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**VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE  
TRANSPORT MARKET:  
A STUDY OF RURAL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**

**STEVEN CASSIDY**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
of the Council for National Academic Awards for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

February 1992

Nottingham Polytechnic

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **S CASSIDY: VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE TRANSPORT MARKET: A STUDY OF RURAL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES.**

The thesis evaluates the current and potential role of voluntary transport organisations in the rural passenger transport market through an in depth intra organisational study of the operation and management of the voluntary car scheme. The rural transport market and influences upon it are initially reviewed, covering specific policies designed to stimulate the voluntary transport sector. The latter includes an evaluation of Rural Transport Advisers, a post specifically designed to foster innovation in the free transport market. The concept of the voluntary car scheme is then described, together with an analysis of local authority approaches to its support, based upon surveys of Nottinghamshire car schemes, and of local authorities in England respectively. The role of such schemes in the transport market is then evaluated through case studies of three contemporary schemes.

Their current and potential role is found to be influenced by intra organisational concepts of power, control, and situation definition; through these the scheme, to a large part, defines its own potential in the transport market. The influence of these concepts on sustaining resources at the schemes is also uncovered. The implications of these findings for both the organisations themselves, and policy makers alike are discussed.

The thesis contributes: (i) to the understanding of the potentials of a form of voluntary transport organisation that is of importance in the rural transport market, though is conspicuous by its absence in the transport literature; (ii) to the approaches and methodology used to study transport organisations, utilizing theory building techniques which concentrate upon operation and management vis a vis operational service reviews; (iii) to the debate concerning the role of voluntary transport in a changing transport paradigm through the clarification of the complex intra organisational issues surrounding this form of transport, and a consideration of policy issues aimed at the organisations which provide it.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There have been three sources of assistance in the birth of this thesis. Firstly, various members of the academic world have provided both inspiration, and help of a more tangible nature. These were predominantly spread along the A60, based at Nottingham Polytechnic and Loughborough University. John Abbiss, David Gillingwater, and Stuart Swift were always approachable and instructive as my supervisors, and invested much time in the research. Iain McGuinness and John Sutton helped a great deal throughout the project, and Matthew Doyle also provided some useful advice. At the Department of Civil Engineering at Nottingham Polytechnic colleagues proffered both general (often liquid) and specific support, John Pike pitching in some management expertise, with Michele Shenton providing both deciphering and typing skills. As the work migrated south for the latter stages, the support of the Transport Studies Group at P.C.L. was gratefully received.

The second source of assistance came in the field from all the organisers, drivers, and users of the case study organisations who allowed me to enter their world. They made the research not only illuminating, but also very enjoyable.

Finally, many friends have (often unwittingly) helped me in the research. Particular in these were David Schwartz in the form of Craig, Boyley through JANET, and Erik in making it impossible for me to leave my desk. However the greatest support was given by Kay, whose enthusiasm at the conception of this thesis continued throughout its long gestation, and occasionally painful birth.

Thank you to all the above.

## CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION</b>	
REFERENCES	6
<b>CHAPTER TWO - THE CURRENT RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET</b>	
2.1 SERVICES IN THE RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET	7
2.2 INFLUENCES ON THE RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET	12
2.2.1 Transport Legislation	12
a) The Evolution of Transport Policy to 1985	12
b) The 1985 Transport Act	15
c) Transport Innovation and a Changing Transport Paradigm	17
2.2.2 Other Legislation	22
a) Education Transport	23
b) Social Services' Transport	24
c) Ambulance Service	24
d) Recent Changes	26
2.2.3 Changing Demands	29
2.3 SUMMARY	31
REFERENCES	33
<b>CHAPTER THREE - VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES</b>	
3.1 THE CAR SCHEME CONCEPT	36
3.1.1 Car Sharing	37
3.1.2 Rural Transport Experiments	39
3.1.3 Recent Car Scheme Literature	44
3.1.4 Shire County Approaches to Voluntary Car Schemes	46
a) Financial Support	46
b) Technical Support	48
c) Non-Financial Resources	48

3.2	CONTEMPORARY VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES	49
3.2.1	The Organisation of the Schemes	51
3.2.2	The Service Provided	52
	a) Purpose of Use	53
	b) Referral Mechanism	56
	c) Passengers	56
3.2.3	Non-Financial Resources	58
	a) Drivers	58
	b) Administration	60
3.2.4	Financial Resources	61
	a) Grants	61
	b) Revenue	63
3.3	CONCLUSIONS	64
	REFERENCES	66
<b>CHAPTER FOUR - THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH</b>		
4.1	THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH	67
4.1.1	Marketing Management	68
4.1.2	Culture	71
4.1.3	Leadership	73
4.1.4	Power	75
	a) The Nature of Power and its Sources	76
	b) The Use of Power	78
4.2	PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDIES	82
4.2.1	Case Study Area Sketches	83
4.2.2	Case Study Area Socio-Economic Profiles	86
4.3	SUMMARY	90
	REFERENCES	91

## **CHAPTER FIVE - THE RESEARCH DESIGN**

5.1	RESEARCH STRATEGY	93
5.1.1	The Case Study	96
5.1.2	Theory Building Approach	97
5.1.3	Choice of Case Study	98
5.2	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	100
5.2.1	Qualitative and Quantitative Techniques	100
5.2.2	Research Methods	102
	a) Interviews	102
	b) Observation and Participant Observation	103
	c) Document Searches	104
5.2.3	Research Techniques	104
5.3	ANALYSIS	109
5.3.1	Analysis in the Field	110
5.3.2	Within Case Analysis	111
5.3.3	Cross Case Analysis	112
5.4	SUMMARY	113
	REFERENCES	115

## **CHAPTER SIX - HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME**

6.1	GETTING IN AND GETTING ON	116
6.2	HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME PROFILE	120
6.2.1	Organisation and Service	121
6.2.2	Resources	124
6.2.3	Operation	126
6.3	THE HAMLET STUDY	128
6.3.1	The Organiser	129

6.3.2	Key Actors	132
6.3.3	Users	133
6.3.4	Drivers and Ex-Drivers	139
6.4	WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS	144
6.4.1	Concentration and Scale	145
6.4.2	Context	145
6.4.3	Philosophy	146
6.4.4	Formality	147
	REFERENCES	148
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN - DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME</b>		
7.1	GETTING IN AND GETTING ON	149
7.2	DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME PROFILE	153
7.2.1	Organisation and Service	154
7.2.2	Resources	160
7.2.3	Operation	164
7.3	THE DISTRICT STUDY	167
7.3.1	Trailblazer and Coordinator	170
7.3.2	The Manager	178
7.3.3	Other Actors	182
7.3.4	Users	184
7.3.5	Drivers and Ex-Drivers	189
7.4	WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS	194
7.4.1	Complexity	194
7.4.2	Formality	195
7.4.3	Culture and Leadership	195
	REFERENCES	197

## **CHAPTER EIGHT - VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME**

8.1	GETTING IN AND GETTING ON	198
8.2	VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME PROFILE	204
	8.2.1 Organisation and Service	204
	8.2.2 Resources	209
	8.2.3 Operation	211
8.3	THE VILLAGE STUDY	214
	8.3.1 Secretary/Treasurer	215
	8.3.2 Troubleshooter,	219
	8.3.3 Other Actors	226
	8.3.4 Users	232
	8.3.5 Drivers and Ex-Drivers	237
8.4	WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS	244
	8.4.1 Relationships	244
	8.4.2 Bureaucracy	245
	8.4.3 Motivation	245
	REFERENCES	247

## **CHAPTER NINE - THE OPERATION AND MANAGEMENT OF RURAL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**

9.1	CROSS ANALYSIS	248
9.2	PEOPLE IN THE ORGANISATION	250
	<i>THE CONCEPT OF POWER</i>	251
9.3	ARTICULATION OF DEMAND	255
	<i>THE CONCEPT OF CONTROL</i>	256
9.4	RULES OF THE GAME	259
	<i>THE CONCEPT OF THE DEFINITION OF SITUATION</i>	260
9.5	CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP	265

9.6	EVALUATION	267
9.6.1	Power Systems and Potentials of Voluntary Car Schemes	267
9.6.2	The Rationing of Voluntary Transport	273
9.6.3	The Metaphor of Potentiality	275
	REFERENCES	278

**CHAPTER TEN - CONCLUSIONS: THE CURRENT AND POTENTIAL  
ROLE OF VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES IN THE  
TRANSPORT MARKET**

**APPENDIX A**

**THE ROLE OF THE RURAL TRANSPORT ADVISER**

S Cassidy and J Sutton

Paper presented to the Universities Transport Studies Group

January 1989

**APPENDIX B**

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME REVIEW  
1990**

i) Shire County Approaches to the Planning and Support of Voluntary Car  
Schemes

ii) Questionnaire Used in Nottinghamshire Voluntary Car Scheme Survey

**APPENDIX C**

**CASE STUDY RESEARCH TOOLS**

## FIGURES

	Page
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	
FIG. 2.1	Taxonomy of Passenger Transport Services 8
FIG. 2.2	Service Priorities of Rural Transport Advisers 10
FIG. 3.1	RUTEX Social Car Schemes 42
FIG. 3.2	Voluntary Car Schemes in Nottinghamshire 50
FIG. 3.3	Growth of Schemes in Nottinghamshire 53
FIG. 3.4	Purpose of use in Schemes 54
FIG. 3.5	Percent Trips by Referral Mechanism at Schemes 57
FIG. 3.6	Driver Availability in Nottinghamshire Schemes 59
FIG. 3.7	Funding Sources and Recipients 1989/1990 62
FIG. 3.8	Income and Charges 64
 <b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	
FIG 4.1	Etzioni's Nine Organisations 79
FIG 4.2	Case Study Area Socioeconomic Profiles 88
 <b>CHAPTER FIVE</b>	
FIG. 5.1	The Research Strategy 95
FIG. 5.2	The Research Techniques 105
 <b>CHAPTER SIX</b>	
FIG. 6.1	Timetable of Research 117
FIG. 6.2	Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme Organisational Map 122
FIG. 6.3	Average Mileage and Payment at Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme 128
FIG. 6.4	Hamlet Organiser's Scheme Progress Chart 131

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

FIG. 7.1	Timetable of Research	150
FIG. 7.2	District Voluntary Transport Scheme Organisational Map	155
FIG. 7.3	Trips Completed by District Scheme June 1985-March 1989	166
FIG. 7.4	Average Mileage and Payment at District Voluntary Transport Scheme	167

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

FIG. 8.1	Timetable of Research	199
FIG. 8.2	Village Community Car Scheme Organisational Map	205
FIG. 8.3	Average Mileage and Payment at Village Community Car Scheme	213

## **CHAPTER NINE**

FIG. 9.1	Within Case Issues and Cross Case Unifying Concepts	249
FIG. 9.2	Power Incorporation	251
FIG. 9.3	Power Form - Status	252
FIG. 9.4	Power Form - Role	253
FIG. 9.5	Power Construct	254
FIG. 9.6	Control Definition	256
FIG. 9.7	Control Mechanism	257
FIG. 9.8	Control of Demand	258
FIG. 9.9	The Definition of Situation	263
FIG. 9.10	Form of Elites	271
FIG. 9.11	Power Form and Elites a)Power Form (Status and Role) b)Form of Elites (adapted from Etzioni (1975))	272

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Since the establishment of the welfare state in the United Kingdom, awareness of the needs of disadvantaged groups in society has grown steadily. It has become increasingly recognised by government and the population alike, that the basic life opportunities that the majority of the population take for granted are not afforded to significant sections of the population, and that measures must be taken to remedy the situation. These measures, in basic fields such as employment, housing, education and health, have been instigated by national and local government, voluntary and self-help groups, and individuals alike. Such measures aim to improve the life opportunities, in these fields, for people disadvantaged by race, sex, mental and physical disability, and income. Equity rather than equality is the aim of these measures.

The transport field is also an area where it is recognised that significant sections of the population are disadvantaged. Various surveys and reports have highlighted the fact that people have difficulties using public transport and that measures should be taken to remedy these difficulties. Gillingwater (1988) provides an overview of some of these reports, concluding that there is general agreement that between seven and fifteen per cent of the UK population find it impossible or are unable to use private or public transport without severe difficulties. Measures have been taken to remedy these difficulties, and in the launching of a new transport publication 'Special Needs UK' (itself testifying to increased awareness in the field) specific instances of progress over the last ten years towards making transport a human right are highlighted: British Rail improvements to both stations and rolling stock to provide wheelchair access, together with a more sensitive service from staff for those with mobility problems; the operation of Mobility Buses and Carelink services in London; adoption by 90% of new buses of design modifications recommended by the Disabled Persons Transport Advisory Committee; the requirement since February 1989 for all new London taxis to provide wheelchair access (Frye, 1991). However, as in other fields, the voluntary sector has played an important role in the area of transport for the mobility handicapped. It has been contested (Sutton, 1988) that a gap in service provision emerged because statutory providers were not providing a

service to meet the needs of a significant minority of potential users. This gap was filled by voluntary organisations experimenting with new methods of service provision which more closely resembled community needs. The voluntary organisations have grown in importance not only as service providers (as will be demonstrated in Chapter Two) but, by demonstrating that certain needs have not been met by conventional public transport suppliers, they have acted as a mouthpiece for mobility handicapped persons. Indeed, not only have these voluntary transport organisations demonstrated to government that a gap in transport provision exists, they have also been seen as important transport providers per se.

While transport for mobility handicapped persons has traditionally been seen as an area of welfare provision, there has been a shift over the past twelve years to see the mobility handicapped as a specific segment of the transport market place. An ideological shift has occurred in all areas of welfare provision in the UK, from one of state-only provision, to a market led system in which many players can compete to provide services. Many groups, including the voluntary sector, are thought to have the potential and experience to complement and/or replace public sector service provision. The aim of this shift and of recent legislation is to encourage competition in a mixed economy of transport provision by harnessing the powers of non-governmental organisations, which hopefully will lead to a more efficient supply of services.

The voluntary sector is now being asked to play a full part in the transport market place. Since 1986 the public transport market has been deregulated, and Health and Social Services transport provision, a traditional area of activity for the voluntary sector, is increasingly being subject to competition. For voluntary sector transport organisations there are two implications. Firstly, changes in transport provision may lead to changes in level of services, with the knock-on effect of changing demand for their services. Secondly, voluntary providers may wish, or even be forced into, a contractual method of service provision in operating their services. This thesis aims to evaluate the operation and management of one key voluntary sector transport organisation, in order to explain the current and potential role of such organisations in this changing market. This organisation, the rural voluntary car scheme, is not only a current key actor in the rural transport

scene, but is an example of the kind of organisation to which the mixed economy of transport provision must look to be successful.

The roots of this evaluation stem from an interest in change in such organisations, and innovation in the voluntary transport sector respectively. The complex operating environment of such organisations, including not only customer demands, but also funder requirements and sometimes diverse Management Committee interests, mean that a simple systems approach to change in the organisation may not be appropriate. If such organisations have, and still are, experimenting with new methods of service provision, the factors behind such organisational innovation would be illuminating. As will be shown in Chapters Two and Three, various local and national policies have been aimed at encouraging innovatory voluntary transport in rural areas, including the wide ranging transport demonstration projects embodied in the Rural Transport Experiments of the late 1970's. The changing market in terms of tendering opportunities (and threats), and some reductions in level of services brought about by the shift to the free market, is particularly worrying for rural areas, where dispersed and low demand mean that transport provision will often only be marginally profitable. Indeed, the potential reduction in transport supply for rural areas due to the 1985 Transport Act was anticipated, with the establishment of Rural Transport Advisers and a Rural Innovation Grant aiming to assist transport organisations (specifically voluntary organisations), to play a full part in the marketplace.

Thus organisational change and the innovatory powers of the voluntary transport sector are central to this work. The specific questions the research aims to address in evaluating the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes are:

- What is the voluntary car scheme?
- What influences its operation and management?
- How is it changing?
- Why (or why not) is it changing?

These questions do not define organisational change *a priori*, rather they hope to uncover how such organisations themselves are operated and managed, thus

determining how they themselves define organisational change. In this way, the potential issues that are crucial to the understanding of the innovatory powers of a central actor in the rural transport scene can be uncovered. This therefore provides not only an evaluation of the schemes themselves, but a critique of current policies aimed at such organisations.

The thesis presented discusses the findings of this research. Chapter Two reviews the detailed changes in the passenger transport market, and the organisations involved in it, focusing upon rural areas specifically. This Chapter also puts the voluntary car scheme into its rural context. The concept of the voluntary car scheme itself is analysed in Chapter Three. This covers both its evolution and the contemporary scheme, the latter being based on a survey of current organisations in Nottinghamshire. Specific local authority approaches to the enablement of such schemes in the marketplace are also drawn together.

