.
[38] Australian Council of Social Services, 'Community Volunteer Program', Submission to the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations, (Sydney: ACOSS, 1986). Alison Morehead and Catherine Griff, 'Volunteering in Australia' (Sydney: ACOSS, 1996), 74.
[39] Peter R. Elson, 'A Short History of Voluntary Sector-Government Relations in Canada' *The Philanthropist,* 21/1 (2007), 36-74. Stuart Langton, 'The New Voluntarism' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 10/7 (1981), 7.

and Kenya.[40] The interest in not-for-profit organisations and volunteering was built on work of previous decades so that when Hamilton-Smith investigated the involvement of volunteers in 1971, she found 42,500 volunteers were engaged by 238 organisations working in the welfare sector in Victoria alone.[41]

In Australia, Lyons argued that the growth in not-for-profit organisations was due to the injection of funds into the community sector by the Whitlam and Fraser Governments, even though these governments had quite different reasons for providing support. The massive expansion of social services by the Whitlam Government, which suffered after an economic downturn, was followed by the Fraser Government's attempts to move responsibility for community services to either state governments or the not-for-profit sector itself. While its motives were different, the result was an increased interest and support for not-for-profit organisations. Lyons maintained that the huge increase of funding for not-for-profit organisations was due to the advocacy work by community service providers, the women's movement and consumer groups, as well as the growing wealth of the population, better education, and technological advancement.[42]

Although this decade saw rising numbers and interest in not-for-profit organisations and their work, Lyons sounded a note of warning. He argued that the community sector was poorly delineated due to the overlap of multiple sectors of health, housing, education and employment.[43] He also believed the relationship between the community services sector and government was too close and would lead to a perception that community services were an extension of government. As an example of this closeness, Lyons found instances where public servants actively assisted emerging groups to apply for government funds. Such acts might be helpful in the short term, but in the long term would impinge on the sector's ability to demonstrate its autonomy and hamper its ability to take a strong position in debates about its own future.[44]

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[40] Lester M. Salamon, 'The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector', *Foreign Affairs,* 73/4 (1994), 109-122.
[41] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *A Study of Volunteers in Social Welfare Agencies in Victoria,* 1.
[42] Mark Lyons, *Third Sector: The Contribution of Nonprofit and Cooperative Enterprises in Australia*, 37. Mark Lyons and Julie Nyland, *Supporting the Managers: An analysis of the management support needs of community organisations and proposals for better meeting these needs.* Report prepared for the Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health by the Centre for Community Organisations and Management (CACOM) (Sydney: Centre for Community Organisations and Management (CACOM), University of Technology, Sydney, June 1995), 9. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, *Australia's Welfare 1993: Services and Assistance* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), 7-8.
[43] Mark Lyons, *Third Sector,* 33-40.
[44] Ibid. 37.

Corresponding with increased numbers of not-for-profit organisations was an increased interest in volunteers. Questions arose about how volunteers could be recruited, trained and managed to fill the needs of organisations and their clients. Different state Councils of Social Services (COSS) responded to their member organisations by running training courses for volunteers and coordinators of volunteers. Another solution — considering the experience of the UK, US, Singapore and Hong Kong — was to establish or advocate for the development of volunteer bureaux. Unfortunately, State COSS offices were hampered by a lack of funds although volunteer bureaux were auspiced or supported by COSS offices in Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania.

Connecting Volunteering to Leisure

It was argued that technically advanced societies were experiencing a rising concern about quality of life issues, diminished employment in industrial production and a greater role for service activities.[45] Bittman argued this was also a time of inward national reflection, when Australians were reminded that leisure, a time separate from work, was important to them.[46] Both within politics and social science research this decade witnessed a greater interest in leisure,.[47] Henderson argued that leisure programs benefited from volunteering involvement, and simultaneously, formed part of the volunteer's leisure activity.[48] Thus volunteering had a double value. Alternatively, there was also disagreement that volunteering could be defined as leisure. In mounting an argument against volunteering being included in the US national accounts, Wolozin scoffed at suggestions that volunteering ouputs were 'productive' work and showed 'a complete lack of comprehension of the economic measurement of output'.[49] Wolozin was firmly of the belief that volunteering was unpaid work and should be measured as such for he found the 'question of motivation is irrelevant'.[50]

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[45] Willis W. Harman, 'The Voluntary Sector in a time of Social Transformation', *Nonprofit and V oluntary Sector Quarterly,* 2 (1973), 112.
[46] Michael Bittman, *The Land of the Lost Long Weekend? Trends in Free Time among Working Age Australians, 1974-1992,*SPRC Discussion Paper No. 83 (Sydney, Social Policy Research Centre, 1998), 1.
[47] Robert A. Stebbins, 'Volunteering: A Serious Leisure Perspective', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 25 /2 (1996), 211-224. A.J. Veal, 'A brief history of work and its relationship to leisure' in John T. Haworth and A.J. Veal (eds.), *Work and Leisure* (2004), 15-33.
[48] Karla A. Henderson, 'Motivations and Perceptions of Volunteerism as a Leisure Activty', *Journal of Leisure Research,* 13/3 (1981), 208-209.
[49] Harold Wolozin, 'The Economic Role and value of Volunteer Work in the United States: An Exploratory Study', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 4/1 (1975), 24.
[50] Ibid. 24.

On the political front, Prime Minister Whitlam believed that sport and recreation were beneficial to the welfare of all and worthy of policy focus:

> In culture and leisure, which are inseparable from a literate and healthy society, we have opened up new horizons for Australians. … No national Government before has given such leadership in these matters so vital to the intellectual life and leisure of the nation.[51]

This interest in sport and recreation was not unusual, as Beveridge had argued many years earlier that governments had a legitimate role in ensuring leisure was both socially sanctioned and constructive.[52] Leisure could not simply be left up to the individual:

> Simply to achieve more leisure is not a significant end in itself. It is vitally important that the community accepts the responsibility for trying to ensure that people will have the opportunity to enjoy increased leisure in a constructive manner and in a way calculated to provide them with the greatest happiness.[53]

When Malcolm Fraser became Prime Minister in 1975, sport and leisure lost the high policy focus in favour of a conservative perspective, whereby leisure and sport are seen as the responsibility of the individual.[54] The poor performances of the Australian team at the Montreal Olympics in 1976 and Bob Ellicott's appointment as Minister for the Environment, Housing and Community Development marked a period of more proactive engagement with sport, and the Australian Institute of Sport for elite athletes was established in 1981.[55] Overall, the Fraser Government's approach to sport and leisure programs was mixed. Originally in line with other portfolios, many sporting programs were either cut or run down.[56] On the other hand, the successful 'Life Be In It' program was adopted nationally in

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[51] E.G.Whitlam, '*The First Year: Statement by the Prime Minister The Hon. E.G. Whitlam, Q.C., M.P., on the Achievements of the Labor Government's First Year of Office*, PM Transcripts, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2 December 1973, <http://pmtranscripts.dpmc.gov.au/?as=1&as_title=&as_dateFrom=&as_dateTo=&as_transcript=first+year&as_era=Whitlam%2C+Gough&submit=Search>, accessed 16 December, 2013.

[52] Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A Report on the Methods of Social Advance,* 317.

[53] Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), '*Press Statement by President, R.J. Hawke', Seminar Leisure – A National Perspective,* ACTU, 9 April 1974.

[54] Rhonda Jolly, 'Sports Funding: Federal Balancing Act' *Parliamentary Library Background Note* (Canberra: Department of Parliamentary Services, 27 June 2013), 4. Darwin M. Semotiuk, 'A Debate in Sports History: Commonwealth Government Initiatives in Amateur Sport in Australia 1972-195', *Sporting Traditions: The Journal of the Australian Society for Sport History,* 3/2 (1987), 152-161. Tom Armstrong, 'Sport and Recreation Policy: Will She Be Right?'*Sporting Traditions: The Journal of the Australian Society for Sport History,* 3/2 (1987), 162-172. Bob Stewart, et al., *Australian Sport: Better by Design? The evolution of Australian sport policy* (Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2004), 51.

[55] Mick Green, 'Olympic Glory or Grassroots Development?: Sport Policy Priorities in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, 1960-2006', *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* 24/7 (2007), 921-953.

[56] John Bloomfield, *Australia's Sporting Success: The Inside Story,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), 68.

1978. Originating in Victoria under the Labour Minister for Youth, Sport and Recreation, Brian Dixon who, coincidentally, funded the Southern Region Volunteer Bureau in 1976 (see Chapter 2), this program promoted physical activity, disease prevention and introduced people into sport. [57] In the same year that the Commonwealth Government funded the Australian Institute of Sport, it ended the funding for the 'Life Be In It' campaign.

Interest in participation at the community level had begun earlier when a survey of membership of voluntary organisations was carried out in Canberra in 1971. [58] The survey found that just over half the population had joined at least one organisation while 45 per cent of the population did not participate in any group. These findings were used in Avery's 1976 study of recreation and sporting clubs in rural and urban NSW. Avery argued that the grassroots recreation system relied on volunteers and needed government involvement but not government control.[59] There was an underlying fear that 'government involvement would bring with it too much bureaucracy and red tape'.[60]

The interest in leisure was used by volunteer centres to expand perceptions of volunteering. The new volunteer centre in Sydney argued that many areas including culture, leisure and sport actively involved volunteers, as Heather Buck said when interviewed by the *Women's Weekly*, 'Welfare is not the only area where they are needed. Places such as the Sydney Opera House library and most museums can use help … Think of any worthwhile project and you can be sure voluntary help is needed'.[61]

Volunteering and Unemployment

The economic crisis of the 1970s was the beginning of the end of full employment in Australia.[62] When Whitlam was dismissed by Governor General Kerr, 11 November 1975, the overall unemployment rate was 4.6 percent but this jumped to 15.6 per cent for young

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[57] Bob Stewart, et al., *Australian Sport: Better by Design? The evolution of Australian sport policy,* 52.
[58] Janne D. Graham, 'Who Participates?' *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 9/2 (1974), 133-141.
[59] G.C.Avery and H. Bergsteiner 'Survey of Voluntary Recreation Workers in New South Wales' *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 51/1 (1980), 54-63.
[60] Ibid. 60.
[61] Bill Wells, 'The Remarkable Story of Sydney's Volunteer Bureau' *The Australian Women's Weekly,* 10 August, 1977, 16-17, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4788738 and http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4788739>, accessed 20 July 2014.
[62] Alan Borowski, 'A Comparison of Youth Unemployment in Australia and the United States', *Monthly Labor Review,* 107/10 (October, 1984), 30.

people aged 15–19.[63] By the end of the decade, the overall employment rate was 6.4 per cent and the unemployment rate of young people aged 15–19 had risen to 20.3 per cent.[64] For young women, this was compounded by the loss of more than one-quarter of full-time jobs over the decade of the 1970s due to technological advance, and the decline of the textile, clothing and footwear industries.[65]

To stave off long-term unemployment, labour market programs mushroomed. Up to this time in Australia, the Labor and Liberal Governments had had different approaches to labour market programs, which Chapman argued was more reflective of ideological differences than responses to rising unemployment and inflation.[66] For instance, Malcolm Fraser's government sought to fight inflation first and advocated individual self-reliance, laying the blame for unemployment at the feet of unemployed, an attitude begun during the Whitlam era.[67] Wanting to reduce the reliance on big government and welfare, Fraser also brought in a number of measures to strengthen existing labour market programs and introduce new ones. The largest of these was the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) in 1976. CYSS was established so that local community projects could support young people in developing the necessary skills to find and retain paid work. The Scheme offered a wide range of activities that could include volunteer programs.[68]

An early example of the support volunteer bureaux could potentially provide to the unemployed was captured in a magazine interview with Heather Buck (Volunteer Bureau,

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[63] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Labour Force, November 1975,* Cat. No. 6203.0 (Canberra: ABS, 1976), 12 <http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/A3D1B8375EFF3444CA2576CC0019DADD/$File/62030_11_1975.pdf>, accessed 24 October 2014..

[64] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Labour Force Australia, December 1979,* 168.

[65] Ian Watson, 'Music While You Work': Teenage Women in the Australian Labour Market, 1947-1992', *The Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 29/4 (1994), 386-389.

[66] Bruce Chapman, 'Continuity and Change: Labour Market Programs and Education Expenditure' *Australian Economic Review,* 18/3 (1985), 99.

[67] Beth Cook, 'Welfare "reform" in Australia, 1975 to 2004: From Entitlement to Obligation', *6th Path to Employment Conference and 11th National Conference on Unemployment, A Future that works: Economics, Employment and the Environment* (Newcastle, NSW: 6th Path to Full Employment Conference and 11th National Conference on Unemployment, 2004) in NOVA, The University of Newcastle's Digital Repository, <http://novaprd.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:2976>, accessed 17 July 2013. Rodney Smith and Michael Wearing 'Do Australians Want the Welfare State?' *Australian Journal of Political Science,* 22/2 (1987), 55-65. Verity Archer, 'Dole Bludgers, Tax Payers and the New Right: Constructing Discourses of Welfare in 1970s Australia', 177-190. Philip Mendes, *Australia's Welfare Wars Revisited: The Players, the Politics and the Ideologies,* 29-31.

[68] Kirby, Peter, et al., *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* 171-173.

Sydney). She believed volunteering played a role in helping people transition to paid work, and articulated the benefits of volunteering for older unemployed women:

> Married with a grown-up family and a husband working full-time, Elizabeth hardly ever left the house, except to shop. She says she felt "useless, in a rut". So she taught herself to type. Then came the economic squeeze and jobs for middle-aged women were hard to find. Now, thanks to Heather, [Volunteer Bureau Sydney] Elizabeth is happily typing for a voluntary organisation in the city. Coming to work one day a week has made her a different person.[69]

A number of small projects led to the establishment of the Commonwealth Government's Volunteer Youth Program (VYP, 1979–1986). VYP offered volunteering as a stepping-stone to paid employment.[70] This may have been the first time the link between volunteering and employment was made in a Commonwealth funded program. This small program was the forerunner of other larger programs that recognised the role volunteering could play as an option for maintaining work-ready skills. This connection would be, in the 1980s, the basis for the formation of an early national volunteering peak body, the National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies. In the 1990s, the same connection would be responsible for Volunteering Australia securing Australian Government funding for the volunteering infrastructure through the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI) 1997–2007.

Defining Types of Volunteering

Early in the life of volunteer bureaux, the term 'formal volunteering' was not commonly used. Rather the term appears to have undergone a meandering, evolutionary process. Amis and Stern in their paper on the development of a theory for voluntary associations found that post-World War 2, the word 'formal' was used to describe a type of organisation, as in 'formal voluntary organisation'.[71] A formal organisation was one in which the majority of members who were not paid, were not coerced to participate, and, it was nongovernmental. A search of other articles in the *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* first published in 1972, found an ongoing debate on the definition and theory of not-for-profit organisations,

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[69] Anonymous, 'People who help people', *The Australian Women's Weekly,* 16 April 1975, 50, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/aww/read/186640?q=%27Heather+Buck%27&s=0&resultId=num6#page/49/mode/1up>, accessed 30 September 2014.

[70] Maureen Cane Personal Archive: Department of Employment Education & Training, 'Towards One Program', *SkillShare: The Community & Youth Network for Employment & Training* (Canberra: Department of Employment Education & Training, 1988), 7-8.

[71] William D. Amis and Samuel E. Stern, 'A Citical Examination of Theory and Functions of Voluntary Associations', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 2 (1974), 91-99.

their roles and functions.[72] Chambré in an examination of American volunteer studies (published from 1965 to 1988) found that little differentiation of the types of volunteering occurred until the 1980s, when the term informal volunteer work was used to differentiate it from the volunteer work occurring in not-for-profit formal organisations. Therefore, the type of volunteering could be defined by the environment and location in which it took place, with informal volunteering being described as 'good deeds done without involvement in a formal organization'.[73]

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Kramer, in his examination of national not-for-profit organisations in Britain (1976–1988), found that research and public policy concentrated on the voluntary sector as a whole resulting in 'a failure to distinguish between different types of voluntarism'.[74] Similarly in Australia, Scott lamented in 1979 that:

> There are few studies of the operation of voluntary welfare agencies in service provision or in influencing public opinion or official policies. Most of the research that has been carried out has considered organisations in the early years of Australia history.[75]

Here, then, was an opportunity for volunteer bureaux to identify what volunteering was and what work volunteers did. Having a network of volunteer bureaux all working to support volunteers would provide consistency hitherto unknown but envisaged by Joan C Brown in her proposal to set up a network of volunteer bureaux.[76]

Amateurism and Professionalism in Volunteering

In volunteering, debates about amateurism and professionalism are complex. Volunteering can be described as the quintessential amateur activity but it often requires professional skills. Further, there can be an element of progression from one status to the other when a person

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[72] Bartram M. Beck, 'The Voluntary Social Welfare Agency: a reassessment', *Social Service Review,* 44/2 (June, 1970), 147-154. Jack C. Ross, 'Work and Formal Voluntary Organizations: A neglected research area', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 1 (1972), 42-45. Constance Smith and Anne Freeman, *Voluntary Associations: Perspectives on the Literature,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972). Charles K. Warriner and Jane Emery Prathe, 'Four types of Voluntary Associations', *Sociological Inquiry*, 35/2 (1965), 138-148.

[73] Susan M. Chambré, 'Kindling Points of Light: Volunteering as Public Policy', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 18/3 (1989), 259.

[74] Ralph M. Kramer, 'Change and Continuity in British Voluntary Organisations, 1976 to 1988', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations,* 1/2 (1990), 35.

[75] David Scott, 'The Future Role of Voluntary Agencies in Welfare', *Australian Social Work,* 32/4 (1979), 39.

[76] Volunteering Australia Archives: Joan C. Brown, 'The Need for Volunteer Bureaux: Draft for Discussion' ACOSS, 1.

volunteers in order to attain paid work or begin a professional career. There are also debates as to whether professional paid workers are more accountable than unpaid amateur-volunteers. This argument assumes that the main volunteer role is service delivery. It does not include volunteer leadership roles such as mentoring or the accountability and responsibility of volunteer board members of not-for-profit organisations.[77]

This section considers the tension that can be seen on two levels at this time. It can be seen between the paid professional worker and the unpaid volunteer/amateur. The tension can also be seen between the informal/amateur style of volunteering and formal volunteering, where management was professionalised and standardised. Figure 5 depicts the tension between amateurism and professionalism.

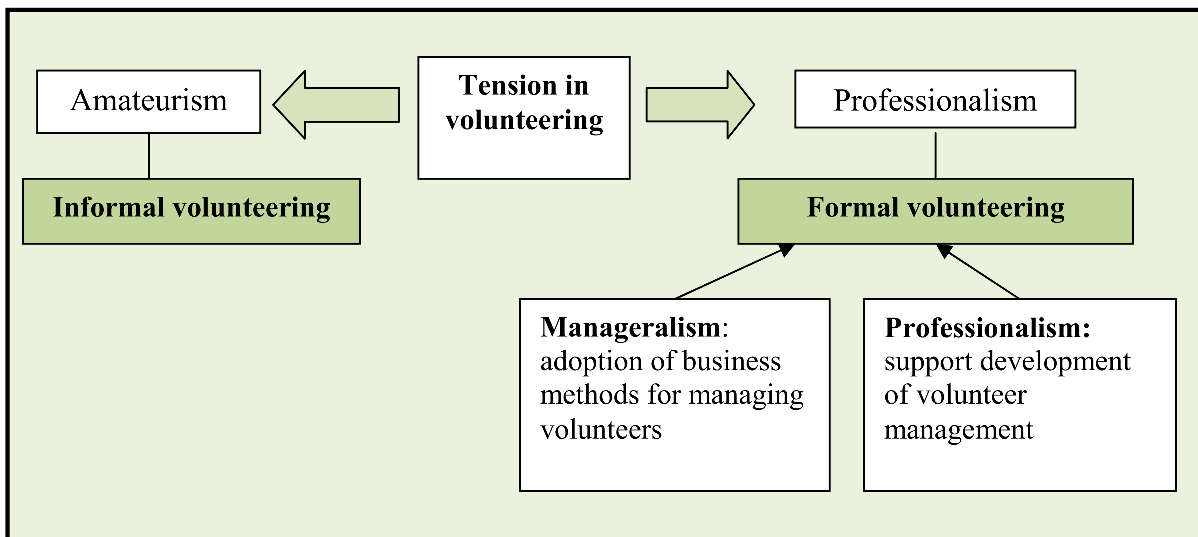

Figure 5 Tension in volunteering between amateurism and professionalism

The history of the tension between amateurism and professionalism can be illustrated through a short examination of the development of the professional social work. In America, the National Committee on Volunteers (later Associate group of the National Conference of Social Work) was formed in 1932 at the height of the Depression.[78] The Committee sought to foster a better relationship between volunteers and the new profession of social work, and to encourage more people to volunteer to deal with the hardship caused by the stock market

[77] Donna Purcell, 'Allowing Volunteers to take the Lead', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 12/1 (2007), 64-66.
[78] Paul Ilsely, 'Preparing and training the volunteer coordinator: A model for program management' in John A. Nieme, & Eve M. Stone, *Voluntarism at the crossroads: A challenge for Adult Educators,* Proceedings of a Conference (Hillside, Illinois: Adult and Continuing Education Program, Northern Illinois University, February, 1978), 66.

crash. The need for action was so great that by the end of the following year, volunteer bureaux, often affiliated with councils of social service, existed in 28 American cities. In Australia, social work evolved from the work of almoners and other volunteers.[79] The emerging profession of social workers had to justify their existence, particularly why they had to be highly educated, what they had to offer, and why they should be employed (and paid) in preference to friendly visitor volunteers. Professionalism encouraged the development of norms and education, which created boundaries between the social worker and the volunteer. The friendly visitor, 'once hailed as the initiator of the casework method' began to be viewed as 'a threat to professional standards'.[80] In striving to create recognition for the field and the professionalism of social workers, volunteers were often overlooked in social work research. Hamilton-Smith analysed articles from *Forum: the Journal of the Australian Association of Social Workers and the Australian Association of Almoners*, the social work journal of the 1940s and 1950s. She found there were 'virtually no references made to social workers' conscious involvement with volunteers', although a later search found an article published in 1960 describing a new psychiatric telephone service that involved volunteers.[81] Twenty years later, suspicion about volunteers lingered. At a seminar in 1993, Des Semple, Director-General of the NSW Department of Community Services explained such suspicion as a reaction to a relatively new profession, fearful that 'volunteers would devalue the profession', and that volunteers 'are not subject to discipline and can't be given responsibility".[82]

The tension between professionalism and amateurism did not reside only among professional groups. In a 1977 case study of the Australian Red Cross Society, Victorian Division, Frances Donovan found that volunteers were worried about increasing professionalism and its impact on the spirit of voluntary organisations. Volunteers believed that not-for-profit organisations had a 'spirit' or a 'soul' and profit-making was not their main concern.[83] They were

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[79] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *Volunteers in Social Welfare Services in Victoria,* 9.
[80] Susan J. Ellis, 'What's in a Name … or a Title?' *Energize,* September 2006 <http://www.energizeinc.com/hot/2006/sept06.html>, accessed 23 August 2014.
[81] Georgina Brewis and Anjelica Finnegan, 'The Volunteering England Archive: An overview and Historical Background, February 2012, 13.
[81] Melanie Oppenheimer, *The Power of Humanity: 100 Years of Australian red Cross 1914-2014,* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2014), 194.
[81] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *Volunteers in Social Welfare Services in Victoria,* 52.
[82] Victorian State Library: Judd, Ray, *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* (Hampton, Victoria: Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau, 1979), MS 12055, No. 2536/7, 7.
[83] Mark Lyons, *Third Sector: The Contribution of Nonprofit and Cooperative Enterprises in Australia*, 37. Victorian State Library: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* 77.

concerned that social workers were usurping their role. This was not a new problem. In his evaluation of adoption workers in American during the 1920s, Romanofsky expressed fear that volunteers might be relegated ‘to inferior, non-productive and consequently unsatisfying positions’ if professional groups took control in organisations.[84] Secondly, volunteers were alarmed by the engagement of businessmen at the executive level. This concerned both paid and volunteer staff and centred on the changing culture of the Red Cross, which raised questions about ‘whether staff were regarded as members of ‘the family’ or members of a business organisation’.[85] This quote demonstrates how the nature of the organisation’s culture changed to one that demanded standards and objectivity.

The concern about volunteers was not limited to welfare services. Some educators were also distrustful of volunteers. In 1976, at an American conference on adult education, the general opinion about volunteers was distrustful and quite negative:

1. Volunteers will assume too much control over client groups.
2. Volunteers will not be accountable to supervisors.
3. Volunteers will want to “do their own thing” in an inappropriate setting.
4. Volunteers will lack commitment, tending to be here today and gone tomorrow.
5. Volunteers will be disloyal and will scrutinize many facets of the program with a critical but untrained eye.
6. Volunteers will create breaches of confidence [sic. bullet points in text].[86]

As these concerns were expressed at a conference about adult education, unsurprisingly the suggested remedy to all these problems was training. The amateur volunteer was to become more like the paid worker — a professional volunteer. The idea of training volunteers was not new. In the late 1960s, training for volunteers existed in a number of Australian states: Western Australia (by the Health Education Council of WA, 1967, for auxiliary community workers), New South Wales (by the Extension Board, University of Sydney, 1968, for volunteers in community agencies), and Victoria (VCOSS and the Mental Health Authority, for volunteers in Citizens’ Advice Bureaux). Hamilton-Smith argued that volunteers did have a valuable role to play, particularly if they were managed in a ‘specific role approach’.[87] This

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[84] Peter Romanofsky, ‘Professionals Versus Volunteers: A Case Study of Adoption Workers in the 1920’s’, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 2/2 (1973), 95.
[85] Frances Donovan, *Voluntary Organisations: A Case Study* (Bundoora: Preston Institute of Technology Press, 1977), 127-128, 148-150.
[86] Paul Ilsely, ‘Preparing and training the volunteer coordinator: A model for program management’, 66.
[87] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *Volunteers in Social Welfare Services in Victoria,* (1972), 9.

approach defined the function and tasks of the volunteer and the paid professional. If specific tasks could be identified, volunteers could be trained to perform them.

If volunteers were to be trained, supervised and evaluated, then the people managing them should also have an improved status. During the 1960s, Harriet Naylor sought the inclusion of a scale of volunteer management careers in the American Government's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles.*[88] By 1967, there were 14 Voluntary Service Managers in Britain and the first paid volunteer managers were employed in Australia.[89] Heather Buck, later to become the first employed CEO of the Volunteer Bureau in Sydney, was appointed to the paid position of Director of Voluntary Services, Australian Red Cross, NSW, in 1968.[90] Hamilton-Smith found that in her Victorian study in 1972, 56 per cent of organisations employed volunteer organisers with 31 per cent of organisers being volunteers.

This was an exciting time for volunteer management as Marlene Wilson declared, 'We are witnessing and experiencing the evolution of a whole new and exciting career … that of volunteer management'.[91] Unfortunately, this was not a perspective enthusiastically embraced by all organisations. Wilson believed that one of the reasons volunteer programs failed was due to a lack of good management. In her Victorian study, Hamilton-Smith found a high turnover of volunteers reflected dissatisfaction with their management.[92]

In this environment, the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau (SVRB) in Victoria decided it had a role to play supporting volunteers and coordinators, as well as improving the effectiveness of volunteer programs. Their position on the tension between amateurism and professionalism was that the relationship between the two groups 'should not be seen in terms of status, but in type of duties performed'.[93] The explosive growth in not-for-profit organisations during this decade led to a 'manpower shortage in the welfare sphere'.[94]

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[88] Susan J. Ellis, 'What's in a Name … or a Title?' *Energize,* September 2006 <http://www.energizeinc.com/hot/2006/sept06.html>, accessed 23 August 2014.
[89] Georgina Brewis and Anjelica Finnegan, 'The Volunteering England Archive: An overview and Historical Background', 13.
[90] Melanie Oppenheimer, *The Power of Humanity: 100 Years of Australian red Cross 1914-2014,* 194.
[91] Marlene Wilson, *The Effective Management of Volunteer Programs,* (Boulder, Colorado: Volunteer Management Associates, 1979), 14.
[92] Jean Hamilton-Smith, *Volunteers in Social Welfare Services in Victoria*, (1972), 3.
[93] Victorian State Library: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* (1979) MS 12055, No. 2536/7, 7.
[94] Mark Lyons, *Third Sector: The Contribution of Nonprofit and Cooperative Enterprises in Australia,*, 37. Victorian State Library: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* 77.

Manpower, in this instance, referred to paid workers. The competition to find and employ paid workers led in turn to an increased reliance on volunteers. The SRVB saw this as an opportunity to meet the needs of not-for-profit organisations, the emerging profession of volunteer management and volunteers by developing a network of volunteer bureaux:

> We firmly believe that for too long the society and the human service industries have taken volunteers for granted. … to commit funds to the active facilitation of volunteer activity through a network of volunteer bureaux is to give proper recognition to the contribution volunteers are making and to the skills and resources agencies and staff need to support these people effectively.[95]

Taking this position helped differentiate the role and function of volunteer bureaux from other not-for-profit organisations. Three major themes in their work began to emerge. These were the need to respond to volunteer needs, to support volunteer management and to promote volunteering while simultaneously striving to gain financial sustainability. As Heather Buck's travel to volunteer centres overseas and the experience of volunteer centres in NSW and Victoria indicate, the early task of recruiting and referring volunteers went hand in hand with advocating volunteer rights and encouraging better management of volunteers.[96]

Promotion and Advocacy of Volunteering

In the 1970s, promotion of volunteering often came in the guise of raising funds for charitable causes. While the Centre for Volunteering NSW archives did not provide information that the Volunteer Bureau had a deliberate strategy to promote volunteering through the *Women's Weekly*, the magazine did attend and photograph fundraising events, particularly those that took place in Sydney. Both Rose Miller and Heather Buck were photographed at events for the Volunteer Bureau and St Vincent's Hospital. The 'People and Fashion' pages of the *Women's Weekly* over this period often contained photos of new brides, society party goers and fundraisers. Photos carried captions such as 'Mrs Roger Kelly by her plant stall at Celebrity Tennis, which the Lions Club of North Sydney combined with a fair to raise funds for the 2UW Blind Appeal'.[97] Alternatively, volunteers would feature in stories of

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[95] Victorian State Library: *Report of the Pilot Period of the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau,* 65.
[96] The Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: H.M. Buck, *Report on a Study Visit in 1978 as a Churchill Fellow,* 272.
[97] Susan Owens, 'People and Fashion', *The Australian Women's Weekly,* 15 December, 1976, 12-13, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/aww/read/225991?q=volunteer&s=10&resultId=num10#page/13/mode/1up>, accessed 30 September 2014

rescue and other emergencies, 'Those volunteers are great men' said Charlie. 'They came to help me, unpaid, with no fuss, and with the right gear …'.[98]

The Volunteer Bureau in Sydney was able to promote its services by taking advantage of the *Women's Weekly* interest in charitable events to expand people's knowledge of the scope of volunteering. In the April 1975 issue with Barbara Streisand on its front cover, an article entitled 'People who need people' (a likely allusion to the lyrics of the song *People* made famous by Barbra Streisand), referred to the concept of a referral service for volunteers so new that it was described as 'mixing and matching'.[99] The article went on to introduce Heather Buck, CEO of Volunteer Bureau, and the concept of volunteer rights 'The old idea that a person should be prepared to do any sort of job for charity is ridiculous'. Heather said, 'It is just as important for a person to get job satisfaction out of a voluntary service as it is to get it out of a full-time, paid occupation'.[100]

In this chapter, instances have been noted where Heather Buck through the pages of the *Women's Weekly* promoted volunteering as an activity that could take place outside the health and welfare sector: it could be part of one's leisure, or the maintenance of work skills. Further, volunteering could provide a sense of job satisfaction. So, while evidence for a planned strategy for promoting volunteering was not found, Heather Buck appeared to take every opportunity to promote volunteering in a light that was perhaps new to women.

The promotion of volunteering combined two major aims: to inform people about volunteering, and to recruit more volunteers. As a consequence, the breadth of not-for-profit organisations was also highlighted. One method that grew in popularity was the concept of a National Volunteer Week. The first Volunteer Week was sponsored by the Department Store, Myer Sydney Limited, in the first week of April 1979. It was so successful that David Jenkin, the Managing Director of Myer Sydney, promised to support an expansion of the event in the

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[98] Keith Finlay, 'Volunteer rescue squad were Charlie's angels' *The Australian Women's Weekly,* 21 September 1977, 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/aww/read/225311?q=volunteer&s=0&resultId=num1#page/10/mode/1up>, accessed 30 September 2014

[99] Anonymous, 'People who help people', *The Australian Women's Weekly,* 16 April 1975, 50, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/aww/read/186640?q=%27Heather+Buck%27&s=0&resultId=num6#page/49/mode/1up> accessed 30 September 2014

[100] Ibid. 50.

following year.[101] This was the first time the Myer family, a prolific philanthropic family of long-standing, supported volunteer centres.

Volunteer Week was an extension of the earlier NSW Council for Ageing festival to recruit volunteers. Such events were often the first time people learned of the variety of volunteer opportunities available, thus both offering a wide field of choice for potential volunteers and disseminating information about the range of volunteer involving organisations and their work. Volunteer National Weeks would become an important annual event for all volunteer centres as will be discussed in chapters concerned with later decades.

By 1979, the role of the Volunteer Bureau had widened when Heather Buck noted the interest of corporations in volunteering ‘using the Volunteer Bureau to prepare their staff for retirement’. This would broaden the pool of potential volunteers, something Buck was keen to do after the criticism made by Horsburgh in the first evaluation of the Volunteer Bureau Pilot Program in 1974/75 (see Chapter 3, section on NSW). Further, Buck wryly noted that the interest by corporations provided another potential funding opportunity.[102] It may be first time the connection between business and volunteering was mentioned beyond the potential of corporations as funders, even though the practice was not uncommon, particularly for small to medium-sized businesses.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the social, political and economic context in which the early volunteer centres developed. This decade saw massive growth of not-for-profit organisations and a corresponding need for volunteers. The relationship between volunteer bureaux and the Commonwealth government began with funding through the Australian Assistance Plan. This extended the development of volunteer bureaux beyond the suburbs of Sydney to regional NSW and Victoria. The 1970s saw pioneers of the volunteer bureaux look to the experience of other countries in their development of volunteering and volunteer bureaux.

During this decade perceptions of volunteering changed to include volunteering as a leisure activity. It was during this decade the value of volunteering expanded as an opportunity to learn new work-related skills or maintain current skills. The notion of volunteering as a

[101] Centre for Volunteer Archives: Buck, H.M., *Report on a Study Visit in 1978 as a Churchill Fellow* 272.
[102] Ibid. 272.

potential labour market program resulted, in this decade with a new Commonwealth Government program, the Voluntary Work Program (VYP), offering volunteering as a way for unemployed people to hone their skills in anticipation of paid work. Also during this period, volunteering was extended beyond the parameters of amateurism. The tension between amateurism and professionalism saw the development of formal volunteering as well as the rise of professional and paid managers of volunteers.

The volunteer bureaux took advantage of these changes to extend their role and function beyond the placement of volunteers in not-for-profit organisations. The 1970s also saw volunteer bureaux add promotion to their role by holding a Volunteer Week. During this annual event, potential volunteers were exposed to the variety of areas and volunteer positions they might explore. But possibly more importantly, promotional activities during Volunteer Week became a vehicle to inform the public about volunteering.

CHAPTER 6

GROWTH AND IDENTITY 1980–1989

The previous chapter described the 1970s as the decade when volunteer centres first appeared in Australia. In the following decade, 1980s, volunteer centre numbers increased in every State and Territory and became consolidated across the nation. Global influences continued when in 1985 the United Nations (UN) called on countries to observe an International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development, 5 December, to raise awareness of volunteering and thus volunteering rates around the world. In Australia, the day is simply known as International Volunteers Day, a major annual event for recognising the work of volunteers. [1] This was the decade when volunteer centres held their first volunteer award ceremonies, established schools and programs of training for volunteers and managers, and, most importantly it was the first time the Commonwealth Government funded the emerging volunteering centres as a group. In this decade of firsts, the volunteer centres expanded the Volunteer Week of the 1970s to an annual National Volunteer Week which concentrated on volunteer recruitment.

