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Social Process in a Voluntary Organisation:
A Study of Adult Membership in the Scout Association
of New Zealand

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Abstract

This thesis examines social processes in a large, voluntary organisation. The investigation was concerned with the activities and retention of lower-level adult members in the Scout Association of New Zealand. The demographic, socio-economic and organisational background of members, their attitudes, and the organisational context within which activity occurs were examined with reference to the relationship of these variables with the satisfaction, commitment and participation of members. Particular attention was given to five organisational variables; size, communication, control, support and effectiveness. Attitudinal variables such as solidarity, ideology, prestige and orientation were also examined. It was found that the organisational variables were most clearly related to differences in satisfaction, commitment and participation. This was described firstly in terms of an association between larger size, better and more frequent communication, and higher levels of control, support, and effectiveness. The latter in turn was related to higher levels of satisfaction, commitment, and participation. Background variables, particularly age, also proved important. This suggested that the life cycle plays a part in voluntary association membership and activity.

It was concluded that the main organisational variables are affected by the peripheral structural position of voluntary associations in New Zealand society. The sanctions available to senior officials are few and generally weak, and there is often little pressure to pursue some of the more intangible formal goals. Adherence to official procedures varies, with frequent blockages of control, communication and support.

This results in considerable differences in the organisational

environment within which members operate.

The study was carried out over two years. Observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used, as well as a lengthy questionnaire.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines social process in a voluntary organisation.¹ The study reported on here was part of a larger project undertaken on behalf of the Scout Association of New Zealand,² the largest voluntary association in the country.³

1. The definition of "voluntary organisation" used here is that of Smith and Freedman (1972,viii). They state:

The voluntary organization is a nonprofit, nongovernment, private group which an individual joins by choice.

This is interpreted quite narrowly by the authors, who exclude such bodies as churches, unions and political parties.

Members are not born into such associations as they are into the family or the church, nor drafted into them as in the case with the military, nor are they required to join in order to make a living as is frequently true of professional groups. Business and trade associations, adjuncts to profit making institutions, do not precisely qualify as voluntary associations either, although they do at times have some of the features of voluntary organizations. Political parties and related political clubs- which differ in both function and legal status from voluntary associations, are also excluded. Finally, it should be noted that our interest is in structured, formally organized, relatively permanent, secondary groupings as opposed to less structured, informal, ephemeral or primary groupings.

Smith and Freedman recognise that some organisations may not clearly fall in or out of this category. As will become apparent, the Scout Association of New Zealand clearly is a voluntary organisation on these criteria, and the narrow reading given to the definition highlights some of the differences with churches or unions. The key differences for our purposes are concerned with structural location in a society, and related differences in social control mechanisms. This point will be expanded in subsequent chapters.

2. The project was funded by the Scout Association and the Department of Recreation and Sport. The research was conducted by Thomas F. Hyde and myself, supervised by Lynn White and David Pearson.
3. The terms "voluntary association" and "voluntary organisation" will be used interchangeably.

Senior members of the organisation were concerned about declining membership in the Scout section, which takes in boys between the ages of eleven and fifteen. The problem of declining boy numbers was examined in the context of boys' leisure patterns in this age group. These findings will be presented elsewhere.¹ They were also concerned about high adult leadership turnover in this section, as well as the quality and implementation of the boy programme. This was the main focus of my research.

The Problem

The research was limited by the requirements of the Scout Association. No restrictions were placed on access to the organisation, but we were obliged to examine the problem areas suggested by their top leadership. With scarce resources of time and money, my efforts were sometimes directed towards problems of a "practical", rather than theoretical, nature. Applied research is no less "sociological" than unrestricted research, nor is it necessarily atheoretical. However, the problem was presented to us in a commonsense framework, and placing it within a theoretical perspective proved difficult.

The theoretical questions underlying this research were not posed immediately. Instead, they evolved gradually, through a series of "working hypotheses" (see Geer, 1964). Propositions or ideas derived from the theoretical literature

1. Thomas F. Hyde, MA Thesis tentatively entitled Early Adolescent Male Participation in Organized Leisure Activity in New Zealand. To be submitted to the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Victoria University of Wellington, 1978.

were informally tested through field work. Conversely, various perspectives were surveyed for possible solutions to key problems that arose in the field. This process was continuous, and eventually a framework was refined to a point where it could be systematically examined. Such an enterprise is never really complete. My concern was whether it was both theoretically justifiable and useful in explaining the phenomena with which I was confronted.

Most theoretical discussions of formal organisation have been developed with reference to work organisations. Voluntary associations differ considerably from work organisations in their relationship to the wider social structure (Barber, 1950). As a result, their internal processes take on a distinctive character. My interest centred upon these processual dimensions. It was apparent that the available theories could not be applied indiscriminately. My objective was therefore not to test or even construct theory, but to explore the applicability of concepts and empirical findings from the general literature on formal organisations to the problems of a voluntary association.

Three concepts are central to this study. There is usually low structural pressure on individuals to enter a voluntary organisation, and often strong pressure for them to leave. Commitment to the organisation is therefore an inherent problem, given the structural obligations to work and family roles in a society such as New Zealand. Secondly, voluntarism limits the array of sanctions (both positive and negative) that can be applied to members, so social control becomes a central concern as well. When commitment and

social control are problematic, an organisation must confront the question of how to get its "work" done. Effectiveness is thus the third key concept that will be considered.

Perspectives on these concepts have been developed by writers such as Etzioni, Sills, Becker, March and Simon, Hirschman, and Tannenbaum and his colleagues. This is not an exhaustive list, but the work of these writers provided the main theoretical and methodological guidelines for this thesis. Their contributions to the literature, as well as those of a number of other writers, will be discussed more fully later.

The concepts mentioned above will be examined in relation to a variety of dimensions. Commitment to the organisation is one of the main variables which must be explained, along with members' satisfaction and participation. These concepts are considered here as the main indicators of an individual's level of activity and intention to remain in the organisation. Social control and effectiveness form part of the organisational context of leadership, and will be examined along with communication, organisational support, and the size of units in which members work. Demographic, socio-economic and organisational background of members will also be discussed, as well as attitudinal variables such as ideology and solidarity. The relationship of commitment, satisfaction and participation to the other variables is the ultimate focus of this thesis. It will be shown that variations in these dimensions are not accidental, but are systematically associated with a number of the factors mentioned above.

Social background, attitudes and organisational factors have been suggested as possible explanations for voluntary association membership and participation. All play a part, but the emphasis will be upon the role of the organisation. The main argument developed here will be that a supportive organisational context is associated with more effective performance, which in turn is related to more positive attitudes toward the organisation.

The discussion is an exploratory attempt at partial explanation. Fuller investigation must involve more highly developed measures of the variables discussed here, and more importantly, an analysis of the relationship of the organisation with its environment. The latter project would require the comparative analysis of a large number of voluntary associations, a task beyond the scope of this thesis.

The Organisation

Scouting began in England in 1907. The founder of the organisation, General (later Lord) Robert Baden-Powell, ran a small camp for boys based upon principles developed through his military experiences. These ideas were published in 1908 as Scouting for Boys. Considerable interest followed, and within 18 months there were 100,000 Scouts in Great Britain. The organisation is now well-established in Western and most "third world" countries, with individual membership well into the millions.

Scouting was established in New Zealand in 1908. It has had an uneven history in this country, with periods of growth

alternating with times of difficulty and decline.¹ A high point of 53,503 uniformed members was reached in 1972, with a decline of about 10% since then.

The formal goals of the Scout Association are vague. The organisation's rulebook states that :

The aim of the Association is to encourage the physical, mental and spiritual development of young people so that they may take a constructive place in society.

The Scout Association is a training organisation for boys, dependent upon adult volunteers to provide the training.

The aim referred to above is outlined in a series of rules called the "Law and Promise". There are four main elements to these rules. The first three are to be religious, law-abiding and patriotic, and to help other people. The fourth element is to "do one's best" at following the principles of the organisation and in carrying out activities. Personal growth through achievement in a graduated series of tests and through group activity are emphasised. The skills and beliefs that underlie Scouting are not simple, and adult volunteers are encouraged to undertake training in order to successfully (in the terms of senior members) implement a programme for boy development.

Scouting is a serious activity for many people. They believe that membership in the organisation implies an obligation to carry out the basic principles in everyday life.

1. Culliford (1958) has published a history of the first fifty years of Scouting in New Zealand. The book is useful, but has a number of lapses and is not really a scholarly treatment of the subject.

While these principles can be interpreted in a number of ways, their practical application has been politically, socially and economically conservative. This does not simply mean support for the "status quo". Rather, the dominance of secular and welfare ideologies over many aspects of New Zealand society is seen by a number of members as contrary to their personal beliefs.

When the organisation was founded, its structure consisted of Baden-Powell as "Chief Scout" and the individual adult volunteers and their boys. Routinisation and formalisation occurred quickly in New Zealand. Baden-Powell exercised charismatic control much longer in England than he could elsewhere. A hierarchy of several levels existed in New Zealand almost from the outset. It is now differentiated both vertically and horizontally, and has units in all parts of the country.

The Scout Association of New Zealand is incorporated by Act of Parliament.¹ The organisation has a "corporate" structure, with a central body empowered to form local branches (Sills, 1957). Local units have considerable autonomy in practice, but they are legally in existence at the discretion of the national officials. Similarly, an adult may only serve as a Leader by obtaining a "warrant" issued at National level.

1. See "The Boy Scouts Association Act 1956" and "Scout Association of New Zealand Amendment Act 1967".

There are four main vertical levels in the organisation (Diagram 1.1). Below National, there are at present 12 Areas,¹ approximately 140 Districts and 950 Groups. Each Group can contain one or more of three "sections": Cub Packs, Scout Troops, and Venturer Units. Boys are assigned to sections by age. The Scout Leaders (SLs) and Assistant Scout Leaders (ASLs) who run the Troops are the focus of this research.²

Diagram 1.2 outlines the major warranted positions at each level below National, showing the Scout section only. The positions contain primarily either administrative or training elements, but there is always some overlap.³ The only Leaders who have regular contact with boys are in Troops, Packs or Units. Most positions in Diagram 1.2 may (and often do) have assistants. A large number of other positions, mostly of an advisory nature, exist at various levels.⁴

1. Some Areas are divided into Zones, which have begun to play an active administrative role in some places quite recently.
2. As our concern is with the Scout section, the term "Leaders" will generally mean those adults working in Scout Troops. The term "Scouter" is also commonly used to refer to this group of men. The term "senior Leader" will mean a person holding a National or Area warrant. This is done to protect anonymity when using quotations from interviews. The term "Leaders" can be used to describe members at various levels, but this will be clear from the context.
3. There are training positions for the Cubs and Venturers as well at all levels.
4. See the Association's Policy, Organisation and Rules, sections IV,V,VI.

Diagram 1.1: Levels of Organisation

Diagram 1.2: Uniformed positions in the Scout Association
below National level

Responsibility for the everyday conduct of Scouting at each level rests with one person, an administrative officer (AC, DC or GL). They are usually assisted by uniformed and non-uniformed personnel, and by committees. Officers at each level are responsible to the next higher level. The autonomy and power of officers and committees varies considerably in practice.

The formal structure of different levels varies somewhat. Diagram 1.3 shows a "typical" District, with only one Group and the Scout section included. The key figure in the Group is the Group Leader (GL). He is responsible for the welfare and co-ordination of its elements. Officially he is an administrator, not a participant in section activities.¹

Two co-ordinating mechanisms are found in Groups. The Group Council is a meeting of all uniformed Leaders, and is chaired by the GL. Activities, resources, Leader training requirements and individual boys may all be discussed. The Group Committee is composed mostly of non-uniformed supporters of the Group, usually boys' parents. It is run by a non-uniformed Group Chairman. This committee provides finance and equipment, a meeting place for the sections, Leader recruitment, and transportation. It is the GL's responsibility to ensure that the Committee provides adequate resources for the boy programme to be carried out. It must be stressed that Scouting can become time-consuming and expensive. The organisation's policy is that training

1. A number of GLs are active in Troops, despite official disapproval. These GLs were included in the study along with SLs and ASLs.

Diagram 1.3: District and Group Organisation

the boys is enough work for the Scouters, so participation by non-uniformed supporters and a competent individual to co-ordinate their work is important.

Districts vary in size from under 100 to nearly 1000. Urban Districts can be small in area, while rural Districts might contain a few towns many miles apart. The functions of the District differ from those of the Group. District personnel are less concerned with material resources, and have relatively little direct contact with boys. One of their tasks is to inform Groups of changes in Scouting policy and programme. National officials generally must communicate with Groups through Districts. Conversely, the District Commissioner is responsible for the proper running of his District, and ultimately for the Groups as well.

District Section Leaders perform "staff" duties. In the Scout section, the tasks of the District Scout Leader (DSL) fall into three categories. Firstly, he provides training in skills and methods to Scouters, either through formal courses or through "on the job" or "in service" training. This might involve a visit to the Scouter in his Troop or in camp. Secondly, the DSL is a source of social support. They often deal with conflict, offer advice or encouragement, and provide interpretation of the meaning structure of Scouting. Thirdly, the DSL often serves as an activities officer; organising camps, events or training sessions.

Other District personnel are the District Chairman and District Secretary. Along with the DC, Assistant DC and

District Section Leaders, they comprise the District Team, which deals with the everyday running of the District. All District personnel and GLs plus one lay (non-uniformed) member of each Group are members of the District Committee. Policy and administrative matters are usually considered here. Activities and programme are discussed at District Councils, a meeting of all Scouters in the District. These sessions are also supposed to provide Leader training, usually organised by the DSL. Councils are also an opportunity for Leaders from different Groups to informally discuss problems or socialise.

Areas are similar to Districts in many respects (Diagram 1.4). An Area Executive Committee, consisting of DCs and Area personnel, assists the Area Commissioner (AC) on questions of policy and administration. Much of the work is done by several subcommittees. An Area Council deals with activities, programme and some aspects of Leader training. It consists of the Area Scout Leader and his assistants, and DSLs.

An Area Training Leader (ATL) co-ordinates and helps run the formal Leader training programme. A number of courses covering skills, Troop management and ideology are offered, culminating in a week-long intensive course at one of the organisation's training centres. Specialty and refresher courses are also run in some Areas. Training is conducted by DSLs, various Area Leaders, and members of the National Training Team resident in the Area.

Diagram 1.4: Area Structure

The Area Commissioner is both executive head of his Area and a member of the National Executive Committee, the most important policy-making body in the organisation. Current policy does not require an AC to have any prior knowledge about Scouting. High status in the community and administrative ability are considered more important, and recent appointments have included men with little or no previous contact with the movement. However, in these instances a Deputy Area Commissioner with considerable Scouting experience is often present. In some of the larger Areas a full-time, paid Secretary handles the details of administration and correspondence. Field Commissioners are employees of National Headquarters (NHQ). They are responsible to the Chief Executive Commissioner (CEC), but work in the Areas as "agents" of the ACs. Their activities include development, administration, public relations, training and "trouble-shooting".

Diagram 1.5 gives a simplified outline of National level organisation. The Chief Scout¹ and National President are both laymen. The National President is generally a high status individual who represents the organisation in the wider community, as well as participating in major internal decisions.

The governing body of the organisation is the National Council. Members are senior, National Leaders, ACs, one warranted and one lay representative from each Area, and

1. This has usually been the Governor-General.

Diagram 1.5: National Level Structure

no more than 24 elected members. The latter are nominated and elected by existing Council members. The Council is drawn entirely from inside the movement, and is either appointed or self-selected. The Council meets annually, and policy is generally considered by the National Executive Committee. In addition to the ACs, several senior National officials are also members of this committee. Most of the detailed work of the Executive is performed by three standing committees; Training and Programme, Finance and Supply, and General Purposes.

Management activities are performed by a staff of professionals. Together with a small group of senior volunteers (probably no more than twenty) they comprise the National Headquarters group, or NHQ.¹ Co-ordination and leadership of the organisation is the responsibility of the top professional, the Chief Executive Commissioner. The CEC and National Secretary (another professional) play an active role in policy formation. Prior to 1961, the top position was filled by a volunteer. Growth in membership and administrative work has been accompanied by an increase in the number of professionals, although there are only about twenty people (excluding clerical and maintenance staff) who earn their living through Scouting. While there are few professionals, and power is officially held by volunteers, the professional staff is very influential at National level. The reasons for this will be developed more fully in Chapter 2.

1. Membership of NHQ is not clearly defined. There is a small group who effectively run the organisation, and these people must be distinguished from less central National officials and the ACs. A detailed breakdown of who is "in" NHQ is not essential for this thesis.

The National Commissioners for Cubs, Scouts, Venturers and Training are the top volunteer positions on the training side of the movement. In conjunction with the Director of Leader Training (a professional), they are responsible for adult training. They are also central to the formulation of the boy programme, and through their contacts with Area Leaders, its implementation.

To summarise: at all levels (excluding sections) the organisation is structured such that a relatively small core of individuals are responsible for management and activities. They are assisted by a larger group of individuals and committees. There are two streams through which communications and control flow: executive and staff. Training staff are responsible both to administrators at their own level and the training staff at the level above. Communication and influence can follow either path. The organisation contains both professional and volunteer members, and among volunteers there are both uniformed and non-uniformed personnel.

There is a distinctive "Scout method" of training. In Scout Troops, this is termed the Patrol System. Most senior Leaders assert that this is the only way to run a Troop properly. Baden-Powell believed that boys "naturally" learn best from one another, rather than from adults. Boys are placed in Patrols, with one boy in each group, the Patrol Leader (PL), given considerable responsibility. The job of the Scouter is to supervise the training of boys by other boys. In essence, the Patrol System operates by means of the Scouters training the PLs, who in turn train the boys in their patrol. Activities are supposed to be selected

by the boys. It is up to the adults to organise the necessary training in morality, interpersonal skills and Scouting techniques within a framework of boy-selected activities. They must plan a programme, train the PLs to execute most of the programme, supervise activities as necessary, and deal with individual problems as they arise. This is not a simple task. It entails a considerable time commitment from Scouters, as well as the skills necessary to run a programme which emphasises outdoor activities. It also gives more formal responsibility to boys than most contemporary adults consider appropriate. Running the Patrol System requires a high level of support from the organisation, and more dedication from members than is typical in most voluntary associations.

Methodology¹

Two major objectives formed the basis of the research design. Firstly, I had to become familiar with the organisation. Having had no prior contact with Scouting, I hoped to find out how Leaders viewed their activities, and to examine the functioning of the Association. Once Leaders' roles and problems were ascertained, the generality of these findings had to be established.

1. A more discursive account of the procedures used in this project has been published in the form of a research chronicle (Kitay, 1977). This article was completed before the end of the research, and the major points are contained in this section.

This provided a logic for my research activities. Early work focused on the activities of Leaders at all levels of the movement in some depth. Although members at the lowest level of the hierarchy were my main concern, most theories of formal organisation stress the interdependence of different individuals and sub-units. The first year of field work was devoted to obtaining an understanding of a vertical "slice" of the Scout Association. Only after this was done could techniques with a wider range be used.

A variety of methods were employed, partly to triangulate the problem.¹ Triangulation requires several different types of information on the same subject. As Zelditch (1962) indicates, different types of information are best gathered by different methods. Background information was gathered through interviews and reading Scout literature. Participant and non-participant observation, and semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used to obtain detailed data on everyday processes. To generalise from these findings, a structured, self-administered questionnaire and interviews with Leaders from different parts of the country were employed. The chronological order in which the research was carried out is presented in Appendix 1.

The methodology was influenced by a number of factors. For example, it was not possible to obtain a systematic sample of former Scouters. This had a major impact on the questions that could be asked. The study could not deal with the reasons why Scouters leave, but the reasons why current members remain. This had the unanticipated effect of directing my attention to the positive aspects of the organisation as well as to the negative side. Another problem

1. See Trow (1957) and Denzin (1970) for a discussion of triangulation.

arose from my personal situation. I have been a full-time member of the teaching staff at two universities during the research. This affected the kinds of relationships that could be established in the field. One must be able to develop and maintain ongoing relationships with some groups of subjects. I refrained from initiating some contact that would have to be maintained until there was sufficient time. This slowed down the research process considerably. Parts of the original research design had to be curtailed or eliminated entirely, again due to time constraints.

The major methods used, observation, interviewing, and the questionnaire, are outlined below.

Observation. Meetings and activities at all levels of the organisation were observed. Generally, non-participant observation was used. On occasion I was asked to make a comment on some aspect of Scouting while at a meeting, and I generally did so. I attended all but a small part of the Scouts' Leader training programme, and I usually participated along with the course candidates.

The most intensive period of field work was in the latter half of 1975. Four Troops were selected, and I tried to attend Troop meetings as often as possible. This was essential in order to establish and maintain rapport with the Leaders. I attended meetings at all levels of the organisation during this time, and was able to obtain a working view of a vertical segment of the organisation.

My goal was to immerse myself in the organisation in order to "see" activities in the same terms as the members. By

becoming an "insider", one gains access to unverbaliised norms and practices. These can be placed into a broader perspective by simultaneously maintaining an "outsider" perspective. Establishing a balance between the two, especially as I developed good, and often quite friendly, relationships with members, was a difficult task.

Interviewing. Observation and interviewing were closely related in my research. Questions raised through one method were pursued by means of the other.

I tried to arrange formal interviews after getting to know potential subjects. In this way little time was lost establishing rapport, and I was aware of the subject's reliability and his access to information. This procedure could not be followed during my two field trips to locations outside Wellington. Visits of about one week each were arranged to different parts of the country. This was essential in order to obtain first-hand experience of Scouting outside one main centre.

Approximately 75 formal interviews were conducted, lasting from 20 minutes to 3½ hours. Interviews with Scouters generally lasted about 45 minutes, while those with senior Leaders tended to run for 90 minutes or longer. Some subjects were interviewed two or three times. Most formal interviews were semi-structured, using a list of topics to be explored in depth. These were generally tape recorded and transcribed. Where this was not done, I wrote out as much of the interview as possible from memory at the first opportunity.

Many opportunities for informal interviews also arose, and these were put into note form. Casual conversations were another valuable source of data. Unguarded comments made in these contexts provided insight that would not have emerged in a more formal setting. It is difficult to estimate the number of informal and casual interviews that took place, but they far exceeded the number of formal interviews.

Questionnaire. A random sample of Scout Districts was drawn, and a questionnaire delivered to every uniformed Leader active in a Troop.¹ It was hoped that new Leaders and GLs active in Troops would be included by this strategy. 25% of the Districts were used. 485 questionnaires were returned, of which 465 were usable. The total size of the sample population is unknown, but I estimate that the return rate was approximately 85%.²

The questionnaire was based on data collected by field work methods and items selected from available scales. Important sources were Price (1972) and Miller (1970). As a wide range of topics were examined, a forced-choice format was employed. Drafts of the questionnaire were discussed with small groups of Scouters. These meetings, which lasted about five hours each, were very useful in developing the final version.

1. As the unit of analysis is the individual, this is not a true random sample. The nature of the Scouts' records precluded drawing such a sample. The strategy that was selected seemed the best alternative. The liability, of course, is that one cannot generalise from the sample to the whole population with confidence. While statistical tests of significance are presented, they are used for heuristic purposes only. I am grateful to Lynn White and Owen Dent for their comments on this sampling strategy.
2. There were 506 Scouters in the sample Districts in the 1976 Scout Census. Excluding GLs, 421 usable schedules were returned, or 83.2%.

Distribution and collection were carried out through a network which I established for the purpose. Each AC was asked to appoint an Area co-ordinator. This individual was given a list of sample Districts in his Area and asked to appoint a District co-ordinator in each. Questionnaires were distributed and collected by District personnel. Measures were taken to preserve respondents' anonymity. Several preliminary and follow-up letters were sent to Area and District personnel, along with instruction sheets. Field Commissioners provided a final source of support for the exercise. Arranging this network took approximately four months. The effort was worthwhile, as almost all the questionnaires were returned within two months, a very short time in a voluntary organisation the size of the Scout Association.

Forced-choice items were coded by volunteers from the Scouts, and every questionnaire was checked by me. I coded all open-ended items.

Statistical analysis was carried out using the SPSS system (Nie, et.al., 1975). Kendall's Tau B and C were chosen as measures of association for tabular analysis with ordinal variables. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients and partial correlation coefficients were used for many relationships. Strictly speaking, correlation coefficients require an interval level of measurement. However, Labovitz (1967, 1970) has argued that this can be overlooked in many instances, and these statistics are now used by many sociologists for ordinal variables.¹

1. Owen Dent and Larry Saha offered patient and valuable advice on the statistical analysis.

All data, including interviews and observations, were gathered by working through official organisational channels. The possible dangers of receiving inaccurate information through being identified as the "agent" of a particular group are well known. I attempted to present myself as an independent researcher, and received excellent co-operation at all levels. While there is no way of checking, my subjects generally seemed to be frank in answering my questions, and many tried to assist the research as much as possible.

Conclusion

The purpose, context and methodology of this research has been outlined briefly. The remainder of the thesis will be devoted to theoretical arguments and the presentation and analysis of data.

Chapter 2 contains a selective review of the literature on formal organisations. Emphasis has been placed upon the voluntary associations literature, and those parts of the general literature on formal organisations which directly relate to the central topic of this thesis. Particular attention has been given to the theoretical arguments which underlie the conceptual framework used in subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 focuses on the demographic, socio-economic and organisational background of members of the Scout Association. Chapter 4 is the central substantive chapter of the thesis. Five major organisational variables are examined (size, communication, control, support and effectiveness), and the relationships between them outlined. Relationships between these variables and the background variables are then examined.

Chapter 5 begins by looking at several attitudinal variables; orientation, prestige, solidarity and ideology. An examination of commitment, satisfaction and participation follows. The relationships between these three variables and the other dimensions discussed in the text conclude this chapter. It is argued that significant relationships exist between the organisational variables, some of the background variables, and commitment, satisfaction and participation. Chapter 6 includes a theoretical critique of the main concepts used in the research, and some concluding remarks on the empirical findings. The practical nature of the project is emphasised here, and the findings are related to some of the long-term problems of the Scout Association. This chapter also stresses the implications of the study for future research in the area of voluntary associations.

Chapter 2

Perspectives on Organisations: A Selective Review of the Literature.

This chapter will examine part of the vast literature on formal organisations. An attempt at exhaustive coverage is inappropriate, and hence selection is based on the utility of a given work for the specific areas covered in this thesis.

A number of mainstream perspectives will be covered in the first section, on integration, goals and effectiveness. More specialised dimensions will be examined in the next two sections, including control, communication, commitment and satisfaction. The final section reviews some writings on voluntary associations.

The diversity of perspectives within the area of formal organisations has been noted by many writers (Etzioni, 1964; Perrow, 1970, 1972; Silverman, 1970; Haas and Drabek, 1973; Hall, 1974; Waldo, 1969; Pugh, 1966). Some writers, such as Hickson (1966), see a growing convergence in organisation theory. Silverman (1970), however, identifies fundamental and perhaps irreconcilable differences in the field. At present there is no one perspective which in Kuhn's (1970) terms is paradigmatic.

There is even disagreement over how the differing positions should be classified. Varying typologies of theories have been proposed by Etzioni (1964), Hall (1974), Silverman (1970), Pugh (1966), and Haas and Drabek (1973), among others, leading in turn to equally varied typologies of organisations.

Typologies have been based on concepts such as legitimacy (Weber, 1947; Gouldner, 1954), goals (Parsons, 1960; Katz and Kahn, 1966), compliance (Etzioni, 1964, 1965, 1975), beneficiaries (Blau and Scott, 1963), incentives (Clark and Wilson, 1961), environment and technology (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Perrow, 1967; Emery and Trist, 1965; Terreberry, 1968; Thompson, 1967; Woodward, 1958, 1965, 1970), and organisational structure (Blau, 1974; Blau and Schoenherr, 1971; Hickson, et.al., 1969, 1974; Hinings, et.al., 1974; Pugh, et.al., 1963, 1968, 1969A, 1969B; Bakke, 1959; Hall, 1974). Some of the more important typologies will be outlined below. Further discussion can be found in Blau and Scott (1963), Hall (1974), Eldridge and Crombie (1974), Mouzelis (1967), Pugh, Hickson and Hinings (1971), and Silverman (1970).

Integration, Goals and Effectiveness

Much of the literature on formal organisations has been concerned with two questions. Firstly, how do organisations "hang together", or function? Secondly, what are the aims of organisations, and how are they pursued? These are of central concern to this thesis, and can be considered in terms of the concepts integration, goals and effectiveness.

Weber's (1946, 1947) work on bureaucracy and general social organisation is of seminal importance. His typology of legitimacy was based on the concept of "imperative control", or "...the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons". (1947,152) Legitimacy is concerned with the orientation of actors to control structures, and involves some element of voluntary

compliance. Weber's three ideal typical categories were:¹ charismatic, traditional and legal-rational authority. Charismatic authority is based on the personal qualities of a leader. It is relatively unstructured and inherently unstable, and thus it frequently becomes "routinised" into one of the other two, more stable, forms of authority. Traditional authority resides in the customary nature of interaction. If something is seen as correct because "it has always been thus", traditional authority applies. Legal-rational authority relies upon "... a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands". (Weber, 1947, 328) This form of authority predominates in most modern organisations, although the other forms are important in voluntary associations, which often rely on the sentiments of their members for support. A major theme of Weber's work was the transition from traditional to legal-rational authority as the dominant mode of social organisation in Western societies (Giddens, 1971). In its pure form, the legal-rational organisation was termed a bureaucracy.²

An ideal typical bureaucracy consists of an appointed administrative staff, directed by a "supreme chief" in the top position. Weber (1947, 333-4) outlined ten criteria by which the staff are organised and operate, among which

1. By formulating ideal types (see Weber's discussion in The Methodology of the Social Sciences), he acknowledged that empirical instances of legitimate control could combine elements of the three types.
2. Bureaucracies existed in non-Western societies, such as China and ancient Egypt, but the concept is generally used to refer to modern organisations. "Pre-modern" bureaucracies are different from contemporary organisations.

are¹; impersonal administration of duties, clear hierarchy of offices with distinct spheres of competence, appointment by technical competence, being discharged only under certain circumstances, separation of the individual from ownership of his position or the means of administration, and "strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office".² Some commentators contend that Weber believed bureaucracy to be the most efficient form of organisation (Pugh, Hickson and Hinings, 1971; Sofer, 1972), but this view is controversial (Albrow, 1970).

The value of Weber's model lies in directing attention to the structural components of organisations. The rational aspects of bureaucracy, which encourage predictability and adherence to routine practices, are emphasised.

Weber's work has been criticised on a number of grounds. Blau (1974), for example, pointed out that it is paradoxical to combine the concepts of imperative control and voluntary compliance in the definition of authority. He claims that Weber takes legitimacy for granted. Blau added that Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy combines a conceptual scheme and a set of implicit hypotheses. Thus, empirically testable relationships are defined as given. Another paradox is suggested by Parsons (Albrow, 1970), who states that authority in a bureaucracy is not necessarily commensurate

1. Other criteria would have been emphasised if work organisations were the focus of the research. The Scout Association corresponds only loosely to this model.
2. The "supreme chief" is restricted by legal criteria as well.

with expertise. In fact, Merton (1968), Selznick (1966), Gouldner (1954) and Blau (1974) see no necessary connection between bureaucracy and rationality. Gouldner notes that Weber stresses the manifest functions of bureaucracy, and asks "...to whom did the rules have to be useful, if bureaucratic authority was to be effective?... (In terms of whose goals were the rules a rational device?". (1954, 20) Disagreement over rules implies that the definition of rationality is not shared by all members of an organisation, a contingency which Weber's model tends to neglect. However, these writers make extensive use of Weber's model of bureaucracy, and it remains fundamental to the field. Additional discussion of Weber's work on organisations can be found in Albrow (1970), Blau and Scott (1973), Collins (1975), Eldridge and Crombie (1974), Perrow (1972), Mouzelis (1967), Stinchcombe (1965, 1967), Etzioni (1964) and Hall (1963).

The dominant approach to the study of organisations has been structural-functionalism. This school contains a number of divergent streams, although all have as a central tenet the belief that social organisation can be viewed in terms of interlocking systems and sub-systems. The sub-systems are said to fulfil "system needs" (i.e. they have specific functions), which serve as goals for the sub-systems. The functionalists' concern is with how the sub-systems are integrated into the larger system, maintaining overall stability.¹

1. Some notion of equilibrium, whether static or dynamic, is utilised by the writers in this school.

Integration is based on a consensus concerning the goals of the larger system. This consensus is conceived in terms of shared values within the system.¹

Parsons' (1960) work on organisations is related to his general theoretical writings. He argues that "...primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal..."distinguishes organisations from other types of social systems and from one another. Their goals involve carrying out at least one of the functions required by the larger system. He outlines adaptive, implementive, integrative and pattern maintenance goals (his familiar A-G-I-L scheme). Voluntary associations tend to fall into the last category, particularly those with a strong "conventional" ideology such as the Scouts.

The legitimacy of the main goals is derived from the values of the wider social system, as are the sub-goals (e.g sub-system maintenance) of the organisation. Normative rules also govern the integration of individuals into the organisation, and define "...the obligations of loyalty of participants to the organisation as compared with the loyalties they bear to other roles". (Parsons, 1960, 21). As legitimacy is based upon external sources, it follows that significant change is generated by external pressures. (Parsons, 1967) In particular, where discrepant values produce role conflict, higher level values will dominate, requiring internal adaptations.

1. Some of the cruder critics of functionalism view this as implying that all of the members agree on everything all the time. This has never been the case, for Parsons or any other prominent functionalist.

Three organisational levels are distinguished. In ascending order they are the technical, managerial and institutional systems. The first two levels are concerned respectively with processing the materials acquired from external systems, and administration. The institutional level links the organisation with the wider social system, and is primarily concerned with fulfilling higher order values. There are qualitative distinctions between each level, because "...the people 'lower down' typically must shoulder responsibilities which cannot be regarded as simply 'delegated' by their 'superiors'". (Parsons, 1960, 63) However, it is the institutional level which ultimately controls the organisation, as power is seen as a "generalized societal resource" to pursue system goals. Power in an organisation is defined as legitimate power, and legitimacy is maintained by the institutional level.

Selznick (1943, 1957, 1966, 1969) is more concerned with the informal and unintended characteristics of organisations than Parsons. He states:

Unfortunately for the adequacy of formal systems of coordination, the needs of individuals do not permit single-minded attention to the stated goals of the system within which they have been assigned....

(D)elegation necessarily involves concrete individuals who have interests and goals which do not always coincide with the goals of the formal system. As a consequence, individual personalities may offer resistance to the demands made upon them.... These resistances are not accounted for within the

categories of coordination and delegation, so that when they occur they must be considered as unpredictable and accidental. (1969,22)

As the organisation attempts to maintain equilibrium, patterns of resistance become informally institutionalised, for example, through delegation of authority. This has unintended consequences, as subunits come into conflict in their own quest for stability. This requires further adaptation, with further unintended consequences.¹ The process of adaptation may commit the organisation to actions which conflict with stated goals. This also occurs through coöptation, "...the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organisation as a means of averting threats to its stability or structure". (Selznick, 1966, 15) Paradoxically, the quest for stability constantly drives organisations to seek new solutions to problems. Immediate, concrete pressures bring about incremental changes, often at the expense of vague or long-term goals.

A more recent theory in this tradition is Etzioni's (1959, 1960, 1964, 1965, 1975). His focus is on "compliance", the relationship between the power of superordinates and the involvement or orientation of lower participants. Power can be coercive, remunerative or normative, while lower participants can have alienative, calculative or moral involvement. Three congruent or "natural" types are discussed at length: coercive (coercive power, alienative involvement),

1. See the discussion in March and Simon (1958,42)

utilitarian (remunerative power, calculative involvement) and normative (normative power, moral involvement). Other combinations are said to "naturally" tend toward one of these types. The normative category includes voluntary associations, although most research has examined other types of normative organisations such as schools and churches.

Normative organisations can be broken down into two types. Pure moral organisations are based upon the internalisation of norms by lower participants and the manipulation of symbols by superordinates, while pure social organisations are characterised by close ties to primary groups and control by superordinates over acceptance by such groups. The former is usually found in organisations where vertical relationships are most important, the latter where horizontal relationships predominate. The two may occur simultaneously, but this is considered rare.¹

Leadership in organisations can be informal (based on personal characteristics) or official (based on position). These are not necessarily combined by the same individual, although this happens most frequently in normative organisations. Instrumental and expressive tasks are also frequently performed by the same person in normative organisations, with the expressive component being more important.

1. This probably indicates that Etzioni is unfamiliar with voluntary associations. Both forms are important in the Scouts, as well as in similar groups.

In these contexts:

...efforts are made...to staff the main organisational positions from which control is exercised with individuals who command personal influence....

(Etzioni, 1975, 664)

With Weber, Etzioni distinguishes between personal and routinised charisma, but differs in considering it possible for charisma to be acquired in office. Furthermore, he argues that charisma need not be restricted to the top position of an organisation. It may be functionally necessary for charisma to be distributed throughout an organisation, for example, in all line positions or in a particular rank.

The relationships between compliance and a number of other variables are examined by Etzioni (1975), and he also discusses numerous empirical studies that have made use of the theory. Despite the limitations imposed by the general and rather vague typology upon which the theory relies, it has proved useful in the present research as well as in other studies.

The work of Katz and Kahn (1966) is representative of open systems theory, a rapidly developing approach. The basis of the perspective is simple: "The functioning of any system...consists of recurrent cycles of input, transformation and output". (Katz and Kahn, 1966, 452)

Structure is created and maintained through the patterned

interaction of members. Katz and Kahn retain the concept of dynamic equilibrium, but consider system integration to be more problematic than Parsons or Selznick, as their conception of organisational boundaries is more open. This creates problems of organisational control, which gives considerable importance to the maintenance sub-systems.

Nine characteristics of open systems are outlined, the most important of which are: negative entropy (energy imports must exceed exports due to a tendency for systems to run down), a need for information on the state of the environment and the internal system, a tendency to preserve the fundamental character of the system, and the possibility of the same function being fulfilled through different mechanisms. This perspective has considerable potential, but as Haas and Drabek (1973) point out, operationalisation of the concepts is extremely difficult.

Open systems theory has done much to counteract the tendency of some early functionalists to view organisations as tightly integrated systems with a high degree of consensus. This is reflected in some recent work suggesting that many organisations are characterised by a "loose coupling" between elements or sub-systems (Weick, 1976; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). It has been suggested that where a legitimating ideology is strong, coupling will need to be quite weak where sub-systems diverge from the ideology in order to cope with everyday contingencies.

Organisational structures are created and made more elaborate with the rise of institutionalized myths, and, in highly institutionalized contexts,

organizational action must support these myths. But an organization must also attend to practical activity. The two requirements are at odds. A stable solution is to maintain the organization in a loosely coupled state.

(Meyer and Rowan, 1977, 359-60)

The range of functionalist theory is quite broad, as indicated by the work discussed so far. Despite the frequent criticisms of functionalism,¹ no other perspective has been able to surpass the functionalist approach for utility in organisational analysis. A large number of empirical studies have used this perspective, among which Sills (1957), Kahn, et.al. (1964), Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), March (1954), Davis et.al. (1961B) and R. Coser (1976) have been particularly instructive.