Chapters Four and Five respectively outline the context and research methodology adopted in three case studies of contemporary voluntary car schemes, designed to address the research questions posed. Chapter Four reviews various theoretical viewpoints which can frame the understanding of the operation and management of such organisations. This is followed by a description of the social and physical context in which the three case study organisations live out their organisational lives. Chapter Five develops a research methodology which can enable us to enter the lives and gestalt of these organisations. This chapter also demonstrates how the research techniques described can appropriately be used to answer the questions posed.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight focus on the three case study voluntary car schemes, District, Village and Hamlet Schemes, chosen from one shire county in England. Each chapter provides a profile of the organisation, and an analysis of the data derived from the application of the research techniques. Conclusions are drawn at the individual case level which provide an insight into the issues surrounding the operation and management of such schemes. In Chapter Nine these issues are developed by cross case analysis to define concepts which assist in the explanation of such schemes. In so doing, an evaluation of themes which have been used to frame organisational understanding is made, together

with a summary of the implications of the findings for the potential of such organisations in the marketplace. Conclusions are finally drawn in Chapter Ten.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CURRENT RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET

The aims of this chapter are two-fold. Firstly, it will describe the services acting in the current rural passenger transport market, highlighting where voluntary car schemes 'fit in'. Secondly, it will describe the influences on this market in terms of changing legislation and changing demands for transport. The possible implications for rural transport providers of these changes will be summarised.

#### **2.1 SERVICES IN THE RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET**

Abbiss (1988) (following Sutton, 1984) provides a taxonomy of passenger transport services showing the position of providers by service characteristic and organisational hierarchy. This is reproduced in Figure 2.1. There has been some blurring of the differences between the primary, secondary and tertiary level services due to legislative changes (and operator's responses to them) as will be discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. However this taxonomy does provide a useful framework for the discussion of passenger transport. Services provided by primary providers are shown as traditional public transport, both publically and privately provided. The tertiary layer of services are those public sector transport services which are provided by Education Departments, Social Services Departments and Health Authorities, by statutory requirement. These include school buses, out-patient ambulances and all Social Services Department transport. Sutton (1988) argues that the secondary layer has grown and been injected into the transport scene since the early 1970's. This is as a response to the inadequacies of the other services in meeting transport needs and demands (which is in part due to the decline in public transport since the late 1960's). This secondary layer is made up of voluntary sector transport ie transport provided by volunteers, or by full-time staff steered by a volunteer Management Committee on a not-for-profit basis. These services cover the whole range of service characteristics and include community buses, urban community transport, Dial-a-Ride and voluntary car schemes. It is this secondary layer that is often termed community transport, that is transport provided by voluntary sector community groups for the local community. Some definitions however also include the

tertiary level. As some confusion exists, whenever community transport (CT) is referred to within this thesis, it is meant to denote the secondary layer only.

**FIG. 2.1 TAXONOMY OF PASSENGER TRANSPORT SERVICES**

		CATEGORIES OF SERVICE CHARACTERISTICS				
		FIXED-ROUTE SERVICE	VARIABLE-ROUTE SERVICE	CONTRACT HIRE SERVICE	DEMAND RESPONSIVE SERVICE	
SERVICE HIERARCHY	PRIMARY PUBLIC TRANSPORT	CONVENTIONAL STAGE BUS AND RAIL SERVICES	RURAL POST BUSES	PRIVATE COACH AND MINIBUS HIRE	PRIVATE TAXIS	
		URBAN MINIBUS	US HAIL&RIDE	HIRE CARS		
	SECONDARY VOLUNTARY SECTOR COMMUNITY TRANSPORT	← COMMUNITY BUSES →		URBAN COMMUNITY TRANSPORT	DIAL-A-RIDE, VOLUNTARY CAR SERVICES	SPECIAL TRANSIT
TERTIARY PUBLIC SECTOR SOCIAL TRANSPORT	SCHOOL BUSES	OUTPATIENT AMBULANCE SERVICE	SOCIAL SERVICES TRANSPORT	HOSPITAL CAR SERVICE		
PARATRANSIT						

Two terms included in Sutton's taxonomy, clarifying an often confused terminology are "special transport" and "paratransit". Special transport refers to all those services not provided by primary public transport providers. These are services provided by voluntary and public sector organisations to fill a demand often not met by the primary public transport providers. Paratransit refers to service characteristic rather than organisation of provider. It describes those services which are non-fixed route, including semi-fixed, variable-route services, and contract hire services as well as demand responsive services.

In rural areas specifically the taxonomy also applies, however the various service categories have different emphases in the rural scene, the reasons for which will be discussed below. For the moment it suffices to say that in many rural areas there is a reliance, and increased emphasis on secondary transport provision, as the factors which have led to the gap between primary and tertiary services (including the decline of conventional stage carriage bus services, local rail services, and tertiary sector financial cutbacks) have had a disproportionately large impact on rural areas. Secondary transport provision has a long history in rural areas, where the self-help tradition has been important in many fields, not only transport: organised voluntary car schemes themselves have been in existence since the Second World War (Sutton, 1988). Indeed, probably one of the first discussions of the problems of transport for people in rural areas (National Consumer Council, 1978) focused on secondary level "unconventional modes", noting that a wide range of different types of services had sprung up.

The phenomenal growth of unconventional modes in rural areas has mirrored that of such secondary modes generally, to the point that it is now impossible to discuss the rural transport scene without addressing the secondary level of transport. However, this said, the conventional public transport modes are still significant. In a survey of Rural Transport Advisers (a post initiated to address rural public transport problems and addressed in Section 2.2.1(c)) it was found that while Advisers were particularly involved with unconventional modes, traditional bus services were still of primary importance (Cassidy and Sutton, 1989). While involvement in such services may be due to a whole host of reasons, the array of services mentioned by Advisers shows the importance of unconventional modes (Figure 2.2).

Looking more specifically at the unconventional modes in rural areas, a particular target of the Advisers, and the focus of this thesis, are **voluntary car schemes**. These are basically organised car sharing or lift giving schemes. Their essential features are that the schemes are demand responsive and not-for-profit. They:

"rely on an unpaid scheme coordinator to recruit volunteer drivers. These drivers, who give lifts in their own vehicle, are matched up by the coordinator with people requiring lifts. Drivers receive a payment, usually

on a mileage basis. This cost is met wholly or partly by the passenger, the balance coming from various public and private sources."

(Abbiss (et al), 1989)

**FIG. 2.2 SERVICE PRIORITIES OF RURAL TRANSPORT ADVISERS**

RANK	SERVICE	PERCENT OF RTAs INDICATING INVOLVEMENT	PERCENT OF THESE INDICATING "MOST TIME"
1.	Bus Services	95	50
2.	Voluntary Car Schemes	95	35
3.	Rural Community Buses	81	35
4.	Other community transport eg Dial-a-Ride/Group Hire	62	31
5.	Taxi/Shared Taxi Services	57	8
6.	Local Authority Transport eg Social Services/Education Depts	48	10
7.5	Health Transport	24	-
7.5	Rail	24	-

\*RTA's were asked to indicate to which service they had devoted most time. Percentage given is the percentage of RTA's indicating involvement with that mode who have also devoted most of their time to it.

A detailed description of this form of 'unconventional' transport is given in Chapter Three.

**Rural community buses** occur in rural areas where public transport is infrequent or non-existent, providing a fixed or variable route service to other settlements, or feeding into current bus services. The vehicle is administered by local volunteers who are also usually the drivers. While the vehicle is usually provided by Local Authorities or local fundraising (or a combination of the two), occasionally a local

bus operator will be contracted to provide a vehicle and driver, or just a vehicle. Evenings and weekends typically see the vehicle being used for private contract-hire purposes.

**Group hire services** are more usually urban schemes which provide vehicles (typically minibuses) to certain groups. A charge is usually made on a not-for-profit basis, ie only to cover petrol and depreciation, and the vehicles are predominantly used on a self-drive basis.

**Dial-a-ride** is again more often seen in urban areas. Here a vehicle (minibus or occasionally an adapted car) is used to provide a transport service to individuals on a 'many to many', or 'many-to-one' basis, referring to number of origins and number of destinations respectively. In principle the passenger rings a coordinator in advance with a request for a trip, the coordinator then scheduling trips to make best use of resources. Sutton (1987) discusses how dial-a-rides' role in the transport market have changed from their initial failure as a conventional bus service on a demand responsive basis in the 1970's, to a service provided for disabled people from the late 1970's to the present day. Two of the three reasons for their failure in the 1970's (Oxley, 1977) are particularly pertinent to their use in rural areas, these being their inability to cope with dispersed journey patterns, and their operating costs. In rural areas the diffused nature of demand only accentuates the problem, and as such dial-a-ride in purely rural areas is often seen as a "non-starter" (Moseley, 1979). However in rural areas on the periphery of conurbations, where the more costly rural trips are shorter and can be effectively covered by the scheme, dial-a-ride can be of some use.

The inclusion of primary and tertiary services in Figure 2.2 shows that the taxonomy in Figure 2.1 is true for rural areas generally. However the high rating of unconventional services in Figure 2.2, especially voluntary car services and rural community buses, shows that in rural areas there are different emphases. The reasons for this will be addressed in the following Section 2.2, under influences on the rural transport market.

## **2.2 INFLUENCES ON THE RURAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT MARKET**

This section addresses three areas. The influence of relevant legislation on transport in rural areas will be discussed in Section 2.2.1, the major focus being on transport policy, especially the impact of the 1985 Transport Act. Legislation covering Social Service Departments and Health Authorities is discussed in Section 2.2.2. As many trips in the transport market are generated by health and welfare need, (a derived demand for transport), legislation in this area is of importance. Finally the changing demands put on transport services due to demographic shifts will be discussed in Section 2.2.3. Of specific interest are the increases in numbers of elderly persons, both now and in the future.

### **2.2.1 Transport Legislation**

#### **a) The Evolution of Transport Policy to 1985**

Button and Gillingwater (1986) see the evolution of transport policy as based on four distinct periods, with three periods of flux in between. From the 1800's to the early 1920's was the "**Railway Age**", when the railway was king with no threat from the widespread use of motorised vehicles. However, with the increased use of motorised vehicles came the decline of the railway (1916-1920) which heralded the "**Age of Protection**", covering the periods 1918 to 1945. This period saw increased demand for transport, with expenditure on personal transport between 1920 and 1938 increasing by over 424%. With fears of overcapacity and instability in public transport due to competition, protection of the public interest, by regulating the quantity of transport, was the order of the day.

With the expansion of state control, and increased regulation and nationalisation of services to ration scarce resources, came the "**Age of Administrative Planning**", which was to last from the mid 1930's to the mid 1970's.

Underpinning this era was the 1930 Road Traffic Act which limited competition in passenger transport, with the aim of encouraging coordination, through a system of regulation. Although this Age of Administrative planning saw general agreement on the need for a formal transport policy, the period was marked by significant changes in the use of various modes of transport. This was

precipitated by the rapid increase in the availability and ownership of the car, especially since the 1950's. The period since the 1950's in this 'Age' was marked by issues surrounding how public transport is seen in an era of increased car use, and decreasing use of public transport. Crucial in this have been how the issues of efficiency and subsidy have been viewed by various governments (Button and Gillingwater, 1986). The rise in car ownership and use in the early 1960s resulted in a decline in both frequency and use of rural bus services. The Conservative Government of the time set up a committee to look at the services available, and to consider methods of securing adequate services in the future. The Jack Committee's Report on Rural Bus Services concluded in 1961, that;

"the present and probable future levels of rural bus services are not adequate to avoid a degree of hardship and inconvenience sufficient to call for special steps"

(Ministry of Transport, 1961, p 2)

The main cause of the rural bus problem was said to be the increase in private transport. The Committee recommended direct financial assistance to unremunerative services, and a rebate on fuel tax for those services operating in rural areas. Further reports in the term of that Government addressed problems associated with the transfer of journeys from public transport to private car. While in 1963 Buchanan recommended a road building programme to meet increased demands on roadspace, Beeching hit rural areas with the closing of 5,000 km of rural railways.

The period of the Conservative Government 1951-1964 could be seen as a move towards the free market in transport provision. However the succeeding period 1964-1979, including the 1970-1974 Conservative Government, saw an increased merging of views with the Labour Party (Farrington, 1985). Two White Papers under a new Labour Government lead to the 1968 Transport Act, which made public transport intervention explicit, with provision for a system of subsidies for "unprofitable" routes. These subsidies, an increase in Fuel Tax Rebates, New Bus Grants, and the introduction of the Public Service Obligation on British Rail, were all designed to be of help to the transport problems of rural areas. The 'merger' of views is witnessed in the Local Government Act, 1972, which, under the subsequent Conservative Government, introduced the requirement for county

councils to prepare an annual Transport Policies and Programme (TPP). These were to contain proposals and policies for transport expenditure on a five year rolling cycle (with detailed bids for the forthcoming year) which were to be submitted to central Government, in order to obtain a percentage reimbursement through the Transport Supplementary Grant (TSG) (White, 1986). These are still required of county councils, though their emphasis has shifted to bids for road or major public transport infrastructure proposals for the coming year only.

The period covering the Labour Government 1974-1979 can be seen as a move towards a requirement for a minimum level of services (Farrington, 1985). The 1978 Transport Act confirmed the role of county councils in transport coordination by requiring each county to publish a Public Transport Plan for five years, outlining the transport needs of the community and how those needs were to be met. (The requirement to produce these plans was dropped in the 1985 Transport Act (see Section 2.2.1 (b)). Also, as part of the Act, relaxations in the bus licensing of community buses were introduced, building on the 1977 Minibus Act which relaxed PSV regulations for certain categories of minibus use. This was aimed at permitting and expanding various forms of 'unconventional' services (White 1986). The Minibus Act 1977 has been seen as a catalyst in the growth of community transport (Sutton 1988). Also in 1977 Rural Transport Experiments (RUTEX) were established in 'deep' rural areas. Within these areas community buses, hired cars, taxi sharing, lift giving and flexible routing of bus services were established (see Section 3.1.2). The impact of these experiments has not however been great (White, 1986), partly because the uniqueness of the areas hinder particular experiments being readily replicated elsewhere.

Unconventional approaches to transport provision that had already begun were legalised and encouraged at this time. The Passenger Vehicles (Experiment Areas) Act 1977 permitted shared taxis and hire cars in certain rural areas, an activity which already took place. However this was designed partly to aid the introduction of "innovative services". Also as part of the 1978 Transport Act, car schemes became legally able to charge for services, provided they were operated on a not-for-profit basis with only the drivers expenses being covered.

Button and Gillingwater (1986) note that the Age of Administrative Planning was under open assault in the 1960's, finally breaking down by the late 1970's

heralding the final "**Age of Contestability**". This, they argue, was due to the re-growth in neo-liberalist political philosophy which saw regulation and planning as a hindrance to progress, and instead saw market led economies as the way forward. In this Age of Contestability the public interest is achieved by creating market conditions suitable for the development of efficient transport services. Farrington (1985) sees the change of government in 1979 as an extreme swing of the political pendulum away from a merger of views. Indeed it is true that the 1979 Conservative Government was elected on radical policies based on cost-cutting supply-side monetarist policies, which would ultimately threaten subsidies to public transport.

#### **b) The 1985 Transport Act**

The 1980 Transport Act introduced some deregulatory measures and laid the seed for the full scale deregulation in the 1985 Transport Act. Express bus services were deregulated by the Act, and no longer required a Road Service Licence. Stage carriage services however still required a Road Service Licence, though in granting the licence, the burden of proof shifted: instead of having to prove to a Traffic Commissioner that the licence would be "in the public interest", it was left to opponents of the service to prove that the licence would actually be against the public interest. The other major change in the 1980 Act concerned the possible future abolition of Road Service Licences for stage carriage services, trial areas being designated where no Road Service Licences were needed. In these Trial Areas prospective operators only needed to inform the local authority concerned of their intention to operate a service, and advertise this service in a local newspaper: one such trial area was designated in Hereford and Worcester and was influential in bringing about wholesale deregulation in the 1985 Transport Act.

The 1985 Transport Act embodied the Age of Contestability in deregulating local bus services, with the aim of providing improved services, at a competitive price, through free market competition. Quantity controls were abolished by dropping the requirement on operators to obtain a Road Service Licence. From now on a PSV operator could establish or withdraw any service, as long as prior notice was given. Quality control was to be enforced by an increase in the numbers of Vehicle Examiners and PSV certifying officers. Of particular importance for rural

areas was the introduction of a system of tendering for services not provided by commercial operators. Direct subsidies to services had previously occurred through the cross subsidising of unprofitable services (eg Sunday morning services) from profitable services (eg peak hour commuter services). However, under the 1985 Act, those services not provided by commercial operators had to be put out to competitive tender, the local authority having to accept the lowest cost or lowest subsidy bid. This in effect halted the practice of cross-subsidy. With the less profitable routes often being in rural areas where demand was lower, the negative impacts of this legislation fell more heavily on rural than urban areas.