This chapter argues that in this decade volunteer centres became recognisable as a unique group of not-for-profit organisations, the beginning of a volunteering infrastructure. The volunteer centres evolved over this decade to provide direct service delivery, promotion, and advocacy for volunteers and volunteering. In this decade, volunteer centres developed a cohesive voice on volunteering, sought to broaden public perception about the breadth of volunteering and lobbied for a greater understanding of the needs of volunteers, and the professionalisation of volunteer management. Volunteer centres were also convinced that volunteering was a way to enhance skills and develop the self-confidence of people seeking paid employment and began to provide programs to that end. This was the beginning of volunteer centres walking a fine line between marrying the philosophical principles of volunteering with the practical need for financial viability.

[1] UN Web Services Section, 'Background on International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development – 5 December', (n.d.), <www.un.org/en/events/volunteerday/background.shtml>, accessed 9 August 2013.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first discusses the adoption of neoliberal policies by Australian Governments. This provided the environment in which volunteer centres grew and the first national bodies and networks developed. The second section considers the early work to develop an identity and focus for volunteer centres. This included the first national and international conferences on volunteering led by a volunteer centre. The first national conference was instrumental in the creation of the first national body for volunteering, the Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV). This section also explores the early steps volunteer centres took to improve the working situation of volunteers, the formalisation of volunteering. Volunteer centres were at the forefront of developing the profession of volunteer management, offering training and program consultation. The third section examines the role that volunteering as a labour market program, played in the evolution of volunteer centres. Begun in the previous decade and extended throughout the 1980s, volunteering as a labour market strategy gathered momentum and funding for volunteer centres. The loss of volunteer centre funding, caused by the amalgamation of government labour market programs into SkillShare, led to the swift establishment of a second national volunteering body, the National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA) in 1988. NAVRA positioned itself as a national body for regional and state volunteer centres. Simultaneously, the Chief Executive Officers of state volunteer centres established their own network to discuss issues pertinent to their organisations and volunteering in their states. A measure of the interest in volunteering can be measured by the emergence of volunteer national bodies over this decade. At the beginning of this decade, volunteer centres only existed in two states. By the end of the decade, the growth in the budding volunteering infrastructure resulted in the emergence of three national bodies, a broad membership body for all interested in volunteering, a lobbying national group seeking funds for the continuance and growth of volunteer centres, and an exclusive network for the CEOs of state peak volunteer centres.

Neoliberalism and the Volunteering Infrastructure

In the west, Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the USA endorsed neoliberalism as the paradigm to restructure capitalism and society, while in the

East, Den Xiaoping introduced capitalist economic reforms.[2] Beginning with Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser (1975–1983) both the Labor and Liberal parties adopted neoliberal policies in Australia.[3] These policies were a response to the 'long term fall in the profit share of large corporations and economic crises of the 1970s and governments' attempts to end stagflation'.[4] According to Harvey, neoliberal economic theory purports that 'human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade'.[5] Through neoliberal policies, services previously delivered by governments were transferred to the not-for-profit sector, thus shifting the relationship between governments and the welfare/community sector. This is compatible with William Beveridge's theory of the 'moving frontier'.[6] It highlights the idea that the moving frontier is not benign, that this shift was not instigated by the not-for-profit sector. Rather, it was a movement led and imposed by governments, all the while dressed in the guise of a partnership.[7] O'Connor argued that neoliberal principles led governments to demand that the not-for-profit sector adopt market values and practices. In particular, the introduction of contracts led to a level of competition between not-for-profit organisations that had not been present until this point in time. Contracts, outcome of performance indicators, quality control measures, and other measures borrowed from for-profit business practices changed the relationship between the not-for-profit organisations and government bureaucrats, adding a layer of distrust and judgement where perhaps none had previously existed.[8] This is a change from the previous decade where Lyons suggested bureaucrats and not-for-profit staff were possibly too convivial due to the level of support provided by public servants when not-for-

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[2] Andrew Gamble, 'Neo-Liberalsm' *Capital & Class,* 75 (Autumn 2001), 127-134. Manfred B. Steger, and Ravi K. Roy, *Neoliberalsm: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-4. Nicole Georgeou, *Neoliberalism, Development, and Aid Volunteering,* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 35.

[3] Philip Mendes, *Australia's Welfare Wars Revisited: The Players, the Politics and the Ideologies,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008), 35.

[4] Michael Pusey, 'An Australian Story: the Troubling Experience of Economic Reform', *Senate Occasional Lecture Series,* Parliament House, (Canberra: Department of the Senate, 20 June 2003), 95. Andrew Gamble, *Capital & Class*, 128.

[5] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism,* 2.

[6] Josie Kelly, 'Reforming Public Services in the UK: Bringing in the Third Sector', *Public Administration,* 85/4 (2007), 1003-1022. Rose Melville, *Third Sector Welfare: The Industry Commission's Inquiry and the Future of Non-Government Organisations,* Discussion Paper No. 5 (Sydney: Uniya Publications, 1994), 4. G. Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History,* 1/2 (1990), 183-206.

[7] P. Smyth, 'After Beveridge: the State and Voluntary Action in Australia', 2.

[8] T. O'Connor & M. Sacco, 'Market Principles and Welfare', *Family Matters,* 36 (December, 1993), 50-57.

profit organisations applied for funding.[9] The concentration on contracts placed emphasis on the complementary layer of relationships suggested by Young, where not-for-profit organisations deliver services on behalf of government and the relationship becomes transactional.

Two of the underlying principles of neoliberalism are that people's best interests are served when free of government intervention and that economic prosperity is best left in the hands of the free market. Therefore, the only role for government was a responsibility to support the creation of markets where none exist, for example, in the areas of social security, health care and education.[10] In this scenario, volunteers and the emerging volunteering infrastructure connected with neoliberalism at two major points: one, the power of the individual, that is, the volunteer, who without fear or favour, plays a strong role in the identification of social issues and the creation of services to meet community needs; and two, by creating a new market when the volunteering infrastructure argued that volunteering should be considered part of the solution to unemployment which is discussed later in this chapter.

Even though volunteer centres were being established at a time of economic crises and the ascent of neoliberalism, it cannot be assumed there was a cause and effect relationship. The reasons for establishing volunteer centres were nuanced and influenced by specific reasons related to volunteering as explored in Chapter 3.

Volunteer Centre Identify: The role of Promotion and Advocacy

The importance of publicity and promotion of volunteering was highlighted to Margaret Bell during her first week as Executive Director at the Volunteer Centre of New South Wales (NSW):

> I was asked to go to Parliament to receive a cheque, funding that had been raised for the Centre and when I got there I found the cheque was $5000 and there was a big afternoon tea provided. The Minister [for Community Services, NSW] came in we had tea out of silver service and he chatted and gave me a check for $5000. I was a very confused. I looked across the table and said to him "Minister, I'm new in this appointment but I don't understand the time you've invested, the afternoon tea that's

[9] Mark Lyons, *Third Sector: The Contribution of Nonprofit and Cooperative Enterprises in Australia,* (Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2001), 33-40.

[10] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism,* 2. Mark Western, Janeen Baxter, Jan Pakulski, *et al*., 'Neoliberalism, Inequality and Politics: The changing Face of Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* 42/3 (Spring 2007), 401-418.

> been served, and I don't mean to be ungracious, but a cheque for $5000 - what do you think I'm going to do with that? And so, [laugh], I'll never forget, it was Frank Walker. His eyes opened wide and he said, "Oh my goodness, you're serious about this job" and I said "I'm very serious and afternoon tea won't buy it" and I laughed and he laughed and he said "Listen girl, if you're serious about this job get on the front page of the newspaper, that's my advice, and stay there". … So I endeavoured to do that. I didn't make the front page too often but I realised that publicity was what he was talking about. Get the volunteer movement known.[11]

During the 1980s, advocacy for volunteers and coordinators of volunteers went hand in hand with the promotion of volunteering. Advocacy for volunteer rights formed a backdrop in training, referrals and celebrations of volunteering. This was also the time when volunteer centres began to identify themselves as the authoritative voice on volunteering in their particular states and reach into the national arena.

The election of the Hawke Labor Government in 1983 rekindled the connection between leisure and volunteering. Labor's Sport and Recreation Policy of 1983 and 1990, stated 'volunteering can fuse work and leisure, integrate work and leisure' and that 'volunteering is fundamental to questions about quality of life'.[12] Although there may have been scepticism of a causal relationship between increased leisure time and greater volunteer numbers, the first Australian Bureau of Statistics survey on volunteering in South Australia (SA) found that over a three month period, people spent more time volunteering for sporting organisations than any other type (25 per cent of total volunteer hours).[13] Extended leisure time did not automatically result in more volunteers, but indications were that people who volunteered in sport and recreation were likely to spend more time on those activities than in other areas of volunteering. Henderson argued that work, leisure, and volunteering were intertwined and that parallels existed between volunteering and leisure.[14] Such parallels emphasised the importance of individual choice, benefits to the individual, to organisations and communities. In 1983, at a seminar entitled 'Work, Leisure and Volunteering: New Perspectives' held at the Volunteer Centre of SA, three topical areas of concern connecting volunteering and social policy were addressed. These were youth unemployment, retrenchment and early retirement,

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[11] Margaret Bell interview with the author, [sound recording] (Sydney, 18 November 2010) in the author's possession.

[12] Brown, J., *The A.L.P. Sport and Recreation Policy,* Australian Labor Party, 1983. Moroney, B.J., 'Recreation, Quality of Life and Volunteering' *Action for Social Change Conference Papers Third National Conference on Volunteering,* Melbourne, Victoria, (1990), 47.

[13] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Chris Chappell (ed.), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers;* (Adelaide: SACOSS, December 1980). Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Community and Volunteer Work, South Australia 1988,* Cat. No. 4402.4 (Adelaide: ABS, October 1989), 3.

[14] Karla Henderson, 'Volunteerism as Leisure', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 13 (1984), 56.

and female unemployment.[15] At such forums, volunteer centres challenged traditional perceptions of volunteering and raised a range of issues affecting both leisure and the labour market.

In general, volunteer centres welcomed government interest in connecting leisure and volunteering for three main reasons. Firstly, volunteering benefited because this idea challenged the perception that volunteering was the same as paid work without the incentive of a wage. Broadening the perception of volunteering was a theme throughout the 1980s. The concern was that concentration on health and welfare services obscured the importance of volunteering in other sectors.[16] Secondly, volunteer centres benefited as membership widened to include sport, recreation and leisure organisations and programs. And, thirdly, membership from a wide spectrum of not-for-profit organisations added to the legitimacy of volunteers as knowledgeable advocates of volunteering. This awareness of the connection between leisure and volunteering was illustrated at the inaugural Recreation Volunteer Service Recognition Award in South Australia, 1986. The Minister for Recreation and Sport, Kym Mayes, stated, 'Without the thousands of volunteers availing themselves to recreation organisations in South Australia, our leisure time could be either very expensive or very uninteresting'. [17] At this time, the connection between leisure and volunteering on the moving frontier arguably indicates government and the volunteer centres moving towards each other rather than just one initiating the movement. Government wished to implement its policy while the volunteer centres wanted to extend perceptions of volunteering, raise membership numbers and promote their role supporting a broad spectrum of volunteer-involving organisations. This was not an instance of leadership but one of mutual benefit.

While volunteer centres were encouraging a wider perception of volunteering, volunteer centre funding was another pressing need. However, an ongoing problem confronted by all independent volunteer centres and some programs was that they were not set up to provide direct services to disadvantaged people. Rather, their focus was on the promotion of

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[15] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre S.A., *Work, Leisure and Volunteering: New Perspectives,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre S.A., 1 June, 1983), 2.
[16] Volunteering ACT Archives: Volunteer Centre of New South Wales, 'Policies Towards Volunteers: Some Guiding Principles Addressed to Governments and Corporations', Policy Discussion Document No. 1 (Sydney: Volunteering NW, 1985), 1.
[17] Kym Mayes, 'Without volunteers our leisure time could be either very expensive or very uninteresting' *Volunteering: South Australia,* (8th edn., Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of South Australia, June-August 1986), 1.

volunteering and advocacy of volunteers, including the improvement of work conditions and standards, and training for volunteers and managers of volunteers. As Diane Morgan argued:

> Most funding in Australia from state and federal governments goes directly to the services provided by community organisations and very little, if any, goes to co-ordinating the volunteer who provide much of that service.[18]

At a state level, there were instances when volunteer centres supported each other through advocacy. Politicians, especially State Government Ministers, were often lobbied to intercede on behalf of other state centres. For example, Margaret Bell, Executive Director, Volunteer Centre of New South Wales, when thanking the Honorable Virginia Chadwick, Minister for Family and Community Services, NSW, for providing core funding for the Volunteer Centre of NSW, took the opportunity to request the Minister intercede on behalf of volunteer centres with her counterparts in other states:

> To date Western Australia has core funding for its State Centre, South Australia and Victoria have 'token' grants and Queensland has no grant at all. Any advocacy role that you would care to play in Social Welfare Ministers Conference in this regard would be gratefully received by us on behalf of our interstate colleagues.[19]

Another tactic was to use the prestige of the position of World President of the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE) to lobby governments for funding. By this time Margaret Bell was World President of IAVE, the Executive Director of the Volunteer Centre of NSW and the President of NAVRA. Whichever hat was being worn, lobbying the Commonwealth Government for funding of volunteering infrastructure organisations was a constant feature.[20] The need for ongoing funding was a problem for all independent volunteer centres. Various streams of revenue were sought from philanthropic trusts, corporations, state governments and fee for service. But sometimes other sacrifices had to be made, such as when Diane Morgan as CEO, Volunteering Centre of Queensland, worked for the first two years without a wage and 'every stick of furniture [at VCQ] was donated'.[21] This is another

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[18] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Diane Morgan, Australian Association for Volunteers, 'Application for Community Organisations' Support Grant', 5 September, 1991.

[19] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Margaret Bell, Volunteer Centre NSW, letter to The Hon Virginia Chadwick, Minister for Family and Community services, 6 September 1988.

[20] Volunteering ACT Archives: Mary Porter, *President's Report,* ACT Volunteers Association, Second Annual General Meeting, 10 October 1990 5.

[21] Diane Morgan, interview with the author, Interview No. 1, [sound recording] (Brisbane, 9 June, 2011), in the author's possession.

example of the efforts people made to the groups and organisations they passionately believed made a contribution to volunteering in this country.

Who's Out There? The First National Conference on Volunteering

The genesis of the first national conference on volunteering in Australia began when Margaret Bell, the newly appointed Executive Director, Volunteer Centre of NSW, learned Australia was to host the next international conference. In preparation, Bell attended the International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE) 8th World Volunteer Conference in Bogota, Colombia, in September 1984 as a member of the Australian delegation. Australian involvement with IAVE began when Rose Miller (pioneer of the Volunteer Bureau of Sydney) first made contact during her overseas trip a decade earlier, and Heather Buck, Executive Director, Volunteer Centre of NSW had represented Australia on the IAVE Board. These connections led to an offer for Australia to host the 1986 world conference on volunteering. Although the exact date of the offer is unknown, it was probably made in 1982 at the previous IAVE Conference or Board meeting. Regardless of the exact date, the offer shows a sanguine belief in the capacity of the volunteer centre in Sydney. Even if the original thinking assumed that other volunteer centres would support the IAVE conference, very few centres existed in Australia and those that did were very small.

When an Australian delegation failed to arrive in Bogota, Margaret Bell made a number of urgent phone calls to the Chairperson of the Volunteer Centre NSW, Peter Davidson. His reaction was, 'right, well you make the presentation … and we'll back you'. According to Bell, 'I'd been in the job 10 days. I didn't know what anybody thought about volunteering … I didn't even know what was going on interstate'.[22] After working through the night, Margaret announced the conference theme for the 9th IAVE Volunteering Conference, Sydney, to be 'Volunteering: Tomorrow's Fresh Option' and came back to Sydney to raise $150,000 to fund the 1986 IAVE Conference.

By 1984, as Margaret Bell attended the IAVE Conference in Bogota, seven volunteer centres existed in NSW, South Australia, Victoria and Queensland (see Appendix B). Heather Buck had been a key figure in the evolving volunteer centre movement, visiting and advising groups on establishing volunteer centres. But communication between the centres was not

[22] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.

current, as Bell worried, ‘we didn’t have the faintest idea what those centres were doing or what they thought volunteering was all about’.[23] In anticipation of the Sydney IAVE Conference, the Volunteer Centre of NSW invited representatives from volunteer centres and not-for-profit organisations to the first national volunteering conference in 1985. Not surprisingly, the theme for this early conference was ‘Volunteering: what is it?’ reflecting a desire to understand the current thinking on volunteering around Australia. Delegates came from Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Northern Territory, Western Australia, New South Wales and New Zealand.[24] For the first time participants from volunteer centres and not-for-profit organisations sat down together and gained a sense of the work on volunteering in each state.

This first national conference was also momentous as delegates voted to establish a national body. The new body, the National Association of Volunteer Resource Centres (NAVRC), consisted of eight members, including the Volunteer Resource Service at Noarlunga in South Australia (later named the Fleurieu Volunteer Resource Centre and more recently, Southern Volunteering). Based at the Volunteer Centre of SA, the NAVRC would collate views on establishing a national body in time for the next national conference in 1988.[25] Hence the idea to develop a national body came not from a campaign and inquiry as had occurred in Britain.[26] Rather, the beginnings of the national body in Australia can be traced to a show of hands on the floor of the first national volunteering conference held in Sydney in 1985. Certainly, the experience of Australians visiting volunteer centres overseas and the growing engagement with IAVE had stimulated thinking, but neither interviews nor organisational documentation for this study found any reference to establishing a national body prior to the 1985 national volunteering conference.[27]

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[23] MargaretBell, Interview No. 1.

[24] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1. Volunteering Queensland Archives: Jenny Ferguson, ‘Director’s Report’ *Fourth Annual Report 1986,* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland Inc., 1986).

[25] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Joy Noble, Chairperson, *Annual Report, 10th September, 1985,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of S.A., 1985), 3.

[26] Brewis, Georgina & Finnegan, Anjelica, ‘Volunteering England’, *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012), 121.

[27] Volunteering WA Archives: Margaret Bell, ‘Developing Volunteer Referral Agencies in Australia’, speech, (NAVRA, n.d.), 5.

Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV, 1988–1993)

AAV Logo

The enthusiasm at the first conference on volunteering in Sydney was mirrored in its newsletter *The Australian Volunteer*, which aimed to 'create a feeling of solidarity across Australia for all those involved with voluntary effort'.[1] However, the decision in 1985 to form a national body was fairly straightforward compared to the mechanics of deciding its governance and operational model, its membership base, and planning for its long-term sustainability and growth. The Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV) announced its membership would be made up of 'any organisation or person interested in volunteering thus ensuring the widest possible gamut'.[2] But the widest possible base alone was not enough to secure speedy development or sustainable funding. Incorporation took seven years. This was partly due to the decision making process that involved the secretariat being relocated every two years in line with the biennial national conferences beginning with South Australia (1985–1988), moving to Victoria (1988–1990) and finally to Queensland (1990–1992) under the leadership of Diane Morgan (CEO, Volunteers Centre of Queensland).[3]

Possibly the main reason for the length of time it took until incorporation involved the emergence and growth of volunteer centres. Individually, the volunteer centres were at very different stages of development and did not always have the energy or capacity to expend on the needs of an emerging national body, even though they remained supportive of its establishment. The necessary actions required to form a national body required volunteer centre boards and committees to consider and vote on each proposal. AAV was a broad based membership body and required volunteer centre committees and boards to consult with volunteers and groups within their state or region prior to decision making. In itself this

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[1] Volunteer SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. Inc., 'Need Inspiration and New Ideas?' *South Australian Volunteering,* 12 (June-August, 1987), 3.
[2] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre SA, 'Time for Action: proposal for an Australian Association', *South Australian Volunteering,* 14 (Dec 1987-Feb 1988). Volunteer Centre of SA, 'National Conference on Volunteering, Adelaide 1988 – New Identity, New Directions' *South Australian Volunteering,* 16 (Jun-August 1988), 1. Volunteer Centre of SA, *Annual Report* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre SA Inc., 1988), 17. Australian Association for Volunteering, Inc., 'Rules of the Australian Association for Volunteering', (Brisbane, Volunteer Centre of Queensland, July, 1992), 4. Volunteer Centre of SA, 'National Conference on Volunteering, Adelaide 1988 – New Identity, New Directions', *South Australian Volunteering,* 16 (June-August 1988), 1.
[3] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, *Annual Report 10 September 1985*, (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1985), 5. AAV remained under the leadership Diane Morgan until it merged with other volunteer national groups in 1993.

ensured a lengthy process as volunteer centre board meetings varied from monthly to quarterly events. Finally, in 1990, two AAV representatives from VRCS in NSW staged a coup due to a dispute over representation of volunteer centres in NSW. Not all VRCs wanted a strong representation by state volunteer centres on the AAV Board; they believed representation should be as broad as possible. As a consequence, the NSW Volunteer Network argued that it had the responsibility for promoting and developing the AAV in that state.[4] Ultimately, the NSW Volunteer Network did not gain the support of other AAV members in NSW, nor did it have the capacity and resources of the Volunteer Centre of NSW. In time, the responsibility and support for the AAV Committee reverted to the state centre.

This was an interesting period for the volunteering infrastructure. The Volunteer Centre of NSW (VCNSW) was the most well-established and well-known state volunteer centre. Through organising the first national conference for volunteering, VCNSW had provided the environment where the first tentative steps were made to form a national body. VCNSW also had international legitimacy through its connection with IAVE. Despite all of this, the position of the Volunteer Centre of NSW as the state peak body on volunteering could not be assumed, and the issue would continue into the next decade (see Chapter 7). Interestingly, the NSW debates on representation did not have a ripple effect in the other states. The separateness afforded by state boundaries, together with the strength of the goal of having a national body, outweighed the desire for a flatter participatory structure championed by VRCs in NSW.[5]

Regardless of the number of AAV representatives from state volunteer centres, the organisational form of the AAV can best be described as a coalition of organisations.[6] The basis of affiliation was mutual benefit to volunteer centres, volunteer-involving organisations and volunteers. Coalitions must interact directly with each other, and participation was high because members wanted to be involved in deciding the structure and future direction of the AAV. Another defining aspect was that few organisations are needed to form a coalition. While volunteer centres had dreams of the broadest possible engagement of stakeholders, the

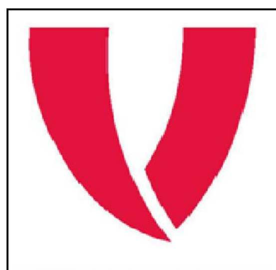
[4] Volunteering WA Archives: Joy Barrett, NAVRA Secretary, [memo to Volunteer Centres in Queensland, WA, SA and Victoria], *AAV,* 19 January 1990, 2.
[5] Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald R. Salancik, 'Social control of organizations', *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 47.
[6] Provan, Keith G. ,'The Federation as an Interorganizational Linkage Network', *The Academy of Management Review,* 8/1,(January 1983), 83.

reality was that resources were scarce and volunteer centres at the state level had the greatest capacity. Lastly, members did not need the coalition, in this case the AAV, to legitimate their own organisations. No volunteer centre had primacy over the others. All members believed forming a national body was mutually beneficial to their own organisations, the AAV, and more broadly, to volunteering around the country.[7]

Among the early national volunteer bodies, the AAV was unique for two reasons. Firstly, it was the first volunteering body set up specifically to promote volunteering and support volunteers at a national level. Secondly, its Board had direct representation of not-for-profit organisations as well as volunteering infrastructure organisations. Elections were open to all members and volunteers, with both government and business representatives able to vote. Even so, in reality, the people and groups with the resources, energy and time to devote to the establishment and maintenance of the national body were those most directly involved in the referral, training, advocacy and promotion of volunteering — the volunteering infrastructure organisations. Thus, by 1991, the draft constitution stated the AAV Board would consist of two 'representatives elected by the members of each State Volunteer Centre … and one person nominated by the governing Board of each State Volunteer Centre'.[8] So, of the three representatives from each state, one came from the state volunteer centre's board and the other two would be active volunteer centre members in order to be known to the voting membership. Further regional volunteer centres could be elected as representatives of their state. For example, NSW had three representatives on the AAV Board. One came from the Board of Volunteering NSW and the other two were CEOs of regional volunteer centres who also held membership of the Volunteer Centre of NSW. In effect, the make-up of the AAV Board was heavily influenced by the developing volunteering infrastructure, particularly the state volunteer centres.

[7] Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald R. Salancik, 'Social control of organizations', *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 47.
[8] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Article 7: Board of Management', *Constitution,* Draft, (January 1991) 4.

The Importance of the Red 'V' Logo



Volunteering logo designed by Tony Lunn

The Red V logo, a unifying symbol to the volunteering infrastructure, was designed in 1985 by Tony Lunn of Lunn Dyer and Associates. Lunn, responsible for the flying kangaroo Qantas logo, designed the Red V logo as a personal gift for Margaret Bell.[1] The Board of Directors of IAVE saw the potential of the Red V as the international symbol of volunteering and sought permission to use it in their publicity and promotion of volunteering.[2] In 1986, during the IAVE Conference in Sydney, the Red V was offered to Australian delegates as the national symbol of volunteering. While considered favourably, conference delegates declined to accept the Red V without consultation with their organisations. Hence, the vote to officially adopt the logo as the national symbol of volunteering was delayed for two years, finally being adopted at the Second National Conference on Volunteering in 1988.[3]

To understand such a slow decision-making process, particularly when IAVE was promoting the use of the Red V on the international stage, it needs to be seen in the context of the local environment. At this time, volunteer centres still did not exist in every state and territory. The first national conference to discuss volunteering had been held the previous year. Uncertainty about leadership at the national level of volunteer centres was just beginning with the secretariat for the first national group set up at the national conference in 1985 (the NAVRC, managed by state volunteer centres).

At this time (1985-1986), only one centre, the Volunteer Centre of NSW, was well-resourced in comparison with other emerging state volunteer centres. All state volunteer centres were trying to establish their credientals, as state leaders on volunteering, with the general public and their respective state governments. The first request regarding the red V logo, by state

[1] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Margaret Bell, 'International Trade Mark of the 'V' sign' [email to Jill Hoare, Volunteering SA], 13 April 2007. Desktop, 'Top Ten Australian Logos – 2nd' *desktop* [webpage], (8 November, 2012) <http://desktopmag.com.au/features/top-ten-australian-logos-2nd/#.VJNQF2cfrIU>, accessed 19 December 2014

[2] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.

[3] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, Second National Conference - New Identity, New Directions, presentations, Adelaide, Volunteer Centre of SA, March 1988, 25.

volunteer centres, was the inclusion of their state's name.[4] Within a federation state identity, particularly when seeking state government funds, was crucial for development. At the regional level, some local and regional centres (VRCs) felt that volunteer centres based in capital cities and claiming to speak on behalf of the state did not necessarily have a mandate from VRCs. Nor did they consider that a geographic base in a capital city, was justifiable prerequisite for the status of peak body. VRCs were fearful of being subsumed by the state centres, and that any logo needed to represent the local/regional identity. [5]

The role of volunteer centres in the development of volunteering

At the beginning of the 1980s, opinions differed on the merits of training volunteers. There existed a fear that training volunteers 'could lead to stultifying control'.[6] The Honorable John Burdett, Minister for Community Welfare and Minister of Consumer Affairs, South Australia (1979–1982) reflected this attitude when he stated:

> A volunteer visiting an elderly man or woman who is lonely does not need to research how to converse, train to laugh and listen or evaluate the visit. The volunteer will succeed if there is enthusiasm and real care for others.[7]

On the other hand, it was considered advantageous that organisations have a well-trained volunteer workforce as recognition of the value of volunteers to their organisations. Training also helped organisations retain volunteers and could help eliminate the risk of involving well-meaning but unqualified volunteers. In a study of volunteering in Western Australia, Baldock carried out an extensive series of interviews with women undertaking an Auxiliary Health and Welfare Course at a TAFE college.[8] Baldock found motivations of these women volunteers reflected the broader opportunities offered to mature women wanting to re-enter the workforce or extend their education.[9] The opportunity afforded by training was reflected in the wording of volunteer centre promotional material, such as, *Kitchen to Committee: The Vital Role of Women Volunteers in Sport and Recreation.*[10] Therefore training not only

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[4] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.
[5] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.
[6] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: John Burdett, 'Introduction', in Chris Chappell (ed.), *Volunteering: a guide to current issues in volunteering and employing volunteers,* 2.
[7] Ibid. 2.
[8] Volunteering WA Archives: Cora Baldock, 'Contradictions of the Volunteer Role', *WACOSS Conference on Volunteers* (Perth: 18 April 1986).
[9] Ibid. 3.
[10] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of SA, 'Kitchen to Committee: The vital role of women volunteers in Sport and Recreation', [brochure], (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1986).

provided skills and raised self-confidence; it challenged gender perceptions, and assumptions about volunteer roles.

Baldock argued that training volunteers presented organisations with a paradox.[11] Volunteer training demonstrated an organisation's good management practices, and accountability to government departments and other funding bodies. However, greater skill levels and self confidence could result in demands for more complex volunteer positions, facilitate entry into the labour market, or volunteers might use their newly acquired skills to work in other not-for-profit organisations. This could result in a situation of constant recruitment and training.

Being a manager of volunteers was equally controversial. While organising volunteers was considered necessary, the role itself was not considered to be one an ambitious person might seek. Margaret Bell's career was in psychology and when she became Executive Director of the Volunteer Centre of NSW the reaction was not entirely positive:

> Many people phoned me when I took the appointment thinking that I suffered a lack of self-esteem; that I'd decided to go to the Volunteer Centre because, when all's said and done, volunteers are 'dear little old ladies'. So many colleagues rang me and told me that I was too young to consider this sort of thing and that it would be years before I would need to go out to grass. I was happy for the information but very disappointed [laughing] that's what they thought I was going to be doing. It gave me great impetus to say 'well, this is not what I'm doing, this is not what I'm thinking about, or talking about, and it's not what volunteering is about'.[12]

The desire to meet the needs of both volunteers and volunteer programs led many organisations to seek the advice of volunteer centres. Volunteer centres found that a natural consequence of improving the volunteer experience as well as volunteer programs required the improvement of management skills. For example, the Volunteer Centre of SA found that the needs of managers ranged from very basic management skills to the more sophisticated needs of a competent and confident workforce seeking recognition for professional status. Mavis Reynolds explained:

> we felt that volunteers were often not respected and they were exploited … some of the people who were put in charge of volunteers had never been in charge of

[11] Ibid. 6.
[12] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.

> volunteers before so we had to have a [training] course for coordinators of volunteers to say how to treat [volunteers]'.[13]

For more experienced coordinators and managers of volunteers there was a need for greater recognition at both organisational and professional levels. In some organisations managers of volunteers found themselves advocating for better working conditions for themselves, as well as better recognition and working conditions for their volunteers.[14] They believed that if the conditions for one were improved, improvement for the other would follow.

The volunteer centres became a rallying point for managers of volunteers who wanted change in their organisation's culture. This was vital, for without the support of not-for-profit organisations, volunteer centres would not survive. Volunteer centres were a resource for not-for-profit organisations, providing recruitment services, training, advice and information. They provided an opportunity to meet and discuss volunteer program development and management at a time when many managers of volunteers felt their work and programs were undervalued by senior management. Margaret Bell illustrated this well when she recalled an incident in the 1980s:

> [organisations] didn't know to manage and recognise and reward and support [volunteers]. … and the Volunteer Centres provided a really good way forward for people to find out how to treat volunteers and mobilise them**.** I can remember going to [name of a large not-for-profit organisations] and asking the CEO there, in the late '80s, what staff he had. I knew his military background and I said to him
> 'How many staff do you have?' and he said '300' and I asked,
> 'Does that include your volunteers?'
> 'Oh, no don't be ridiculous'
>
> So okay, I said 'Well how many volunteers do you have?'
> 'Oh, might be a hundred or so'
> I said 'Oh really, I would have thought you would have had many more than 100, what do they do?'
> 'Oh, they do this and this' and he started to enumerate and think about it for the first time, thinking about what they do. So anyway we got up to 900 volunteers. He had not given them one thought, and so I said to him
>
> 'What do they do? [laugh] and he said, 'Oh they don't do very much' but he had already identified where they all worked and that added up to about 900 .....
> I said, 'How many people are there in a battalion?' and he said '900' and,

[13] Mavis Reynolds, interview.
[14] Sue Carlile, and Rosa d'Aprano, interview with the author [sound recording] (Melbourne, 18 August, 2011) in the author's possession.

> I said 'Well gee, do they do very much? Because, really, I think if I had 900 people milling about outside my office, I'd get rid of them if they weren't doing very much'. That was the way things were back then.[15]

Volunteer centres sought to support managers of volunteers by holding seminars that clearly sought change, 'It's time you were recognised as an expanding professional body'[16] Other efforts included debates over language. For instance, the preferred term for a volunteer leader was manager or coordinator of volunteers, putting the position before the word 'volunteers'. This was a subtle but important distinction to a group of people interested in the development of their profession, for at that stage, many who filled the role were themselves volunteers rather than paid workers and using the term 'volunteer manager' could imply that the manager was a volunteer too. Managers of volunteers felt they had the status and authority of paid personnel and were taken more seriously by the senior management of their organisations.[17] The fervour for language did not originate from within the centres but emerged from the field. The centres provided a forum in which these discussions could take place:

> people were calling themselves Volunteer Coordinators, and so it was 'are you paid?', 'is it a real position?', 'is it a profession?' It was about professionalism. And there was a parallel with sector issues [around volunteering] at that time about greater recognition of the scope and range of the role. It was about having a really strong code of practice that was not just an organisational code of practice, but an industry code of practice where volunteers were not to fill a paid worker's position.
>
> A lot of the people who worked in the sector had been doing so for some time and they could have been accused of being a conservative bunch of women [laugh] and on the surface, maybe, even looked like that, but it was interesting that there was a very common approach - "this is unacceptable and we're going to fight". This was in a collegiate sense, working collaboratively, because we knew we had to have a voice and individually we probably wouldn't have had much success. It was an interesting time.[18]

Ultimately, in response to the needs of volunteers and managers, volunteer centres designed and offered training courses as well as providing consultative services in the workplace. These included tailoring volunteer programs to meet organisational needs, helping to mediate

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[15] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.

[16] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. Inc., 'Volunteer Co-ordinators!' Seminar [brochure] 7 March 1986.

[17] Sue Carlile, and Rosa d'Aprano, interview. Sha Cordingely, interview with the author, Interview No. 1', [sound recording] (Melbourne, 28 September, 2010) in author's possession.

[18] Sue Carlile and Rosa d'Aprano, interview.

between volunteers and management, and providing workshops for paid staff on working with volunteers. During this period, volunteer centres began to develop resources on volunteer management. Examples include the *Principles and Guidelines of Volunteering* (Volunteering WA), *Volunteer Management: An Essential Guide* (Volunteering SA), *Development and Management of a Volunteer Programme* (Volunteer Bureau of NSW) (see Appendices C for a sample of research, education and information materials published by the volunteering infrastructure 1970-2012). [19] These practical manuals were an alternative to international guides and provided managers of volunteers with information on volunteering in the Australian context and regulatory environment. Importantly these manuals provided organisations with an understanding of the standards necessary to manage volunteer programs. For the volunteer centres, authorship of resources helped cement their authority as experts on volunteering.