The topic of organisational goals requires specific attention. Early research tended to equate goals with the formal, stated aims of the organisation, but this is no longer considered satisfactory. Etzioni (1964, 16) states:

Since goals, as symbolic units, are ideals which are more attractive than the reality which the organization attains, the organization can almost always be reported to be a failure.

1. Key works in this critical literature are Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, Mills, The Sociological Imagination, and Demerath and Peterson (eds), System, Change and Conflict. Apart from the theoretical problems posed by teleological explanation, functionalism has never been able to cope adequately with conflict and change.

Perrow (1961) distinguished between the official and the operative goals of an organisation. The latter is what the organisation is "really" trying to do. Official goals may coincide with operative goals, but they are not necessarily related.

Operative goals...reflect the derivation and distillation of a set of goals from both official and unofficial sources....They reflect the "desired state of affairs", or abstract official goals, the modifications and subversions of these by personnel in decision-making positions, and the force of pressures from the external environment.

(Hall, 1974, 85)

Hall asserts that the study of goals requires careful attention to the decisions that are made by top officials, particularly with regard to resource allocation.

Neither the official goals of organisations, nor functional goals (the fulfilment of system needs) as outlined by Parsons are now considered adequate for the study of organisational effectiveness. A "system resources" approach has been suggested by various writers (Etzioni, 1975; Hall, 1974; Yuchtman and Seashore, 1971). Effectiveness is "...reflected in the ability of the organisation, in either absolute or relative terms, to exploit its environment in the acquisition of scarce and valued resources" (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1971, 481) Hall argues that from this perspective one can incorporate the concept of goal by examining how well an organisation utilises available resources in pursuing operative goals. The inclusion of environmental factors is the crucial issue. Under unfavourable

circumstances, an organisation can effectively utilise resources, even though goals are not achieved. Similarly, organisations can be effective even while not achieving official goals, if the operative goals differ. This approach is difficult to use, as the decision as to what operative goals are, the state of the environment, and what "effectiveness" looks like are left to the researcher. However, the perspective could be valuable for examining organisations such as the Scout Association, whose official goals are vague and probably indefinable in any precise sense.

Important empirical studies on organisational goals and effectiveness include Blau (1955), Sills (1957), Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum (1957), Barrett (1970), Messinger (1955), and Selznick (1966). A major survey of the literature on effectiveness was published by Price (1968). Further discussion can be found in Simon (1964), Thompson and McEwan (1958), Ghorpade (1971), Cyert and March (1963), Sofer (1972), Eldridge and Crombie (1974), Wieland (1969), Mott (1972) and Blau (1974).

As mentioned above, changes in goals are often the result of informal or unofficial action. The study of informal organisation has been of particular interest to a number of writers. The Human Relations approach evolved in reaction to the Scientific Management theorists. The latter group carried rationality to an extreme, viewing behaviour in work organisations as being purely economically motivated. This perspective was rejected by the Human Relations school, who came to see organisational behaviour as socially motivated, particularly through adherence to the norms of

one's immediate work group. (Etzioni, 1964). Such norms are often unofficial, and can operate in opposition to management. As the Human Relations school saw matters:

...one of the main functions of these informal norms is to allow group members to increase their control over the environment, to be less dependent on management and to be better able to resist any external changes threatening their social and economic position. Moreover, group life becomes a source of social satisfaction and emotional stability for the individual.

(Mouzelis, 1967, 102)

A major weakness in the approach was to see informal norms as deviant if they were opposed to the interests of management. The viewpoint of the workers was not generally considered.

Much of the spirit of the Human Relations school, but not the management-centred ideology, has been continued by the symbolic interactionists. A considerable amount of empirical work on formal organisations has been done using this approach, notably Roth's study of hospitals, Becker and his colleagues on medical students, Hughes on various work settings, Skolnick, Black, Reiss and others on law enforcement agencies, and Goffman and Scheff on mental institutions. This perspective focuses on the ritualistic and dramaturgical aspects of micro-level interaction. Action is seen to be structured by situations, with actors attempting to control the definition of the situation to suit their own interests. A limited number of "lines" of

action are available in an encounter, which are played out by adopting a "front" (Goffman, 1959, 1967). One's "face" is maintained by giving an accomplished "performance", i.e. the line that is played is consistent with the front. The important point for organisational analysis is that when an actor:

...takes on a self-image expressed through face he will be expected to live up to it....By entering a situation in which he is given a face to maintain, a person takes on the responsibility of standing guard over the flow of events as they pass before him. He must ensure that a particular expressive order is sustained--an order that regulates the flow of events, large or small, so that anything that appears to be expressed by them will be consistent with his face.

(Goffman, 1967,9)

Goffman stresses the importance of ritual in sustaining the fronts presented by the actors in an encounter (Collins, 1975). His argument suggests that integration is not derived from abstract values. Rather, it is the result of a consensus engineered by actors who may have conflicting interests. The consensus is dependent upon the successful performance of rituals, which convey the impression of agreement. Integration is therefore tenuous, dependent upon the continuous success of all parties in putting across congruent lines.

The basis for successful organisational interaction is elaborated by Silverman, who states:

To join an organisation is to become involved in an organisational role(s) containing certain generalised expectations about your behaviour and, perhaps, your characteristics as a person. When a member joins voluntarily...it is assumed that he will meet at least some of these expectations of his own volition, for he would not have joined if he found them distasteful and he can usually leave if he dislikes them in practice.

(1970, 175)

However,

...the attachment of the member to the dominant system of expectations may be less than complete, and his compliance with the demands of authority may be carried out for different purposes and with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

(1970, 176)

This approach provides a ready explanation for organisational conflict, as divergent interests are considered to be the normal state of affairs. But analysis concentrates upon the management of conflict, and does no better than functionalism in explaining what happens when consensus breaks down completely. Conflict is examined more fully by Collins (1975), Coser (1956), Allen (1975), Blau (1964), Krupp (1961),

Dalton (1959), Corwin (1969) Mouzelis (1967) and the writers in Kahn and Boulding (1964), Olsen (1970), and Zald (1970B), among others.

Considerable debate continues over the sources of integration and effectiveness in organisations. Functionalism in its various forms remains the dominant approach, but questions have been raised over the utility of the perspective for organisational analysis, particularly the relationship between organisations and their environment. Integration remains a central concern of most theorists, however, and we now turn to an examination of some of the processes related to the internal integration of organisations.

Control and Communication

Social control has long been an important topic in organisational research, particularly where most of the participants are volunteers. Early work was done by Michels (1962), who posited his famous "iron law of oligarchy". He asserted that all organisations that grow beyond a certain size necessarily develop control by an elite, regardless of the ideology or intentions of the members.

The technical specialization that inevitably results from all extensive organization renders necessary what is called expert leadership. Consequently the power of determination comes to be considered one of the specific attributes of leadership, and is gradually withdrawn from the masses to be concentrated in the hands of the leaders alone. Thus the leaders, who were at first no more than the executive organs

of the collective will, soon emancipate themselves from the mass and become independent of its control.

(Michels, 1962, 70)

The "masses" are seen to be fundamentally apathetic, with a need for guidance, whereas the leaders have a "natural greed for power" (Michels, 1962, 205). Elites resist efforts to diminish their power or dislodge them, and with greater command over organisational resources, are usually successful. They develop an interest in organisational survival, thus maintaining the instrument of their power. This goal tends to dominate other goals, leading to accommodation with other institutions in the environment.

Discussing the same phenomenon, Barber (1950) discarded Michels' psychological explanation in favour of functionalist role theory. He sees apathy as the result of the segregation of family and work obligations from other interests, at least in Western societies. Because of the individual's culturally prescribed preoccupation

...with obligations to his job and his "isolate conjugal family", there exists a socially structured pull away from membership in even those voluntary associations relevant to his interests. Further, even when he is a member of an association, the individual's interest is so limited that it leads to minimal participation.

(Barber, 1950, 486-7)

The need for expertise and co-ordination gives rise to elite dominance. Where the elites are paid, the same structural dimensions encourage their hold on power as discourage the participation of most members, i.e. family and job security.

By postulating structural rather than psychological determinants of oligarchy, Barber leaves open the possibility that oligarchy will not emerge. Such an example was described by Lipset, Coleman and Trow (1956), but this is generally considered to be an exceptional case. Similar arguments to Barber's are outlined in Bendix (1947), Truman (1962), Selznick (1966), Rose (1954), Starbuck (1965), Tsouderos (1955) and Sills (1957).

This whole tradition has been criticised by Gouldner (1961). He suggests that their analyses concentrate on anti-democratic tendencies, to the exclusion of equally pervasive pressures toward democracy in organisations. He argues that the stress upon oligarchy stems from an excessive concern with the forces leading to stability in organisations, ignoring processes of conflict and change. Gouldner agrees, however, that full participation by all members in large organisations is probably utopian.

Examination of the control exercised by subordinates is generally conducted from an interactionist perspective. The best examples of this are Goffman (1968), Mechanic (1963) and Scheff (1961). Mechanic notes that such factors as the length of time spent in an organisation, expertise, dispensibility, effort and centrality might allow an

individual to exercise more control over organisational resources than his position officially warrants. The implication is that power in organisations is the outcome of negotiation between those in authority and subordinates with access to resources. Olsen (1968) distinguishes between "authority", or legitimate power; and "dominance", influence based on structural position. Subordinates must rely on dominance, and Blau's (1964) discussion of power suggests that this is derived mainly from their ability to block activity. This has been documented in a number of contexts, particularly in hospitals.¹ While Mechanic does not specifically mention it, subordinates are frequently in a position to socialise new senior officials, particularly where the subordinates have expert knowledge in organisational procedure or technical matters.

The distribution and effects of control and its relationship to communication have been studied by Tannenbaum and his associates. (Bachman, Smith and Slesinger, 1966; Georgopoulos, 1965; Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum, 1957; Likert, 1961; Marcus and Marcus, 1965; Morse, Reimer and Tannenbaum, 1951; Smith, 1965; Smith and Ari, 1964; Smith and Brown, 1964; Smith and Jones, 1968; Smith and Tannenbaum, 1963, 1965; Tannenbaum, 1956A 1956B, 1956C, 1957, 1961, 1962, 1968A, 1968B; Tannenbaum and Bachman, 1964, 1966; Tannenbaum and Georgopoulos, 1957; Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1957; Tannenbaum and Smith, 1964)

1. See e.g. Rose Coser, Life in the Ward

Control is defined by Tannenbaum (1968,5) as:

...any process in which a person or group of persons or organization of persons determines, that is, deliberately affects, the behaviour of another person, group or organization.

A major contribution of this group of writers has been to operationalise control as an open-ended, rather than zero-sum, concept. Increases in control by one element of an organisation are not necessarily at the expense of another. Their findings are outlined in terms of a "control graph", with amount of control on the vertical axis and levels of the organisation on the horizontal axis. Respondents were asked a number of questions regarding upward and downward control, and "actual" and "ideal" levels of control. One can then plot graphs for the total amount of control (height of the line), distribution of control (slope of the line) and control discrepancy (distance between ideal and actual control), in addition to scores for individual levels of the hierarchy.

Communication was seen as a related process. Direction, total amount, and reciprocity of communication were all measured in terms of frequency. Communication and control were then examined to determine their influence upon loyalty and effectiveness¹ in a number of organisations, including a voluntary association (the League of Women Voters) and a trade union.

1. A goals model of effectiveness was used. This was also used in my research (using a different measure), both to correspond with Tannenbaum's approach and because of the difficulties of operationalising a system resources model, discussed above.

A number of hypotheses concerning the relationship between these four variables were tested, with mixed results. In general, high levels of communication are associated with greater loyalty, while greater amounts of control are related to higher effectiveness.¹ Overall, both processes are seen to be crucial for voluntary associations. It was found that in most chapters of the League of Women Voters, less overall control was exercised by rank and file members than was desired. This discrepancy was particularly marked in the opinion of superordinates. Most members desired more control to be exercised by all levels of the organisation. In other words, higher total control is considered desirable. League chapters where lower participants exercised considerable control were generally more effective. Tannenbaum (1961) suggests that most voluntary associations are characterised by too little control by all members. He notes that there is probably a limit beyond which more control becomes dysfunctional, but argues that this is very seldom reached.

The general perspective and methodology used by Tannenbaum and his associates are central to the research reported here. The study was based on the expectation that higher levels of control and communication would be related to higher levels of loyalty and effectiveness in the Scout Association.

1. Marcus and Marcus (1965) provide a brief summary of the control findings. The most comprehensive single source is the collection in Tannenbaum (1968). Summaries are given in the introductions to many of the articles listed above.

Etzioni (1975) stressed the importance of downward communication and control in moral normative organisations, and of horizontal control in social normative organisations. A number of studies were cited supporting this position, although as with much of Etzioni's work, few references are made to voluntary associations. The logic of this argument is suggestive, however, as the goals of moral normative organisations generally require the co-ordination of members, while compliance in social normative contexts is maintained through peer group control. Describing moral normative organisations, he states:

Expressive communication is essential for the effective performance of normative organizations. In order to attain their goals, they must maintain a flow of downward expressive communication and remove blocks that may develop.

(1975, 244)

The suggestion that blockages may occur in these organisations is important in this research. The findings of Tannenbaum and his colleagues that effectiveness is dependent upon high control by lower participants is not denied. Rather, it will be argued that lower participants cannot perform effectively if control (and communication) from superordinates is blocked at intermediate levels. Voluntary associations are especially likely to have such difficulties.

This fundamental paradox of hierarchical organisations is discussed further by Hall (1974). Co-ordination becomes difficult in large-scale, complex organisations without at

least some hierarchical differentiation and centralisation of control. At the same time, this increases the likelihood of breakdown of communication and control, along with the emergence of conflict between interest groups. Communication is subject to omission, distortion and overload (Hall, 1974), as well as the individual differences in reception and perception outlined by Hyman and Sheatsley (1952). Goffman's (1967) work suggests that effective reciprocal control may be replaced by elaborate ritual if the alternative is the breakdown of interpersonal consensus. Ineffective operations can thus be hidden for long periods of time by mutual efforts to avoid the embarrassing topic. Where impersonal controls are instituted, individuals can manipulate the information necessary for control, and ignore less tangible goals in order to "look good". (Blau, 1955, 1974)

Control and communication are central to an assessment of organisational processes. These dimensions have figured in a great deal of empirical work, including Breed (1955), Franklin (1975), Ouchi and Maguire (1975), Jacobs (1974), Patchen (1963A), Miller (1975), Wilensky (1967), Hage and Aiken (1970), Carzo (1963), and Julian (1966). Some of the work of decision theorists (Cyert and March, 1959, 1963; Simon, 1960, 1965) and the Aston group and their critics (Hickson, et.al., 1971; Hinings, et.al., 1974; Pennings, 1975; Child, 1972A, 1972B, 1973) is also of importance. Further discussion can be found in Blau and Scott (1963), Hall (1974), Gouldner (1954), March and Simon (1958), Zald (1970B), Guetzkow (1965), Cartwright (1965), Lawler (1966), Porter and Roberts (1966), Sofer (1972), Caplow (1964), Millham, Bullock and Cherrett (1972) and Etzioni (1965).

Commitment and Satisfaction

The decision to remain in an organisation is usually attributed to "commitment". This implies some form of attachment, but the term is often left at a commonsense level.

Etzioni defines commitment as "positive involvement", involvement being "...the cathectic-evaluative orientation of an actor to an object". (1975,9) It is one of the weaknesses of Etzioni's framework that he does not fully explain how or why people become involved. Helen Gouldner (1960) defines the concept empirically, using factor analysis. The dimensions include integration, congruence of personal and organisational values, awareness of organisational values and policies, and membership in only one organisation. Following Simon, she points out that commitment to an organisation is distinct from commitment to its values and goals. This distinction is also made by Brager (1969), but neither of them discuss why people become committed. For Kanter (1968, 1972), a person is committed to a system when "...the maintenance of his own internal being requires behavior that supports the social order". (1972, 66) Commitment involves remaining in the system, cohesion with other members, and submitting to social control by conforming to values and adequately performing roles. Her discussion is of interest in that she utilises the "personality" component of Parsonian functionalism. This is the weakest element of his framework, and this is reflected in Kanter's use of very subjective terminology and reliance upon psychological "need" structures.

These conceptions are static. A more processual definition is suggested by Abramson, et.al. (1958). It is based on "lines of action" which are "...all those possible and suitable action sequences for translating an actor's aspirations into realizations". (1958,15) The availability of a line of action is dependent upon an actor's power. Open lines are optional and available, while closed lines are unavailable. Committed lines are both available and necessary, i.e. all other lines are closed or subject to unacceptably high costs. This approach has been adopted and refined by Becker (1970). Commitment is placed in the context of a "career", which is a

...patterned series of adjustments made by the individual to the "network of institutions, formal organizations, and informal relationships" in which the work of the occupation is performed.

(1970, 165)

Careers have wider applicability than just work roles, such that one could speak of a career as a Scout Leader. Becker argues that participation involves an "investment" of time and social resources. Skills, interest and ideology are developed, along with personal relationships and obligations. Withdrawal from any habitually performed activity entails a loss of this investment. This tends to restrict people to consistent lines of action, which is what Becker terms "commitment".

Investment is conceptualised in terms of "side bets". Something of value, extraneous to an action, is "bet" that

the action will or will not occur. This could be money, a reputation for toughness, integrity or reliability, or friendship, among other things. Three elements are involved. Firstly, a decision is made on a line of action which involves interests not inherently connected with it. Secondly, it is the actor's own prior activities which have created the investments. Thirdly, he must be aware of the side bet and its implications. Becker suggests that one is usually not aware of these side bets until a decision must be made.

One shortcoming of the scheme is that it is dichotomous. Conceptualising it as a continuum with a break point seems more useful. Another problem involves how one can determine a priori which side bet among many is the most important. Unless this can be done, value is defined by choice, which is a tautology. Becker attempts to solve this problem by reference to general value systems. While there is nothing wrong with this, it is at variance with Becker's other work, in which he denies the utility of basing theory upon the assumption of generally shared value systems. Becker's framework has been empirically tested by Aranya and Jacobson (1975), Alutto, Hrebiniak and Alonso (1972), and Ritzer and Trice (1969). There is disagreement over the adequacy of the framework, apparently due to difficulties in operationalising the concepts.

More clearly utilitarian processes are outlined by exchange theorists and by March and Simon (1958). Exchange theory potentially avoids the pitfalls of assuming a tendency toward equilibrium resulting from "system needs", as do the functionalists, at the same time as offering a more rigorous analytic framework than most interactionists.¹

1. Although all share a debt to the work of Simmel.

However, using exchange theory to examine large scale phenomena poses serious difficulties, and few organisational studies have been conducted using the perspective.

Homans (1951, 1958, 1961, 1967) denies that there is a separate social level of analysis, and attempts to reduce all social phenomena to the principles of behavioural psychology. He postulates a number of fundamental propositions as necessary to explain social activity. Two of the most important are, "The more often a person's activity is rewarded, the more likely he is to perform the activity", and "The more valuable the reward of an activity is to a person, the more likely he is to perform the activity". (Homans, 1967, 35-6) He goes on to discuss the marginal utility of behaviour and the likelihood of negative behaviour if expectations are not met.

Homans' epistemological difficulties have frequently been discussed (see e.g. Turner, 1974). I would argue that his greatest problem involves his use of the term "reward". Rewards are clearly based upon what an individual values, but Homans finds it hard to explain why a person has these values. One must either reduce his theory still further, to the physiological level, or else locate values in the shared expectations of other actors, which brings us back to sociology. Stripped of their behaviourist context, his propositions are fairly useful within a normative framework.

Blau (1963, 1970, 1974; Blau and Scott, 1963) considers complex exchange processes to be social in nature. Simple exchange is based on mutual "attraction" between individuals,

with the expectation that interaction will be rewarding. Exchange is voluntary, and ceases when expectations are not met.

Exchange can lead to power relationships. If one actor has resources desired by a second, and the latter has few resources of his own and no alternative source of supply, then the resources will be exchanged in return for the compliance of the recipient. In organisational contexts, if control is considered to be legitimate, pressures for compliance tend to come from horizontal sources. The exchange is thus indirect, or secondary.

Long chains of social transactions occur in complex organisations, in which the work of some members contributes to the performance of others, and which typically do not involve reciprocal exchanges. What these chains of transactions do involve is conformity to official obligations on the part of members of the organisation in exchange for rewards received from it.

(Blau, in Haas and Drabek, 1973, 67)

Where control is not considered to be exercised fairly or in accordance with an individual's values, conflict emerges. Implicit in this is the idea that individuals will remain in an organisation as long as they are receiving a reward which cannot be obtained for less cost elsewhere. Cost is ultimately linked to superordinates and their actions. In turn, superordinates are the source of most of the rewards in an organisation.

The position of Gouldner (1952, 1954, 1959, 1961, 1973) is similar in many respects to Blau's. He postulates a universal "norm of reciprocity" influencing all interaction (1973). Reciprocity implies simultaneous rights and duties in exchange relationships. If an actor has a duty to another, he simultaneously has a right to receive something in return. This automatically assures stability, even given power differences, as obligations are generally not immediately discharged. As it may be impossible to weigh the precise costs and benefits of interaction, particularly in normative relationships, most long term interaction is characterised by mutual indebtedness. Gouldner states:

...we should not only look for mechanisms which constrain or motivate men to do their duty and pay off their debts. We should also expect to find mechanisms which induce people to remain socially indebted to each other and which inhibit their complete repayment.

(Gouldner, 1973, 249)

This is similar to Becker's notion, but it is now seen as a reciprocal and perhaps more fundamental process. The question must then be raised as to how people are able to extricate themselves once they are involved.

March and Simon (1958) do not refer explicitly to commitment, but attend to the main factors influencing an individual to participate in an organisation. They argue that participation will continue as long as the inducements a member receives are at least as great as the contributions he must make. These are dependent upon the person's values

and the available alternatives. In particular, contributions are judged in terms of the activities forgone. The scheme is dependent upon finding a suitable "currency" in which to measure inducements and contributions.

The balance of inducements and contributions is measured by a combination of satisfaction and the perceived ease of leaving the organisation. If an individual is dissatisfied, he will begin to search for alternative activities. If no ready alternatives are available, then aspirations are lowered, which gradually reduces dissatisfaction. However, there is a rapid reduction in the perception of opportunities forgone, lowering the utility of contributions relative to inducements. In other words, members will put up with dissatisfaction as long as there are not available alternatives. The converse is even more important for our purposes; where ready alternatives are available, dissatisfied members will quickly leave.¹ The authors note that most evidence shows

...that very few of the "satisfied" participants leave an organization, whereas some, but not typically all, of the "unsatisfied" participants leave.

(March and Simon, 1958, 86)

A related framework is Hirschman's (1970). His concern is with declining performance or quality in states or organisations, and the processes by which this can be arrested. Two options exist in an organisation. Members or customers can "exit"; drop out or stop purchasing goods.

1. See March and Simon (1958, ch 4).

Alternatively, they can exercise "voice", i.e. express dissatisfaction. Hirschman is also concerned with "loyalty" or attachment to the organisation.

Following Simon and Cyert and March, Hirschman suggests that "slack" is always present in varying degrees in organisations.

Firms and other organizations are conceived to be permanently and randomly subject to decline and decay...no matter how well the institutional framework within which they function is designed.

(Hirschman, 1970,15)

Exit and voice are mechanisms whereby excessive slack or decay are signalled to top officials.

Exit depends upon the elasticity of demand. With inelastic demand few will exit except under extreme circumstances, but with elastic demand many will leave. Voice will be exercised if exit is unavailable, if the individual feels he will be influential, or if a high value is placed on membership. Hirschman notes that the latter is most likely in voluntary associations.

In general, exit is easier, particularly if mechanisms to respond to voice are not institutionalised and members do not know how to exercise voice effectively. Loyalty moderates the tendency to exit, but is influenced by the availability of alternatives. With decay, those with low loyalty will be first to exit. At this point, loyalists will begin or intensify their use of voice. (One effect of loyalty is that

members might not recognise deterioration until it is well set in.) With further decay the voice slope jumps sharply with the loyalists' threat of leaving, which then occurs at a high level of voice. Loyalty can be used as a weapon, with loyalists threatening to exit. Hirschman points out that not all organisations are equally sensitive to the options chosen by members, for which changes in the organisation's "corrective mechanisms" are essential.

Satisfaction has been mentioned several times as being closely related to commitment and the decision to leave an organisation. There is a vast literature on satisfaction. Most of it is on occupations, and much of this is psychological. With some qualifications (most of them to do with social control, payment and the ease of leaving the organisation), much of this literature is suggestive for the study of voluntary associations. A useful and very succinct summary of the findings on job satisfaction is Locke's (1976, 1328).

Among the most important values or conditions conducive to job satisfaction are: (1) mentally challenging work with which the individual can cope successfully; (2) personal interest in the work itself; (3) work which is not too physically tiring; (4) rewards for performance which are just, informative and in line with the individual's personal expectations; (5) working conditions which are compatible with the individual's needs and which facilitate the accomplishment of his work goals; (6) high self-esteem on the part of the employee; (7) agents in the work place who help the employee to attain job values such as interesting work, pay and promotions, whose

basic values are similar to his own, and who minimize role conflict and ambiguity.

One might add to this list a feeling of having some influence over activities (Carey, 1972; Nicholson, Wall and Lischeron, 1977; Patchen, 1970), but there is no clear evidence from the studies reported by Tannenbaum and his associates that influence is linked to satisfaction.

The concepts of commitment and satisfaction are central to the study of the level of participation in voluntary associations and the decisions of members to leave. Participation and retention are, of course, analytically distinct. Further discussion and findings are in: Aram, Morgan and Esbeck (1971), Hoffman, Burke and Maier (1965), Alutto, Hrebiniak and Alonso (1971), Grusky (1966), Hall and Lawler (1970), Hall, Schneider and Nygren (1970), Heslin and Dunphy (1964), Lee (1971), Meltzer and Salter (1962), Sheldon (1971), Vroom (1964), Blau and Scott (1963), Sofer (1972), Gross (1964), Caplow (1964), Argyris (1957, 1960, 1964), Cooper (1961), Davis, et.al. (1961B), Smith, et.al. (1969), and Turcotte (1974).

Voluntary Associations

The literature on voluntary associations has been growing rapidly in recent years, particularly in North America. However, it remains less developed than other areas of formal organisations, especially in terms of theory (Smith, 1975).

Much of the empirical work has examined patterns of

participation across populations. For example, Pitt (1973) has pointed to the importance of voluntary organisations in the leisure activities of New Zealanders. He reports that over 60% of a sample in Tokoroa were members of an association, with other locations in New Zealand having even higher rates of membership. It is unclear whether this included church or union affiliation. Rates in large urban centres are somewhat lower. Participation in team sports was seen as an important component of formal activity, which was supported by Jorgensen (n.d.) in her survey of a number of studies on participation in New Zealand. Pitt suggests that higher socio-economic characteristics (e.g. income, education) are associated with higher rates of membership, but Jorgensen argued that these factors are not clearly influential. It is quite possible that socio-economic factors vary in their importance for entry into different kinds of voluntary associations. Jorgensen also noted that both age and family cycle have an impact upon activity, but did not specify precisely how these factors operate. There was little available information on adult participation in organisations such as the Scout Association.

Overseas estimates for participation in voluntary associations vary considerably. Most studies appear to support Barber's (1950) assertion that many adults in Western societies are not members of associations, and that few members actively participate. Lack of comparability makes any conclusion tenuous at best, so the high rates reported by Pitt for New Zealand cannot be taken as clearly demonstrating an unusually high level of activity.

The most comprehensive study to date is Hausknecht's analysis of joining behaviour in the United States. He found that adults with higher income and education and more prestigious occupations are more likely to be members of voluntary associations.¹ Men between the ages of 25 and 65 are most likely to belong, with the 34-45 group having the highest rate. Married men are more likely to be members than single men, and people in small towns are more likely to join than those in larger centres or rural areas.² Similar patterns were found in a number of additional studies, many of which are reviewed by Smith and Freedman (1972).

Gray (1975) found that people who have irregular or unusual work obligations have lower rates of participation than others. This is supported by Parker's (1972) discussion of the relationship between work and leisure. Booth and Babchuk (1969) found that interest in an activity is not a sufficient cause for joining. Most members of associations joined through a social network contact. A stable neighborhood also seems to be related to higher rates of membership (Babchuk and Edwards, 1965). This suggests that the "visibility" of organisations varies with both place of residence and location in a system of interpersonal networks. Smith and Freedman (1972) argue that structural and cultural factors affect voluntary association membership, and cite

1. Some English studies suggest that a latent function of voluntary organisations is to perpetuate social distinctions. See Bottomore (1954) and Morris (1965). See also Lenski (1956).
2. See Hausknecht (1962, 26) for the size categories used.

legal restrictions placed on such organisations in France as one reason for the (allegedly) low membership rate in that country. Apart from national differences, many writers have noted that most voluntary associations tend to draw their members from relatively restricted segments of a given population, along lines of religion and ethnicity as well as the factors mentioned above.

Further discussion of membership and participation can be found in Babchuk and Booth (1969), Anderson and Anderson (1958), Axelrod (1956), Dotson (1951), Bell and Force (1956), Edwards and Booth (1973), Foskett (1955), Freeman et.al. (1957), Glaser and Sills (1966), Havighurst (1957), Hyman and Wright (1971), Wright and Hyman (1958), Komarovsky (1946), Litwak (1961), Martin (1952), Scott (1957), Smith (1974, 1975), Thorns (1972), Tomeh (1973), Wilensky (1961A, 1961B), and Zimmer and Hawley (1959).

Much of the theoretical work on voluntary associations has been devoted to typology construction. One of the best-known is Gordon and Babchuk's (1959). Three criteria are used. The first two are openness of membership and the ability of the organisation to confer status to members. The third is whether the organisation fulfils instrumental or expressive functions for the member. The latter criterion constitutes a continuum, with the instrumental type pursuing goals external to the organisation itself, and the expressive type providing satisfaction to members through recreational activities or interaction with other members. Organisations which serve both instrumental and expressive functions are termed the "instrumental-expressive" type. A similar distinction was made by Rose (1954), and has been elaborated

into a typology with four categories by Warriner and Prather (1965).

The instrumental-expressive continuum has been criticised by various authors. Minnis (Smith and Freedman, 1972) argued that while an organisation could have instrumental functions, the expressive aspect is nearly always paramount for members. Jacoby (1965) noted that it was unclear whether individuals or organisations were the focus of the continuum, and argued that either could be the subject. He also attempted to analyse the instrumental and expressive components of organisations separately, giving a score for each. This raises doubts as to whether the categories comprise a continuum, but this was not explored by Jacoby.

Rose (1955) and Simpson and Gulley (1962) used the degree of external pressure on an organisation as a criterion for classification. Simpson and Gulley combined this with the scope of the goals that the organisation pursues.

Sills (1957, 1968) has outlined two typologies. The first distinguishes between corporate and federation type structures. Corporate types (of which the Scout Association is an example) consist of a central body which establishes local branches. In a federation type, the local branches are formally autonomous, but delegate certain powers to a central, co-ordinating authority. The second typology uses two criteria: the proportion of professional staff and the degree of institutionalisation. The second criterion distinguishes between associations that are closer to either "formal organisations" or "social movements". Sills states that the key variable is the degree of affect of members.

Smith and Freedman (1972) have argued that this criterion breaks down into three: institutionalisation, membership affect and radicalism of goals.

The most common type of classification consists of grouping associations into commonsense categories such as sports, patriotic, cultural, etc. This method is atheoretical, and precludes comparisons. A good example of this is Hausknecht's work.

A related theoretical stream is the analysis of the functions of voluntary associations. In his review of the literature, Sills (1968) notes that the instrumental-expressive continuum is concerned with manifest functions. He then examines some of the latent functions that they perform for individuals (social integration, acquisition of organisational skills) and for society (mediation between primary groups and the state, integration of subgroups, legitimation of central values, decision making and implementation, initiation of social change, distribution of power). Apart from the problem of teleology, this list reflects Sills' (and most American theorists') preoccupation with the positive aspects of voluntary associations. This is quite different from their concentration on oligarchy. As indicated earlier, a number of negative features such as the maintenance of status inequality, have been stressed by British writers (Morris, 1965). Underlying the American interest in positive functions has been the assumption that voluntary associations are a mainstay of pluralist democracy, and that the organisations should be run on democratic principles.

The first assumption is highly contentious, while the second is simply a statement of values with no reference to organisational goals or the means needed to achieve them. Further discussion can be found in Smith and Freedman (1972), Blau and Scott (1963), Merton (1976), Mills (1963), Domhoff (1970), and Warren (1972).

Four fundamental processes in voluntary organisations were discussed by Sills (1968). These are institutionalisation, minority rule, goal displacement and goal succession. Institutionalisation can also be termed formalisation or bureaucratisation. Sills (1968, 367) defines it as "...the unplanned process that turns a loosely organized group of adherents to an ideal or goal into a formal organization". This is most applicable to those organisations which begin as social movements. The early history of the Scout Association can be viewed in this context, as accounts indicate that there was considerable local activity and little formal structure. The concept of routinisation of charisma (Weber, 1947) could be applicable as well, as Baden-Powell had enormous personal influence on the early direction of Scouting. The organisation became formalised fairly quickly, however, and never had unconventional goals. Banks (1972), Chapin and Tsouderos (1955, 1956), Tsouderos (1955), King (1956), Sills (1957), Zald (1907A) and Kanter (1972) provide additional information on this topic.

The result of this process is often minority rule (discussed in the section on control) and an alteration of organisational goals. Changes in goals through displacement or succession have been of considerable interest

to many writers. Three possible sources of goal displacement are: the separation of leaders from the rank and file, as discussed by Michels (1962) and Barber (1950); the over-conformity to official rules by lower participants, which was examined by Merton (1968); and the impact of divergent interests (Selznick, 1966; Silverman, 1970; Goffman, 1967). It could be argued that the ease with which goals are altered in associations is partly due to their vagueness. Warner and Havens (1968) state that intangible goals are difficult to attain and easy to displace. While this allows flexibility and adaptability, it also means that it is hard to measure success or failure. Officials frequently turn to measurable indices, such as income or membership, which may have little to do with the formal goals. Variations of this process have been documented by Messinger (1955), Zald (1970A), Zald and Denton (1963), Clark (1956), and Roe and Wood (1975).

Displacement can also occur when an organisation confronts a hostile environment. Gusfield (1955, 1957, 1963) and Messinger (1955) discuss some of the factors which precipitate organisational decline when the environment does not support organisational goals. Warner and Havens (1968) argue that effective pursuit of vague goals is dependent upon the rewards and sanctions available to the top leadership of an organisation. They suggest that even in favourable circumstances, intangible goals are likely to be displaced if insufficient resources are used to achieve them.

Complete goal succession is often not possible. Even if the environment has changed to the point where the original

goals are unattainable, they will often be ignored rather than formally dispensed with (Sills, 1968; Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975). In rare cases, an organisation achieves its goals and is able to institute new ones. This is outlined by Sills (1957), in what is probably the best available study of a voluntary organisation.

Another tendency of voluntary organisations is the selective attraction of members, as outlined by Etzioni (1975). This was given empirical support by Betz and Judkins (1975),¹ who note that organisations will tend to accentuate members' attitudes through socialisation. This is particularly true of organisations which successfully construct a myth emphasising the unique advantages enjoyed by members (Clark, 1972), or of total institutions (Goffman, 1968). It has been found that those members who are in closest agreement with organisational goals and beliefs tend to participate more than those who are ideologically marginal (Booth and Bisztray, 1970).

Perhaps more important than ideological agreement, higher levels of loyalty and participation in voluntary associations occur where members obtain personal satisfaction (although prior ideological agreement is probably important, and perhaps necessary). This was stressed by Sills (1957), Davis et.al. (1961B) and in a study by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center (1959) on the Boy Scouts of America. This leads back to an examination of the

1. Their study was of teachers' organisations, which are not quite within our definition of voluntary associations.

mechanisms which influence satisfaction and commitment.

The objective of this research is to analyse the importance of these processes within one voluntary organisation, The Scout Association of New Zealand.

Chapter 3: A Leadership Profile

This chapter examines some of the social characteristics of Leaders active at Troop level. This includes Scout Leaders, Assistant Scout Leaders and a small number of Group Leaders.¹ Basic questions are: Who are Scouters? What are their backgrounds? Where do they live? How did they become Leaders? What is their status in the organisation? Data are drawn from the nationwide survey of Scouters conducted in August-September 1976. Where possible, results are compared with the New Zealand adult male population.

Discussions with members of the Scout Association yielded a set of preliminary "answers" to some of these questions. A large number of men with sons in Scouting were expected, with a smaller number of single men for whom Scouting is a long-term "hobby". Many young Leaders recently in Venturers were expected, but these would not be a very "stable" group. This would reflect the important changes in status experienced by most young men at this stage of the life cycle. Maoris are believed to be underrepresented in Scouting. As Scouting was said to be weak in the main centres, fewer Leaders were expected there than would be predicted from the Census. Geographic mobility was expected to be fairly high. Leaders were expected to be average in educational qualifications, with a clustering toward the middle on SES and income. Those

1. GLs are officially discouraged from participating in sections. It is common knowledge that a number of them do so, and these Leaders were included in the questionnaire sample.

with young children were said to be particularly busy with their job, and many Leaders were expected to be members of voluntary organisations. The ratio of SLs to ASLs was expected to be slightly over 1:1. Predictions about the active GLs varied, but were expected to be a sizable proportion of this rank. It was assumed that many Leaders would have been pressured into joining.

The accuracy of these assumptions, as well as the findings on other significant variables (e.g. the importance of network connections for joining the movement) are examined below.

Age The age of Leaders and the age structure for New Zealand males (aged 19-64) is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Age of Leaders and Age of New Zealand Males (1971)

Age	Scout Leaders ^a	New Zealand Males(1971) ^{b,c}
	%	%
18-19	4.9	6.6
20-24	16.8	15.3
25-29	15.1	12.1
30-34	14.8	10.8
35-39	17.0	9.7
40-44	14.2	10.7
45-49	10.5	10.4
50-54	4.5	8.9
55+	2.2	15.4 ^d

a) N = 465

b) Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings;
1971, v 2, p 12

c) N = 780,497

d) Ages 55-64 only

Compared to National figures,¹ Scouters are underrepresented in the youngest and two older categories, particularly in the 55 and older group. Some of the outdoor elements of Scouting are probably considered too strenuous by most older men, and children they have had in the movement have generally passed through by this time. The shortfall in the youngest category is contrary to expectations, and could be indicative of the low number of boys in the Venturer section, the most likely source for recruits at this age. However, over 20% of the Leaders are under 24, an important segment overall. The largest group relative to the national figures is the 35-39 category, followed by 30-34 and 40-44.

Marital status and number of children. There is little difference between the marital status of Scouters and the national male population (Table 3.2) as the national figures

Table 3.2 Marital status of Leaders over 18 and NZ males over 20 (1971)

<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Scout Leaders (%)</u>	<u>NZ Males^a(%)</u>
Never married	21.4(21.9) ^b	17.9 (19.1)
Married	76.2(78.1)	76.0 (80.9)
Other	2.4	6.0
N =	463	833,228

(a) Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings: 1971, v 2 p 62

(b) Figures in parentheses are percentages excluding "other".