The introduction of these new regulations took place in October 1986 outside London, the effects (at the time of writing) have been monitored by various bodies. Balcombe et al (1988) in reviewing the first year of deregulation at an aggregate level, note that bus operators undertook 85% (in vehicle miles) of former services, commercially, and that 1987/88 direct bus subsidy was potentially going to be less than 1985/86 (at the time Balcombe (et al) were writing, the financial year was not complete and comparison with 1986/87 would be misleading as it included periods under both regimes). However passenger journeys had decreased by an average of 6% from 1985/86 to 1986/87. Looking at the 1987/88 patronage figures Turner and White (1989) estimate the decline in patronage since 1985/86 as 9.3%. They estimate that a fall in ridership of 0.3% could have been expected over the same period, due to fare and service level changes and other factors (including demographic change and increasing car ownership). Hence they conclude that the greater loss of ridership must be attributed to the effects of deregulation itself.

Looking at shire counties in particular, Turner and White (1989) observe that a substantial increase in bus-kms covered of over 19% between 1985/6 and 1987/8 (the highest of any area) has had virtually no effect; ridership having fallen by 3.3% compared to an expected increase of use of 4.3%. This "ridership gap" is found in all areas (outside London) and they conclude that this is due to the passenger uncertainty associated with service instability, increased by deregulation. These findings tie in with the views of Buswatch, the passengers' bus monitoring project, which notes that instability and poor reliability of services has led to loss of confidence in many areas. Of particular importance is the lack of information at bus stops (34.3% of bus stops in rural areas not displaying

timetables, compared to 27.7% in suburban and 40.4% in urban areas) and the lack of signs and shelter/seats at bus stops (bus stops in rural areas being more likely to have a seat, but less likely to have signs and shelters) (Cahm (1988)).

It can be seen that the 1985 Transport Act has had specific impacts since its passing. The most up to date summary of the effects of bus deregulation in Britain to date (White, 1991) notes that the trend reported above, of reduced unit costs though decreased ridership has continued. However in London, under the regulated framework, much better results can be seen: a net growth in ridership and much greater reduction in cost per passenger trip than elsewhere. In rural areas specifically, in order to address the expected problems resulting from service changes in rural areas following deregulation, the 1985 Act included two specific policies, one to financially assist traditional stage carriage operators (discussed below), and the other to assist innovatory methods of plugging gaps in rural services (discussed in Section 2.2.1 (c)). The Transitional Rural Bus Grant stood at £20 million in 1986 (decreasing by £5 million per annum), and is given to operators to encourage services in rural areas. 'Rural' is defined as excluding towns of greater than 25,000 population, operators receiving approximately 5p for every mile run in these rural areas. It is paid directly to bus operators through Fuel Tax Rebate, and not via the county council. This grant system could account for the large increase in bus-kms run in the shires and Scotland identified by Turner and White (1989).

### **c) Transport Innovation and a Changing Transport Paradigm**

The growing Governmental interest in innovatory methods of transport provision in rural areas, often based on 'unconventional' modes, has been discussed previously. Various acts of policy have been targeted at unconventional/innovatory transport modes, some specifically in rural areas. These include the relaxation of regulations to encourage such services, eg Passenger Vehicle (Experimental Areas) Act 1977 (RUTEX), Transport Act 1978 legislation on car sharing and minibus licensing, and the Transport Act 1980 minibus legislation. In reviewing recent transport policy objectives for disabled persons, Gant (1992) notes that in rural areas where conventional public transport services are not available, policy actively aims to stimulate innovation in specialised transport services. He confirms that the 1985 Transport Act may have included

the most specific recognition of the current and potential role of innovatory services in the rural transport market, in the establishment of the Rural Transport Development Fund.

The Rural Transport Development Fund was established by the Government to promote "innovative services" to meet rural transport needs. The fund, standing at £1m per annum in England, is used on a grant basis to establish and aid transport services in smaller communities (less than 10,000 population). Projects supported include minibus purchase for community buses, shared taxi schemes, and commercial operators in joint projects who intend serving remote communities (eg using school buses). The aim is not just to 'patch up' existing gaps in services but to promote innovative services which can meet needs, some of which were unmet in pre-deregulation days. The fund itself is administered by the Rural Development Commission, England's rural development agency. One quarter of the fund in England is being used to employ Rural Transport Advisers to assist in the innovatory process. These posts are based on the concept of the transport broker which is American in origin. The post aims to provide a more effective management of transport resources, and the development of new services. Two similar posts existed in England prior to the 1985 Transport Act, based in East Sussex (from 1982) and Hampshire (from 1983). These have been discussed in Cassidy and Sutton (1989). The aims of these earlier posts has again been a more effective and efficient use of transport vehicles and staff: the East Sussex ESCORT project matching individual transport needs to available services using computer facilities, the Hampshire post being more a development post than administrative.

The posts funded through the Rural Transport Development Fund have been studied by Cassidy and Sutton (1989) to investigate the aims given to Advisers, and how they approach these aims. This work, based on a survey of Advisers in post in 1988 is of particular interest as it places this new approach in its transport planning context. The results of the survey are included in Appendix 1, and are summarised below.

The survey showed that the aims and objectives given to Advisers were quite variable. The Rural Transport Development Fund usually covers half of the cost of an Adviser, the balance coming from the County Council. Despite this funding

commitment from the councils, the Advisers are often based outside their offices in Community Councils and Councils for Voluntary Service, and therefore wield their influence through a wide variety of committees. Their aims are also variable and broadly defined, being low key and supportive, the main emphasis being on information and advice giving. This, together with the variable levels of support and supervision given to postholders, means that it is difficult to determine where the post fits into the transport planning arena.

In looking at the role in practice it was found that there was conformity in service orientation, and roles and methods adopted. These roles are generally informal and unstructured, such as 'information/advice giver', 'developer of initiatives' and publicity, marketing, promotion and advertising roles. Methods are reactive such as 'responding to requests from the public 'consultation exercises', though those Advisers based within county councils approach their work with more proactive methods, such as 'development of new services'. The service orientation of Advisers has been discussed above: community transport and traditional bus services being the focus of their work (see Figure 2.2).

It is concluded that although the content of their work is broadly similar, the impact of their work has not been great due to the institutional context of their position. These findings are similar to a Transport and Road Research Laboratory report published later that year (TRRL, 1989) evaluating the activities of six Advisers who had been in post for at least eighteen months. Again considerable variation was found in tasks performed and the Adviser's jobs in practice, and similar conclusions were drawn regarding service orientation. This report however is purely descriptive and does not discuss in any detail the variable institutional context in which Advisers operate, which is thought by Cassidy and Sutton to qualify their impact. The attention to this transport planning context is of particular relevance to this thesis. Earlier work by Sutton (1986) discusses the evolution of transport planning in three countries; USA, Sweden and UK, where the work of Healey (1977) on the evolution of the urban transport planning system is important. Healey notes that since World War II there have been four phases of development; descriptive, prescriptive, rejection, and restudy. In descriptive and prescriptive phases there was little challenge to the technical planning based on the free market. However in the UK by the mid 1960's socio-political conflicts over the ideology of this approach led to the rejection phase. This replaced the

consensus paradigm of transport planning, with a paradigm based on conflict, and is in line with Button and Gillingwater's (1986) advent of the Age of Contestability. These conflicts lead to transport planning based on value judgements rather technical rational models. Following this, a phase of restudy could establish new comprehensive planning institutions for the effective allocation of limited resources.

According to Sutton (1986) these phases determine the dominant transport paradigm, which then has an important bearing on the relationship between conventional and unconventional, largely secondary level transport services. The current period of rejection and restudy has led to a dominant paradigm shift. The shift away from "regulation" to a "laissez faire free market approach", as witnessed in the 1985 Transport Act has led to a new paradigm which brings coordination to the fore, as witnessed by the development of the Adviser posts. Sutton quotes Bautz (1980);

"Brokerage is a true marketing approach to transportation because it involves research, product design and response to the needs of the market place"

(in Sutton, 1986, p 18)

In the old regulation paradigm the institutional barriers to coordination made this approach inappropriate to transport planning. Now however, Sutton argues that many operators look towards co-ordination as a means of salvation from the harsh realities of competition. What is of particular importance however is that it is the voluntary sector community transport schemes, that have not been protected by regulation that have taken the lead in coordination. They have in fact grown in an era of decline because;

"unlike others, (they) have been willing to provide new patterns of services in response to community needs and in doing so they have created new markets within which to operate"

(Sutton, 1986 p 20)

This he argues has placed community transport at the forefront of a new transport paradigm "based on the principle of equal access for equal need".

Sutton concludes his work with a prediction of two possible outcomes for the solution of the crisis in transport supply brought about by competition for diminishing resources:

"The first ... is a possible market led solution involving the privatisation and deregulation of public and special transport services, which will have detrimental effects on public and private agencies but which ironically could well encourage community transport, and indeed encourage support for a new paradigm of transport supply. The second alternative, is the possibility of a reaction against the inadequate planning of services which will encourage the development of interventionist strategies like those practised in Sweden."

(Sutton, 1986, p 26-27)

As he notes, political considerations will ultimately decide the outcome, however since he wrote, it is reasonable to say that, in the UK at least the first scenario is more relevant. Two points are of particular relevance for this work. First, while deregulation, and a move to the laissez faire paradigm has brought about an interest in coordination and brokerage, the work on Rural Transport Advisers shows that the traditional institutional transport planning system itself is defining the success or otherwise of such brokerage by constraining the role of Advisers. Hence the institutional context in which transport planning takes place may need its own revolution if Sutton's new paradigm is to be nurtured to full maturity.

Secondly, while deregulation may "encourage community transport", putting it at the forefront of the new paradigm, the potential of community transport organisations in meeting this challenge is not known. Sutton and others argue that the voluntary community transport sector has developed new markets by innovatory growth. Here Sutton notes that operationally community transport has generated new patterns of transport supply, and that organisationally it is;

"experimenting with new structures which identify more closely with consumer needs and are incorporating such considerations into their planning procedures"

(Sutton, 1986, p 26)

It is implied that these voluntary transport organisations are in tune with the current free market approach to transport provision. However in actuality are these schemes innovative transport operators in meeting the needs of the community? Does the context of their service provision hinder their approach just as it does the "innovative" Rural Transport Advisers? Their operation and management needs to be better understood before their trailblazing role in an emergent transport planning paradigm can be confirmed.

### **2.2.2 Other Legislation**

Having discussed transport legislation and its effects on the rural transport market, attention now turns to other relevant legislation and issues of importance. As noted at the beginning of Section 2.2, much demand for transport is derived from the demand for health and personal social services. As such, the factors influencing provision of special transport provided by statutory authorities, a National Health Service, influence the transport market as a whole. Indeed, a recurring theme in the following section is the interrelation and interdependence of all passenger transport services. While much of the discussion will cover the transport market generally, and hence include the rural market, specific reference to the rural situation, and issues in it, will be made where appropriate.

Sutton (1988) sees the period following the Local Government Act 1972, (which split the National Health Service, Social Services, and Education Departments), and the National Health Service Reorganisation Act 1973 (advocating a new separate health structure), as the period of greatest increase in special transport services. The reorganisation of these departments and their policies had large transport implications. These changes themselves were based on an increased recognition of the needs of disadvantaged groups, not least triggered by the increased lobbying of elderly and handicapped groups to press home their needs (Sutton, 1986).

The areas of special transport provision can be divided into those provided by local authority Education Departments, Social Services Departments and the Ambulance Service. These will be discussed below under separate headings. However it should be noted here that as the welfare state has developed the

resulting implications for transport have always been seen at the periphery of the department, be it Social Services, Education, or even the Ambulance Service. The transport implications of specific policies have never been explicitly addressed in those policies, from the move to community care (recommended in the Seebohm Report, 1968) to the Griffiths Report and resulting White Paper 1989 (advocating a contracting out of care services). As such the backcloth of this discussion is that;

"... many departments regard transport as a drain on their resources rather than a supportive tool in welfare provision"

(Sutton, 1986, p 4)

#### **a) Education Transport**

Under the 1944 Education Act the local authority Education Department must provide home to school transport for children who are over 8 years old and living more than three miles from school, and those under 8 years living more than two miles from school. How this is done has changed since the 1944 Act. While school transport used to be provided as part of the local stage carriage network, since 1960 various relaxations in transport legislation concerning PSV's (1960 Traffic Act, 1977 Minibus Act, 1978 Transport Act) have led to the use of 'school contracts'. Education Authorities must now put these contracts out to tender in order to obtain transport on a lowest cost basis.

The obligation and cost of this transport service however has still proved to be very high, and the Department of Education and Science attempted to remove the statutory obligation to provide services in 1980 (a new Act of Parliament was however defeated in the House of Lords). Ennor (1977) notes that the school contract cost in Oxfordshire is not only high but that school transport carries more passengers than conventional bus services. This is particularly true in rural counties. Sutton (1988) proposes that, this being the case, the planning of rural bus services should be based around the more extensive school service. However while they are obviously related services, institutional problems of Departmental funding are barriers to such a coordinated approach.

## **b) Social Services' Transport**

Various items of legislation came together by 1971 to establish the principle of personal social service provision by local authority Social Services Departments. These include the 1940 National Assistance Act (establishing a duty to provide accommodation for care and welfare of infirm and elderly persons), the Children Act 1948, and the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 (establishing powers to waive expenses of parents/guardians with children in care, and provision of guidance/welfare, in order to reduce the need for institutional care). The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970 established a duty on local authorities to provide transport for clients to day centres and activities. This transport however is only provided if the client has a place at a Social Services' institution.

The Social Services Departments (SSD's) in local authorities go about providing this transport in various ways, using their own fleet of buses, perhaps in conjunction with hired transport or voluntary transport. Sutton (1988) argues that there is a blurring of responsibilities for transport in their use of voluntary organisations. These organisations can receive payments for trips made to centres and schemes organised under the SSD's main care programme, but are not funded when transport is to care facilities that are organised by voluntary groups/community groups. As the voluntary sector is looked to in the future to fulfil an increased role in social welfare (especially post Griffiths Report and the competitive tendering arrangements of the Local Government Act 1989, see Section 2.2.2(d)) this blurring of responsibility will become more critical.

## **c) Ambulance Service**

As well as Accident and Emergency (A+E) transport, the Ambulance Service provides transport to outpatient facilities in ambulances and Hospital Cars. Sutton (1990) notes that over 20 million passengers are carried each year, covering 140 million miles (only 10% of which are A+E) making the Ambulance Service the largest special transport service operator in England and Wales. In 1973, under the National Health Service Re-Organisation Act, the provision of ambulance services was taken out of local authority control and put under the power of new Health Authorities. The 1974 reorganisation of the Health Authorities, and 1984

dismantling of the Area Health Authorities, has led to the responsibilities for services being passed to the Regional, or District Health Authority. Seven Regional Health Authorities and 38 District Health Authorities provide ambulance services in England. Sutton (1990) outlining the responsibilities of the ambulance service, details the National Health Service Act 1977, interpreted in Circular HC (78) 45, as to;

"provide or arrange the provision of suitable transport free of charge ... for any patient (emergency or non-emergency) who is considered by a doctor, dentist or midwife to be medically unfit to travel by other means"

The Ambulance Service provides this transport in ambulances, or through the Hospital Car Service. In the Hospital Car Service, volunteers take patients to hospital in their own cars, being reimbursed at a mileage rate by the Ambulance Service. In 1978 the service accounted for 15.4% of all outpatients carried in England (Sutton, 1988), though this varies a great deal from Service to Service. Often this Car Service is organised by the Womens' Royal Voluntary Service under direct control by the Ambulance Service, as in Nottinghamshire. Based on the need for specialist assistance in transit, and the computer scheduling of trips, the Hospital Car Service is allocated by the Ambulance Service a number of trips to do each day.

The provision of ambulance transport has been under review since the 1981 Naylor Report which was set up to look at how efficiently patients' needs could be met. The organisational structure and management of the service were particular areas of concern. In looking at the organisational structure, tiering was put forward in evidence as a way forward. This involves the separation of the A+E and outpatient functions of the service, further subdividing outpatient functions between the Ambulance Service, the hospital car service and other providers. Naylor was cautious about the separation of functions, and quotes equally cautious research by the NHS Operational Research Group (NHSORG) (1980), which concludes that the more rural the area, and diffused the population, the greater the case against tiering. However, moves towards tiering are inevitable. Indeed the protracted Ambulance Service strike of 1989 was over the issue of differential pay to paramedic and non-paramedic ambulance persons, which was seen as the first step towards a breaking up of the service.