The Continuing Influence of the Global Informing the Local

During this decade, the volunteer centres continued to build connections with overseas volunteer centres and volunteering experts. This facilitated learning from the international experience and provided an opportunity to share the Australian experience of volunteering. In 1987, the Volunteers Centre of Queensland invited Foster Murphy, Executive Director, Volunteer Centre UK, to be the keynote speaker at its seminar 'Volunteering — a Growth Industry' duly opened by the Minister for Family Services, Mrs Yvonne Chapman.[20] In such ways, volunteer centres maintained contact, maintaining an information flow between countries and also highlighted to politicians, who might provide funding, the value and role of volunteers to volunteering within the state.

The interest by volunteer centres in the experiences of their counterparts overseas was not a demonstration of the cultural cringe that Phillips deplored as the worst 'enemy to our cultural development'.[21] Rather, the connections with other countries facilitated greater knowledge of volunteering and an awareness of the commonality of volunteering issues, such as volunteering and unemployment, employee volunteering and volunteering for retired

[19] Volunteering ACT Archives: Tina Siver, *Principles and Guidelines of Volunteering* (Perth: Volunteer Centre of WA, 1988). Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Bureau of NSW, *Development and Management of a Volunteer Program* (Sydney: Volunteer Bureau of NSW/Volunteer Action Centre, 1980). Joy Noble and Louise Rogers, *Volunteer Management: An Essential Guide* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1988).
[20] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Jenny Ferguson,'Director's Report', *Fifth Annual Report 1987* (Brisbane: Volunteers Centre of Queensland, 1987), 3.
[21] Arthur Phillips, 'The Cultural Cringe', *Meanjin,* 9/4 (Summer 1950), 302.

people.[22] By extension, the connections informed international colleagues of volunteering in Australia and created an environment for mutual erudition, 'the opposite of the Cringe is not the Strut, but a relaxed erectness of carriage'.[23] Indeed volunteer centres promoted their connections with IAVE as part of their membership benefits, for example, reduced registration fees for IAVE Conferences and quarterly newsletter.[24]

The International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE) aimed to 'promote, strengthen and celebrate the development of volunteering worldwide'.[25] Hosting an international conference was a huge undertaking for the Volunteer Centre of NSW in 1986. Other volunteer centres gave support, but the main responsibility for hosting the conference fell to the Volunteer Centre of NSW and its CEO, Margaret Bell. This IAVE Conference ran for five days with 300 delegates attending from all over the world.[26] For the Australians, it was an 'invaluable … exchange of ideas'.[27] The success of the conference can be measured in the continued support of IAVE promoting and seeking membership in Australia, as well as expanding its work to promote the international body in Asia and the Pacific region.[28] The crowning moment came when Margaret Bell was elected World President at the IAVE Conference in Washington in 1988, a position she held until 1996. Australian volunteer centres were now players on the world stage of volunteering.

The next section of this chapter explores one of the most important themes that began in this decade and continued for the next 30 years. This theme is the relationship between volunteering and unemployment.

Volunteering and Unemployment

The end of the Whitlam government in 1975 did not mean the end of social, political or economic turbulence. The advent of ongoing unemployment was a huge shock to the

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[22] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Margaret Bell, 'Volunteerism Towards 2000', *Volunteering,* [newsletter] 3rd edn., March 1985, 1.
[23] Arthur Phillips, 'The Cultural Cringe', 302.
[24] Volunteer SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. Inc., 'Need Inspiration and New Ideas?', 3.
[25] International Association for Volunteer Effort 'About IAVE' *International Association for Volunteer Effort,* (29 September 2013) <http://iave.org/content/about-iave>, accessed 18 December 2014.
[26] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Notes from Meeting 6-7 February 1989', Steering Committee (Melbourne, Volunteer Centre of Victoria, 1989).
[27] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Valerie Williams, 'Exchange of Ideas', *Volunteering,* [newsletter], 10th edn., December 1986 – February 1987, 5.
[28] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Notes from Meeting 6-7 February 1989', 4-5.

Australian public. This was the country that designed a White Paper on Full Employment at the end of World War 2, had devised the 'working man's welfare', and, enjoyed the boom of the post war development.[29] Successive Commonwealth Governments, responsible for employment policy nationally, responded to the growth of unemployment by introducing more labour market programs.[30] This section considers those labour market programs that included volunteering as an option and had an impact on the role of volunteer infrastructure organisations and programs.

Unemployment of young people increased from 3 per cent in 1970 to 13 per cent in 1979.[31] A response to this dramatic growth was the introduction of labour market programs for young people. One such program, the Volunteer Youth Program (VYP) was introduced in 1979 and aimed to support young people become 'work ready' by volunteering. A small program, growing from five to 12 programs by 1983/84, it was also controversial:

> some consider that it [volunteering] exploits young people who carry out unpaid work, and that it takes away voluntary work from existing volunteers. Some question the value of voluntary activities in preparing young people for full-time employment. Others consider that young people are being given valuable work experience and confidence building through involvement in community services.[32]

The volunteer centres also found the connection between unemployment and volunteering problematic. At first glance, it offered a funding option for struggling volunteer centres. And the argument that volunteering could be 'a stepping stone to paid employment' certainly fitted the goal of volunteer centres to expand the perception of volunteering.[33] More broadly, however, the concept of volunteering as part of the solution to unemployment raised a number of issues. These included volunteer positions being created in preference to paid jobs, women being channelled into volunteering rather than paid work, paid workers becoming

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[29] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Underutilised Labour: Unemployment trends and patterns', *Australian Social Trends, 2001,* Cat. 4102.0 (Canberra: ABS, 2008) <http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/855E6F87080D2E1ACA2570EC000C8E5F?opendocument>, accessed 19 December 2014.

[30] Geoff Winter, 'The Development of Commonwealth Labour Market Programs: A Chronology', 16/1994 (Canberra: Australia Parliament Library, 1994) <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprspub%2FJLV10%22>, accessed 1 September 2011.

[31] Allan Borowski, 'A comparison of youth unemployment in Australia and the United States', *Monthly Labor Review,* 107/10 (1984), 32.

[32] Peter Kirby, Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* (Canberra, AGPS, January 1985), 166.

[33] Margaret Bell, Interview, No. 1.

fearful they would be sacked and replaced with volunteers, tension between paid workers and volunteers in the workplace, and the possibility of governments using volunteering to mask the need for more resources.[34] In response to these and other more broad issues relating to volunteering, a policy discussion paper was released in the lead-up to the first national conference in June 1985.[35] This document called on the national government to assign a cabinet minister the responsibility of volunteering as policies 'have sometimes been opportunistic, or favouring the discretion of an individual decision maker, without real purpose and without reflecting other policies or decisions'.[36]

Paid workers and volunteers both feared exploitation. Many paid workers worried that volunteers could replace them sought union action and support (for example, see Chapter 3 and the section on South Australia). Conversely, volunteers were aware that, with their lack of status, they could be asked to work as strike breakers. These fears were sometimes manifest in major issues, as demonstrated in the dispute between paid and volunteer firefighters in South Australia, and minor, but quite irritating to volunteers, situations. One such instance occurred in 1988, when a volunteer rang the Volunteer Centre of Victoria seeking support. This volunteer worked for a large not-for-profit organisation where professional paid staff could smoke cigarettes during their morning tea breaks in the staff room. This was a legally and culturally permissible act at that time. Volunteers could use the same staff room as long as they smoked their cigarettes outside. How this practice had come about was unclear but it had become a habit with both paid and volunteer staff accepting the practice. The smoking incident was only revealed because the volunteer was upset he and other volunteers became wet when it rained.[37] Such practices, regardless of how large or small, reinforced an organisational culture where volunteers were not as valued as paid workers. Sylvia Godman, one of the founders of Volunteering Tasmania, summed up the attitude of some organisations on the status and rights of volunteers as:

> Well, it was, "I want three volunteers, you, you and you". The expectation was "I NEED volunteers" not "we are going to do this, who would like to be involved...?"[38]

[34] David Green, *Brotherhood Policy for Volunteers*, (Melbourne: Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2 August 1985), 1.
[35] Volunteering ACT Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Policies Towards Volunteers: Some Guiding Principles Addressed to Governments and Corporations', Policy Discussion Document Number 1 (Sydney: Volunteering NW, 1985).
[36] Volunteering ACT Archives: Volunteer Centre of New South Wales, 'Policies Towards Volunteers: Some Guiding Principles Addressed to Governments and Corporations', 2.
[37] Annette Maher, personal communication, 1988.
[38] Sylvia Godman, interview with the author [sound recording] (21 February 2011), in the author's possession.

It could therefore be argued that connecting unemployed people to volunteering was, in effect, linking two groups that in some contexts suffered from a lack of status.

Regardless of the discussion within the not-for-profit sector, at the wider societal level the high levels of unemployment and disadvantage felt by many through lack of access to employment led the Hawke Government to set up a Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs, chaired by Peter Kirby, in 1983. The resulting *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* published in 1985, dramatically captured the Australian attitude to unemployment:

> From the 30 years from 1945 to 1975, unemployment was regarded as an affliction so destructive of the nation that Australians would find it impossible to accept. Now, as Australia approaches its bicentennial celebrations, we have suffered that affliction continuously for more than a decade. … [and that people] 'through no fault of their own, want work but are without it'[39]

Labour market programs played an 'important role in assisting those who are most disadvantaged by the failure to achieve full employment'.[40] This included young and older people, women, migrants, people with disabilities and Aboriginal people[41] with government labour market program spending rising from $12 million in 1973/74 to $850 million in 1985. The value of labour market programs was their ability to facilitate 'access to employment, training and education' to the most disadvantaged.[42]

At this time, there were three Commonwealth special population labour market programs: the Volunteer Youth Program VYP, the Work Preparation Program (WPP — providing training and assistance to unemployed people with disabilities) and Community Youth Special Programs (CYSP — special programs focused on youth). The Kirby Committee of Inquiry found that the funding of the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (DEIR) Community Based Programs, 1984–85, for the special population programs was $5.5 million. Compared to the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) with its $26.2 million funding

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[39] Peter Kirby et al., *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs,* 3.
[40] Ibid. 4.
[41] Ibid. 10.
[42] John Howe, 'Jobstart' and the regulation of wage subsidy programs in Australia' in March Biagi, *Job Creation and Labour Law: From Protection Towards Pro-action,* (The Hague: Kluwere Law International, 2000), 121-122.

for the same period, they were small indeed. The Kirby Report recommended the amalgamation of the 'special population' programs into one program, the Community Training Program (CTP). This recommendation was accepted, and in 1987 the volunteer arm of the CTP became the Community Volunteer Program (CVP), as shown in Figure 6.[43]

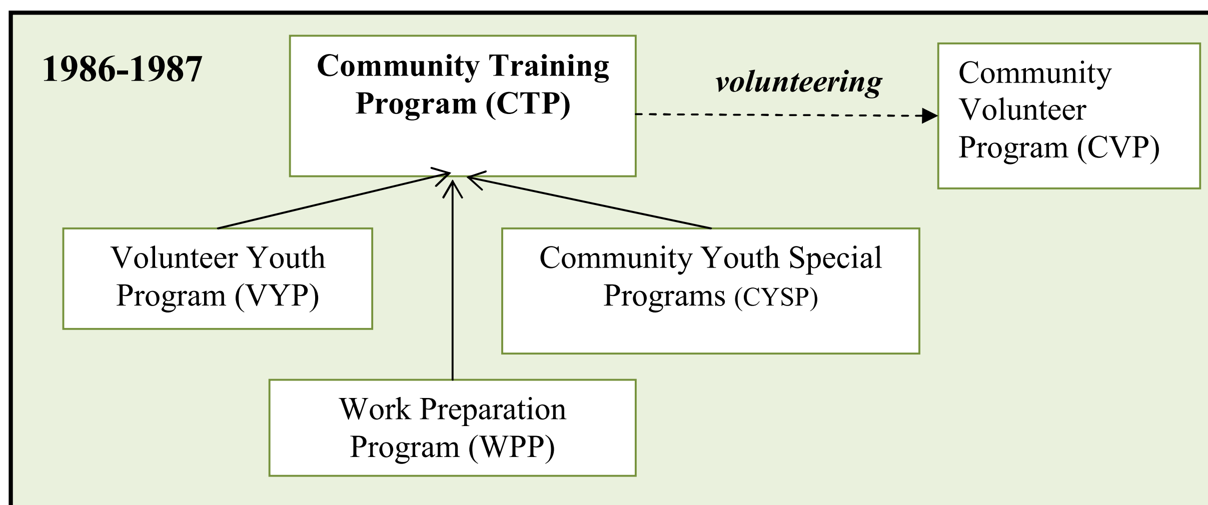

Figure 6 Amalgamation of special population Commonwealth work programs 1986–1987

Later that same year, in 1987, the Hawke Government announced that it would amalgamate three labour market programs, the CVP, the CYSS and CTP, to form one new program, SkillShare. Figure 7 illustrates the streamlining of the labour market programs into SkillShare. The new SkillShare guidelines would not support 'a broad-based volunteer referral program'.[44] This was devastating for many volunteer centres at the local and regional level as they had relied on CVP funding. A response was to lobby government. The Australian Association for Volunteers did not yet have the structure, role or capacity to undertake this work. The best way forward was to establish a new national body, the National Association for Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA) under the leadership of the Volunteer Centre of New South Wales.

[43] Department of Employment Education & Training, *Towards One Program, SkillShare The Community & Youth Network for Employment & Training,* (Canberra: Department of Employment, Education & Training, 1988), 10.
[44] 'Volunteering WA Archive: Tina Siver, CEO Volunteer Centre of WA [letter to Mr Murray Knowles], 13 September 1988. Commonwealth Department of Health, Housing and Community Services, Department of Employment, Education and Training, and the Department of Social Security, 'The Role and Scope of Volunteerism in Australia in Relation to Commonwealth Programs – A Discussion Paper', July 1992, 11.

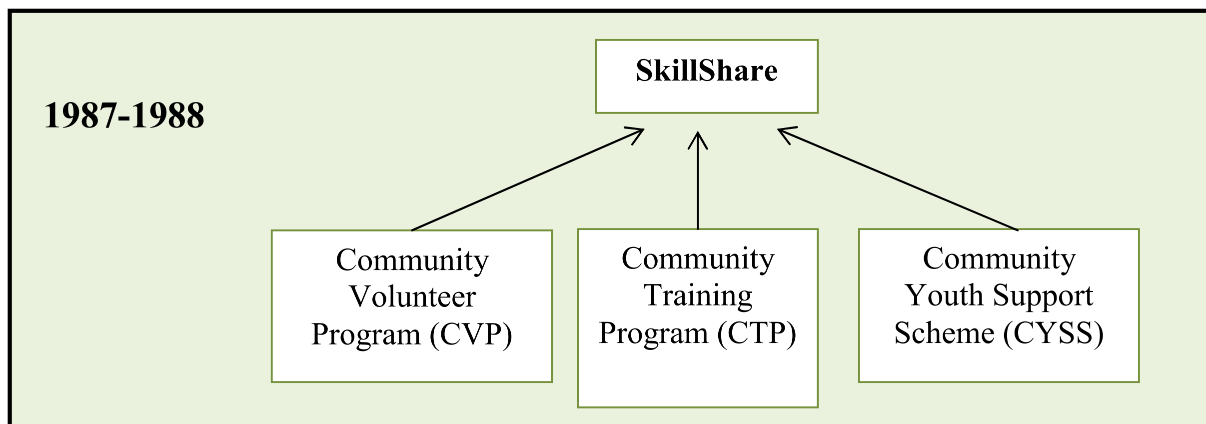

Figure 7 Amalgamation of special population labour market programs 1987-1988

National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA, 1988–1993)

The mantra for the new body, National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA), was 'Volunteers make the difference – keep our job centres going'.[45] The wording of this mantra and arguments developed by NAVRA situated volunteering as important as paid work services for the unemployed. There was also an element of public familiarity in using the term — people were familiar with the term 'job centre' but terms related to volunteering and volunteer centres were relatively new.

The overarching aim of NAVRA was to raise public awareness and lobby the Commonwealth Government to reinstate funding equivalent to that lost with the amalgamation of CVP into SkillShare. In turn, this would shine a light on the power of volunteering and its economic value to society. Opposition to SkillShare was that it 'effectively downgrades and undervalues volunteering by assigning it a marginal role.'[46]

In the main, NAVRA's membership consisted of state volunteer centres from NSW, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia, local/regional volunteer resource centres and a number CVP programs managed by other not-for-profit organisations. The National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies was a very different body to AAV with its broad membership base and aim to provide a national voice on volunteering. NAVRA was specifically set up to lobby against the closure of one labour market program: the CVP. A very active body with an executive made up of state and regional volunteer centres, NAVRA initiated a campaign for

[45] Volunteering WA Archives: Margaret Bell, 'NAVRA Meeting with Commonwealth Minister' [letter to Volunteer Centre Members], 27 February 1989
[46] Volunteering Australia Archives: National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies, *Drastic Cuts to Volunteers Support Services,* 1.

replacement funds for volunteer referral. The campaign galvanised volunteer centres to lobby state and federal politicians and government departments. Details of lobbying was distributed to volunteer centres for their information and to maintain momentum, as shown by this excerpt:

> - Western Suburbs CVP [Sydney] - Hosted visit by Bronwyn Bishop, Federal Senator, to Centre. Invited Media. Briefed her thoroughly on VCP Campaign. Very supportive.
>
> - Volunteer Centre of Queensland – 'Michael Macklin, Deputy Leader of Democrats, strong letter of support to Peter Duncan, and intents to ask question in Senate. Letters [of support] to Duncan from user organisations.
>
> - Volunteer Action VRA Glenorchy – Federal Member Duncan Kerr has made representation to Peter Duncan re VRA's.
>
> - Central Coast Volunteer Service – 'Central Coast Sun' 31/8; 'The Advocate' 15/9 … Good use of crisis angle and tremendous picture … Letters of support forwarded to Canberra. Holding a fund raising event in December to raise funds to keep going.[47]

By 1989, NAVRA had extended its campaign to call for 'appropriate funding' for all existing and proposed volunteering infrastructure centres including the national Australian Association for Volunteers.[48] As well as seeking more funding, a proposal to Federal Minister the Honorable Peter Staples on 20 February 1989 sought to position NAVRA over volunteering centres in order to 'Research, monitor and evaluate services of State Centres and VRCs across Australia'.[49] Further, it sought an expansion in VRC numbers which would be supported and resourced by the state volunteer centres. In this one proposal, the state centres positioned themselves as having more authority than the VRCs, with NAVRA having the power to monitor and evaluate the services of all state centres. Thus a hierarchy was born.

This was the second time the possibility of a national body having authority over state centres, and by implication the VRCs, had arisen. The first was in a speech by Margaret Bell when she argued that the state centres were the most appropriate to undertake development

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[47] Volunteering WA Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'VRA Campaign – Progress Sheet No. 9', [fact sheet] (26 September 1988), 2.

[48] Volunteering Australia Archives: National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies, *Drastic Cuts to Volunteers Support Services,* [media release], (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 12 August, 1988), 2.

[49] Volunteering WA Archives: National Association for Volunteer Referral Agencies, 'Briefing paper', NAVRA Proposal to Commonwealth Ministers Meeting 20 February 1989, (Sydney: NAVRA, 23 February 1989).

and training for regional centres under the auspices of NAVRA.[50] Clearly, NAVRA was designed to fight for funding from the Commonwealth Government. Once this goal was achieved, the state centres saw a future that gave legitimacy to their role over the local/regional centres as state peak bodies while simultaneously providing a pathway to Commonwealth funding for all volunteer centres. Ostensibly, the structure of this new volunteering infrastructure would be pyramidal with the national body at the top, state centres in the middle and the local/regional resource centres at the bottom.

In 1989 as NAVRA's campaign gathered momentum, it extended its call for 'appropriate funding' for the national body, the Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV).[51] In February 1989, NAVRA briefed the Hon Peter Staples on the difference between the AAV and NAVRA. It stated that AAV would promote and act as the voice on volunteering for '50,000 non-profit organisations within Australia' while NAVRA would be limited to research, evaluation and monitoring of the VRCs and state centres.[52] Thus NAVRA would play a dual role at the Commonwealth and state/territory level. It would seek funding for all volunteer centres from the Commonwealth Government while at a state level, NAVRA would have the authority to evaluate the performance of state, local and regional centres.

This thesis does not suggest that NAVRA had designs on taking over AAV nor has any evidence for this proposal been found. All interviews and documentation examined accepted the need for AAV as a national voice for all volunteering, with the role of NAVRA concentrating on the needs and development of the volunteering infrastructure. As AAV worked towards finalising its constitution and NAVRA sought funding, another group, a network of CEOs from each state centre called the Council of State and Territory Volunteer Centres (CSTVC later to be named as the CEO Network of State and Territory Volunteer Centres). emerged. At the beginning of the 1980s volunteering did not have national representation. By the end of the decade two national bodies vied for prominence with a national network of state volunteer centres vying for influence. This decade also witnessed the very short-lived attempt to establish a national network of VRCs, the Australian Association of Volunteer Resource Centres (see Appendix A for information on the different

[50] Volunteering WA Archives: Margaret Bell, Convenor, Steering Committee, National Association for Volunteer Referral Agencies, *Developing Volunteer Referral Agencies in Australia,* speech c.1988-1989.
[51] Volunteering Australia Archives: National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies, *Drastic Cuts to Volunteers Support Services* 2.
[52] Volunteering WA Archives: National Association for Volunteer Referral Agencies, 'Briefing paper', 1.

national volunteer bodies). Of the three national groups that continued into the next decade, all included volunteer state centre representation. This often resulted in the same people working in each national group.

The greatest efforts of this decade had been the collective work to develop national bodies to address the needs of volunteers, managers of volunteers and volunteer centres. However, a third group specifically designed to address the needs of state volunteer centres emerged at the end of the decade. This network was the Council of State and Territory Centres.

A new network for state and territory volunteer centres

A network of chief executive officers (CEOs) from state and territory peak volunteer centres emerged at the end of the 1980s and has had a number of titles (see Glossary). With a membership of CEOs this network was never incorporated, although there were early attempts to do so, the aim was to create a national group to support state volunteer centres.[53] In a nutshell, the AAV was developed to promote and advocate for volunteering and volunteers, NAVRA was developed to lobby the Commonwealth Government for funding for volunteer referral agencies. Both groups had a range of members. The main criterion for AAV membership was an interest in volunteering. For NAVRA, membership was more limited but included both VRCs and state volunteer centres. The CEO Network was a peer group. These were the only CEOs primarily interested in the development and sustainability of their respective organisations, the state volunteer centres.[54]

The CEOs were pivotal to national development. All were active in both the AAV and NAVRA. The state volunteer centres hosted both national groups, and during Margaret Bell's years as World President, the Volunteer Centre of NSW also hosted IAVE. Therefore, the CEOs, more than any other group, became synonymous with the leadership of the volunteering infrastructure. They met with bureaucrats and government ministers, unions, and other not-for-profit organisations and argued the need for a national body and a well-funded volunteering infrastructure.

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[53] Volunteering WA Archives: Margaret Bell, [letter to Colin Keogh] WACOSS, Sydney, Volunteer Centre of NSW, 17 February 1988, 2.

[54] Volunteering WA Archives: National Council of State Volunteer Centres, *Draft Constitution, April 14th 1989,* (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 1989), 5.

An interesting feature of the development of the volunteering infrastructure at this time was that no volunteer centre attempted to take over the developing national bodies. Three possible reasons are the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure, limited individual organisational capacity, and the need to act as a coherent national group. Firstly, the very nature of the federation of Australian states and territories inhibited a take-over by one state. Each state centre aligned itself with its individual constituencies, reinforcing its existence as an independent entity. As Margaret Bell commented, 'in the early days the centres that were establishing were keen to say "well there might be something operating in another state but we do it differently"'.[55] Secondly, organisational capacity varied across state centres. For instance, the Volunteer Centre of NSW was the oldest and largest, but other centres, such as the Volunteer Centre of WA, were very new and still developing an identity as a peak body on volunteering. Thirdly, all CEOs of state volunteer centres were active in the AAV and NAVRA, as well as developing local and regional VRCs in their respective states. None could make any attempt at a take-over without the others knowing and joining together to thwart such an action.

The CEO Network is the oldest continuous network within the volunteering infrastructure. The influence of this network and others had an enormous effect on the development of the volunteering infrastructure in future decades and will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter Summary

The 1980s was an intense period in the development of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia. More volunteer centres were established and the first attempts were made to develop a national peak body for volunteering. In planning for the first international conference on volunteering in Australia, Margaret Bell, Executive Director at the Volunteer Centre of New South Wales (NSW), may have wondered about volunteering in other states but before the end of the decade, two national conferences had been held and two national groups were striving for primacy.

This was a decade where volunteer centres raised awareness of volunteering. They challenged traditional perceptions of volunteer work, and argued for the necessity of providing good management practices for volunteers and managers of volunteers. By

[55] Margaret Bell, Interview No. 1.

managing labour market programs, the volunteer centres gave tacit support for the notion that volunteering could play a role in helping unemployed people locate work. Lobbying state and national governments concentrated on the value of volunteering to leisure and unemployment and the role volunteer centres could play in supporting volunteers to better respond to social and economic needs. Into this mix, volunteer centres pursued the formalisation of volunteering and the professionalisation of volunteer management.

The 1980s was a period of continual movement, not only in the relationship between governments and volunteer centres but, possibly more importantly, within volunteering. This was the decade when the volunteering infrastructure really began to form its federated nature and carve a space for itself within volunteering. The following decade would see a consolidation of the volunteering infrastructure at the state, local, regional and national levels.

CHAPTER 7

THE CREATION OF VOLUNTEERING AUSTRALIA: A CONSOLIDATED NATIONAL BODY 1990–1999

In December 1992, the Parliamentary Secretary for Community services, the Honourable Gary Johns MP announced that the Commonwealth Government would grant $2.4 million to fund the existing State Volunteer Centres of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland, and to set up ten regional volunteer referral agencies.[1] This new funding would enable the establishment of state volunteering peak bodies in Tasmania, the Australian Capital Territory, and the Northern Territory. This funding, through the Volunteer Management Program (VMP), ensured that volunteer centres would be found in every state and territory of Australia. The strength this provided led to the consolidation of the three national volunteering bodies developed in the previous decade into one amalgamated body, Volunteering Australia (VA).

The $2.4 million funding came with a major condition. All volunteer centres had to demonstrate they were open to every segment of the population and not limited to one specific section of the community, such as the 'aged, disabled, youth or unemployed'.[2] For the volunteer centres, this was not an imposition as they were busy encouraging the involvement of all volunteer-involving organisations in their work, but the Government's stipulation highlighted two points. The first was that the Commonwealth Government was directing the work of the volunteer centres by dictating the composition of their client base. Secondly, it was a Labor Government, the historical party of the Left, which identified the potential of volunteering to address societal needs. The state volunteer centres now had Commonwealth Government funding but, on the whole, this was not for their work as peak bodies. Rather, funding was provided for the direct delivery of volunteer referral services;

[1] Volunteering ACT Archives: Margaret Bell, NAVRA President, [letter to Mary Porter, ACT Volunteers Association, 7 December 1992], 1.
[2] Ibid. 1.

training for volunteers, managers and coordinators; and developing volunteer management strategies to improve the quality of volunteer programs.[3]

This chapter will examine the work of the volunteering infrastructure to establish one national peak body, Volunteering Australia, and the consolidation of the volunteer infrastructure. It will explore the relationship between the Commonwealth Government and Volunteering Australia as the national voice on volunteering on behalf of the volunteering infrastructure and as a contractor of government programs. This chapter will argue that in the 1990s, the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure was strengthened. Further financial stability was gained through Federal Government funding. However, it will also be argued that winning the tender to provide the Voluntary Work Initiative to long-term unemployed people created philosophical and pragmatic problems regarding the core reasons for the existence of the volunteering infrastructure. It also changed the relationship between the different tiers of the volunteering infrastructure. In place of the established collegiate relationship that had existed earlier, the VWI funding introduced a contractor/sub-contractor relationship.

As discussed in earlier chapters, governments were concerned with a number of issues ranging from the impact of technological advance to youth unemployment. Concern about an ageing population resulted in two House of Representative Standing Committee on Community Affairs Inquiries on retirement.[4] The first, *Is retirement working? A Report on Community Involvement of Retired,* an overview of retirement in Australia, considered the options available to retirees for active involvement in the community. Specific recommendations included the reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses, considered a huge barrier to the involvement in volunteering by older people, and the suggestion that state

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[3] Purdon Associates Pty Ltd., *VMP Evaluation,* Report to the Department of Human Services and Health, (Canberra, Purdon Associates Pty Ltd, 11 August 1995).

[4] Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies, *Expectations of Life: Increasing the Options for the 21st Century,* Parl. Paper 201/1992, Canberra, 1992, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_committees?url=reports/1992/1992_pp99report.htm>, accessed 22 July 2015. Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs, *Is retirement working? A Report on Community Involvement of Retired Persons,* Parl. Paper 105/1990, Canberra, 1990, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_committees?url=report_register/bycomlist.asp?id=139>, accessed 1 July 2015.Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs, *You Have Your Moments: A Report on Funding of Peak Health and Community Organizations,* Parl. Paper 46/1991, Canberra, 1991, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_committees?url=report_register/bycomlist.asp?id=139>, accessed 10 August 2011.

governments work with the insurance industry to eliminate exclusion of older volunteers from volunteering due to insurance policy age limits. [5] The volunteer centres were delighted that the report recommended 'coordinating organisations' had a role to play administering out-of-pocket expenses.[6] Two years later, the House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies endorsed the earlier recommendations on volunteering in its report, *Expectations of Life: Increasing the Options for the 21st Century.* [7] In both reports, volunteering was represented as an attractive option for retired people and volunteer centres were seen to be ready to meet the challenge with specific programs

One volunteer program for retired people, the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), was examined during the 1990 Inquiry on retirement by the House of Representatives Standing Committee Inquiry on Community Affairs. Based at the Volunteer Centre of New South Wales (NSW), this American program was first introduced to Australia by the Tasmanian Department of Recreation in 1979. Quite independently, the Volunteer Centre of NSW established it in 1985, followed by the Volunteer Centre of Western Australia (WA) in 1990.[8] The adoption of this program by a state government department and volunteer centres in different states indicated that volunteering was seen as the legitimate business of both spheres. In one state, the RSVP was arguably a state government responsibility while in other states RSVP was clearly considered to be the responsibility of not-for-profit organisations. The RSVP experience illustrates how volunteering blurs demarcation points between government and the voluntary sector. When Beveridge developed the moving frontier, he spoke of two separate sectors and their fluid engagement with each other. However, in the case of volunteering and this example of the RSVP, both spheres engaged volunteers and promoted volunteering.

The 1990s saw services offered by volunteer centres increase both in volume and scope. For the majority of volunteer centres funding through the Commonwealth Volunteer Management Program ensured a financial stability unknown in earlier decades. It was also in this decade

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[5] Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs, *Is retirement working? A Report on Community Involvement of Retired Persons,* 6.5.5-6.5.8, 67; 6.5.20-6.5.24, 70.
[6] Ibid. xiv.
[7] Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies, *Expectations of Life: Increasing the Options for the 21st Century,* xiv, 153-168.
[8] Volunteering Australia Archive: Dianne Morgan, 'Evaluation of the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program in Western Australia', a paper presented at the 4th National Conference of the Australian Association for Volunteering, 1-3 July 1992, 3. Brockway, Marian, (ed.), *It makes a difference to this jellyfish … A History of Volunteering Western Australia 1988-2000,* (Perth: Volunteering Western Australia, 2001), 70-75.

that the volunteering infrastructure made a concerted effort to encourage research on volunteering by launching a peer-reviewed journal, the *Australian Journal on Volunteering*. By 1996, state and territory volunteer centres were established, in addition to 55 volunteer resource centres. The state/territory volunteer centres offered a range of accredited and non-accredited training on volunteer management and consultations with volunteer-involving organisations. Three libraries dedicated to volunteering in Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia had been established. Partnerships with corporations such as the National Australia Bank (NAB), Westpac, Ansett Airlines had been established.

In particular, 1997 was momentous for the volunteering infrastructure. The ACV successfully tendered for the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI) and was granted funding as a peak body by the Commonwealth Government. Margaret Bell was invited, in her capacity as World President of IAVE and President of Volunteering Australia, to attend the United States Presidential World Summit on Volunteering in Washington. Australia was one of only six nations invited to attend.[9] And finally, as a result of the lobbying of international volunteering bodies such as IAVE, the United Nations declared that 2001 would be the International Year for Volunteers. Also in 1997, the ACV and volunteer centres agreed to rebrand all centres and programs as one national group. Volunteer centres all over the country would carry the name 'Volunteering [place name]' as their title. In this decade, not only would the national body receive peak funding and new identity but the volunteering infrastructure would now be recognisable as a cohesive structure. However, as with all dynamic processes and entities, this decade was not one smooth progression of achievements. Rather, it was a mixture of highs and lows, but always with the goal of furthering volunteering. The next section begins an analysis of the decade with the consolidation of the three national bodies formed in the 1980s.

[9] Centre for Volunteering NSW, Archives: Margaret Bell, 'President's Report, 1997', Australian Council for Volunteering/Volunteering Australia, (Sydney: ACV, 1997), 3. President W. Clinton, The Presidents' Summit for America's Future', (1997) <clinton3.nara.gov/WH/New/Summit/>, accessed 19 June 2013.

A Consolidated National Body – Australian Council for Volunteering 1993–1997

As discussed in Chapter 6, the volunteer centres had, in the space of six years, developed three national groups. By the beginning of the 1990s, the Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV) and the National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies (NAVRA) together with the Council of State Volunteer Centres (CSVC) were all striving to meet the needs of volunteering at a national level. The confusion this caused led to the call for amalgamation. In 1990, the South Australian delegates to AAV prepared a paper on the issues related to maintaining three national groups. They believed more could be achieved if energies were put into the one national body, particularly as all attempts to secure funding had proved unsuccessful.[1]

> When asked 'Which is your national body?' we will not have to ho and hum. We would not have the present dilemma of people belonging to [AAV, NAVRA and CSVC] because issues/discussions overlap. People who are presently heavily involved would no doubt still be heavily involved. … And no more trying to sort out 'Who gets this letter? Maybe I had better send it out to everyone just in case.'[2]

The above extract demonstrates the irritation felt by delegates and the duplication of work caused by having three national groups. From a state volunteer centre perspective, Sallie Davies, Chairperson of Volunteering Western Australia, voiced her fear such duplication could bring:

> … we are faced with three bodies apparently competing with each other for funding, sponsorship and recognition. This will result in embarrassment when some funding requests appear to be duplication in the view of the funding bodies and could place some requests in jeopardy.[3]

Additionally, and problematically, many volunteer centre staff and board members sat on the committees of all three national groups. Efforts to distinguish roles and responsibilities

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[1] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Association for Volunterring (AAV), *Agenda for Management Committee of Australian Association for Volunteering,* 29 June 1992, Melbourne, Volunteer Centre of Victoria, 1992, 4.

[2] Volunteering Australia Archives: South Australian Delegates on AAV Board, 'South Australian Delegates Thoughts on the Three Current National Bodies', 1 November 1990. Note: NCSVC is another acronym for the Council of State Volunteer Centres.

[3] Volunteering ACT Archives: Sallie Davies, 'AAV, NAVRA, National Council of Volunteer Centres' [letter to Diane Morgan, President, AAV], 1 November 1990.

created further confusion. From an AAV perspective, committee members had been 'given a mandate from the Adelaide National Conference [1988] to establish the A.A.V. and can only discuss … N.A.V.R.A. and the Council [CSVC] as A.A.V. Committee members'. [4] This stipulation ignores the responsibilities of AAV members who also sat on both NAVRA and CSVC committees. In short, committee members were juggling multiple roles for national bodies that all had goals to advance volunteering. To anyone outside the budding volunteering infrastructure, the complexity and duplication of the multiple roles of volunteer centre leaders was difficult to grasp.