1. Few of my data are comparable with the 1971 New Zealand Census. The major problem is that coding categories do not coincide. Some census material, such as the income distribution, was out of date by the time the data were analysed. Other material, such as population distribution, is presented in a confusing manner, making it difficult to decipher what the figures really are.

omit the 18-19 group, which is present in the Scout figures.¹
 The number of children of Leaders is given in Table 3.3,
 while married Leaders are compared with the figures for
 NZ households on this criterion in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3: Number of children in Leader's family
 (All Leaders)

	<u>%</u>
0	31.0
1	8.0
2	24.3
3 +	36.7
N = 465	

Table 3.4: Number of children of married Leaders compared
 with number of children in N.Z. households

	<u>Scout Leaders (%)</u>	<u>NZ Households^{a,b} (%)</u>
0	11.6	31.6
1	9.9	17.8
2	30.9	22.0
3	47.5	28.6
N =	358	485,789

(a) Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971,
 v 10 p 69

(b) One family households with husband and wife present.

The difference is marked. Scouters are far less likely to
 have no children or only one child than the national
 population, somewhat more likely to have two children,
 and much more likely to have three or more children.
 Comparing the number of male and female children in
 married Leaders' families, we find that Scouters are far
 more likely to be the father of a boy than of a girl
 (Table 3.5).

1. The category for "other" statuses (widowed, separated, divorced) is shown, but as it forms such a small proportion of the total it is excluded from further analysis.

Table 3.5: Sex and number of married Leaders' children

<u>Number</u>	<u>Males (%)</u>	<u>Females (%)</u>
0	18.7	35.1
1	34.3	40.2
2+	47.0	24.6
N = 353		

Nearly two-thirds of all Leaders have a child aged 15 or less. Not surprisingly, the greatest proportion of such children are males of Scout age. Combined with the findings on age, the prediction that a high proportion of Leaders have sons in Scouting is confirmed. Table 3.6 shows that men aged 35-44 are the largest category with at least one son in the movement; only about 20% do not have a son who is a member.

Table 3.6: Percentage with son in Scout movement by age

Son in Scout movement	Age (%)						
	<u>19-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Yes	1.0	1.4	43.5	78.5	80.3	61.2	48.4
No	99.0	98.6	56.5	21.5	19.7	38.8	51.6
% of total	21.7	15.1	14.8	17.0	14.2	10.5	6.7
N =	101	70	69	79	66	49	31
Total N = 465							

As this age group was born during the Depression and early years of World War II, there could be cultural factors experienced by this cohort which predispose them to join the Scout Association. A "life cycle" interpretation, however seems more likely.

Location and Mobility As seen in Table 3.7, Leaders are fairly evenly spread through different sized population locations. The national pattern is more skewed towards the

Table 3.7: Size of town in which Leader resides

	<u>%</u>
Large urban or suburbs (over 100,000)	28.6
Small urban (under 100,000 over 20,000)	24.3
Town (under 20,000, over 1000)	25.8
Rural (under 1000)	21.0
	N = 461

large, urban centres, thus supporting the assertion of many senior members that Scouting is weakest in the main centres. In the past five years, 27.1% of Scouters have shifted because of their job. 19% seemed fairly certain that they would shift in the next few years, and another 25.7% felt that they might shift. Of those who expect to shift, only 11.0% (of 201 Leaders) said they would probably not remain in Scouting, but 49.3% were unsure.

Race. Most of the Leaders are of European descent; only 3.9% are Maori or part-Maori (Table 3.8). It is not clear whether the 3.3% who called themselves "New Zealanders"¹

Table 3.8 Race of Leaders

	<u>%</u>
European	92.0
Maori or part-Maori	3.9
"New Zealander"	3.3
Other	0.8
	N = 461

1. This was not one of the forced-choice answers, but was written in.

are Maori or European. The 1971 Maori population nationally was 8.0% of the total, so placing all these responses into the Maori category would be consistent with this. However, I think this unlikely. Some of the "problem" questionnaires are from the South Island, with a small population of Maoris. Hence, the underrepresentation of Maoris seems to be confirmed.

Education. The data on education in the Census are not comparable to mine. As far as one can assess, the educational attainments of Leaders (Table 3.9) are higher than the rest of the population. This is clearest when compared with Collette's

Table 3.9: Educational qualifications of Leaders

	<u>%</u>
Completed Form 2 (Standard 6)	4.6
Some secondary	48.5
School certificate	29.6
University entrance	5.9
Some university	6.5
University degree or diploma	5.0
N = 460	

(1973,37) data. The assertion that Leaders are no better qualified educationally than other males is thus not supported. In addition to the data in Table 3.9, 15.3% have obtained a technical or managerial qualification and 17.6% a trade or craft qualification.

Socio-economic status and income. Table 3.10 compares the national male labour force measured on the Elley-Irving SES index (Elley and Irving, 1967, 27) with a slightly modified

version applied to the Scouts.¹ Leaders are overrepresented in the top four levels, particularly in level 3, which consists largely of foremen, skilled craftsmen, technicians and lower white-collar workers. There are fewer members of levels 5 and

Table 3.10: Leaders and NZ male population rated on the Elley-Irving socio-economic status index

<u>Category</u>	<u>Scout Leaders (%)</u>	<u>NZ Males (%)^a</u>
(High) 1	6.1	4.7
2	11.1	9.0
3	33.5	26.6
4	31.3	29.2
5	12.6	18.1
(low) 6	3.0	12.4
Student*	1.5	
Not classifiable*	0.9	

N = 460

*) Categories not contained in original scale

a) Source: Elley and Irving (1976, 27)

6 than expected, with the greatest difference at the lowest level. The occupations of Leaders are outlined in more detail in Table 3.11. Three-quarters of the sample are wage or salary earners, and most of the rest self-employed. There are no unemployed Leaders. Compared with the 1971 Census², there are more self-employed than expected, with wage and salary earners underrepresented. The income distribution is shown in Table 3.12. Given the occupational distribution, the noticeable clustering around the middle of the income range is not surprising. 31.7%, however, earn \$8000+, well above the national average. The few at

1. I am grateful for the advice of Anne Meade in making the modification to the scale.

2. New Zealand Official Yearbook: 1974, p.888.

Table 3.11: Occupation of Leaders

	<u>%</u>
Professional	7.4
Technical	10.6
Managerial	7.8
Clerical	6.1
Sales	5.0
Service	5.0
Skilled worker/foreman	30.2
Semi/unskilled worker	14.8
Farmer	9.8
Student	1.5
Armed forces	1.1
Other	0.2
Not classifiable	0.7

N = 461

Table 3.12: Income of Leaders (per year)

	<u>%</u>
Under \$2000	1.4
\$2000-3999	7.0
\$4000-5999	27.1
\$6000-7999	32.9
\$8000-9999	17.9
\$10,000-11,999	7.0
\$12,000-13,999	2.4
Over \$14,000	4.4

N = 414

the bottom end of the scale are presumably students. The image of Scouting as a "middle class" organisation is confirmed for income, though there are more men in the top income brackets than expected. The data for SES are less clear-cut. Many Leaders do not hold white-collar jobs, but most of these are skilled workers or foremen. As men in the lower status groups are fewer than expected, the prediction for SES seems to be supported as well.

Overlap of work and leisure time. Writers such as Parker (1972) have noted the influence of work upon the availability and use of leisure time. Scouters were asked the extent to which their work "spilled over" into their leisure time. Table 3.13 shows that over half the Leaders find that their work encroaches upon their leisure time.

Table 3.13: Separation of work and leisure time

	<u>%</u>
Totally separate	22.7
Little overlap	20.0
Fair amount of overlap	35.5
Large overlap	21.8
	N=459

For those with a child under the age of 15, 62% say that work takes up a good deal of their leisure time. Only 50% of the men with no younger children find that work takes up a good deal of their leisure time. This confirms the expectation that men with young families have heavier job obligations than other Leaders.

Membership in other organisations. Leaders were asked whether they had important obligations to voluntary organisations or clubs other than the Scouts. There was roughly an even split in the responses. We can confirm the belief that many Scouters are active in the community, but equal numbers are not very active. It is not possible to determine whether active Leaders are "joiners", as a question on the number of organisational memberships was not included in the questionnaire.

Position in organisation. Table 3.14 shows the proportion of Leaders in each position. The ratio of SLs to ASLs is 1:1.3. The 44 GLs active in Troops represent 27.5% of the total Leaders at this level, based on the 1976 Scout census.

Table 3.14: Position in organisation of Leaders active in Troops

	<u>%</u>
Group Leader	9.5
Scout Leader	39.9
Assistant Scout Leader	50.6

N = 464

Sea Scouts account for 11.4% of Leaders, Air Scouts 1.3% and Scouts 87.3%. This is about as expected.

Longevity in Scouting. Several measures of longevity of members in the movement were available from the survey. Total time spent in the movement was chosen (Table 3.15), as service in other sections or as a lay supporter can have considerable socialising influence upon a Leader.

Table 3.15: Longevity as member of the Scout Association

	<u>%</u>
Under 6 months	7.4
6 - 11 months	8.1
1 year, under 2 years	14.0
2 years, under 4 years	25.3
4 years, under 6 years	16.2
6 years, under 8 years	9.4
8 years, under 10 years	6.3
Over 10 years	13.3
	N = 458

The figures do not differ much from the time spent in the Scout section only. The modal group is the 2-4 year category, after which there is a steady drop: 70% remain at least two years, 29% at least four years, and 13% at least ten years. Whether this attrition rate should be defined as a problem depends upon one's expectations. NHQ issues new warrants to approximately one-third of the total adult leadership in a year, but only 15.5% of the sample are in their first year as Leaders, suggesting uneven dropout.¹

1. The figure is 19% when time in the Scout Section only is considered. This is probably counteracted by the fact that the one-third new warrants per year are for all adult positions. As senior positions are undoubtedly more stable, it is likely that the turnover in the Scout section is somewhat higher.

Stability of positions in different Troops seems variable, with most occupied for at least two years and others subject to relatively rapid turnover. This is consistent with my field observations and points to the importance of organisational factors in leadership turnover. 72.3% of Leaders spent at least some time in the movement as a boy, and all but 11.6% of these were in the Scout section. Thus, 64% of all Scouters were Scouts themselves.

Recruitment. Boissevain (1974) amongst others emphasises the importance of network ties for social activity. This seems to be true for entry into the Scout Association, as 53.6% of the Leaders had friends or relatives (other than children) active in the organisation before joining. As indicated earlier, 41.3% have a son in the organisation. Table 3.16

Table 3.16: Reason for first involvement as a Leader

	<u>%</u>
Request from member of Group or District or began as parent helper or Committee member	32.2
Through a friend or relative	8.7
Son joined or about to join	11.1
Lack of Leaders in Group	14.2
Progressed from boy membership or returned to Scouting	19.2
Volunteered/interested	7.6
Other	7.0

N = 423

shows that the most frequent entry route is through a request by a member of the movement or from a lay support position, with one's son joining or a request from a friend or relative also significant. All of these can be seen as entry through a social network. The same could be said for "natural progress" from membership as a boy, and quite probably for "lack of Leaders in the Troop" as well. Roughly three-quarters of all Leaders thus join through a network connection. This implies that people do not simply "join" Scouting. They must be brought into the organisation by other members. Leaders were asked about the amount of "pressure" that was placed upon them to join. Most (53.7%) were asked to take on their position, while 37.0% volunteered. Only 9.3% said they "had their arm twisted" to enter, which is much lower than expected. My interpretation of the 37% who said they volunteered would be that most of them did not just walk in "off the street", as 58% of these Leaders have a son in Scouting and 35% had friends or relatives other than children in the organisation before joining. The expectation that recruitment usually takes place through a network thus seems to be confirmed, but much less direct pressure is exerted on men to join than expected.

In summary: Leaders are fairly evenly spread between the ages of 20 and 44, with a disproportionate number in their thirties and early forties relative to the total male population. Their marriage pattern is very similar to that of the wider population. They are more likely to have children, particularly boys. Leaders are more likely to come from rural areas than expected, and less likely to live in the main centres. There are very few non-European Leaders.

They score higher than the rest of the male population on several dimensions of socio-economic status, though not overwhelmingly so. Leaders tend to have responsible jobs which keep them busy, particularly if they have young children. Many are active in other community organisations.

Leaders are usually drawn into the movement via a network contact, whether adult or child. Once in, most remain at least two years, with over a quarter remaining at least four years. Rapid turnover seems to be restricted to a relatively few positions within the organisation. We may conclude that members must not only actively recruit Leaders, but also actively try to retain them.

Discussion

A number of important points have emerged, and warrant fuller analysis. Again, the data were examined with expectations based on field work or other studies in mind.

Young, married Leaders were expected to be an unstable group in terms of longevity. Most older Leaders were expected to be married, but a number of older, single men with high longevity were also predicted. Steadily increasing seniority of position was expected with increasing age. Socio-economic variables were expected to have little effect upon longevity, but to have a low, positive correlation with position and a higher one with geographic mobility. Membership in other organisations was unclear. The literature leads us to expect more membership with higher SES, but many people in Scouting argued that high SES people are more "selfish" (in the sense

of taking little interest in community affairs), particularly in large urban areas, hence less likely to join voluntary organisations.

Age, marital status and longevity. Table 3.17 shows marital status by age. The table does not look unusual

Table 3.17: Marital status by age

Marital Status	Age (%)						
	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+
Never married	73.5	15.9	10.6	6.5	4.7	2.1	0
Married	26.5	84.1	89.4	93.5	95.3	97.9	100
<hr/>							
% of total	21.7	15.3	14.6	17.0	14.2	10.4	6.9
N =	98	69	66	77	64	47	31

Total N = 452

$$\chi^2 = 137.0, 6 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

given the marriage patterns in New Zealand. It is significant in view of the common belief in the Scout Association that there are a substantial number of older, single men who have devoted a lifetime of service to the movement at Troop level. These Leaders do not show up in the figures. While these people do exist, their fame far exceeds their numbers, and we must conclude that this type of Leader is largely a myth.

With longevity in the movement by age (Table 3.18), although the numbers are small it seems that new recruits tend to be from the younger age groups. If a man has not joined Scouting by the time he is forty, it is unlikely that he will join at all.

Table 3.18: Longevity in movement as adult by age

<u>Longevity</u>	Age (%)						
	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+
Under 1 year	29.7	21.4	13.5	13.9	4.6	4.3	3.3
1 year, under 2 years	26.7	15.7	14.9	15.2	4.6	0	3.3
2 years, under 4 years	30.7	18.6	28.4	32.9	24.6	15.2	13.3
4 years, under 6 years	10.9	14.3	19.4	20.3	21.5	19.6	3.3
6 years, under 10 years	2.0	25.7	14.9	8.9	26.2	30.4	13.3
Over 10 years	0	4.3	9.0	8.9	18.5	30.4	63.3
% of total	22.1	15.3	14.6	17.2	14.2	10.0	6.6
N =	101	70	67	79	65	46	30

Total N = 458

$$\chi^2 = 188.29, 30 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the under-30 categories. Only about 5% of the total are in the 18-19 group, but of the small number of Leaders who join at this age, many give lengthy service. This is evidenced by the 30.0% of the 25-29 age group who have served for over six years. Examining the data for longevity by marital status (Table 3.19) confuses

Table 3.19: Longevity in movement as adult by marital status

<u>Longevity</u>	Marital status (%)	
	<u>Never married</u>	<u>Married</u>
Under 1 year	27.3	12.7
1 year, under 2 years	15.3	13.5
2 years, under 4 years	26.5	24.8
4 years, under 6 years	13.3	16.7
6 years, under 10 years	12.2	16.7
Over 10 years	5.1	15.6

% of total

22.0

78.0

N =

98

347

Total N = 445

$$\chi^2 = 21.52, 5 \text{ d.f.}, p < .01$$

matters somewhat. Unmarried Leaders are more likely to be new recruits than married Leaders, but there is no difference after one year of service until we get to the 10 year and over group, who are much more likely to be married. It is difficult to assess this, but one might reasonably surmise that the unmarried Leaders are from a younger, more "volatile" age group, with a higher dropout rate, thus supporting preliminary expectations. An alternative explanation is that some Leaders marry shortly after joining Scouts, going from the unmarried to the married column without affecting their longevity in the movement. Controlling for age when examining marital status shows that two-thirds of the unmarried new recruits are in the 18-19 age category. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell what happens to Leaders once they get married. Table 3.20, which shows longevity by marital status for the 20-29 group only, does not provide a clear answer. A disproportionate number of unmarried Leaders are in the 2 - 4 years of service

Table 3.20: Longevity by marital status for Leaders aged 20-29

<u>Longevity</u>	<u>Never Married %</u>	<u>Married %</u>
Under 1 year	13.1	22.6
1 year, under 2 years	21.3	25.0
2 years, under 4 years	37.7	21.4
4 years, under 6 years	19.7	23.8
Over 6 years	<u>8.2</u>	<u>7.1</u>
% of total	42.1	57.9
N =	61	84

Total N = 145

Relationship is not statistically significant

category, but for the assertion that getting married is associated with dropping out in this age group to be supported, a steady increase in the proportion of unmarried, young Leaders would be expected with increasing longevity. No consistent pattern is evident. My field notes tend to support the expected relationship, but they cannot be considered satisfactory evidence in this case.

There are only 15 unmarried Leaders over 30 in the sample, and all but two have served at least four years. We might conjecture that unmarried men over 30 rarely join the Scout Association.¹

A problem with examining the relationship between age and longevity is that until a certain point, a man cannot be a long-term Leader because he has not lived long enough! Perhaps more importantly, we cannot determine with much assurance how long a Leader of a given age will remain in Scouting. We must know both age of joining and the individual's precise present age to be able to assess the length of service given by members of an age cohort. With most of the data gathered by means of forced-choice questions, definite statements cannot be made because there is no way of knowing at what point the age and longevity categories coincide for each case. Even if the questions had been presented such that this relationship could be worked out, it would be difficult to assess whether a man of 30 in 1977 would behave in the same way as his counterpart of a decade earlier.

1. This should help put to rest the widespread but ridiculous belief that Scouters "like little boys". If anything, my impression is that Leaders are extremely conventional in their sexual predilections.

Table 3.21: Position in organisation by age

<u>Position</u>	<u>Under 24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
GL	0	1.4	8.7	13.9	18.2	12.2	25.8
SL*	27.0(27.0)	47.1(47.8)	44.9(49.2)	34.2(39.7)	53.0(64.8)	46.9(53.5)	29.0(39.1)
ASL*	73.0(73.0)	51.4(52.2)	46.4(50.8)	51.9(60.3)	28.2(35.1)	40.8(46.5)	45.2(60.9)
% of total	21.6	15.1	14.9	17.0	14.2	10.6	6.7
N =	100	70	69	79	66	49	31

Total N = 464

*Figures in parentheses exclude Group Leaders

Age and position in the organisation. Most men in the youngest age group are ASLs (Table 3.21). Omitting the GLs for a moment (it will be recalled that they are not a representative sample of GLs) we note that the proportion of SLs to ASLs rises over the next two age categories. It then drops noticeably in the 35-39 age group. It is likely that this is indicative of fathers entering the movement for the first time and taking on a "junior" position. The proportion is reversed in the next age group, which could signify that many of these older recruits have moved into the SL position. It is then surprising to see the proportion of SLs to ASLs drop in the next age group, and the 50 and over category has the highest percentage of ASLs of any group but the youngest! It is not the case that older Leaders relinquish their SL position to a younger man more willing to engage in outdoor activities, as the figures for the number of nights spent camping do not show much difference between age groups. More likely, older SLs tend to move into GL positions, reducing the proportion of SLs in this category. The percentages must be considered in terms of a decline in absolute numbers; there is not a sudden influx of 50 year old ASLs which boosts this category.

The oldest group has the highest proportion of active GLs. The GLs are mostly long term Leaders (25% for 6 - 10 years, 39% for 10 years or more). My field work indicates that these are probably former SLs who find themselves unable to leave active Scouting, either through personal choice or due to a shortage of Leaders in the Troop. Recent efforts to clearly define the role of GL as an administrative position have evidently had little effect upon this older group. Active

GLs are more likely to have a son currently in Scouting than other Leaders (Table 3.22). SLs are slightly more likely to have a son in the movement than ASLs.

Table 3.22: Son in organisation by position in organisation

Son in organisation	Position (%)		
	Group Leader	Scout Leader	Assistant Scout Leader
Yes	59.1	42.7	37.0
No	40.9	57.3	63.0
% of total	9.5	39.9	50.6
N =	44	185	235

Total N = 464

$$\chi^2 = 7.66, 2d.f., p < .05$$

Socio-economic variables, longevity and position.

Of the socio-economic variables income and SES are correlated with longevity, but education is not.¹ Table 3.23 shows the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients for these four variables, as well as age. The influence of age upon these variables is shown in Table 3.24.

1. One might question the validity of examining a socio-economic status index (based directly upon the education and income means of occupations) as well as income and education separately. While the SES scale correlates highly with both, by partialing out income and education in turn while running the other against SES, we account for less than 30% of the variance for SES in the sample. About 20% of this is accounted for by income. While this is fairly high, it means that a considerable amount of variance is not accounted for. It should be remembered that the Elley-Irving scale categorises occupations, which encompass many facets of an individual's life other than income and educational background. However, one must take great care to avoid tautology when using such derived, composite scales.

Table 3.23: Zero-order product-moment correlation of longevity in movement, age, SES, income and education

	Longevity	Age	SES	Income	Education
Longevity	-	.5041+	.1695+	.1975+	-.0360
Age	-	-	.0587	.2312+	-.3189+
SES	-	-	-	.4326+	.2819+
Income	-	-	-	-	.0275
Education	-	-	-	-	-

+ Significant at .001 level

N = 393

Table 3.24: First-order partial correlation coefficients for SES, income and education with longevity in movement by age.

	Longevity (age) r	Significance
SES	.1623	.001
Income	.0963	.028
Education	.1524	.001

When age is partialled out, the effect of income upon longevity decreases in strength, education's influence increases and SES remains the same. The negative relationship between age and education suppressed the correlation between education and longevity. Age conversely overemphasised the relationship between income and longevity. Of these four antecedent variables, age is the only one with a strong influence upon longevity, even with the other three partialled out ($r = .49$ $p < .001$). Again, the question of precisely what this

relationship means must be raised, but the answer is no clearer than before. We may conclude that the socio-economic variables are all positively correlated with longevity at a statistically significant level independently of age, but the relationship is not strong. The assumptions of senior members of the organisation about these relationships are shown to be fairly accurate.

With regard to position in the organisation, education has little effect, while those with higher SES are more likely to be SLs and ASLs. Income is similar to SES, though less clearly related.¹ Recalling that the oldest and youngest age groups are most likely to be ASLs, we find that these groups are also disproportionately represented in the lower income brackets, which could explain the anomaly of older men in junior positions discussed earlier.

Age, location and position. Position is influenced slightly by location of residence, though not at a statistically significant level. The smallest proportion of SLs to ASLs is found in small urban centres (20,000-100,000 population). The proportion of 1:1.7, relative to the next highest proportion of 1:1.2 (in towns over 1000) indicates a marginally greater strength in these locations. The lowest proportion, about 1:1, is found in rural areas and the main centres. The weakness in large urban centres was expected, but not in rural areas. These results, however, must be considered in relation to the size of Troops before any meaningful statements can be made.

1. Once again, age probably enters as an antecedent variable, as it is positively related to income, negatively related to education and has little effect on SES at the zero-order level. With the effect of education partialled out, the correlation of age and SES is $r=.1635$. While statistically significant, the relationship is weak ($r^2 = .0267$).

This will be examined in the next chapter. Rural areas are also more likely to have GLs active in Troops. While not necessarily a sign of weakness, it is a deviation from the "official" structure of the organisation.

Age and location of residence are related at a low but significant level.¹ Most of the variance is in the youngest age group, where they are disproportionately located in major centres, decreasing steadily with decreasing size. This is interesting, given the small proportion of ASLs in main centres. By implication it would appear that the youngest Leaders are more likely to be SLs in the large cities than elsewhere.

Geographic mobility. Slightly over 40% of high SES Leaders have shifted to a new location at least once in the previous five years. About one-quarter of those below SES category 2 have been geographically mobile, thus supporting prior expectations. There is no clear relationship between SES and expecting to shift. The most highly mobile men are between 25 and 34 years old (about 40%), followed by 35-39 (30.4%) and those under 24 (25.3%). Less than 20% of the Leaders over 40 have recently been geographically mobile. The youngest age group is most likely to expect to shift (59.0%) declining steadily to the 50 and over group (9.7%). There is no statistically significant relationship between location and mobility but the highest proportion of those who have recently shifted are in towns of 1000-20,000 population (32.8%), followed by small urban (20,000-100,000), rural (under 1000) and large urban (over 100,000). Those in small urban areas are most likely to expect to shift in the next few years (54.5%), followed by large urban, rural and towns.

1. Kendall's Tau C=.0769, $p < .05$. Gamma = .0912

Membership in other organisations. Leaders over 50 and between 35 and 39 are most likely to have important obligations to other organisations (about 65%). The lowest proportion (40.0%) is the 30-34 age group. Marital status makes little difference; about 50% in each category have such obligations. Those in the top half of the SES scale are more likely to have other obligations than those in the bottom half. The difference is not large (56.0% to 43.3%) but it is statistically significant.¹ Leaders with better educational qualifications are also more likely to have obligations to other organisations. There is an inverse relationship between size of location of residence and other obligations, with 63.6% of rural Leaders responding affirmatively to the question compared to 43.2% of Leaders in the main centres. Finally, those who have spent under two years in the movement are least likely to have other obligations, which suggests that this variable on its own cannot account for high leadership turnover.

Conclusion

Many more relationships could be discussed, but most of them are not theoretically and/or statistically significant. A number of common demographic and socio-economic variables have been examined, and it was found that the Leaders in the Scout section are not very different from the male population as a whole. They are somewhat more likely than most to be

white, middle class, a father (particularly of boys) and run

1. $\chi^2 = 6.5$, 1 d.f., $p < .05$. By the very fact of belonging to even one voluntary organisation, the lower SES members of Scouting are somewhat unusual. Hence the proportion with other organisational obligations is somewhat higher than one might expect with low SES men.

their own business. They fall disproportionately in the 30-45 age range, and are slightly less likely than most males to live in the main centres. Particular stress has been given to the influence of these factors upon the longevity of Leaders in the movement, but the strength of the relationship of longevity with age, and the peculiar nature of age when used in diachronic analysis, prevented any firm conclusions from being drawn.

In common with most voluntary associations, the Scouts seem to rely on the relatively better educated and higher status members of the community for support. These people are more "visible" in the social structure, particularly in rural areas and other locations where they are numerically less common. Leaders with the greatest work obligations are also more likely to have other organisational commitments, which suggests that those men who are "central" to one set of networks (such as business in a small town, rural area or working class suburb) will also be central to the network involved in voluntary activity. This is strongly supported by my field work in locations of this type. As long as these men remain in the organisation, Scouting is likely to remain stable in a given area.

Similar structural factors can help account for the difficulties of urban Scouting. The youngest group of Leaders is disproportionately located in the main centres. Their high level of education makes it likely that they will quickly fill relatively high SES jobs, which makes this group exceptionally mobile. Combined with the new family obligations taken on by men of this age, they are not

central to stable social networks, hence not likely to provide a stable basis for Scouting in these locations. Placing many of these men in the more senior SL position compounds the problem in urban centres.

It is clear that other types of variables have an important influence upon the activities of Scouters, and these will be examined in the following chapters. The variables discussed above will not be ignored, but placed within an organisational and social psychological context.

Chapter 4

The Organisational Context of Leadership

Having examined the social background of Leaders, we now turn to the organisational context in which their activities are conducted. The size of units and the levels of support, communication and control will be considered in relation to organisational effectiveness. A set of preliminary expectations will provide a focus for the discussion.

The Scouts' records indicate that the number of boys and Leaders in a Troop varies. My field work suggested that there would be a substantial number of Troops with only one Leader (termed "one-man-bands" in the organisation), and conversely, few large Troops (over 24 boys) or large groups of Leaders (four or more). Following Hall (1974), Etzioni (1975) and Blau and Scott (1963), one would predict the largest quantity of communication to be horizontal, with vertical communication greater downward than upward. The work of Hall (1974) and Goffman (1967), among others, suggests that an organisation such as the Scouts is likely to have "blockages" at various points in the communication and control systems. One would expect such blockages to result in less communication and control from higher levels, and a lower quality of communication. This would also result in lower-level Leaders having little influence upon policy decisions made by senior officials. My field work suggested that blockages are especially prevalent between Districts and Groups.

The work of Tannenbaum and his associates suggests that the "real" amount of control by most levels over both policy and local activities would be less than an "ideal" situation. Support from Group and higher levels should also vary. It was expected that differences in the above dimensions would be reflected in differing levels of reported effectiveness.

Size. There are several possible ways to view size at the District level. The total population of members and the number of Groups in a District permit a rough split into "large" and "small" Districts, with the divisions at 350 members and between 7 and 8 Groups. By membership, 39% of the Districts (with 56% of the Leaders) were large, while for the number of Groups, 37% of the Districts (with 53% of the Leaders) were large.

Table 4.1 shows an approximation of the number of Troops in different size categories, and Table 4.2 presents the percentage of Leaders who work in Troops of different sizes.¹ There are more than twice as many small Troops (under 15) as large (over 24). Medium sized Troops only slightly outnumber small ones. My field work indicates that Troops in the "small" category are generally either quite weak, or in rural areas with

1. As larger Troops tend to have more Leaders, Table 4.2 does not give an accurate indication of the proportion of different sized Troops around the country. Table 4.1 attempts to do this, and was obtained by dividing each cell in Table 4.18 by the number of Leaders, then lowering the 30+ boys figure because there are three Troops with 5 or more Leaders, which are most likely to be in the 30+ category. The result is close to the 1976 Scout Census, so I would argue that Table 4.1 is accurate.

Table 4.1: Size of Troops (Approximation)

<u>Number of Boys</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
9 or less	32	13.4
10 - 14	63	26.5
15 - 19	55	23.1
20 - 24	47	19.7
25 - 29	25	10.5
30+	16	6.7

Total N = 238

Table 4.2: Percentage of Leaders in different sized Troops.

<u>Number of Boys</u>	<u>% of Leaders</u>
9 or less	7.0
10 - 14	23.1
15 - 19	23.4
20 - 24	23.6
25 - 29	11.8
30+	11.1
	N = 458

few available boys. Only 30.1% of all Leaders are in small Troops.

The percentage of Scouters found in different sized leadership teams is shown in Table 4.3.¹ The expectation of many "one-man-bands" is confirmed. While the percentage

Table 4.3: Number of Leaders in Troop (Percentage of Leaders in each category)

<u>Number of Leaders</u>	<u>%</u>
1	16.8
2	36.9
3	29.8
4+	16.5

N = 463

of Leaders in this situation is low, this represents approximately one-third of all the Troops, a high proportion. As running a Troop without adult assistance is difficult, and single-Leader Troops are strongly discouraged by NHQ, this finding is significant. The largest group of Leaders have one colleague, with the percentage of Leaders in this category equaling the proportion of Troops with two Leaders. However, it is clear from my field work that even two Leaders face a difficult job. This is supported by table 4.4, which shows that the fewer Leaders there are in a Troop, the more likely

1. Some of the Ns for each cell do not divide evenly, undoubtedly because some Leaders in the same Troops differed as to the number of Leaders there "really" were. It is assumed that this applied to only a few cases.

a man is to say that there are not enough Leaders. Almost half the Leaders are in Troops with three or more Leaders, but this represents under 30% of the Troops.

Table 4.4: Scouters' opinions on whether enough Leaders are in the Troop by number of Leaders in Troop (%)

Enough Leaders	<u>Number of Leaders</u>			
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Yes	9.0	28.0	50.0	69.9
No	91.0	72.0	50.0	30.1
% of Total	17.4	36.7	29.5	16.3
N =	78	164	132	73

Total N = 447

$$\chi^2 = 74.29, 3 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

Communication. Table 4.5¹ confirms the expectation that the greatest amount of communication occurs horizontally, and that communication is more frequent downward than upward. Parents are not technically part of the organisation, but can be conceived of as one group of "lower participants" (Etzioni, 1975). Communication with Group Committee members is analogous to interdepartmental interaction in work organisations, so the similar frequencies in each direction are not surprising. There is also little difference in the frequency of giving and receiving communication from GLs.

1. This item is based on a measure developed by Georgopoulos and Mann (Price, 1972,61).

Table 4.5: Frequency of giving and receiving communication (%)

<u>Information given to :</u>	<u>Once a week</u>	<u>Once a month</u>	<u>Every 2 - 3 months</u>	<u>1 - 2 per year</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Parents	13.4	38.5	23.3	15.4	9.4	447
Committee members	6.9	52.2	18.5	8.1	14.3	433
Other SLs/ ASLs	56.2	23.1	7.0	3.9	9.8	441
* GL	23.4	34.5	11.1	3.5	24.9	397
District	2.7	31.4	31.0	15.4	18.8	442
Area	0	5.0	13.0	25.9	56.1	437

<u>Information received from:</u>						
Parents	6.7	20.3	15.9	22.6	34.4	433
Committee members	5.4	50.3	20.5	9.0	14.7	443
Other SLs/ ASLs	50.6	25.8	11.0	5.2	7.4	445
* GL	26.3	37.2	11.9	5.3	19.2	395
District	2.0	45.8	30.7	12.2	9.3	450
Area	0.5	14.0	20.3	34.7	30.6	444

* GLs have been eliminated from the sample for these items.

The downward frequency is slightly higher, but the structural position of the GL necessitates obtaining information as well as transmitting it.

Senior Leaders state that the amount of communication to Scouters from higher levels varies considerably. The data confirm this. Over three-quarters of all Scouters get some information from District at least once a term, with almost half receiving some at least once a month. But over 20% receive little or no information from District at all, with over 65% receiving little or none from Area.

Communication difficulties from higher levels are alleged to be largely due to District personnel. One senior Leader stated:

I think our weakest link is at District level. I would be pretty satisfied that communication between NHQ and Areas is good....In some cases when we rely on Area Commissioners to pass things on, where there's not a good Area Commissioner, this doesn't get passed on....And where there's not a good DC, then the information probably doesn't get any further.

Furthermore,

Where Groups are reliant on the Districts and perhaps not aware that District isn't doing its job, if District sort of blocks communication up and down, and the people aren't terribly conscious that this is happening, then you've got problems.

Such blockages are a problem, sometimes occurring much higher up the organisation. A number of Area Leaders considered this a serious problem in the Scout section, where there was hardly any downward communication from National level during the two years of my field work.

Leaders' perceptions of the quality of communication are shown in Table 4.6. As expected, communication is considered to be best at Group level. Only 7.2% consider

Table 4.6: Quality of communication (%)

	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Adequate</u>	<u>Somewhat Poor</u>	<u>Very Poor</u>	<u>N =</u>
Group	38.9	38.0	15.9	5.7	1.5	460
District	13.8	40.7	28.9	12.0	4.6	457
Area	14.3	33.3	29.8	16.1	6.5	460
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N =</u>
Feel encouraged to present ideas	23.2	21.0	35.8	14.2	5.8	452
Information arrives too late	4.2	39.8	38.9	14.9	2.2	455

it to be poor. However, communication is not perceived to decrease steadily in quality as one moves up the hierarchy, as District and Area are seen to be quite similar. This could be due to much of the communication from Area being filtered through District, so a Leader's opinion of the higher level could be coloured by the manner in which it

is presented by the intermediate personnel. This is supported by a strong, positive correlation between the two variables ($r=.58$). This might also be due to an Area's strengths or weaknesses being manifested at District level. While it is clear from my observations and interviews that there is not a simple relationship between the levels, it seems to be the case that communication in a strong District in a strong Area tends to be better than when either District or Area are weak. Weaknesses are augmented in weak Districts in weak Areas.

In any event, the communication system does not always work as it should. Over 40% of the Leaders indicated that information frequently arrives too late to be useful - leading to boys and Leaders missing meetings, training courses or activities. As an Area Leader commented:

The stuff gets fed out all right, but it just doesn't get passed on. I know that some people just don't clear their boxes. They've got box numbers, but don't clear them from one week to the other... Stuff never gets down... and this is the problem -- people just don't bother.

Another senior Leader related:

I'll never forget (one of the Field Commissioners) coming into Tatum one time, and he got a great box of stuff out of the back of his car and he set up a display, and he said "this is what I found when I cleared out a District Commissioner's office",

and there was...about four or five months' Gazettes¹, never delivered, warrant applications never applied for, and this, that and the other thing.

Clearly, it is possible for Leaders to be cut off from effective communication from other members of the organisation.

Table 4.6 also shows that Leaders receive varying encouragement to put forward ideas and suggestions about Scouting; 43.2% say they always or often are encouraged, but for 35.8% this is only "sometimes" the case, whilst 20% feel that they get little encouragement. This cannot be considered unusual in a voluntary association. Vertical expressive communication in particular mostly flows downward (Etzioni, 1975), but it is unclear whether there is a threshold below which a lack of upward communication is a cause of dissatisfaction. My observations indicate that such communication need not occur. Etzioni (1975) notes that in normative organisations, particularly where the orientation of lower participants is partly social, which characterises the Scouts, a great deal of horizontal expressive communication takes place. The high frequency of horizontal communication found here and my observations that much of this is expressive in nature is consistent with Etzioni's assertions.

Control. Following Tannenbaum (1956a, 1968), control

1. Tatum Park is the Scouts' National Training Centre. The Gazette an old NHQ publication.

is defined here in a general manner: "any process in which a person or organization of persons determines, that is, intentionally affects, the behaviour of another person, group or organization". (Tannenbaum 1968,5) Our concern is with the extent to which activities are influenced by a given level of the organisation.¹

My field work revealed that there was often a noticeable lack of influence of one level of the organisation upon another, and Tannenbaum's framework seemed to be a useful way of examining this phenomenon.² Control is thus measured in terms of the amount of influence that each level has upon the activities in Troops and upon overall policy formation, as perceived by the respondents. The questionnaire items are limited to direct control. It seems unlikely that they would be sensitive to the indirect effects of the control higher levels have upon one another. Indirect control could be measured using several questionnaires, administered to different levels of the organisation, but this was not possible. Comments on indirect control in this thesis are restricted to inferences drawn from observations and interviews.

1. As Price (1972,54) points out, this is a similar concept to "power", as used in many studies of formal organisations.
2. The item used in the questionnaire is a slightly modified version of that which appears in the work of Tannenbaum and his colleagues at the University of Michigan Survey Research Centre. It should be noted that respondents seemed to find this a difficult section to complete. A number clearly had no idea how much influence some of the higher levels had; which to some extent is indicative of the phenomenon the item was intended to measure.

Three aspects of control are discussed; the total amount of control, the amount of control exercised by each level, and the discrepancy between the "real" amount of control and the "ideal" situation. Figure 1 shows these three aspects of control, which are respectively: the height of the curves, the slope of the curves, and the distance between the curves.

The curves for the real and ideal levels of control upon Troop activities are quite similar. The height of the real control curve shows that in general all levels have at least some influence. Very few Leaders thought that there was either a great deal or very little total control, with a majority (53.8%) perceiving a moderately low total level of control. The slope shows that control over Troop activities is mostly exercised by those in the Troop: Scouters and boys. The sharpest drop is between Scouters and GLs. In qualitative terms, the decrease is from fairly high to moderate control. There is a further gradual decrease through District and Area. NHQ is equal to Area in influence, both of which can be characterised as having fairly low levels of control over Troop activities. There is little difference between the amount of control Scouters and boys have on the Troop and the "ideal" amount. The difference widens as one moves up the hierarchy to Group, District and Area, then narrows slightly for NHQ. The difference cannot be described as large at any point. In other words, Scouters feel that it is appropriate to have a considerable amount of control themselves, with less control as one moves up the hierarchy.