The cost of the provision of the Ambulance Service was also another focus of the Naylor Report and indeed current discussion, with current budgets being under pressure. Part of this debate has centred on the abuse of the service by those referring patients as being "medically unfit to travel". The Naylor report recommended more restrictive criteria, however this merely moves the demand for transport elsewhere. Indeed many of those carried by voluntary car schemes are not termed 'medically unfit' in the strictest sense, and the growth of the Hospital Car Service indicates a prioritising of ambulance services to those with a greater degree of medical need. As Sutton (1990) states;

"The real question is: what type of ambulance service is needed? Is it preferable to have a medical transport service for the NHS or a more widely defined health and welfare transport system? The problem at present is that the latter is often expected but it is organised and funded as the former"

It is here that the interdependence of all transport services is again an issue. It has been said that in rural areas the Ambulance Service has become a "supplementary bus service". If this is so, it shows that savings in one area (transportation subsidy) have imposed costs elsewhere, in this case the Ambulance Service. However, with stricter criteria in effect from Ambulance Services at the user interface, it is doubtful that this supplementary use of the Ambulance Service takes place (see Chapter Six). Rather the gap in transport either remains unfilled or voluntary sector transport, if available, picks up the tab.

#### **d) Recent Changes**

Some recent pieces of legislation affecting statutory transport service providers have brought into focus the interdependence of public transport services and the future in store for the voluntary transport sector in particular.

The 1989 Government White Paper, "Working for Patients" aims to bring internal competition to the National Health Service. Amongst other recommendations, patients and doctors are to be given choice in treatment centres, generally guided by waiting list size, and hospitals will be allowed to specialise in certain treatment areas. The implication of this is that transport costs will rise as trips to specialist

centres, which will be increasingly outside the Health Authority, will generally be longer. Also, due to internal competition, monies may be available to reduce waiting list sizes at a hospital which cannot be spent inside that Health Authority. Instead operations are "bought" from other hospitals. When a Health Authority is both purchaser and provider of these services, a situation can arise whereby patients are shipped out to reduce waiting lists, and shipped in to raise extra cash. Thus, as outlined in "The Independent" (28 December 1989) Shropshire orthopaedic hospital send their patients on round trips of up to 200 miles for treatment in the West Midlands, while they take in patients from Pembrokeshire, 150 miles away. Hence, while internal competition should reduce the costs of care, the Ambulance service or community transport scheme may take the transport burden of the changes.

Recent recommendations for the provision of patient transport by the Ambulance service point specifically to an increased role for voluntary transport services. The National Audit Office report (1990) "National Health Service: Patient Transport Services" points to the fact that patient journeys cost approximately half as much as those provided by ambulance, and thus great savings can be achieved by utilizing these services. It suggests that these savings could be realised by the contracting out of non-emergency transport. This points to an increased role for voluntary transport providers in this large NHS market. Likewise, the Local Government Act 1989 is set to change local government practice a great deal. The act requires local authorities to put services out to competitive tender, in line with the government's deregulatory policies. As such authorities become arrangers and purchasers of care, not providers. Thus SSD departments are reorganising their transport departments to be able to compete for their previously held (monopoly) services. This lays open the special transport market to any public transport operator, and shows this market to be increasingly contestable as discussed previously.

The 1989 Local Government Act in particular confirms the future potentially expanded role for non-statutory providers of services (including transport) and begs consultation and interaction between statutory, private and voluntary agencies. In Nottinghamshire, the SSD has set up a Working Party to meet with voluntary groups in various areas. One gap in which the Working Party has focused effort is future rural service provision, and aims to meet groups involved

in the rural community services. Nottinghamshire Rural Community Council, in a discussion paper (NRCC, 1990), sees the act as providing real opportunities for rural care, though sees little in the way of "money-making care opportunities for the private sector in rural areas". Hence it sees the statutory sector as continuing to be of importance, together with the voluntary sector. However the new 'contract culture' heralded by the Act, with local authorities being purchasers rather than providers of care, begs the question, which was actually asked at a recent meeting of rural voluntary car schemes;

"should they (the voluntary car schemes) go into the contract culture or remain as they are and risk losing financial support?"

(NRCC, 1990 (b))

Many voluntary service organisations must be asking themselves the same question.

The present government obviously sees the non-statutory (including voluntary) providers of services as being able to take over and/or complement the work of statutory providers. In a speech by Rt Hon John Patten, MP, the then Secretary at the Home Office, concerning the future role of the voluntary sector in government policy, he stated;

"The government has emphasised the need for a strong partnership between the statutory and voluntary sectors. The statutory services cannot provide for all society's needs. Were they to try to do so, resources would be far too thinly spread and the state would find itself involved in many areas where the voluntary sector is better qualified.

I see government's role with the voluntary sector as providing an enabling framework and setting an example."

(Volunteer Centre, 1989)

He sees the government as being able to "strengthen" the voluntary sector for the future, and points to the private sector as potential funders of their work. He goes on:

"During the next decade, voluntary organisations themselves must play a part in advertising their work and showing business how best to channel support. This will be easier for some organisations than others and I hope that ways can be found of helping these which are smaller and less well known to market themselves more effectively."

(Volunteer Centre 1989)

So the future of statutory service provision, including special transport services, is uncertain. As in the transport sector deregulation and competition is the order of the day. This "opening-up" of the market begs the question what role can the voluntary transport sector play? Mr Patten hopes that even the smaller voluntary organisations will "market themselves more effectively" in the hope of obtaining finance to operate their services. The potential of the voluntary organisation operating (in transport terms) as a transport providing firm in the transport market is the subject matter of this research.

### **2.2.3 Changing Demands**

The changes in transport and related legislation are important in themselves in influencing transport supply. However, the demand for such services per se is changing, and one particular aspect warrants individual attention, that being the projected increase in elderly persons.

Abbiss et al (1989) note that since the beginning of the century the numbers of elderly persons (65 and over) have increased from 2.4 million in 1901 to 8.8 million in 1987, with the total expected to be 11.3 million in 2025 due to the post World War II baby boom. The largest increases are to be in the age group classed as 'frail elderly' (75 - 84 years). Indeed those aged 85 and over are expected to make up 12.4% of the elderly population in 2025, compared to 9.1% in 1987. This rapid expansion in elderly persons, together with the increasing numbers of AIDS sufferers, will be the major factors affecting the patterns of disability in the coming years. At present the elderly make up the majority of disabled persons, with 75% of the disabled persons in Britain being over pensionable age (Nicholson, 1991). The elderly also make up the majority of mobility handicapped users of transport (GLAD, 1986), and authorities concerned

with planning transport services are paying attention to their growing numbers. For example, Nottinghamshire County Structure Plan Review has estimated a 17% increase in the number of people aged 75 and over, and a 50% increase in those aged 85 and over by the end of the century, which in part is responsible for its current review of transport for the mobility handicapped.

The rapid growth in the elderly population since 1950 has been important in the development of special transport through vociferous political lobbying (Sutton 1986), and continues to be so, for example the "Can you get on yer' bus?" 1990 campaign for accessible public transport, by London Dial-A-Ride Users' Association. The future elderly population however will have even higher mobility expectations, having being a generation with mobility built around the car. As a recent Department of Transport Disability Unit report states:

"There will be a large increase in the number of people giving up driving licences ... This means there will be an increase in the population of people used to a mobile lifestyle and living in suburban or remote areas who will experience transport problems, if only because they can no longer drive"

(Disability Unit, 1988, p 5)

The cross sector benefits of transport services for the elderly can be seen to be potentially very high. Gillingwater (1988) quotes estimates of institutional residential care varying from £500 to £2,000 per week and thus arguments concerning the ultimate net savings to public expenditure by providing accessible transport appear persuasive. Unfortunately little research evidence exists to confirm this argument.

Of particular interest here is the situation in rural areas. While car ownership is generally very high in rural areas, those left without access to cars are particularly isolated. American research (Rosenbloom, 1991) shows that those over 65 years are today half as likely to move house as those that were 65 thirty years ago. With two-thirds of the US elderly living in the suburbs, or rural areas where alternatives to the car are rare, the future levels of isolation in rural areas could be very high. Indeed the same research highlights the fact that amongst US elderly (who in terms of car ownership are a generation ahead of UK residents) there is a

significant reduction in driving due to difficulties in driving, or not being able to afford to fully maintain a car. Thus even those elderly who hold a driving license still need other transport options from time to time.

The reduction in reliability of rural bus services and lack of information about them has been mentioned above. Importantly these problems affect the elderly disproportionately more due to their easily lost confidence. A study by Oxley (1982) monitored the effects of withdrawal of rural bus services on passengers. Interviews and travel diaries were used to monitor the use of bus services by passengers before and after a service was withdrawn or greatly reduced. In all three study areas less than 10% of passengers aged 65 or over came from car owning households, and it was found that in one study area, the elderly suffered a disproportionately high reduction in their trip making in the period after a service was withdrawn. This reduced mobility was found to increase over time. It can be seen that the confidence of elderly users can be easily lost, and for good.

This potential loss of mobility to the rural elderly could be disastrous both for those people themselves, and indeed public expenditure. Mobility is perhaps of more importance to the elderly than other sections of the population in maintaining their health and spirit. Once mobility is lost, horizons close in and confidence falls. The financial cost of this loss of mobility could also be high. Those without mobility often make greater demands on both social and medical services, which then have to be brought to their homes. Obviously,

"the cost of a home visit from a doctor or chiropodist can be very much greater than the cost of providing an accessible means of transport. The cost of domiciliary care can be much greater than the cost of enabling someone to go out and do their own shopping."

(Frye, 1991)

### **2.3 SUMMARY**

It has been shown that in rural areas there has been a great emphasis on voluntary transport. With the shift to a free-market approach to passenger transport planning, culminating in the 1985 Transport Act, policy has aimed to aid

what is perceived as the innovatory sector of transport provision. Currently the provision of funds through the Rural Transport Development Fund, and the establishment of Rural Transport Adviser posts, epitomise this approach. Much demand for voluntary transport is derived from the demand for health and care services. This market is increasingly looking towards voluntary transport providers generally, and with recent legislative changes, to undertake these journeys on a contractual basis to local authorities and Health Authorities. As a backcloth to this scenario lies increases in demand for such transport services from a more mobility conscious population.

Two questions were posed at the ends of Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 respectively. With regard to the shift towards free market transport planning, are these voluntary transport schemes, in actuality, innovatory operators meeting the need of the community? With regard to the opening up of the health and care transport market, what role can the voluntary transport sector play? Of crucial importance in addressing these questions is an in depth understanding of how such organisations are currently operated and managed. Chapter 3 goes on to analyse one such type of organisation which is an important part of the rural transport scene: the voluntary car scheme. This is the kind of voluntary transport organisation which is expected to play a full innovatory part in the rural transport market, a part which is potentially a star role in the establishment of a new transport paradigm.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**

The previous chapter looked at the services acting in the rural public transport marketplace and the influences on this market, in terms of the legislative changes in transport, health and personal social services sectors, and the changing demands for transport. The aims of policy have often been to stimulate service provision within the voluntary and private sectors: the oft cited innovatory powers of the voluntary sector are being encouraged to enable voluntary organisations to step into a new or expanded role. This chapter describes an example of a rural voluntary transport organisation, the voluntary car scheme, the likes of which are the target of such policy.

It does this by tracking the growth of the car scheme concept, followed by a discussion of current shire county approaches to the planning and support of such schemes (Section 3.1). This is followed by a detailed description of the operation of, and issues surrounding, contemporary voluntary car schemes (Section 3.2).

#### **3.1 THE CAR SCHEME CONCEPT**

While there is a history of organised lift giving going back a long way (Sutton 1988), it was noted earlier (Chapter 2) that formal lift giving, and various aspects of it, were in fact illegal before the late 1970's. Regular car sharing was banned by the 1960 Road Traffic Act if payment was made for the trip. However much small scale, (probably) unremunerated, lift giving did nonetheless take place. Indeed in a study of South Exmoor (TRRL, 1980a) it was found that the most common form of transport previous to the RUTEX experiment held there (see Section 3.1.2) was informal lift giving. The amount and nature of this informal, and therefore undetectable activity, is difficult to estimate. More formally organised lift giving did however take place before the late 1970's, the WRVS and other organisations such as the Red Cross and Womens' Institute having provided such services (Moseley, 1979).

### 3.1.1 Car Sharing

Making greater use of the privately owned car has been discussed for some time. Writing in late 1977 and early 1978 concerning rural accessibility, Moseley (1979, p 131) stated:

"Certainly the car is an extremely attractive resource: in rural areas it is both extremely plentiful and uniquely flexible in terms of both route and timing."

He dismissed the idea, suggested at the time, that car ownership levels should be raised to even higher levels in rural areas through subsidies, as it would do nothing for the "hard core" disadvantaged whose age and income would negate the system. Instead he felt that a preferred option was car sharing that would "extend the advantages" of the car in rural areas.

It is interesting that Moseley was pessimistic however about the possibility of extending the use of the car, not because of the legal problems at the time (which he felt could be overcome), but because of problems of a "sociological nature". These problems were firstly obtaining someone to act as the "clearing house" of information, ie a co-ordinator, and secondly attitudes of users and potential drivers. He felt motorists would be prepared to help a friend occasionally with transport, but would not like to feel obliged to give lifts on a regular basis. Users, he thought, would be too proud to accept what is perceived as charity, even if payment was made. However while Moseley was pessimistic about the future of organised car schemes, the general feeling in the mid to late 1970's was positive towards their potential role.

One stream of research was addressing car sharing as a concept. The roots of this work were in the United States, planted in the 1973 oil price crisis, when car sharing was encouraged and monitored because of its potential in increasing fuel efficiency. By 1978 the Department of Transport was also looking at car sharing and how the benefits of it may be realised in Britain (Green, 1978). By 1978 there was practically no British (or European) literature on car sharing, Green's work only summarising the US literature. Green provided definitions of the relevant terms as follows:

- (i) 'Lift-giving' is a self-explanatory term for any form of trip offered to a passenger in a private vehicle. It may or may not elicit a monetary contribution from the passenger.
- (ii) 'Car-sharing' is a regularised form of lift-giving which, because of its regularity, usually involves a contribution by the passenger towards the running expenses of the vehicle.
- (iii) 'Car-pooling' is where a number of car owners agree to run each of their cars in turn, from adjacent origins to adjacent destinations, with the other owners as passengers. No money changes hands, any imbalance arising from disturbance of the routine being corrected in the rota.

(Green, 1978, p 2)

The conclusions reached from his review of literature were that car sharing (and car pooling) was worth pursuing in Britain, particularly for journeys to work in urban and industrial areas, and if the schemes were organised at the workplace. This would maximise the benefits of saving fuel (at an individual and national level), decreasing the numbers of cars bought, and reducing traffic congestion. However, in rural areas, while Green concluded that schemes would be useful for people without cars with difficult journeys to make, he felt that there was little potential for any further expansion of the informal lift giving that already took place. This view he based on the 1971 studies of rural transport in Devon and West Suffolk (Department of the Environment, 1971) which saw limited scope for increased lift giving in rural areas because of high car ownership and the large amount of informal lift giving that already existed. However their Steering Group noted that lift giving should be encouraged as a way of satisfying "residual transport needs".

Thus while a potential role for car sharing was seen to exist, their potential performance in rural areas was seen to be less than convincing. Further research in Britain in the late 1970's looked at car sharing: the potential market for car sharing (eg Vincent and Wood, 1979); attitudes to sharing (eg Tomlinson and Kellett, 1978); the expected performance of such sharing (Bonsall, 1980). This work focused on journeys to work from urban and suburban sites, as only in this

"market" was demand for similar trips sufficient to lead to any significant increases in people per car.

Even in the urban 'journey to work' market though, the performance of car sharing was not seen to be significant. Bonsall (1980), in estimating the likely performance of organised car sharing, concluded that the schemes were likely to have only marginal effects on congestion, energy use, or pooling requirements. He estimated their impact using a model to simulate the establishment and running of a scheme based on the individuals decisions to join the scheme, the mechanics of matching trips, and the reactions of participants to their partners. His major findings with implications to rural communities were that for small communities, with populations less than 500 the matching rate of like trips would fall to very low levels, making small schemes extremely ineffective. However benefits to users of the schemes could be a lot higher than the costs of providing the schemes.

Despite this interest in organised car sharing in the late 1970's, experience showed that the resulting constraints on personal travel, and more importantly their lack of impact on congestion and energy use, hindered their widespread use. Thus as a public transport mode in its own right, with the aim of increasing personal car loadings and reducing congestion and energy use, the concept has not fared well. However the rural voluntary car schemes have wider aims, and therefore criteria of assessment. While a trip can be made by taking someone else on a trip which one would already be making (car sharing), it is more usually done in rural voluntary car schemes by making a trip for the sole purpose of the other person. Thus an extra dimension could be added to Green's definition, covering whether the journey would have been made otherwise, and whether the passenger was requesting the trip themselves (stressing the service element).