Together with confusion about roles and responsibilities for committee members, there was also a concern of conflict of interest. This was first voiced at an AAV meeting in 1989. Minutes indicate that Margaret Bell, World President of IAVE, President of NAVRA, Board Member of AAV and CEO of the Volunteer Centre of NSW, was authorised to apply for funding for the AAV:

> Margaret would consider the nomination under the proviso that she is already lobbying government for funds under the National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies. And, if N.A.V.R.A. was funded and A.A.V. not funded, it would not be that Margaret favoured N.A.V.R.A. but that the funding granted was not appropriate for A.A.V.
>
> Committee members accepted this proviso and put the following motion: That this Committee endorse Margaret Bell as President of the International Association of Volunteer Effort and founding member of A.A.V. Steering Committee to apply for grant-in-aid funding or other government funding on behalf of this Association in company with an appropriate Steering Committee member. [5]

The last sentence of the above extract hints at a developing mistrust between committee members. Margaret Bell was endorsed to fundraise for AAV only in the company of another AAV committee member. In short, having three national groups was leading to mistrust among the respective national committee members, and created the potential for conflict of interest between the state and national tiers of the volunteering infrastructure.

[4] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, Steering Committee, 'Notes from meeting', 6 and 7 February 1989, Melbourne, Volunteer Centre of Victoria, 1989.
[5] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Notes from Meeting, 6 and 7 February 1989', 3.

Finally, the argument to have one national body was reinforced by the Federal Department of Health and Community Services. The Department stated that neither AAV nor NAVRA could be considered national peak bodies due to the low number of members. [6] Increasing membership was therefore crucial. The first step to achieving this would be to consolidate the membership into one body. Even so, any decision about which group should prevail was not going to be easy. For instance, the South Australian delegates wanted AAV to be the sole national body:

> Some will say, 'But the Federal pollies know the word NAVRA'. But maybe they [politicians] might see new proposals under a new name with renewed vigour. Also we don't want [the] impression to spread that NAVRA is the principal national body. Emanating as it does from referral services, it is the least inclusive as far as the broad picture of volunteering is concerned.[7]

But while the SA delegates were optimistic that proposals for funding would be accepted with 'renewed vigour' by the Commonwealth Government, they could not ignore the momentum being built by NAVRA as the most well-known lobbying group of the three.[8] As discussed in Chapter 6, NAVRA was originally formed to lobby government to fund volunteer centres after the loss of the Community Volunteer Program (CVP) funding. The rationale for funding volunteer centres lay in arguments for better recognition and support for volunteers. For instance, during the 1990 Federal Election, NAVRA deplored the lack of attention the major political parties paid to volunteers. It urged governments and all political parties to:

> Recognise that a volunteer is not the servant of government
> Recognise that volunteers are not free labour
> Make sure that volunteering is kept out of industrial conflict
> Recognise that volunteering must not be made a condition for receipt of benefits; nor should volunteering affect the entitlement to benefits.[9]

Similarly, the leaders of the Labor and Liberal Parties — Prime Minister Robert Hawke and Leader of the Opposition Andrew Peacock — drew pointed criticism:

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[6] Volunteering Australia Archives: Diane Morgan, 'Attachment 8', *President's Report to AAV Board Meeting,* Volunteer Centre of Queensland, 22 May 1991, 2.
[7] Volunteering ACT Archive: AAV delegates SA, 'South Australian Delegates Thoughts on the Three Current National Bodies', 3.
[8] Ibid. 3.
[9] Centre for Volunteering, NSW Archives: National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies, '1990 Election ALERT!' [media release] Sydney, 1990, 1.

> [their] lack of official interest in volunteering, and in the four million Australian volunteers who freely support their communities, can only come from sheer ignorance of the issues at stake.[10]

Such assertions were not in keeping with the image of volunteers as people who meekly step up to fill in the gaps of societal need. These were the assertive demands of an emergent lobby group clear about the issues and what was needed.

One final argument for action was the toll that working for multiple groups was having on some members. This was heightened by arguments that energy expended on the national groups deflected the volunteer centres from their respective state issues.[11] The members' first responsibility was to their state organisations. The volunteer centres at the regional and state levels should not suffer due to work on emerging national bodies.

Both AAV and NAVRA had legitimate claims for primacy. If the volunteer centres were to continue their own development and progress the cause of volunteering, they needed funding for the national body. NAVRA's aim and membership was limited, but it was in the best position to secure funding for the volunteer centres and thereby improve support for volunteers. The result of this dilemma led to state volunteer centres holding discussions about a merger of the national groups with their respective members in the lead-up to the AAV 4th National Conference, held in Brisbane in 1992. A combined meeting of all three management committees in Brisbane led to a vote on the floor of the National Conference to amalgamate the existing bodies into a new national body, the Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV). As Sha Cordingley stated:

> in the end it was just the pragmatic exercise because the AAV, NAVRA and also the Council of State Volunteer Centres were meeting and there were many people who were on all three of those bodies so it really became just the pragmatic response – why have all of these separate organisations when we could probably have one with a bit more strength.[12]

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[10] Ibid. 4.

[11] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, 'Agenda for AAV Management Committee Meeting 2/92 by correspondence for 17 April 1992'.

[12] Sha Cordingley, interview with the author, Interview No.1

Incorporated in 1993, the ACV would 'promote the concept of volunteering throughout Australia particularly through State Volunteer Centres and volunteer referral agencies'.[13] The new ACV would consolidate national authority as well as draw attention to the state and territory centres, as crystallised in the objects of the ACV's constitution:[14]

> The mission of the Australian Council for Volunteering ("Council") is to provide a national voice in relation to the concept and appropriate practice of volunteering in Australia. It is the peak body for State and Territory Volunteer Centres and for volunteering generally.[15]

The above statement lacks mention of the volunteer resource centres. Their omission effectively positions the volunteer resource centres within each state and territory. Thus the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure was born.

The relationship between state volunteer centres and VRCs was convoluted. In some states, the existence and increasing numbers of VRCs was due in no small part to the lobbying of governments by state volunteer centres.[16] On the other hand, VRCs felt they were closer to grassroots organisations and better able to advocate on behalf of volunteers to government. They did not need state volunteer centres to act as intermediaries as demonstrated by the New South Wales experience which began at the beginning of the 1990s and was discussed in Chapter 6.[17] Such tension between the local/regional and state tiers of the volunteering infrastructure over the authority to advocate on volunteering issues could not be tolerated, particularly at a time when many volunteer centres were trying to form and project a cohesive front to the public and governments.

In response to the tension between the state volunteer centre and some of the regional volunteer centres, the Volunteer Centre of NSW and the NSW Volunteer Network (later COVERRS and VCN) formed a working party in 1991-1992. The aim was to examine their

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[13] Volunteering Australia Archives: ACV, 'Report of the Board for the period from 1 July 1994 to 30 June 1995', 3-4.

[14] Volunteering ACT Archives: Tim O'Dea, President AAV, [letter to AAV Members] (c.1992), 1. Volunteering Australia Archives: Diane Morgan, 'Attachment 8', 2. Volunteering Australia Archives: ACV, 'Report of the Board for the period from 1 July 1994 to 30 June 1995', 3-4.

[15] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Council for Volunteer, 'Item 8: Amendment to the Constitution', *Annual General Meeting,* 19 October 1996.

[16] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Milestone for Volunteering' *The Volunteer Issue,* 1/1 (July 1990), 1.

[17] This is not to imply that such tension was unique to NSW alone, jockeying for position also occurred in other states and archival documents for NSW have been retained by volunteer centres.

respective roles and how they could better communicate and work together..[18] This mood for improvement and growth occurred within a contemporary environment of increasing technological complexity, greater environmental concern and the promotion of healthy lifestyles. Organisations sought to involve more volunteers and more people wanted to volunteer. In NSW volunteer centres worked to develop a peak body accepted by all stakeholders, while the NSW Government promoted principles on which organisations could meet their service objectives by involving volunteers.[19] Together the Volunteer Centre of NSW and the NSW Department of Community Services worked together to 'identify directions for the future development of volunteering' by establishing a 'formal structure' in NSW.[20] Their consultations invited the opinions of not-for-profit organisations across all volunteer services. In an article on the need for a peak body on volunteering, Alan Bates, Wesley Mission, argued that only a peak body could provide the networking, dissemination of new ideas and best practice for volunteers:

> If an organisation regardless of where it is located or its size does not give due consideration to the formation of a peak body for volunteers in N.S.W., it will be doing itself, its volunteers and the community it serves a great disservice.[21]

The result of the consultations and forums was a recommendation that the Volunteer Centre of NSW be 'reprofiled … to strengthen and formalise linkages for the existing volunteer network and with funding agencies'.[22] The VRCs from NSW and Volunteering NSW were hopeful that the re-profiling exercise would result in peak body funding of the Volunteer Centre of NSW by the State Government. Similar to other volunteer centres, government funding was tied to the delivery of services, not advocacy work. Funding as a peak body would provide legitimacy and authority. However, after two years of work, the NSW Department of Community Services decided against funding the Volunteer Centre of NSW as

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[18] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Shaping the Framework for Implementing the Strategies Identified in "Working Together Towards the Future", Discussion Paper, (Sydney: Volunteer Centre of NSW, January 1995), 3-4. Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'A Peak Body for Volunteering in New South Wales', *The Volunteer Issue,* 7/2, (July 1995), 3. Volunteering ACT Archives: NSW Department of Community Services and the Social Policy Directorate, *Volunteering in NSW: Working Together Towards the Future,* (Sydney: Department of Community Services, 1993), 10.

[19] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Shaping the Framework for Implementing the Strategies Identified in "Working Together Towards the Future", 3-5.

[20] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Volunteering in NSW Discussion Paper', 1.

[21] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Alan Bates, 'A Peak Body – A Large Service Provider Perspective', *The Volunteer Issue,* 7/3 (December 1995), 7.

[22] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Volunteering in NSW Discussion Paper: Shaping the Framework for Implementing the Strategies', 1.

the peak body on volunteering in NSW.[23] Its peak body functions would remain unfunded. The reasons given for this recommendation included varying definitions of volunteering and peak body functions, as well as a fear of centralisation.[24] This fear reflected a belief of organisations that grass roots groups and VRCs were perceived as having the 'greatest needs and to have the greatest potential' and a central body based in the capital city would result in their loss of autonomy.[25]

This example of the Volunteer Centre of NSW working with its constituents and the NSW Government can be seen as a combination of two layers of Young's multi-layered model of relationships. An adversarial relationship existed when the Volunteer Centre of NSW and the Volunteer Network built momentum for recognition and funding of a volunteering peak body in NSW. Advocacy for a peak body status would strengthen the position of the Volunteer Centre of NSW in any discussion with government on volunteer policy. However, the involvement of the NSW Government in working with volunteer centres to build a peak body shifted the relationship to the complementary layer. At the complementary layer, the Government became a partner working with the Volunteer Centre of NSW to effect change in the volunteering infrastructure that would better meet the policy direction of the state government. But, with the Government's decision not to fund the Volunteer Centre of NSW as the peak body on volunteering, the relationship reverted from complementary to adversarial. Not only can a volunteer centre have one or all three types of relationship but one issue can cause the type of the relationship to change.

In every submission or presentation from volunteer centres, mention was made of the size and complexity of volunteering in Australia.[26] Despite this, research on the Australian experience of volunteering was limited. So, in the 1990s, the volunteer centres took steps to encourage research by developing relationships with research bodies and researchers, publishing a peer-reviewed journal, and ensuring that every biennial conference included

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[23] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Alan Bates, 'A Peak Body – A Large Service Provider Perspective', 2.

[24] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Jane Elix and Judy Lambert, *Developing a Peak Volunteering Body in NSW: Report to Implementation Group,* (Sydney: Community Solutions, September 1995), 23.

[25] Ibid. 22

[26] Volunteering ACT Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV) Inc., 'Submission to the Department of Human Services and Health for Enhanced Funding for the Volunteer Management Program', (Sydney: ACV, 1995). Volunteering Australia Archives: Margaret Bell, 'Volunteering Australia On-Line' Submission to The Hon. Warwick Smith, MP, Commonwealth Minister for Family Services (1997).

both research and from-the-field presentations. The following section explores the work of volunteer centres in encouraging research on volunteering throughout this decade.

The need for evidence based research on volunteering

The volunteering infrastructure needed evidence of the extent of volunteering, who volunteered, the value of volunteering to society and the problems encountered. Every opportunity to encourage the measurement, recognition and appropriate allocation of resources for volunteering at the local, state and national levels was exploited:

> Volunteering … is not merely an adjunct to what is going on in community and social welfare organisations, it is the key to future development of the sector's capacity to become a community caring for its own, rather than a community having things done to it, as in the past.[27]

The volunteer centres believed that the measurement of volunteering would provide evidence to their claims about the breadth and effort of volunteers. By extension, this evidence could then be used to validate the existence of volunteer centres and their work. It would also give greater weight to their arguments for increasing the numbers of VRCs.[28] The volunteer centres used the biennial conferences to raise awareness of volunteering issues and encourage research. For instance, the Third Biennial National Volunteering Conference in 1990 concentrated on volunteering and social change with papers concentrating on activism. Workshops considered deinstitutionalisation and aboriginal empowerment, and papers tackled industrial issues, the matter of quality of life and recreation, and policy development.[29]

Research and a greater knowledge of volunteering in Australia had a role to play in lobbying for the financial security of the volunteering infrastructure. The continual problem of securing ongoing funding was a challenge common to all not-for-profit organisations. But, unlike other not-for-profit organisations able to fundraise for the purpose of providing direct services to people suffering disease, homelessness, poverty or other problems, the focus of volunteering infrastructure organisations was volunteering and volunteers. The volunteer

[27] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Margaret Bell, 'Industry Commission Released Draft Report of Finings into Charitable Organisations', *The Volunteer Issue,* 6/1 (January 1995), 10.
[28] Volunteering ACT Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV) Inc., 'Submission to the Department of Human Services and Health for Enhanced Funding for the Volunteer Management Program', 2.
[29] Volunteering Australia Archives: Erica Anderton, 'Action for Social Change', 1990 Third Biennial National Conference on Volunteering, Melbourne, March 1990.

centres supported the unpaid workforce situated between the donor and the client or consumer. As Jim Carlton, Secretary General of the Australian Red Cross, pointed out in a letter to the Minister for Health and Community Services supporting a funding application by the ACV:

> The ACV is not the kind of body that you can easily collect funds to support, either from the corporate sector or the public. There is thus, in my view, a responsibility for the government, in its own interest, to fund such a body, thereby relieving the government of substantial additional costs down the line should the flow of volunteers not be maintained.[30]

Carlton's was a stepping-stone argument used by volunteer centres. Better measurement and evidence would support volunteer centre funding applications. This funding would ensure a continuous flow of volunteers which would save governments substantial funds.

Until the measurement of the Australian Bureau of Statistics of volunteering nationally, the volunteer centres relied on anecdotal evidence and the findings of research projects. Volunteer centres began to lobby local offices of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) on the measurement of volunteering in the 1980s. During this decade the ABS undertook four surveys on volunteering, in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia.[31] The volunteer centres welcomed the results but argued that information was required from all states and territories to provide a greater understanding of volunteering.[32] In a submission to the *Industry Commission Inquiry into Charitable Organisations in Australia*, the ACV argued much of the statistical data available was not primarily focused on volunteering. Further, the submission argued that volunteer statistics gathered at the state level by the ABS during the 1980s were of limited relevance to a current understanding of volunteering in the 1990s. Reliance on such evidence distorted the value of volunteering as it underestimated the need for resources to support volunteering effort around the country. The ACV submission

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[30] Volunteering WA Archives: J.J. Carlton, 'Review of National Peak Bodies for CSSS Funding' [letter to the Hon Michael R.L. Wooldridge MP, Minister for Health & Family Services], 15 January 1997, 2.

[31] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Community and Volunteer Work South Australia* (October 1988), Cat. No. 4402.4 (Adelaide: ABS, 1989). Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Community Work During the Year Ended October 1986 New South Wales, Preliminary* (1987), Cat. No. 4403.1 (Sydney: ABS, 6 July 1987). Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Provision of Welfare Services of Volunteers, Queensland, Year Ended November 1982,* Cat. No. 4401.3 (Brisbane: ABS, 22 February 1984). *Provision of Welfare Services by Volunteers – Victoria Year ended November 1982,* Cat. No. 4401.2 (Melbourne: ABS, 3 October 1983).

[32] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteer Centre of S.A. Inc. *Annual Report 1988,* (Adelaide: Volunteer Centre of SA, 1988), 3. Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Rosemary Sage, 'ABS Survey', [fax to Sha Cordingley] (2 June 1999). Volunteering ACT Archives: Volunteering Australia, 'Minutes of Board Meeting, 20-21 June 1997', Sydney, 2.

went on to argue that the state and regional volunteer centres held the most up-to-date statistics on volunteering and were piqued when the Industry Commission failed to use their data.[33]

The continued lobbying led to volunteer centres providing opinion on questionnaires and pilot surveys conducted in three states for the ABS 1995 national survey on volunteering.[34] The release of the national survey on voluntary work was applauded even though its results showed a lower volunteering rate of 19 per cent. The volunteer centres had anticipated a higher rate in light of the data they were collecting. In 1998, Lyons and Fabiansson examined the first surveys on volunteer activity in the 1980s carried out by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in four states, Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia.[35] The results were extrapolated and compared with the first national survey by the ABS in 1995.[36] Their analysis led to the conclusion that volunteering numbers were dropping but that volunteer hours were increasing. In light of the volunteering rate in 2000, the ABS recast the 1995 volunteering rate to 24 per cent, citing methodological reasons for the new rate.[37]

The measurement of volunteering provided evidence for the need to include volunteering in the formation of public policy. It also added weight to the volunteering infrastructure's argument for increased funding. Other work to increase awareness of volunteering was to draw attention to the work of volunteer centres. The next section explores the efforts to create a cohesive national image of the volunteering infrastructure.

Rebranding the National Body: Volunteering Australia

To strengthen the national identity of the volunteering infrastructure, the Australian Council of Volunteering (ACV), state and territory centres and volunteer regional centres changed

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[33] Volunteering ACT Archives: Margaret Bell, Marie Fox and Jennifer Franklin-Bell, 'Submission to The Industry Commission Inquiry into Charitable Organisations in Australia', (Sydney, Australian Council for Volunteering, 1995). 9

[34] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Margaret Bell, 'President's Report, Period September '94 – September '95', (Sydney: ACV, 1995), 5.

[35] Mark Lyons and Charlotte Fabiansson, 'Is Volunteering Declining in Australia? *Australian Journal on Volunteering* (1998) 3/2, 15-20.

[36]. Australian Bureau of Statistics *Voluntary Work Australia, 1995,* Cat. No. 4441.0 (Canberra: ABS, 1996)

[37] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Technical Note 2', *Voluntary Work Australia 2000,* Cat. No. 4441.0 (Canberra: ABS, 20 June 2001), <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/4441.0Technical%20Note12000?opendocument&tabname=Notes&prodno=4441.0&issue=2000&num=&view>, accessed 5 March 2014.

their names to ‘Volunteering [geographical location]’ in 1996/97. Volunteering infrastructure organisations agreed to change their names to make it obvious they belonged to the same network and had the same focus on volunteering.[38] The name change would brand the volunteering infrastructure as one group, even though they were all separate, individually incorporated identities. The importance of this action was to project a consolidated, cohesive network of organisations that would give any submission to or interaction with governments, corporations or the public, a new and solid strength. For potential volunteers and volunteer involving-organisations, the rebranding would herald a consistency of work around the country. Anyone encountering a rebranded volunteer centre would know this was the organisation to go to in the search for volunteer positions or to access training and information on volunteering. For not-for-profit organisations, the rebranded volunteer centres would be the focal point for information and strategies on improving volunteer programs, where issues could be discussed and access to peer support was available.

In 1997, Volunteering Australia was launched and the volunteering infrastructure was confident that the national body on volunteering would meet any national secretariat criteria due to its mix of advocacy, promotion and direct service delivery. The same year, the Minister for Health and Family Services, Michael R L Wooldridge, announced that VA’s application for Community Sector Support Scheme (CSSS) funding was successful. This made Volunteering Australia unique among volunteer centres. No other volunteer centre was funded as a peak body. This CSSS funding was granted to a select group of peak bodies and VA cast its net for lobbying support to not-for-profit organisations (for example, Australian Red Cross), politicians (Duncan Kerr, Shadow Minister for Immigration) and Federal Government departments (Department of Social Security).[39] In his letter of support, the Secretary, A S Blunn, Secretary for the Department of Social Security, wrote of the value of the Department’s relationship with the ACV and its President, Margaret Bell:

> This consultation has been most beneficial for Departmental staff. It has assisted in their understanding and knowledge of volunteering issues throughout Australia, facilitated prompt responses to problems as they have arisen and informed staff of

[38] Volunteering ACT Archives: Margaret Bell, ‘Change of Name to Volunteering NSW’ [letter to membership on], Volunteer Centre of NSW, 8 January, 1997.

[39] Volunteering Australia Archive: Hon J.J. Carlton, Secretary General to Hon Michael R. L. Wooldridge, Minister for Health & Family Services, ‘Review of National Peak Bodies for CSSS Funding’, 15 January 1997. Hon Duncan Kerr, Shadow Minister for Immigration, letter to Hon Dr Michael Wooldridge, Minister for Health, 31 January 1997. A.S.Bunn, Secretary, Department of Social Security, Secretary, Department of Health and Family Services, letter to Mr Andrew Podger, 23 January 1997.

> upcoming concerns which may not have been so readily identified or rectified. I also consider that the input of the ACV has ultimately increased the number of successful voluntary work placements for our customers. In addition, the existence of ACV, with its effective volunteer network, has been important as a contact point for dissemination of information and discussion on any manner of volunteering issues on a national basis. I am not aware of any other organisation that could have worked with us in this area on such a comprehensive basis.[40]

Such support indicates a clear relationship between the volunteering infrastructure organisations and the federal government. The volunteer centres considered themselves partners, working with the Government, and, through partnership, being able to advocate for resources and support of volunteers working in not-for-profit organisations. Advocacy for volunteers included good management practices; consideration of volunteers' needs, rights and responsibilities in the workplace; remuneration of the costs of volunteering; and training. Thus the volunteering infrastructure could be seen as working from within existing structures to effect change, not simply to volunteer conditions but to the recognition of volunteering as an economically, culturally and socially significant endeavour.

With rebranding came the hope that this new body would not suffer similar relationship problems as other peak bodies had endured. By 'Acting THROUGH State/Territory Centres we are confident of being able to avoid the 'plague' of "competition often engaged in between the "state bodies" and the "national bodies" of organisations – in particular peak bodies'.[41] The Board of Directors of VA would consist of eight elected board members (elected in this context refers to their election to their state/territory centre board) and eight nominated board members, being the CEOs/Directors from each state and territory centre. All interest groups, sectoral agencies, other state peak bodies and individual volunteers would be represented through membership of their respective state/territory volunteer centres. To honour and cement the special relationship between state and territory centres and Volunteering Australia, the state and territory volunteer centres were given the title of Foundation Members, as such they would play a significant role on the VA Board.

Unity lasted for less than a year before one state, Victoria, changed its logo and branding. In so doing, Volunteering Victoria distanced itself, at least to the public gaze, from the other

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[40] Volunteering Australia Archives: A.S.Blunn, Secretary, Department of Social Security [letter to Mr Andrew Podger, Secretary, Department of Health and Family Services], 23 January 1997.

[41] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV), *Position paper on funding for ACV – Relationship with State/Territory Volunteer Centres – Others, and Future Conduct of Business at the National Level,* (Sydney: ACV, c.1997).

organisations in the volunteering infrastructure. Internally, however, this was an example of tensions between state/territory centres and the national centre. The federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure meant that volunteer centres must always be sensitive to the situation in their own states and territories. For example, adopting the name ‘Volunteering [geographical location]’ incurred a risk that state governments might assume that regional and state volunteering infrastructure organisations were branches of Volunteering Australia. As branches of the national body, funding would be the responsibility of the Federal Government. Such an attitude would deny or constrict state or local government funding and potentially result in state/territory volunteer centres having less credibility as the state voice for volunteering. Therefore, the very nature of the Australian federation created a need for volunteering infrastructure organisations not only to be autonomous and separate from the national body, but to *appear* to be separate, while simultaneously emphasising their strength as a national volunteering infrastructure. Figure 8 provides a sample of different branding of volunteer centres. This clearly indicates a tension across the three tiers of federation. Often the ‘V’ symbol can be seen as a common element but more striking is the difference between logos as they emphasise their location and local issues. Diane Morgan explained the need for individual identity by volunteer centres ‘it’s not too hard to understand why everybody did develop so differently because …nobody started from the same point’.[42]

[42] Diane Morgan, interview with the author, (Brisbane, 9 June 2011) in the author’s possession.

Figure 8 Volunteer Centre brands, 2012

Volunteering, employment and unemployment

At the beginning of the decade, Rob Hudson, CEO, Victorian Council of Social Services (VCOSS) addressed delegates at the Third National Conference on Volunteering in Melbourne, Victoria.[1] Hudson outlined a number of issues he suspected would continue to face volunteering in the new decade. He argued that the increased numbers of not-for-profit organisations since the 1970s had led to a corresponding increase in the number of paid workers who demanded better working conditions in the community sector. Simultaneously, a belief, that the demand for better wages and conditions was weakened by the relative strength of volunteer numbers introduced a tension between the two groups of workers. Further, Hudson noted a rising conservative argument that unemployment benefits were no longer an aspect of the social contract, but must be earned by making a contribution to society, with volunteering as one example put forward. [2] Kinnear argued this attitude echoed arguments of the 1930s when, regardless of the global Depression, there was a suspicion that the unemployed were partly to blame for their own misfortune.[3] This point was later elaborated by the Volunteer Centre of NSW which likened 'work for the dole' programs to a form of 'colonisation of volunteering' whereby payment for volunteering could lead to the creation of 'an unemployed class of volunteer'.[4]

Paul Keating became Prime Minister during an economic recession in 1991, with a priority for his government to reduce unemployment. The Job Search and Newstart Allowance introduced in 1991 were an endeavour to move away from passive income support.[5] An unemployed person had to enter an agreement to undertake training, apply for a certain number of jobs per week or possibly undertake volunteering.[6] From a volunteering perspective, these stipulations raised a number of concerns. Having to undertake a task under a Newstart obligation smacked of compulsion, in direct contradiction to the concept of choice

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[1] Volunteering Australia Archives: Rob Hudson, 'Volunteer Policy Development – Issues for the '90s', a paper presented at the 1990 Third Biennial National Volunteering Conference, May 1990, 8-14.
[2] Ibid. 10.
[3] Pamela L. Kinnear, 'Mutual Obligation: A Reasonable Policy?' in T. Eardley and B. Bradbury (eds.), '*Competing Visions: Refereed Proceedings of the National Social Policy Conference,* SPRC Report 1/02, (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2002), 248 <https://www.sprc.unsw.edu.au/media/SPRCFile/NSPC01_RefereedProceedings.pdf>, accessed 20 August 2014.
[4] Volunteering Australia Archives: Margaret Bell, Marie Fox and Jennifer Franklin-Bell, 'The Industry Inquiry into Charitable Organisations Submission', 24.
[5] Philip Mendes, *Australia's Welfare Wars Revisited: The Players, the Politics and the Ideologies,* 78-80.
[6] John Burgess, et al., 'The Developing Workfare Policy in Australia: A Critical Assessment' *Journal of Socio-Economics,* 29 (2000), 173-188.

so important to the definition of volunteering. After all, how free was an unemployed person to choose to volunteer if the alternative was loss of the Newstart allowance? Secondly, another concern was that job seekers might be coerced into volunteering or may be treated differently from other volunteers:

> Volunteering is not the solution to unemployment; it is simply one useful tool. And the tool is most effective if it is allowed to flourish in its natural form: properly supported, and free of coercion and segregation.[7]

Thirdly, there was also concern that not-for-profit organisations accepting a person on Newstart would be responsible for monitoring that person's working hours and reporting any discrepancies to the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). This would then be reported to the Department of Social Security and the person's unemployment benefit could be cancelled.[8] From knowledge gained through my own working experience, this placed managers of volunteers in an unenviable position that was contrary to their personal and professional reasons for working in the community sector. In effect, volunteer programs and organisations would become an operational arm of government.

Fourthly, a volunteer program could be constrained by losing the ability to choose the right volunteer for the job if they felt compelled to take a volunteer sent by the CES. Alternatively, managers of volunteer programs might demur from dismissing a volunteer for fear it could result in the volunteer's loss of the Newstart allowance. Finally, there was a fear that volunteers might feel compelled to take part, and would have a negative impact on other volunteers in the organisations.[9] These issues highlighted the contradictions of volunteer-involving organisations becoming involved with labour market programs. While the funding was gratefully received, the philosophical dilemmas caused unease and raised questions about the purpose of the not-for-profit organisations, and who was the real client of the organisation — the person receiving the service or the volunteer?

After the election of the Howard Government in 1996, the concept of Mutual Obligation was introduced. This was again the argument that unemployment benefits were not a right and

[7] Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Volunteer Centre of NSW, 'Council of Advice Meeting', *The Volunteer Issue,* 3/2 (August 1992), 7.
[8] Tony Eardley, et al., *The Impact of Breaching on Income Support Customers Final Report,* Social Policy Research Centre, SPRC Report 5/05, 2005, 3-4.
[9] Volunteering WA Archives: Volunteer Centre of ACT, *Volunteering and Newstart,* [information booklet] (circa 1992), 3 pages,

that recipients had responsibilities in return. These responsibilities included actively seeking work, undertaking training or having to 'give something back to the community that supports them'.[10] A new labour market program introduced by the Howard Government was the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI).[11] Funded through the Federal Department of Social Security, the program was originally aimed at older people, but, over time, it became available to all Centrelink customers, particularly long-term unemployed and disadvantaged people.[12]

The Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI) was awarded to Volunteering Australia (VA) through a tender process. By this time, volunteer centres had built up a bank of 6,000 members or registered users and were well placed to offer unemployed people a range of volunteering opportunities. They also offered a range of non-accredited and accredited training courses for volunteers and managers of volunteers. [13] In South Australia and New South Wales, the number and variety of training options gave rise to volunteer centres setting up Schools of Volunteer Management.[14] In short, the volunteering infrastructure was ideally placed to support the needs of people who chose to volunteer in preparation for paid employment.

Nonetheless, for the volunteering infrastructure, the VWI represented that familiar and difficult balance between the need for financial security necessary to promote and advocate for volunteering, and the constant need to reinforce and defend the very essence of the definition of volunteering: the ability for a person to *choose* to volunteer. Including volunteering as an activity to meet unemployment benefit criteria strengthened a suspicion that people might volunteer to protect themselves from 'harsh Government policies' that might result in loss of unemployment benefits.[15] Thus volunteering was no longer an issue of choice it was now doubtful who was actually benefiting – the volunteer or the not-for-profit cause.

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[10] Peter Yeend, 'Mutual Obligation/Work for the Dole' Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia, <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/dole>, 20 August 2014.

[11] Maureen Cane, interview with the author [sound recording] (Canberra, 16 June 2011), in the author's possession.

[12] Sue Vardon, 'Centrelink customers: public policy effect on volunteering', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 9/1 (2004), 57.

[13] Volunteering Australia Archive: Volunteering Australia, *Voluntary Work Initiative: Setting the Standards for Volunteer Activity,* Tender submission (Volunteering Australia, 1997), 11.

[14] Ibid. 14.

[15] Volunteering Australia Archives: Mark Leahy, Welfare Rights SA, 'Principles of Mutual Obligation', Workshop No. 2, given at the 9th National Conference on Volunteering, Adelaide 2000, 4.

The government position regarding the VWI clearly stated that an unemployed person would not be compelled to do volunteer work if other activity options were unavailable; however, the reality could be quite different. This was largely due to confusion between VWI and other labour market programs. [16] To clarify the differences between VWI and other programs such as Work for the Dole, a series of information sessions on volunteering were held by volunteer centres in each state and territory over the life of the VWI contract. Volunteer centres continued to support the principles of the VWI but concern lingered about the future impact the labour market programs would have on the principles of the volunteering infrastructure and the national body in particular:

> Recent important national issues (such as the Mutual Obligations initiative which we see as coercing people into "volunteering" and which cuts to the very core of our philosophy) have not seen a policy response from Volunteering Australia. Rather what we have seen is an attempt to cash in on [a] funding opportunity without considered discussion of the philosophical, policy and political issues at the heart of the matters.[17]

The VWI also shifted the structural balance between the national peak body and all other volunteer centres in the volunteering infrastructure. By winning the tender for VWI, Volunteering Australia had become a contractor for the Commonwealth Government. Its member organisations, the state/territory volunteer centres and local/regional VRCs, were in effect Volunteering Australia's sub-contractors.[18] This was an unenviable situation for any network of organisations. By the end of the decade, Volunteering Australia's Board was dominated by state and territory volunteer centre representation. Consequently, VA held a contradictory role, demanding contract outcomes from other volunteer centres receiving VWI funds while also being, itself, held to account by a governing board made up of those very centres. As the following quote from a discussion paper authored by Volunteering Tasmania illustrates, the volunteer centres passionately believed that Volunteering Australia derived its strength through their offices:

> Volunteering Australia is an organisation which draws its mandate, power and very existence from grass roots volunteers and voluntary organisations, coming together as

[16] Volunteering Australia Archives: Margaret Bell and Marie Fox, 'The Industry Inquiry into Charitable Organisations Submission', Sydney, 1995, 24.
[17] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Nick Toonen and Sylvia Godman, 'Volunteering Australia Future Directions', Discussion Paper, 78 April, 1998, 2.
[18] Note: Not all VRCs became sub-contractors of either VWI or received VMP funding.

> the state peak bodies on volunteering. Without them it does not and cannot exist, and without strong, flexible, transparent, democratic and inclusive processes it will become top heavy, lose contact with basic and current issues in volunteering, and gradually weaken as it becomes disconnected from its source of power and mandate. We must develop processes and structures that are bottom-up rather than top-down in order for them to be effective in the long term.[19]

This extract demonstrates that the new state peak body, Volunteering Tasmania, emphasised the role of state volunteer centres as the conduit from local and grassroots volunteering to the national body.

Chapter Summary

Overall, the 1990s brought many successes to the volunteering infrastructure. It had a clear federated structure, a new name that could be used across all volunteer centres, funding for Volunteering Australia as the national peak body on volunteering and two major funding programs from the Commonwealth Government. Although much of the funding for the state and territory centres was for the delivery of services rather than an acknowledgement of their roles as peak bodies, there were now centres in each state and territory around the country. At the grass roots level VRC numbers continued to grow from 20 in 1995 to a total of 55 by 2001.[20]

By the end of the 1990s, knowledge about volunteering had improved and expanded. The Australian Bureau of Statistics had undertaken the first national survey on voluntary work and planned further surveys in the following decade. The volunteering infrastructure was an author of training and discussion material for volunteers as shown in Appendix C and, it was also a publisher of the peer reviewed *Australian Journal on Volunteering.*

Ultimately, though, regardless of the successes of the volunteering infrastructure, concern about the long-term effects of volunteering being an option as a labour market program continued. This would challenge the cohesiveness of the volunteering infrastructure in the days to come as will be discussed in the next chapter on volunteering in the new millennium.

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[19] Volunteering SA & NT Archive: Nick Toonen and Sylvia Godman, 'Volunteering Australia Future Directions', Discussion Paper, 78 April, 1998, 2
[20] Ibid. 8

CHAPTER 8

THE NEW MILLENNIUM: COMING FULL CIRCLE? 2000–2012

The beginning of the new millennium was a time when volunteering took centre stage Australia. The Sydney Olympics in 2000 and the International Year of Volunteers (IYV) 2001 focused national attention on volunteering in a way only seen in times of war, emergency, or natural disaster. The future looked bright for volunteering and the volunteering infrastructure, but by 2012, Volunteering Australia was fighting for survival. Major project funding from the Commonwealth Government had ended and paid staff had either resigned or been made redundant. Two basic questions now hung over the volunteering infrastructure: did Volunteering Australia have a future, and was a volunteering national peak body still necessary?