Figure 1: Control Curves: Leaders' perceptions of influence of different levels upon Troop activities and overall policy.

Key

—————	Influence over Troop (Real)
=====	Influence over Troop (Ideal)
-----	Influence over policy (Real)
-----	Influence over policy (Ideal)

The data for total amount of control and the distribution of control are supported by my field work, although the summary nature of the graph hides the wide variation found in specific instances. This is most apparent for the influence of GLs. As seen in Table 4.7, their influence varies considerably, which is confirmed by experienced members of the movement.

Table 4.7: Amount of influence GLs have over Troops

<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>
Little	24.5
Some	31.9
Quite a bit	22.1
A great deal	18.4
Don't know	3.0

N = 429

My impression is that the distance between the real and desired levels of control is in many cases greater than indicated by Figure 1, particularly for District level; 47.8% feel that District has a "correct" level of influence, but 41.4% feel that they have too little. In some places, the District has little contact with Groups at all. As one SL commented:

Since I've been here, we've had the District Team or a member of the District down to an actual Troop meeting two nights in five years. Committee meetings we've had them down once, twice in five years.... Personally myself, I would like to see the whole District Team from the District Commissioner down,

even the Cub Leaders, to come down, and not to tear the Scout Leader to pieces, but to just point out what he's doing wrong. We might be doing things one way but District can see in a matter of five or ten minutes what he's doing, and after the Scout meeting getting together and helping him get things right.

This Leader worked in a district which was generally quite active and influential - with some of the Groups. Even in "good" Districts, Groups can effectively become isolated from interaction with either District or Scouters from other Groups.

This occurs with Districts as well, which can become almost autonomous "fiefdoms". Even Areas may become detached from National level influence. One senior Leader commented:

Well, we've had Areas that have drifted away, so it's not... it doesn't just happen with Groups and Districts....With a very determined or a very lazy Area Commissioner, one way or the other, the whole Area can just quietly drift away....I suspect that with Groups and Districts, lots of them get into a de facto position of being cut off or cutting themselves off. I suspect that they're legion, that they're all over the place.

Influence from higher levels can thus be interrupted at any point, whether through inactivity on the part of Leaders at either the upper or lower level, or through efforts on the part of subordinate Leaders to avoid contact.

While in theory a superordinate level has ultimate control over lower units, in practice this is seldom used.

The curves for upward influence in Figure 1 are quite different. The curve for "ideal" influence on overall policy in the Scout Association is nearly flat and fairly high, which indicates that "quite a bit" of influence should be shared by all levels. However, the curve for "real" control shows that Scouters feel influence increases as one ascends the hierarchy. Local members are considered to have too little control. The gap narrows steadily, and Area and NHQ are seen to have "too much" control over policy.

This was not something that seemed to trouble most local Leaders. Considerable prompting was usually necessary during interviews to get them to talk about policy for the movement as a whole. As one SL, who worked in the public service, commented:

It's like going to the Minister if you have some complaint, and you don't know who he is or where he lives or where he works, and it is that sort of bureaucracy, the fear of bureaucracy. You tend to let sleeping dogs lie, and shrug your shoulders and just let things go as they are.

Unless something was done which had a direct, observable impact upon Troops (e.g. a proposed change in the uniform created an uproar), most Scouters had little to say about policy, apart from the fact that they did not have much to do with it.

My observations support the questionnaire data. It is difficult to say how much influence Scouters "really" have on policy, and it is unquestionably indirect. Most senior officials did not consider this a problem, though a small minority considered the concentration of control at the top to be undesirable. As one senior member of the movement put it:

It is not our habit to legislate by referenda...With the sort of hierarchical organisation that we've got, (you) tend to listen to the views of the members of the Executive, because...they are the ones who are supposed to be making the rules.

This was echoed by another senior Leader, who argued:

Now, at National level...I think nationally. The District level thinks at the District level and the Group person thinks at Group level. Now, how can you, on a national decision, take too much notice of the opinions you're going to get from the Group level when it is only what they...if it's purely a Group concern, yes, we want to know what they think.

A third opinion from this level, quite critical of the present situation, was that:

There isn't a vestige of democracy in the Scout movement---not so much as a vestige, in spite of what anyone may say. I think there is no basis that I am aware of where you can point and say "This is a democractic process".

The process by which lower level Leaders find it difficult to influence National level decision was described by an Area Leader:

Now, we (at Area level) would possibly be given a warning of (an impending decision) if it was something major, and we would be asked to get the feelings of our own particular Areas. We may be lucky and be able to call District Commissioners together to discuss this, but by the time you get from there and start going down to the Groups and further down the line, it's such a long, involved process that I don't think you could go much below Districts, really....In some instances you would be able to get individual opinions from various Groups, but in general I don't think the lower levels would ever get the opportunity.

Thus, unless lower level Leaders take the initiative and go out of their way to influence higher levels, the interests of local members are only taken into account on specific decisions if Area Leaders contact the Districts and District personnel are aware of the opinions of those at Group level. This does not prevent a considerable amount of informal influence from being exercised on issues of concern to individual Leaders, but it does effectively leave them out of the formal policy making process.¹

1. An amusing incident occurred at a National Executive Committee meeting, when one of the Committee suggested that changes shouldn't be imposed on the movement because Scouts were a "democratic" organisation. An experienced member was heard to mutter, "You can tell that he hasn't been around here very long!".

The point at issue here is not whether "democracy" is good or bad for Scouting or voluntary associations in general.¹ The key question is whether the reported lack of influence of the top and bottom levels of the organisation upon each other is real or only apparent, and what effect this has upon the manner in which organisational activities are performed. It is my contention that the influence of higher levels upon lower ones can be considerable, though the effects are difficult to detect. This is usually much more obvious where the lower unit is weak in some respect, and a weak or strong higher level either augments or helps to rectify the weakness. This will be elaborated in later discussion. The influence of lower levels upon higher is even more difficult to assess, though it seems to be weaker than with downward influence. This is in line with Etzioni's (1975) statements on normative compliance. It is possible for a single Group to effectively block District activities, but only if it is a large Group in a small District. Alternatively, a number of Groups, if they are able to act in concert, can influence the plans of higher level actors.

The clearest example of this occurred when an Area attempted to amalgamate two Districts without adequate preparation taking place beforehand. The District personnel supported the move, but representatives of the Groups objected to the proposal on the grounds that they had not

1. Much of the writing on this subject (Merton, 1976; Barber, 1950; March, 1954) assumes that democracy in voluntary organisations is highly desirable. This undoubtedly stems from their value position that strong, democratic voluntary organisations are an important foundation of democratic society. The evidence for this is sketchy and contradictory (see Smith and Freedman, 1972).

had sufficient time to consider it. While the Area Commissioner was of the opinion that he had the formal authority to do as he wished in the matter, it was clear that the Group members did not feel that this was legitimate. They made it clear that they would withhold co-operation if the merger went ahead without their consent, and the Area was forced to capitulate on the matter. The Groups soon agreed to the plan, but it was unclear whether the Area could have successfully gone ahead with the move if the Groups remained opposed. Evidence from a second amalgamation exercise, with even more heated opposition from some Groups, suggested that local opposition could be overcome. In this case, the Groups lacked sufficient information and co-ordination, and opposition eventually became fragmented and then dissipated. This was a clear example of the processes described by Michels (1962) in his discussion of the "iron law of oligarchy".

To summarise: Boys and Scouters have the greatest influence on Troop activities, and Area and NHQ have almost exclusive control over policy. Scouters do not perceive the higher levels of the organisation as having much influence upon them but my field work shows that in many cases influence can be exercised downward through intermediate levels. Districts generally do not have much direct control over either policy or Troop activities. Any unit at any level can interrupt the flow of downward influence, usually by withdrawing from interaction.

Support. In this section we will consider the support available to Scouters in the form of training, personnel

and resources. While there is a commonsense connection that can be drawn between support and control, there is no necessary relationship between them. It is difficult to imagine how the failure to provide support could avoid being associated with low levels of influence, but the mere existence of a resource or activity does not mean it inevitably influences a Leader. For heuristic reasons, if nothing else, support and control are examined separately.

Table 4.8 shows the amount of training undertaken by Leaders in the formal, five-stage training programme.¹

Table 4.8: Level of training completed

	<u>%</u>
None	13.7
Introductory Course	15.7
Stage 11	13.2
Begun Stage 111	28.5
Completed Stage 111	11.1
Stage 1V	7.2
Completed Wood Badge	10.6

N = 432

1. This programme culminates in obtaining a "Wood Badge". The Wood Badge symbolises skill and dedication among many of the leaders in the movement. Most have not completed the full, five-part programme. In Table 4.8, Stage 111, which has three separate components, has been split into those who have commenced and those who have completed this part. Also, long-term Leaders who trained under the old Wood Badge system have been included in the appropriate category under the new system as outlined here.

13.7% have done no training at all. As no one is permitted to be a uniformed Leader until the introductory course is completed, this indicated a lack of support from Districts, the level which provides introductory training. However, this rule was only recently brought in, and many District personnel disagreed with it and expressed an intention to ignore it. Their argument was that as communication with some Groups is poor, it could be months before they even heard about a new recruit. As the rule was partly intended to force better communication, the inability to control these processes is given further, indirect confirmation.

Introductory training only has been given to 15.7% of the Leaders, and 13.2% have completed Stage 11. It is generally conceded in the movement that little training of any real value occurs until Stage 111, but 42.6% of the Leaders have not reached that level. 39.6% have either begun or completed Stage 111, and 7.2% have completed the week-long Stage IV course, which is the "centrepiece" of the programme. The Wood Badge is held by 10.6% of the Leaders. One might expect a higher percentage to hold the Wood Badge, as about 50 Leaders attend Stage IV courses each year, and most go on to complete Stage V. If the year in which the Wood Badge was obtained is examined (Table 4.9), the numbers are lower than expected. This lends support to the contention of some members of the movement that the most highly qualified Leaders are quickly "elevated" to more senior positions. As the active GLs are much more likely to have completed Stage IV or Stage V than other Leaders at Troop level, this idea is given further support.

Table 4.9: Year in which Wood Badge was completed

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number *</u>
1976	4
1975	5
1973 - 74	8
1971 - 72	7
1969 - 70	5
1967 - 68	5
1966 or earlier	9

* To obtain an approximation for the total Leadership population multiply each number by 4.

This is ironic, as the Scout Wood Badge is of less value to Leaders in administrative positions than to those working in Troops or more senior training positions.

District Councils for uniformed Leaders are intended to provide both training and an opportunity to meet with Leaders from other Troops. Table 4.10 shows that Councils are available to most Leaders. Nearly 80% say that they are held at least once a term.

Table 4.10: Frequency of District Councils

	<u>%</u>
Once a month	37.8
Every second month	25.4
3 -4 times a year	16.1
1 -2 times a year	5.9
Never	4.3
Don't know	10.2

N = 459

Another support mechanism that District is supposed to provide is a District Leader who visits Troops to give informal, "in-service" training. As these visits are supposed to occur frequently, the expectation that few DSLs would be active enough is supported (Table 4.11)¹. This is seen by many senior Leaders to be one of the major problems in the organisation. Particularly if a Leader is working in a weak Group, a DSL can be an important source of instrumental support.

Table 4.11: Frequency of DSL visits

	<u>%</u>
Once a month	15.8
Every second month	17.1
2 - 3 times a year	25.5
1 - 2 times a year	18.0
Never	7.6
None in District	9.7
Don't know	6.3
N = 462	

1. The overlap in categories, "2-3 times a year" and "1-2 times a year" was not noticed until after the questionnaires were returned. For some reason, I changed it to this format from "2-4 times a year" and "once a year" which appeared on all early drafts. Fortunately this was not a serious error.

Three major difficulties seem to arise with DSLs. Two were outlined by an Area Leader:

First of all, I think that selection is the basic problem, because the nominations appear to be made on the number of grey hairs rather than perhaps either on their training ability or their ability to organise....There are some people, no matter how much training you give them, they just haven't got it. Secondly, I think that...we just don't give them the training. We give them a formal training, give them a book and say "Go to it". And then we ring them up now and again and say "How are things?", and of course the easiest way to dispel that argument is to say "They're very well, thank you", and hang up.

The third problem was raised by a lone DSL in a large District:

I try to visit the Troops fairly regularly on their ordinary Troop night. Well, not regularly, but I drop in every now and again....A lot depends on what's on. If there's a lot on the District calendar then I'm busy with other things and I don't go, and if there's not a great deal on I would go to one a week or something like that. That would virtually take me three months to get around the whole lot.

Thus, poor selection, inadequate training and lack of time make this support mechanism problematic.

The utility of these resources, as perceived by Leaders, is presented in Table 4.12. Formal training

Table 4.12: Utility of support from higher levels (%)

	Very Useful	Sometimes Useful	Not Very Useful	Never Useful	Not Available	N
Training Courses	49.3	37.4	7.7	1.2	4.4	430
District Councils	19.2	46.4	24.2	3.9	6.2	433
DSL	33.3	35.5	13.8	4.5	12.9	442

courses are most frequently useful, District Councils the least. The low quality of Councils was often commented upon, the most common complaint being that they are "boring". From observation of these meetings, it appears that where any training component is available at all, it is often poorly prepared and at too low a level for experienced Leaders. The most successful sessions were arranged such that experienced Scouters ran sessions for newer recruits, thus involving all present. This format does not seem to be widespread.

As expected, DSLs vary in their usefulness to Leaders. When examined District by District, some are seen as good or bad by all Leaders, others provide different levels of support to different Leaders.

In general, the "not available" category seems low for all three items. Leaders probably responded in terms of previous experience in some cases where a specific resource was unavailable.¹ We may conclude that support from higher levels varies in its availability and quality.

Support from within a Leader's Group is also important. The Group Leader position is the most frequently mentioned "problem" after the DSL. With the active GLs eliminated from the sample, 22.3% of all Leaders do not have a Group Leader.² Furthermore, a number of the incumbents are inactive or inadequate. An experienced SL said of his GL:

Unfortunately, he's taken rather a back seat, but he's quite an elderly chap and came into Scouting only a few years ago. He's not really got into it.

While this Scouter was able to manage without the GL's help, it was only because there was a very active Group Chairman who carried out the functions of GL. In a case where such an alternative was unavailable, a new SL said:

I still don't see myself as having any real responsibilities. It has never really been

1. When specifically asked whether Wood Badge training was available, 11.8% answered "no" and 10.1% did not know.
2. This is only slightly lower than my estimation from the survey data of the total number of Groups without a GL, 25%. According to the Scouts' 1976 Census, 69.4% of all Groups had no GL.

clearly defined what he (the GL) wants me to do. No one has said, "Right, I want you to do this".

This Leader, working in near-isolation from his District, was in this uncertain situation for at least eight months, during which time the number of boys in his Troop fell by 50%.

Many GLs are also highly effective. As one SL put it:

He (the GL) works very hard for the Group. I don't think there is a Group Leader like him in the entire District...He has taken the trouble to do his Wood Badge training. He involved the entire Group leadership in a community effort...I can ring him up and ask for something to be done and he'll think about it and a week or fortnight later he'll say "yes" or "no" depending on what he has decided, and that to me is very valuable, because he does think about it, and he's concerned about what happens....It would be a very great loss if he left.

The presence of an individual who actively carries out a co-ordinating function in the Group is important to Scouters, and the prediction that this support is unavailable in some cases is confirmed.

One responsibility of the GL is to run Group Councils for co-ordinating the activities of all sections in the Group.

Table 4.13 shows that Group Councils are held at least bi-monthly for nearly half the Leaders, but that a third seldom or never have them. Interaction with other Scouters is

Table 4.13: Frequency of Group Councils

	$\frac{\%}{\text{}}$
Once a month	33.4
Every second month	14.3
3 - 4 times a year	18.5
1 - 2 times a year	15.8
Never	18.0
	N = 449

important for both instrumental and expressive support. In one Group, with two Troops and six Leaders who have a variety of skills, an SL commented:

I think that the general sharing of ideas is very beneficial for both Leaders and boys...(T)his takes place mostly in the camps we have together when the Troops combine. You talk and share and observe and are taught and pick up ideas. It is incidental sort of training.

More generally, a National level Leader said:

If you take a new Assistant Scout Leader with no experience and put him with a good Scout Leader then you don't have any problems. He becomes good in the image of his Scout Leader. But if you take a guy, make him a Scout Leader and say "Right, run the Troop", and he's had no experience, then he needs a hell of a lot of help....The new Scout Leader needs to see other Scout Leaders...but infrequently does, which is a pity....The whole thing can be learned from a book, but the way of dealing with kids and teaching and using and practicing those (Scouting) skills are probably the things that they can pick up best from other Leaders....I think they get (most of their training) from each other, from their predecessors.

This idea was strongly supported by my observations. In cases where a new recruit began as an assistant to an experienced Leader who was a willing teacher, he seemed to have a much greater chance of becoming a competent Leader himself. Where no instruction in instrumental skills was available at Group level, unless an able DSL filled the gap, the new Leader found his task very difficult. The importance of instrumental support was strongly put by an experienced District Leader:

Now anybody that joins the movement...the thing they'll say to you is that they don't know anything about it. Now, when they say that to you, they're not worried

about...National Headquarters or...that there is a Group Leader or anything, what they're telling you is that they don't know what to do with the boys on Scout night, and the thing that has probably flashed into their mind is that they've got no idea how to tie knots, because whether we like it or not, knots and Scouting are joined together and people can either tie knots or they can't.

The expressive component of horizontal interaction is less frequently mentioned by Leaders, but is clearly important. Perhaps the most common remark heard at training courses or District meetings is that sharing problems with other Leaders is the most helpful aspect of these events. Table 4.14 shows how useful Leaders feel that Group Councils and other Scouters are to them. Group Councils vary in utility, but

Table 4.14: Utility of Group Councils and other Scouters

	Group Councils (%)	Other Scouters (%)
Very useful	32.6	61.3
Sometimes useful	37.7	29.0
Not very useful	11.3	3.5
Never useful	3.0	0.9
Not available	15.4	5.3
N =	435	434

are generally seen as more useful than District Councils. But of all the resources mentioned so far, other Scouters are the most useful by a considerable margin. Leaders must learn not only what to do, but also the correct meaning structure within which to carry out their activities. Peer socialisation seems to be the most important mechanism for these processes to occur.

Material support is quite important for running a Troop. One DC stated:

Equipment is your number one requirement. You can't run a programme without it ... but I would guarantee that 50% of the Troops in New Zealand haven't got enough.

Table 4.15 shows that this is only slightly overstated, as 38.1% of the Leaders get less than "a lot of support" for equipment from their Group Committee. Even less support is provided for recruitment of new Leaders, another Committee responsibility. These resources are the two main, long-term jobs of the Group Committee, and it was widely acknowledged

Table 4.15: Amount of support for equipment and recruitment from Group Committee.

	<u>Equipment (%)</u>	<u>Recruitment (%)</u>
A lot of support	61.9	23.5
Some support	29.4	32.0
Little support	7.3	29.9
No support	1.3	14.6
N =	452	438

that this support was often not forthcoming. This situation was usually attributed to the absence of an active co-ordinator (either GL or Group Chairman) at Group level, without whom the Committee either did not know what was expected, or was too disorganised to take effective action. My observations supported this. Where a solution to this type of problem was found, it usually seemed to be the result of action taken by District personnel. Weak Groups seldom seem to be able to remedy their own problem, and it is in this type of situation that a lack of control at District level becomes most noticeable.

Table 4.16 shows how much help is obtained from boys' parents when it is requested.¹ About 22% of the Leaders get

Table 4.16: Amount of help given by parents

	<u>%</u>
A lot of help	22.3
Some help	54.8
Little help	19.7
No help	3.2

N = 462

either considerable support or very little support, with the majority (54.8%) receiving "some" help. Based on Tables 4.15

1. The Committee is largely composed of parents, but this represents only a small proportion of families. The question was designed to find out how much support was available from the wider group of parents.

and 4.16, as well as my observations, we can infer that in most Groups, most of the support is provided by a small number of parents, some of whom remain after their boys have left the Troop. It seems likely that the Scouts rely on the same pool of active individuals as other voluntary organisations.

Effectiveness. An item developed by Georgopoulous and Mann (Price, 1972, 102) was used, with slight modification, to measure this variable. Leaders were asked, on the basis of their experience, how good the quality of Scouting was in their Troop.¹ Their responses are presented in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Quality of Scouting in Leader's Troop

	<u>%</u>
Excellent	2.8
Very good	27.7
Good	39.8
Fair	24.5
Poor	4.5
Don't know	0.6
	N = 465

1. This item measures the respondents' subjective opinion, rather than any objective criterion of effectiveness. While objective measures would be desirable, there are no obvious items which one could use for the effectiveness of Scout Troops, particularly as the goals of the organisation are vague. My field work strongly supports the notion that there is a high degree of intersubjective agreement on what a "good" Scout Troop is like, but the characteristics are not readily amenable to codification. Price (1972, 103-106) comments favourably upon the validity and reliability of the measure, and the respondents were in a good position to reply accurately. I am grateful to J. H. Robb for his comments on the utility of this item..

Few Leaders consider their Troops to be either "excellent" or "poor". The modal category is "good" (39.8%), and about half the sample was evenly split between "very good" and "fair". This distribution was supported by my observations and interviews. Effectiveness, like the other variables examined in this chapter, varies from place to place. Further discussion of this dimension is best placed in the context of the other variables.

DISCUSSION

The main finding so far has been the variability in size, communication, control, support and effectiveness within the Scout Association. Also, as in most voluntary organisations, blockages can occur between levels. These blockages can either be due to inactivity, or the result of a deliberate bid for autonomy. The former predominates. It is therefore anticipated that the following relationships within and between the dimensions will be found :

- 1) Size will be positively correlated with other variables, particularly support and effectiveness. This is contrary to some of the findings in the literature (Hall, 1976). However, in a voluntary organisation like the Scouts, small size usually results in too few people in central co-ordinating positions, making them more vulnerable to variations of individual activity. Where a small but active and competent team can be assembled, this could be more effective than larger groups. It was felt that an increase in control could overcome the difficulties in communication usually brought about by larger size.

- 2) The quality and quantity of communication should be positively correlated with each other and with most other items. Where communication is good, there should be less control discrepancy (although very frequent communication could result in "too much" control).
- 3) Higher levels of control should be related to higher levels of support and effectiveness. Where control is high, there should be a lower discrepancy between the "ideal" and "real" amounts of control.
- 4) Better support on any item at Group level should be associated with high support on all other items at that level. This should also apply to support from higher levels. Support from Group and higher levels are not necessarily related. More support from any level should be associated with higher effectiveness.

Size¹

Table 4.18 shows the relationship between the size of Troop and number of Leaders. Single-Leader Troops are associated with small numbers of boys, while the largest Troops tend to have the most Leaders. It is unclear whether there is any causal relationship, but it seems that smaller numbers of Leaders are associated with smaller (and except in rural areas, usually weak) Troops.

1. The total population of a District will not be used as an independent variable in this part of the analysis. There is a significant correlation between this variable and Troop size, but not between the number of Groups in a District and Troop size. It therefore seems that to some extent the total population of a District is an artifact of large Groups. This is supported by the similarity of the correlations between total District population, Troop size and a number of other variables. The number of Groups will be used as the measure of District size.

Table 4.18: Number of uniformed Leaders by size of Troop (%)

<u>Number of Leaders</u>		<u>Size of Troop</u>					
		<u>Under 10</u>	<u>10 - 14</u>	<u>15 - 19</u>	<u>20 - 24</u>	<u>25 - 29</u>	<u>30 +</u>
1		46.9	25.5	17.8	9.3	9.3	2.0
2		34.4	50.0	35.5	31.5	42.6	17.6
3		18.8	22.6	37.4	39.8	22.2	25.5
4 +		0	1.9	9.3	19.4	25.9	54.9
		—	—	—	—	—	—
% of Total		7.0	23.1	23.4	23.6	11.8	11.1
N =		32	106	107	108	54	51

Total N = 458

$\chi^2 = 127.71, \text{ 15 d.f., } p < .001$

Size and Communication.¹ Table 4.19 shows that there is a positive correlation for Troop size and number of Leaders with frequency of communication from other Leaders and from Group Leaders. There are also small, positive correlations for number of Leaders and number of Groups in the District

Table 4.19: Correlation coefficients for frequency and quality of communication with size (r)

	Size of Troop r =	Number of Leaders r =	Size of District r =
A) <u>Frequency of Communication from:</u>			
Other Scouters	.2182+	.2218+	.0176
GL	.0696	.1028*	.0286
District	.0353	.0744	.0769
Area	.0559	.0570	-.0655
B) <u>Quality:</u>			
In Group	.1171**	.1566+	.0504
In District	.0014	.0276	.0399
In Area	.0651	.0244	.0338
Feel encouraged to present own ideas	.0416	.0663	.0090
Information arrives too late	-.0131	-.0701	.0017
* Significant at .05 level			
** Significant at .01 level			
+ Significant at .001 level			

1. Downward communication, as well as downward control, will be the focus of this analysis. As there is no theoretical reason to expect upward communication or control to be as important in a voluntary organisation, they have been largely omitted in the interest of brevity.

with communication from District Leaders. Size has no association with communication from Area. Some support is thus given to the contention that larger size is associated with increased levels of communication.

Size of Troop and number of Leaders are both positively associated with good communication within the Group. No other quality of communication variables are significantly correlated with size. Only partial confirmation can be given to the prediction that increased size would be associated with better communication. The Group level relationship had the strongest supporting evidence in my field work.¹

Size and control. Only two relationships proved statistically significant: size of Troop with amount of control by Scouters ($r=.0799$, $p<.05$), and number of Leaders and amount of influence by GL ($r=.1539$, $p<.001$). Only one of the discrepancy variables appears to be related to size, and this is only suggestive. Table 4.20 seems to indicate that in Troops of twenty or more boys, the GL has the correct amount of influence more often than in smaller Troops. The GL is more likely to have too little influence in smaller

1. Some of the larger Districts had only recently been created by combining two smaller ones, with the possibility that old communication patterns were still prevalent. The field evidence for District communication is not strong. During the time of my field work, senior members of the Association had begun a programme of amalgamating smaller Districts into larger units, arguing that smaller Districts are less able to provide support for Leaders at Troop level. My impression is that the overall concept was probably sound, but obtaining systematic field evidence, for communication in particular, was beyond the resources available for this project.

Table 4.20: Control discrepancy for GL by size of Troop (%)

Control	<u>Size</u>	
	<u>19 or less</u>	<u>20 or more</u>
Too much	11.2	10.6
Correct amount	43.0	52.9
Too little	45.8	36.5
% of total	53.1	46.9
N =	214	189

N = 403

$\chi^2 = 4.18$, 2 d.f., $p < .15$.

units than larger ones. Again, as the relationship is not statistically significant we cannot state with confidence that it has not occurred by chance. As it is in the predicted direction, however, tentative support has been given to it.

Overall, the hypothesis that larger units are associated with higher levels of control does not receive much support. However, once again my field work provides some evidence that larger units at Group level are associated with higher levels of control by Scouters and GLs. In particular, experienced Leaders maintain that decreases in membership at Group level are usually associated with the advent of a new Leader in a key position who is less active than his predecessor. One young ASL recalled that when he was a Scout, a new, inactive SL was responsible for reducing a Troop of about 30 boys to fewer than 15 in less than two years.¹ It therefore seems more profitable to subject

1. This was checked in the Group's records, and found to be correct. As this Group drew its boy members from a steady population, there was no reason to suspect that demographic factors caused the decline.

the hypothesis to further examination than abandon it.

Size and Support. Size is associated with a number of support variables, as shown in Table 4.21.

Leaders in larger Troops appear to be more highly trained. Although the correlation coefficient is not large, an examination of the frequencies for each size Troop and each level of training shows that the main differences are at the extremes. 25.8% of the Leaders in the smallest Troops have no training at all, a high figure. This size Troop is also slightly more likely to have Leaders who have completed an introductory course only. Conversely, Leaders in Troops of over 25 boys are somewhat more likely to have completed their Wood Badge (18.1%) than other Leaders. There is little difference at other levels. This suggests that the smallest Troops either tend to be run by poorly trained Leaders, or have a high turnover of leadership with the new Leaders naturally having had no opportunity for training. In large Troops, either the highly trained Leaders are better able to retain the boys, or they feel more encouraged to complete their training by other members of the Group. There is probably some element of truth in all of these suggestions.

Larger Districts hold more District Councils. With more Groups there are generally more Leaders, hence the likelihood of using more formal means of communication and training. The finding that Leaders in larger Groups are in Districts that hold more Councils seems anomalous. This suggests that the measure is unreliable, being influenced by factors which make some Leaders perceive an incorrect number of meetings.

Table 4.21: Correlation coefficients for support with size (r)

	Size of Troop (r =)	Number of Leaders (r =)	Size of District (r =)
Level of training	.1257**	.0056	-.0589
Utility of training	.0138	-.0304	-.0402
Frequency District Councils	.0907*	.0661	.1059*
Utility of District Councils	-.0258	.0097	.0589
Frequency DSL visits	.0908	.0675	.0687
Utility of DSL	-.1268**	-.0650	.1335**
GL present in Group	.0585	.1307**	-.0044
Frequency Group Councils	.0434	.1299**	-.0584
Utility of Group Councils	.0891	.1859+	-.0018
Utility of other Scouters	.2473+	.3402+	-.0214
Equipment support	.1717+	.1871+	-.0075
Recruitment support	.1352**	.2255**	-.0076
Support from parents	.0961*	.0045	-.0348

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ + $p < .001$

On theoretical grounds, we might expect this to be related to communication or some other factor which affects a Leader's familiarity with District affairs. This turns out to be the case. The frequency of District Councils being held is significantly correlated with both longevity in the movement ($r=1533$) and the quality of communication in the Group ($r=.0937$). As both of these are also associated with receiving more frequent information from District Leaders, the possibility of the anomaly being associated with these factors is suggested. Partialing either one reduces the relationship to below the level of significance, and a second-order partial reduces it even further. It therefore seems that because of factors associated with their Group, some Leaders are not equally well-informed about District events. While the reported frequency of these meetings must now be treated with caution, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that a badly publicised meeting is the same for some Leaders as no meeting at all.

Larger Troops receive more visits from DSLs than smaller ones. It is also tentatively suggested (the correlation is not significant) that DSLs pay more visits to Troops with more Leaders. While this finding might seem surprising, it is possible that DSLs would prefer to visit a "successful" (i.e. larger) Troop. However, Leaders in smaller Troops are more likely to say that the DSL is of use to them. As these Leaders in many ways have a more difficult time running a successful programme, the advice and assistance of the DSL is undoubtedly very welcome. The relationship is even stronger when the

frequency of DSL visits is partialled ($r = -.2172$, $p < .001$). 49.3% of the Leaders in Troops of under 20 boys with a DSL who visits at least once a term say that he is "very useful", compared with 33.1% of those in larger Troops with an active DSL. When the DSL is less active, 24.2% of the Scouters in smaller Troops still feel that the DSL is very useful, compared with only 12.8% of those in larger Troops. This suggests that Leaders in smaller Troops are grateful for any advice or support they can get with regard to the everyday running of their Troop, and are less likely to be critical when the assistance is only sporadic (when the DSL does not visit often, 62.8% of the Leaders in larger Troops say that he is "not very useful", contrasted with only 48.5% of those in smaller Troops). The correlation coefficient for size of District and frequency of DSL visits is not quite significant, but it suggests that they are more active in larger Districts. The table (not shown) for this relationship reveals that DSLs in large Districts are more likely to be very active (visit at least once a month) and less likely to be totally inactive. They are considered less useful by Leaders in small Districts, mainly because nearly 20% of these Leaders report that there is no DSL available, compared with only 7.6% in large Districts.

Size has little relationship with the utility of training courses or District meetings.

At Group level, the more Leaders there are, the more likely it is that the Group Leader position is filled. The size of Troop is not significantly related to having a GL,

but there seems to be a slight tendency for smaller Troops to be without a GL. Having more frequent Group Councils is also associated with larger numbers of Leaders. The implication is that larger numbers of Leaders make the co-ordinating role of the GL more important, and also requires more formal meetings among all the Leaders in the Group to plan activities. Furthermore, the more Leaders, the more that Group Councils are considered useful. These Leaders also tend to find other SLs and ASLs more helpful than those with fewer Leaders in the Troop. Group Councils and other Scouters are also seen to be more useful by Leaders with larger Troops, but the relationship is not as strong. This provides further evidence that increasing size is accompanied by a larger and more active support component. (See Hall, 1974; Blau and Scott 1963; Chapin and Tsouderos, 1955; Warner and Hilander, 1964; Blau, 1974, among others, for a discussion of this relationship).

Both larger Troops and more Leaders are associated with higher levels of Committee support, and larger Troops with higher levels of parent involvement. The coefficient for the latter relationship is small. The size of District has no relationship with any of the Group level support items.

Size and effectiveness. Table 4.22 shows that the larger the Troop, the higher the quality of Scouting (i.e. effectiveness). This is particularly marked at the extremes; the largest Troops are much more likely to be seen as very good, and the smallest only fair (at best) than any of the intermediate sizes. A similar relationship

Table 4.22: Quality of Troop (effectiveness)
by size of Troop (%)

Quality	SIZE					
	<u>9 or less</u>	<u>10 - 14</u>	<u>15 - 19</u>	<u>20 - 24</u>	<u>25 - 29</u>	<u>30+</u>
Very good/excellent	6.7	26.7	22.9	36.2	28.3	44.0
Good	36.7	44.6	53.3	43.8	50.9	46.0
Fair/Poor	56.7	28.7	23.8	20.0	20.8	10.0
% of Total	6.8	22.7	23.6	23.6	11.9	11.3
N =	30	101	105	105	53	50

$$\chi^2 = 72.46, \quad 10 \text{ d.f.}, \quad p < .001$$

exists between number of Leaders and effectiveness (Table 4.23). The size of District has no association with the effectiveness of Troops.¹ The positive

Table 4.23 Quality of Troop (effectiveness) by number of Leaders (%)

Quality	Number of Leaders			
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4 +</u>
V.good/excellent	20.8	24.0	29.4	57.9
Good	32.5	46.2	42.6	30.3
Fair/poor	46.8	29.8	27.9	11.8
% of Total	16.7	37.2	29.6	16.5
N =	77	171	136	76

Total N = 460

$$\chi^2 = 44.25, 6 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

1. An item on the questionnaire asked Leaders to assess the quality of Scouting in their District. Although it was significantly correlated with a number of variables, the relationship vanished when the effectiveness of the Troop was controlled. As the two effectiveness variables were also related at a significant level, I concluded that a Leader's perception of his District was to some extent influenced by what happens in his own Group. This was supported by my field data, as many Leaders complained of a lack of contact with other Troops, and a number had little idea of how their District was run or even who the District Leaders were. While the questionnaire data about Leaders' perceptions of District level must be treated with caution, this somewhat negative finding is in itself highly significant. It further highlights the autonomy of many Groups, often as a result of the inactivity or poor organising abilities of many District personnel.

relationship between size and effectiveness at Group level was strongly supported by my observations. The level of activity and the enthusiasm of both boys and Leaders appeared to be almost directly proportional to the size of the Troops I observed. The Troops which experienced Leaders referred to as examples of "good" Troops were invariably large, with many Leaders. Again, while evaluations of "good" Scouting are variable, there is considerable evidence that most of the main attributes are more likely to be found in larger Troops.

Size is thus a moderately useful variable for analysing other dimensions of the Scout Association. Larger size is associated with both higher quality and quantity of communication at the local level, higher levels of support for a number of items, and higher effectiveness. Scouters and GLs seem to have more influence on local activities with increased size, but the evidence is not strong. The relationship between size of Troop and number of Leaders with other variables is not always similar, but in no case are they contradictory. The size of District has some influence on District level activities, although the findings must be treated with caution due to the possibility of unreliability. Overall, the findings for size are often consistent with prior expectations and there is little contrary evidence to indicate that these expectations should be revised or abandoned. However, particularly with social control, further investigation is needed.

Communication. Tables 4.24, 4.26 and 4.27 show that in general the communication variables are positively correlated with one another, which supports the earlier prediction.

A Leader who receives frequent communication from one level is likely to receive frequent communication from other levels. The correlations are generally not large, and tend

Table 4.24: Correlation coefficients for frequency of receiving communication (r)

	<u>Other Scouters</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>
Other Scouters	-	.1857+	.0979*	.1323**
GL		-	.1639+	.1098*
District			-	.3037+
Area				-

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 + $p < .001$

to weaken as one moves further up the hierarchy. This tendency to receive frequent communication from all levels or none is interesting, given the dual chain of communication and control in the Scout Association. One might expect that where information from District is blocked on the administrative side (e.g. by the GL), it could get through on the training side (the DSL), as the two are in theory independent.

This is generally not the case, as both lines seem to be either open or closed.

Frequency of communication is also associated with the quality of communication. Good communication within the Group is positively related to frequency of communication from all levels, which again indicates the importance of the local unit in either facilitating or obstructing activity. However, an anomaly must be mentioned. Table 4.25 shows the relationship between quality of communication

Table 4.25 : Quality of communication in Group by frequency of receiving communication from the GL (%)

<u>Quality</u>	Frequency				
	Once a week	Once a month	Every 2 - 3 months	1 - 2 Each Year	Never
Very good	52.9	33.1	36.2	9.5	35.5
Fairly good	34.6	44.8	38.3	42.9	34.2
Adequate	10.6	16.6	17.0	23.8	15.8
Somewhat poor	1.9	5.5	8.5	23.8	14.5
% of Total	26.5	36.9	12.0	5.3	19.3
N =	104	145	47	21	76

Total N = 393

$$\chi^2 = 33.91, 12 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

in the Group and the frequency that information is received from the GL. The second highest category for the "very good" communication row are the Leaders who never communicate with their GL. This could partly be explained by another individual taking on the role, if not the title of GL. One SL, in a Group with an inactive GL said:

(T)he present Chairman is so enthusiastic that he will become our next Group Leader, and he'll make an excellent Group Leader the same way as he's been an excellent Chairman.

Another SL, with no GL at all, commented:

(T)he Chairman of the Committee has taken on some of the role...In the meantime he is carrying the liaison role between the Troops, Venturers and Cubs, and with regular Leaders meetings we keep a finger on the pulse.

Whether the Chairman or someone else carries out this role, ~~it is unlikely that good communication occurs where the~~ co-ordinating function is not being carried out. As one senior member of the organisation put it, any successful local unit will always have at least one highly active individual, who motivates and helps organise the other members. A similar finding was reported by Sills (1957) with regard to the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. This adds further support to the contention that local units of voluntary associations are vulnerable to becoming, "detatched" from the rest of the organisation,

particularly through inactivity.

The quality of communication at District and Area levels is more closely related to the frequency of communication from these levels than from lower levels. The low correlation between communication from GL and the quality of communication at higher levels is somewhat troublesome, given the above assertion that communication can be blocked almost entirely at Group level. However, the correlation with District communication quality is significant (if barely) and the discussion on the importance of actively carrying out the GL role, as opposed to simply filling the position, suggests that the relationship could be somewhat higher if all Group communication was taken into account.