### **3.1.2 Rural Transport Experiments**

Perhaps of more relevance than the car sharing research in the development of rural voluntary car schemes were the Rural Transport Experiments (RUTEX) of the late 1970's. Approved by Parliament in 1976, the experiments were aimed at studying transport in rural areas, specifically the operational, economic, legal and

social advantages and problems associated with less conventional alternatives to the rural bus. Fifteen experimental services were established in four "deeply rural" areas (Devon, North Yorkshire, Dyfed and Strathclyde) in order to examine their unconventional approaches. Of the fifteen experimental services established, four were **social car schemes** (organised lift giving by volunteer drivers), one was a **lift giving scheme** without any organisation, and four were commercially operated **shared hire cars**. The interest in car sharing mentioned earlier was therefore reflected in the experiments. The other experiments included community buses, demand responsive minibuses and conventional buses, and dual purpose transport (school buses and post buses).

In an overview of RUTEX (TRRL, 1980b) it is noted that in 1975/76 one quarter as many people in Great Britain received lifts in cars belonging to other households than they took in their own household car, and in areas with a population less than 3000, taking a lift was almost as common as travelling by any form of public transport. It was against this background that the car sharing experiments were established, utilizing relaxations in licensing laws which prohibited passenger payments for trips, and the sharing of vehicles for separate fares and trips. This was enabled through the Passenger Vehicle (Experimental Areas) Act 1977.

The four **shared hire-cars** established were found to be reliable providers of transport, though their financial performance was poor and the relaxation in legislation had little influence on the number of shared journeys. (This final point is in line with the findings of the car sharing research cited earlier.) Although the schemes were not commercially viable, the experiments concluded that no other transport modes would have fared better financially, only the social car schemes which utilized voluntary labour.

The conclusions from the Mid Devon **Lift Giving Scheme** are interesting in that they are in line with the failure of car sharing and car pooling (discussed earlier) and the shared hire-car RUTEX experiments. In Mid Devon the change in legislation allowed a financial contribution from passengers for a lift, but provided no organisational mechanism for the matching of demands to a willing driver. The experiment only consisted of leafleting in the area to inform residents that payment for trips was now allowed. Only one person out of 1600 asked for lifts more frequently, with a few more noting that they now felt better about asking.

The informality of this segment of the transport sector is shown by the fact that a minority said they paid drivers previous to the legislative changes. The conclusion from this experiment was that a more positive mechanism enabling passengers and drivers to be matched was needed, and that;

"... simply allowing payment for lifts contributes little to personal mobility in rural areas, although it may salve a few consciences".  
(TRRL, 1980b, p62)

This positive mechanism was provided by the four social car schemes.

The four **social car schemes** established in RUTEX are listed in Figure 3.1 which shows their various operational characteristics, and performance indicators used by TRRL (1980b). The aim of the four car schemes was to complement local bus services by allowing journeys not possible by bus for everyone, or any journey for a disabled passenger. The VETS (Voluntary Essential Transport Service) made no charge for the trip, the other three asking for preset charges based on local bus services. Parallels occurred between the schemes in that an organiser became responsible for the day-to-day running of the scheme, and drivers were all local (generally housewives and retired males). However performance varied as measured by passenger journeys per head of population, from one per thousand to 28 per thousand, as shown in Figure 3.1. This was put down to two reasons. First those schemes more restrictive in defining the purposes for which they could be used (VETS and South Ayrshire) attracted less users. This was because (it was revealed by survey) potential passengers were deterred in using the schemes due to worries about not meeting the schemes "essential" criteria. Second it was found that free trips deterred use due to negative feelings of charity as discussed under car-sharing. Thus it was concluded that;

"a car service which is open to anybody, on the payment of a fare, can make a greater contribution to personal mobility in rural areas"  
(TRRL, 1980b, p 66)

FIG. 3.1 RUTEX SOCIAL CAR SCHEMES

	SERVICE AREA DETAILS					CAR SERVICE PERFORMANCE					
	Area	Population	No-car households	Lifts/week (before RUTEX)	Cars <sup>3</sup>	Passenger journeys/week (one-way)	Passenger journeys/head of population	Average distance driven per week	Weekly revenue (£)	Weekly subsidy (£)	
South Exmoor Car Service	25 km <sup>2</sup>	390	15%	160	12	11	0.028	180 km	£3.00	£2.50	
Hackforth Car Service	15 km <sup>2</sup>	260	13%	340	10	3	0.012	30 km	£2.00	£0.50	
VETS <sup>1</sup>	605 km <sup>2</sup>	5500	19%	3400	50	40	0.007	600 km	0	£30.00	
Hospital Transport Service <sup>2</sup>	90 km <sup>2</sup>	1600	NA	NA	10	2	0.001	35 km	£0.60	£1.40	

<sup>1</sup> Voluntary Essential Car Service (Dyfed)

<sup>2</sup> Serving Crosshill, Kirkmichael and Straiton (Strathclyde)

<sup>3</sup> These figures are approximate as actual numbers varied during the experiments

It was realised that less rigid restrictions could lay the scheme open to abuse, but the report felt that there were 'few frivolous requests', and those that did occur the organisations could deal with effectively. Financially it was recognised that subsidies to such schemes would be necessary, though these would be quite small in absolute terms and less than for any other form of transport.

The final conclusions of these RUTEX experiments were that voluntary car schemes were effective at the lowest levels of demand, as they would need less subsidy than other transport modes. It was noted that there was scope for such schemes "on a modest scale" in a large number of places. However the establishment of the schemes was dependent on the availability of suitable volunteers. The qualities cited in these volunteers were;

"an appreciation of the need for the proposed service, belief in its worthwhileness and willingness to commit themselves to a sustained effort"

For the co-ordinator in particular someone was needed with the ability to persuade others to help and then to organise them. This organisation would need;

"an ability which combines infectious enthusiasm, tact, patience and firmness"

(TRRL, 1980b, p 75)

The importance of such volunteers could not, the report noted, be over emphasised.

Published as a direct result of RUTEX was the Guide to Community Transport (Department of Transport, 1978) which was intended to demonstrate that voluntary transport schemes were a feasible transport option, and encourage their growth. The 1978 Transport Act, introduced while the RUTEX experiments were still being monitored, allowed fares to be charged in lift giving as long as the driver/organisation did not make a profit, and there was no element in the charge to cover wages. The 1980 Transport Act also removed any restrictions on the advertising of voluntary car schemes, the current regulations covering such schemes being contained in a consolidation Act, the 1981 Public Passenger

Vehicles Act (Lightfoot, 1982). Since these changes in legislation voluntary car schemes have indeed grown in number throughout the country.

### 3.1.3 Recent Car Scheme Literature

While in recent years there has been much research into community transport, together with an expansion of the community transport sector generally, there is no analytical research work on voluntary car schemes. Most work which exists is either descriptive work on specific car schemes (Gant and Smith, 1991), or cover car schemes only as part of the descriptive community transport reviews of areas usually undertaken by local authorities.

Probably the most rigorous approach to voluntary car scheme description comes in "Social Car Schemes: A comprehensive guide to organised car-sharing" (Bain and Pettit, 1989). The aim of this work is to take stock of the "wealth of experience that has been built up across the country" since 1978 with the aim of helping newcomers in establishing such schemes. The title is ambitious in using the term "comprehensive" to such a variable concept, and the use of "car-sharing" as discussed above is perhaps misleading. The Guide does however recognise that there are great differences in schemes in aims set, organisation, numbers carried, and emphasis, however it feels that the principles of operation are standard across all schemes. The Guide goes on to describe how to set up a scheme, including market research, financial considerations and management structures, the administration of the schemes, and their development.

In trying to cover all possible questions which may arise the guide puts forward a very complex model of a car scheme, which is perhaps best illustrated by a "Forms Checklist" which covers a very in depth administrative structure, including detailed passenger information, passenger invoicing and very detailed driver journey records. It was found in the current research that many schemes are not operated at this level of organisation, rather they are organised as lift giving in its purest sense. RUTEX showed that the recruitment of people is particularly important, behavioural factors accounting for the success of such schemes. While the Guide is therefore a useful checklist of possible methods of operation of car

schemes, perhaps only a behavioural approach can provide a real appreciation of their functioning.

Perhaps the most celebrated 'car scheme' or rather 'network' is the "Dyfed County Cars" project set up originally within RUTEX as VETS. The funding for this scheme was taken over by the County Council in 1978 when the experiment finished. The scheme was co-ordinated by WRVS who were responsible for recruiting volunteer drivers and local organisers. By 1982, 19 out of the proposed total of 28 schemes countywide had been established (Lightfoot, 1982). By its tenth anniversary the scheme consisted of 30 schemes using 800 drivers on call to 240 local organisers, and had increased the total trips per month from 150 throughout 1977, to approximately 1700 per month in 1987 (Pettit, 1987). It is interesting that Pettit emphasises the importance of volunteer commitment in the success of the scheme, just as the conclusions of RUTEX. The "energy" and "resourcefulness" of the first organiser, and the "commitment" and "enthusiasm" of the then present County organiser are seen to be the key factors in the success of the scheme. Again behavioural factors are an inescapable facet of such schemes.

As mentioned most literature on voluntary car schemes is contained in local authority public transport reviews/community transport reviews, and local authority guides to community transport. These reviews are usually attempted in order to revise local authority policies, the guides, listing all community transport services in the county, being a useful by-product of this process. Such a review was undertaken by the researcher for Nottinghamshire County Council, in order to provide relevant information about voluntary car schemes on which to base a formal Community Transport Policy. This included a review of other counties' involvement with, and policies towards, voluntary car schemes, and a survey of the operation of, and issues affecting, car schemes in Nottinghamshire. The review of other counties will be discussed below (in Section 3.1.4) as it provides a summary of any relevant reviews of car schemes in English shire counties. The survey of the operation of car schemes will be discussed in Section 3.2, as it provides an in-depth description of how contemporary voluntary car schemes operate.

### **3.1.4 Shire County Approaches to Voluntary Car Schemes**

The survey of county council approaches to voluntary car scheme support was undertaken in February 1990. The Shire counties employing a Rural Transport Adviser were contacted, as those counties may be more forward looking in their approach to car schemes, have reviewed schemes in their area, and thus may have a coherent approach to their support. The Rural Transport Advisers were the subject of a telephone interview using an interview schedule, the aim being to illicit the counties' support to community transport generally, and voluntary car schemes specifically. However, even if counties did not support voluntary car schemes, the Rural Transport Adviser was an informed contact with whom any car schemes in the county could be discussed.

Appendix B lists the counties included in the analysis, and their individual approaches to the support of voluntary car schemes. This support covers three areas: Financial Support; Technical Support; Non-Financial Resource Support. These are summarised below.

#### **a) Financial Support**

The financial support of voluntary car schemes varies a great deal, with three categories emerging:

- (i) Minimum/Zero support.**
- (ii) Financial support - Hands off.**
- (iii) Financial Support - Hands on.**

(A fourth group of 'Total Control' could be posited for one county, Lancashire; however the uniqueness of their approach perhaps separates it from the others to such an extent that comparison is superfluous).

#### **(i) Minimum/zero support:**

Derbyshire, Durham, Hertfordshire, Isle of Wight and Somerset could be included in this category. However Durham, Hertfordshire and the Isle of

Wight note that the issue of car scheme funding is "on the agenda" as part of community transport reviews. Derbyshire's lack of financial commitment could be seen to be due to their focus on a countywide Dial-a-Ride service. Zero support can thus be qualified in that (a) some counties are merely behind others in their approaches, and (b) some counties have another emphasis to community transport.

**(ii) Financial support - hands off:**

Four counties (Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Hereford and Worcester, and Devon) will guarantee to meet operating deficits, which in the case of Gloucestershire is based on estimated mileage. Apart from meeting the general criteria of non-competition with established public transport, no restrictions are placed on the operation of schemes. Nottinghamshire also falls into this group.

**(iii) Financial support - hands on:**

This grouping can be defined as those counties who support schemes financially and regulate their operation. This group can be further subdivided into counties who regulate passenger charges, relating them to local bus fares (Cheshire, Dorset, Shropshire, and Suffolk) and those who regulate payments to drivers by relating them to Essential Car User and WRVS rates (Cambridgeshire and Staffordshire respectively).

Small variations in the administration of financial support, and definition of their use, can be a real assistance to the schemes. Three positive factors identified were:

- Guarantee: A guarantee of financial support if criteria are met enables voluntary organisations to have an element of certainty in their often uncertain world. This enables the organisations to think strategically, and not merely only on a day to day basis.
- One-off small Grants: In Hampshire small grants of under £50 are available to schemes as long as they provide a letter of support noting they have

incurred expenditure. This has been particularly useful for small schemes whose total expenditure is small, and who may be intimidated by bureaucratic application systems.

- Rolling Payments: Gloucestershire's system of 'rolling payment' recognises one of the unique dimensions of voluntary organisations, ie voluntary labour. The rolling payment guarantees that resources will be available to schemes to pay drivers on demand. Often volunteer motivation wanes if petrol costs are borne for too long by the driver. This mechanism greatly assists schemes in sustaining volunteer motivation.

#### **b) Technical Support**

Technical advice on operation is important throughout the whole life of voluntary car schemes, from conception to full maturity. This is provided to varying degrees by counties. Of particular note is the single point of contact with councils for car schemes. Suffolk and Cheshire state the name and number of persons to contact on all literature. Both counties utilize the services of their Rural Transport Advisers as this contact. Developing a relationship with one person is especially important to the smaller schemes. Allied to this is the flexible approach of council officers in Staffordshire. Here officers visit schemes at set intervals, thus developing a relationship with, and greater awareness of their situation. The commitment of councils at elected official level in addressing funding problems/responsibilities, as in Cheshire, is obviously an ideal situation.

#### **c) Non-financial Resources**

A unique facet of voluntary car schemes in their use of voluntary labour. Schemes, especially those smaller schemes located outside volunteer bureaux, often suffer shortages of volunteer drivers. Cheshire provides specifically targeted leaflets to assist schemes in obtaining more drivers, and Hampshire organises publicity weeks for volunteer driving. The latter co-ordinated initiative can help reach wider audiences than individual schemes can ever hope to reach.

For schemes located in volunteer bureaux, shortage of drivers is often not as great a problem as the pressures of increased administration. Larger schemes usually have a part-time Organiser whose hours must be divided between car scheme and Bureau business. As demand for the car scheme increases, and with it administration times, more hours are needed to be devoted to car scheme work. In Cheshire, the council funds part-time clerks at their schemes to help alleviate this very real problem. It is often accepted practice for councils to fund staff at Dial-a-Rides and Community Buses, though car schemes are usually approached differently.