This sudden and dramatic reversal of fortune was not unique to the Australian volunteering infrastructure as other older and better-established national volunteer centres in other English-speaking countries such as Canada, England, and the US were also grappling with the loss of government funding, as discussed in Chapter 2. This chapter will explore both the triumphs and the abrupt reversal of fortune of Volunteering Australia. It will argue that the decline of fortune for Volunteering Australia was due to a number of factors emanating from both within and external to the volunteering infrastructure through its relationship with Government. The chapter will also contend that growing involvement of state governments with volunteering in this decade almost usurped the role of volunteer centres in supporting volunteers.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first considers the maturation of Volunteering Australia and its national role in identifying and addressing the resourcing and support needs of volunteers. The second section explores the complex engagement of governments with the volunteering infrastructure and the introduction of government offices/secretariats for volunteering, and the third provides a postscript of events that have occurred since the end of this study in 2012.

Celebratory events such as the Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2000, and the International Year of Volunteer in 2001 kept volunteering in the spotlight at the beginning of the millennium. As Sandy Hollway stated during the launch of the International Year of Volunteers (IYV) 2001 in New South Wales (NSW):

> It is fortuitous that IYV occurs within a matter of months after the Olympic and Paralympic Games because a rare opportunity exists to use the momentum from the Games to focus the spotlight on volunteering and volunteers.[1]

Volunteering Australia and other members of the volunteering infrastructure, particularly the Centre for Volunteering NSW, had supported the Sydney Olympics by consulting on the training and management of volunteers. Volunteer centres were justly proud of their work at the international level. With positions on the IAVE Board, including the world presidency, Margaret Bell and other members of the volunteering infrastructure worked with the United Nations Volunteer (UNV) to have 2001 declared the International Year of Volunteers by a United Nations resolution in 1997.[2] They had also contributed to the development of the *Universal Declaration on Volunteering* and the *Global Agenda for Action to Strengthen Volunteering.* Both documents were adopted by the IAVE Board at the 16th World Volunteering Conference in 2001.[3]

For the Australian volunteering infrastructure, IYV was an opportunity to draw attention to its value as an advocate for volunteering, promoting the importance of volunteering to the community, and acting as a resource for volunteers and organisations. Volunteering Australia formed a partnership with Australian Volunteers International (AVI).[4] Volunteering Australia represented volunteering within Australia and AVI represented the keen interest Australians had for volunteering at the international level. Together they established the National

[1] The Centre for Volunteering NSW Archives: Sandy Hollway, 'Sandy Hollway Launches International Year of Volunteers 2001 in NSW', Sydney, 4 December 2000.
[2] United Nations, 'International Year of Volunteers, 2001', Resolution adopted by the General Assembly A/RES/52/17, 52nd Session Agenda item 12 (New York: United Nations, 20 November, 1997) <http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/52/17>, accessed 29 July 2012.
[3] International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE), *The Global Agenda for Action to Strnegthen Volunteering,* 16th World Volunteer Conference, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, January 2001, <http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/fileadmin/docs/old/html/2001/01_01_18NLD_iave_actionplan.htm>, accessed 29 July 2012. Volunteering Australia Archives: Universal Declaration on Volunteering, IAVE, 2001.
[4] Australian Volunteers International is a not-for-profit organisation providing skilled volunteers to work with overseas groups and communities in order to reduce poverty and provide health and education services, <www.australianvolunteers.com/about-us/who-we-are/ > accessed 29 July 2012.

Community Council of Advice (NCCA) in 2000. The aim of this group was to ensure the volunteering community voice and leadership was heard during IYV. A national consultation was conducted, resulting in the publication of an IYV legacy, *A National Agenda on Volunteering: Beyond the International Year of Volunteers*.[5] The *Agenda* called on governments, business, the community and volunteer-involving organisations to address the political, social and cultural needs of volunteers. Underpinning the *Agenda* was the definition of formal volunteering discussed in the Introduction of this thesis. Therefore, the *Agenda's* call to action emphasised those volunteers working in not-for-profit organisations, undertaking freely chosen work, without a wage, that would be of benefit to the wider community and lastly, that people would work in positions designed for volunteers.[6] In this and other Volunteering Australia publications, the emphasis continued to be on formal volunteering. Regardless of the challenges carried over from the previous decade, the definition and principles of formal volunteering provided the basis of volunteer centre identity and strength as a group in the early 2000s.

Engagement to celebrate IYV was widespread with business, government and not-for-profit organisations all playing a role as demonstrated by a number of projects. For instance, to commemorate IYV, the Australian Mint released a collectors' six-coin set in 2003.[7] Volunteering Australian Capital Territory (ACT) worked in partnership with the Australian National Botanic Gardens to produce a floral emblem, the Helichrysum 'Helping Hand'.[8] Funded by Department of Families and Community Services (FaCS), the artist Ken Lee produced a number of 'Volunteer Spheres' that were exhibited around the country.[9] Partnerships between volunteer centres, corporations and governments provided awards for volunteers as a commemoration of the year. One example was FaCS support for an additional Award for IYV in the National Bank of Australia and Volunteering Australia *CommunityLink Awards*. Another partnership occurred in the ACT where Volunteering ACT, in partnership

[5] Volunteering Australia and Australian Volunteers International, *A National Agenda on Volunteering: Beyond the International Year of Volunteers,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2001). Kylee Bates, 'The National Community Council of Advice: A Community Response to the International Year of Volunteers 2001', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 6/1 (2001), 13-14.
[6] Volunteering Australia Archives: *Definition and Principles of Volunteering,* (Sydney: Volunteering Australia, 1997).
[7] Royal Australian Mint, 'Volunteers Six Coin Sets', *Mint Issue,* 51 (February 2003), 8.
[8] Australian National Botanic Gardens, 'Volunteer Program', *Annual Report 2001-2002,* (17 October 2006), <https://www.anbg.gov.au/gardens/about/annual-report/annual-report-2002.html>, accessed 1 August 2015.
[9] Volunteering WA Archive: Volunteering Western Australia, 'Volunteers … the Spirit of Community', *IYV Report Western Australia,* (Perth: VWA, 2002), 32.

with NRMA Insurance, recognised the work of volunteers through special Volunteer of the Year Awards 2001.[10]

At the federal level, the Department of Families, and Community Services was charged with coordinating the Government's contribution to IYV.[11] The Commonwealth Government's commitment resulted in the provision of $16 million funding to celebrate IYV.[12] Initiatives included $5.4 million for an IYV Small Grants Program aimed at grassroots organisations to develop initiatives for IYV, a communication strategy to build awareness of IYV and encourage volunteering. The Department also partnered with Volunteering Australia by sponsoring the national conference and providing funding for *GoVolunteer*, an online recruitment database.

State governments were also enthusiastic. As well as celebratory events, small groups were funded through the offices of local governments, awards distributed, and communication strategies promoting volunteering and research were funded. A small sample of such endeavours included the South Australian government providing 96 'Big Thank You' events around the state and coordinating a media publicity campaign that resulted in 817 articles and electronic broadcasts mentioning IYV.[13] The Premier of South Australia, the Honourable Michael Rann, confirmed his Labor government's commitment to volunteering by taking on the portfolio of volunteering. He was the second State Government Minister to hold this position, the first being the Honourable Iain Evans in the earlier Liberal Government.[14] More importantly Rann was the first Premier of any State to have responsibility for volunteering. The Victorian Government funded two research projects on good governance and the social and economic impact of volunteering.[15] In Queensland, a special Premier's Award received 'the greatest response of any award program that the Queensland Government has

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[10] Volunteering Australia Archive: Volunteering Australia, 'International Year of Volunteers 2001 Teleconference with State and Territory Representatives for the International Year of Volunteers, 18 June 2001', [minutes], 5. Volunteering ACT Archive: Volunteering ACT, *Volunteers ACT,* 2/3 (Summer 2001), 6.
[11] Volunteering Australia Archives: Costigan, Megan & Woolias, Susan, 'Celebrating Our Quiet Achievers', (Canberra: Commonwealth IYV Secretariat, DFaCS, 10 December, 2001).
[12] Ibid. 2
[13] Volunteering SA & NT Archive: Office for Volunteers, 'Celebrating Giving: A Report on the South Australian Celebration of the International Year of Volunteers 2001', (Adelaide: Government of South Australia, March, 2002), 21-22, 12.
[14] Iain Evans, interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 22 March 2011), in the author's possession.
[15] Volunteering Australia Archive: Volunteering Australia, 'International Year of Volunteers 2001 Teleconference with State and Territory Representatives', 2

conducted'.[16] And in Western Australia, a photographic exhibition and street parade were held.[17] In short, the first two years of the new millennium were exhilarating. Never had so much positive attention been paid to volunteers and volunteering. Volunteering Australia hoped the legacy of IYV would extend well beyond 2001 and hoped the *National Agenda for Volunteering* would provide a framework for measuring developments in volunteering.

The focus on volunteering brought about by the International Year of Volunteers was an ideal opportunity to promote volunteering in Australia and explore trends and issues that could affect volunteering in the future. The following section will explore the legacy of IYV.

Volunteering Issues and Trends: The First Decade of the New Millennium

Volunteering is dynamic and changes to meet the needs of the society in which it exists. Organisations, governments and researchers are constantly alert to the nuances of change and respond appropriately. As discussed in earlier chapters, a reason for a growing interest by governments in volunteering was in line with neoliberal policies to shift the delivery of direct services to not-for-profit organisations as discussed in the Chapter 6. At the same time, the publication of *Bowling Alone* in 2000 escalated interest in social capital and its purported decline.[18] Putnam's argument helped focus attention and debate on the concepts of social capital.[19] He argued that Americans had gained economic wealth but lost a sense of social and community cohesion; the social capital gained through social networks, community engagement and wellbeing had been lost.[20] This work also drew a renewed scholarly focus to volunteering.[21] Governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and Brazil had begun to develop and promote volunteering for the social contribution it makes through social

[16] Ibid. 1
[17] Ibid. 5
[18] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
[19] Jenny Onyx and Paul Bullen, 'Measuring Social Capital in Five Communities', *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science,* 36/1 (March, 2000), 23-42. Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan, 'Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy', *The World Bank Research Observer,* 15/2 (August 2000), 225-249.
[20] Ibid. 60
[21] Jonathan Isham, Jane Kolodinsky and Garrett Kimberly, 'The Effects of Volunteering for Nonprofit Organizations on Social Capital Formation: Evidence from a Statwide Survey', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 35/2 (September 2006), 367-383. Christine Fahey, 'Working with Communities' to 'Build Social Capital' – Reflecting on Old and New Thinking about Volunteers', *The Australian Journal of Emergency Management,* 18/4 (November 2003), 12-17.

capital.[22] In Australia, state and territory governments embedded the concepts of social capital into their policy development.[23] Similarly, the Commonwealth Government funded the National Volunteer Skills Centre (NVSC) through its *Stronger Families and Communities Strategy*.[24] The NVSC, a major project of Volunteering Australia in this decade, will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

With the spotlight of both government and academics on volunteering, the volunteering infrastructure thrived. The number of VRCs grew. In New South Wales, Volunteering NSW lobbied for a consistent approach to the development of volunteer resource centres and programs.[25] Volunteering Australia and other members of the volunteering infrastructure identified and responded to a number of volunteering trends and issues through the publication of resources, and submissions to government (see Appendix C and D). Trends included the rise of grey nomad volunteering, a better understanding of employee volunteers in small to medium businesses and the involvement of culturally and linguistically diverse volunteers in mainstream not-for-profit organisations. Specific issues addressed by the volunteering infrastructure, during this period, included the cost of volunteering, volunteer insurance, and the formal organisation of spontaneous volunteers.[26] A global issue to impact on volunteering in Australia was the risk of having greater numbers of people volunteering but a regulatory system that did not provide adequate protection for volunteers.[27] McGregor and Nguyen acknowledge the lobbying by Volunteering Australia and the volunteering infrastructure organisations in response to the risks to volunteers and the organisations due to lack of adequate insurance protection. Similarly, Oppenheimer highlights the invisibility of the volunteer in industrial relations.[28] Both commend the work of the South Australian Government for enacting the first Australian volunteer protection law (Volunteers Protection

[22] Justin Davis Smith and Angela Ellis, *IYV Global Evaluation,* (London: Institute for Volunteering Research & Development Resource Centre, South Africa, September 2002), 6.
[23] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Social Capital and Social Wellbeing,* Discussion Paper, (Canberra: ABS, 2002), 1-2.
[24] Ibid. 1
[25] Marie Fox, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Melbourne, 19 November, 2011), in the author's possession. Centre for Volunteering Archives: Morgan Disney & Associates Pty Ltd., *Review of Volunteer Resource Centres/Volunteer Referral Agencies in NSW,* Options Paper, September 2003.
[26] Jenny Onyx, et al., *Grey Nomad Volunteers: New partnerships between grey nomads and rural towns in Australia,* (Sydney: University of Western Sydney, University of Technology Sydney and Volunteering Australia, 2009). Volunteering Australia, *Employee Volunteering: A Guide for Small to Medium Sized Enterprises,* (Melbourne: VA, 2007). Volunteering Australia, *Supporting Volunteering Activities in Australian Muslim communities, Particularly Youth* (Melbourne, VA, 2006).
[27] Myles McGregor-Lowndes and Linh Nguyen, 'Volunteers and the new tort law reform', *Torts Law Journal,* 13/ 1, (2005), 41-61.
[28] Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Rights and Protection of Volunteer Workers: Some Preliminary Considerations', *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 6/ 2, (2001), 139-144.

Bill 2001) but point to the need to consider risk, at a regulatory level, wherever volunteers are involved. [29]

Measurement of Volunteers

By 2000, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) had provided estimates of the number of people volunteering at the state and national levels, as has been noted in the Introduction of this thesis. Questions about volunteering were again included in the ABS General Social Survey in 2000 and 2006. The volunteering infrastructure continued to applaud this collection of data on volunteering. The national consultation in preparation for 2001 *National Agenda on Volunteering: An IYV Legacy* called for the inclusion of a question on volunteering to be included in the ABS Census of Population and Housing.[30] In 2006, the ABS undertook a Voluntary Work Survey, a module of the General Social Survey (GSS) and added a question about volunteering to the Census. Surprisingly, the results were not compatible. The Census found that 17 per cent (one in five adults) had volunteered in the previous twelve-month period, while the Voluntary Work survey found that 34 per cent (one in three adults) had volunteered in the previous twelve months reported.[31] The ABS duly investigated the discrepancy and found it to be due to the methods of collection. The Census questions used a self-enumerated form for one or more people sleeping in the premises on the designated night.[32] The GSS method was quite different as an interviewer asked questions related to the respondent's volunteering over the previous 12 months. During the face to face interview, matters such as the definition of volunteering can be clarified and, as a method, the ABS judged the Voluntary Work Survey a 'better quality estimate of the rate of volunteering' while the Census could be used to understand geographical differences in volunteering.[33]

Regardless of methodological issues, the different findings do raise questions about the general understanding of volunteering. The surveys occurred just five years after the Sydney

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[29] Volunteering Australia, *Board of Volunteering Australia,* <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/About-Us/-Board-/Board-of-Volunteering-Australia.asp>, accessed 10 April 2013.
[30] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia & Australian Volunteers International, *National Agenda on Volunteering: An IYV Legacy,* 3.
[31] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Work Australia 2006* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) Cat. No. 4441.0, 3, <http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/086377B23927A41CCA25795800131726?opendocument>, accessed 25 August 2010. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *A Comparison of Volunteering Rates from the 2006 Census of Population and Housing and the 2006 General Social Survey,* Cat. No. 4441.0.55.002(Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2012), 1, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4441.0.55.002>, accessed 5 July 2012.
[32] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *A Comparison of Volunteering Rates from the 2006 Census of Population and Housing and the 2006 General Social Survey,* 5.
[33] Ibid. 1.

Olympic Games and the International Year of Volunteers, both of which had been deemed successful in raising the awareness of volunteering. The Australian Government declared 'There is no doubt that activities and events held during 2001, the International Year of Volunteers (IYV), left a lasting impression on the Australian community'.[34] The investment in IYV had been enormous. Worldwide, the total funding from governments, companies, trusts and other agencies for IYV activity was close to US$30 million.[35] And yet with all this energy focused on the one activity, the self-enumerated survey instrument only found half of the number identified in the face-to-face interview survey. The fact that only one person needs to complete the Census questionnaire even though others may be involved, raises questions about whether people discuss their volunteering activities with other members of their households, and if people continue to be unsure about whether or not their community activity is defined as volunteering. To answer these questions further research is required.

For Volunteering Australia and the volunteering infrastructure, the differences in the measurement of volunteering served to spur on their work. Volunteer Centres had worked together to promote a dedicated annual National Volunteer Week in which the focus would be on promoting volunteering and recruiting volunteers. This had extended to become a week of celebration and recognition. During this period, Volunteering Australia formed a number of partnerships specifically to promote volunteering during National Volunteer Week. Sponsoring corporations included the National Australia Bank (NAB), AAMI, Esso and Mobil.[36] The Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) was also a consistent supporter.

The National Volunteer Week promotional campaigns were an opportunity to challenge attitudes to volunteering and present volunteering as an activity with benefits to the individual as well as the community. Figure 9 is a campaign poster from 2005 National Volunteer Week publicity. Part of a set, 20,000 of these posters, were distributed to libraries, schools, volunteer centres, government departments and companies.[37] The poster shown

[34] Department of Families, Housing, Community Services & Indigenous Affairs, 'Statement of IYV 2001activity in Australia prepared by the former Department of Family and Community Services for the Plenary Session of the 57th Session on the UN General Assembly' (26 November 2002), <www.fahscia.gov.au/sa/volunteers/pubs/Pages/UNVolunteersStatement.aspx#contop>, accessed 26 June 2012.
[35] Justin Davis Smith and Angela Ellis, *IYV Global Evaluation,* 10.
[36] Corporate sponsorship varied with NAB being a consistent supporter and other companies supporting specific National Volunteer Week campaigns.
[37] Volunteering Australia Archive: Volunteering Australia, *National Secretariat Program, Outcomes Report, March to June 2005,* (Melbourne, VA, 2005), 8.

aimed to be eye-catching, depicting an older man in an extravagant hat, not a stereotypical image of a volunteer as a middle aged, middle class woman. The contrast between his traditional paid employment and creative volunteering experience is amplified in the text. Thus, the publicity campaigns were designed to show that volunteering offered a wide range of activities that would meet the needs of all potential volunteers.

Figure 3 Poster, National Volunteer Week 2005

With the anticipated focus on volunteering after the celebrations of IYV, the new millennium inspired volunteer centres to continue striving to improve the workplace situation for volunteers, and to support managers of volunteers. One way to achieve this was to highlight the needs of volunteers by advocating on issues believed to 'adversely affect volunteers and volunteering'.[38] Activity during 2005–2011 illustrates this advocacy. During the period, Volunteering Australia made submissions to the Australian Government on issues ranging from the protection of volunteers under Work Health and Safety Regulations, volunteering as a work experience activity for job seekers, the definition of charities, the development of a national not-for-profit regulator, volunteer insurance and the retention of volunteers in emergency bodies, as well as presentations to the Community Council of Advice, the Insurance Council of Australia, and the Australian Senate (see Appendix D). Advocating on volunteering issues to government and politicians ensured that the needs of volunteers did not end with the celebrations of IYV. A major strength of not-for-profit organisations is their ability to advocate on behalf of others who might not otherwise have their concerns raised in the public arena or with government. It is advocacy that is decisive identifying whether not-for-profit organisations are simply distributing government services or seeking societal change.[39] Advocacy by not-for-profit organisations has irritated more than one government. For instance, the Howard coalition government (1996–2001) demanded prior knowledge of any criticism that was to be made against Federal Government.[40] It is interesting to note that the advocacy undertaken by the volunteering infrastructure concentrated on the needs of volunteers rather than the result of volunteer endeavour. So while successive governments supported volunteering they did not necessarily support the advocacy undertaken by volunteers.

An ongoing issue for volunteers concerned the costs the activity incurred. Evidence gathered by volunteering infrastructure organisations over a six-year period led to the establishment of a *Cost of Volunteering* campaign in 2006–2007. The costs incurred by volunteering were

[38] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, *Annual Review 2005-20006,* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 2006), 9.

[39] J. Staples, ' Why we do what we do: the democratic role of the sector in society' paper presented to the *Community Sector Futures Task Group*, (2007), 1-14

[40] P. Mendes, 'Retrenching or renovating the Australian welfare state: the paradox Howard government's neo-liberalism' *International Journal of Social Welfare,* 18 (2009), 102-110. M. Sawer, N. Abjorensen & P. Larkin *Australia: the state of democracy,* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), 233.

known to be a barrier and could be prohibitive.[41] Estimates of volunteer out-for-pocket expenses not being reimbursed ranged from 54 per cent to 88 per cent of volunteers.[42] An outcome of this was a reduction in volunteers' ability and desire to volunteer.[43] Any reduction could be dire for not-for-profit organisations needing volunteers to commit over a long period of time. In turn, this might lead volunteers to be hesitant about making long-term commitments, preferring short terms or even no volunteering. The *Cost of Volunteering* campaign resulted in negotiations with the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services that, under some circumstances, would enable organisations to include the reimbursement of volunteer petrol costs in funding applications.

Another way to improve volunteer workplace conditions was to provide a consistent and high quality group of resources. As can be seen in Appendices D and E, volunteer centres across the three levels of the volunteering infrastructure sought to improve volunteer and manager skills by developing resources that were specific to their needs and issues. The next section considers the new project awarded to Volunteering Australia in this decade, the National Volunteer Skills Centre, and its role in achieving this goal.

Volunteer Training and the Profession of Volunteer Management

In 2000, Thompson Goodall & Associates undertook a national analysis of volunteer training for the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHSCIA).[44] Their report recommended a nationally consistent approach to volunteer training which would 'reduce the cost and duplication of resources and centralise these by establishing a training and skills development 'clearing house'.[45] Volunteering Australia was awarded this project through a tender process and duly established the National Volunteers Skills Centre (NVSC). The NVSC had three major aims: to build skills and knowledge, to strengthen networks encouraging the sharing of information, and to reduce duplication of resources and associated costs. [46] It achieved these aims through the development of

[41] Volunteering Australia Archive: Costs of Volunteering Taskforce, *The Rising Costs of Volunteering,*, 8.
[42] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Volunteering Australia, 'Report Summary', *Costs of Volunteering Report,* (Melbourne, VA, 2007), 1.
[43] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, *National Survey of Volunteering Issues 07,* (Melbourne: VA, 2007), 25.
[44] Volunteering Australia Archives: Thompson Goodall & Associates Pty Ltd, *Training Needs Analysis,* 1-2, (unpublished). Amanda Everton, 'History and Key Achievements of the National Volunteer Skills Centre', (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, 6 November 2009).
[45] Amanda Everton, 'History and Key Achievements of the National Volunteer Skills Centre', 4.
[46] Ibid. 5

accredited training for volunteers and managers of volunteers and the development of a national resource library on volunteering, which was established through the network of state and territory volunteer centres and a network of trainers across the not-for-profit sector.

The nationally accredited courses for volunteers were the Certificates I, II and III in Active Volunteering. These were developed in 2004 and later included in the National Community Services Training Package (CHC08) to ensure greater accessibility to registered training organisations and organisations. Another set of accredited courses was developed for managers of volunteers: the Certificate IV in Volunteer Program Coordination, Diploma of Volunteer Program Management and the Advanced Diploma of Volunteer Program Management (see Appendix C).[47]

It was believed that the emphasis on accredited training and supporting managers would mean volunteers were better supported in their work.[48] As Adrienne Piconne, CEO, Volunteering Tasmania, argued, 'volunteering won't just happen by itself in a vacuum, it needs really good leadership'.[49] Sha Cordingley voiced the frustrations felt by managers, arguing that the working situation of managers of volunteers could often be traced to an organisation's perception of volunteers and volunteering:

> Rarely are managers of volunteers part of the senior management structure of the organisation and consequently are isolated from organisational decisions that impact on the work of volunteers or the viability of the volunteer program. Often managers are given an extremely small budget to support and provide volunteer services. The volunteers themselves are not necessarily covered by legislation and therefore more elaborate means of engaging, supporting, managing or monitoring are needed. In short, managers of volunteers are invariably women …often work much longer hours than they are paid for and are often over qualified for the work they undertake and overlooked for other roles in the organisation.
>
> The status of the manager of volunteers is inextricably linked to the way in which volunteers are viewed by the organisation. What other managerial role gets paid so poorly to manage the skills of so many? We know the manager is well qualified so the explanation has to be in the value or lack of value placed on the workforce they are managing.[50]

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[47] Ibid. 9
[48] Sue Carlile and Rosa d'Aprano interview with the author.
[49] Adrienne Piccone, interview with the author.
[50] Volunteering Australia Archives: Sha Cordingley, 'Revolution can mean going round in circles' Final plenary speech 10th National Conference on Volunteering, *Volunteering: evolution, devolution or revolution?* Melbourne, 4 June 2004.

In this quote, Cordingley firmly aligns the perception of volunteering to the treatment and recognition of volunteer management. In building the profession of volunteer management, the volunteering infrastructure concentrated on supporting managers by providing resources, advice, networks and support but stopped short of establishing a professional body for volunteer managers.

To claim professional status, a number of criteria must be met.[51] The first is a critical mass of workers. While an estimated number of managers of volunteers working during the time of this study could not be located, the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated 6.1 million people volunteered in 2010. [52] In light of this finding, one can assume that a corresponding critical mass of people worked during 2010 to manage those volunteers. Secondly, there is a need for training or educational programs. As described in this study, the volunteering infrastructure organisations provided these. Such programs and materials are also accompanied by a code of ethics, standards for involving volunteers, and a peer-reviewed journal — *Australian Journal on Volunteering* (see Appendix C).

The third criterion for professional status is the establishment of a professional body. In South Australia, a group of managers of volunteers approached Volunteering SA for support in developing a professional association for managers of volunteers.[53] The South Australian Association for Volunteer Administration was duly launched at the Volunteer National Conference 2000.[54] However, Volunteering Australia considered SAAVA (later to become the Australasian Association of Volunteer Administration, AAVA) to be a professional association, and as such, should be an independent body. This was considered a missed opportunity by members of AAVA, many of whom were members of organisations at the other levels of the volunteering infrastructure. As one survey respondent stated:

> AAVA arose from a ground swell of interest in the professionalisation of managers. That VA did not see this or appreciate and encourage it is disappointing. They missed

[51] Christina K. Curnow and Timothy P. McGonigle, 'The Effects of Government Initiatives on the Professionalization of Occupations', *Human Resource Management Review,* 16 (2006), 288. Pat Gay, 'Delivering the goods: The work and future direction of volunteer management', *Voluntary Action,* 2/2 (Spring 2000), 54. Steven Howlett, 'Developing volunteer management as a profession', *The Policy Press,* 1/3 (2010), 357-358.
[52] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Voluntary Work Australia 2010*, (2011), 3.
[53] Peter Heyworth, telephone interview with the author, [sound recording] (Adelaide, 28 March, 2011) in the author's possession.
[54] Volunteering Australia Archives: Betty Eriksen, SAAVA, [letter to S.Cordingley [, 26 June 2000 (Canberra).

> out on good opportunities to work with people highly committed to the sector and wanting to develop the sector.[55]

This quote may simply indicate an opinion that VA was best placed to advocate for the needs of managers of volunteers as a professional group, and people were disappointed that more direct support from the national body was limited. On the other hand, it may be an indication that the federated structure ensured a distance between activists at the grassroots level and the national peak body and thus goes towards understanding the disconnect between VRCs and the national body. Forming a network for managers of volunteers at a national level could undermine the existing networks facilitated by volunteer centres at the regional and state levels. Often networking activities are funded by state and federal governments. Inserting the national body on volunteering as an alternative opportunity for managers of volunteers, in effect creating a direct link between the grassroots and the national level, could not only mean that VA was a competitor for funding but could also undermine the internal relationships of the volunteering infrastructure. As found in the survey undertaken for this study, 82 per cent of respondents from volunteer resource centres and programs facilitated networks (see Table 11). These offer support for managers but they could also act as a bell weather alert to emerging volunteer trends and issues. Thus a direct connection between the national volunteering body and managers of volunteers could challenge the role of regional and state volunteer centres and change the dynamic of the federated structure built up by the volunteering infrastructure over the previous decades. For survival and growth, the volunteer centres needed to have robust and positive working relationships with each other, but they also needed funding that would enable them to meet their individual missions and their commitment to a national voice on volunteering.

Relationships with Government – A Mixed Bag

In a statement to the UN on the success of the IYV, the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FAHCSIA) proclaimed the importance of volunteering in Australia with, 'The spirit that underpins the work of the Australian volunteer is the glue that binds Australian society together'.[56] In recognition of that 'glue', the Commonwealth Government continued to fund VA as the peak body on volunteering throughout this decade. Volunteering Australia's ability to access the Commonwealth

[55] CG, VRC, 2011.
[56] Australia, Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, 'Statement of IYV 2001 activity in Australia' 1

Government and advocate for the needs of volunteers and volunteering at the national level was a major reason for volunteer centres to form and remain connected to a national peak body. For the purposes of clear communication and policy formation, the Government encouraged a formal hierarchical relationship with volunteer centres through Volunteering Australia. And certainly the celebratory events around the International Year of Volunteers displayed an ongoing, positive partnership between Government, the volunteering infrastructure and Volunteering Australia. This level of interaction operated within a logical framework with clear lines of communication and direction. However, this only represented one side of the Government's relationship with the volunteering infrastructure.

A more nuanced interaction developed through the Government's funding of volunteer centres. As shown in Figure 10, funding by governments entailed a more complex relationship with the volunteering infrastructure organisations. Volunteering Australia, at the national level of the volunteering infrastructure, is mostly reliant on the national government for funding. The other levels of the volunteering infrastructure have a greater range of opportunities, particularly at the regional and local levels. The depth of VRC reliance on government funding, as shown in Table 17, carried with it the need to be accountable to each and every level of government that provided funding. The ramifications of this spilled over into other areas of relationship, as demonstrated by the communication and reporting requirements for two Commonwealth Government contracts, the VWI and VMP. As shown in Figure 8, the Voluntary Work Initiative (VWI) contract reporting and communication occurred between the Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHSCIA) and VA. All sub-contractors reported to VA[57]. This provided VA the opportunity to engage equally with VRCs and the State/Territory Centres outside the restrictions of the federated structure of the volunteering infrastructure. Further, it reinforced the concept that VA represented the volunteer centres at the national level.

[57] Two Australian Governments held responsibility for VWI at different times. Firstly the project was with the Department Family & Community Services, FaCS later FaHSCIA. It was then transferred to DEWR and then back again to FaCS.

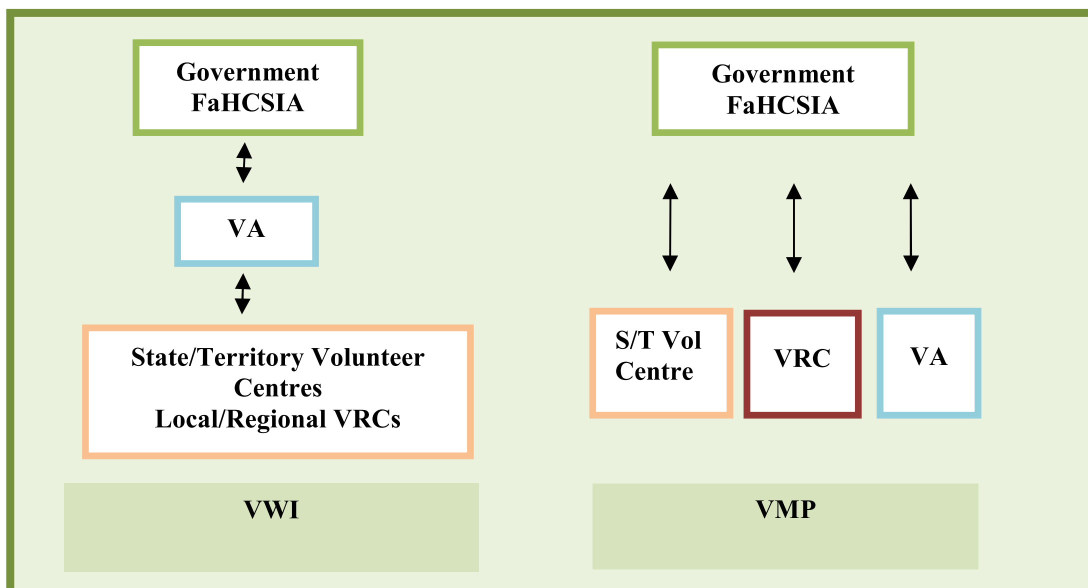

Figure 10 FaHCSIA funding communication with volunteering infrastructure

At the same time, the older Commonwealth funded project, the Volunteer Management Program (VMP), also managed by the Department of Families, Housing and Community Service, FaCS, later FaHSCIA) had a flatter model for communication and reporting. As well as placing members of the state and regional levels of the volunteering infrastructure in competition with each other, this project provided Government with direct communication with all VRCs and State/Territory Centres.[1] These direct lines of communication were the opposite of the vertical relationship necessary for VWI. Figure 8 demonstrates how volunteer centres had multiple access points to build relationships with the public servants in the one Commonwealth Government Department that was a major funder of the volunteering infrastructure. Potentially, this could lead to Government having notice of emerging trends and issues before the national peak body had the opportunity to gauge, through consultation, whether an issue was leading towards a trend or was just a passing blimp on the volunteering landscape. While having a variety of voices to inform policy is inarguably desirable, an underlying danger exists that the role of the peak body may be diminished when Government has direct access to the same organisations it is funding that peak body to represent. By extension, questions about the relevance of the national peak body could be raised. Why provide funds for a national peak body when state/territory and some larger VRCs consider themselves to be peak bodies able to provide Government policy advice on volunteering? Thus, when considering Young's multi-layered relationship model, the complementary

[1] Volunteering Australia also received some funding under VMP to arrange annual volunteer centre conferences.

relationship can be seen to have greater implications for relationships than the simple exchange of funds for services.

As with all volunteer centres at the state and regional levels of the volunteering infrastructure, VMP funding resulting in a level of competition between centres. The VMP had been in operation since 1992 and funded recipients for services such as volunteer training, as mentioned in Chapter 7. A level of unease and distrust found in the survey of VRCs for this study is indicated by this comment:

> State Centre currently providing many of the same services as a VRC in conjunction with peak body type services – [state volunteer centre] conflict of interest prevents lobbying for additional funding for VRCs or any other service or funding which would increase competition or take away from State Centre.[2]

Such a juggling act between the peak body role and the supply of direct services was inevitable when volunteer centres were not funded well for their peak body role. This left them reliant on funding for service provision. Similar comments were made during interviews for this study. This is surprising, as archival material and interviews noted that, over time, state centres both supported emerging VRCs and lobbied for increased numbers of VRCs.[3] Perhaps little knowledge about the success of previous campaigns in which all centres worked together was kept alive either informally through networks or officially in organisational records. This lack of knowledge was also found when undertaking archival research at volunteer centres. As can be seen by perusing Appendix C, volunteer centres have produced a great deal of material on volunteering but often this was a surprising revelation to paid and volunteer staff at individual centres. References to past campaigns and publications could act as signposts to current employees, volunteers and other stakeholders of volunteer centres providing an understanding of evolution of the volunteering infrastructure.