Frequency of receiving communication is positively correlated with feeling encouraged to present one's own ideas about Scouting,¹ but only frequency of receiving information from Area is related (inversely) to whether information arrives too late. As the most common complaints about late information concerned Area activities such as training courses or special events, this inverse correlation gives support to the interview data.

1. It is also positively correlated at a significant level with giving information to other Leaders, both horizontally and vertically.

Table 4.26: Correlation coefficients for quality of communication with frequency of receiving communication (r)

<u>Quality</u>	<u>Other Scouters</u>	<u>Frequency</u>		
		<u>GL</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>
Group	.2372+	.2194+	.1284**	.0984*
District	.0737	.0880*	.2726+	.1130**
Area	.0498	.0064	.1470**	.1659+
Encouraged to present ideas	.1748+	.1544+	.2551+	.1085*
Information arrives too late	-.0017	.0397	-.0516	-.1384**

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

Table 4.27: Correlation coefficients for quality of communication (r)

	<u>Group</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Encouraged to present ideas</u>	<u>Information arrives too late</u>
Group	-	.3642+	.2158+	.2245+	-.0488
District		-	.5890+	.3516+	-.2547+
Area			-	.2658+	-.2721+
Encouraged to present ideas				-	-.1499+
Information arrives too late					-

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

The quality of communication variables are generally positively correlated. This complements the findings for frequency of communication; good communication at one level is likely to be associated with good communication at all levels. Again, it is hard to tell whether good communication trickles down or good communication in the Group or District causes a Leader to receive better communication from higher levels as well. Both elements are probably important. The correlations between Group and District, and District and Area are particularly strong. Good communication at every level, especially District, is associated with feeling encouraged to put one's own ideas forward. Information arrives too late less often when District and Area communication are good. While consistent with prior expectations, it is not clear why the frequency of communication from District is not also associated with this item.

Communication and control. Table 4.28 shows the correlation

Table 4.28: Correlation coefficients for amount of control with frequency of receiving communication (r)

<u>Amount of Control</u>	<u>Communication Frequency</u>			
	<u>Scouters</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>
Scouters	.1330**	.0876*	.0604	.0469
GL	.0916*	.4567+	.0036	.0533
District	-.0514	.0124	.2354+	.0874*
Area	.0244	.0896*	.1246**	.2228+

* p<.05

**p<.01

+ p<.001

coefficients for frequency of communication and amount of control. It appears that more frequent communication from a given level is associated with a greater amount of control over Troop activities by that level. The relationship is strongest for GLs and weakest for other Troop Leaders. The latter may appear anomalous, but it is possible for a lone Leader to feel he has good control over his Troop. (It will be recalled that there is no correlation between number of Leaders and amount of control by Leaders.)

The quality of communication at Group, District and Area levels is positively associated with greater control by these levels. The strongest relationship is between the two District variables. Control by Scouters is only significantly correlated with quality of Group communication, and this relationship is weak.

Feeling encouraged to put forward one's own ideas is positively correlated with greater control by Group, District and Area Leaders. This finding is important, as it indicates that the perception of control is not zero-sum in nature. Scouters who perceive higher-level Leaders as having more control also feel that these Leaders will listen to their own ideas.¹

1. This may not seem consistent with the earlier discussion of democracy, but my impression from interviews and observations was that the most active and influential ACs and DCs are also the most likely to solicit and listen to the opinions of those in subordinate positions. Those who do not attempt to exert influence in an upward direction appear less likely to be interested in what happens below. A distinction must be made between democracy, in which a constituency is formally represented at a higher level, and control, in which superordinates are (or are not) influenced by lower participants. It is theoretically possible (and found empirically) that subordinates can have considerable control without any formal mechanism for this. See Mechanic (1963) for an excellent discussion of this topic.

One might suggest that higher overall control is associated with a freer interchange of ideas. While this is not explicitly stated by Tannenbaum and his colleagues, it is consistent with their argument that lower members of organisations tend to be more satisfied when all levels have a considerable amount of control. However, any such conclusion must be tentative, as there is only a low, non-significant correlation between feeling encouraged to present ideas and the amount of control Leaders have themselves.

The relationship between the communication and control discrepancy variables are not all clear. The distinct associations are generally at the same level (e.g. District control and District communication), and tentatively suggest that better or more frequent communication is negatively correlated with having too little control. There is no evidence to the contrary. The only clear relationships for frequency of communication are those at Group and District (Tables 4.29, 4.30). The tendencies are not uniform, but it appears that the more frequently a GL communicates with Scouters, the more likely he is perceived to have the correct amount or too much influence. GLs who give little information to Scouters tend to be seen as having too little control. A similar pattern exists for District Leaders, although a large proportion of Scouters who never hear from their District Leaders find this acceptable. This anomaly does not seriously detract from the overall pattern.¹ (A small

1. The category "too much control" is also associated with frequent communication, which is not surprising. It should be noted that some of the cells in this category have very few cases, and should be treated with caution.

Table 4.29: Control discrepancy for GL by frequency of receiving communication from GL (%)

Control	<u>COMMUNICATION</u>				
	Once a week	Once a month	Every 2 - 3 months	1 - 2 Each Year	Never
Too much	15.3	10.2	2.3	5.0	5.8
Correct Amount	60.2	53.3	34.9	40.0	25.0
Too Little	24.4	36.5	62.8	65.0	69.2
% of Total	28.0	39.1	12.3	5.7	14.9
N =	98	137	43	20	52

Total N = 350

$$\chi^2 = 52.01, 8 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

Table 4.30: Control discrepancy for District by frequency of receiving communication from District. (%)

Control	Communication			
	Once a month	Every 2 - 3 months	1 - 2 each year	Never
Too much	10.0	3.9	3.8	3.1
Correct amount	61.7	50.8	26.4	46.9
Too little	28.4	45.3	69.8	50.0
% of total	48.6	30.9	12.8	7.7
N =	201	128	53	32

Total N = 414

$$\chi^2 = 48.51, 6 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

number of Leaders were encountered who stated that the less they saw of District personnel, the better. This was usually the result of mutually incompatible role expectations.)

Similarly, good Group or District communication is likely to be associated with GLs or District Leaders having the correct amount of control. Both relationships are significant ($x^2=19.00, 9 \text{ d.f.}, p<.05$ and $x^2=49.43, 12 \text{ d.f.}, p<.001$ respectively). In both cases, the better the communication, the more likely the GL or District Leaders are to be seen as having too much control. Little additional information is available to explore this finding.

Communication and support. Table 4.31 presents the relationship between the frequency and quality of District communication with a number of support items located above Group level. All but one relationship is positively

Table 4.31: Correlation coefficients for support from higher levels of the organisation with frequency of receiving information from District and quality of District communication (r)

<u>Support</u>	<u>Communication</u>	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Quality</u>
Level of training	.2173+	.0289
Utility of training	.2066+	.1397**
Frequency of District Councils	.2617+	.0977*
Utility of Councils	.2692+	.3177+
Frequency of DSL visits	.1862+	.1900+
Utility of DSL	.2385+	.2773+

* $p<.05$

** $p<.01$

+ $p<.001$

correlated at a significant level. The association of frequency of communication with the utility of training, DSL visits and District meetings is an important finding for the argument being developed here. Where superordinates actively try to maintain contact with subordinates, the latter have a more positive perception of specific events organised by higher level personnel. We have already seen that frequency of communication is associated with a general perception of better communication. It also appears that active superordinates provide better (as well as more) support to members at lower levels. Some of these support activities (District Councils, DSL visits) are partly intended to provide information to Scouters, which in turn adds to the overall quality of communication in a District.

The data are somewhat less clear at Group level (Table 4.32). Frequent communication from the GL is associated with

Table 4.32: Correlation coefficients for support from Group with frequency of receiving communication from Scouters and GL, and quality of Group Communication.^(r)

<u>Support</u>	<u>Communication</u>		
	<u>Scouters</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>Quality</u>
GL present in Group	.0751	.5238+	.0685
Frequency of Group Councils	.0312	.3262+	.1990+
Utility of Group Council	.0753	.3788+	.2989+
Utility of other Scouters	.3125+	.1376**	.2649+
Equipment support	.1192**	.0931*	.2574+
Recruitment support	.1036**	.0368	.2797+
Support from parents	.1675+	.0493	.1290**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

+ $p < .001$

more frequent and more useful Group Councils. The latter two items are in turn positively correlated with better communication in the Group. This adds support to the argument outlined above. It is surprising to note, however, that the presence of a GL makes no difference to the quality of communication in the Group (the correlation coefficient is positive, but small and not significant), nor to the Committee providing recruitment support or to the level of parental support. One possible explanation for this is that many GLs are former Scouters, and might have a firmer grasp of the requirements for the uniformed than the lay side of the movement. But many GLs have not held Troop positions, so this argument is not really satisfactory. As quality of communication in the Group is correlated with Committee and parental support, this once again suggests the possibility that the key factor is the performance of the role of GL, rather than simply having someone in the position.

The more frequently that Scouters receive horizontal communication, the more useful this communication is considered to be. As both of these variables are positively correlated with the number of Leaders in the Troop, it was felt that the relationship might be an artifact of size. When number of Leaders is partialled out, the correlation coefficient is reduced slightly, but remains significant at the .001 level ($r=.2955$). This lends additional support to the earlier discussion of the importance of interaction between Scouters.

Frequency of horizontal communication is also associated with a greater level of support from parents and the Group Committee. The possible influence of size was again considered. The correlation coefficients were again reduced, but only Committee support for recruitment became insignificant. It might be considered that Groups that are active in some respects tend to be more active in others as well. This turns out to be correct; Leaders who receive more horizontal communication are more likely to communicate with parents ($r=.2451$, $p<.001$) and Committee members ($r=.1288$, $p<.01$). The correlation coefficients are slightly higher for Leaders who frequently give information to other Leaders. In turn, Leaders who give more information to parents receive better support from them ($r=.1764$, $p<.001$), and similarly for the Committee ($r=.2178$, $p<.001$).¹ As an experienced DC stated;

The parents and the Committee rely on the Leaders in really directing them as to what is required....I mean, they'll do a job for us, but if they're not asked or told what it is, they'll soon get a bit disenchanted.... There's no shortage of parental support, and that's that. If any Group is not getting its parents' support, they should look how they're going about it.

This argument was reiterated by a number of senior Leaders, and was borne out by my observations. In general, the more

1. This is for equipment support only. Support for recruitment is only marginally significant ($r=.0793$, $p=.054$). However, Leaders who receive more information from the Committee get more support for recruitment ($r=.1744$, $p<.001$).

active the Leaders are, the more support they receive; so long as their requests are clearly made and well-founded. This would support Homans' contention that more frequent interaction leads to the growth of sentiment.

Communication and effectiveness. There is no correlation between frequency of communication from District and the effectiveness of a Troop, but there is between the quality of District communication and Troop effectiveness. ($r=.1048$, $p<.05$). The frequency of communication from other Scouters ($r=.1295$, $p<.01$) and from the GL ($r=.1113$, $p<.05$) are both associated with greater effectiveness. The strongest correlation, however, is with quality of communication in the Group ($r=.2459$, $p<.001$). While the correlation coefficients are perhaps lower than expected, they support the prediction that better and more frequent communication will be associated with a more effective Troop.

In terms of both quantity and quality, communication appears to be an important variable in examining control, support and effectiveness in the Scout Association. The general pattern is for communication at a given level to be associated with another variable at that level (e.g. more frequent communication from the GL and the GL having more control over Troop activities). Where communication at one level is associated with variables at other levels, it is usually Group level variables which are the most important. This emphasises the importance of the immediate

context within which a member's activity takes place, and suggests similarities in this respect between voluntary associations and work organisations (see Nicholson, Wall and Lischeron, 1977).

Control. Once again, our focus will be restricted to the influence exercised by Scouters, GLs, District and Area upon the operation of Troops.¹ Table 4.33 shows that the data for amount of control are consistent with the other variables discussed so far; more control at every level is significantly associated with greater control by other levels. The relatively high correlation coefficient for the

Table 4.33: Correlation coefficients for amount of control (r)

	<u>Scouters</u>	<u>GLs</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>
Scouters	-	.1608+	.0950*	.1493+
GLs		-	.3948+	.3417+
District			-	.6050+
Area				-

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 + $p < .001$

relationships between District and Area control should be mentioned. The Leaders' perceptions of the amount of influence is undoubtedly correct. However, it is likely that the high correlation is as much an artifact of the District's influence as the Area's. Where a District Team

1. The data for influence over policy are available, but do not alter or add to the argument, so are not presented here.

is inactive, there is little interaction between Areas and Groups, regardless of what the Area does. Area Leaders generally agreed that apart from training courses, their only influence upon Scouters was through the Districts. The tenuous nature of this link in many cases results in downward control being difficult to maintain. Unless personnel at intermediate levels actively carry out the Area's suggestions or policies, Area will effectively be "invisible" to Leaders further down the hierarchy. Furthermore, many senior Leaders felt that there was little that could be done about this. As one senior Leader said:

You have no teeth when it comes to the crunch,
in saying "you will". You just can't do it.
So if a bloke doesn't want to do something, he
doesn't do it...If my Districts turn around
and tell me to go to hell, which a couple have
done recently, what can I do about it? I don't
know.

Olsen's (1968) typology of power relationships can be usefully applied here. Senior Leaders have the formal authority to initiate activity, while District Leaders, through their dominance of communication channels, are able to block it. They do not have the formal authority to countermand the decisions made at higher levels, but their organisational position enables them informally to block or alter directives to suit their own interests. Officials at higher levels can overrule and even dismiss members who thwart official policy, but this generally creates considerable opposition at lower levels, and it is difficult to find out about such action (or inaction)

in any case. Dominance can not only prevent communication and control from flowing downward, but also can prevent their passage in the reverse direction. While Areas do have influence over District activities, this is mostly a long-run process.

Even long-run influence requires the active participation of higher levels in decisions on staffing and organisation. For example, there is widespread agreement that many DSLs are not "suitable" for the job. The problem in this case appears to be different role expectations for the DSL position on the part of Area and District personnel. At present, the selection of the DSL is largely the responsibility of Districts. There is no guarantee that the individual who is chosen will conform to the expectations of Area Leaders, hence the likelihood of downward influence being distorted or obstructed. One senior Leader considered this type of situation to reflect low control on the part of Area personnel, rather than a problem that could be located solely at District level:

You should be trying to influence the DC's suggested nominations before he's made up his mind, you should be in as soon as you know there's a vacancy, so consequently when the DC makes his choice, it's also your choice....I think you just can't....sit on a lofty perch and expect him to wheel up a nominee. It's a matter of being in at the ground floor, in the decision-making process. And I think that this is perhaps a problem in this particular Area, where we say to the DCs, "Wheel up your nominees and we will bless them". Perhaps we've got to go up to the river and fish them out.

The perception that Scouters have of Area is therefore largely a result of what becomes visible to them through their District. But this in turn is a reflection of the "real" influence of the Area. If Area personnel take an active interest in the affairs of Districts, it is less likely that the District will become an obstruction between Area and lower echelon Leaders.

The evidence presented so far, as well as the arguments of Tannenbaum (1968) and his colleagues, Likert (1961) and Sills (1957) lead to the expectation that low levels of control will generally be seen to be too low.¹ This is supported here as well, although again the relationships are generally only significant within levels of the organisation (e.g. low control by GLs is related to too little control by GLs, but not by SLs or Districts). Table 4.34 to 4.36 show the relationships for Scouters, GLs and District.

Table 4.34: Control discrepancy for Scouters by amount of control for Scouters (%)

Control Discrepancy	Little/Some	Amount of Control	
		Quite a Bit	A Great Deal
Too much	0	10.2	14.4
Correct Amount	30.3	56.8	85.6
Too Little	69.7	33.1	0
% of Total	7.6	27.1	65.4
N =	33	118	285

Total N = 436

$$x^2 = 168.00, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

1. This is restricted to the context of voluntary associations, with organisations such as churches or unions excluded.

Table 4.35: Control discrepancy for GLs by amount of control for GLs (%)

<u>Control Discrepancy</u>	<u>Amount of Control</u>			
	<u>Little</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Quite a Bit</u>	<u>A Great Deal</u>
Too much	0	3.7	19.4	26.9
Correct Amount	15.7	53.3	53.8	73.1
Too Little	84.3	43.0	26.9	0
% of Total	25.0	33.1	22.8	19.1
N =	102	135	93	78

Total N = 408

$$\chi^2 = 162.99, 6 \text{ d.f. } p < .001$$

Table 4.36: Control discrepancy for District by amount of control for District (%)

<u>Control Discrepancy</u>	<u>Amount of Control</u>		
	<u>Little</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Quite a Bit/A Great Deal</u>
Too much	0	4.7	20.4
Correct Amount	28.2	62.6	64.1
Too Little	71.8	32.6	15.5
% of Total	30.9	44.8	24.3
N =	131	190	103

Total N = 424

$$\chi^2 = 116.75, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

The latter two are perhaps not as clear cut as the first, as the row for the correct amount of control does not have the steady decline from high to low control. However, they are in the expected direction, with a large difference between the extremes. The relationship at Area level is inconsistent. While it suggests that the pattern holds, it is not clear enough to say that it is supported.

The relationships between levels for amount of control and control discrepancy are unclear, and the relationships for control discrepancy at adjacent levels of the organisation are somewhat puzzling. Table 4.37 presents the findings for Scouters and GLs. A Scouter is most likely to feel he has the correct amount of influence in his Troop if the GL also has the correct amount. But Scouters have the right amount of control if the GL is somewhat weak almost as often. When GLs are seen to have too much control, a smaller proportion of Scouters feel they have the correct amount of control. As one moves from too much to too little control for GLs, Scouters are less likely to say they have too much influence in their Troops. The

Table 4.37: Control discrepancy for Scouters by control discrepancy for GLs (%)

	<u>Too Much</u>	<u>GLs Correct Amount</u>	<u>Too Little</u>
<u>Scouters</u>			
Too much	33.3	12.1	7.4
Correct amount	54.8	78.4	74.1
Too little	11.9	9.5	18.5
% of total	10.7	48.2	41.1
N =	42	190	162

Total N = 394

$$\chi^2 = 33.52, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

relationship is not as clear for Scouters who feel they have too little control, but this is most likely to be associated with GLs having too little control. This finding poses an interesting problem. One might think that if a GL has too little influence over the Troop, a Scouter might find himself with more influence than he feels is warranted. Conversely, where a GL has too much influence, a Scouter might find himself in a secondary position, with too little influence. The association of low control by GLs and Scouters is understandable, if the absence of a strong GL means that a Leader is unable to obtain the co-operation of the Group Committee in providing the resources necessary to run a satisfactory programme. Too much control by both Scouters and GLs could be explicable if this reflected too little control by higher levels. In Table 4.38, we see that too much control by GLs is likely to be associated with too much control by District. However, when the discrepancy

Table 4.38: Control discrepancy for GLs by control discrepancy for District (%)

Group	Too Much	District Correct Amount	Too Little
Too Much	50.0	8.8	4.4
Correct Amount	38.5	62.3	31.9
Too Little	11.5	29.0	63.8
% of Total	6.7	52.3	41.0
N =	26	204	160

Total N = 390

$$\chi^2 = 128.09, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

of control for Scouters and GLs is examined with District held constant, it appears that those who feel that GLs and District have too much control are more likely to say that Scouters have the correct amount of control than too much control. As we are now dealing with very small numbers of cases (three say Scouters have "too much" control, nine say they have the "correct" amount), these results must be treated very cautiously. While no clear answer emerges, it appears as though the Leaders who say both Scouters and GLs have too much control are a different group from those who say both GLs and District have too much control.

The relationship between discrepancy of control at different levels is not really examined by Tannenbaum and his associates, so there is little theoretical guidance to be found in this matter. To put things in perspective, less than 4% of the sample falls into the cell for too much control for Scouters and GLs, and under 1% in the cell for all three levels having too much control. The finding that the correct amount of control at one level is likely to be associated with the correct amount of control at adjacent levels supports the general thrust of the theoretical argument, and is consistent with the evidence examined so far in this thesis. However, the problem just discussed is an interesting one, and merits further study.

Control and support. Table 4.39 presents the correlation coefficients for amount of control by District and Area Leaders with several support items above Group level. It is somewhat surprising to see that there is such a low correlation between the level of training a Leader has

Table 4.39: Correlation coefficients for support from higher levels of organisation with amount of District and Area control. (r)

<u>Support</u>	<u>Control</u>	
	<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>
Level of training	.0162	- .0683
Utility of training	.2243+	.2162+
Frequency of District Councils	.1434**	.0992*
Utility of District Councils	.3173+	.2944+
Frequency of DSL Visits	.1677+	.0049
Utility of DSL	.3084+	.1321**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

+ $p < .001$

attained and the amount of influence District and Area have. Higher District and Area influence is related to perceiving training as being useful, and higher influence is also associated with having more District Councils and perceiving them as more useful. The correlation coefficient for District is somewhat higher. Only District control is related to frequency of DSL visits, but both District and Area control are correlated with perceiving the visits as more useful. With the exception of level of training attained, the relationships between amount of control and support from District and Area are generally as expected. Table 4.40 shows the relationships between influence of the GL and various Group level support items. There is a lower correlation than expected between having a GL and the amount of influence over the Troop he has.¹ Where a GL

1. The control question was worded such that a GL need not be present for an answer to be given. Thus, Leaders could respond with reference to the amount of control a former GL had, or even GLs in general.

Table 4.40: Correlation coefficients for support at Group level with amount of control for GLs (r)

<u>Support</u>	<u>Control GL</u>
GL present in Group	.3197+
Frequency of Group Councils	.2613+
Utility of Group Councils	.3179+
Utility of other Scouters	.1418**
Equipment Support	.0931*
Recruitment Support	.0603
Support from Parents	.0106

* p<.05
 ** p<.01
 + p<.001

is present, 19.2% have "little" influence over the Troop, 36.5% have "some" influence, 24.1% have "quite a bit" of influence and 20.2% "a great deal". This supports the earlier contention that quite a few GLs are not active. Under half are perceived as very influential by the Leaders in their Group, and nearly one-fifth seem to have very little to do with the Troop at all.

The more influential the GL, the more likely it is that Group Councils are run and that these meetings will be considered useful.

The relationship between the GL and the lay side of the movement once again is not clear. The Group Committee is more likely to provide enough equipment if the GL is influential, but Leaders receive no better support with recruitment or from parents.

The amount of influence Scouters have is also correlated with several support items. Higher levels of control are significantly correlated with more District Councils ($r=.1059$, $p<.05$), the presence of a GL ($r=.0934$, $p<.05$), useful Group Councils ($r=.1287$, $p<.01$) and useful contacts with other Leaders ($r=.0985$, $p<.05$). The lack of any significant correlation between level of training and the amount of control a Leader feels he has in his Troop is unexpected, though it does not mean that better trained Leaders are any less influential than others. A number of untrained but experienced Leaders commented that they felt quite capable of running their Troops. Among less experienced members, those who were progressing through their training quickest also expressed the most confidence in their ability to control their Troop. As this was a topic covered in some detail with a number of Leaders, the evidence from my field work suggests that better trained Leaders tend to feel more able to influence their Troop, although there was little difference between the more experienced Scouters regardless of their level of training.¹

The discrepancy between the ideal and real amount of control is not associated with many of the support variables. The one relationship which approaches statistical significance at District level is somewhat anomalous. When DSLs are

1. There is a low, non-significant, positive correlation between longevity and the amount of influence a Scouter feels he has.

considered to be useful, District Leaders are likely to be seen as having too much control (Table 4.41). Similarly, a non-significant finding suggests that when DSLs visit

Table 4.41: Utility of DSL by control discrepancy for District (%)

<u>Utility</u>	<u>Too much Control</u>	<u>Control Discrepancy</u>	
		<u>Correct Amount</u>	<u>Too little Control</u>
Very Useful	57.1	36.5	23.4
Sometimes Useful	21.4	37.9	37.7
Not Very Useful	21.4	25.5	38.9
% of Total	6.9	52.0	41.1
N =	28	211	167

Total N = 406

$$\chi^2 = 18.97, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

at least once a month, District Leaders have too much control. Although the relationship in Table 4.41 is statistically significant, the "problem" group of Leaders who feel that District has too much control is a small part of the total sample. DSLs who are seen to be very useful are associated with District having the correct amount of control, and Leaders who receive little useful support from DSLs consider District to have too little control. For most cases, therefore, the relationship is in the expected direction. For those in the "too much control" column, it could be that active DSLs are seen as too visible in the context of very weak Group support. In other words, a good DSL could make a bad situation in the Group look worse, and have "too much" control by

default. As no Leaders were encountered during my field work who felt that District had too much influence, this suggestion is only tentative. (Several Scouters felt that District was too authoritarian or attempted to exercise too much control, but no one stated that District actually was too influential.)

At Group level, the presence of a GL ($\chi^2=24.10$, 2 d.f., $p<.001$) and holding more frequent Group Councils ($\chi^2 = 27.62$, 8 d.f., $p<.001$) were inversely related to GLs having too little control. In these relationships, the proportion who saw GLs as having too much or the correct amount of control were very similar. The relationship was closer to expectations for Leaders who felt Group Councils were very useful. Having a GL with the correct amount of control was associated with "very useful" Councils, while less useful meetings were associated with GLs who had either too much or too little influence ($\chi^2 = 28.45$, 4 d.f., $p<.001$).

Control and Effectiveness. The relationships between amount of control by Scouters and GLs with effectiveness were as expected, although the correlation coefficients are not large.¹ Table 4.42 shows that the most effective Troops tend to be run by Leaders who feel they have the correct amount of control. A similar finding occurs for the relationship between the discrepancy of control for GLs and effectiveness, but it is not quite statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8.39$, 4 d.f., $p<.1$). As no other relationships are significant, we can suggest that where Scouters and GLs have considerable control over Troop activities, and this control is seen as the correct amount, the Troop will

1. For Scouters' control, $r=.1249$, $p<.01$. For GLs' control $r=.1158$, $p<.01$.

Table 4.42: Quality of Troop (effectiveness) by control discrepancy for Scouters (%)

<u>Effectiveness</u>	<u>Control Discrepancy</u>		
	<u>Too Much Control</u>	<u>Correct Amount</u>	<u>Too Little Control</u>
Excellent/Very Good	17.0	36.1	19.4
Good	52.8	38.2	41.9
Fair/Poor	30.2	25.7	38.7
% of Total	12.2	73.5	14.3
N =	53	319	62

Total N = 434

$$\chi^2 = 14.22, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .01$$

be more effective. While my interviews and observations provide evidence that the influence of higher levels of the organisation is also important, experienced Leaders agree that active members at Group level are more important for an effective Troop than active District personnel. In some of the largest Troops, "good" Scouting can occur indefinitely, regardless of what happens at higher levels. This is true only for Groups with a large number of experienced Leaders who can train newcomers, and such Groups are uncommon. An additional advantage of large Groups is that the definition of the Group as good can be sustained for a long period of time. Even if all personnel present at one point eventually leave, a larger number of Leaders makes it likely that a collective identity will be established and maintained.

The evidence for the relationships among control variables and between control and other dimensions does not always substantiate prior expectations. However, the few inconsistencies involve a small number of cases, and concern a phenomenon which has received little attention in the literature: "too much" control in a voluntary organisation. Most studies have examined the effects of low control upon organisational functioning, and this study generally supports the findings of other researchers. The higher the level of control or influence, and the closer this approximates the correct level as perceived by members, the better a voluntary organisation appears to function. We might add that the amount of control which lower participants perceive higher levels to exercise is affected by the control relationship between higher and intermediate levels. Once control breaks down, it is extremely difficult to circumvent the obstacle. The evidence from my field work suggests that a breakdown of control is at least as much the result of inactivity at higher levels as lower levels. Some senior members of the Scout Association place the blame for "problem" Districts and Groups upon the personal characteristics of personnel occupying key positions at lower levels. However, the findings here suggest that these situations are indicative of a failure to maintain downward control at a fairly high level of the organisation. We conclude that control cannot be attributed to the psychological attributes of the individuals. Etzioni's contention that compliance in normative organisations is largely dependent upon the activities of superordinates is given further support, but we must note that the power of senior officials in an organisation such as the Scouts is limited.

Support. The correlation coefficients for the frequency and utility of various support items above Group level are presented in Table 4.43. The more training a Leader has, the more often both District Councils are held and a DSL visits the Troop, the more useful these support mechanisms are. This is consistent with the findings on other dimensions. The more often something occurs, whether it is communication or support, the better or more useful Leaders consider it to be.¹ The correlation is particularly strong for DSLs. The main problem with DSLs is evidently a failure to visit at all. That active DSLs are also more competent in performing the content of the role is given support by the statistically significant relationship between frequency of DSL visits and the utility of District Councils. As the DSL is usually responsible for organising the Scout section programme at District Councils, it appears that the more active DSLs carry out this duty better than their colleagues.

The utility of the support items are also correlated at a statistically significant level. While this could be the result of a psychological tendency on the part of some Leaders to view the organisation more favourably, I would argue that a social explanation is more likely to be correct.

1. It must be noted that there is a fairly strong correlation between longevity and level of training ($r=.5069$, $p<.001$). Most of those with little or no training have only been in the movement for a short time, and 42.3% of the Leaders with over 10 years experience have a Wood Badge. But as this latter figure is much higher than any other cell, and as a Wood Badge can be obtained in two or three years without difficulty, it is clear that longevity alone cannot explain the level of training. The finding that level and utility of training are correlated is still significant, and is supported by the opinion of many Leaders that the early stages of the formal training programme are not very useful.

Table 4.43: Correlation coefficients for support from higher levels of the organisation

	<u>Level of Training</u>	<u>Utility of Training</u>	<u>Frequency of District Councils</u>	<u>Utility of District Councils</u>	<u>Frequency of DSL Visits</u>	<u>Utility of DSL</u>
Level of Training	-	.1482+	-.0024	.1753+	.0184	.0577
Utility of Training		-	.2291+	.3095+	.0596	.2015+
Frequency of District Councils			-	.3343+	.0383	.1301**
Utility of District Councils				-	.1389**	.2293+
Frequency of DSL Visits					-	.5352+
Utility of DSL						-

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

This would be consistent with the findings so far, that there are real differences within the organisation and that units "better" on one dimension are likely to be superior on others.

At Group level (Table 4.44) the presence of a Group Leader is associated with more frequent and better Group Councils and a slight tendency for Leaders to find one another more useful. In Groups where Councils are held frequently, it is much more likely that these meetings will be considered useful. This in turn is associated with Leaders finding one another useful.

The presence of a GL is not associated with more support from the Group Committee or parents. While not consistent with prior expectations, this situation is now familiar. The mere presence of a GL does not guarantee lay (non-uniformed) support. The provision of lay support is not random, however, as the items are significantly correlated with one another and with some of the other Group level variables. We might tentatively suggest once again that Groups which are active in one area tend to be active in others, but the determinants of lay support remain unclear.

Support and effectiveness. Table 4.45 shows that with the exception of the level and utility of training and the frequency and utility of DSL visits, all the support variables are significantly related to effectiveness. As my field work provided evidence that both training and a good DSL can assist a Leader in running a Troop, dismissing these items as having no influence upon effectiveness

Table 4.44: Correlation coefficients for support at Group level (r)

	<u>GL Present In Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Group Councils</u>	<u>Utility of Group Councils</u>	<u>Utility of other Scouters</u>
GL Present in Group	-	.2991+	.1913+	.0951*
Frequency of Group Councils		-	.5571+	.1651+
Utility of Group Councils			-	.2146+
Utility of Other Scouters				-
Equipment Support				
Recruitment Support				
Support from Parents				
	<u>Equipment Support</u>	<u>Recruitment Support</u>	<u>Support from Parents</u>	
GL present in Group	-.0108	-.0595	.0190	
Frequency of Group Councils	.0235	.1432+	-.0400	
Utility of Group Councils	.1562+	.2189+	.0298	
Utility of Other Scouters	.0756	.1389**	.0910*	
Equipment Support	-	.4651+	.2051+	
Recruitment Support		-	.2165+	
Support from Parents			-	

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

Table 4.45: Correlation coefficients for quality of Troop (effectiveness)
with support variables (r)

	<u>Level of Training</u>	<u>Utility of Training</u>	<u>Frequency of District Councils</u>	<u>Utility of District Councils</u>	<u>Frequency of DSL Visits</u>	<u>Utility of DSL</u>	
Effectiveness	.0374	-.0057	.1366**	.1103*	.0547	.0220	
	* p<.05						
	** p<.01						
	+ p<.001						
	<u>GL Present In Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Group Councils</u>	<u>Utility of Group Councils</u>	<u>Utility of Other Scouters</u>	<u>Equipment Support</u>	<u>Recruitment Support</u>	<u>Support from Parents</u>
Effectiveness	.1682+	.1284**	.0813*	.1951+	.1332**	.1060*	.1633+

* p < .05
** p < .01
+ p < .001

would be premature.

The items at Group level appear to have the strongest influence upon effectiveness. This again is a familiar pattern. The importance of the immediate context for the successful operation of a Troop is clear, and supported by my field work. In the long run, my field work also suggests that support from higher levels can influence the effectiveness of a Troop. In one District with a District Team whose provision of support had recently declined, those Troops with experienced or well-trained Leaders appeared to flourish regardless of the level of District support. (Although the Leaders remarked on it, and felt that the decrease of interaction within the District would make it more difficult to run good programmes.) In several other Troops, the inexperienced or untrained Leaders operating without support from within the Group made little progress in their ability to organise programmes and control the boys. These Troops all experienced a decline in boy numbers. The newer Leaders in better Troops made rapid progress in acquiring Scouting skills and leadership ability, particularly those who were receiving the most formal training.

Two Scouters in particular, who became members of the movement at approximately the same time, highlighted this phenomenon. The first, an ASL in a strong Troop with new Leaders, went through the training programme as quickly as possible, with considerable encouragement from his GL. Well within the first year of becoming a Leader, he was able to run the Troop on his own, on the basis of a carefully prepared programme. He commented, "I have no

problems so far", and clearly meant it. The other Leader became SL of a Troop with little support from the Group. By the time the first Leader had completed the first three stages of the Wood Badge, the second man had received no training at all. Although he was in full charge of the Troop, he had little idea of how to run it. After he finally was given introductory training by the DSL, this Leader said that the main benefit from the training was that he now felt he had:

Somebody who I could rely on to get things going if help was needed. It makes a lot of difference, because if you are slogging on your own, really, you never get anywhere. It is a bit frustrating--you are groping around in the dark.

The first Leader could (and frequently did) get advice and support from the other adults in his Group.

Perhaps most important, if one was to pick which of the two men would make a better Leader purely on the basis of personal characteristics, the second would have been the obvious choice. He was a rugged, outgoing man with an easy rapport with the boys. The first man was much quieter, not as confident around the boys, and anything but a "backwoodsman". Yet he was a better Leader, and this can only be explained by the support he received from his Group and Area. While individual characteristics can influence effectiveness, they are secondary to social level factors.

Two cases are hardly enough to prove a point, but they provide the clearest account of similar processes that I observed or heard of on many occasions. Without support, it is only a very unusual man who can run an effective Troop. The immediate context, the Group, is the most important source of support. Where the Group is not able to supply informal training, assistance from District and Area become essential. Finally, as discussed earlier in the chapter, if a Group becomes very weak, it is only the higher levels of the organisation that can remedy the situation.

Social Background and Organisational Variables.

Before concluding this chapter, some of the background items discussed in Chapter 3 will be examined to see if there are any notable relationships with the organisational variables. It has already been found that longevity has a statistically significant association with level of training and the extent to which a Leader is well-informed about affairs in the District.

The most frequently mentioned background variable in the interviews was rural/urban residence. Many senior people in the Scout Association suggested that it is easier to get lay support outside the main centres, as people are said to be less heavily involved in other leisure activities. This does not prove to be accurate. The correlation coefficients

are in the suggested direction for the three lay support items, but are very small and do not approach significance. It will be recalled that rural Leaders were busier with their jobs than other Leaders. If this is general throughout the rural population, then it could tend to counteract any effects of fewer leisure opportunities; if fewer opportunities in fact exist.¹

While there is no evidence from the questionnaire, it appears that another assumption commonly expressed in the Scout Association, that high SES parents are less willing to assist Leaders due to being more "self-centred", is also not given any support. My field work data is not systematic in this respect, but it is not coincidental

30. There may be more voluntary organisations in cities, but it is questionable whether this is true on a per capita basis. Studies in the U.S. (see Warner, 1964; Warren, 1963; Wilensky, 1961; also Smith and Freedman, 1972) do not reveal any dearth of voluntary groups in rural areas or small towns, and no contradictory evidence is reported for New Zealand by Pitt (1973). Even where more opportunities exist in terms of numbers of organisations, this does not mean that people socially have more opportunity to join. The implication of network studies (Boissevain, 1974) is that social networks can restrict the knowledge and freedom of action of individuals. Hence, people may be unaware of the greater opportunities in an urban environment, or if they are aware, be unable to take advantage of them due to the potential negative reactions of network members if the organisation is given a low status by the group. The heterogeneity of the city is thus not necessarily the source of freedom of opportunity sometimes suggested by the "classical" urban sociologists. I am grateful to A. S. Klov Dahl for his comments on this subject.

that in Wellington (the Area with which I was most familiar), the strongest, best supported Groups are in high SES communities such as Karori, Khandallah and Eastbourne, while the movement receives much less parental support in lower SES areas such as Newtown, Petone and Porirua. One Scouter in a high SES location said:

I think we are very fortunate...with parental support...We never have any problems with transport. There is always a good response at the annual meeting. In fact, at the last meeting we had people standing up and offering to go on the Committee, and we almost had to put a curb on it. Generally people tend to shy clear of these meetings...and it really staggered me ... all these people volunteered. We have everything going for us.

A similarly placed ASL said of his Group Committee:

They are the magic people who supply tents and equipment and things like that. Now, if they grew under gooseberry bushes it would be all the same to me. All I know is that there's enough and any time I have asked them for funds.... there has never been any question.

Conversely, a DSL in a poorer community was attempting to pool equipment at District level because there was not enough in many of his Groups.¹

1. While the extent to which a Leader's SES reflects that of his community is unclear, there is a significant correlation ($r=.1375$, $p<.01$ between higher SES and more parental support.

Returning to the rural/urban distinction, a number of senior Leaders asserted that it was more difficult to provide support and maintain good communications in rural areas due to the distances involved. This was given some support, as frequency of communication is higher in more urbanised settings from GLs ($r=.0815$), District ($r=.0805$), and Area ($r=.0865$). While these correlation coefficients are small, and the first two are very slightly over the .05 level of significance, that all three are in the expected direction is suggestive. Group Councils are held more frequently in more urbanised areas ($r=.1354$, $p<.01$) and DSLs visit more often ($r=.1537$, $p<.001$). The quality of communication from Area is somewhat better in urban settings ($r=.0833$, $p<.05$). This is particularly true for the provision of training by Area personnel. This was brought home strongly when I attended the first training session in one rural District in well over two years. The local Leaders were so eager to meet with the Area personnel that some even attended despite having taken the course before!

Rural areas also tend to have smaller Troops ($r=.2171$, $p<.001$), fewer Scouters in each Troop ($r=.0894$, $p<.05$) and fewer Groups in each District ($r=.2719$, $p<.001$). Despite their smaller size, rural Troops do not seem to be any less effective.