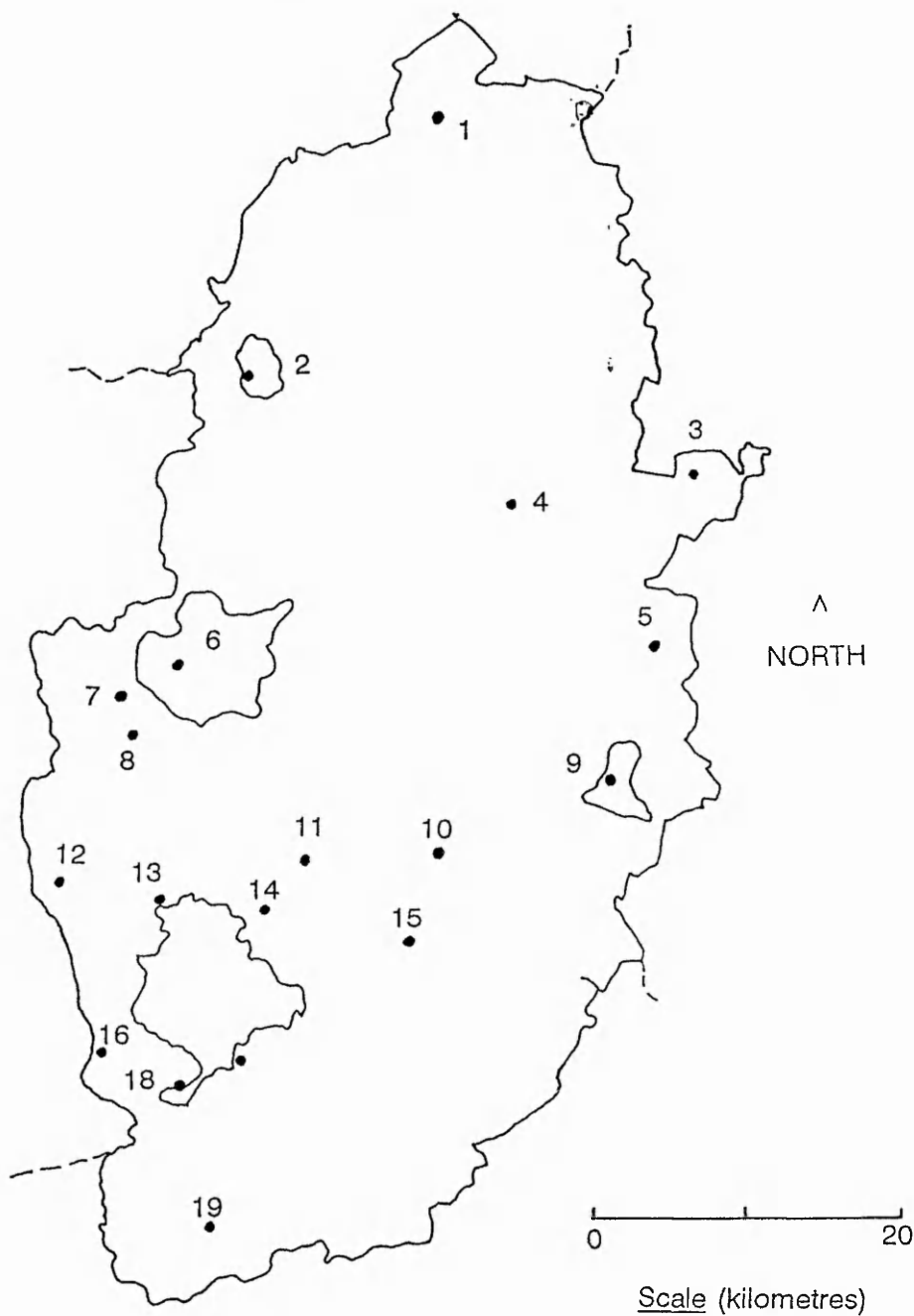
It can be seen that the approaches of county councils to voluntary car schemes vary a great deal. Some see such schemes as playing an important part in services to mobility handicapped people and thus support the schemes wholeheartedly. Others prefer to support other specialised transport services, leaving car schemes to look after themselves.

### **3.2 CONTEMPORARY VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**

While Section 3.1.4 has shown the variability of approaches between counties, this section will illustrate how contemporary car schemes operate, and the variation in provision of transport by these schemes. It is based upon a survey which aimed to provide a factual description/appraisal of schemes in the County of Nottinghamshire, and highlight any pressures/issues which surround the provision of this form of transport.

The questionnaire used (Appendix B) was posted to all schemes which the County Council had/does support financially. A 100% reply was received which covered all known car schemes in the county (19). A map of the location of these schemes is shown in Figure 3.2. Due to the problems associated with being able to identify when informal lift giving becomes an organised car scheme, and the resulting problems of identification of such schemes, question 44 gave respondents the opportunity to identify other schemes unknown to the County Council. Only one such scheme was found however, which was not yet operating fully, and as such was excluded from the analysis.

FIG. 3.2 VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES IN  
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE



KEY

- |                                  |                 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Misson                        | 11. Calverton   |
| 2. Bassetlaw*                    | 12. Eastwood*   |
| 3. Thorney, Broadholme and Harby | 13. Hucknall*   |
| 4. Tuxford                       | 14. Gedling*    |
| 5. Collingham and District       | 15. Gunthorpe   |
| 6. Mansfield*                    | 16. Stapleford* |
| 7. Sutton in Ashfield*           | 17. Rushcliffe* |
| 8. Kirkby and Selston*           | 18. Beeston*    |
| 9. Newark and Sherwood*          | 19. East Leake  |
| 10. Thurgarton                   |                 |
- \* denotes Council for Voluntary Service/Volunteer Bureau based schemes.

The important points that describe the voluntary car schemes in the county are discussed below, focusing on

- 3.2.1 the organisation of the schemes;
- 3.2.2 the transport service provided by them;
- 3.2.3 the non-financial resources used; and
- 3.2.4 the financial resources used.

In contrast to other discussions of car schemes, the variability of methods of service provision, and indeed the service provided, are emphasised below. Throughout the survey the Schemes were assured of confidentiality, and thus no proper names are included in the following discussion.

### **3.2.1 The Organisation of the Schemes**

With regard to the organisational base of the schemes, their operating areas and their initial purpose upon establishment, the schemes are quite different despite being within the same county. Organisational base does seem to be important in determining the other variables.

The nineteen schemes surveyed fall into two groups regarding base and organisation. Eleven schemes are operated from Council for Voluntary Service/Volunteer Bureaux, seven from private homes, and one from a "Village Resource Centre". The base itself is of importance as it is a function of, and therefore reflects the organisation of the schemes. The car schemes based in Councils for Voluntary Service (CVS) or Volunteer Bureau (VBX) are part of a wider organisation with wider aims than just transport. Volunteer Bureaux, and the Councils for Voluntary Services of which they are part, aim to engender voluntary action in the community at large. This they do by recruiting volunteers and helping them to establish and contribute to voluntary action.

The 'home-based' schemes fall into two groups with differing organisation. 2 of the 7 schemes are part of a "care group", and as such are again only one part of an organisation (with a constitution and a Management Committee) with wider aims than just transport. "Care groups" vary widely, but aim to provide general

care services in the community: members of the community will help with shopping, visit other members of the community on an organised basis, transport being just another service which is provided as a need arises for it. The other five schemes are purely home-based, without a formal Management Committee or Constitution. Any loose 'Steering Group' which does exist, generally meets only for administrative purposes or to address any specific problems occurring.

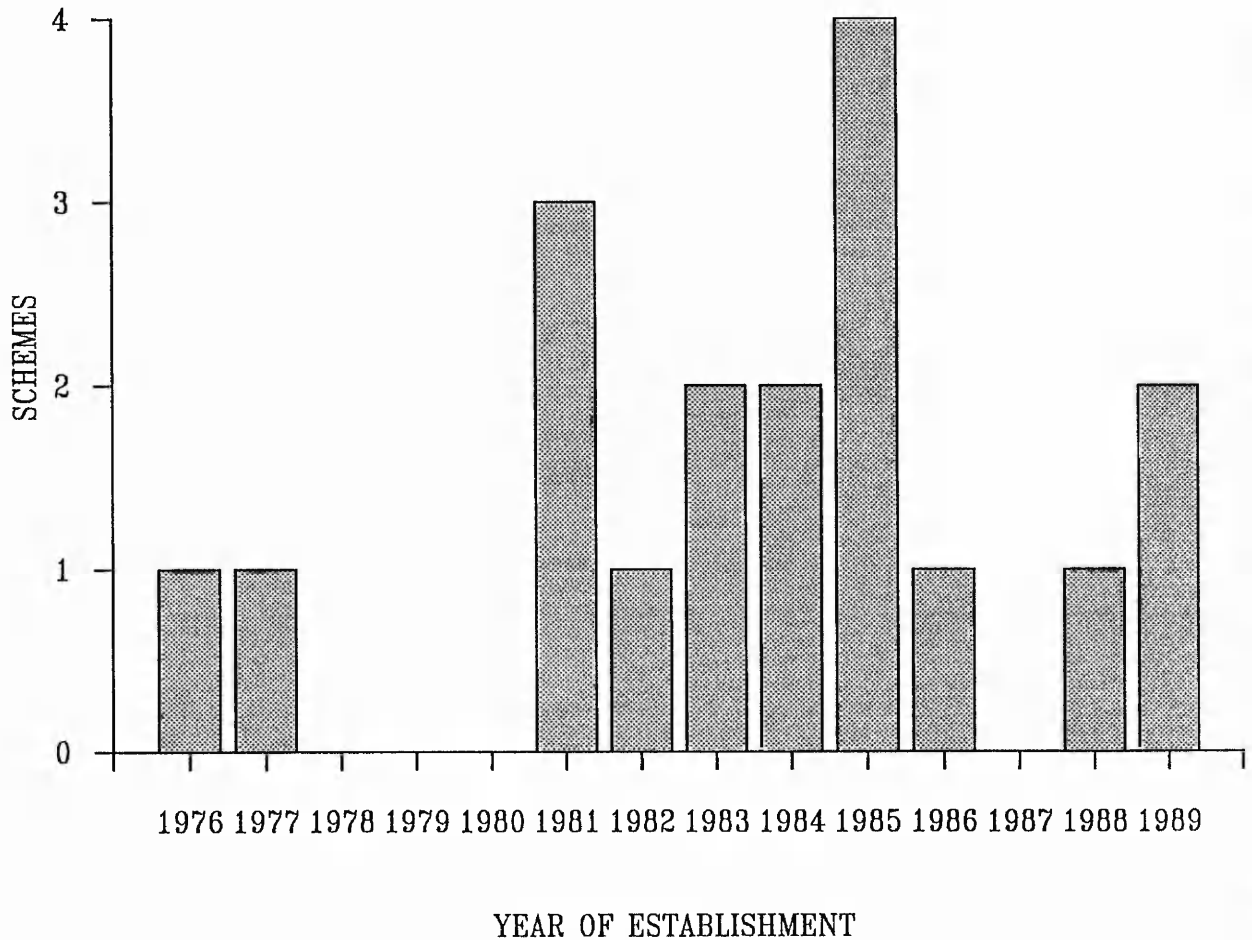
With regard to the operating areas of the schemes, most areas in the County are served by a car scheme. Most schemes serve purely a village or its environs (to an approximate radius of five miles). However five schemes match or part match Local Authority boundaries. All of these schemes are the CVS/VBX based schemes, who organise their voluntary work on a District Council area basis.

The enabling 1980 Transport Act legislation was important with establishment of the Schemes, as can be seen from Figure 3.3, which does not include one care association scheme which was established in 1972. The schemes themselves were set up for a variety of reasons. Some state that no transport was available in the area (9) others that transport was available but not accessible/convenient (10), this latter group also noting that transport to health appointments was particularly inconvenient. Of the nine who note that "no transport was available", it is interesting that only three are based in CVS/VBX (the rest being home-based schemes) while eight of the ten schemes who state that "transport was inconvenient" are based in CVS/VBX. The home-based schemes could therefore be seen to be 'self help' solutions to a lack of transport generally in a particular village (the home run schemes being village based), the CVS/VBX schemes aiming to serve a specific transport market (health appointments) which is not serviced over a wider area.

### **3.2.2 The Service Provided**

In discussing the service provided by the schemes one can address the purposes for which the schemes can be used, how people who are thus eligible obtain a trip (the referral mechanism), and, the resulting market served (the passengers).

**FIG. 3.3 GROWTH OF SCHEMES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE**



**a) Purpose of Use**

In order to define who can use the service and which trips the scheme can be used for, criteria of use are specified by schemes. Most schemes define the criteria vis-a-vis public transport/ambulance/taxi. For example:

- 'If you cannot use Public Transport'
- 'If no transport is available'
- 'If you cannot use ambulance'
- 'If you cannot afford taxi'

Others are less strict, ie;

'Do best to meet all'

'Medical Priority'

'Any, if a driver is available'

However these general criteria, strict or otherwise are not effective in themselves, rather they can be seen as a base level from which it is decided to take a trip. Also of importance is the purpose for which the scheme can be used, and the referral mechanism, which together qualify the demand for a trip.

Many journey purposes are served by voluntary car schemes, from hospital emergency trips to routine admissions, elderly luncheon clubs to shopping trips, and social visiting to visits to the vet. The major point to be made is that every trip is important to and needed by the passenger. Figure 3.4 shows the journey purposes provided for by the Nottinghamshire schemes.

**FIG. 3.4 PURPOSE OF USE IN SCHEMES**

JOURNEY	NUMBER OF SCHEMES SERVING	SCHEMES WHO DEVOTE OVER 30% OF TOTAL TRIPS	OTHER INFORMATION
Medical treatment	19	10	5 > 80% of total trips
Social	12	4	1 - 50% of total trips
Social Services Day Centre	9	1	
Shopping	7	1	
Business	-	-	

Medical trips are by far the most important purpose served by schemes, all schemes allowing medical use. Seven schemes specify restrictions on use. All seven state that the scheme can only be used if the passenger is not entitled to

an ambulance, three of these that the trip can also only be used for outpatient purposes.

Social trips are also important with twelve schemes allowing social use. The percentage of total trips devoted to social use is not great. Only four schemes devote over 30% of their total trips to social purposes, the most extreme example of 50% being a new scheme with a low total number of trips.

Social Services Day Centres are served by nine schemes, and shopping purposes by seven, both with only one scheme devoting over 30% of total trips to these purposes.

Restrictions exist on social use, Social Services Day Centre and shopping trips as well as medical trips. For social and shopping trips the major restrictions imposed are on frequency of trips (eg maximum two trips per week) or are based on the availability of a driver to undertake the trip. The restrictions on Social Service Day Centre trips (three schemes) mirrors that for medical trips in that they are defined against the relevant statutory services. However restrictions are not based on entitlement to statutory services as with medical trips, rather on availability of social services transport and/or funding from the Social Services Department. This implies that for medical purposes some schemes are specifically serving a market not touched by the ambulance service (ie people not entitled to an ambulance trip and with no other suitable transport), while for Social Services Day Centre trips some schemes are specifically serving the same market as Social Services Transport (ie no statutory transport available or Social Services will fund the car scheme trip).

With all the trips mentioned above it was found that schemes do not serve different trip purposes due to base/organisation. The only variation due to base/organisation is that, as a general rule, the smaller village/home run schemes serve medical purposes but not social/Social Services trips.

## **b) Referral Mechanism**

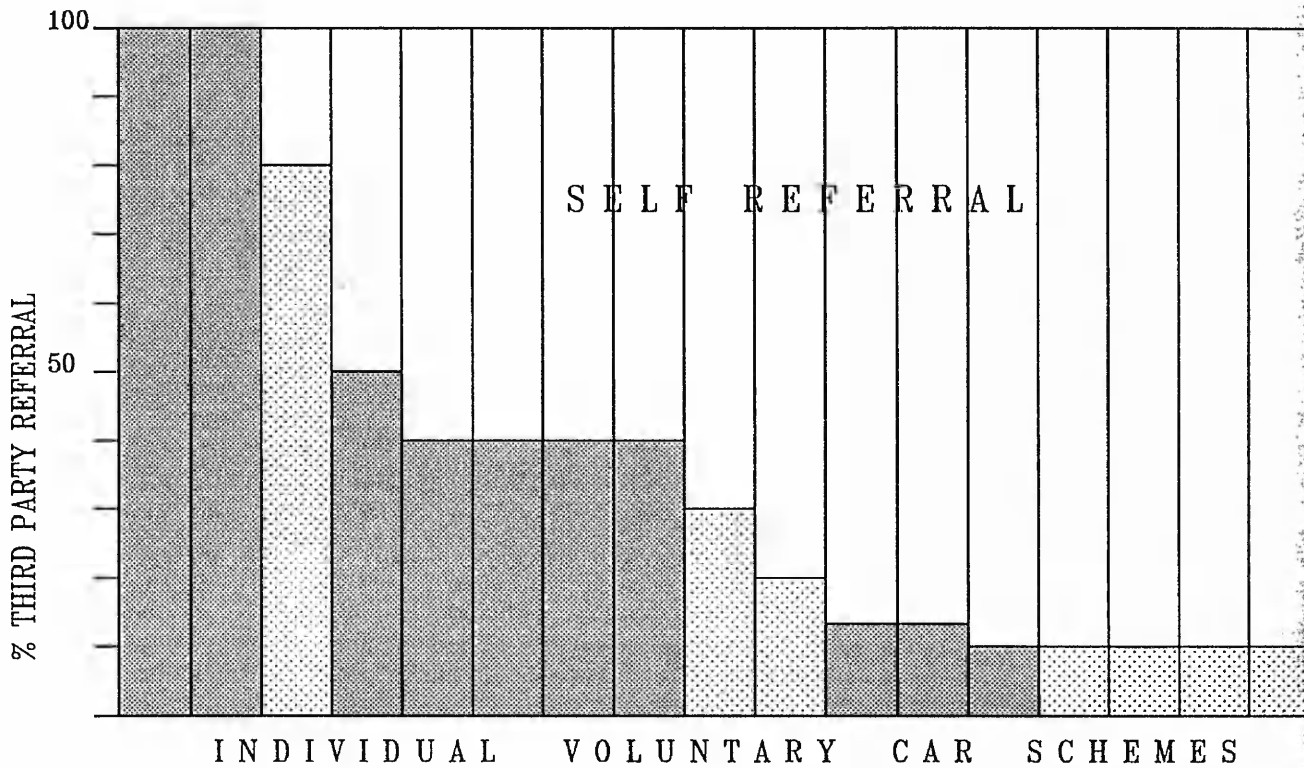
The referral mechanism used by schemes varies a great deal as Figure 3.4 shows. Third party referral means that a recognised body (Doctors' surgery, Social Worker) books a trip for a passenger, while in self referral the passengers themselves book a trip. It is often cited that third party referral is used to stop abuse of schemes, as it shifts the vetting responsibility to the recognised referral body. However a self referral mechanism does not mean the scheme is necessarily being abused: the schemes who operate on a predominantly self referral basis are the schemes which transport smaller numbers, and thus passengers are usually known to the co-ordinator. All that can be said with certainty is that with third party referral, the potential source of abuse is shifted from the individual to the recognised body/referrer.