Tension between State and Regional Levels of the Volunteering Infrastructure

State peak centres believed they had a mandate from their members to speak on volunteering issues within their state. However, a recurring issue about this mandate concerned geography and territory. VRCs in regional and rural areas felt that aspects of volunteering experienced in rural and regional areas were not being fully addressed if there was a concentration on the

[2] BE, 'VRC Survey', 2011
[3] Marie Fox, interview with the author. Sallie Davies, interview with the author.

needs and issues of volunteering in capital cities.[4] This feeling was exacerbated by so many VRCs and State Centres being situated in metropolitan areas as shown in Appendix B. Nor did remote VRCs consider their views were being heard as demonstrated in Table 25 — 31 survey respondents believed VRC and state/territory volunteer centre relationships could be improved and 22 respondents wanted greater engagement and collaboration.

The issue of representation led to the development of an incorporated network of VRCs in NSW in 2001, the Coordinators of Volunteer Education, Resource and Referral Services NSW (COVERRS NSW).[5] This network could trace its history to an initiative of the Hunter Volunteer Centre and the Penrith Volunteer Centre in 1987. Initially, the VRCs were concerned to counter their organisational isolation and consolidate their voice on volunteering. For the VRC members of COVERRS, formalising the network was important so they could lobby Government directly to seek funding to 'raise the profile of Volunteer Resource Centres and establish COVERRS as a valuable consultative group representing Volunteers and Volunteering issues'.[6] While evidence of involvement and support from the state volunteer centre can be found, members of COVERRS believed 'there is no peak body for Volunteer Resource Centres'.[7]

The establishment of COVERRS signifies an assertiveness and confidence amongst VRCs about their contribution to volunteering, as well as the uniqueness of their organisations within the volunteering infrastructure.[8] 'It is important that COVERRS be a group which advocates on behalf of members on the needs and issues for VRC's and that we do not rely solely on other peak organisations ...'[9] In 2001, in recognition of their work within the volunteering infrastructure, COVERRS members accepted an invitation from Sha Cordingley, CEO Volunteering Australia, to take part in the formation of the Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies, Australia. This would not provide membership

[4] Kaye McCulloch, telephone interview with the author [sound recording] (30 May 2011), in the possession of the author.
[5] COVERRS Archive: COVERRS Constitution, 2001.
[6] Glynis Szafraniec, interview with the author [sound recording] (Melbourne, 27 October 2011), in the author's possession.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Kerrie Spinks, interview with the author [sound recording] (Melbourne, 1 April, 2011) in the author's possession.
[9] COVERRS Archive: COVERRS *Constitution* 2001, 17. Volunteering Central West, *History of the Forum,* (Bathurst, NSW: COVERRS, 1987).

of VA but it would provide access to the Volunteering Australia Board..[10] The interesting aspect of the proposal to change the name of the Standing Committee to the 'Inaugural Volunteering Australia Standing Committee of VRCs' created a closer and more formal association with Volunteering Australia, thus bypassing the state and territory level of the volunteering infrastructure.

A number of draft documents on the definition, code of ethics and standards for VRCs was again undertaken, but archival searches found no final reports or documentation of the outcomes of this work. Nor were interviewees clear about any definite decision not to continue with the work to nationally formalise the standards for VRCs. Rather, the intention and work has seemingly drifted away. Perhaps the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure maintained its dominance as the preferred structure. Direct representation of VRCs on the national board could have operational repercussions and challenge the role of the state volunteer centres on the VA Board. No longer would the state centres be conduits between the national peak body and the local and regional VRCs.

The state level was possibly more successful. Some state VRC networks investigated incorporation as a way to further develop their network as a group with volunteering expertise, following the example of COVERRS.[11] State peak volunteer bodies in South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland and Victoria all grappled with VRCs that felt undervalued and overlooked on issues of policy formation. Attempts to rectify this led to invitations to represent VRC networks on respective state centre boards. While having representation at a state level provided evidence of a desire to work together, the survey for this study found that respondents believed more could be done.

Tension with the National Level of the Volunteering Infrastructure

In the public domain, the volunteering infrastructure has always presented a united front in the pursuit of support and advocacy for volunteers. Behind the scenes, as in the case of any vibrant and dynamic group of organisations all working for a particular cause, relationships are passionate, and robust debate occurs. For the state and territory volunteer centres, the hard work of developing a national peak body was recognised through their position as Foundation

[10] Volunteering Australia Archive: Barbara Maddox on behalf of COVERRS members, [letter to Sha Cordingley, CEO Volunteering Australia], 4 July 2001. Volunteering Australia Archive: Volunteering Australia, 'Standing Committee of Volunteer Resource Agencies, Australia', 2.
[11] Glyns Szafraniec,telephone interview with the author.

Members on the Volunteering Australia Board. Being a Foundation Member gave the state/territory centres a unique position in the volunteering infrastructure and engendered a feeling of ownership. They were there at the very beginning of the development of the volunteering infrastructure and the national peak body. Their CEO colleagues had led the nascent national bodies, and their work led to the funding of the national body – Volunteering Australia was theirs. This sense of ownership is not uncommon when a goal such as founding an organisation such as the national volunteer centre is reached.[12] Pierce, Kostova and Dirks examined the literature on organisational ownership and argue that psychological ownership leads to action being taken that communicates, controls and protects that which is owned.[13]

However, as Volunteering Australia developed, it began to see itself as a separate organisation, not a secretariat existing to meet the needs of the state and territory volunteer centres but a peak body in a position of national leadership. This deviates from the original and continuing understanding of state and territory centres that VA 'reflect [state/territory centre] philosophies and policies'.[14] This relationship continued to give state and territory centres a vehicle to have their state voice heard nationally. For example, Adrienne Piccone described the influence of Volunteering Tasmania thus, 'our relationship with VA and with the other states … gives our work meaning because it puts [our work] in context … we're part of a bigger movement and I think that's really important for us'.[15] In effect, the federated structure was under the influence of the middle level of the volunteering infrastructure, the state and territory centres. Through them, local and regional issues were raised at the national level. This led to perceptions of gate-keeping and lack of reciprocity from regional bodies, 'there seemed to be a vacuum, that the information went in but it wasn't ever effectively fed back and we felt at the grassroots level a perception of gate-keeping, … that we were good enough to get statistics out of but after that they didn't want to know us'.[16] Further, the national body was frustrated by not being able to go directly to the VRCs for information on emerging issues but rather having to seek information via the state centre. At the state and territory level, unrest about their structure and relationship with VA lingered. One argument put by Jelenko Dragisic, CEO of Volunteering Queensland, was that the networking

[12] Jon L. Pierce, Tatiana Kostova, Kurt T. Dirks' The State of Psychological Ownership: Integrating and Extending a Century of Research' *Review of General Psychology,* 7 (2003), 84-107.
[13] Graham Brown, Thomas B. Lawrence, Sandra L. Robinson, 'Territoriality in Organizations', *Academy of Management Review,* 30/ 3 (2005), 577-594.
[14] Volunteering Australia Archive: Nick Toonen and Sylvia Godman, 'Volunteering Australia Future Directions: Discussion Paper', Hobart, Volunteering Tasmania, 7 April 1998.
[15] Adrienne Piccone, interview with the author, Interview No. 2.
[16] Kerrie Spinks, interview with the author.

relationship between these two levels had outgrown its usefulness and needed to change so that state and territory volunteer centres became offices of the national body.[17] Regardless of debates over structure, one message was clear; the national body remained a vehicle to the national stage. An illustration of this was related at a meeting between a public servant and the CEO of a state centre in 2011 on the subject of the future of Volunteering Australia after funding had been reduced. On relaying information about that meeting, the state centre CEO stated, 'it's ours [referring to VA] and nobody can tell us what to do with it'.[18]

Volunteering Australia argued that it represented volunteers and volunteering through the memberships of volunteering infrastructure organisations. This was certainly the case for volunteers predominantly working in the community and welfare sector, as indicated by Table 8. Over time, attempts were made by all volunteer centres to broaden that representation. In 2011, the Board of Volunteering Australia released plans to reform membership processes to expand ordinary membership to include local and state-based organisations (as long as they also had membership of state/territory centres). These members would then be able to nominate and elect directors.[19] Up until this point, the Foundation Members were the strongest block of board members. However, perhaps due to the financial crisis experienced by Volunteering Australia and its shift to Canberra, this was delayed. As the 2011/2012 annual report noted, its Board was made up of the Foundation Members plus representatives of national organisations.[20] By contrast state and territory nominee positions would now be filled by their respective Board Presidents.

Over this decade, internal movement to change the dynamics of the volunteering infrastructure can be seen. The VRCs wanted to reinforce a flatter networking structure that would give them a seat at the national table, the national body wanted access to VRCs and to broaden its membership and the state and territory centres sought evolutionary change while ensuring that the state voices would be heard. In this section, it was suggested that Commonwealth Government funding did not reflect the complexity of the volunteering

[17] Jelenko Dragisic, telephone interview with the author [sound recording] (Melbourne, 8 December, 2011), in the author's possession.
[18] Personal correspondence, 2011, in the author's possession.
[19]Volunteering Australia, *Volunteering Australia Governance Reform Process,* circa 2011, <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/News-and-Events/-General-News/Volunteering-Australia-Governance-Reform-Process.asp>, accessed 2 April 2013.
[20] Volunteering Australia, *2011/2012 Annual Review,* <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/files/18YNART6T0/05112012_VA_Annual_Report_2012.pdf>, accessed 2 April 2013.

infrastructure. The next section will demonstrate that rather than change the structure of the volunteering infrastructure, government offices became inserted into its ranks, adding a new dimension to the moving frontier.

Government Offices for Volunteering

By the beginning of 2000, state governments had begun to be more involved with volunteering. Firstly, the decade saw an expansion of government interest and involvement with volunteering. State government departments, offices and secretariats were established, often mirroring and sometimes duplicating volunteering infrastructure organisations. Volunteering became part of state government ministerial portfolios and the Rudd Labor Government (2007–2010) appointed Senator Ursula Stephens, the Parliamentary Secretary for Social Inclusion and the Voluntary Sector.

The moving frontier was earlier depicted as movement along one band between volunteering and government. From 2000, the volunteering infrastructure and government services ran parallel to each other, opening a new chapter in relationships between the volunteering infrastructure and government. In the smaller states such as Tasmania and the ACT, evidence from interviews and reports suggests the relationship has been very collaborative, possibly reinforcing the geographic size of the state and territory and individual personal and professional relationships developed between people.[21] In Tasmania, the relationship between state peak body and government was described as a 'technically purchaser/provider relationship', but the reality was a collaborative relationship that crossed 'all sorts of levels'.[22] Elsewhere, state governments provided seed funding to local governments to establish volunteer referral services with the understanding that the local government, if it chose, would provide continuous funding and support.[23] In NSW, Western Australia, South Australia, Queensland and Victoria state governments have added responsibility for volunteering to ministerial portfolios. Most state governments promote volunteering through dedicated websites and have developed volunteer strategies and accords with not-for-profit organisations.[24] By the time the Rudd Federal Government established the Office of the Third

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[21] Bridget Hutton, telephone interview with the author,[sound recording] (18 November 2011). Adrienne Piconne, 'Adrienne Piconne interview with the author, Interview No. 1.

[22] Bridget Hutton, telephone interview with the author.

[23] Lynne Fisher, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Perth, 7 April 2011) in the author's possession. David Penman, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Melbourne, 22 August 2011), in the author's possession.

[24] South Australia, Office for Volunteers SA, 'About us' (n.d.) <http://www.ofv.sa.gov.au/>, accessed 7 August 2013. Victoria, Department of Human Services, *Victoria's Volunteering*

Sector in 2010, the focus had a 'whole of sector' approach rather than the specific interest in volunteering shown earlier by the state governments.[25]

Particularly in the case of South Australia, Victoria and NSW, the efforts of state governments to set a place for themselves at the volunteering table were impressive. South Australia was the first state to appoint a Minister for Volunteers, the Honorable Iain Evans. [26] This position was created by the Liberal Premier John Olsen (1997–2001) to 'advise on the most effective way to allocate the $6 million distributed annually to volunteer groups'.[27] From the time of establishment in 2001, the Office for Volunteers SA (OFV) has been continually supported by both Liberal and Labor Governments.[28] The value of ministerial portfolios was demonstrated in South Australia where regulatory reforms necessary to support volunteers were made possible by the interventions of the Minister for Volunteers.[29]

This is not to say that the establishment of the Office for Volunteers was greeted warmly universally. Rosemary Sage, Executive Officer, Volunteer SA said, 'It concerns me because they're using the funds to build up bureaucracy, to create a government department'.[30] Suspicion existed that funds were being drawn away from the sector, particularly the volunteering infrastructure, into the expansion of government bureaucracy. In NSW, Margaret Bell expressed concern that state government offices would dull the voice of the volunteering infrastructure, particularly the peak bodies. By opening offices concerned with

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Portal,<http://www.volunteer.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 7 August 2013. New South Wales Department of Education & Communities, NSW, 'About us', *NSW Volunteering*, (n.d.) <http://www.volunteering.nsw.gov.au/>, accessed 20 August 2013. Western Australia, Department of Local Government and Communities WA, *Volunteers* <http://www.communities.wa.gov.au/communities-in-focus/Volunteers/Pages/default.aspx>, accessed 7 August 2013. Queensland Department of Communities, 'Child Safety and Disability Services' *Research, Volunteering* (n.d.) <www.communities.qld.gov.au/communityservices/volunteering>, accessed 7 August 2013. ACT Department of Community Services, *ACT Volunteer Statement* (n.d.) <www.communityservices.act.gov.au/wac/strategic_policy/volunteer_statement>, accessed 7 August 2013. Northern Territory Government, Department of the Chief Minister, 'Volunteers' <www.dcm.nt.gov.au/volunteers>, accessed 7 August 2013.

[25] Australia, Office for the Not-for-Profit Sector, 'Homepage' (n.d.) <www.notforprofit.gov.au>, accessed 7 August 2013.

[26] Iain Evans, interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 22 March 2011).

[27] David Eccles, 'Minister to Work for Volunteers: New Portfolio Created', *The Advertiser,* Adelaide, 30 November, 1999.

[28] Jennifer Rankine, interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 24 March, 2011) in the author's possession.

[29] Christel Mex, interview with the author [sound recording] (Adelaide, 22 March2011) in the author's possession.

[30] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: Kim Wheatley, 'Volunteers 'let down': Unhappy with minister's conduct' *The Times,* 26 December 2000.

volunteering, state governments were inserting themselves into the volunteering infrastructure.

In Victoria, the Brumby State Government (2007–2010) announced a $9.3 million Volunteering Strategy in 2009. These funds were used to develop a volunteer portal (launched May 2010), the 'I can do that' awareness and recruitment campaign, instituting a new Premier's Community Volunteering Awards and continuing the Victorian Volunteer Small Grants. The aim of the Strategy was to provide 'practical and effective support to volunteer-based organisations and volunteers across the State. It would also promote the benefits of volunteering to communities and to those who volunteer their time'.[31] The Department that funds Volunteering Victoria is also the department where the volunteering portal is situated. This is also the case in South Australia.

The volunteering portal provides links to volunteering infrastructure organisations, their services in Victoria and those of Volunteering Australia. As can be seen in Table 29, of the 11 web pages set aside for the volunteering portal, eight specifically mention a volunteering infrastructure organisation or service. This indicates a close working relationship and acknowledgement of the resources that already exist, but raises questions whether a strong government presence in volunteering accompanied by a budget of $9.3 million is money well spent?

[31] Victoria Department of Planning and Community Development, *Victoria's Volunteering Strategy 2009,* (Melbourne: Victorian Government), 3, <http://38c69b050a3d5d1eb1e3-aa923a4231e15c57e2802c896554e8a6.r6.cf4.rackcdn.com/B/BC6A8819-3184-4B90-87FA-5851326E7A9E.pdf>, accessed 10 July 2013.

Table 29: References to the volunteering infrastructure (state and national) on one section 'About volunteering'

Government of Victoria's Volunteering Portal www.volunteer.vic.gov.au		
Web section	**Web page**	**Link to volunteering infrastructure (state / national)***
About volunteering	Opening page	No
	Volunteer resource centres	Yes
	Volunteer matching services	Yes
	Key community sector organisations	Yes
	All volunteer organisations	Yes
	Corporate volunteering	Yes
	Research and publications	Yes
	Latest news	Yes
	Other news sources	Yes
	Previous news articles	No
	Volunteers tell their stories	No

While the volunteering infrastructure applauded greater government involvement to promote volunteering it may also have been a case of 'be careful of what you wish for'.[1] Cross-linking of government and volunteering infrastructure organisations, as shown in Table 29, indicates a high level of collaboration. On the other hand, it can also create confusion. For instance, during the Volunteer Congress in 2002, I attended two workshops where participants viewed both the Office for Volunteers and Volunteering SA as extensions of each other, particularly as Volunteering SA lobbied for more government involvement and its funding was managed through the Office for Volunteers. State peak bodies may experience difficulty in showing members, governments, volunteers and business that they are able to promote and advocate for volunteering from a considered position when they are in competition with government projects, also promoting volunteering, for funding.[2]

While commendable that governments recognise and promote volunteering and the volunteering infrastructure services, in the age of neoliberalism, that governments' establish high profiles in volunteering rather than expending those funds to not-for-profit organisations, in this case, on the volunteering infrastructure, is paradoxical. Such public profiles position governments as authorities in volunteering. This expands the control governments' gain through funding contracts and perhaps tips the balance in favour of governments as the bodies setting the volunteering agenda and the course for its future

[1] Personal communication with British volunteering infrastructure staff, 2005.
[2] Bob Richards, interview with the author, [sound recording] (Adelaide: 24 March 2011).

direction in their states. For instance, regarding the establishment of one state government office, an interviewee stated '… they, [state volunteer centre] … looked at our site, thought it was okay and could see a niche where they could concentrate their efforts …'[3] In this situation, the volunteer centre was influenced by the greater public profile of the government volunteer office and possibly altered the emphasis of its services (which were being promoted on the government website) to concentrate on filling what was perceived to be the gap in services provided by the government office. In terms of the moving frontier, this initially may have felt as though the state government office had subsumed the volunteer centre, as the volunteer centre concentrated on the supplementary level of relationship to identify and provide what the state government did not.

The development of state government offices and secretariates has brought improvement in the form of legislation, greater promotion and celebration of volunteering. However, the newest Federal office does not have the emphasis on volunteering that is apparent in its state counterparts. Whether this wider perspective marks a change of direction by governments away from a concentration on volunteering to the broader area of community participation remains to be seen.The election of the Rudd Government in 2007 and the Gillard Government in 2010 saw a series of initiatives designed to improve Government relationship with the not-for-profit sector. These were the establishment of the Australian Social Inclusion Board, the development of a National Compact in 2008, the Office of the Not-for-Profit Sector and the Not-For-Profit Sector Reform Council in 2010. Again, such direct engagement with the not-for-profit sector raises questions about the need for representative peak bodies. In a personal encounter with government personnel from the Social Inclusion Board, 2009, I was told that Volunteering Australia had become *one* of the voices consulted among volunteering infrastructure organisations. Other VA staff had noticed a similar attitude among public servants. This apparent shift hinted at a move away from hierarchical communication to a more linear process through the adoption of electronic systems, considered to be a direct, 'safe and reliable platform'.[4]

In December 2009, Minister Jenny Macklin and Senator Ursula Stephens announced that the NVSC would cease to be funded in March 2010. This followed the demise of the VWI in

[3] Anonymous 2, Interview, October 2011.
[4] Brian W. Head, 'Australian Experience: Civic Engagement as Symbol and Substance' *Public Administration and Development,* 31/2 (2011), 105.

2007. Volunteer centres that had received VWI funding were transferred to the Volunteer Management Program. This meant that the two major programs (VWI and NVSC) had been defunded, leaving VA with National Secretariat funding and a small proportion of VMP funding to initiate and manage network meetings for the Volunteer Resource Centres and State Centres. With few options for government funding available in 2012, the Board of Volunteering Australia made the decision to relocate to Canberra, Australia's national capital city, and all staff were made redundant.[5] While it may not be unusual for a national body to suffer from the vagaries entailed in securing sustainable funding, what is notable in this case is the lack of public support by members of the volunteering infrastructure. Other than an official statement from the President of the Volunteering Australia Board on the relocation of the office and redundancy of staff, a web search found only two short web articles by Pro Bono and Ozvpm (reporting the facts) and a blog by Martin Cowling questioning who was the real leader of volunteering, the government or the sector.[6]

This was very different from the situation twenty-five years earlier when the Federal Government defunded the Community Volunteer Program (CVP). At that time, the loss of funding affected many state and regional volunteer centres and resulted in affected groups coming together to form a national group (NAVRA) to lobby government for refunding and additional funding for more centres on the basis of the value of volunteering as a labour market program. But in 2012, the main loser was the national body, Volunteering Australia. Other organisations within the volunteering infrastructure could not immediately see that there might be ripple effects that could be detrimental to them. The lack of public support is perhaps indicative of the relationship between the national body and volunteer centres from other tiers of the volunteering infrastructure, as well as the metaphorical distance between volunteer-involving organisations and Volunteering Australia. Alternatively, the public reaction may have been muted following the lead of CEO of Volunteering Australia, Cary Pedicini, whose communiqué spoke of continued partnership with government, ignoring the impact the loss of funding would have on VA.[7] Further, the statement from the Government couched its message as a boost in funding, NVSC funding had gone but the state and territory

[5] Paul Lynch, 'Staff changes at Volunteering Australia', *Board Communiqué May 2012,* Volunteering Australia.
[6] Pro Bono Australia News, 'Volunteering Australia staff made redundant in major restructure', Friday 1 June 2012, accessed 13 April 2013. Martin Cowling, 'Change Shock(?) for Australian Volunteer Centres', *The Cowling Report,* blog February 2012 <cowlingreport.blogspot.com.au/2012/02/change-shock-volunteer-minister.html>, accessed 13 April 2013.
[7] Volunteering Australia Archive: Cary Pedicini, 'Volunteering Sector Communiqué: Review of Volunteering Australia Services', Melbourne, 15 December, 2009.

centres would share an extra $250,000 while the remaining National Secretariat Program funding had been increased to deliver volunteering events such as the National Conference and National Volunteer Week, with $64,000 for the GoVolunteer website.[8] In other words, Volunteering Australia would receive extra funds for service delivery.

Behind the scenes, the state and territory centres met with the Board of VA resulting in VA being situated in the office of Volunteering ACT, thus providing the opportunity to rebuild and develop while situated in the same city as national government. Maureen Cane, CEO of Volunteering ACT, accepted the position of Acting Director of Volunteering Australia. The remaining national programs were relocated to other state centres. Volunteering Western Australia took over the management of GoVolunteer and the VA website while Volunteering South Australia and Northern Territory took on responsibility for the library and developing a new edition of national standards for involving volunteers in not-for-profit organisations.

Postscript

In 2012, a new office for Volunteering Australia was established in Canberra, ACT, new staff was employed and a review of the national volunteering foundation documents was initiated.[9] In 2014 this review included a national consultation on the continued relevance of the national definition of formal volunteering. For some time, there had been a groundswell for a broader definition. States such as South Australia had long called for informal volunteering to be included in the definition, and Volunteering Australia itself was sensitive to claims that:

> a sort of volunteering 'imperialism' is at work and that we are in danger of moving towards the unnecessary formalisation of some of the informal support systems that exist within the broad Australian community. The suspicion in the sector is that if formal volunteering is instituted where it does not need to be we will lose valuable social capital. These strong networks and community activities need to be recognised as of equal value to the more formal types of volunteering.[10]

Thus, Volunteering Australia was opening the door to informal volunteering by arguing that both formal and informal volunteering were of 'equal value' to the community, and it warned

[8] Ibid. 2.
[9] The foundation documents included the Model Code of Practice, National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not for Profit Organisations, The Implementation Guide for the National Standards, and the definition of formal volunteering.
[10] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, *Response to Australians Working Together,* Submission to the Australian Government, (September 2001), 2-4.

against governments and organisations trying to refashion informal volunteering into a more formal activity.[11]

By 2012, both Western Australia and Tasmania had changed their definitions of volunteering. No longer was the volunteering infrastructure speaking with one voice about volunteering. Such unilateral action pointed to a certain level of discord between the state and national levels, with two states feeling so strongly about the failings of the national definition that they chose to change the foundation on which their advocacy, promotion and programs were based. The states and territories were no longer comparable for research purposes — a risk to their credibility as a peak body network.

At the other end of the spectrum, Volunteering Queensland reinforced the applicability of the national definition of formal volunteering in its research on models of volunteering. Ultimately, Volunteering Queensland found five common models of volunteering: formal, project, governance, non-formal, and social action,[12] interestingly deciding that organisations might use one model or a multiple of models simultaneously.[13] This finding could have a major impact on our understanding of the management of volunteers if it were extended nationally — an impact impossible without a national agreement on a definition.

Altogether, these concerns and actions by volunteer centres, the formal presentations and discussions on the floor of the 2013 National Conference held in Adelaide, SA, provided the impetus to review the national definition and an issues paper was duly released for discussion.[14] The issues paper *Volunteering Australia's National Review of the Definition of Volunteering in Australia* noted trends in volunteering since the definition of formal

[11] Ibid. 2-4.
[12] Volunteering Queensland Archives: Volunteering Queensland, 'All about volunteering', *Volunteering Queensland,* (19 February 2015),
[13] <http://volunteeringqld.org.au/web/index.php/volunteering/volunteer/1527-all-about-volunteering>, accessed 16 June 2015.
[14] Volunteering Australia Archives: Volunteering Australia, *Response to Australians Working Together,* submission September 2001 to the Australian Government. Michelle Ewington and Jill Maxwell, 'What is Volunteering?' Workshop presentation at the 15th National Conference on Volunteering, Adelaide, SA, 4-6 September 2013. Volunteering Australia, *Volunteering Australia's National Review of the Definition of Volunteering in Australia,* Issues Paper (December, 2014), <www.volunteeringaustralia.org>, accessed 25 March 2015.

volunteering was adopted by a vote on the floor of the National Conference on Volunteering in Tasmania in 1996.[15] The trends in volunteering were identified as:

- Skilled volunteering
- Group volunteering
- Corporate volunteering
- Youth volunteering to gain hands-on work experience
- Volunteering through places of learning
- Spontaneous volunteering (e.g. in response to bushfires and floods)
- Virtual volunteering
- Episodic and micro-volunteering
- International and/or cross-national volunteering. [sic. bullet points in original text][16]

These trends were all examples of volunteering that conformed to the definition of formal volunteering. One such trend, spontaneous volunteering, originally an informal reaction by people wanting to help during and after disasters, has grown to now include sophisticated management and organisation, as demonstrated by the volunteering infrastructure initiatives mentioned earlier in this chapter. Volunteering has evolved to take advantage of all that the modern world offers, such as technological advances, but acknowledging emerging trends does not automatically lead to definitional change. Rather, understanding how new trends are encompassed by existing definitions is indicative of the formalisation of volunteering and is a starting point to explore other forms of volunteering not covered by the formal definition of volunteering. Certainly, the issues paper highlighted inconsistencies of the definition of formal volunteering, a number of which are similar to those discussed in the section headed Formal Volunteering in the Introduction of this thesis.

After consultation, a new and broader definition has been adopted by the Volunteering Australia Board: 'Volunteering is time, willingly given for the common good and without financial gain'.[17] The new definition is intended to better encompass the breadth of volunteering in Australia, beyond the restrictions of the definition of formal volunteering. This broader view of volunteering is in keeping with the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) which recognised that, while no common model of volunteering is relevant to all countries,

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[15] Volunteering Australia Archives: 'Pre Conference Workshops' presented at *Volunteering Australia Seventh National Conference 1997,* Macquarie University NSW, 23-25 July 1997 *Volunteering Australia's National Review of the Definition of Volunteering in Australia,* Issues Paper, 18.
[16] *Volunteering Australia's National Review of the Definition of Volunteering in Australia,* 3.
[17] Volunteering Australia, 'Volunteering Australia Announces New Definition for Volunteering' (27 July 2015), <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/2015/07/volunteering-australia-announces-new-definition-for-volunteering/>, accessed 2 August 2015.

common elements exist ‘that can work together to strengthen volunteerism as a strategic resource for development’.[18]

Similar to the changes made in Western Australia and Tasmania, the new national definition no longer specifies the context in which volunteering takes place, nor does it specify that volunteers work in positions designed for them. As noted in the Introduction of this thesis Australian volunteers work in not-for-profit, government and for-profit organisations situated in the third sector. Removing the context and structure of a volunteering definition may make it more applicable to current opportunities promoted as volunteer positions but the historical perspective is ignored. A country’s history plays an important role in understanding volunteering that cultural, social or psychological factors alone are not completely able to explain.[19] The two elements regarding not-for-profit organisations and positions designed for volunteers were part of that historical perspective and unique to the Australian definition.

While stipulations regarding context and structure are no longer included in the definition of volunteering a new labour market program that includes volunteering — *jobactive* — begins operation on 1 July 2015.[20]. If previous experiences of volunteering in labour market programs, such as Work for the Dole or the Voluntary Work Initiative, are any indication, the volunteering infrastructure will continue to be as actively involved in advocating the rights of volunteers in this new compulsory work for the dole program as it was during the life of earlier programs.
The replacement of one definition with another also highlights the tendency to have one all-encompassing definition to cover the complexity of volunteering. This is not the case with paid employment. Common understandings apply to the different contexts where paid work occurs, the different qualifications necessary for professions and trades, and the different types of engagement through permanent, part-time, contract or casual work. Debate surrounding volunteering continues. Currently, in England, the rise of unpaid internships in charities and not-for-profit organisations is provoking discussion. Davis Smith, Executive Director of Volunteering at the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) has

[18] UNV, ‘Guidance note on Volunteer Infrastructure (2005), 6, <http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2005/DVI_01.pdf>, 31 January 2013.
[19] Anke C. Plagnol and Felicia A. Huppert, ‘Happy to help? Exploring the factors associated with variations in rates of volunteering across Europe’, *Social Indicators Research,* 97/2 (2010), 172.
[20] Volunteering SA & NT Archives: SA Unions & Volunteering SA, ‘Agreement between the SA Unions and Volunteering SA’, (c.2006-2007). Scott Morrison, Minister for Social Services, ‘Address to the Sydney Institute ‘A Square Deal for Familes and Young Australians’’, (9 April 2015) <http://scottmorrison.dss.gov.au/speeches/address-to-the-sydney-institute>, 20 June 2015.

argued that the rise of unpaid internships 'as a substitute for paid roles risked damaging the reputation of volunteering', and a guide stressing the need to avoid exploitation of young people has been developed.[21] Perhaps the complexity of volunteering will one day be recognised as being as deserving of understanding as paid work, and any definition will encompass overarching definitions as well as allowing for particular types of volunteering such as formal and informal.

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[21] Alice Sharman, 'Debate over Charity Internships Risks Damaging Volunteering, Warns Justin Davis Smith' (10 June 2015), <http://www.civilsociety.co.uk/governance/news/content/19820/debate_over_charity_internships_risks_damaging_volunteering_warns_justin_davis_smith#comments>, accessed 20 June 2015. Hugh Radojev, 'Roles should either be Paid or Genuine Volunteering Opportunities, says NCVO', *Civil Society Finance,* (5 March 2015) <http://www.civilsociety.co.uk/finance/news/content/19191/there_should_be_no_such_thing_as_an_unpaid_internship_in_charities_say_ncvo&mobileversion=0&mobileversion=1>, accessed 20 June 2015.

Chapter Summary

In many ways, this was the most dramatic decade in the life of the volunteering infrastructure, particularly the national peak body, Volunteering Australia. Volunteer centres at the local and regional level doubled in size, mainly due to the intervention of local and state governments. The internal relationships of the volunteering infrastructure were at times quite negative but, ultimately, the volunteering peak body was re-established in Canberra, ACT. The fate of Volunteering Australia can be said to be too close to the whims of government funding but it can also be seen that the federated structure of the volunteering infrastructure limited Volunteering Australia's ability to expand membership and converse directly with volunteer centres at the local and regional levels.

The direct engagement of state governments and volunteering through the establishment of state government offices created a tension and competition not hitherto experienced by the volunteering infrastructure. It was no longer a matter of interaction of a multi-layered relationship it was an insertion into its ranks. Whether the interest by governments will continue is yet to be demonstrated. Certainly, some of the small secretariats and personnel of government volunteering offices have been incorporated into different and larger departments and staffing has been decreased. In the coming decade, monitoring not only the internal relations of the volunteering infrastructure but also its engagement with government as a direct competitor in volunteering will be interesting.

CONCLUSION

The not-for-profit sector is reliant on the work of volunteers. Volunteers work in 'health and welfare, community services, emergency services, arts, culture and heritage, the environment, sport and recreation, education and youth development, overseas aid, animal welfare, human rights and in religious organisations'.[1] Volunteering creates stronger communities. This interdisciplinary thesis explored the development of the volunteering infrastructure and its contribution to volunteering in Australia from 1970 to 2012..In this study, particular attention was given to the federated nature of the volunteering infrastructure and the development of Volunteering Australia, the national peak body for volunteering and examined what effect the volunteering infrastructure had on volunteering. Using two theoretical frameworks, the moving frontier concept and the multi-relationship model of relationships, this thesis has demonstrated the complex internal relationships between the various programs and organisations of the federated volunteering infrastructure. It has also provided a greater understanding of the external relationships between the volunteering infrastructure and governments, particularly the Australian Government.

An underlying theme of the work of the volunteering infrastructure has been the right of volunteers to have the necessary support and resources to carry out their work. As a person who became involved in the volunteering infrastructure at both the state and national levels, my insider knowledge of this unique group of organisations provided insights into the evolution of the volunteering infrastructure and its contribution to volunteering. My insider status needed consideration when designing the mixed methods for this study to include a series of oral history interviews with leaders of the volunteering infrastructure, politicians and bureaucrats, as well as a survey of volunteer resource centres.

This thesis argued that the volunteering infrastructure has made a crucial effect on volunteering in Australia. It has argued that there is now a richer understanding of the economic, social and cultural value of volunteering. This has been achieved by the volunteering infrastructure's support of research, the development of a volunteering research framework and the publication of the *Australian Journal on Volunteering.* The volunteering

[1] Sha Cordingley and Kylee Bates, *Supporting Volunteering in Australia* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, September, 2004), 5.

infrastructure has been strongly involved in the promotion and advocacy of volunteering, particularly through events such as the National Volunteer Week, and has attempted to create an awareness of volunteering that is diverse and offers opportunities for all people, no matter their age, ability, culture or class. Internationally, the volunteering infrastructure has played a significant role through its involvement and presidency of the International Association of Volunteer Effort (IAVE) and the declaration of the International Year of Volunteers in 2001. This international involvement created an opportunity to broaden the global discussion on volunteering by adding the Australian perspective.

A major theme throughout this thesis has been the connection between volunteering and unemployment. This connection has been important for the development of the volunteering infrastructure for a number of reasons, including ongoing funding from the Commonwealth Government to support unemployed people volunteering as a way of learning new skills, maintaining existing skills and building confidence. Cordingley and Bates declared the volunteering infrastructure had 'successfully lobbied *for the right* of unemployed people to volunteer while receiving support payments – a right that was actively being denied them'.[2] Supporting people in gaining new skills and confidence demonstrates how beneficial volunteering can be to a broad range of people.

The notion that volunteering was a valid expression of leisure focused attention on volunteering as an activity beyond the confines of charity – volunteering was presented as an activity to be taken up as part of a range of leisure options. As a leisure activity the idea that a person might benefit personally from volunteering and that motivations for volunteering were not restricted to the altruistic became acceptable to potential volunteers. Such changes to the understandings of volunteering challenged the notion of the stereotype of the Lady Bountiful volunteer. For the volunteering infrastructure, the importance of leisure supported their argument that volunteering went beyond health, welfare and charity, as demonstrated in their promotional material on volunteering.