Education and SES are both inversely related to the amount of control perceived to be exercised by higher levels of the organisation. Educational attainment is also inversely related to the utility of training courses,

DSL visits and District Councils.¹ This is consistent with findings in work organisations (Korman, 1977), that people with more education and higher status tend to have higher expectations about their organisational situation. The frequent lapses in control discussed above are more likely to diverge from the expectations of a high SES individual, presumably familiar with the workings of bureaucratic organisations characterised by fewer lapses of social control. Similarly, individuals with higher educational qualifications would presumably be more familiar with (and probably desire) training material and techniques of a far higher degree of sophistication than those utilised by the Scouts. In fact, although the Wood Badge courses are unsophisticated, some senior Leaders expressed concern that they might be too difficult for some of the less well-educated Scouters. Despite finding training less useful, higher SES Leaders are more likely to have undertaken more training than lower status members, indicative of their greater ability to deal with formal courses.

The structural and cognitive effects of background factors must be taken into account when analysing any organisation, but their effects are limited in the short run, particularly when using research techniques such as a one-shot questionnaire. Their influence is restricted to a relatively small number of variables, and in no way alter the basic argument that organisational level variables are the most important determinants of many organisational phenomena. In the long run, demographic,

1. All of the relationships are statistically significant, most of them at the .001 level.

political and economic dimensions all have a powerful influence upon the processes found in organisations. This point is made by Parsons (1960), Hall (1974), Starbuck (1976), Burns and Stalker (1961) and Zald (1970a), among many others. For applied research on a small scale, such as this project, these factors must be treated as parameters, within which the more detailed analysis of the organisation in question is placed.

Conclusion

The data from the nationwide survey of Leaders are in general consistent with the findings of my field work. From observations and interviews, it became apparent that there was no single aspect of the organisation which was clearly the prime determinant of other variables. Rather, there appeared to be a complex web of relationships at the organisational level involving a large number of items. This is reflected in the numerous, small correlation coefficients, mostly in the expected direction. Perhaps most important, there is no evidence at all from the quantitative data that either the field work evidence is grossly in error, or that the theoretical orientations that informed the research are in need of revision. In other words, while a number of relationships are unclear and require further investigation, little support was given to a "null hypothesis". Some variables, such as the presence of a Group Leader, did not have the effect that one might predict on theoretical grounds, but field data indicated that the important factor was fulfilment of the co-ordinating role rather than simply having the position occupied. The level of training also does not appear to have the effect that was anticipated, but the evidence from

non-quantitative sources suggests that further research rather than dismissal of the variable as inconsequential is called for.

Size, communication, control and support are all related to one another and to the effectiveness of units at the local level. More frequent downward communication, better quality of communication, a greater amount of control, a higher level of support and larger-sized units all make it more likely that the Scouter will report that his Troop is more effective. Particularly important is the finding that the greatest difficulty in an organisation such as the Scouts is the ability of one level to block the downward flow of communication and control, usually through inactivity. Leaders thus tend to experience either a fairly strong supportive environment or be left on their own with, as one Scouter put it, "a hall full of screaming kids". This phenomenon results in variations in the "visibility" of higher levels of the organisation. The occurrence of a blockage at a given level of superficially appeared to be the result of factors operating at that level, but it was argued that this also reflected a lapse of downward control on the part of superordinates.

The overall picture is thus cumulative, with no relationships clearly determining the others. Rather, a large number of small but statistically significant relationships, combined with considerable field work evidence, gives support to the arguments of Etzioni (1975), Sills (1957), Tannenbaum and his colleagues and others that higher levels of downward communication and control are essential for the successful operation of a voluntary organisation.

Chapter 5: Leader Participation and Attitudes

The two preceding chapters provided essential background for an examination of the participation and retention of Leaders. These phenomena are considered in relation to social background characteristics, organisational processes, and Leaders' attitudes. While individuals are active or inactive, and enter or leave the organisation, it is inappropriate to consider these actions as purely psychological in nature. This is particularly true if, as Miner and Brewer (1976) argue, organisations tend to be selective in terms of the psychological attributes of members. Psychological processes no doubt have some influence upon the variables to be discussed in this chapter, but are secondary in importance on theoretical grounds, and will not be considered here.¹

As noted earlier, participation has been of concern to a number of writers on voluntary associations. This emerged as a key problem in the Scout Association. Political scientists have pointed out that high levels of participation by all members of an organisation can be dysfunctional for stability,² but this is much less the case in the Scout Association and similar organisations. The main "work force" is widely dispersed and operates in small groups, such that low participation by a single member can have a strong impact upon a local unit.

1. The best known example of this type of argument is Durkheim's, in Suicide. He demonstrated that whole populations were more or less likely to have a higher suicide rate due to structural conditions, regardless of the psychological characteristics of individuals.
2. See Lester Milbrath, Political Participation, Chicago, 1965.

Retention has largely been the preserve of industrial psychologists and sociologists.¹ Increasing attention has been given to the topic by organisational theorists, but most empirical research has been restricted to either the professions and semi-professions (Becker, 1970; Alutto, Hrebiniak and Alonso, 1971) or blue collar workers (Nicholson, Wall and Lischeron, 1977). As former Leaders were not studied, retention has been conceptualised in terms of the commitment of members to the organisation.²

In addition to participation and commitment, five other dimensions will be discussed: orientation, solidarity, prestige, ideology and satisfaction.³ Of the many possible attitudinal variables, these seemed the most useful for an analysis of the Scout Association. The relationships between orientation, solidarity, ideology and prestige will not be discussed. It is likely that relationships exist between these variables (for example, one might expect high prestige and high solidarity to be associated), but there are no significant theoretical grounds for expecting an examination of these relationships to provide further insight into commitment and participation. In the interests of brevity, the effects of each dimension will be analysed independently of the others. Satisfaction is central to

1. See Dunnette, 1976.

2. Chapter 2 contains a discussion of this concept.

3. All but satisfaction are general categories encompassing more than one distinct variable. This was done in order to avoid a confusing proliferation of terminology, and should not be seen as indicative of any necessary theoretical relationship between the variables.

the concept of commitment, and will be examined in detail along with commitment and participation.¹

Brief descriptions of the seven dimensions are as follows:

1. Orientation: This category encompasses two items dealing with Leaders' perceptions. Firstly, the extent to which a Leader felt competent to carry out his job was assessed by questions pertaining to his ability to find and implement programme ideas and to maintain discipline in the Troop.² Secondly, Scouters were asked several questions relating to the Patrol System, the method by which all Troops are supposed to be run.

2. Solidarity: This has been defined as "...the degree of positive affective relationship existing among a group of two or more individuals, characterised by sentiments of 'weness'". (Cramer and Champion, 1975, 293) Items from the solidarity scale developed by Cramer and Champion were modified for use in this study. Leaders were also asked whether they had close friends in Scouting and how often they saw other Leaders socially.

1. Satisfaction is more closely connected with March and Simon's discussion of commitment than Becker's. In Becker's terms, satisfaction could be one among many side bets, and an actor could be committed without necessarily being satisfied. March and Simon are more concerned with the decision to leave an organisation than Becker, whose concern is with the factors encouraging a consistent line of action. For March and Simon, satisfaction is related to a greater or lesser willingness to leave an organisation. It is only meaningful when taken in conjunction with other variables, such as the ease of leaving and the cost of staying or leaving. These in turn affect the level of satisfaction. See March and Simon (1958, 84-111).
2. This and several other attitude scales were constructed by writing items that were assumed to be related, based on field work evidence. The scales were then refined by means of factor analysis (varimax orthogonal rotation method), resulting in the deletion of a number of items that were not statistically related. I am grateful to Lynn White for his advice on this procedure. See Oppenheim (1966), Nie, et.al. (1975, ch. 24) and Kerlinger (1973, ch. 37).

3. Prestige: According to the "theory of distributive justice" (Homans, 1958; Alexander and Simpson, 1964), actors expect a fair return for the efforts they expend on an activity. One possible return is prestige, receiving positive moral valuation for activity (Schafer and Klonglan, 1974).

Presumably if membership in the Scouts is given a low value by significant others, members will be less likely to find their participation rewarding. Leaders were asked whether their Scouting activities enhanced their status in the community, and whether they were supported by their wife or girlfriend. Prestige within the organisation was not directly measured, and will not be considered here.

4. Ideology: Individuals tend to "see" things which accord with their view of the world (Festinger, 1957), and this extends to joining voluntary associations which are consistent with personal beliefs (Betz and Judkins, 1975). As the Scout Association has a vague formal ideology, it was expected that members would stress differing elements of the available belief structure. Scales measuring the strength of attachment to the organisation's formal ideology on morality, boy achievement, service to others, and social growth were constructed.

5. Satisfaction: This has been defined as "...the degree to which the members of a social system have a positive affective orientation toward membership in the system".¹

(Price, 1972, 156) Items from a scale developed by Brayfield and Rothe (Price, 1972) were selected and modified for inclusion in this study.

1. While superficially similar to the definition of solidarity, the latter is restricted to one's feeling toward a small group of individuals rather than membership in a larger social system. There is some possibility of overlap between the measures, although a low correlation coefficient was found for the relationship.

6. Commitment: Becker's (1970) definition of commitment involving investments or side bets was not adequate for my purposes without elaboration. The concept was therefore operationalised along three dimensions. Personal involvement in Scouting and the importance of external obligations such as family and work formed two separate scales. The third dimension involved a Leader's intention to remain in the organisation. Respondents were asked whether they had recently considered leaving the organisation, and how long they intended to remain in Scouting.

7. Participation: Leaders were asked how much time they spent on Scouting during an average week and during the weekend. They were also asked about the frequency with which they went camping and attended activities such as Group and District Councils.

Preliminary Analysis

Orientation. Table 5.1 shows that almost a quarter of the Leaders have at least some difficulty in running their Troop. About one-third seem to be fairly confident about

Table 5.1: Leaders assessment of their ability to run their Troop (competence) (%)

High	1	3.5
	2	31.0
Medium	3	41.8
	4	22.3
Low	5	1.5

N = 462

their ability as a Leader. Few had either very positive or very negative feelings about their competence, and the largest group (41.8%) clustered around the middle category. Of the three items used to construct the scale, finding good programme ideas, keeping the boys interested, and maintaining order in the Troop, the latter seemed to give Scouters the most difficulty. The ability to think of good programme ideas was a topic of considerable concern to senior members of the movement. A majority of Scouters (54.7%) felt it was easy, but a substantial minority were either undecided (12.3%) or found it difficult (33.0%).

There was general consensus among senior Leaders that few Troops are run by the Patrol System method. One Area Leader said:

It's working effectively in 25% of the cases, and maybe half-heartedly in another 50%, and the other 25% don't know what it means.

Table 5.2 is therefore surprising, as a majority express support for the Patrol System, with another 41.5% offering at least nominal support. Very few state that they do not utilise this method. While Scouters clearly know about

Table 5.2: Extent to which Leader expresses support for the Patrol System method. (%)

High	1	7.6
	2	44.1
Medium	3	41.5
	4	6.6
Low	5	0.2

N = 458

the Patrol System and generally agree with it, this does not indicate that they implement it in practice. Observations and interviews suggest that in most Troops the Leaders are "just getting around" to instituting a Patrol System, but in many cases this involved little more than splitting the boys into small groups for administrative and control purposes. Few Leaders who have not attended advanced training courses seem to have a real grasp of the method, and the difficulty of getting it to work probably deters many who understand the system. (Estimates range from two to five years for getting a Patrol System going in a Troop which has not had it before.)

Scouters who give the strongest support to the Patrol System also tend to be more confident of their leadership abilities ($r=.1857$, $p<.001$). Without making a judgment about the necessity or correctness of the Patrol System, the most capable Leader I observed was the only one who ran what resembled a Patrol System, and his Troop was in many respects the best of those I saw.

Solidarity. Observations and interviews suggest that one of the attractions of the Scout Association for many members is the opportunity to co-operate with other adults in an enjoyable activity. Table 5.3 supports this, as

Table 5.3: Solidarity (Cramer-Champion Scale) (%)

High	1	52.9
	2	34.1
Medium	3	10.8
	4	2.0
Low	5	0.2

N = 452

over half the Leaders report strong solidarity in their Group.¹ There appears to be little conflict or disagreement within Groups. Conflict between levels seems to be more common.

39.2% of the Scouters say that they "sometimes" get together socially with other Leaders. 13.6% socialise "often", which is lower than expected, while 24.3% "never" socialise. Clearly, for many Scouters their relationships with other members are restricted to the Scout hall. A similar finding was reported by Davis, et.al. (1961B) for another voluntary association, the Great Books Club. Many Leaders do form strong personal ties, as Table 5.4 shows that three-quarters have close friends in Scouting. Having close friends makes

Table 5.4: "I have some close friends in Scouting." (%)

Strongly agree	29.6
Agree	45.9
Undecided	10.2
Disagree	12.0
Strongly disagree	2.4

N = 460

it more likely that Leaders will socialise outside the Troop ($r=.2689$, $p<.001$). There is no relationship between solidarity and having close friends, which suggests that many Leaders

1. The Cramer and Champion scale was constructed for use in work groups, and the Seashore (Miller, 1970) and Klapp scales from which it was derived measure solidarity in work groups and families respectively. There is some possibility that the scale does not discriminate well in voluntary organisations, even with modifications. However, unlike work groups and families, the members of voluntary organisations have much more opportunity to leave a group with low solidarity, and the scale could be reflecting this tendency.

maintain an amicable but businesslike attitude toward colleagues. In no instance did I hear of a Scouter who disliked someone in his own Troop. The only complaints that were encountered involved failure to play an active part in the Troop.

Prestige: The status of the Scout Association in the community seems to reflect the status of its members; it tends to be neither high nor low. As one senior member put it:

I think (our) image is generally good, but it's almost in the category of a distant relationship.... (People are) quite content to believe that it's a "jolly good thing" for the boys and it's a worthwhile organisation, but that's the end of the road.... And so it's a good, wholesome, somewhat nebulous, almost meaningless image for the bulk of the population.

As seen in Table 5.5, few Leaders have a strong opinion about whether being in the Scout Association enhances their status in the community. Few Leaders I spoke with had a strong

Table 5.5: Prestige (%)

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
"Being a Scout Leader enhances my standing in the community" ¹	4.3	27.8	32.0	29.8	6.1
"My Scouting activities are not really supported by my wife/girlfriend" ²	6.7	16.3	7.9	42.3	26.7

1. N = 460

2. N = 416

opinion on this, although many felt that few people cared. Some said that they were subject to some ridicule from friends when they joined as Leaders, but all said that this did not last. High status individuals reported the most difficulty, with one Scouter stating that he often had to explain what a bank manager was doing in a Scout uniform. There seems to be some problem in recruiting high status individuals at all levels. Even at Area and National level, where most members have a high socio-economic status, there is general agreement that "really" high status people will not become associated with Scouting.

Table 5.5 also shows that most Leaders are given support by their wife or girlfriend for their Scouting activities. However, nearly one-quarter are not given such support.¹ There is no association between the two prestige variables.

Ideology. One of the first things I noticed when conducting my field work was that some elements of the organisation's formal ideology did not seem to be included in many activities. It proved difficult to discover what Scouters believed the goals of the organisation were, so a number of items dealing with beliefs were included in the questionnaire, and Leaders were asked to assess their importance. Four factors emerged, which were termed morality, achievement, service to others, and social growth. The findings are shown in Table 5.6.

Social growth was considered most important by the largest number of Scouters, followed by achievement and service to others. Moral training is markedly less important than the others, which is the reverse of the position given to it in

1. Those without a wife or girlfriend were excluded in this question.

5.6: Importance of organisational goals (%)

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Of some Importance</u>	<u>Of minor Importance</u>	<u>Not Important</u>
Morality ¹	13.0	52.8	28.7	5.4
Achievement ²	63.1	34.6	2.4	0
Service to Others ³	52.6	41.1	6.3	0
Personal ⁴ Growth	73.0	25.9	1.1	0

1. N = 460

2. N = 463

3. N = 462

4. N = 463

5.7: Correlation coefficients for relationships between ideological dimensions (r)

	<u>Morality</u>	<u>Achievement</u>	<u>Service to Others</u>	<u>Personal Growth</u>
Morality	-	.1991+	.4185+	.3454+
Achievement		-	.2348+	.3212+
Service to Others			-	.3335+
Personal Growth				-

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

all Scout literature from Baden-Powell onward. This is not to imply that Scouters are in any way opposed to "conventional" morality. Rather, many consider it to be a secondary element in Scouting. Table 5.7 shows the relationship between each dimension. This supports the expectation that members will generally agree with the formal aims of the movement, but that many place a differing emphasis on the components of the ideology.

The low importance placed upon the moral aspects of ideology is of considerable significance. Within this factor, consisting of items relating to "respect for tradition", "smartness and manners", "duty to the Queen" and "duty to God", the latter two, which are the two most important elements of the formal ideology, score the lowest. We will concentrate upon religion, which scores lowest of all.¹

Religion is a sensitive issue in the Scout Association. While it is widely known that religion is placed in a secondary position in most Troops, this is generally either ignored or defined away by saying that as long as a Leader encourages the boys to behave "morally" and to help others, he is assisting them to fulfil their "duty to God". Most Scouters see the organisation's policy as more specific than this, and many are unwilling to deal with religious matters. One SL stated:

I know NHQ says we should make sure the boys go

1. The item used for religion, "Ensure that boys fulfil their religious obligations", was paraphrased from N.Z. Scout Leader's Handbook: "A Scout must be encouraged to fulfil his church duties, and the Scout Leader must do the encouraging" (p15). If anything, the questionnaire item is less specific (and probably easier to agree with).

to church regularly, but as far as I'm concerned that's the parents' responsibility. If they don't want the boys to go, I'm not going to force it on them. That's one rule I flagrantly violate.

The idea that religion is the parents' responsibility was echoed by a District Leader, who said that religion had no place in the Scout programme and was left out as much as possible in his District. He stated:

Every so often there is a change in the National Religious Panel, and some zealot tries to ram religion down the movement's throat.

He commented that such campaigns were usually ignored at local level and finally dropped by NHQ.

Few Leaders said that they were not religious, and none believed that religion had no place in a modern community. In some form, all Leaders who were interviewed expressed a desire to help boys become "good citizens", but few felt that including religion in their programme was necessary. One senior Leader analysed the decline of religion in Scouting in this manner:

I think one can successfully run a Scout programme and train boys to be conscientious and worthwhile citizens in the community without necessarily introducing religion to it--the boys can play their part in the community fine without it....The development of the religious side of the programme hasn't kept

pace with the development of other activities. Religion has remained very much a traditionalised aspect, very formalised, whereas the other activities have become more informal. Religion has been very much a teaching down to the boys, whereas other activities have involved more boy participation.... Leaders don't know how to make it a practical activity-- that's the key to it...it's difficult enough as it is to put across, but by the way in which it's structured in the programme, it's even more difficult, so the easiest way to deal with it is to forget it.

As religion is a contentious issue and difficult to include in the programme, and as it can be deleted without the omission becoming too visible, most Leaders include little more than a perfunctory prayer at the beginning and end of Scout night. The only exception is in Troops where one or more Leaders are very religious, and make considerable efforts to include religion in their programme.

This is a good example of goal displacement (Sills, 1968; Warner and Havens, 1968). A general goal, fundamental to the formal legitimacy of the organisation, has become increasingly vague in response to the pressure of the diverse, practical problems experienced by Leaders. While the goal cannot be dropped, it has become so generalised that no one can be criticised for not attaining it. As the survival of the organisation is not imperiled or functioning impaired by failure to attain or even pursue the goal, it is generally ignored in order to deal with more pressing matters. However, this has involved a change in the operative goals

of the organisation. While few members of the Scout Association wish to eliminate religion from the formal ideology, most devote little attention to it. In many places, the Scout Association is for all practical purposes a secular organisation. This is reflected in an increasing tendency for religious bodies such as the Salvation Army and various churches to withdraw their sponsorship from Scout Groups. But this has been a necessary cost, in order to allow Leaders with little interest in the practice of religion and even less in teaching it, to remain members of the organisation.

Satisfaction. Measuring satisfaction in an organisation such as the Scout Association poses a fundamental difficulty. As the structural constraints keeping a Leader in the Scout Association are weak,¹ and there are a variety of other activities with which the organisation competes for members, one would not expect highly dissatisfied members to remain in the movement except under unusual circumstances (such as having a son in the Troop and no one else available to take over as Leader).

This expectation is supported by Table 5.8. Only 4.8% of the sample are dissatisfied. An additional 31.7% are ambivalent. A number of these Leaders were encountered

1. Sills (1957) reports that a number of aspiring young businessmen join the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis because they feel there are strong social pressures requiring their membership. It is possible that such pressure exists in New Zealand for membership in charitable organisations or service clubs, but with few exceptions (such as some church-sponsored Groups) there was no evidence that this was the case for the uniformed voluntary youth organisations.

Table 5.8: Satisfaction (%)

High	1	12.1
	2.	51.4
Medium	3.	31.7
	4.	3.9
Low	5.	0.9

N = 463

during my field work, and their attitude was generally that they did not dislike Scouting, but were not obtaining any real personal enjoyment from it. Several commented that they enjoyed working with boys, and that it was immaterial whether Scouting or any other activity was the vehicle for this. The least satisfied seemed to be those who were remaining in the organisation only to prevent the Troop from being disbanded for lack of Leaders.

Most Leaders are satisfied with Scouting, and a small proportion (12.1%) report that they are very satisfied. In interviews, most respondents found it difficult to express what they liked best about Scouting. The most common replies were that they derived a great deal of enjoyment from it, and had a feeling of accomplishment in helping boys to develop. In observing Troops in action, these two attitudes were often strongly displayed. A number of Leaders enthusiastically took part in games and other activities, with no sense of embarrassment at engaging in "boyish" pursuits in front of an outsider. One Leader's comment summarised

the attitude of many members:

Well, I'm just getting a lot of fun, a lot of enjoyment. I like kids....I believe that Scouting can assist a boy and a young man in becoming community minded, in becoming self reliant and more confident in his own abilities, and I guess that's the major reason I'm in it.

An open-ended item was placed in the questionnaire, asking "What is the most important reason for your remaining in the Scout movement?". Table 5.9 shows their replies.¹

Table 5.9: "What is the most important reason for your remaining in the Scout movement?" (%)

Personal enjoyment	40.2
Friends or family	6.0
Own boys	9.0
Boys-general	25.8
Group or organisation	12.9
Scouting as an ideal	17.2
Community or higher values	28.3
Other	5.0
	N = 435

Personal enjoyment is the most common reason, and it should be noted that where more than one reply was given, if personal

1. The percentage adds up to more than 100% because many Leaders gave more than one response.

enjoyment was included it was usually mentioned first. The next most frequent category was to help the welfare of the community or to support higher values. This includes responses such as "To assist youth to achieve aims and to look after themselves", and "To pass on knowledge and prepare the boys for the life ahead of them". This is followed by: wanting to work with boys ("I like working with and training boys", "For the boys"); Scouting as an ideal ("Scouting is a very worthwhile movement", "I like to see the type of boy that Scouting turns out"); for the local Group or the organisation; one's own boys being in the Troop; having friends or family in Scouting; and other reasons.

The relationship between the reason for remaining and the level of satisfaction is shown in Table 5.10.¹ The closer a Leader's reply is to a purely expressive orientation, the more likely he is to be satisfied.² Those who get personal enjoyment are most likely to be satisfied, with the four other expressive categories clustered close behind.³

1. Only first responses to the question on remaining in Scouts were used in this table. There were very small differences in each category for first and second responses.
2. See Parsons (1951) and Etzioni (1975) for their discussion of instrumental and expressive value orientations.
3. Organisations with ideological or social change goals are often classified as instrumental (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959; Rose, 1955). This would be inappropriate in the case of the Scouts, as the object of the organisation, as perceived by the Leaders, is a group of boys in the organisation with whom they have a personal relationship. Clearly this is more to the instrumental side of the continuum than "personal enjoyment", but is still largely expressive.

Table 5.10: Satisfaction by reason for remaining in Scouting (%)

	Personal Enjoyment	Friends or Family	Own Boys	Boys- General	Group or Organisation	Scouting as an ideal	Community or higher values	Other
Satisfied	78.2	60.0	45.5	66.0	28.2	67.4	67.1	30.0
Not Satisfied	21.8	40.0	54.5	34.0	71.8	32.6	32.9	70.0
% of Total	38.1	4.6	7.6	10.9	9.0	10.6	16.9	2.3
N =	165	20	33	47	39	46	73	10

Total N = 433

$$\chi^2 = 47.17, 7 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

Leaders whose main reason for being in the organisation is a son in the Troop are much less likely to be satisfied. They are often in the movement to make sure their boys can be Scouts, rather than any personal benefits received from membership. The least satisfied group of Leaders are those who remain in the movement only to prevent the Troop from declining or disbanding.

An expressive orientation, based on personal enjoyment, relationships with boys or adults, or the congruence of Scouting with one's own values, is associated with satisfaction among Leaders. Leaders are much less satisfied if being a member is a means to another end, such as ensuring that one's son is a Scout. In Etzioni's (1975) terms, we can characterise the leadership in the Scout Association as having a fairly equal mixture of individuals with pure normative and social involvement in the organisation.

Commitment. Following Becker (1970), commitment is defined in terms of the "side bets" that an individual makes which keep him on a consistent path of action. Most studies of commitment have examined investments and involvements in a work organisation or to a work career. This is commitment to something. Commitment in a voluntary association is more complex, because as Barber (1950) points out, voluntary activity of this type is secondary to other roles such as worker or family member. Therefore, a second dimension, the strength of external obligations, was examined. These are commitments away from the organisation. It is possible to be deeply involved in the organisation at the same time as having strong constraints from external sources.

Such a man might be one with considerable enthusiasm for Scouting, but who also has a demanding job and family obligations. Commitment to a voluntary organisation must be considered in the context of an individual's total complement of roles. Finally, low involvement or high external obligations have no necessary connection to intending to remain in the organisation, so this was measured as well.

Table 5.11: Commitment: Level of involvement and external obligations (%)

	High <u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Medium <u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	Low <u>5</u>
Involvement	4.5	27.3	41.3	23.8	3.0

N = 462

	Low <u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Medium <u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	High <u>5</u>
Obligations	3.2	23.7	45.7	25.0	2.4

N = 464

Table 5.11 shows that the distribution for the involvement and obligations dimensions of commitment are very similar. The modal category for both is medium commitment, with over 40% of the Leaders falling into this category. About a quarter of the Leaders have either moderately high or low involvement or external obligations. Only a few are in any of the extreme categories.

The similarity of the frequency distributions might lead one to assume that a Leader who is highly involved will also have fewer outside obligations. However, it has been suggested that the two dimensions are theoretically independent, and interview data do not reveal any strong association. This is supported by a small correlation between the two variables ($r=.0963$, $p<.05$). One way to interpret this is to say that Leaders with fewer external constraints are slightly more likely to have a higher involvement in Scouting. This leaves a substantial minority who have either low external obligations and low involvement in Scouting (they could become more involved but do not wish to), or high external constraints and high involvement (they are very involved in Scouting either at the expense of other obligations or by making considerable efforts to fulfil all their responsibilities).

Leaders were asked whether they had thought of leaving recently and how long they intended to remain in Scouts. Table 5.12 shows that only about 10% of the sample had frequently considered leaving, while nearly 40% had given this no thought at all. Exactly half had considered leaving, but evidently only briefly. That many in this latter group were not serious

Table 5.12: "Within the past year did you ever have thoughts of leaving Scouting?" (%)

Many times	10.9
Once or twice	23.5
Yes, but never seriously	26.5
No	39.1

N = 460

about leaving is supported by Table 5.13, where 58.7% have no plan to leave the organisation at all. A further 5.8% have a long-term commitment to Scouting (5+ years), but plan to leave at some point. 35.5% have a definite expectation of leaving within five years. Of this group, about 40% (14.7% of the sample) state that they will possibly leave within a year.

Table 5.13: "How long do you intend to remain in Scouts?" (%)

Will possibly leave within a few months	6.5
Will possibly leave within a year	8.2
Will possibly stay from one to three years	16.5
Will possibly stay from three to five years	4.3
Will stay at least five years, but plan to leave	5.8
Have no plans to leave	58.7
N = 462	

The bulk of the leadership (nearly two-thirds) is thus quite stable. Another 20.8% is fairly stable (1 - 5 years). Only 14.7% can be considered unstable. This is much less than the turnover of approximately 33% that NHQ officials say occurs annually. The argument in Chapter 3 that Leader retention should be viewed in terms of a relatively small number of positions changing hands frequently rather than a uniform dropout of individuals is given further support by

this finding.¹

One would expect that Leaders with high involvement and low external obligations would be less likely to contemplate leaving the organisation. As high involvement means that the individual would be losing something if he left, while low obligations do not, we could predict that the relationship would be stronger for involvement than obligations. This proves to be correct (Table 5.14) although the differences are small.

Table 5.14: Correlation coefficients for expecting to remain with involvement and external obligations. (r)

	<u>Involvement</u>	<u>External Obligations</u>
Has not considered leaving	.1645 ¹	.1589
Expects to remain longer	.2028	.1693

1. All coefficients significant at .001 level.

Participation. Running a Scout Troop is a time-consuming activity. A number of senior Leaders suggested that a major reason why new members leave the organisation is because they are told that they will only be asked to spend two hours per week, and are disgruntled when they find that this is not the case. The two hours per week for Scout night is only the beginning, particularly for those in the SL position. A Leader

1. We must consider the possibility that a number of seemingly stable Leaders suddenly change their minds and leave the organisation. This probably happens in a few cases, but to believe that nearly 20% of the sample cannot answer such a question reliably raises grave doubts about the reliability of survey data in general. Such questions are perhaps justifiable (see Phillips, 1971), but would require lengthy discussion.

must arrive at the hall early, and usually has to stay late. A conscientious Scouter will often spend a half hour or more talking with his PLs after the Troop meeting, or even arrange a separate time to meet these boys. Planning the week's programme (NHQ recommends well in advance) and preparing the necessary equipment or other resources take time, as does the administrative work of keeping up with the boys' progress and organising activities away from the hall. A Scouter is supposed to know each boy's parents, in Troops that can have over 30 Scouts. There are various meetings and training courses to attend, as well as being asked to assist with fund raising in many cases. Finally, Leaders are expected to take the boys camping and tramping, which involves not only the event itself, but also checking out the route or campsite beforehand to be prepared for difficulties. All of this should build up to a summer camp lasting at least a week.

I would estimate that in order to do a competent job as SL (the ASL position requires a bit less time), a man must be willing to spend an average of about six hours during the week, two weekend days per month, and about ten nights camping per year (excluding a summer camp). If anything, this suggestion is conservative. Compared with most other voluntary organisations, Scouting requires a great deal of time from all adult members.¹

1. Gray (1975) provides some data on the amount of time a group of adults spent in organised, voluntary activity. See also Szalai (1972).

Table 5.15 shows the average time spent on Scouting per week. About 10% spend two hours or less, and 27.2% spend three hours. This signifies low participation. 23% spend four hours, which would be satisfactory for the duties of many ASLs. 24.6% are in the five to six hour category, with 15.0% spending more time.

Table 5.15: Average hours per week spent on Scouting (%)

2 hours or less	10.3
3 hours	27.2
4 hours	23.0
5 - 6 hours	24.6
7 - 9 hours	8.8
10 hours or more	6.2

N = 456

Few Leaders did not spend any time on Scouting during the weekend (9.9%), 43.6% spent one day or part of a day, 35.9% spent two or three days, and 10.6% spent four or more days. Table 5.16 shows the number of nights spent camping per year.¹ A substantial number rarely or never go camping. This suggests that either a relatively small

1. Leaders with under one year's service were omitted.

Table 5.16: Number of nights spent camping in past year (%)

<u>Number of nights</u>	<u>%</u>
None	18.5
1 - 2	11.5
3 - 4	15.4
5 - 9	26.9
10 - 14	15.4
15 or more	12.3

N = 383

proportion are doing most of the outdoor activity, or that in many Troops this part of the programme receives little emphasis. This is probably indicative of a highly urbanised population, with many men who are unfamiliar with outdoor skills and are hesitant to learn "in the field". Camping also requires the greatest concentrated time commitment from a Leader, and many may be unwilling or unable to take off a full weekend. This is particularly true for a long summer camp, which many Troops no longer conduct. In interviews, a number of Leaders said that this would conflict with either family or work obligations.

Table 5.17: Frequency of attendance at Group or District Councils (%)

	<u>Every Meeting</u>	<u>Most Meetings</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Never</u>
Group Councils ¹	36.2	27.9	35.4	20.6
District Councils ²	17.9	35.2	30.0	16.8

1. N = 456

2. N = 457

Table 5.17 shows the frequency with which Leaders attend Group and District Councils. Leaders attend a larger proportion of Group Councils than District Councils. Interviews suggest that this is due to perceiving Group Councils as more directly relevant to the everyday activities of the Troop. These tend to be "nuts and bolts" discussions of forthcoming activities, transfer of boys from Cubs to Scouts, and problems and requirements in the Group. In the opinion of many Scouters, District Councils provide little of any direct utility to their Troop, though it is unclear whether this reflects poor District management or a handy excuse for nonattendance. More Leaders never attend Group Councils than District Councils, but it should be recalled that Group Councils are more likely to be unavailable.

We might expect Leaders to be fairly consistent in their participation in different activities, and this is given support by Table 5.18. Those who actively participate in one area tend to be active in all aspects of the organisation.

Table 5.18: Correlation coefficients for participation variables (r)

	<u>Hours per week</u>	<u>Weekend days per month</u>	<u>Nights Camping</u>	<u>Group Councils</u>	<u>District Councils</u>
Hours per week	-	.4363 ¹	.2932	.3565	.2936
Weekend days per month		-	.3998	.2858	.2385
Nights camping			-	.1753	.1863
Group Councils				-	.3857
District Councils					-

1. All coefficients are significant at the .001 level.

Leaders were asked, "In your present circumstances, how do you feel about the amount of time you give to Scouting?". 40.3% said they could probably give more, 50.6% said their participation was about right, and 9.1% felt they spent too

much time already. When examined against the amount of time they spent (Table 5.19), we note that those who spend three hours are least likely to say that this is "about right", while the group most likely to feel that their participation is acceptable is the highest category, seven hours or more. A sizeable proportion in each time category feel that they could devote more time to Scouting, but this tends to diminish with increased participation. As a number of senior Leaders

Table 5.19: Opinion on amount of time spent on Scouting by hours spent per week (%)

Opinion on time spent	<u>Hours per Week</u>				
	<u>Less than 2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5-6</u>	<u>7 or more</u>
Could probably give more time	41.3	52.4	43.3	34.8	17.6
About right	52.2	43.5	51.9	55.4	58.8
Too much time already	6.5	4.0	4.8	9.8	23.5
% of total	10.1	27.3	22.9	24.7	15.0
N =	46	124	104	112	68

Total N = 454

$$\chi^2 = 39.23, 8 \text{ d.f. } p < .001$$

assert that Scouters are asked to do too much, a surprisingly low proportion say that they spend too much time, and they are mostly in the seven hours or more group. Those who spend two hours or less are inconsistent with the overall pattern, but this group must be considered marginal to the organisation. It appears that when a Leader has conflicting demands on his time, he is more likely to spend less time on Scouts than to put in the necessary hours and complain about it.

Relationship between Satisfaction, Commitment, Participation and Other Attitudinal Variables

The main attitudinal variables, commitment and satisfaction, and the level of participation reported by Leaders will now be examined in more detail. The relationship between these dimensions and orientation, solidarity, prestige and ideology will be discussed first. This will be followed by a look at the relationships between the three main variables.

Orientation and solidarity are more closely tied theoretically to organisational factors than are prestige and ideology. An individual may come into the Scout Association with considerable experience in outdoor activities and training boys, and a group of Leaders may get along well on the basis of purely psychological factors. However, there is a likelihood that a Scouter will feel more competent at his task in a supportive milieu, and find he works better with his colleagues where integrative functions are performed in the Group. With prestige and ideology, the organisation may alter a person's attitudes, but it seems likely that a Leader will bring this sort of attitude into the organisation when he joins, and a change will probably be one of degree.¹ The argument in this thesis has emphasised the importance of the organisation in shaping the leadership experience, and to the extent that orientation and solidarity are more closely related to organisational factors than are prestige and ideology, we might expect the relationship between the former two and variables such as satisfaction, commitment and participation to be stronger.

1. See Betz and Judkins (1975). Also Smith and Freedman (1972) and Etzioni (1975).

More specifically, feeling that one is able to run one's Troop well should be associated with most of the other variables, although there is no a priori reason to expect a strong relationship with having external obligations. A positive orientation to the Patrol System should be related to all the variables, including external obligations, because considerable time is required to run it effectively.

Having close friends should be associated with all variables except external obligations, and socialising outside of the Troop should be related to obligations as well. This can be expected either from theories such as March and Simon's or Becker's (i.e. having friends is an investment or "side bet") or from Homans' suggestion that greater interaction will lead to higher affective feelings (either positive or negative). The Cramer and Champion solidarity scale should be associated with satisfaction, involvement and expecting to remain in the organisation longer, but not with obligations. High solidarity should be related to participation, but not as strongly as having close friends in the organisation.¹

The perception of enhanced status from membership should lead to higher participation, satisfaction, involvement, and expectations of remaining longer. Support from one's wife or girlfriend should be related to the attitudinal variables,

1. The way the scale was constructed, high solidarity is more likely to be associated with a low tendency to leave than with high participation. This would be consistent with Herzberg's (1966) argument that some variables are "satisfiers" while others are "dissatisfiers". Herzberg's position has considerable merit, though I do not wish to carry it to an extreme by saying that low solidarity produces dissatisfaction while high solidarity does not give satisfaction. Whether satisfaction is composed of one, two or more dimensions is a debate that will undoubtedly continue for quite some time.

but not necessarily to participation. In some cases, participation might be low because of disapproval, but in others disapproval could result from high participation. This item should be related to external obligations.

The higher a Leader is on any ideology dimension (i.e. the more his personal ideology is congruent with an aspect of the organisation's formal ideology) the higher his satisfaction and involvement should be and the lower his likelihood of leaving. While one might expect Leaders to participate more actively if they believe more strongly in the Scouting ideology, it is possible that this might be fairly specific, with those high on achievement and social dimensions going camping more often and those with a service orientation spending more time on the weekend, when a community oriented activity could take place.

Satisfaction should be related to both high involvement and low external obligations, with all three associated with a low expectation of leaving the organisation soon. These should also be related to higher levels of participation. If a Leader is dissatisfied or expects to leave the movement shortly, it seems unlikely that he would devote much time to it.

Orientation. Table 5.20 shows the correlation coefficients between the two orientation variables and satisfaction, commitment and participation. As expected, Leaders who give support to the Patrol System method are more satisfied and involved, and participate more. The Patrol System takes more time to run, but those Leaders who support it most

Table 5.20: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, commitment and participation with orientation variables (r)

	<u>Leader feels Competent</u>	<u>Patrol System</u>
Satisfaction	.2062+	.2541+
Involvement	.0472	.1358**
External Obligations	.1179**	.1359**
Has not considered leaving	.2200+	.1846+
Expects to remain longer	.1617+	.1889+
Hours per week	.1330**	.2321+
Weekend days	.1578+	.2489+
Nights camping	.1140**	.1319**
Group Councils	.0808*	.1768+
District Councils	.0769	.1613+

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

+ $p < .001$

strongly seem prepared to make the effort. Those who are able to devote this much time to their Troop also seem to have fewer external obligations.