From Figure 3.5 it can be seen that third party referral is preferred by the CVS/VBX schemes (this figure does not include the two schemes founded just previous to the service - one home run scheme and one CVS/VBX based). Indeed, using a Mann Whitney U-Test it can be proved (at a 95% confidence limit) that there is a statistically significant difference between the base of the Scheme and the referral mechanism used. Indeed the two CVS/VBX based schemes with the highest percentage of self referrals operate client registration schemes which does involve initial third party referral before this self referral can take place. In the smaller home run schemes, self referral is preferred, perhaps because this is more realistic due to the smaller numbers of clients carried.


## **c) Passengers**


While it is very difficult to categorise groups of passengers taken, two general groups can be identified from the survey. All schemes state that they transport a large number of "mobility handicapped" people generally, and all schemes transport a large number of elderly persons specifically. Indeed seven schemes note that over 70% of their total trips are devoted to transporting elderly persons. This is of particular importance considering the future growth of elderly persons highlighted in Chapter Two. Obviously the schemes are serving a growing market.

**FIG. 3.5 PERCENTAGE TRIPS BY REFERRAL MECHANISM AT SCHEMES**



**KEY**

 CVS/Vbx Based Schemes

 Home Based Schemes

Specific information on clients is difficult to give as most schemes do not hold client information. Only three of the nineteen schemes register clients (unlike the scheme model put forward in Bain and Pettit, 1989), and thus (apart from these three mentioned) schemes find it difficult to estimate the numbers of clients transported. Typically a percentage of regular users can be estimated, with a very rough approximation of 'one-off' trips. However even estimation of the number of regular users is fraught with danger, as users are typically 'regular' only for set

periods of time, depending on the types of treatment they are undergoing and their individual circumstances.

### **3.2.3 Non-Financial Resources**

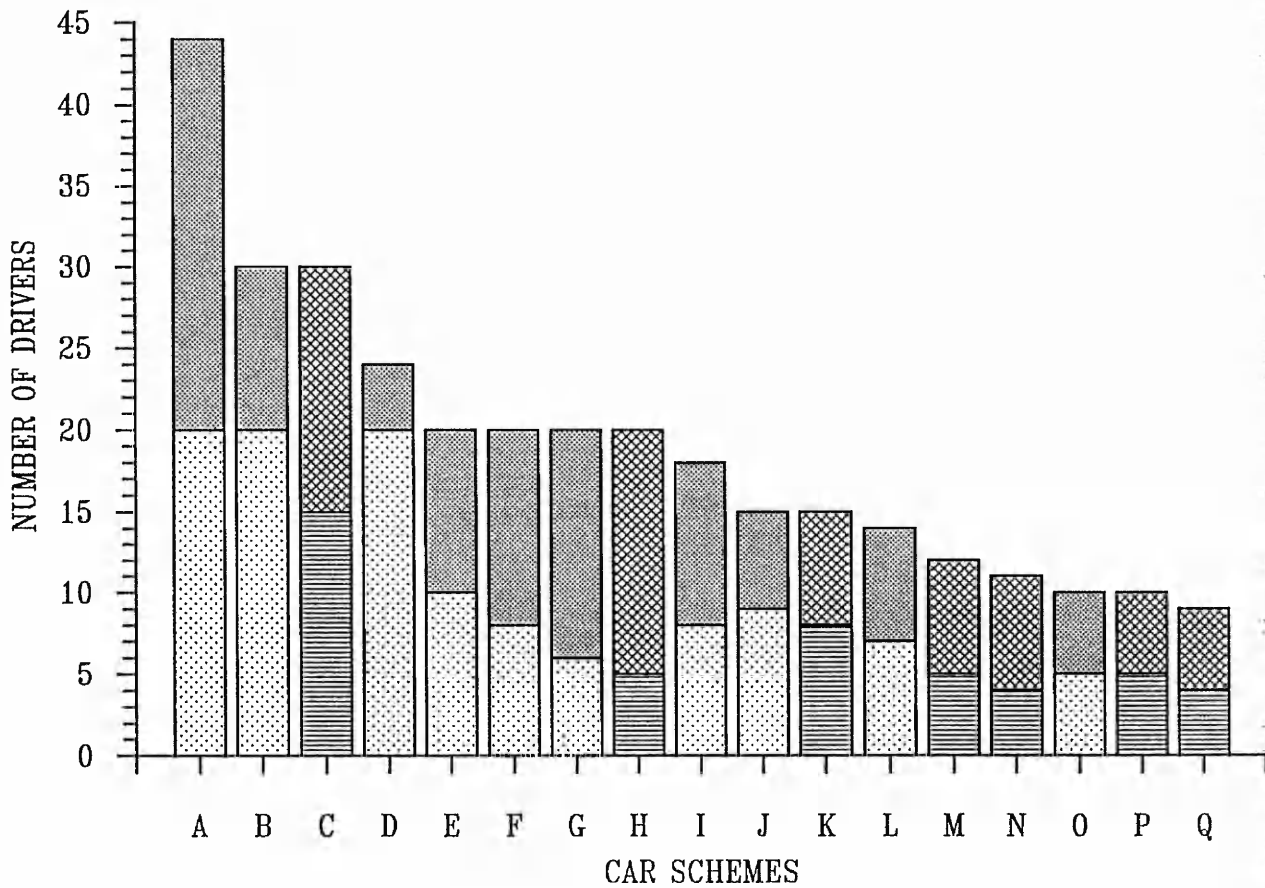
The non financial resources needed to run a voluntary car scheme are drivers and administrators. There is a clear difference in resources available to car schemes in Nottinghamshire between CVS/VBX and home-based schemes. The greatest contrast can be seen when aspects of administration are considered. A salaried staff with administrative support manage the CVS/VBX schemes for certain hours of the week. Home-based schemes are run solely by volunteers from their own homes, and bookings can be made anytime, not only in office hours. Administrative support is very limited in these schemes.

Volunteer drivers are not evenly spread amongst car schemes in the County. Perhaps because volunteer recruitment is the prime function of CVS/VBX, they have the lions share of drivers available. Yet all schemes have a maximum of 60% of their registered drivers available at any one time, so for schemes with large or small numbers of drivers, obtaining drivers for some trips can always be a problem.

#### **a) Drivers**

Obviously the car schemes could not operate without the services of drivers who give their time to the schemes free of charge. The schemes usually have a pool of drivers who are registered to drive for the scheme. When a trip is requested, the co-ordinator contacts those who could be available at the time, and who are close to the trip origin in order to reduce the mileage involved. It was found from the survey that a core of between 40 - 60% of registered drivers are usually available at any one time. Figure 3.6 shows the total and core drivers for the Nottinghamshire schemes by the organisation/base, (again not including the recently established schemes).

**FIG. 3.6 DRIVER AVAILABILITY IN  
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE SCHEMES**



**KEY**

CVS/Vbx Based Scheme Other Drivers

Home Based Scheme Other Drivers

CVS/Vbx Based Scheme "Core" Drivers

Home Based Scheme "Core Drivers"

It can be seen that generally the CVS/VBX schemes have higher numbers of registered drivers, and a slightly higher number of core drivers available at one time (CVS/VBX = 51%, Home Run = 46%). The major groups from which drivers are taken are housewives and retired people. Housewives with children at school tend to have some time available throughout the day. Retired people often make up the core of drivers who can be relied upon to drive regularly and even at very short notice.

The procedure for recruiting and vetting potential drivers again varies with base/organisation. An interview, two references, and viewing of driving documents (including insurance) is the procedure in twelve schemes. Eleven of these are CVS/VBX schemes. Indeed the procedure for recruiting any volunteer through a CVS/VBX is usually an interview and two references. The other home-based schemes note that the prospective drivers are known to the co-ordinator, and "only responsible people are allowed to drive". This is perhaps a more viable procedure in the small village home run schemes.

#### **b) Administration**

The amount of administration involved in running a voluntary car scheme is high and can include taking bookings, arranging drivers, invoice preparation, payments to drivers and many other administrative duties. In meeting this level of administration ten schemes employ salaried co-ordinators, all these schemes being CVS/VBX based. The co-ordinators however are not all purely designated transport co-ordinators, rather CVS/VBX organisers. Thus car scheme co-ordination is only part of their work. Indeed some of the schemes note that the growth of the car scheme work (with increased demand) is overtaking all other functions of the CVS/VBX. The hours that employed co-ordinators work (designated or otherwise) varies from 11.5 hours to 25 hours per week. These hours are of critical importance in determining not only the time available for car scheme administration, but also the time that bookings can be made.

The eight home-based schemes do not employ co-ordinators; the work being wholly voluntary. Also booking times are any time the co-ordinator is at home,

apart from in the more formal East Leake Community Care Voluntary Car Scheme, in which booking times are limited to certain hours of the week.

The availability of computers to assist administration is high, ten schemes (CVS and home run alike) owning PC's of various makes and models. However, apart from word processing facilities only three schemes make specific use of them for the car scheme. Two schemes use computers to call and print invoices and work on accounts, and one scheme (Newark and Sherwood) to execute the whole administrative process. Newark's software has aroused considerable interest from other schemes in Nottinghamshire.

#### **3.2.4 Financial Resources**

The financial resources needed to run a voluntary car scheme consist of one-off grants, and revenue generated by the scheme itself. One-off grants comprise of a few large, and many small providers. The county council is the largest grant provider in terms of total cash, and coverage of schemes. Again in revenue support the council is a large ultimate provider, the schemes themselves varying a great deal in charges made to clients, and indeed payments to drivers.

##### **a) Grants**

Figure 3.7 shows the funding sources for voluntary car schemes, and the number of schemes who benefit. As can be seen, many funding bodies are involved in funding the schemes in Nottinghamshire.

Nottinghamshire County Council's Planning and Transportation Department funds schemes through a system of general grants up to a maximum of £800 pa (1989/90) for expenses associated with the scheme, with an extra co-ordination grant of £1,600 pa (1989/90) for larger schemes. This latter grant is "in recognition of the increased administration and commitment in operating these schemes". The County has also given one off grants to cover telephone expenses/installation of telephones. It can be seen that the County only supported fifteen of the nineteen schemes in Nottinghamshire in 1989/90. Of the

four unsupported schemes, two have received small grants in the past though have not claimed since (though both are in fact claiming for 1990/91). The other two schemes do not claim any funding and are run on a purely voluntary basis.

**FIG. 3.7 FUNDING SOURCES AND RECIPIENTS\* 1989/90**

SOURCE	SUPPORT (£)	NUMBER OF SCHEMES RECEIVING
Notts County Council	24,175	15
Opportunities for Volunteering	18,700	1
Joint Funding	14,521	6
Borough Council	800	1
Telethon	500	1
Children in Need	500	1
IBM Community Fund	420	1
B.P.	270	2
Nottingham Health Authority	250	1
Parish Council	200	1
Borough Council Lotteries	150	1
	60,486	N/A

- \* These figures do not include NCC Concessionary Payments or Local Fundraising for trips completed

The next largest source of funding, though confined to only one scheme at present, is from the Opportunities for Volunteering Fund. This again is three year funding, running out in 1992, for the employment of coordinators at the scheme. The other major source of funding for schemes is Nottingham Health Authority Joint Funding. A joint application for funding towards part time coordinators and driver expenses was made by five schemes. This was secured for a period of three years, running out in April 1992.

All other sources are one-off payments to schemes. It is interesting to note the involvement of charities, private companies and other authorities. Local fund-raising does occur, including Bingo Evenings, Whist Drives and Car Boot Sales. This is mentioned by two schemes, both home run. However the only secure source of funding for the schemes comes from the County Council, all other sources carrying the uncertainty that comes with a continued quest for funds.

## **b) Revenue**

Payments from funders on a trip basis, and payments from users, are the two sources of revenue for voluntary car schemes. The major funder on a trip basis is again the County Council. Schemes in Nottinghamshire can transport people holding a valid Concessionary Travel Permit for half fare, claiming back the other half from the County on a quarterly basis. All schemes, bar two, take part in this system, those two being very small home run schemes. In the financial year 1988/89 the total amount paid to schemes to cover these fares was £11,800. The other direct revenue payments come from Social Services Departments and Health Authorities, and are only received by four (CVS/VBX) schemes.

The other source of income, coming from passenger payments, varies a great deal, as do payments to drivers. Figure 3.8 sets out the situation in Nottinghamshire. Various charges are made for trips to passenger from a maximum of 26 pence per mile to 10 p pm. Fifteen schemes have fixed mileage charges while the other four produce rates for trips. These rated systems are linked to different destinations and are based on public transport rates. The advantage of this fixed system is that the user always knows the payment needed for a set trip. This can be important to frail/easily confused passenger.

The payments made to drivers range between 26 p pm and 18 p pm. Out of the fifteen schemes that charge a set mileage rate for trips, nine match the passenger charge, while in six schemes the driver receives more than the passenger pays.

**FIG. 3.8 INCOME AND CHARGES**

BASE	CHARGE TO PASSENGER (p pm)	PAY TO DRIVER (p pm)	DEAD MILEAGE PAID BY
CVS/VBX	26	26	Passenger
CVS/VBX	26	26	Passenger
CVS/VBX	25	25	Organisation
CVS/VBX	25	25	Organisation
CVS/VBX	24.6	24.6	Passenger
CVS/VBX	20	23	Passenger
Home	20	20	"?"
CVS/VBX	18	18	Organisation
CVS/VBX	17	23.3	Passenger
Home	14	14	Organisation
CVS/VBX	12	24.6	Passenger
Home	10	16	"N/A"
Home	10	16	"N/A"
Home	10	18	Organisation
CVS/VBX	RATES	24.6	Passenger
CVS/VBX	RATES	24	Passenger
HOME	RATES	20	Organisation
HOME	RATES	20	"?"

### 3.3 CONCLUSIONS

From the previous sections it can be seen that if we want to understand the future rural transport market, with its increased emphasis on the "flexible" and "innovatory" voluntary sector, we need to understand how these voluntary transport organisations act now and may act in the future. It has been shown that in order to understand transport organisations such as the rural voluntary car scheme, a behavioural analysis is important. Past evaluations have stressed the availability of, and the critical importance of the volunteer coordinator and driver in the contribution of such schemes to personal mobility in rural areas. Indeed the attitudes of lift-givers and users alike has been seen as a limiting factor in their

expansion. A behavioural analysis should also take account of the organisational context of the scheme, as narrow statistical evaluations ignore the variations in their organisation as discussed in the survey.

To be more specific, in order to understand the current and potential rural transport situation, we need to understand the current and potential role of voluntary transport organisations such as voluntary car schemes. In doing this we need to understand how and why they are operated and managed, especially whether they are, or potentially are, innovatory or able to change and what influences this. Thus the aims of the research are to evaluate the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes (with reference to change) in order to explain their current and potential role in the transport market.

Much work **assumes** the functioning of organisations such as voluntary car schemes, though many complex issues surround what has been shown to be a very variable functioning even within one county. The research aims stated will be addressed by utilizing various research techniques in in-depth case studies of three voluntary car schemes. The next chapter will place this kind of organisational analysis in context by outlining some theoretical assumptions which have underpinned organisational studies, and then introducing the three voluntary car schemes from a shire county in England, that star in this research.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH**

The aims of this research, as outlined in the conclusions to the previous chapter, will be addressed through an in depth analysis of three voluntary organisations providing transport in rural areas. This chapter places this research in both its theoretical and physical context. By outlining some of the major theoretical assumptions which frame organisational analysis and understanding, the theoretical backcloth to this field of research can be illuminated (Section 4.1). Equally, by homing in on the transport organisations which will be the subject of this analysis, and entering the settings which are the backcloth to their operation (Section 4.2), the case studies set out in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight can perhaps be more readily appreciated.

#### **4.1 THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH**

In his book advocating a multifaceted approach to the reading and understanding of organisations, Morgan (1986) states that the premise upon which his approach is based, is that organisations are "complex, ambiguous and paradoxical". He argues that organisations can be many things at once, and only by reading the same organisation from multiple perspectives can the complexity of their analysis match the complexity of their reality. Morgan notes that the understanding of organisations is usually based on metaphors, which he feels constrain the analysis and only provide for partial understanding. He describes eight such ways of thinking about organisations. These cover the viewing of organisations as machines (all parts working together to achieve organisational aims); as organisms (species which are born, grow, die, adapt); as brains (information processing plants which are themselves capable of learning); as cultures (with ideas, values, norms and rituals); as systems of government (based on power conflict and interests); as psychic prisons (where people are trapped by certain preoccupations eg sexuality); as flux and transformation (based on the logic of change); as instruments of domination (certain people imposing wills on others).