The volunteering infrastructure's relationship with all levels of government has been discussed in regard to Beveridge's moving frontier overlaid with Young's model of complementary, supplementary and adversarial relationships. More recently, the greater

[2] Sha Cordingley and Kylee Bates, *Supporting Volunteering in Australia* (Melbourne: Volunteering Australia, September, 2004), 7.

participation of state governments with volunteers and volunteering has added a new dimension to the moving frontier where government has embraced and replicated the model of service to volunteers and volunteer-involving organisations pioneered by the volunteering infrastructure. The time period of this study ended in 2012. At that time the national peak body for volunteering, Volunteering Australia, had lost its major funding and was reliant on the state and territory volunteer centres for the management and administration of the remaining projects. In rebuilding, Volunteering Australia led a review of the *National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not-for-Profit Organisations,* and the definition of formal volunteering. The result has been the adoption of a broad definition of volunteering, to better capture the range of volunteering activity, both formal and informal. Until that point, all the work undertaken by Volunteering Australia was based on the definition of formal volunteering. It is yet to be seen how Volunteering Australia and the volunteering infrastructure adapt to the shift of focus that will include other forms of volunteering.

Underlying the progress of the volunteering infrastructure in Australia is passion, hard work and a certain amount of bravado in the people involved in its evolution. Margaret Bell, World President of IAVE (1988-1996) accepted the challenge when making the acceptance speech for Sydney to hold the next international conference when the only real knowledge that existed about volunteering in other states was through the visits Heather Buck, Director, Volunteer Action Centre NSW, had made to Queensland, Victoria and South Australia when those states were establishing state volunteer centres. The same bravado was evident when June Hazelwood and Sylvia Godman nominated Tasmania to hold the 1996 national conference on volunteering when their base was just a network of volunteer managers in the north of the state. Similarly, a commitment to research on volunteering led Sallie Davies in Western Australia to develop one of the finest organisational libraries on volunteering in Australia.

This thesis has demonstrated how a group of not-for-profit organisations and passionate individuals have led to the establishment of a unique group of volunteer centres and a national peak body, Volunteering Australia. Further, it has argued that this relatively small group of volunteer centres has contributed to the social, cultural and economic fabric of this country through their promotion and advocacy of volunteering.

Appendix A: Chronology of the National Volunteer Peak Body, Volunteering Australia

Name	Year	Mission, Aim & Objectives	Funding	Membership	Governance
National Association of Volunteer Resource Centres	1985 decision to form national body made at the First National Conference Sydney	The Volunteer Centre of SA agreed to act as a Secretariat to prepare for the establishment of a national body on volunteering. To lead consultation with state centre members on desire to establish national body.	Nil	No formal membership.	1985-1988 Secretariat made up of Volunteer Centre of SA and interested members/others
Australian Association for Volunteering (AAV)	1988 name change from National Association of Voluntary Referral Agencies to AAV 1992 incorporated	To provide a national voice on Volunteering. **Objectives were to:–** Publish a National Newsletter. Bi annual National Conference. Lobby government for volunteering. Formulate Standards. Promote volunteering. Conduct research and education. Disseminate information. Training &staff development. [1]	Membership fee, newsletter subscriptions, donations and lobby federal government for funds.	All non profit programs and organisations. Volunteers.	1988-1990 Secretariat moved to the Volunteer Centre of Victoria 1990-1993 Committee of Management – 2 elected representatives from each State Volunteer Centre and 1 person nominated by the governing board of each State Volunteer Centre.[2]
National Association of Volunteer Referral Agencies	1988 1992 incorporated	Lobby State and Federal Governments for recognition, and funding of State Volunteer Centre and Referral Agencies.[3] NAVRA formed when Federal	'Contribution from member organisations as they see fit.'[4]	Organisations offering volunteer referrals	Secretariat based at Volunteer Centre NSW. NAVRA 'will not take in money for its own maintenance' but

[1] Volunteering ACT Archives: 'Report on Australian Association for Volunteering Steering Committee Meeting', Melbourne, 6 -7 February, 1989, .2.
[2] Volunteering Australia Archives: Australian Association for Volunteering, *Constitution,* Article 7: Board of Management, January 1991, 4.
[3] 'Report on Australian Association for Volunteering Steering Committee Meeting' Melbourne, Vic., 6 and 7 February, 1989, 1
[4] Ibid. 1

(NAVRA)		Government amalgamated 3 labour market programs and volunteer centres lost funding as a consequence.			contributions could be made according to member's ability
Council of State & Territory Volunteering Centres (CSTVC)[5]	1987 Not incorporated although draft constitution was distributed for comment.	To link all state centres to support each other and facilitate information exchange. Set standards of practice. To act as a channel for government/corporate funding via submissions and distribution of funds.[6]	Supported by each state and territory volunteer centre.	Information network of state and territory centres.	1989 – CEOs of NSW, Victoria, SA, Queensland and WA state volunteer centres.
Australian Council for Volunteering (ACV)	1993 incorporated. The result of a merger of AAV and NAVRA with the NSVC/CSTVC joined as network	To create a sustainable network across Australia. Promote volunteering. ACV would work through State Volunteer Centres and VRCs 'to provide best possible volunteer management practice programs to all non profit organisations.[7]	1997 Federal Government funded ACV for peak body services.	Broad membership	State and Volunteer Centres
Volunteering Australia (VA)	1997 – name changed from ACV to VA. All state, territory centres chose to change their names for branding purposes.	'Volunteering Australia is the national peak body working to advance volunteering in the Australian community. Its role is to represent the diverse views and needs of the volunteering sector while promoting the activity of volunteering as one of enduring social, cultural and economic value'.[8]	National Secretariat Program, and project funds Australian Government. Corporate sponsorship for events, e.g. National Volunteer Week and National Conferences.	Foundation membership – each state and territory volunteer centre. National bodies, universities and individuals	State and Volunteer Centres as Foundation members with coopted individuals as needed.

[5] Various titles of this network see Glossary

[6] SA Delegation, *Report on Australian Association for Volunteering Steering Committee Meeting, held in Melbourne, Vic. 6 & 7 February 1989.* Unknown, *What's the difference?* 2, 1990.

[7] Australian Council on Volunteering, *Draft Proposal for Continued Funding Volunteer Management Practice Program,* c.1995

[8] Volunteering Australia, *Our Mission* (n.d.) <http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/About-Us/-Mission/Mission.asp> accessed 10 September 2012.

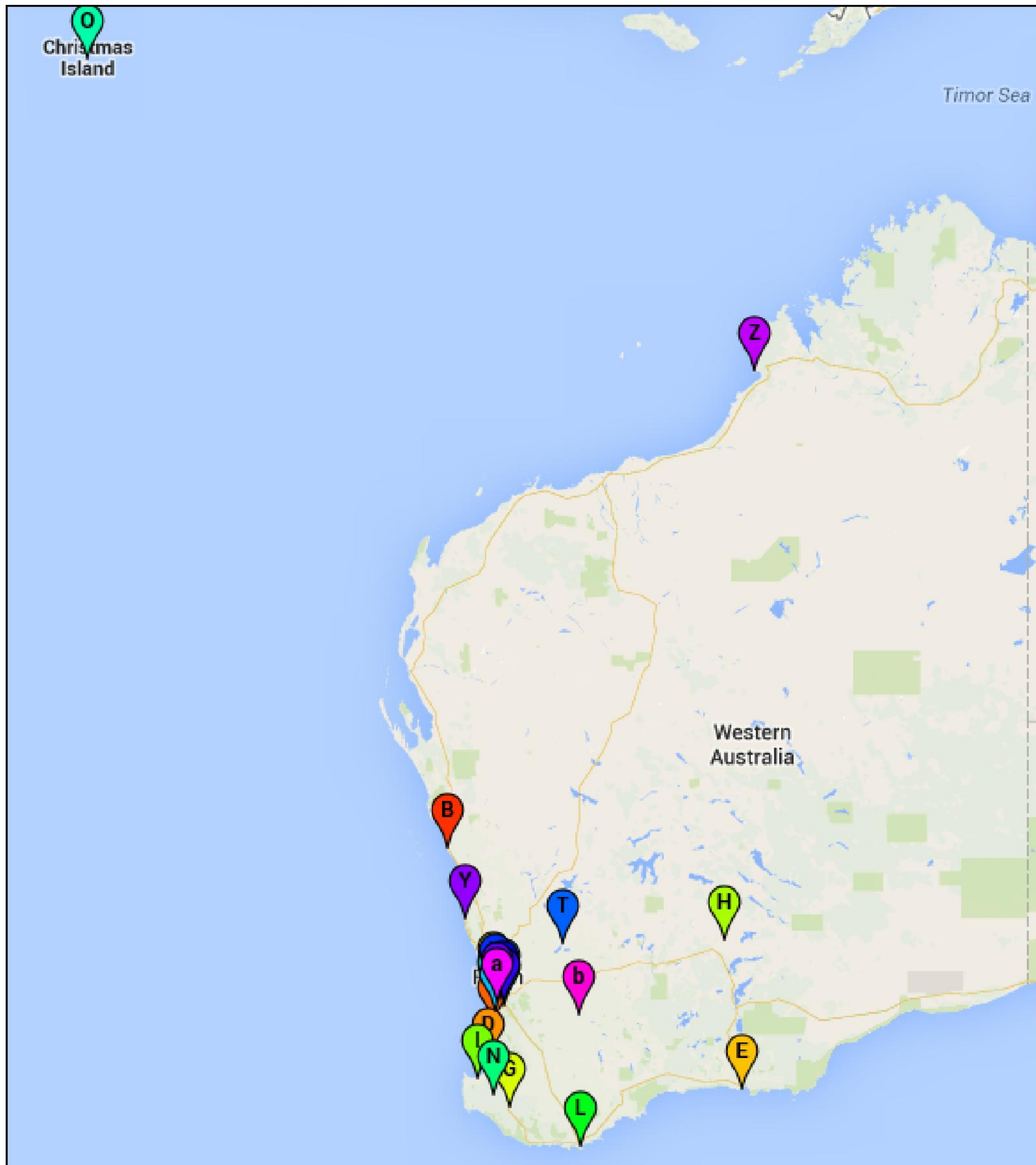
Appendix B: Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and Date Established

This Appendix displays the date of establishment and geographic spread of VRCs in each state and territory of Australia. Generally it can be seen that there is a concentration of volunteer centres in heavily populated areas such as capital cities, along the coastline and waterways. The date of establishment of the volunteer state peak bodies is included.

The VRCs listed here have self-identified as Volunteer Resource Centres or Volunteer Referral Services. A small number of VRCs do not have their establishment dates noted as these were not possible to locate or were unknown. The listing of the dates of establishment draws attention to specific decades where interest by funding bodies such as governments from all levels was focused.

The information contained in these maps came from state/territory volunteer centres and volunteer resource centres and programs. It was found that variation exists due to some volunteer centres citing the date when lobbying first began to establish a centre, while other centres have nominated the date of incorporation as the commencement year.

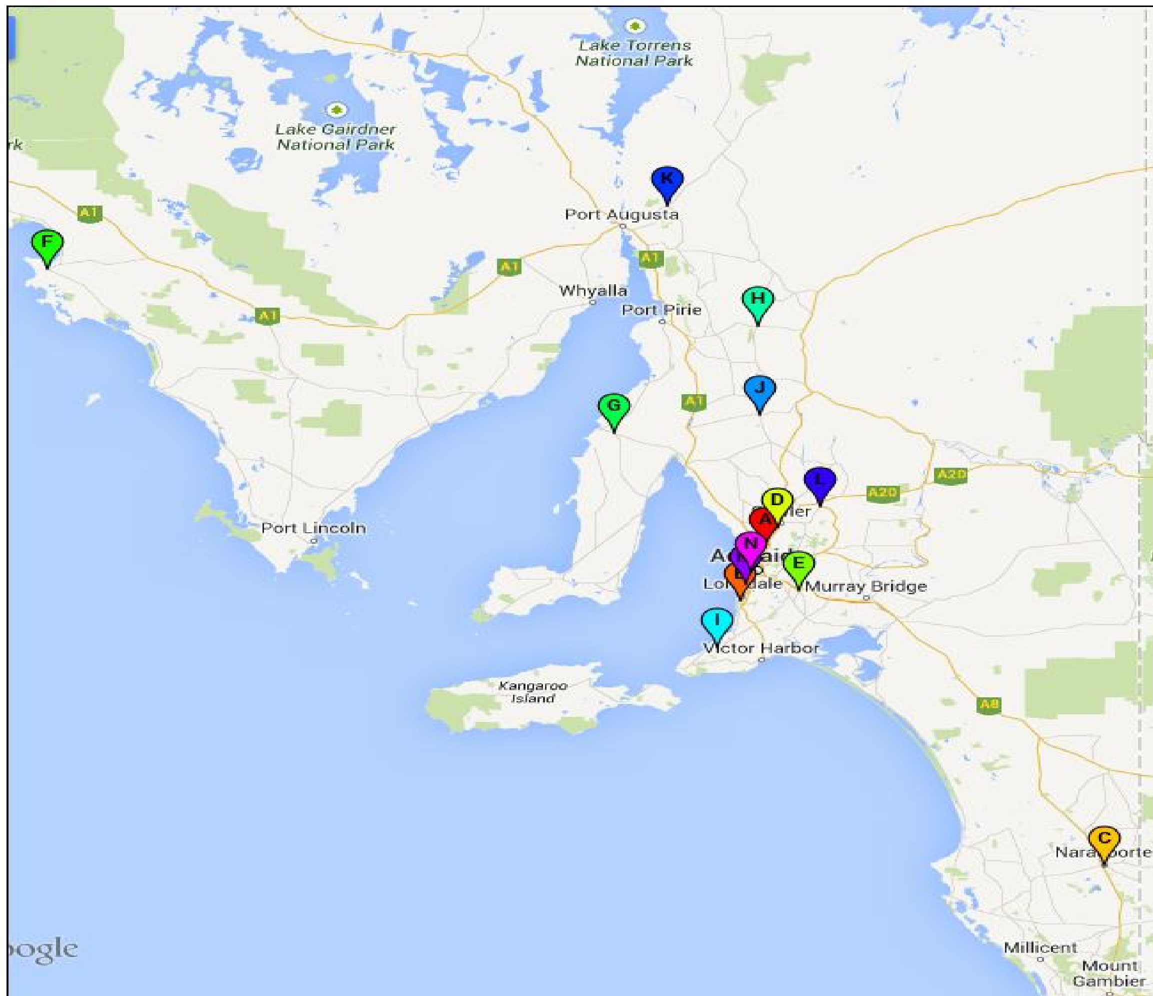
Western Australia Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and date established (2011)



Total number of VRCs is 26. This figure does not include the state volunteering peak body, Volunteering WA nor does it include the volunteer recruitment hubs established by Volunteering Australia at Murdoch University and the University of Western Australia.

Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	Volunteering Western Australia	1988
B	Centacare Family Service, Geraldton	1993
C	Peel Volunteer Resource Centre	1993
D	Volunteer South West, Bunbury	1996
E	Esperance Volunteer Resource Centre	1999
F	Joondalup Volunteer Resource Centre (a partnership between VWA and the City of Joondalup)	2001
G	Manjimup Volunteer Resource Centre	2002
H	Kalgoorlie Boulder Volunteer Centre	2002
I	Busselton-Dunsborough Volunteers	2003
J	Melville Volunteer Resource Centre	2003
K	Armadale Volunteer Service	2003
L	Albany and Regional Volunteer Service	2003
M	Nedlands Volunteer Resource Centre	2003
N	Nannup Volunteer Resource Centre	2003
O	"Volunteer Christmas Island" at Christmas Island Neighbourhood Centre	2003
P	Cockburn Volunteer Resource Centre	2003/2004
Q	Fremantle Volunteer Service	2004
R	Kwinana Volunteer Resource Centre	2004
S	Swan Volunteers	2004
T	Koorda Community Resource Centre	Prior 2007
U	Yanchep/Wanneroo Volunteer Hub	2006
V	Bassendean Volunteer Resource/Referral Centre	2007
W	Gosnells e Volunteer Referral Service	2009
X	Subiaco Volunteer Hub	2009
Y	Jurien Bay Community Resource Centre	2009
Z	Broome Volunteer Resource Centre	2010
a	Murdoch Volunteer Hub	2010
b	Corrigin Community Resource Centre	-

South Australia Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and date established (2011)



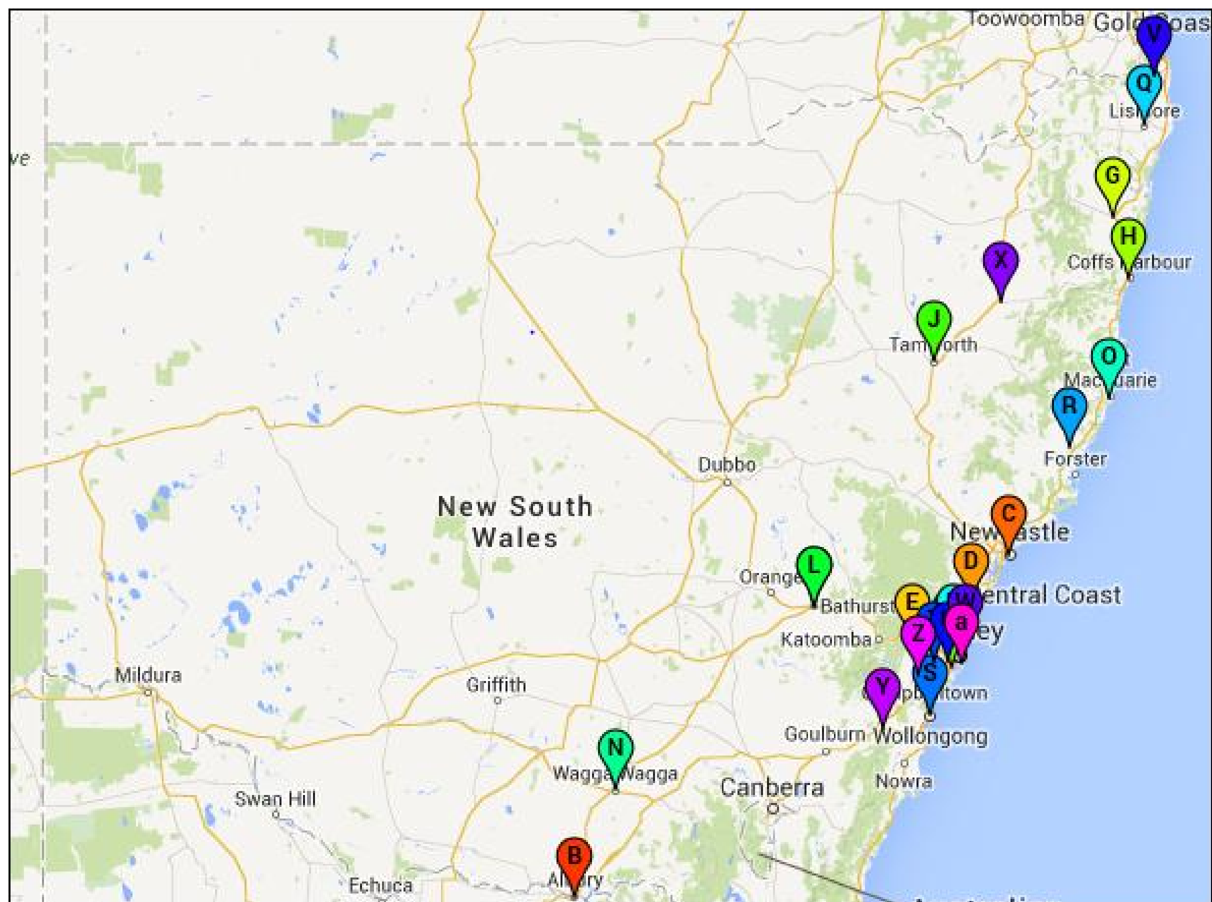
At the time of this study there were 15 VRCs in South Australia. This does not include the VRCs that are branches of Volunteering SA & NT.

Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	Volunteering SA & NT	1982
B	Northern Volunteering (SA) Inc	1984
C	Southern Volunteering (SA) Inc	1984
D	Limestone Coast Volunteer Resource Centre (Naracoorte Lucindale Council)	2003
E	Gawler Volunteer Resource Centre	2005
F	Hills Volunteering	2006
G	Streaky Bay	20007-2008
H	Copper Coast VRC	2008
I	Northern Areas Council Volunteer Resource Centre	2008-2009
J	District Council of Yankalilla	2008-2009
K	Clare & Gilbert Valleys VRC	2009
L	Flinders Ranges Council VRC	2009
M	Volunteering Barossa & Light	2009
N	City of Holdfast Bay VRC	2010
O	City of West Torrens VRC	2010

Northern Territory Volunteer Resource Centres (branches of Volunteering SA & NT), 2011

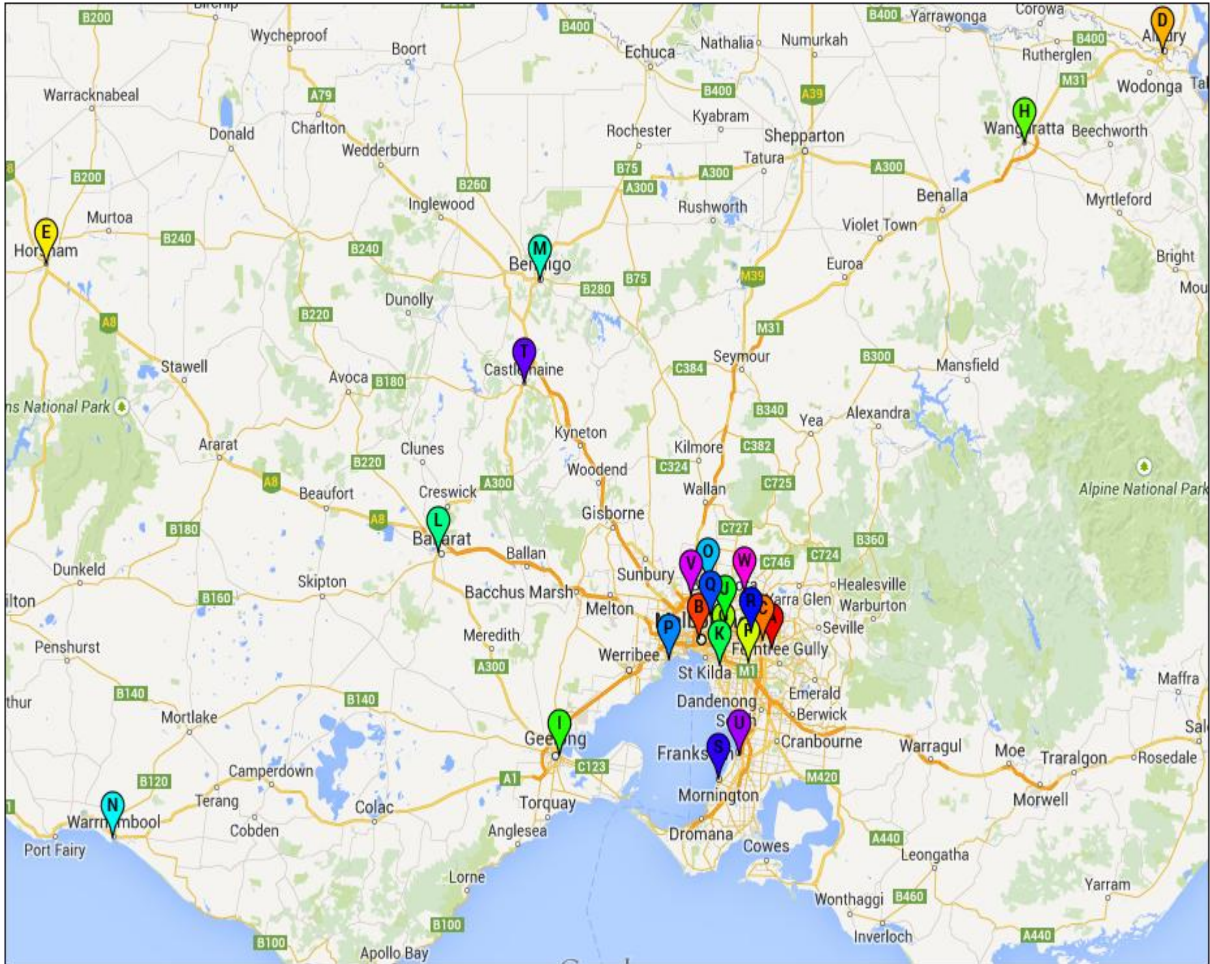
Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	Volunteering SA & NT- Darwin Office	2003
B	Volunteering SA & NT- Alice Springs Office	2004

New South Wales Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and date established (2011)



Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	Centre for Volunteering NSW	1974
B	Albury Wodonga Volunteer Resource Bureau	1976
C	Hunter Volunteer Centre	1977
D	Volunteering Central Coast	1981
E	Nepean Volunteer Services, Penrith	1985
F	Volunteer Network, Burwood	1986
G	Volunteering Clarence Valley	1987
H	Volunteering Coffs Harbour	1987
I	Volunteer Link, Carss Park	1989
J	Tamworth Community Centre	1990
K	Volunteering Bathurst, co-located with	1990
L	Volunteering Central West	1993
a	Volunteer and Service Training (VAST)	1993
M	Ryde Hunters Hill Community Volunteers	1993-1994
N	Wagga Wagga Volunteer Centre	1994
O	Port Macquarie Neighbourhood Centre, Volunteer Centre	1996/1997
P	Ku-ring-gai Hornsby Volunteer Service	1997
Q	Volunteering Northern Rivers, Lismore	1996-1998
R	Manning Support Services (formerly Volunteer Connections	1997
S	Volunteering Illawarra	1999
T	Liverpool Volunteer Resource Centre	1999
U	Skills, Training and Resource Service (STARS), Lakemba	2000
V	Volunteering Tweed formerly NORTEC Volunteering)	2000
W	Community Connect Northern Beaches (formerly Northside Community CONNECT Volunteer Program)	2002
X	Armidale Volunteer Services	2003
Y	Volunteering Wingecarribee	2003
Z	Volunteering Macarthur	2003-2004
n.d.	Lower North Shore Community Volunteers (formerly Lower North Shore Volunteer Referral Agency). HACC	-

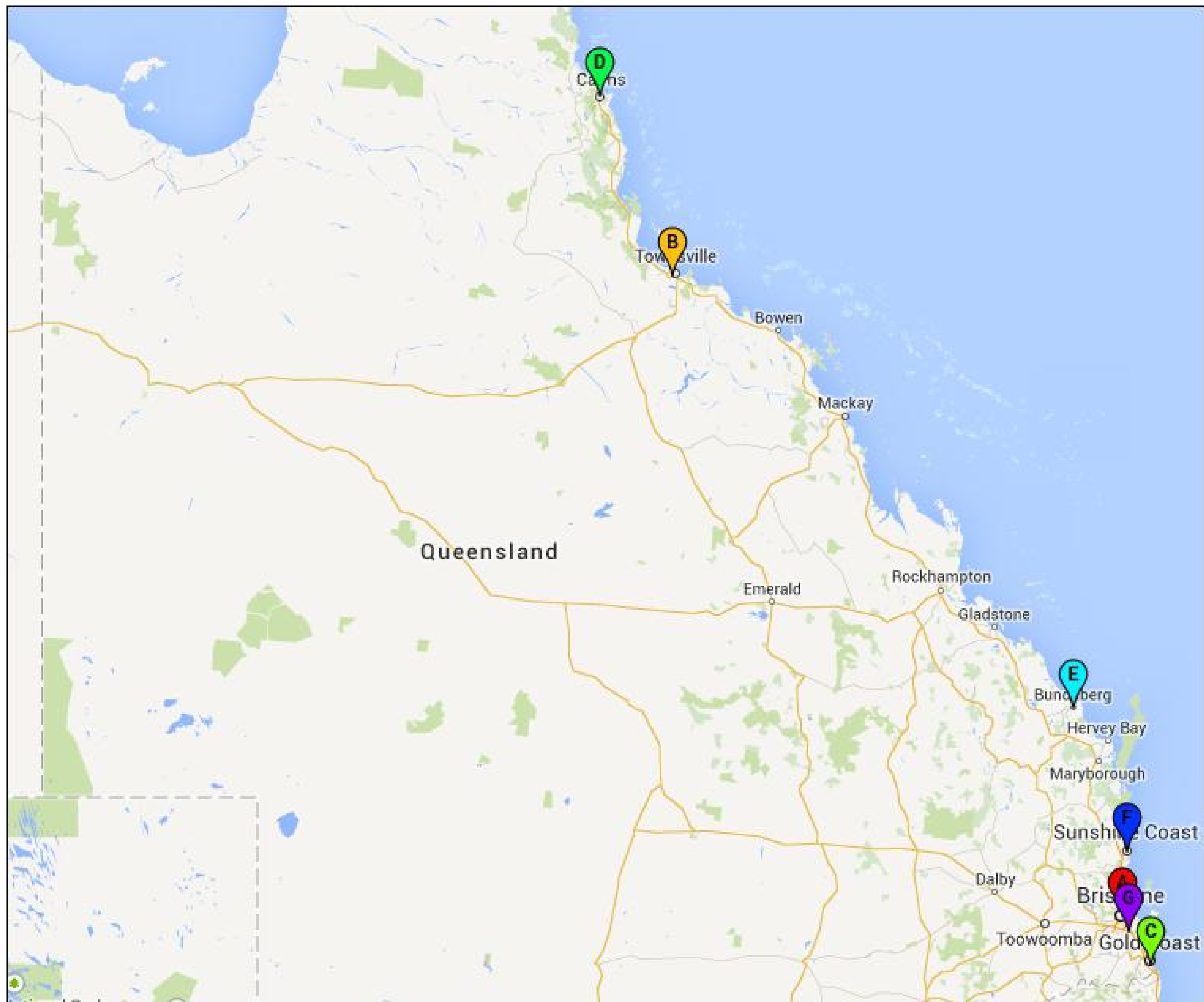
Victoria Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and date established (2011)



Key	Volunteer Centre	Year established
A	Bridges Connecting Communities (Knox)*	1975. Reopened 1997
B	Volunteering Victoria (originally the Southern Volunteer Resource Bureau)	1976
C	Eastern Volunteers	1976
D	Albury Wodonga Volunteer Resource Bureau	1976
E	Volunteering Western Victoria	1984
F	South East Volunteers (Monash)	1985
G	Boroondara Volunteer Resource Centre	1992
H	Volunteer Community Skillsbank, Centre for Continuing Education, Wangaratta	1996
I	Volunteering Geelong	1998
J	North East Regional Volunteer Resource Centre (Volunteers of Banyule)	1999
K	Volunteering Glen Eira	2000
L	Volunteering Ballarat (part of United Way)	2001
M	Bendigo Volunteer Resource Centre	2002
N	Volunteering Warnambool	2002
O	Whittlesea Community Connection	2003
P	Volunteer West	2004
Q	Darebin Information Volunteer Resource Service	2004
R	Volunteering in Manningham (ViM)	2007
S	Volunteering Mornington Peninsula	2007
T	Mount Alexander Volunteer Network	2007
U	Frankston Volunteer Resource Centre	2008
V	Hume Volunteer Gateway	2009
W	Volunteers of Nillumbik (sponsored by Volunteers of Banyule)	2012

* The original volunteer resource centre was Knox Community Volunteer Inc. and began in 1975. However it disbanded and in 1997 remerged as part of Bridges Connecting Communities and by 2012 was known as Knox Volunteer Resource Centre but remained with Bridges Connecting Communities. In 2014 Bridges Connecting Communities grant application was unsuccessful. Funding was awarded to a group of community houses to become Volunteer for Knox.

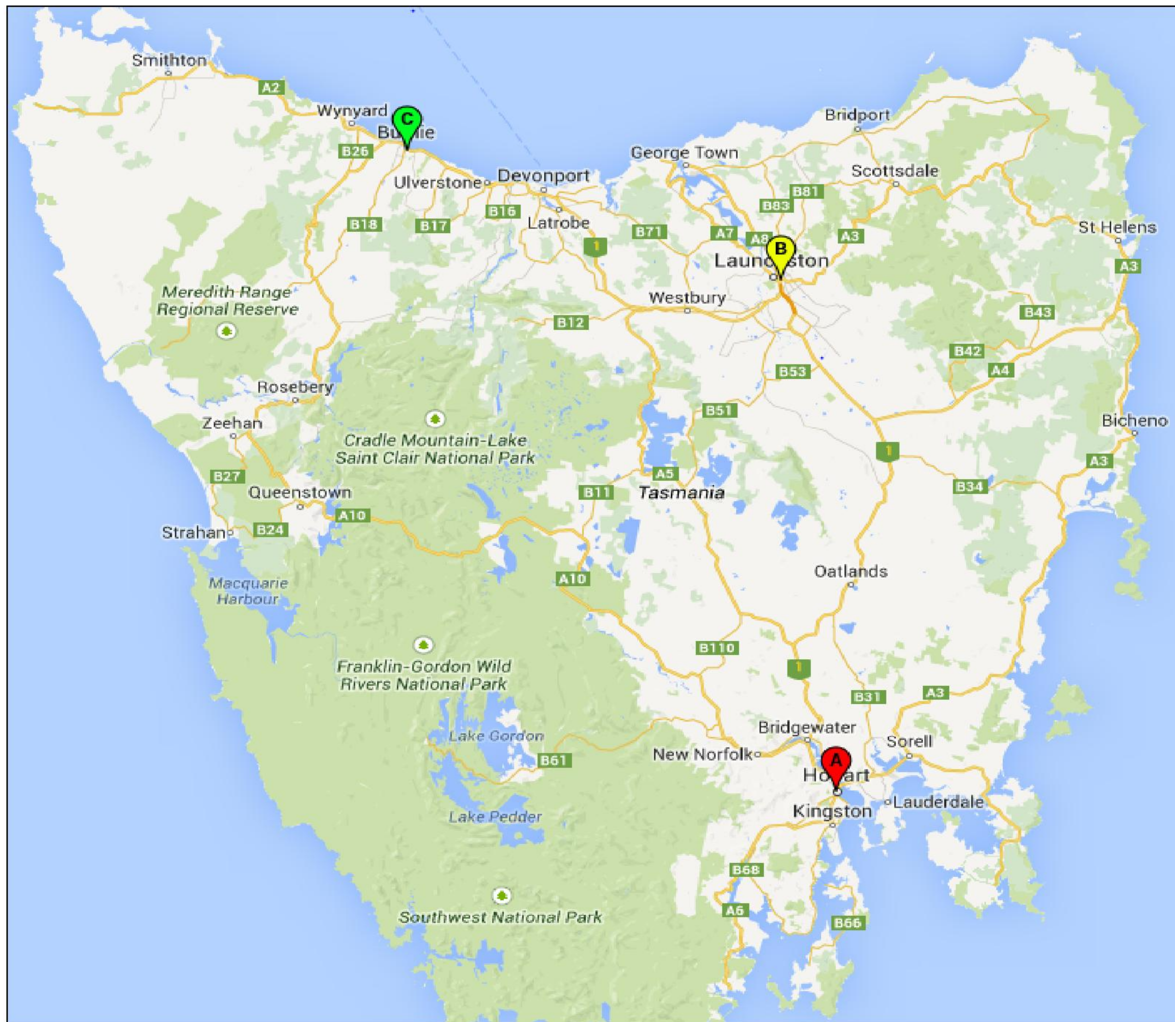
Queensland Volunteer Resource Centres: Location and date established (2011)



Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	Volunteering Queensland	1982
B	Volunteering North Queensland	1987
C	Volunteering Gold Coast	1998
E	FNQ Volunteers	1999
E	Wide Bay Volunteer Resource Association	1999/2001
F	Volunteering Sunshine Coast	2003
G	Volunteering Queensland Inc – Logan Branch*	Post 2000

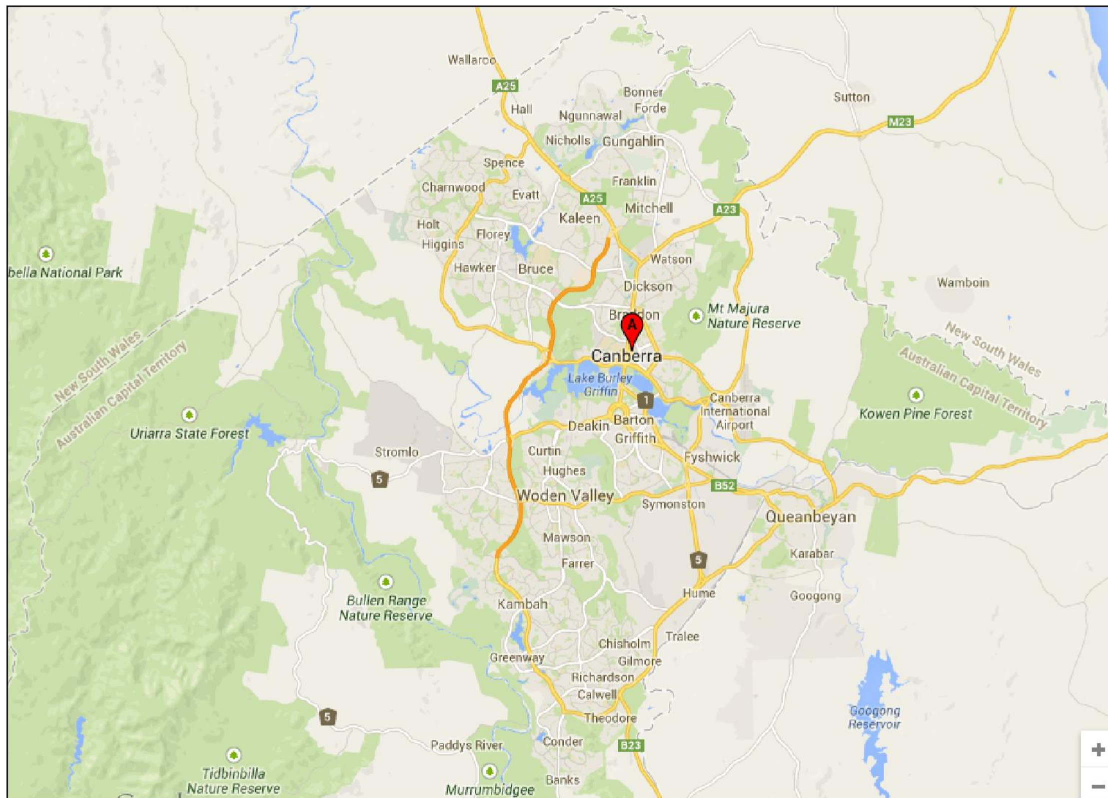
*Volunteering Queensland – Logan Branch was originally established as an independent VRC but chose to merge with Volunteering Queensland and become a branch of the state volunteer centre.