Leaders who feel confident of their ability to run the Troop tend to be more satisfied, less likely to consider leaving the organisation soon, and participate more. The relationships with involvement and obligations do not support prior expectations. The correlation coefficient for involvement is in the expected direction, but it is low and not statistically significant. It appears that a feeling of competence in running a Troop does not necessarily result

in a greater likelihood of feeling involved, though a further investigation should be conducted using more refined scales before stating this with any confidence.

There is no obvious reason why competence and having external obligations should be linked. Both lower age and urban residence are associated with fewer obligations, but neither of these are linked with competence. Other possibilities such as higher participation or more Leaders in the Troop also have no effect on the relationship when partialled out. The reasons for this unexpected finding are unclear, but it is merely an interesting anomaly rather than damaging to the argument. The assertion that a positive orientation to the leadership role and the organisation's training method are associated with higher satisfaction, commitment and participation is generally supported. The relationship between competence and level of involvement is an important exception.

Solidarity. Having close friends in the organisation is the only item on this dimension that is consistently associated with satisfaction, commitment and participation (Table 5.21). Both the Cramer and Champion solidarity scale and a high level of socialising with other Leaders make it more likely that a Leader will be satisfied, but the correlation coefficients are low. These two items are not related to involvement, which is surprising. None of the three items are related to having thought about leaving recently (all are in the expected direction at a non-significant level), but higher scores on all are associated with expecting to remain in the organisation longer. As anti-

Table 5.21: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, commitment and participation with solidarity variables (r)

	<u>Cramer- Champion Scale</u>	<u>Have close friends in Scouting</u>	<u>Leaders Socialise</u>
Satisfaction	.0929*	.2201+	.0921*
Involvement	.0056	.2314+	.0542
External Obligations	-.0564	.0216	.0140
Has not considered leaving	.0704	.0527	.0768
Expects to remain longer	.0886*	.1562+	.0879*
Hours per week	-.0094	.1298+	.0648
Weekend days	-.0022	.1587+	.1200**
Nights camping	-.0378	.2239+	.0708
Group Councils	.0340	.1785+	.1831+
District Councils	.0031	.1369**	.1264**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

+ $p < .001$

cipated, none are related to having external obligations.

There are no significant relationships between the Cramer and Champion scale and any of the participation items. However, a strong association was not expected. Contrary to what Cramer and Champion say about their scale, it would appear that it is more a measure of good working atmosphere

than of a positive affective orientation toward colleagues.¹

Leaders who socialise with others are likely to spend more time on weekends and attend more meetings. General participation (hours per week) and frequency of going camping are in the expected direction, but not quite statistically significant ($p < .1$).

It appears that Scouters are likely to be satisfied, committed and participate more if they have close friends in the organisation. This was supported by my field work. It seems to be particularly true at higher levels of the organisation, where many of the senior Leaders are close friends. This camaraderie seems to be an important element of Scouting in many places, and was mentioned by a number of experienced Leaders. Forming close friendships is a good example of a side bet, in Becker's terms, and proves to be associated with higher levels of involvement. Once compatible Leaders are in the same Group and begin to interact, it seems likely that they will become friends, as Homans suggests, which in turn becomes a side bet. The solidarity scale used in this study seems to be indicative more of a co-operative atmosphere than of friendship. This is reflected in a lower tendency to leave, but with no effect upon involvement or participation. It is still somewhat surprising, however, that the solidarity scale is not related to participation, and could be indicative of

1. It will be recalled that the scale was altered and shortened for use in this study, so the qualification can only be applied in this particular instance.

differences between voluntary associations and work organisations. Few Leaders reported low solidarity, and it is possible that Leaders who do not get along with their colleagues soon leave the movement. Most jobs do not offer such an easy exit option.

Prestige. Leaders who state that Scouting enhances their status in the community tend to be higher on most of the satisfaction, commitment and participation items (Table 5.22). The correlations with involvement and having

Table 5.22: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, commitment and participation with prestige variables (r)

	<u>Enhances Standing in Community</u>	<u>Support from Wife/Girlfriend</u>
Satisfaction	.1307**	.0932*
Involvement	.0996	.0034
External obligations	-.0063	.1701+
Has not considered leaving	.0839*	.0762
Expects to remain longer	.0603	.0595
Hours per week	.0633	.0223
Weekend days	.1387**	.0394
Nights camping	.1089	.0454
Group Councils	.1516+	.0967*
District Councils	.1077**	.0411

* p<.05
 ** p<.01
 + p<.001

thought about leaving the organisation are statistically significant, but weak. The relationship with expecting to remain in Scouting is in the expected direction, but not quite significant ($p > .1$). The relationship with the participation items are all as expected, with the exception of general participation (hours spent per week). This relationship is in the expected direction, but again is only suggestive ($p < .1$). It would appear that the rule of distributive justice is most applicable to the extra activities Leaders are asked to perform, such as attending meetings or going camping. My field work indicated that prestige was not a major consideration for most Leaders, with only a few having strong feelings one way or the other.

Leaders who do not receive support for their Scouting activities from their wife or girlfriend are less likely to be satisfied and more likely to report high external obligations. There is not a statistically significant relationship with expecting to leave the movement, although the correlation coefficients are in the expected direction. This item is not associated with feeling involved, nor with participation. In interviews, a number of married Leaders indicated that their wife was a factor in their level of involvement and participation. None of these men suggested that their wife was opposed to their Scouting activity, but that "too much" time and effort put into Scouting could lead to such opposition. This becomes a limiting factor, rather than something which affects membership in the organisation itself. As one Scouter put it:

There are some people whose wives are not happy about their husbands going away on a regular basis. They are quite happy about their going out on a week night, but when it comes to going off to weekend camps or training sessions all day or all weekend when you have responsibilities at home and to the family, pressure comes on, so that you feel that you just can't give it that time.

Scouting is supported by most Leaders' wives, but is not given a very high value, and other activities compete with or supersede it. Opposition from one's wife or girlfriend is associated with dissatisfaction, and this seems to be enough to make some Leaders at least think about leaving (the correlation coefficient is suggestive, $p < .1$).

Ideology. Table 5.23 shows that most of the relationships between ideology and satisfaction, commitment and participation are not statistically significant or are weak. Leaders who are higher on all dimensions except morality are likely to be satisfied, while those higher on morality and personal growth are more involved. Some of the relationships are below the commonly accepted standards of statistical significance, but all are in the same direction and there is not much difference in the size of the correlation coefficients. However, the relationships are generally so small as to be qualitatively insignificant.

The pattern for expecting to leave the organisation is similar to that for satisfaction, with a very low correlation

Table 5.23: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, commitment and participation with ideology variables (r)

	<u>Morality</u>	<u>Achievement</u>	<u>Service to others</u>	<u>Personal growth</u>
Satisfaction	.0262	.1166**	.0821*	.0814*
Involvement	.0826*	.0523	.0691	.0873*
External obligations	-.0632	.0372	-.0709	-.0393
Has not considered leaving	.0370	.0362	.0824*	.0587
Expects to remain longer	.0480	.1340**	.0783*	.1070*
Hours per week	.0005	.0031	.0139	.0429
Weekend days	.0479	.0195	.0090	.0917*
Nights camping	-.0374	.0154	-.0710	-.0029
Group Councils	.0798*	.0138	-.0056	.0529
District Councils	.0992*	.0527	-.0149	.1219**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

+ $p < .001$

for morality. In both cases, an achievement orientation has the highest correlation coefficient. It is interesting to note that of the four dimensions, achievement is the most tangible (see Warner and Havens, 1968). One could measure the items comprising this dimension far more easily than any of the others. It might also be argued that achievement is the least important of the four ideology dimensions in terms of the organisation's formal goals. Few members would deny the importance of providing a boy with a sense of achievement, but a number of senior Leaders suggested that a tendency was developing for Scouters to encourage boys to "chase badges" for their own sake. They felt that this omitted the expressive component of the activities required to obtain the badges. It was argued that morality, service to others and personal growth were developed through achievement, and that these were becoming secondary in some Troops. The relationship between satisfaction and tangible rewards emerged as a significant phenomenon in the Scout Association, and will be discussed more fully later.

None of the expected relationships with participation were given support by the questionnaire data. We may conclude that ideology has little influence upon participation, and only a low association with satisfaction and commitment. As Leaders were generally in agreement with the organisation's ideology (with the possible exception of an unwillingness to actively carry out training in moral ideas), it appears likely that the Scout Association attracts and retains Leaders who are in agreement with its formal ideology, but once in the organisation, this has little influence upon activities.

Of the items discussed so far, only orientation and having friends in Scouting are consistently related with satisfaction, commitment and participation. The low association of the Cramer and Champion solidarity scale with other variables was unexpected, although there is some doubt as to precisely what the scale is measuring. The rule of distributive justice seems to apply for most Leaders, but it is not strong. Ideology has a particularly low association with satisfaction, commitment and participation. Some combination of self-selection and low importance of the dimension appears to operate.

Satisfaction, commitment and participation. The theoretical guidelines for the relationships between these dimensions are unclear. Literature on each of these, alone or in combination, is available but almost always in the context of work organisations. It should be clear by now that the Scout Association is in many respects different from work organisations, and the ceteris paribus conditions assumed for the relationships in the latter are not necessarily operative in a voluntary association. For example, control is much looser than in coercive and utilitarian organisations (Etzioni, 1975), and even looser than in other types of normative organisations, such as schools. The costs and benefits of membership in Scouting are intangible, and difficult to measure. There is no common currency, such as money, which serves as a universal medium of exchange.¹ Perhaps most importantly, even where there are no competing organisations, a Scouter can simply resign and go home.

1. While the subjective value of money may differ for individuals, its value in exchange is objectively fixed at a given moment.

There are no major structural reasons why a man would find it difficult to leave Scouting. There are very clear and powerful reasons why leaving one's job is not always easy, and much of the literature assumes that these constraints operate.

Different relationships between the variables are expected depending upon the perspective that is being used. This discussion will therefore be exploratory.¹ While there is no necessary reason to do so, most previous research has treated expectations of remaining in the organisation and level of participation as dependent variables, and this assumption will be made here.²

Table 5.24 shows the correlation coefficients for commitment and participation with satisfaction, and Table 5.25 presents participation with commitment. Not suprisingly,

1. The items in the questionnaire were not constructed with March and Simon's framework in mind. It is tentatively suggested that their concept "ease of leaving the organisation" can be measured by my involvement scale. This converts a structural variable into a social psychological variable, but effectively the only constraint against leaving the Scouts is not what is available outside, but pressures from inside the organisation. The danger in the procedure is the possibility of overlap in the dimensions measured by involvement and satisfaction. Operationalising March and Simon's framework into refined scales for use in a voluntary organisation would require a major research effort on its own. The post hoc reinterpretation of my scales to fit their model is purely suggestive. Even in their own terms, the commitment scales used here are not refined. Scale construction, however, was not the main objective of the project.
2. While these items do not completely display the statistical properties of dependent variables, their behaviour when used as test factors (Rosenberg, 1968) does not suggest that they should not be considered dependent. Longitudinal data would be far preferable for analysing these relationships, but in a synchronic survey one must make some assumptions about temporal priority at some point. Participation and expecting to leave seemed to be the best choices on both intuitive and theoretical grounds (see March and Simon, 1958).

Table 5.24: Correlation coefficients for commitment and participation with satisfaction (r)

	<u>Satisfaction</u>
Involvement	.3711 ¹
External obligations	.2623
Has not considered leaving	.3813
Expects to remain longer	.4294
Hours per week	.3433
Weekend days	.3176
Nights camping	.2085
Group Councils	.3041
District Councils	.2441

1. All coefficients significant at the .001 level.

Table 5.25: Correlation coefficients for participation with commitment (r)

	<u>Involvement</u>	<u>External Obligation</u>	<u>Has not considered leaving</u>	<u>Expects to remain longer</u>
Hours per week	.2889+	.0630	.0170	.1816+
Weekend days	.2203+	.0962*	.0847*	.1700+
Nights camping	.2073+	.1222**	.0550	.0728
Group Councils	.1940+	.0876*	.0699	.1016*
District Councils	.1405+	.0982*	.0732	.1612+

P<.05
p<.01
p<.001

all are in the expected direction, and almost all are statistically significant. Relative to most of the correlation coefficients found in this research, those in Table 5.24 are fairly strong, although they are not strong at an absolute level.¹ The correlation coefficient for external obligations and number of hours spent per week is not quite statistically significant ($p < .1$), but the cross-tabulation is significant ($\chi^2 = 20.58$, 10 d.f., $p < .05$). The correlation coefficient seems to be affected by the cells in the "two hours or less" row, in which there are no appreciable differences. The item "having thought about leaving" is not significantly related to the participation items, but the relationship for the length of time a Leader expects to remain in Scouting (a more important item) and participation are generally significant.

The relationships for satisfaction, involvement and external obligations are particularly interesting. When controlled as a test factor, each of the variables behaves in the same way. For example, in Table 5.26, when Leaders are satisfied, the relationship between external obligations and involvement disappears. When Leaders are not satisfied, the association increases.² What this suggests is that when a Leader is satisfied, his level of involvement is unaffected by pressures from external obligations. However, when satisfaction is not high, Leaders with many external obligations are much less likely to be highly involved than those with few obligations.

1. Satisfaction accounts for only 18% of the variance in expectations of leaving.
2. Chi squared does not alter much, but Kendall's Tau B, which is more appropriate in this case, goes from .08, $p < .05$ to .22, $p < .001$ for low satisfaction.

Table 5.26: Involvement by external obligations by satisfaction (%)

		Satisfaction					
		Obligations	High	Not High			
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>
Involvement	High	35.4	46.0	40.7	17.2	20.5	7.6
	Medium	39.6	35.3	40.7	65.5	45.2	42.4
	Low	25.0	18.7	18.6	17.2	34.2	50.0
	N =	96	139	59	29	73	66
Total N =		462					

The same pattern holds regardless of which variable is treated as the test factor, independent or dependent variable.¹ Where there is an intermediate category, as for obligations or involvement, the figures are between the high and low categories, supporting the consistency of the relationships. These findings suggest that the three variables are not completely independent, and that they tend to operate in a different way for different respondents.² All that can be said theoretically is that none of the perspectives has been disconfirmed.

A more complex situation emerges when these three variables are related to how long a Leader expects to remain in Scouting. Table 5.27 shows expectations of remaining in Scouts by level of involvement controlled by satisfaction. When satisfaction

1. That this works for external obligations as the dependent variable may seem anomalous, but cognitive dissonance theory suggests a ready answer. External obligations is a handy explanation for the dissatisfied, uninvolved Leader.
2. I am grateful to Owen Dent for the latter suggestion.

Table 5.27: How long Leader expects to remain in Scouts by involvement by satisfaction (%)

	<u>Involvement</u>	Satisfaction					
		High			Not High		
		<u>High</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>Low</u>
Expect to remain	Under 1 year	5.7	7.3	8.2	12.0	21.8	44.4
	1 - 5 years	11.5	19.1	13.1	44.0	30.8	27.0
	Over 5 years	82.8	73.6	78.7	44.0	47.4	28.6
N =		122	110	61	25	78	63

Total N = 459

is fairly high, the relationship is eliminated, but when Leaders are not satisfied it remains about the same. If the table is re-worked so that involvement is the test factor, the relationship between satisfaction and expecting to remain is lower, but still significant at the .001 level. When involvement is low, the relationship strengthens to a fairly strong level (Kendall's Tau C = $-.53$, $p < .001$). An interaction effect thus exists. Satisfied Leaders generally do not expect to leave Scouting in the near future, if at all, regardless of their involvement. Where involvement is low the difference between satisfied and non-satisfied Leaders becomes particularly sharp.

Satisfaction partly eliminates the relationship between external obligations and expecting to leave (Table 5.28). The contingency table for non-satisfied Leaders has an insignificant chi squared, but higher obligations still seem to make it more likely that Leaders will leave shortly (Kendall's Tau B = $-.13$, $p < .05$). The effect of obligations seems to be mediated by satisfaction, but in the context of

Table 5.28: How long Leader expects to remain in Scouts
by external obligations by satisfaction (%)

		Satisfaction					
		High			Not High		
		<u>Obligations</u>					
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>
Expect to remain	Under 1 year	8.3	4.3	10.3	20.7	26.4	34.8
	1 - 5 years	11.5	18.0	12.1	34.5	26.4	34.8
	Over 5 years	80.2	77.7	77.6	44.8	47.2	30.3
	N =	96	139	58	29	72	66
Total N = 460							

low satisfaction, external obligations are still important.

When obligations and involvement are related to expectations of leaving, both have similar effects when they are used as test factors. For low or medium obligations or high or medium involvement, the relationships are reduced or eliminated. When obligations are high or involvement low, the relationships emerge more strongly.

In general, the tendency seems to be that when the test factor is favourable to continued membership in Scouting, it is unlikely that Leaders will plan to leave soon regardless of the level of the other variables (the exception being satisfaction controlled by obligations). But when the test factor is low, the independent variable becomes even more important.¹ The evidence is not contrary to any of the theoretical positions discussed earlier. To the extent that qualified support can be given, none of the theories seems

1. There are too few cases to make sense of a four-way crosstab.

stronger in predictive utility. While one must favour March and Simon on the grounds of greater scope and rigour, one must remain cautious due to the methodological problems mentioned above. Certainly one interpretation of the data partially supports Hirschman's (1970) theory of exit. The lower a member's involvement, the more likely that low satisfaction will lead to exit. The satisfaction scale did not discriminate well enough to examine the other part of the theory, that highly committed members will exit only if very dissatisfied. Nor was the "voice" option measured, although field work suggested that only the more committed Leaders exercise voice in an attempt to influence the organisation. This would support Hirschman's model, especially given the strong competition for members faced by the Scout Association in many locations.

For practical purposes, it seems fairly safe to conclude that high satisfaction or high involvement makes it unlikely that a Leader will wish to leave Scouting, while any combination of low satisfaction, low involvement and high external obligations will increase the chances of resignation. The variables seem to operate differently for different respondents, a finding which needs further investigation.

Turning to participation, we find a similar pattern. When hours spent each week by involvement is controlled by satisfaction, (Table 5.29), the relationships in the contingency tables are reduced, but not eliminated. When the table is reconstructed to control by involvement, the result is similar. The two variables interact to produce a conjoint effect upon

Table 5.29: Hours per week by involvement by satisfaction (%)

		Satisfaction					
		High			Not High		
<u>Involvement</u>		<u>High</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>Low</u>
Hours	3 or less	22.3	27.5	37.7	52.0	45.5	68.3
	4 - 6	45.5	58.7	50.8	36.0	51.9	28.3
	7 or more	32.2	13.8	11.5	12.0	2.6	3.3
	N =	121	109	61	25	77	60
Total N = 453							

participation (Rosenberg, 1968). The cumulative effect is to increase the influence of either variable, i.e. the outside columns of the contingency tables (high-high and low-low) show a greater percentage difference than the original tables.

Satisfaction has a stronger effect on the relationship between obligations and participation than for obligations and expecting to leave. The relationship is largely eliminated on both sides of the contingency tables, suggesting that satisfaction intervenes between obligations and participation. However, this must be qualified somewhat, as the relationship between satisfaction and participation is slightly reduced when obligations are low or medium, and increased when they are high.

When participation by obligations is controlled by involvement the relationship is eliminated for high and medium involvement, increased for low involvement. When obligations become the test factor, the relationship between participation and involvement is reduced for low and medium obligations, increased for high obligations.

Participation, like expecting to leave, will be higher when Leaders are satisfied or highly involved.¹ External obligations does not seem to operate independently of satisfaction, and has a relatively weak interaction effect with involvement. Satisfaction and involvement interact with one another in affecting participation, with a similar level of influence. There is little available quantitative literature in which similar findings are reported, although some of the data in Sills (1957) seem to imply that the processes described here are not unusual. None of the theories of commitment specifically mention participation as an outcome. March and Simon imply that their theory could be recast in these terms, and the findings are not contrary to what one would expect. Keeping the practical objective of the research in mind, it is tentatively concluded that Leaders who are satisfied and involved participate more than Leaders who are not, and when involvement is low, members with high obligations participate less.

1. These relationships could be explained by defining participation as an independent variable. For example, Homans could argue that higher participation leads to more satisfaction and involvement. Alternatively, cognitive dissonance theory would suggest that a Leader with high participation and high external obligations would have to feel satisfied in order to justify his high time expenditure. These possibilities cannot be dismissed, and the behaviour of participation as a test factor does not provide contrary evidence.

Discussion

In the previous chapter, it was shown that Leaders operate within markedly different organisational contexts. A number of small but significant differences on a variety of dimensions occur in combination for many members. The result of these differences seems to be for a more supportive organisational milieu to be associated with a higher level of effectiveness. The main argument of this thesis is that organisational variables will have a similar effect upon the major behavioural and attitudinal variables discussed in this chapter. Leaders who have good Troops should be more satisfied, more committed, participate more, and be less likely to want to leave the organisation. This assertion follows from some of the theoretical perspectives discussed above, including those of Etzioni, Tannenbaum and his associates, March and Simon, and to some extent Silverman.

The correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, expecting to remain in the organisation and hours spent on Scouting per week with effectiveness are presented in Table 5.30. All are in the expected direction and all are

Table 5.30: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, hours per week and how long Leader expects to remain with effectiveness (quality of Troop). (r)

	<u>Effectiveness</u>
Satisfaction	.2803+
Involvement	.1059*
Hours per week	.1935+
Expects to remain longer	.1930+
* p<.05	
** p<.01	
+ p<.001	

statistically significant, although none are particularly strong.¹ At least some support is given to the assertion that organisational factors have an influence upon retention and participation in the Scout Association.

Further analysis is necessary before stating this with confidence, as it could be suggested that active and enthusiastic Leaders run better Troops. This is undoubtedly correct, and a number of instances were encountered during my field work. A sociologically more interesting pattern is that many new Leaders seem to become enthusiastic through their association with a good Troop. While both processes operate in different cases, it can be shown that higher satisfaction, commitment and involvement are found in the context of a supportive organisational environment.

Firstly, as indicated earlier, feeling confident about one's leadership ability is related to several organisational variables. There are statistically significant correlation coefficients with having larger Troops ($r = .1370$, $p < .01$), better Group communication ($r = .1255$, $p < .01$), amount of control Leaders have over Troop activities ($r = .0901$, $p < .05$), more frequent visits from the DSL ($r = .1057$, $p < .05$), having a GL present ($r = .1145$, $p < .01$), useful contacts with other Scouters ($r = .1340$, $p < .01$), and good support for equipment ($r = .1080$, $p < .05$). Frequency of communication from other Scouters and from GLs are only slightly over the .05 level of significance, as is the quality of communication in the District. The strongest relationship is with effectiveness² ($r = .3657$, $p < .001$).

1. The level of significance for involvement is only slightly below the .01 level, $p = .011$.
2. All of the correlation coefficients are reduced to below the .05 level of significance when effectiveness is partialled out.

There is no necessary reason to assert either that competent Leaders run good Troops, or that Leaders who join good Troops become competent. The latter is the more interesting pattern, and the impact of organisational factors upon competence appears to be mediated by their influence upon effectiveness. Tentative support is given to the suggestion that Troop effectiveness leads to competence in some cases. Table 5.31 shows that for Leaders who have been in the movement less than two years, there is a tendency for those in "good" or "very good" Troops to feel more competent than Leaders in "fair" Troops.¹ None of the social or organisational background items are significantly associated with competence.

Table 5.31: Feeling of competence by effectiveness
(Quality of Troop)¹ (%)

		Quality of Troop		
Competence		Very Good	Good	Fair
	High	48.7	46.0	26.8
	Medium	46.3	34.0	26.8
	Low	4.9	20.0	46.3
	% of Total	31.1	37.9	31.1
N =		41	50	41

Total N = 132

$$\chi^2 = 20.60, 4 \text{ d.f.}, p < .001$$

1. Table for Leaders under two years service only.

Turning to satisfaction, commitment and participation, we note that Troop size is related to satisfaction,

1. Most experienced Leaders argue that two years is not really enough time for a good but inexperienced Leader to have a major impact on a Troop.

involvement and expecting to remain in the organisation longer,¹ but the number of Leaders and the size of the District are not related (Table 5.32). Leaders in larger Troops participate more, but if there are more Leaders in the Troop, they tend to participate less. The latter

Table 5.32: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, hours spent per week and how long Leader expects to remain with size (r)

	<u>Size of Troop</u>	<u>Number of Leaders</u>	<u>Size of District</u>
Satisfaction	.2054+	.0703	.0162
Involvement	.1368**	.0522	.0310
Hours per week	.0979*	-.0811*	-.0213
Expects to remain longer	.0701	.0256	.0029

* p<.05
 ** p<.01
 + p<.001

finding could be due either to sharing the work, or because some of these members are only marginally involved, and not active. The correlation between Troop size and participation increases when number of Leaders is partialled out ($r=.1385$, $p<.01$). This suggests that the enjoyment derived from running a large Troop outweighs the burden imposed by little assistance. This was supported by my field work.

The influence of communication is shown in Table 5.33. Most of the communication frequency variables are

1. Satisfaction, involvement, the number of hours spent per week and how long a Leader expects to remain in the movement are the most important variables within the three dimensions being examined, and discussion will be limited to these only.

Table 5.33: Satisfaction, involvement, hours spent per week and how long Leader expects to remain with communication (r)

	<u>COMMUNICATION</u>							Encouraged to present ideas	Information arrives too late
	Scouters	<u>Frequency From</u>			<u>Quality</u>				
		GLs	District	Area	Group	District	Area		
Satisfaction	.1651	.1708+	.0984*	.1378**	.1854	.0349	-.0205	.1413+	.0434
Involvement	.0911*	.1524+	-.0197	.0900*	.0463	-.0102	-.0014	.0793*	.0387
Hours per week	.0287	.1606+	.1568+	.1416**	.0776*	.0395	.0238	.1370**	.0181
Expects to remain longer	.1096**	.1532+	.0719	.1042**	.1635+	.0768	.0504	.1705+	.0126

* p<.05
** p<.01
+ p<.001

significantly related in the expected direction to satisfaction, involvement, participation and expecting to leave the organisation. An important exception is the lack of correlation between participation and frequency of communication from other Scouters. Solo Leaders (who receive less communication than others) participate more than those with at least one other Leader present, but partialing out number of Leaders does not bring the correlation coefficient up to an acceptable level of statistical significance.

Good communication in the Group and feeling encouraged to present one's own ideas are both related to the four variables being examined. The latter finding is interesting, given the earlier discussion of democracy. The items measuring upward influence in the organisation are not related to the attitudinal variables or participation, so it would appear that Leaders feel it is important at least to be heard, regardless of the outcome.

The amount of control by Scouters over Troop activity is positively related to satisfaction ($r = .1230$, $p < .01$), but not to any of the other variables. Leaders are slightly less likely to expect to leave soon if the GL has a higher level of control ($r = .0853$, $p < .05$). The other control variables do not appear to be important.¹ This is consistent with the findings of Tannenbaum and his associates, who argued that communication was more closely related to "loyalty" than was control.

Tables 5.34 and 5.35 show the relationship for support from higher levels of the organisation and from the Group.

1. Total amount of control for all levels is related to expecting to remain longer ($r = .1108$, $p < .01$), but this is reduced to slightly below the level of significance when control by Leaders (a component of total control) is partialled out.

Table 5.34: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, hours per week, and how long Leader expects to remain with support from higher levels (r)

	<u>SUPPORT</u>					
	<u>Level of Training</u>	<u>Utility of Training</u>	<u>Frequency of District Councils</u>	<u>Utility of District Councils</u>	<u>Frequency of DSL Visits</u>	<u>Utility of DSL Visits</u>
Satisfaction	.1291**	.1267**	.1063*	.0373	-.0040	-.0391
Involvement	.0941*	.0078	.1409+	.0437	-.0366	-.0902
Hours per week	.2218+	.0245	.0655	.0167	.0098	-.0346
Expects to remain longer	.0196	.0383	.0398	.0963*	.0216	.0354

* p<.05
 ** p<.01
 + p<.001

Table 5.35: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, hours per week, and how long Leader expects to remain with support from Group (r)

	<u>GL Present</u>	<u>Frequency of Group Councils</u>	<u>Utility of Group Councils</u>	<u>SUPPORT Utility of Other Scouters</u>	<u>Support for Equipment</u>	<u>Support for Recruitment</u>	<u>Support from Parents</u>
Satisfaction	.0326	.0939*	.1223**	.1739+	.0795*	.0076	.1296**
Involvement	.0755	.1230**	.1144**	.1052*	-.0083	-.0930*	.0157
Hours per week	.0611	.0668	.1003*	.0551	-.0392	-.1284**	.0674
Expects to remain longer	.0903*	.1059*	.0650	.0967*	-.0149	.0751	.0897*

* p< .05
 ** p< .01
 + p< .001

More training and more frequent District Councils are both associated with higher satisfaction and involvement. Receiving more training is related to higher participation, but it is unclear whether one or the other is causally prior, or if some third variable influences both. It should be noted that Leaders are likely to attend a higher proportion of District Councils if they are held regularly ($r = .2826$, $p < .001$) and if they are useful ($r = .3667$, $p < .001$). This is equally true for Group Councils ($r = .2622$ for frequency, $r = .4479$ for utility).

The relationships of satisfaction and involvement with the frequency and utility of DSL visits are not in the expected direction, and one is at a low but statistically significant level. The crosstabulations show that for most categories, higher frequency or utility is positively associated with higher satisfaction and involvement. However, when a DSL never visits at all or there is none in the District, Leaders are more likely to be satisfied and involved. This is strong enough to produce a negative sign for the correlation coefficients.

The theories of Coser (1956) and Etzioni (1975) suggest that in a bad District, Leaders in a good Troop with high solidarity might be more satisfied or involved than usual in some cases. When effectiveness and solidarity are controlled there are no appreciable changes in the contours of the relationships, but few of the contingency tables are statistically significant. It is unclear whether these weak correlation coefficients represent an anomaly which raises doubts about the main argument presented here,

or whether further investigation might demonstrate that Leaders in strong Groups in weak (or conflict-ridden) Districts are more involved than usual.

Overall, the findings on the influence of DSLs are not as clear-cut as expected from my field work. Many senior Leaders were firm in their conviction that active, competent DSLs are a key element in providing support at local level. Interviews with Scouters also suggested that DSLs are important, but the local members are not as concerned with this as Leaders at higher levels. Not one Scouter mentioned DSLs without prompting, but the topic was often raised by senior members early in their interviews. My inclination is to place more reliance upon my field work in this instance. The questionnaire data lack depth, while my field work seems to indicate that DSLs can have a positive influence upon Leader competence and effectiveness, which in turn are generally associated with more favourable attitudes toward the organisation. If one excludes those cases where no DSL is present or active, the questionnaire data are congruent with my field work. The little available field work evidence on Scouters who have had unsatisfactory contacts with District personnel suggests that this can increase positive feelings toward their own Group. Whether this can be generalised to the survey sample is unclear.

At Group level, more frequent and useful Group Councils, and useful contact with other Leaders are associated in the expected direction with satisfaction, involvement and

expecting to remain longer in the organisation. Having a GL makes it less likely that a Leader will expect to leave soon, and the correlation coefficient for having a GL and involvement is only just over the .05 level of significance. Higher participation and more frequent and useful Group Councils also appear to be related. Support from parents is related as expected with satisfaction and expecting to remain in Scouting. Low support in recruiting more Leaders makes it more likely that Leaders must participate more actively. This item is inversely related to involvement. There is no apparent reason for this relationship, but the correlation coefficient is quite small, and the argument is not seriously affected. The association with expecting to remain in the organisation is in the expected direction, and significant at slightly over the .05 level.

Several of the organisational background variables are related as well. ASLs are less likely than GLs or SLs to be satisfied and involved, or to participate actively. The latter relationship becomes even stronger if GLs are eliminated, as a number of these Leaders are only minimally active in the Troop. This supports the assertion that the SL position requires a considerable amount of time to be done properly.

Longevity is related to higher participation ($r = .1342$, $p < .01$), but not to the other variables. Examination of the frequency tables shows that the low correlation coefficients are the result of some interesting patterns. Involvement and satisfaction are fairly similar, and satisfaction is shown in Table 5.36. The relationship is

Table 5.36: Satisfaction by longevity (%)

Satisfaction	LONGEVITY						
	<u>Under 6 months</u>	<u>6 - 11 months</u>	<u>1 year, less than 2 years</u>	<u>2 years, less than 4 years</u>	<u>4 years, less than 6 years</u>	<u>6 years, less than 10 years</u>	<u>over 10 years</u>
High	75.8	64.9	59.4	58.6	57.5	63.9	75.4
Not High	24.2	35.1	40.6	41.4	42.5	36.1	24.6
% of Total	7.2	8.1	14.0	25.4	16.0	15.8	13.4
N =	33	37	64	116	73	72	61

Total N = 456

$\chi^2 = 8.67$
6 d.f.
p < .1

not statistically significant, but the pattern is suggestive. One interpretation would be that most new members come into the movement with a positive orientation, hence they tend to be satisfied (and feel involved). As they become familiar with the organisation, a number will find that their leadership situation is poorly supported relative to other Groups. This could lead to lower satisfaction and some loss of members. However, as March and Simon indicate, those Leaders who cannot leave (e.g. if they have a son in the Troop) may lower their aspirations, making it less likely that they will become very dissatisfied. There is a long plateau from one to six years of membership with steady satisfaction levels. The proportion of satisfied members then rises, presumably because those with fewer obligations to the movement and low satisfaction have left, with those who are more satisfied remaining as long-term members.

Table 5.37 provides further insight. There are three modal points for expecting to leave the movement soon: 1 - 2 years, 4 - 6 years and 10+ years. I would argue that the first group are those who find themselves in a poor leadership situation. My field work also suggests that the number of Leaders with less than one year's experience who wish to leave very shortly is understated. Many experienced members said that some new recruits obtain a warrant but never become active. These Leaders would not have been picked up by the questionnaire, and it is possible that dropout is fairly steady through the first two years. The second modal group are probably fathers whose boys have passed through the Troop. If they are not very satisfied, they no longer have a side bet in the organisation, and leave. This is

Table 5.37: How long Leader expects to remain by longevity (%)

Expect to Remain	LONGEVITY						
	Under 6 months	6 - 11 months	1 year, less than 2 years	2 years, less than 6 years	4 years, less than 6 years	6 years, less than 10 years	Over 10 years
1 year or less	5.9	5.4	20.3	14.8	21.9	8.5	19.7
1 - 5 years	8.8	18.9	10.9	14.8	28.8	15.5	13.1
5 or more years	85.3	75.7	68.8	70.4	49.3	76.0	67.2
% of Total =	7.5	8.1	14.1	25.3	16.0	15.6	13.4
N =	34	37	64	115	73	71	61

Total N = 455

$\chi^2 = 19.53$
12 d.f.
p<.1

given further tentative support, as men with 4-6 years service and a son in the movement are less likely to be satisfied than men with similar service without a son in the movement (53.7% to 62.5%). The long serving group is more difficult to understand. However, a number of dedicated Leaders with long service seem to leave the movement and return after a break of a year or two. It is possible that few Leaders who stay at least ten years leave Scouting for good before retirement age. Many of these would take more senior positions, with fewer physical demands.

This discussion seems to indicate that leadership turnover in the Scout Association is somewhat more regular than suggested in earlier parts of this thesis. Some positions in poor Groups would presumably still have a relatively rapid turnover. It is also possible that some of those who leave after several years do so because their organisational support was either never very good or was declining. This would follow from Hirschman's discussion of satisfaction, loyalty and exit.

Leaders who felt that they were pressured into joining the movement are less likely to be satisfied ($r = -.2160$, $p < .001$) and more likely to expect to resign soon ($r = .1705$, $p < .001$). Having a son in the movement makes it less likely that a Leader will be satisfied ($r = -.1065$, $p < .05$) and more likely that he will expect to leave soon ($r = .1522$, $p < .001$). This adds further evidence to the argument that the expressive aspects of voluntary associations are very important. Presumably a number of fathers are in the organisation for their sons, whereas those without sons in the movement are usually members for purely personal reasons.

Table 5.38 shows the influence of several social background variables. Younger Leaders are more likely to be satisfied and less likely to expect to leave the movement soon. The relationship for satisfaction is very weak, and further details are presented in Table 5.39. The proportion of satisfied Leaders remains fairly constant until the mid-thirties, drops and then goes up again. The proportion then falls below 50% for the 45-49 age group, an age at which many will have sons leaving the movement. The highest proportion of satisfied Leaders is in the 50+ group. One-third of this older group still has at least one son in the movement, but over 90% have had a son in Scouting at some point. Apparently most of these are Leaders who have remained in Scouting after their son has left, due to the satisfaction obtained through membership.

Table 5.40 shows the relationship for expecting to remain in the organisation by age group. The most important feature is the high proportion of the 45-49 age group who expect to leave the movement within a year, adding further support to the above discussion. Another interesting point is the high proportion of the 25-29 age group who expect to remain five years or longer. Most of these members are married, but a very low proportion (1.4%) have a son in the movement. These are Leaders for whom the disruptions of establishing a family have not resulted in resignation from Scouting. The significance of marriage for loss of Leaders is supported by a comparison with the youngest age category (under 24). The level of satisfaction is very similar for both groups, but the younger members seem to be more likely to expect to leave within five years. While this does not

Table 5.38: Correlation coefficients for satisfaction, involvement, hours per week and how long Leader expects to remain with social background variables (r)

	<u>Age</u>	<u>SES</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Work/Leisure Separate</u>	<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Geographic Mobility</u>
Satisfaction	-.0888*	-.0239	.0329	-.1028*	.0805*	.1291**	-.0540
Involvement	.0198	-.1152**	-.0658	-.0597	.1225**	.1789+	-.0871*
Hours per week	.0054	-.0647	-.0198	-.0747	.1162**	.1544+	-.0138
Expects to remain longer	-.1214**	-.0755	.0111	-.0805	.1210**	.0068	-.0051

* p<.05

** p<.01

+ p<.001

Table 5.39: Satisfaction by age (%)

	<u>AGE</u>						
Satisfaction	<u>Under 24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>Over 50</u>
High	64.4	68.6	68.7	55.7	63.6	49.0	80.6
Not High	35.6	31.4	31.3	44.3	36.4	51.0	19.4
% of Total	21.8	15.1	14.5	17.1	14.3	10.6	6.7
N =	101	70	67	79	66	49	31

Total N = 463

$\chi^2 = 12.04$
6 d.f.
 $p < .1$

Table 5.40: How long Leader expects to remain by age (%)

	<u>AGE</u>						
	<u>Under 24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>Over 50</u>
Expect to remain							
1 Year or less	14.9	10.0	13.4	16.7	12.1	24.5	12.9
1 - 5 Years	17.8	8.6	17.9	35.9	16.7	30.6	19.4
5 or more years	67.3	81.4	68.7	47.5	71.2	44.9	67.7
% of Total	21.9	15.2	14.5	16.9	14.3	10.6	6.7
N =	101	70	67	78	66	49	31

Total N = 462

$\chi^2 = 32.39$
12 d.f.
 $p < .01$

constitute proof, the increase in the proportion of married Leaders from 26.5% to 84.1% in these two age categories is suggestive.