Volunteering Tasmania offices (2011)



Key	Volunteer Centre Name	Year
A	NVAN	1984
	Volunteering Tasmania	1992
B	Volunteering Tasmania - North	1999
C	Volunteering Tasmania – North West	2010

Volunteering ACT



Key	Volunteer Centre	Year
A	Volunteering ACT	1986

Appendix C: Sample of Research, Education and Information Materials Published by the Volunteering Infrastructure, 1974–2012

This is a sample of publications by volunteer centres only and in no way can be considered a complete listing. The point of this catalogue is to provide an understanding of the debate and discussion led by the volunteering infrastructure in the development of formal volunteering and professionalisation of volunteer management in Australia.

Location	Author and/or Publisher	Year	Publication
National	Volunteering Australia (VA)	2012	State of Volunteering in Australia
	VA	2011	National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2011
	VA	2011	National Agenda on Volunteering: Report on Progress
	VA	2010	National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2010
	VA	2010	Issues Paper April 2010: Issues related to insurance protection for volunteers
	VA	2009	National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2009
	VA	2009	Background Checks and Volunteers: Quick Guide
	National Volunteer Skills Centre (NVSC)/VA	2009	Volunteer Involving Organisations Partnering with Registered Training Organisations: Quick Guide
	NVSC/VA	2008	Dealing with Conflict and Grievances when Managing Volunteers: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2008	Registered Training Organisations and Volunteer Involving Organisations: Quick Guide
	NVSC/VA	2008	Volunteer Personnel Templates
	NVSC/VA	2008	Evaluate Volunteer Training Toolkit
	NVSC/VA	2008	Volunteering: an Opportunity for the Whole Family: Subject Guide
	VA	2008	National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2008
	NVSC/VA	2007-2008	Certificates in Active Volunteering – Case Studies
	Costs of Volunteering Taskforce VA	2007	The Rising Costs of Volunteering: A report prepared by the Costs of Volunteering Taskforce
	NVSC/VA	2007	Rural and Remote Volunteering: A Great Way to Strengthen Communities: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2007	Designing Volunteer Roles and Position Descriptions: Toolkit
	NVSC/VA	2007	Start Smart – Developing Effective Policies and Procedures: Toolkit
	NVSC/VA	2007	"I want to volunteer: Where do I go?" Quick Guide
	NVSC/VA	2007	Do Your Volunteers Need Training? Toolkit
	NVSC/VA	2007	Indigenous Australians and Volunteering - Take a closer look: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2007	Involving Baby Boomers as Volunteers – Take a Closer Look: Subject Guide
	VA	2007	Certificates I, II and III in Active Volunteering:

			Case Studies
	VA	2007	Employee Volunteering and CSR Job Seeker Perspectives
	VA	2007	Young People and Volunteering – Take a closer Look: Subject Guide
	VA	2007	Recruiting Volunteers from CALD Backgrounds
	VA	2007	Staff Recruitment, Retention, Satisfaction and Productivity: The Effects of Employee Volunteering Programs: Research Bulletin
	VA	2007	National Survey on Volunteering Issues 2007
	Volunteering Australia Funded by the Prime Minister's Community Business Partnership	2007	Corporate Volunteering Training Kit: A Comprehensive Kit to Help Volunteer Centres Deliver Training on Corporate Volunteering
	Volunteering Australia Funded by the Prime Minister's Community Business Partnership	2007	Employee Volunteering: A Guide for Small to Medium Sized Enterprises
	Lewis Hughes, Enviro-sys P/L. NVSC/VA	2006	A Toolkit and Guide for People who Train Volunteers: Part A A Toolkit and Guide for People who Train Volunteers: Part B
	NVSC/VA	2006	Event Volunteering: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2006	Involving Volunteers from CALD Backgrounds: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2006	Involving Volunteers with a Disability: Subject Guide
	NVSC/VA	2006	Recognition of Prior Learning: Toolkit
	NVSC/VA	2006	Volunteering: What's it all about? Toolkit including Power-Point and Presenter's Notes
	NVSC/VA	2006	The Volunteer's Journey: A Step-By-Step Guide to Locating and Recruiting Volunteers
	VA	2006	Corporate Volunteering Survey
	VA	2006	Findings from the National Survey of Australian volunteers from CALD backgrounds
	VA	2006	Muslim youths experience of and attitudes towards volunteering
	VA	2006	National Survey of Volunteering Issues 2006
	VA	2006	Papers from the Inaugural Volunteering Research Symposium, 7-8 March 2006
	VA	2006	Supporting Volunteering Activities in Australian Muslim Communities, particularly Youth
	VA	2006	The Principles of Volunteering: Why have Them?
	VA	2006	Volunteering Policy Consultation Framework
	Venie Phillips Institute of TAFE Tasmania, for National Volunteer Skills Centre/VA	2005	Administer Projects: Learning Guide, BSBADM407A
	VA	2005	Model Code of Practice for Organisations Involving Volunteer Staff
	VA	2005	Volunteering Research Framework
	Amanda Brain Institute of TAFE Tasmania for National Volunteer Skills	2004	Access and Retrieve Computer Data THHGCT01A: Learning Guide for Volunteers

	Centre/VA		Develop Keyboard Skills BSBCMN108A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Follow OHS Procedures CHCOHS201A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Follow Workplace Safety Procedures BSBCMN106A: Learning Guide for Volunteers] Maintain Effective Networks CHCNET2B: Learning Guide for Volunteers Maintain the Organisations Information System CHCINF2A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Operate a Personal Computer BSBCMN107A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Organise Work SRXORG001A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Participate in Networks CHCNET1C: Learning Guide for Volunteers Participate in the Work Environment CHCORG3B: Learning Guide for Volunteers Participate in Workplace Safety Procedures CHCOHS301A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Prepare for Public Speaking SRSCOP001B: Learning Guide for Volunteers Produce Simple Word Processed Documents BSBCMN213A: Learning Guide for Volunteers
	Maree Gerke, Bronwyn Hannan and John Bramma Institute of TAFE Tasmania for National Volunteer Skills Centre/VA	2004	Be an Effective Volunteer Learners Guide for Volunteers
	Helen Smith RMIT University for National Volunteer Skills Centre/VA	2004	Manage Self as a Board member BSBATSIL509A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Meet the Roles and Responsibilities of a Board Member (1) BSBATSIL401A: Learning Guide For Volunteers Meet the Roles and Responsibilities of a Board Member (2) BSBATSIL501A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Facilitate Co-Operative Behaviour CHCCS401A: Learning Guide for Volunteers Manage a Board Meeting BSBATSIL408A: Learning Guide for Volunteers
	Margaret Taylor RMIT University for National Volunteer Skills Centre/VA	2004	Communicate Appropriately with Clients and Colleagues CHCCOM2B: Learning Guide for Volunteers

			Communicate with People Accessing the Services of the Organisation CHCCOM1B: Learning Guide For Volunteers Create Client Relationship SRXGCSO01A: Learning Guide For Volunteers Provide Leadership in the Workplace BSXFM1402A: Learning Guide for Volunteers
	Curly Solutions, Orima Research, VA	2004	'Two Way Street' Corporate Volunteering in the Not for Profit Sector
	Graeme Dobson, NVSC/VA	2003	A Guide to Writing Competency Based Training Materials
	National Health & Medical Research Council & Volunteering Australia	2003	Working with Volunteers and Managing Volunteer Programs in Health Care Settings
	VA	2003	National Standards Workbook and Resources Kit for Implementing the National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not for Profit Organisations
	VA	2003	Running the Risk? Risk Management Tool for Volunteer Involving Organisations
	VA	2003	Corporate Shares Community Profits: A Guide to Engaging Your Employees (Electronic Resource)
	VA	2002	Community Work and the Volunteering Sector, Participant Workbook (Developed for the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations)
	VA	2001	National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not for Profit Organisations
	VA	2001	National Standards Implementation Guide for Not for Profit Organisations Involving Volunteers
	VA	2001	A National Agenda on Volunteering: Beyond the International Year of Volunteers
	VA	2000-2009	Australian Journal on Volunteering
	VA	1999	Twelve Steps to Involving Volunteers
	VA	1999	Training Needs of Volunteers involved in Crime Prevention and Community Safety Projects (Report prepared for National Crime Prevention)
	Volunteering NSW & the NSW School of Volunteer Management for VA	1997	Competency Standards for Management of Volunteers
	Volunteering Victoria for VA	1997 1st edn.	National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not-for-Profit Organisations
	VA	c.1997	Volunteer Rights and Volunteer Checklist
	VA	Various	Information Sheets: 1. What is a not for profit organisation? 2. I want to volunteer … where do I go? 3. Is there an age limit for volunteers? 4. What types of insurance coverage do volunteers have? 5. I want to volunteer overseas, where can I find out more?
South Australia	Nick Olifent, Volunteering SA	c. 2006	Eighty Not Out
	Bree Martin & Kasey Kilgariff (eds)	c. 2004	KickStart: Young Volunteers Shape the Future

	Fleurieu Volunteer Resource Centre & Northern Volunteering SA		
	Volunteering SA (VSA)	c. 2004	Doing it! Making Volunteering Youth Friendly
	Joy Noble, Louise Rogers & Andy Fryar VSA	2003 2nd edn.	Volunteer Management: An Essential Guide
	VSA	2002	Just a Tick
	VSA	2002	Issues Sheets (for example, Management, Diversity, Special Populations as Volunteers)
	VSA	2001	Experiences and Perceptions of Indigenous and NESB Volunteers
	VSA	2001	Take your Partner for the Corporate Tango
	Joy Noble VSA	1997	Volunteers and Paid Workers: A Collaborative Approach
	Volunteer Centre of SA (for VA)	1996-2000	Australian Journal on Volunteering
	Amanda Carter, Volunteer Centre of SA	1995	A Volunteer's Guide to Volunteering
	Valerie Williams, Volunteer Centre of SA	c. 1995	Volunteering by People Aged 50 and Over: An Organisational Perspective, Report on the VIFA-Senior Participation Survey 1995
	Joy Noble, Volunteer Centre of SA	1993	A Quick Guide to Volunteering: The Concept and the Activity
	Volunteer Centre of S.A.	1993	Inside Out: Perceptions of Volunteering in a Multicultural Society
	Louise Rogers, Volunteer Centre of SA	1992	Volunteering and Young Unemployed People: A Study of Young Unemployed Volunteers in Relation to Obtaining Paid Employment and Quality of Life Enhancement
	Volunteer Centre of SA Funded by the Office of Multicultural Affairs	1992	The Report of the Volunteering is for All (Multicultural) Project: A Community Initiatives Grants Project
	Joy Noble, Volunteer Centre of SA	1991	Volunteering: A Current Perspective
	Margaret Curtis and Joy Noble Volunteer Centre of SA	1988	Volunteer Management: A Resource Manual
	Joy Noble and Louise Rogers Volunteer Centre of SA	1988 1st edn.	Volunteer Management: An Essential Guide
	Volunteer Centre of SA	1983-	Quarterly membership newsletter highlighting issues, events, training. Various names included 'Newsletter', 'Volunteering'
Western Australia	Fran Robinson, Volunteering WA (VWA)	2012	A Common Purpose: Formal Volunteering and Cultual Ddiversity
	Volunteering WA	2011	2011 State of Volunteering in WA Report
	Volunteering WA	2010	Volunteer Policy and Procedures Manual
	Megan Paull, Edith Cowan University, VWA	2009	Barriers to Volunteering by Newcomers in Wheatbelt Towns in Western Australia
	Megan Paull, David Halloway & Hermina Burnett, Volunteering WA & Murdoch University	2009	Volunteer Involving Organisations: Comparing the Management of Volunteers in Western Australia in 1994 and 2009

	VWA	2003	Volunteer Resource Manual: A Manual incorporating standards for best practice in management of volunteer-involving programs
	Judith Cockram VWA	2002	Volunteering and community participation by jobless people
	VWA	2002	Student Protocols and Guidelines for Negotiating a Student Placement Agreement
	VWA	2002	Volunteer Integrated Knowledge Tracking of Resources (VIKTOR)
	VWA	2002	VIRA: Volunteer Information Records Administrator version 1.0
	Esperance Volunteer Resource Centre	2001-2002	Bridging the Gap to Volunteering
	VWA & Workplace Relations & Management Consultants Pty Ltd.	2001-2002	WRMC Bulletin
	VWA	2001	Volunteering in Western Australia: Trends and Patterns 1995-2000
	VWA	2001	Research protocol and guidelines for negotiating a research agreement
	VWA	2001	It makes a difference to this jellyfish: A history of Volunteering Western Australia 1988-2000
	VWA	1999-2002	Volunteering Standards Manual. Updated 2002 to accord with National Standards (VA)
	Volunteer Centre of WA	1996	Volunteering: disAbility Counts!: A Report to Disability Services Commission on Research into Disability Issues in Volunteering
	Volunteer Centre of WA	1996	Dispelling the Myths: A Guide for Policy Development for Volunteer Management
	Volunteer Centre of WA	1994	Papers presented at Volunteers '94, a creative challenge: 5th National Conference on Volunteering, Perth, 5-8 April 1994
	Tina Siver Volunteer Centre of WA	1988 updated 1990	Principles and Guidelines of Volunteering
	Volunteer Centre of WA	n.d.	The Western Newsletter
Australian Capital Territory	Volunteering ACT (VACT)	2003	What is Volunteering ACT doing to assist the busfire recovery? Information for Volunteers and Organisations needing Volunteers
	Mary Porter VACT	2003	'Who cares?' Research into the recruitment, training, referral and support of HACC volunteers across Southern Highlight Planning Area, NSW Department f Ageing, Disability and Home Care
	VACT	2002	An Agenda for Volunteering for the Australian Capital Territory Community 2003-2007
	VACT	2001	Research project, 'Time Use, Motivational Factors and Community Participation Levels of Older Persons in the ACT'
	VACT	2000-2001	A series of fact sheets on volunteering, e.g. Fact Sheet 1: What are the financial costs of volunteering? Fact Sheet 2: Who Volunteers? What do the available statistics tell us?
	VACT	2000-	*VACT Action* [newsletter]
	VACT	n.d.	Working together: making a difference
	ACT Volunter Assocaiton	1989-	Newsletter (bi monthly)

		1993	
New South Wales	Centre for Volunteering	2008	A frontier of opportunity: Critical success factors of employee volunteering programs for the small-to-medium not-for-profit sector
	Anton Mischewski, Centre for Volunteering NSW	2006	Lending a Helping Hand: A Short Report of the Centre for Volunteering NSW's Member Survey 2006, *Australian Journal on Volunteering,* 11/2 (2006) 75-80
	Valley Volunteer Resource Agency	2001	'Great Life Stories' Book – 24 Stories
	Margaret Bell, Volunteering NSW	2000	The Case for Employee Volunteering
	Valley Volunteer Resource Agency	1999	Policy and Procedures Manual
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1998	Bridge to Volunteering
	Valley Volunteer Resource Agency	1998	Planning Implementing and Managing a Volunteer Program
	Volunteer Co-Ordinators Network (Natural Areas), Greening Australia (NSW) and Volunteering New South Wales	1998	Developing a bushcare volunteer program: A guide for organisations
	Joan Modder, Arts Council of NSW & Volunteering NSW	1997	The little purple book on how to make your arts council outrageously popular (no new members … hot to get and keep them?)
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1996	Competency Standards for Management of Volunteers
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1996	How to develop and manage a volunteer program
	Valley Volunteer Resource Agency	1995	CVS Visitors Handbook
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1994	Guidelines for Volunteer Insurance
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1994	Volunteer Management Practice
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1994	A Guide to Establishing a Retired and Senior Volunteer Program
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1992	Matching volunteers with clients
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1990	The Volunteer Issue (quarterly newsletter)
	Ann McFarlane, Volunteer Centre of NSW	1988 , 1991	Unlocking doors for today's youth
	Margaret Bell and Angela Crammond, Volunteer Centre of NSW	1988	Volunteer Training Manual
	Volunteer Centre of NSW	1988	Retired and Senior Volunteer Program: A Guide to Establishing RSVP Projects
	Alison Rosenberg, Volunteer Centre of NSW	1988	Community Action Workbook
	Volunteer Centre of New South Wales	1981-1989	Volunteer Centre Newsletter
	Volunteer Bureau of NSW/Voluntary Action Centre	1980	Development and Management of a Volunteer Programme
	Volunteer Bureau of NSW/Voluntary Action Centre	1979-1981	Newsletter
	Volunteer Bureau of NSW	1979, 1982	The A.B.C. of Interviewing
Queensland	Volunteering Queensland	2012	Creativity in Community: Exploring Creativity

			and Social Innovation in Non-Profits
	Leonie Bryen and Smith Karanchery, Volunteering Queensland	2012	Somerset Volunteer Capacity Research Snapshot: Challenges, Issues and Experiences
	James Schier	2001-2012	Virtual Volunteering: Best Practices and Future Potentials
	Brendan Vine	2004	Community Leadership and Ethics
	VQld: Mark Creyton Mark Creyton Lisa Ehrich Mark Creyton	2004	A series of articles on Community Development and Education: • Through the Looking Glass: Social trends on citizen participation • Too Good to be True? Six Dangerous Assumptions of a Civil Society Solution • Re-engaging the Citizen in Post Modern Times: A Look at Different Terms and Approaches • Community Capacity Building: An Overview of Key Themes and Issues
	VQld: Lisa Ehrich Lisa Ehrich	2002-2004	A series of articles on: • Coaching, Mentoring and Other Learning Strategies • Issues for Consideration when Planning and Designing a Formal Mentoring Program
	VQld: Mark Creyton Mark Creyton Mark Creyton and Deb Olive Lisa Ehrich, Neil Cranston & Mark Creyton	2002-2004 2004	A series of articles on Effective Community Leadership: • Community Leadership • Making a Difference: Becoming a Community Leader • Turning Passion in Action: Key themes in effective community and grassroots leadership • 'Website Learning for Community Leaders: A Partnership Project' in J. Searle & D. Roebuck (eds.), *Thinking, Activity Learning: Proceedings of the 12th Annual international Conference on Post-Compulsory Education and Training,* (Gold Coast: Australian Academic Press, 2004), 124-131.
	Volunteering Queensland	2003	Engaging Queenslanders together: Response to Queensland State Government's Policy on Volunteering
	Mark Creyton	2002	Making an Impact: Enhancing the Effectiveness of Unfunded and Small Voluntary Organisations and Groups
	Mark Creyton	2002	Partner Youth and Not for Profit Organisations
	Kath Corcoran	2002	Community Leadership and Management Development Resource
	Stephen McGarrigle	2002	Submission Writing Information Kit
	Volunteering Queensland	2001	Best Practice in Working with Volunteers
	Volunteering Queensland	2001	Volunteering Queensland's Volunteer Management Resource Kit
	J. Bate, Volunteering Queensland	1999	Access and Pathways: Volunteering in Queensland
	Volunteer Centre of Queensland	n.d.	The Development and Management of a Volunteer Referral Agency: A Seven Step Model

	Volunteering Queensland	n.d.	Managing Volunteers in Community Arts Organisations: Best Practice Booklet for Recruiting, Managing and Retaining Volunteers in Regional Arts Communities
	Volunteering Queensland	n.d.	Volunteer Community Games: Recognising and Celebrating Volunteers
	Volunteering Queensland	n.d.	Volunteer Handbook
	Volunteering Queensland	n.d.	Information sheets:
	Volunteering Queensland	various	Innovate Research Bulletin
Tasmania	Volunteering Tasmania	2012	State of Volunteering Report: Tasmania 2012
	Volunteering Tasmania	2012	Volunteer Reimbursement Policy Position Statement
	Lindsey Moffatt, Volunteering Tasmania	2011	Engaging young people in volunteering: what works in Tasmania?
	Volunteering Tasmania	2010	State of volunteering report: Tasmania 2010
	Volunteering Tasmania & Department of Premier and Cabinet(Tas)	2008	Volunteering Workshop April 2008: Workshop Papers.
	Volunteering Tasmania (funded by Home and Community Care Program Tasmania)	2004	The Reimbursement of Volunteers for Out-of-Pocket Expenses in HACC-Funded Services
	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania	various	'The Tasmanian Volunteer', Quarterly membership newsletter .
	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania	1995	Celebration of Volunteering: The Report of the First Tasmanian Conference on Volunteering, Launceston, 20 May 1995
	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania	n.d.	The Volunteering Issues Series 1. Statistics at Work: A vital part of practice 2. Recruitment 3. Orientation 4. Policy
	Volunteer Centre of Tasmania	n.d.	Information sheets and pamphlets: 1.Volunteer Referral Service: Assistance finding volunteers for your organisation 2.Volunteering in the Community – finding out about place to volunteer 3.A code of Practice for Organisations that involve Volunteers 4.What's Volunteering and What's Not? 5.Volunteering and Confidentiality 6.Jobsearch, Newstart and Volunteering 7.Rights and Responsibilities of Volunteers 8.Volunteering Philosophy and Principles 9.Orientation for Volunteers: Volunteering 10.Today – what to expect 11.Statistics on Volunteering in Tasmania
Victoria	Wimmera Volunteers	2012	Connections, compliance and community: The Changing Face of Volunteering in Regional Victoria
	Albury Wodonga VRB	Post 2000	Way2Go Volunteering Toolkit
	Wimmera Volunteers Inc	2001	Volunteer Management Manual
	Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre	2001	Volunteer Information Kit
	Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre	2001	Policy and Procedure Manual for Volunteers in Community Transport

	Eastern Volunteer Resource Centre	2001	Schools Information Kit
	Wimmera Volunteers Inc	2001	The Wimmera's Quiet Achievers – Volunteers Stories
	Volunteering Victoria	1997	Model Code of Practice for involving volunteer staff in not for profit organisations (Information sheet)
		1997	Check list for volunteers (Information sheet)
		1997	Definition and Principles of Formal Volunteering (Information sheet)
		1997	Standards for Volunteer Resource Centres and Volunteer Information Services
	Volunteering Victoria	1996	Standards for involving volunteers in not for profit organisations
	Stacey Apeitos & Robyn James	1990	Educating volunteers: A resource kit
	Volunteer Action Centre	1984 ongoing	'Newsletter', later 'Connexion' Quarterly membership newsletter on issues, events, training etc.

Appendix D: Sample of Volunteering Australia Submissions to Government Departments, Inquiries and Parliamentary Committees, 2001–2012

This sample was authored by Volunteering Australia in consultation with state and territory volunteer centres. This is not an exhaustive list, nor does it provide the submissions separately made to the Commonwealth Government and their respective state governments.

Organisation*	Year	Title	Submitted to
	2012	Response to the ACNC Exposure Draft	Department of the Treasury
	2012	Response to the ACNC Implementation Discussion Paper	Department of the Treasury
	2011	Pathways to Social Inclusion through Volunteering	
	2011	Scoping Study for a National Not-For-Profit Regulator	Department of the Treasury
	2011	Realising the Economic Potential of Senior Australians: Enabling Opportunity	Advisory Panel on the Economic Potential of Senior Australians
	2011	The Case for Creating a Specific Category For Volunteering	Department of Treasury Consultation Paper on The Definition of Charity
Volunteering Australia with Volunteering Victoria and Volunteering Tasmania	2011	Feedback on the Draft National Sport Volunteer Strategy	Australian Sports Commission
	2010	Insurance Protection for Volunteers	Insurance Roundtable Forum hosted by Senator Ursula Stephens and VA, May 2010
	2010	Scoping Study for a National Not-for-Profit Regulator	Australian Government
	2010	Pathways to Social Inclusion through Volunteering	Australian Government
	2010	Policy Consultation Framework	VA Stakeholders Australian Government
	2009	Preliminary Response: Contribution of the Not For Profit Sector	Productivity Commission
	2009	Contribution of the Not for Profit Sector	Productivity Commission
	2009	Response by Volunteering Australia to an invitation to comment on: National Compact Consultation Paper *learn, work, engage, have a voice*	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
	2009	Comment on Golden Guru Initiative – Australian Government's response to the	Australian Government

	2020 Summit	
2009	Background Paper: Review of the National Standards for Involving Volunteers in Not-for-Profit Organisations	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services & Indigenous Affairs
2009	Proposal: Brokering Community Employment Initiative	Australian Government
2008	Creating a Vision for the Future of Volunteering and the Voluntary Sector in Australian Society	Strengthening Communities and Supporting Working Families – Australia 2020 Summit Submission
2008	Informal Update on State/Territory Policy Check Requirements for Volunteers	Department of Families and Housing, Community Services, & Indigenous Affairs
2008	The Current Picture of Volunteering in Australia: International Year of the Volunteers (IYV)	Follow-up Report to the UN General Assembly
2008	Roundtable Discussion on Volunteering in the Community/Welfare Sector	Standing Committee on Family, Community, Housing and Youth
2008	The Reduction of HECS Debt through Community Service	Comment on the Initiative Proposed at the Australia 2020 Summit
2008	Report on the Recommendations for Fuel Reimbursement Process / Petrol Voucher Scheme	Department of Families, Housing,
2008	A National Compact: A Submission from the National, State and Territory Volunteering Peak Centres	Australian Government
2008	Discussion Paper: Towards a National Volunteer Strategy	Australian Government VA Stakeholders
2008	Feedback Report: Towards a National Volunteer Strategy	Australian Government
2008	Preparation for Submission on the Effectiveness of the Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act and Extending the Coverage to Volunteers	Australian Government
2008	A Proposal to FHCS&IA to Support the Establishment of a National Research Agenda on Volunteering: Funding submission 2008-2009	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services &Indigenous Affairs
2008	Volunteers and Volunteering: Vital to the Skilling Australia Agenda: Discussion Paper	Australian Government
2008	Strengthening the Voluntary Sector Contribution to Social Inclusion in Australia Society: Federal Budget Submission	Australian Government
2007	Federal Budget Submission 2007-2008	Australian Government
2007	Attachment A: The Rising Costs of Volunteering	

2006	Submission in Response to the ABS Information Paper: Population and Housing: ABS views on Content and Procedures 2006	ABS
2006	Working with Children Regulations	Regulatory Impact Statement. Victorian Department of Justice. Submitted during VA’s administration of Volunteering Victoria.
2006	Working with Children Regulations 2006	Victorian Department of Justice Regulatory Impact Statement
2006	Federal Budget Submission 2006-2007	
2006	Strengthening and Sustaining Volunteering in Australia	
2005	Comments on Proposed Industrial Relations Reforms	Senate Employment, Workplace Relations and Education Committee
2005	Proposed Industrial Relations Reforms (Work Choices, 2005)	
2005	Patterns of Volunteering in Emerging Communities	Department for Victorian Communities
2005	Working with Children Bill 2005	Victorian Department of Justice. Submitted during VA’s administration of Volunteering Victoria.
2005	Aged and Community Services in Australia: A Framework	Aged and Community Services Australia
2005	Response to ‘Striking the Balance: Women, Men, Work and Family’	
2005	Inquiry into Corporate Responsibility	Parliamentary Joint Committee on Corporations and Financial Services
2005	Federal Budget Submission 2005-2006	Australian Government
2005	ABS Census for 2006	ABS
2005	The Role of ICT in Building Communities and Social Capital & Information and Communications Technology Transforming the Nonprofit Sector	Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts
2004	Supporting Volunteering in Australia	
2004	Economic Implications of an Ageing Australia	Productivity Commission
2003	Response to the Youth Participation Certificate Consultation Questions	Australian National Training Authority
2003	Response to ABS Information Paper ‘Census Population and Housing: ABS views on Content and Procedures 2006’	ABS
2003	Proposals for Commonwealth Age Discrimination Legislation	
2003	A Response to the Discussion “Shaping Our Future’: A Discussion Starter for the	Australian National Training Authority on the

		Next National Strategy for Vocational Education and Training, 2004-2010	National Strategy for Vocational Education and Training 2004-2010
	2002	Submission to the Ministerial Meeting on Public Liability Insurance	Ministerial Meeting on Public Liability insurance 27 March 2002
	2002	Inquiry into the Impact of Public Liability and Professional Indemnity Insurance Cost Increases	Senate Economics References Committee
	2002	The Core Consultative Group on Age Discrimination	Australian Government
	2002	Submission to the Principles Based Review of the Law of Negligence	Review of the Law of Negligence
	2001/2002	Inquiry into Insurance	ACCC
	2001	Response to Australians Working Together	Australian Government
Australian Association for Volunteering	1990	Funding of Peak Health and Community Organisations	House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs

*Unless otherwise stated this sample of submissions were authored by Volunteering Australia.

Appendix E: Survey questions for Volunteer Resource Centres

Centre information	
Name: (Your name will be included in the analysis *only* if you have chosen to be identified)	Position:
Organisation:	State:
Contact details:	
Background information	
1. What year was your centre founded?	2. Is your centre a program of local government or other agency? If 'yes' please state the name of the local government or agency
3. Why was it founded? (you may choose more than one reason) • Sponsored or auspiced by the state volunteer centre • Sponsored or auspiced by national volunteer centre • Sponsored or auspiced by local government • Community identified need to establish our vrc/vfs • A combination from the above list (please indicate) • Other (please specify)	4. How many people work at your centre? a. Paid workers b. Volunteers
5. How many members does your centre have?	6. What percentage of your membership comes from the following sectors? • Community/welfare • Education/training • Sport/physical recreation • Religious • Health • Parenting/children/youth • Other recreation/interest • Arts/heritage • Emergency services • Environment/animal welfare • Other
7. Who do you consider to be the major stakeholders of your centre?	8. What geographical area does your centre cover? • Metropolitan • Regional • Rural • A mixture (please specify) • What is the numerical population your centre covers? . • What is the geographical area size your centre covers? . • What activities does your centre provide? (choose all those applicable) • Volunteer Referral • Volunteer Training • Board/Committee Training • Manager/Coordinator Training • Advice to organisations on managing a volunteer

program
- Promotion of volunteering
- Advocacy for volunteers
- Network support
- Corporate volunteering
- Other services/programs, e.g., transport to local community (please specify)

11. What are your centre's three major activities?

12. What funding do you receive? (choose all those applicable)
- Federal government (please state the department/s name)
- State government (please state the department/s name)
- Local government
- Donations
- Philanthropic trusts
- Fee for service
- Membership fees
- Other (please specify)

In percentages what is the breakdown of your funding from these bodies and activities?

13. What is your annual income?
$0-49,00
$50,000-99,999
$100,000-199,999
$200,000-399,999
$400,000-599,999
$600,000-799,999
$800,000-999,999
$1,000,000+

14. Do you receive in-kind support from government, business or a not for profit organisation?
Can you give an example?

15. This year, how many contracts with governments do you have for the delivery of services?

16. What frustrates your centre's work? (choose those applicable)
- Too many demands from stakeholders
- Too much paperwork
- Inadequate funding
- Bureaucratic interference
- Competition with other not for profit organisations
- Competition with state government volunteer office
- Unclear boundaries with state volunteering centre
- Unclear boundaries with government volunteer office
- Lack of communication with state volunteering centre
- Lack of communication with the national volunteering centre
- Other (please specify)

17. What is the greatest threat to your centre's sustainability?

Relationships with governments and state/national peak volunteer centres

18. Has your centre worked with your state volunteer centre to -
- Promote volunteering
- Advocate on behalf of volunteers
- Lobbied government for change
- Improve the working situation of volunteers
- Improve the working situation of managers of

19. What benefits has your centre received from its relationship with Volunteering Australia, the national peak body? (please list the three most important)
Could your centre's relationship with Volunteering Australia be improved
Please provide an example:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">volunteers
• Raise awareness of the rights of volunteers
• Other (please specify)
a. Please choose one and say how this has benefited your centre:
b. Could your centre's relationship with the state volunteer centre be improved?
Please provide an example:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">20. List the benefits that government gains from your 'on the ground' knowledge and expertise?
Could your centre's relationship with the state or federal government be improved?
Please provide an example:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Network involvement</td></tr>
<tr><td>21. What networks does your centre facilitate?
• Managers of Volunteers network
• Other (please specify)
Please name these networks:</td><td>22. What are the benefits of facilitating these networks?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Volunteer Resource Centre/Volunteer Referral Service Network</td></tr>
<tr><td>23. What is the name of your VRC/VFS Network?
How often does it meet?</td><td>24. How many volunteer resource centres and volunteer referral services are members of your state's volunteer resource centre network?</td></tr>
<tr><td>25. Please list the reasons for your involvement in this network:
• Exchange of professional knowledge
• Information sharing
• Discussion about government policy
• Problem solving
• Support to and from other members
• Develop joint projects for volunteers and organisations
• Develop new and innovative ideas
Other (please give an example)</td><td>26. What is the main benefit you receive from this network?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">27. Would you like to make any final comments?</td></tr>
</table>

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Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), *Press Statement by President, R.J. Hawke', A.C.T.U. A Seminar Leisure – A National Perspective,* ACTU, 9 April 1974.

Amonini, Claudia & Vudrag, Sandra, *Volunteering and Local Governments in Western Australia,* (Perth: Department for Communities, 2011), [website] (n.d.) 28, <http://www.communities.wa.gov.au/Documents/Volunteers/Volunteering%20and%20Local%20Governments%20in%20Western%20Australia%20Full%20%20Report.pdf>, accessed 29 August 2013.

Australia, Department of Employment Education & Training, *Towards One Program, SkillShare The Community & Youth Network for Employment & Training* (Canberra: Department of Employment Education & Training, 1988).

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