The socio-economic status variables do not appear to be very important. A lower score on the Elley-Irving scale is related to higher involvement and a lower likelihood that a Leader will expect to leave soon (the significance of the correlation coefficient is under the .06 level). Lower income is associated with higher satisfaction, and there is a suggestive relationship with higher participation and a lower expectation of leaving soon ($p < .1$). Education seems to have no influence. The influence of age could affect these relationships, but age is only related to income, not SES. Another possible intervening variable is prestige, but this is not associated with either income or SES.

The extent of separation between work and leisure time is related to all four variables being discussed in this section. (It is also related to SES and income, but partialing does not reduce the association to below the .05 level of significance.) Leaders who have a low overlap between work and leisure, not surprisingly, are more likely to have a low score on the external obligations scale ($r = .2583$, $p < .001$).

There is a tendency for urban residents to be more satisfied and involved, and participate more than rural members. The lower scores for rural residents are not surprising, as lower voluntary activity for rural dwellers has been reported in various studies (see Smith and Freedman, 1972). However, voluntary activity in small towns is generally considered to be stronger than in major urban centres, and the frequency tables for these relationships show that this is not the case. This poses an interesting problem as Leaders in small urban centres and towns are somewhat more likely than members in large urban or rural areas to say that their Troop is very good or excellent. It seems that while Scouting as an activity is stronger in small urban centres and towns, the adult Leaders are more active, satisfied and involved in large urban centres.¹ This could be an interesting topic for further research.

Geographic mobility is the final variable that will be examined. Leaders who expect to shift to a new location soon are less involved than other Leaders, but there are no differences in satisfaction, participation, and expecting to leave. It is not surprising that members who are leaving a particular location decrease their involvement in local voluntary activities. My field work suggested that many geographically mobile Leaders rejoin the movement

1. Centre city and suburban residents have been grouped together, which could mask some differences.

in their new place of residence if their help is requested. I would argue that geographic mobility results in a loss of Leaders only if the organization does not keep track of them and encourage them to enter a new Troop. District Commissioners are encouraged to notify NHQ of Leaders who intend to shift (there is even a special form for this), but many experienced members state that this is seldom done. The problem in this case seems to be communication, not mobility.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the influence of several attitudinal, organisational and background variables upon items measuring satisfaction, commitment and participation was examined. With the exception of having friends in the organisation, the influence of the attitudinal variables was either weak or at least partly explained by organisational variables. Leaders in large Troops, with good support and communication tended to be more satisfied, committed and active. The most important variable was effectiveness. It was argued that the organisational variables influence satisfaction, commitment and participation through their impact upon effectiveness.

It was recognised that in many cases a satisfied, active Leader could in turn increase his Troop's effectiveness. However, there is some evidence that Leaders are more likely to become "good" through their association with an active and well-run Group than for a good Leader to single-handedly improve his Troop through his personal qualities of leadership. Both patterns were encountered during my field work, and one cannot deny that good Troops and Groups (as well as Districts and Areas) can be greatly influenced by the personal characteristics of their Leaders. But restricting oneself to an individual level of explanation begs the question of how these people were placed in leadership positions in the first place, and why they are not removed if it becomes clear that they are inadequate. This clearly requires an explanation at the organisational level.

Longevity in the movement, age, work situation and place of residence seemed to be the key background variables. The evidence suggests that an important source of Leader loss is through fathers leaving the movement at the same time as their sons. This conclusion is tentative, as there is no direct evidence to suggest that the organisational and background variables are not generally independent of one another. However, given the complex influence of age, it is not possible to determine whether a variable such as effectiveness alters the dropout

rate of certain groups of Leaders. This would require tabular analysis, and there are too few cases for this to be done with any confidence.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

One of the main problems addressed in this thesis was the applicability of concepts drawn from the general literature on formal organisations to the narrower context of voluntary associations. The concepts of commitment, social control, and effectiveness were put forward as central to the analysis of integration in voluntary associations. The theoretical framework was oriented toward providing insight into two practical, commonsense problems pertaining to the Scout Association of New Zealand. Firstly, under what circumstances do we find "good" Scouting? Secondly, what factors encourage leadership retention?

I would argue that voluntary associations pose special problems which have not been adequately treated in the literature. The three concepts mentioned above provide good examples.

Commitment is generally used as an undefined, unquestioned explanation for why people remain attached to an organisation or other social group. Two perspectives on the phenomenon, Becker's and March and Simon's, go far beyond this, and were given particular attention. Neither was entirely satisfactory for use in the analysis of voluntary associations. The concept of investments or side bets used by Becker was suggestive, but not adequate if confined to a unidimensional form of commitment to something. This would be acceptable in the context of work organisations, but voluntary associations occupy a different structural position. One must

not only account for the investments in voluntary associations, but also the effect of investments in other, structurally more central roles that simultaneously draw members away. Becker's definition encompasses the negative aspect of commitment, but this has not been pursued by any writers using his perspective. The concept must also be recast as a continuum, rather than a dichotomy. People are pulled both towards and away from lines of action, and may be considered more or less committed as a result.

The point at which low commitment results in dropping a line of action was addressed by March and Simon. Their approach is more rigorous than Becker's but also more restricted to work organisations. Commitment combines the costs and benefits of remaining in an organisation with the structural problem of the ease of leaving. The difficulty is that there is no currency in which costs or benefits can be measured in most voluntary associations. Even if one could find such a currency, there is no guarantee that it would apply to both costs and benefits. The "ease of leaving" criterion poses another difficulty. There are few, if any, structural impediments to leaving an organisation such as the Scouts. These tend to be social psychological, such as loss of enjoyment or friendship, and would best be considered benefits.

Commitment is an important concept, but there does not seem to be a clear solution to the problems outlined above. The conceptual difficulties were encountered at a relatively late stage in this research, and there was insufficient time to deal with them adequately in the questionnaire. Refining

the concept would be a worthwhile task, but would require a research project of its own.

Social control posed conceptual problems as well, and even greater complications in operationalisation. The central issue is the sanctions that can be applied by higher level actors to enforce conformity or ensure that activities are carried out.

A widely used perspective on social control is Etzioni's compliance theory. The Scout Association fits into his category of normative compliance. This is further broken down into two types, pure normative and social compliance. In the former, sanctions are based on the manipulation of resources derived from higher level values, while the latter entails control over peer group acceptance. However, not only does Etzioni limit his discussion to pure normative organisations, but also the empirical examples he uses are organisations such as schools or churches. These do not fit our definition of voluntary associations, and are more central to the wider social structure. This allows Etzioni to view normative organisations as more highly integrated than they are in practice, particularly those such as the Scouts. He attends only to the power of superordinates and the orientation of subordinates. His theory is dependent upon the access of superordinates to an array of sanctions which are considered legitimate by all members of the organisation. Subordinates merely respond to the power of superordinates, with little autonomy of their own. They are "oversocialised" (Wrong, 1961). He thus ignores the power exercised by subordinates and their efforts to obtain the compliance of superordinates.

In "pure" voluntary associations, neither focus is inherently more useful. Rather, both must be applied simultaneously. Control is a negotiated process, with actors at all levels of the hierarchy attempting to exercise control and maintain autonomy. This is precisely the phenomenon addressed by Goffman, Silverman and Mechanic. Where there is agreement between levels, one finds a situation which looks and operates like Etzioni's model. When actors disagree, the appearance of superordinate control may be maintained when in fact control is balanced, favours subordinates, or is completely absent. Goffman argues that actors have a stake in maintaining appearances, such that where superordinates should have control, they will tolerate situations at variance with official policy in order to maintain the impression of "normal" operations.

Again, the position of voluntary associations in terms of this concept is influenced by their structural context. The pressures for members to join in most cases are not great, and the rewards they obtain are usually available elsewhere. In other words, most voluntary associations need their members more than most members need any particular voluntary association.

Remuneration is not available as a sanction, and horizontal cohesion may be strong enough to withstand the efforts of superordinates to generate peer group pressures on subordinates. Coercion can be used in removing members, but where members are valued, this generally only occurs in cases of extreme incompetence or nonconformity. Where superordinates are seen to be legitimate interpreters of higher values, pure normative control can be used. However, this can be disputed or ignored

by other members. The central problem for superordinates in voluntary associations is to establish their control efforts as legitimate. This is not automatic.

In a large organisation, at least some central co-ordination is necessary. But in the context of few and weak available sanctions, this becomes problematic. The processes described above are complex. Members of the organisation may not even recognise their existence. Hence, the operationalisation of social control is difficult. While the framework and measures used by Tannenbaum and his colleagues are good relative to other available sources, I did not find them completely satisfactory. Influence is less "visible" in the Scouts than in any of the organisations studied by Tannenbaum, and after examining the completed questionnaires it seemed to me that a number of respondents could not answer the questions adequately. The measures used were not sensitive enough to the processes outlined by Goffman, Silverman and Mechanic, while techniques such as observation and interviewing are. This resulted in the major discrepancy between results from different methods in this thesis. The questionnaire showed generally weak relationships between control and other variables, while my field work provided a considerable amount of rich data illustrating the processes outlined by the interactionists.

Control is more difficult to measure using quantitative techniques in voluntary associations than in other organisational contexts. Again, it probably could be done, but a lengthy questionnaire focusing on this process alone might be necessary. The evidence from my field work suggests that such an effort would be worthwhile.

Effectiveness has received more attention in the literature than the other two concepts, so the problems are more clearly defined. As outlined in Chapter 2, it is difficult to ascertain what an organisation's operative goals are. This is amplified when the organisation has intangible goals. The situation is further complicated by using a system resource model, where goal attainment is assessed in terms of environmental factors. This question was avoided by using a subjective measure focusing on individual members' immediate context. It would not be correct to base statements about the effectiveness of the whole organisation upon individual replies to one subjective question. The problem of how to measure the output of a voluntary association has been side-stepped rather than solved. It is clear from my field work that this issue must be raised, but this task, along with the operational refinement of commitment and control, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The accounts of more experienced researchers suggest that the theoretical and methodological difficulties discussed here are not unusual.¹ Bearing these problems in mind, some concluding comments on the empirical findings can be made.

The evidence suggests that social background and organisational factors influence the quality of Scouting, the amount of Leader participation and their expectations of remaining in the organisation. In general, attitudinal variables such as ideology either have little effect or are influenced by back-

1. See Adams and Preiss (1960), Habenstein (1970), Hammond (1964) and Vidich and Bensman (1964).

ground and organisational variables. The central finding was that Leaders in effective Troops tend to have a more positive orientation toward working and remaining in the Scout Association. It was noted that this is not necessarily a uni-directional relationship, as "good" Leaders can increase effectiveness, and in many cases there may be reciprocal influence. However, using effectiveness as an independent variable is more interesting theoretically, and some evidence was presented which suggests that it is more common. For the purposes of applied research, it is a more useful way of viewing the relationship; the organisation might be able to alter the internal processes which influence effectiveness, but presumably would find it difficult to recruit "ready-made" competent Scouters.

Field work indicated that there was no single factor which had an exceptionally strong impact upon effectiveness. A Troop seemed to be good when a variety of positive elements combined to provide a supportive environment for the Leader. These included larger size, frequent and helpful communication from all levels, at least a moderate amount of control exercised by members, and readily available resources such as training, equipment and support personnel. This was reinforced by a number of small but statistically significant correlation coefficients from questionnaire data. The quantitative evidence did not always support the field work, but the findings were seldom clearly contradictory. In most of these cases the correlations were small, but in the expected direction.

Of greatest immediate importance for effectiveness was the Leader's Group. The key was adequate support and communication, regardless of whether it was provided through officially prescribed channels. For example, it evidently does not matter if a Group Leader does not actively serve as Group co-ordinator, so long as someone performs this function. As Merton (1968) has argued, there are usually a number of functional alternatives to the same end. Difficulties only arise when the function is not performed at all.¹

The higher levels of the organisation are less important for short term effectiveness. However, few Groups are large enough to consistently produce sufficient competent Leaders over the long run without assistance. Most Groups go through periods of decline, the seriousness and duration of which can be reduced by active leadership from higher levels. The importance of these Leaders is not readily apparent. The "obvious" cause of problems at a given level is that members responsible for certain activities fail to carry them out. This reductionist argument fails to account for the recruitment and continuing tolerance of the individuals "causing" the difficulties. There did not seem to be any particular "type" of person who makes a good or bad Leader. The man who in my opinion was the most capable Leader encountered during the research was shy, very soft-spoken, and gave the impression of being inactive. Yet he ran a well-organised, interesting programme, and boys joined and remained in his Troop even

1. This line of argument clearly accepts the "official" view of what is good for the organisation. The system needs are thus placed within the context of certain groups who have particular interests which are served, rather than being primordial functions which must be performed.

though there were Troops closer to their homes. He seemed to do little on Scout night because there was little remaining to be done. He had learned how to run the Troop and obtain adequate resources from the organisation. As he was willing to put in sufficient time to do this effectively, his Troop appeared to run itself.

I would argue that running a Troop is not a skill that most men can bring into the organisation. It requires hard work and a considerable period of socialisation. Many Leaders learn from their colleagues, but where such assistance is unavailable, the help of higher level Leaders becomes important. This help cannot entirely supplant the support that should come from the Group, but it can prevent the emergence of anomie: a Leader having no idea of what to do or what is expected of him. More importantly, it is up to higher level Leaders to ensure that the Groups are running properly. Tannenbaum and his colleagues argue that the most effective senior officials in voluntary associations are not perceived by subordinates as having more control than many ineffective officials. They were effective through providing a well-organised framework within which the lower participants could operate productively. A similar situation exists in the Scout Association, where the influence of higher level Leaders is indirect and not clearly visible, but in many cases is decisive. Where serious difficulties arise, such influence is usually absent.

This cannot be isolated at the level in which a problem

becomes noticeable. The breakdown of effective control is a reciprocal phenomenon. The concept of diverse interests, as used by Goffman, is important in understanding this situation. The mechanisms through which control can break down without overt conflict have already been discussed. While there is no clear evidence for this, I would argue that diverse interests arise at least partly from factors external to the organisation.

For example, a Leader's work or home situation can affect his level of participation and involvement. Alternatively, the socio-economic status of the boys' parents often influences the level of material support that is provided. It has been suggested that the official expectations in the organisation are for high levels of activity and support by both uniformed and non-uniformed members. In general, Scouting gets unusually high participation and support relative to most voluntary organisations. However, the organisation is structured such that low participation or support in a given unit is quite likely to result in problems. Unlike some other voluntary organisations, which rely on high levels of activity by relatively few members with minimal activity by the majority, (Sills' (1957) study provides a good example of this), the Scout Association depends upon fairly high, consistent levels of participation from almost all members. Where external factors inhibit participation or support, it is likely that incompatible role expectations will emerge between Leaders at different levels. Where higher level Leaders are influential and active, they may attempt to remedy the situation by replacing or augmenting the group of Leaders below them. In many cases they do not do this, negotiating a compromise until

the situation decays to a point where pressure is applied from still higher levels.

As Leaders with different interests enter and leave, there will be variations in effectiveness at all levels. Where blockages in the vertical flow of control emerge, the likelihood increases that decline will go unchecked. In Hirschman's terms, the mechanisms for responding to decline are not institutionalised. Downward control, which is problematic in a voluntary association at the best of times, is no longer available to keep the proportion of declining Groups to a minimum.

A number of senior members of the Scout Association indicated that downward control has been weak or absent at fairly high levels in recent years, particularly in the Scout section. This was compounded by changes in Scouting practice and philosophy in the mid-1960's. It was extremely difficult to determine precisely what these changes involved, as few Leaders seemed to have a clear grasp of them, even at senior levels. It seems that the manner in which Troops were to be run was made more complex, and responsibility for providing support to Scouters was placed increasingly upon District Leaders. Most senior Leaders agreed that these steps were taken without adequate preparation. The result was a confusion as to what the goals and procedures in the section should be, little understanding of how downward support should be provided, and little co-ordinated effort to rectify the situation.

Warner and Havens (1968) suggest that goal displacement is likely to occur in such a context. My field work strongly supports this contention. Emphasis in the Scout section

seemed to be placed on tangible, finite activities such as large camps and formal training sessions, rather than on intangible, ongoing Leader support activities. One senior Leader said:

I think the Area team is there to promote training as a means to an end, not the end in itself. They are there to promote...the formal training system of the movement, and to provide training at Group level, support at Group level through District Leaders.... They've got an interest in the development of programmes to meet the boys' needs, but they are not there as super babysitters, as super activity leaders.... My concern is that we are spending a lot of time running activities and events, which are having rather doubtful mileage. People will assess those events as being quite reasonable, they will rave over them. But ask them what they or their boys have received in the way of training, and they will be hard pressed to answer....We are not putting the time into the less spectacular but more essential things of support training at the Group, of counseling and assistance to the District Leaders.

Formal training and activities are thus only part of the task of senior Leaders. As a symptom of the problem, the same Leader noted that:

We get an interesting reaction from some District Commissioners, who say "The training team is pushing training, lay off pushing the training", thinking that training is a distinct activity, and that we

do training to notch up a score, and having got a certain number of Scouters through training courses during the year, we sit back...sit in the corner and all the rest of it. It's not that way at all.

He indicated that changing the approach of most people is difficult, because:

...it's very much easier to win a battle by running an activity, because it's of short duration and the events are there for all to see. But it's far more intangible and difficult to view the results of a year's intensive counseling, because how do you assess that sort of thing?...Not that I'm saying that the Leaders concerned are not doing their bit, but the pressures on them prevent them from spending more time. In other words, they're spending an awful lot of time on rubbish and inessential things.

A similar phenomenon was outlined at Group level in the discussion on ideology in Chapter 5. As the goals of the Scout section are intangible and somewhat muddled, as considerable time is required of members and there is frequently little pressure to do otherwise, the main operative goal has become running visible events of short duration. This has been done largely at the expense of providing training and support for Leaders and boys at the local level. It cannot be denied that major activities involving hundreds of people are popular, but if this reduces the level of competence, activity or support in a Leader's Group, then

the argument that has been presented here suggests that lower effectiveness and retention should be the result.

Clearly, organisational variables do not completely account for the recent decline in membership in the Scout Association. The influence of the life cycle and place of residence, among other factors, must also be taken into account. However, the similarity of the empirical findings to theoretical arguments on commitment, social control, effectiveness and goal displacement indicate that organisational factors underlie at least some of the Scout Association's present difficulties.

Appendix 1

Timetable of the Research Process

Timetable of the Research Process

Reading Scout Literature

Formal and Informal Interviews with National Leaders

Observation of National Committees

Attended Leader Training Courses

Area and District
Levels: Interviews
with Leaders and
Observation of
Committees

Observation of
Selected Troops

Questionnaire
Design and
Testing

Questionnaire
Distribution,
Collection and
Processing

Appendix 2

Questionnaire

Scout Section Leadership Survey

ALL ANSWERS WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Victoria University of Wellington

Telephone 721-000

Private Bag
Wellington
New Zealand

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

Dear Scouter,

Thank you for taking part in the Scout Section Leadership Survey.

As mentioned in "Scout News", we hope that you will give us your opinions on various aspects of Scouting. Completing the questionnaire will not take much of your time. Most people have found that 30 minutes is about enough time to finish though some may find it takes a bit more or less.

The success of this survey depends upon every Leader answering every question honestly and completely. Even if you are a new Leader, or are ready to leave Scouting, your answers are important to us. A report on our findings will be submitted to the Scout Association later this year.

All answers will be kept in strict confidence. Any code numbers you find on your questionnaire are only to assist in the distribution and collection process. Your answers will not be identified at any time. Do not write your name on the questionnaire.

We have provided an envelope in which you may securely seal your completed questionnaire, using tape if you wish. A member of your District team will collect it from you and return it directly to us. Please have yours ready when he comes to collect it.

Please read all questions and instructions carefully. Answer the questions on both sides of each page.

Thank you very much for your help.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Lynn C. White".

Dr Lynn C. White
Senior Lecturer in Sociology

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jim Kitay".

Jim Kitay
Junior Lecturer in Sociology

INSTRUCTIONS

Please answer this questionnaire either

- by ticking the appropriate box
- or by writing in the space provided

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Disregard code numbers

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____
4 _____
5 _____
6 1

PART 1

The first group of questions are concerned with your background in Scouting.

What is your present position in the Scout movement?

Scout Leader

Assistant Scout Leader

Group Leader

☐ 1
☐ 2 (7)
☐ 3

7 _____

How long have you been a leader in this troop?

_____ years

or

_____ months (if less
than 1 year)

8 _____

If you have had any other involvement in Scouting after the age of 18 (uniformed or non-uniformed), please list the positions and for how long you held the position. (This includes Committee membership or other SL or ASL positions.)

Position

How long
(Years or Months)

9 _____

10 _____

11 _____

12 _____

Have you ever been a member of any of the following sections of the Scout movement as a boy? (tick all that apply).

Cubs

Scouts

☐
☐

Senior Scouts

Venturers

☐
☐

13 _____

14 _____

Please describe briefly how you first became involved in Scouting as a uniformed leader.

15 _____

16 _____

Did you willingly volunteer, or did someone "twist your arm"?

Volunteered without being asked

Willingly joined after being asked

Had arm twisted

☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3

17 _____

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Did you have any friends or relatives (excluding children) in Scouting before you became a leader?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

18 _____

Do you have a son in Cubs, Scouts or Venturers at the present time?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

19 _____

Within the past year did you ever have thoughts of leaving Scouting?

Yes, many times ☐ 1
Yes, once or twice ☐ 2
Yes, but never seriously ☐ 3
No ☐ 4

20 _____

PART 2

We would like to know some things about your Troop and Group

In which branch of Scouting is your troop?

Scouts(land) ☐ 1
Sea Scouts ☐ 2
Air Scouts ☐ 3

23 _____

About how many boys regularly attend Scout night in your troop?

_____ boys

24 _____

At the moment, how many uniformed adult leaders (including yourself) are there who regularly work in your Scout troop? (Please circle.)

1 2 3 4 5+ (25)

25 _____

26 _____

In your opinion, are there enough adult leaders in your troop?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (27)
Not sure ☐ 3

27 _____

Do you ever get any help from Venturers or from "outside experts"? (An "outside expert" would be someone who helped teach a special topic or test the boys on badge requirements.)

Always Often Sometimes Seldom Never

Venturers ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5
"Outside experts" ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5

28 _____

29 _____

Would you like more boys in your troop at the present time?

Yes ☐ 1
Only if we had ☐ 2
more leaders ☐ 3
No ☐ 3

30 _____

Does your Group have a Group Leader?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

31 _____

- 3 -

How often does your Group have Group Councils for uniformed leaders?

Once a month ☐ 1
 Every second month ☐ 2
 3 or 4 times a year ☐ 3
 Once or twice a year ☐ 4
 Never ☐ 5

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32 _____

How often do you attend Group Councils?

Every meeting ☐ 1
 Most meetings ☐ 2
 Occasionally ☐ 3
 Seldom ☐ 4
 Never ☐ 5

33 _____

Do the leaders from your Group ever get together socially?
 (Includes after Scout night.)

Often ☐ 1
 Sometimes ☐ 2
 Seldom ☐ 3
 Never ☐ 4

34 _____

How much support do you get from your Group Committee in the following matters?

	A lot of support	Some support	Little support	No support
Obtaining equipment	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
Recruiting leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐
Raising funds	☐	☐	☐	☐
Personal expenses (eg. uniform, training)	☐	☐	☐	☐

35 _____

36 _____

37 _____

38 _____

How much help do you get from parents when you ask for their assistance?

A lot of help ☐ 1
 Some help ☐ 2
 Little help ☐ 3
 No help ☐ 4

39 _____

On the basis of your experience and information, how would you rate the overall quality of Scouting that you have seen in your District?

Excellent ☐ 1
 Very good ☐ 2
 Good ☐ 3
 Fair ☐ 4
 Poor ☐ 5
 Don't know ☐ 6

40 _____

How would you rate the overall quality of Scouting in your troop?

Excellent ☐ 1
 Very good ☐ 2
 Good ☐ 3
 Fair ☐ 4
 Poor ☐ 5
 Don't know ☐ 6

41 _____

To what extent do the following points apply to the leaders in your Group?

	<u>Very much</u>	<u>Much</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	
The leaders get along well together.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	42___
We agree well on who is to do which job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	43___
All the leaders pitch in to get things done.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	44___
Private interests usually give way to common ones.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐ (45)	45___
Leaders dislike leaving, stay around as long as possible.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	46___
There are conflicts or antagonisms among leaders.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	47___
Do you feel you are really a part of your Scout Group?						
Really a part of my Group					☐ 1	48___
Included in most ways					☐ 2	
Included in some ways but not in others					☐ 3	
Don't feel I really belong					☐ 4	

PART 3

We would like some information on the amount of time you spend on Scouting.

About how many hours in an average week do you spend on Scouting? (This includes meetings and programme preparation, but excludes special weekend activities like hikes or camps.)

___ hours 51___

On average, about how many days or part of a day during the weekend do you spend on Scouting in a month? (Includes hikes or camps.)

None	☐ 1	52___
One day (or part day)	☐ 2	
2-3 days	☐ 3	
4 or more days	☐ 4	

How many nights have you spent camping with Scouts over the past year?

___ nights 53___

In your present circumstances, how do you feel about the amount of time you give to Scouting?

Could probably give more time	☐ 1	54___
Present hours about right	☐ 2	
Spend too much time already	☐ 3	

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	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>	
Fund raising activities (eg. bottle drives)	☐ ¹	☐ ²	☐ ³	☐ ⁴	55 _____
Maintaining Scout Hall	☐	☐	☐	☐	56 _____
Go out of your way to provide transport for boys on Scout night	☐	☐	☐	☐	57 _____

Many leaders have different feelings about being in Scouting. We would like to know what your feelings are about Scouting, and some of the things that influence your involvement in Scouting.

Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

I have some close friends in Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		58
I must leave some household chores undone because of my involvement in Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		59
It seems that other leaders are more interested in Scouting than I am.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	(60)	60
Being a Scout Leader is my main service to the community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		61
If I really had to choose, I would give up other clubs or organisations before Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		62
I find real enjoyment through Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		63
Being a Scout Leader enhances my standing in the community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		64
My Scouting activities are not really supported by my wife/girlfriend.(Leave blank if no wife or girlfriend)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	(65)	65
Most of the time I have to force myself to go to Scout night.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		66
My job prevents me from part- icipating as actively in Scouting as I would like.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		67

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	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Scouting is my major leisure-time activity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	68 _____
There are some conditions concerning my job as Scouter that could be improved.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	69 _____
Most of the time I am enthusiastic about Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	(70) 70 _____
I have important obligations to clubs or organisations other than Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	71 _____
I don't have enough time to do more than come to Scout night each week.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	72 _____
I will leave Scouting as soon as my obligation is fulfilled.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	73 _____
How long do you intend to remain in Scouts?						
Will possibly leave within a few months					☐	74 _____
Will possibly leave within a year					☐	
Will possibly stay from one to three years					☐	
Will possibly stay from three to five years					☐	
Will stay at least five years, but plan to leave at some point					☐	
Have no plans to leave Scouts					☐	
What is the most important reason for your remaining in the Scout movement?						75 _____
						76 _____

PART 5

The next questions are concerned with the training and support available to leaders.

Do you hold a Scout Wood Badge?

Yes ☐
No ☐

.....If "yes", in what year did you complete your Wood Badge?

(80)

79 _____

80 _____

If you do not hold a Wood Badge, please answer the following three questions (A,B & C)

- A. Please place a tick next to any Wood Badge courses you have taken under the old or the new system.

Old System

PTC ☐
Stage I ☐ (7)
Stage II ☐

New System

No training yet ☐
Stage I (pre-warrant or induction training.) ☐
Stage II (basic skills) ☐
Stage III: Part 1 (Law & Promise) ☐
Part 2 (Programme planning) ☐
Part 3 (Skills: run by District) ☐
Stage IV (one week) ☐

- B. Do you plan to complete Wood Badge training?

Yes ☐ 1
Maybe ☐ 2
No ☐ 3

- C. Has Wood Badge training been available to you?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't know ☐ 3

How often does a District Scout Leader visit your Troop?

At least once a month ☐ 1
About every second month ☐ 2
2-3 times a year ☐ 3
Once or twice a year ☐ 4
Never ☐ 5
No D.S.L. in my District ☐ 6
Don't know ☐ 7

If your District gained or lost a good District Scout Leader, how much difference do you think this would make?

Considerable difference ☐ 1
Some difference ☐ 2
Not much difference ☐ 3
Don't know ☐ 4

Does the District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner visit your troop?

At least once a month ☐ 1
About every second month ☐ 2
2-3 times a year ☐ 3
Once or twice a year ☐ 4
Never ☐ 5
No D.C. or A.D.C. in my District ☐ 6
Don't know ☐ 7

1
2
3
4
5
6 2

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

How often does your District have Councils or training meetings for Scout Leaders and Assistant Scout Leaders?

- Once a month ☐ 1
 Every second month ☐ 2
 3 or 4 times a year ☐ 3
 Once or twice a year ☐ 4
 Never ☐ 5
 Don't know ☐ 6

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14 _____

How often do you attend District Councils or training meetings?

- Every meeting ☐ 1
 Most meetings ☐ 2
 Occasionally ☐ 3
 Never ☐ 4

15 _____

How useful do you find the following resources or people in helping you in your job as Scouter?

	Very Useful	Sometimes Useful	Not very Useful	Never Useful	Not Available	
Training Courses	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	16 _____
District Scout Leader	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	17 _____
District Meetings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	18 _____
Group Councils	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	19 _____
Patrol Leaders Councils	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	20 _____
Other SLs/ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	21 _____
SL Handbook	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	22 _____
"Scout News"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	23 _____
Other Scout Literature	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	24 _____

What training or support would you like to have that you cannot get at present?

25 _____

26 _____

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We often hear about the basic aims of Scouting. In your opinion, what should the basic aims of Scouting be?

Please indicate the importance you place on the possible aims listed below.

	Very important	Of some importance	Of minor importance	Not important	
Give boys a feeling of belonging to a group.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	29___
Provide the experience of service to others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	30___
Encourage boys to have respect for tradition.	☐	☐	☐	☐	31___
Provide activity for the "problem boy" or trouble-maker.	☐	☐	☐	☐	32___
Give boys regular outdoor activity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	33___
Ensure that boys fulfil their religious obligations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	34___
Help the community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	35___
Let boys organise their own activities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	36___
Improve the standard of smartness and manners among boys.	☐	☐	☐	☐	37___
Promote an understanding of a boy's duty to the Queen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	38___
Give each boy a chance to be a leader.	☐	☐	☐	☐	39___
Help the boys become good citizens.	☐	☐	☐	☐	40___
Promote individual achievement among boys.	☐	☐	☐	☐	41___
Promote group achievement among boys.	☐	☐	☐	☐	42___
Guide boys away from bad influences.	☐	☐	☐	☐	43___

(35)

(40)

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PART 7

The next questions involve communications in the Scout Association.

	Very good	Fairly good	Adequate but no more	Somewhat poor	Very poor	Don't know	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
In general, how good is communication between leaders in your Group?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	45
In general, how good is communication within your District?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	46
How well are you kept informed of what is happening in your Area?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	47

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Don't know	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
Do you feel that it is easy for you to pass along ideas or information to your District?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	48
Do you feel encouraged to put forward your own ideas and suggestions about Scouting?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	49
Do you feel that enough opinions are obtained before decisions are made in the Scout movement?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	50
How often do you get information when it is already too late?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	51

Do you think that leaders at the following levels are in tune with the needs of leaders at Troop level?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Don't know	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
District	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	52
Area	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	53
N.H.Q.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	54

Have you heard much about the current Scout Expansion Campaign?

A lot	☐	1	55
A bit	☐	2	
Nothing at all	☐	3	

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How enthusiastic do people in your Group and District seem to be about the Scout Expansion Campaign?

Group	(56)	District	(57)
Very enthusiastic	☐ 1	Very enthusiastic	☐ 1
Fairly enthusiastic	☐ 2	Fairly enthusiastic	☐ 2
They don't really care	☐ 3	They don't really care	☐ 3
Somewhat opposed	☐ 4	Somewhat opposed	☐ 4
Strongly opposed	☐ 5	Strongly opposed	☐ 5
Don't know	☐ 6	Don't know	☐ 6

56 _____

57 _____

How often do you give information about Scouting to the following people? (This includes telephone calls, meetings, conversations, letters.)

	At least once a week	At least once a month	Once every 2-3 months	1-2 times a year	Never
Parents	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
Other SLs/ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Committee members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Group Leader	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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How often do you receive information about Scouting from the following people?

	At least once a week	At least once a month	Once every 2-3 months	1-2 times a year	Never
Parents	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
Other SLs/ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Committee members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Group Leader	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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PART 8

Here are a series of statements concerning policies, activities and problems in Scouting. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Assistant Scout Leaders are often not given enough to do in the Troop.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
It is fairly easy to find good programme ideas for my Troop.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Scouting would get along fine without a uniform.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is often hard to keep the boys interested in the activities on Scout night.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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74 _____

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Office Use Only
Too many Group or District Leaders try to interfere with the running of Scout Troops.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	75 _____
I can run a pretty good Troop without worrying about Patrol Leaders' Councils.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	76 _____
Scouting is still going strong after many years, so there is not much need to change it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	77 _____
Leader training courses are quite relevant to my needs as a Scouter.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	78 _____
Scouting places too much emphasis on outdoor activities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	79 _____
Society is becoming less religious, and Scouting should move in that direction too.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	80 _____

PART 9

We are interested in your ideas on the amount of influence that different people or groups have on Scouting. Think about how much influence they really have, and then how much they ideally should have.

How much influence do you think the following groups have on how your Troop operates?

	Little or no influence	Some influence	Quite a bit of influence	A great deal of influence	Don't know	
Boys	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	7 _____
SLs and ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	8 _____
Group Leader	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	9 _____
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	10 _____
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	11 _____
N.H.Q.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	12 _____

How much influence should the following groups have on how your Troop operates?

	Little or no influence	Some influence	Quite a bit of influence	A great deal of influence	Don't know	
Boys	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	13 _____
SLs/ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	14 _____
Group Leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	15 _____
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	16 _____
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	17 _____
N.H.Q.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	18 _____

Card 3

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How much influence do you think each of the following groups have on overall policy in Scouting?

	Little or no influence	Some influence	Quite a bit of influence	A great deal of influence	Don't know
Boys	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
SLs and ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Group Leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
N.H.Q.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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How much influence should each of the following groups have on overall policy in Scouting?

	Little or no influence	Some influence	Quite a bit of influence	A great deal of influence	Don't know
Boys	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
SLs and ASLs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Group Leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
District leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Area leaders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
N.H.Q.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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PART 10

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
There are often nights when it is hard to maintain order in my Troop.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
Scouting has kept up well with the times.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The function of NHQ is not very clear to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In my Troop, most of the ideas for the programme come from the boys.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My District team is rarely of much use to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Admitting girls to Scout Troops would improve the movement.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Too many people in Scouting try to become little dictators.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Running my own Troop is my main concern, so I don't pay much attention to what happens at other levels of Scouting.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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39 _____
40 _____

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A person who really lived by the Scout Law and Promise would not get very far in today's world.

Strongly
agree

Agree

Undecided

Disagree

Strongly
disagree

☐ 1☐ 2☐ 3☐ 4☐ 5

41 _____

I can plan my programme a short time before Scout night and still run a good Troop

☐☐☐☐☐

42 _____

In your opinion, what are the greatest problems or shortcomings in Scouting today? (Feel free to answer at greater length on a separate sheet of paper.)

PART 11

Many leaders find that the way in which they earn their living affects their Scouting activities. We would like to know how much your job influences Scouting and other leisure activities.

What is your present occupational status? (Please indicate the principal status which applies to you.)

Employer of labour in own business or profession.

☐ 1

Relative assisting in business (farm, shop, etc) and not receiving wages.

☐ 5

45 _____

Working on own account and not employing labour.

☐ 2

Working for wages or salary.

☐ 3

Full-time student.

☐ 6

Retired.

☐ 7

Unemployed and seeking work.

☐ 4

Other (please state) _____

What is the job, profession, trade or type of work in which you are engaged? (Please state fully, e.g. sheep farmer, auto electrician, builder's labourer, bank manager, wages clerk, etc. If unemployed, state previous occupation.)

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Please state the type of activity in which your business or organisation is engaged. (e.g. food retailing, TV repair, furniture-making, dairy farming, Government health services, etc.)

To what extent is your work kept separate from your leisure time? (i.e. does your work tend to "spill over" into your leisure time?)

- Work and leisure totally separate ☐ 1
 Work seldom takes up any of my leisure time ☐ 2
 Fair amount of overlap between work and leisure ☐ 3
 Great deal of overlap between work and leisure ☐ 4

52 _____

In your regular job, are you responsible for training other people?

- Always ☐ 1
 Often ☐ 2
 Sometimes ☐ 3
 Seldom ☐ 4
 Never ☐ 5

53 _____

Is your job spent mostly indoors or outdoors?

- Mostly indoors ☐ 1
 Indoors & outdoors about equal ☐ 2
 Mostly outdoors ☐ 3

54 _____

Have you shifted to a new location due to your job over the last five years?

- Yes ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

55 _____

Do you expect to shift to a new location sometime in the next few years?

- Yes ☐ 1
 Maybe ☐ 2
 No ☐ 3

56 _____

If you expect to shift to a new location, do you intend to remain in the Scout Association?

- Definitely ☐ 1
 Maybe ☐ 2
 Probably not ☐ 3

57 _____

PART 12

Finally, we have some questions about your personal background. Thank you for staying with us this far!

What is your present age?

- Under 20 ☐ 1 30-34 ☐ 4 45-49 ☐ 7
 20-24 ☐ 2 35-39 ☐ 5 50-54 ☐ 8
 25-29 ☐ 3 40-44 ☐ 6 55 or over ☐ 9

60 _____

What is your present marital status?

- Never married ☐ 1
 Married ☐ 2
 Previously married (widowed, divorced, separated) ☐ 3

61 _____

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If you have any children, please list their present ages and whether they have ever been members of the Scout or Guide Movements.

Boys		Girls	
Age (years)	Ever in Scouts? (yes/no)	Age (years)	Ever in Guides? (yes/no)
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

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Which term best describes the place where you live?

- Large urban or suburbs (over 100,000) ☐ 1
- Small urban (under 100,000, over 20,000) ☐ 2
- A town (under 20,000, over 1,000) ☐ 3
- Rural (under 1,000) ☐ 4

72____

What is the highest educational qualification you have obtained? (If you were educated overseas, please write in the country and the qualification.)

- Completed Form 2 (Standard 6) ☐ 1
- Some secondary education ☐ 2
- School Certificate ☐ 3
- University Entrance ☐ 4
- Some University ☐ 5
- University degree or diploma ☐ 6
- Overseas _____

73____

Please list any other trade or professional qualifications that you have.

74____
75____

If you were asked to describe yourself, which of the following would you prefer to call yourself?

- A European ☐ 1
- A Maori ☐ 2
- A member of a Pacific Island group ☐ 3
- Other (please specify) _____

76____
77____
78____

Please give your own present gross annual income from all sources. (You will recall that all information given will be kept strictly confidential, but if you do not wish to answer this question, please leave it blank.)

- Less than \$2000 ☐ 1
- \$2000 but less than \$4000 ☐ 2
- \$4000 but less than \$6000 ☐ 3
- \$6000 but less than \$8000 ☐ 4
- \$8000 but less than \$10,000 ☐ 5
- \$10,000 but less than \$12,000 ☐ 6
- \$12,000 but less than \$14,000 ☐ 7
- \$14,000 and over ☐ 8

79____

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