The aim of this Section is to outline some of the possible theoretical assumptions which may frame organisational understanding of the case studies in this research. By illustrating that the differing metaphors provide different interpretations of the same organisation, Morgan has shown that organisational interpretation cannot be theory free: interpretation is guided by your image of reality. As he notes, the crucial factor is to be aware of this and to break free from the practice of viewing organisations through only one type of lens. Certainly one needs theoretical lenses to help to explain and look at organisations, but one should be aware of the types available. In describing some theoretical constructs that may be of importance in understanding how the case study organisations function, this section will highlight some of the possible appropriate lenses emergent from other works.

#### **4.1.1 Marketing Management**

A particular area of literature which attempts to describe and prescribe, the operation and management of organisations in their markets, is that of marketing management. Underpinning this literature is a theoretical assumption of rationality in the organisation: in viewing the organisation from the point of view of the customer (Kotler, 1988), and fitting the organisation and its products, promotions, place, (distribution) and prices (termed the 4-P Marketing Mix) around the customers' requirements, in pursuit of the ultimate aim of increased profits. However the situation could be seen to be more complex for voluntary transport organisations. Unlike the situation in manufacturing or even some other service organisations, various factors come together to produce a potential demand for voluntary transport services, and can include the availability and accessibility of other transport, the incidence of mobility handicap, and rationalisation of statutory transport services as mentioned earlier. Likewise revenue comes from sources other than just the 'farebox', and these include local authority grants and subsidies, charities, and even fund raising. The voluntary transport organisation could indeed be seen as the 'servant of many masters', having to satisfy not only the local transport needs of potential customers, but also the sometimes differing objectives or other bodies to whom they are accountable.

The uniqueness of the marketing literature to manufacturing industries has been rectified to some extent by Cowell (1986). With most marketing literature concerning tangible products as opposed to services, Cowell has defined the unique characteristics of services as;

- a) intangibility - it is not possible to feel/taste the product before purchase;
- b) inseparability - they cannot be regarded as separate from the seller;
- c) heterogeneity - it is difficult to achieve standardisation of output;
- d) perishability - services cannot be stored, and are consumed upon purchase;
- e) ownership - the customer has access to the activity/facility, but not ownership.

These have implications in matching the organisation and its products around the customers needs, the crucial element in the marketing approach. Cowell goes on to revise the usual "4P" strategic marketing mix because of these unique characteristics. To product, promotion, place and price considerations he adds 'people', 'physical evidence' and 'process' (based on Booms and Bitner, 1981). People considerations recognise the fact that a) personnel in contact with the customer are key people whatever their grade, and b) customers interact, and often form opinions regarding services from those who have already tried the service. Physical evidence concerns the fact that customer judgements about the services provided will be influenced by physical evidence of the service, eg decoration of the service environment, packaging used. Process refers to how the service is delivered by the organisation, and policies and procedures adopted. These new additions to the marketing mix all concern the fact that the product is not tangible and therefore cannot be as easily quality controlled. Thus at the centre of this approach is the recognition that the human input to services is a crucial element.

Looking more specifically at the transport sector, a marketing approach has been attempted for public transport. In doing this it has addressed the problem of the 'servant of many masters' situation, and the uniqueness of services to varying degrees in discussing marketing strategies. Lovelock et al (1987) in their work on marketing for urban public transport look at the transport organisation, and how it can meet demand in some depth. They recognise the need to control and manage demand for services. Due to the perishability of transit (every empty seat is a lost sale), fluctuations in demand must be evened out. He discusses two methods; pricing policies and working with third parties. Through pricing policies demand can be redistributed from peak to off-peak, and new demand can be generated from peak users with inelastic demand. By working with third parties, variable work-hour programmes can be developed, the third parties in this case being employers. In this way, peak loadings can be redistributed to off-peak capacity.

Lovelock et al do not consider the wider environment in which voluntary transport organisations operate, and how this can influence, or be influenced by the organisation. Most public transport management literature though does apply itself to this environment. For example, Hovell et al (1975) in their work on urban public transport for Passenger Transport Executives state that marketing approaches should be applied to;

- a) service attributes, and
- b) promotion to users and political decision makers, in order to create a positive image.

However explicit discussion of the political spectrum is not included. More explicit recognition and discussion of the complex environment of public transport generally is included in an American publication, 'The Transportation Marketing Manual' (1980) issued by the South Carolina Governor's Office. It states that marketing methods may be of importance to nine internal and four external areas of the organisation. The internal areas include equipment, passenger amenities, personnel etc, the external areas covering promotion to specific external "important areas/people" (as in Hovell). These are (i) government/political leaders, (ii) the business community, (iii) the media, and; (iv) public perception. Marketing goals under these headings are discussed with suggestions for activities to

achieve these goals. This explicit recognition of 'important areas/people' is mirrored in Carlson (1984) in his paper on 'Innovations in Transportation Management'. He notes that image building aimed at consumers and legislators alike was particularly important in rebuilding a very large organisation; the Pennsylvania State Department of Transportation.

In all this marketing management literature, the organisation is seen to be managed proactively, in that exploitation of opportunities in the market is rational and planned. Voluntary transport organisations however have been seen to be constrained in their planning activities, because of uncertainties in funding from the "many masters". While some references recognise this fact, marketing literature still tries to place the voluntary organisation in the driving seat, influencing the market and funders alike. It is felt that a greater understanding of these organisations is essential, in order to understand how they actually work and what influences them in their operation and management. Indeed, in discussing the subsidised bus service sector, Bly (1987) stated;

"the operator has to deal not only with his direct customers, the passengers, but also with various layers of government whose objectives go far beyond those of transporting people ..."

(p 109)

He argued that this complexity leads to inefficiency and undermines the operators management of the service. With voluntary sector transport being even more complex, the implications on its management and organisation may be even greater.

#### **4.1.2 Culture**

One of the more recently developed concepts which has been used to describe the operation and management of organisations is that of organisational culture. Borrowing from anthropological studies of society, which describe the different ways of life of groups of people, organisational culture similarly states that organisations have particular ways of doing things. These are manifest in organisational values and norms, organisational beliefs, and legends. The

assumption upon which this theory is made is that an organisation is a socially constructed beast, inseparable from the minds of its members. This theory was first popularised by Peters and Waterman (1982) in a study of excellent companies, who found that they comprised of eight properties centred around people and covering cultural content and strength. Excellent companies were seen to have a 'bias for action'; be 'close to the customer'; foster 'autonomy and leadership'; obtain 'productivity through people'; be 'value-driven'; to 'stick to the knitting'; have a 'simple form'; and have 'simultaneous loose-tight properties'. Although to a large degree their methodology was self-fulfilling, their book provided a popular expose of corporate organisational culture.

It is not only in the large corporation that organisational culture is seen to be significant. In a study of community transport organisations by Bryman, Gillingwater and McGuinness (1990) culture was found to be an important explanatory variable in operational decision making and organisational strategy, where facets of cultural strength and content of the three case study organisations were seen to be of significance. Cultural strength can be seen as a clear definition, that is understood by all, of what the organisation is and where it is going - providing a "maze-way" through the maze of organisational life for its members. Strong and weak cultures were found, together with one organisation which exhibited much conflict over goals. The content of the cultures varied from professional entrepreneurial approaches to a culture based strongly on voluntarism. These provide for a lucid view of organisational life.

Morgan (1986) notes some of the strengths of this metaphor of organisation are that it draws attention to the symbolic significance of organisational life as opposed to the rational; provides a focus for action, ie to influence and use culture; illuminates the environment in which organisations operate. This latter point provides an interesting parallel to the marketing approaches discussed in Section 4.2.1. While the marketing management approach assumes that organisations are proactive in their relationship with their environment, the culture metaphor focuses on how the culture adopted and created interprets the environment of which the organisation feels it is part. As Morgan states;

"One's knowledge of and relations with the environment are extensions of one's culture, since we come to know and understand our environment through the belief systems that guide our interpretations and actions."

#### 4.1.3 Leadership

The importance of leadership in organisations has been stressed by many writers. Following Bryman (1989), work on leadership has often been practically focused upon how leaders can be selected, and how they can be trained. These practical issues are based on fundamental assumptions and theories of leadership, confirming the fact that practice can never be theory free. In assuming that leaders have certain natural characteristics, upon which selection can be made, the "Trait Approach" to leadership research was to the fore. In addressing issues concerning the best method of leadership, which could consequently be taught, the "Style Approach" and "Contingency Approach" were dominant. The style approach assumes a cause-effect situation, in that a style of leadership can have an effect which could be more or less desirable than that which would have been the outcome with another style. With the contingency approach, the importance of the situation in which leadership takes place is crucial, and it assumes that the act of leadership should vary with the situation.

Of late there has been more emphasis on the role of the leader in forming organisational culture, while the earlier viewpoints are based on the actions of leaders in mobilising others in the organisation to achieve a set outcome. In the culture centred work this action oriented mobilisation is seen as management (often centred on power), vis-a-vis leadership.

For example, Burns (1978, p4) sees leadership as a special form of power whereby the two constituents of power, motive and resource, are mobilized to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of followers. The difference between leadership and power comes in the motive: power wielders aim to realise their own purposes, whether or not they are also the goals of the followers. Leadership was further subdivided by Burns into transformational (enhancing motivation of followers to a course laid down by the leader) and transactional (inducing followers not by inspiration, but by an exchange of rewards).

Peters and Waterman (1982) also adopted the notion of transformational leadership linked to their work on visionary organisational culture, as do Tichy and Devanna (1986) in their style-centred work on 'Transformational Leadership'. Their work was based on interviews with transformational leaders (including Sir John Harvey-Jones, the ex-ICI Chairman, as the only European) and uncovered seven characteristics of these persons. They go on to put forward a framework for creating organisational structures which enable visions to be achieved through change. These structures are subdivided into technical, cultural and political networks which can be inorganic (mechanistic) or organic. In the inorganic change is not easily brought about without conflict and revolution, in the organic it is easily and frequently brought about by democratic means in the organisation. The aim is to achieve organic structure in each field.

It can be seen that the literature on culture and leadership often goes hand in hand due to the possible effects of each on the other, particularly the role of leaders in the creation of organisational culture. Peters and Waterman reluctantly included leadership as one of the attributes of an excellent company (Section 4.2.2), and it is treated as an "unfortunate" add on, being somewhat different in nature to the other attributes. They note that the eight attributes of excellent companies described:

"can be traced to transforming leadership somewhere in its (the excellent company's) history. While the cultures of the companies seem today to be so robust that the need for transforming leadership is not a continuing one, we doubt such cultures ever would have developed as they did without that kind of leadership somewhere in the past ..."

(Peters and Waterman, 1982, p 92)

Schein (1985) also puts forward a 'complex model' of the organisation whereby leaders play a key role in transmitting culture by what they pay attention to, measure, control and who they recruit. Of particular importance for the leader is the continual renegotiation of the psychological contract (the unwritten expectations of employer and employee) within the organisation. In this way, the culture of the organisation is stamped.

In their work on community transport organisations, Bryman, Gillingwater and McGuinness (1990) discerned very different approaches to leadership in their three case studies that are of "considerable" significance in variations of organisational functioning. They outline an example of both transformational and transactional leadership, including one of a "frustrated transformational" leader. Here the leader has the visionary ideas of a transformational leader yet is constrained by the power of resourcing agencies in seeing through these ideas.

#### **4.1.4 Power**

Morgan (1986) notes that the political metaphor, which is used to understand organisations as systems of government and political activity, is often avoided by organisations themselves as politics in the organisation is seen as a "dirty" concept. This is because the fundamental *raison d'être* of a political system is that individuals have differing interests (and thus need a system to reconcile those through consultation and negotiation), which flies in the face of the commonly held view that organisations are rational systems, working towards common aims. It is only by having a system of power and rule, that differing interests (which can lead to conflict) can be resolved. Thus every organisation has a system, the only issue is the nature of the power upon which the system is based. For example, in the democracy it is people-power which resolves differing interests; in the bureaucracy it is rule and regulation-power which resolves; in the autocracy it is single person-power which decides. By viewing and understanding organisations as political systems, the rational integrated systems myth of organisational functioning can be exploded (Morgan, 1986).

Although in political systems power is the medium through which conflicts of interest are resolved, the study of power itself has been termed a "bottomless swamp" (Dahl, 1975, p 201) due to both its importance in understanding how organisations work and its intangibility. The power literature covers the realms of philosophy, sociology, political science and social psychology amongst others, the study of power concepts in organisations borrowing from these areas. Little agreement exists as to whether power is a resource or a form of relationship, with two crucial issues concerning the nature of power (Section 4.1.4(a)) (what are its sources) and the use of power (Section 4.1.4(b)).

## (a) The Nature of Power and its Sources

In addressing the nature of organisational power, Weber (in Runciman, 1978) discussed why peoples' behaviour can be changed by another person. This he puts down to either "power", whereby people could be forced to comply despite any resistance, or "authority", whereby people voluntarily obeyed. The difference between the two concepts was the legitimacy of power which the one who exerted influence could claim. This concept was developed into a typology of organisations based on how this power was legitimised, be that by virtue of personality (charismatic organisation), inherited status (traditional organisation) or rules and procedures associated with the office occupied by the individual (rational - legal organisation).

Weber's model also states that there is such a concept as illegitimate power, (ie "power"). Mintzberg (1983) concurs with Weber's legitimacy dichotomy, but not in the area of power itself, rather in two of its subsets, politics and authority. Politics is seen as informal power, illegitimate in nature, whereas authority is formal power, the power vested in office. This brings up the issue of power bases, whereby the exercise of power by an actor, or an organisation, over others is premised on specific bases, ie the dependence of others (actors or organisations) upon the powerful actor or organisation. Clegg (1977) notes that the concept of power bases has been viewed in one of two ways. "Functionalist" viewpoints see power bases as a function of the organisational system and technical aspects of these operations. Here a power base will be built because of the importance of a certain operation (function) to the organisation. Power bases can also be due to the control of "resources", enabling power to be exercised. Mintzberg (1983) straddles this classification by positing five general bases of power. Three "prime" bases are due to the control of, a) a resource, b) a technical skill, c) a body of knowledge. Two general bases are due to, d) legal prerogatives granting power (Mintzberg's "formal" power), and e) access to the powerful master of a - d. Here a) and c) could lie in the 'resource' school, b) being in the 'functionalist' school. Base d) revolves around legitimacy, while e) is dependent upon the other four.

Power bases are discussed at both intra-, and inter-organisational levels. Benson (1975) is typical of much of the inter-organisational work in conceiving of organisations operating not independently, but in a network of organisations. His

inter-organisational network is conceived of as a political economy which is concerned with the distribution of two scarce resources; money and authority. The organisations, which have a significant amount of interaction (based on hostility on the one hand, to an exchange of resources on the other), are differentially powerful due to the amount of resources they obtain. Pfeffer (1981) also looked at the interdependence of organisations with their environments, which included other organisations, and their pursuit of finite resources within it. The influence of one organisation would be due to its control of resources needed by the other, the other's dependence on them, and the lack of alternative resource supplies. This resource dependency viewpoint has also been highlighted in the study of decision making in community transport organisation mentioned above (Bryman, Gillingwater and McGuinness, 1990). In their study of three community transport organisations, the positive and negative associations of resource dependency were highlighted. The negative associations at Metro CT were a high and spiralling dependence, leading to a total loss of control over a part of the organisation. The positive associations were witnessed at Capital CT where a symbolic link between the organisation and its funder existed. Interestingly both were wholly dependent on their funders for financial resources. Thus the control of resources per se did not determine the relationship between funder and scheme, (indeed their model of decision making qualifies the effect of resource dependency on the organisations decision making).

While these inter-organisational viewpoints provide useful insights into the environment in which organisations operate, the aim of this research, as stated at the conclusion of Chapter Four is to evaluate the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes. This will take an organisation-out view of the issues affecting its operation and management, essentially an intra-organisational viewpoint. This does not preclude inter-organisational issues emerging in the study, but does not include specific research techniques as will be seen in Chapter Five, to address this environment: they will only be addressed if they have implications on the case studies at the intra-organisational level.

Handy (1985) takes an intra-organisational view of power in addressing what the possible sources of power are for an individual in influencing others in the organisation. He names five sources based on physical power (based on brute strength), resource power (based on the possession of valued resources within

the organisation), position power (as a result of position in the organisation), expert power (based on knowledge), and personal power (based on charisma). He notes that all these sources of power suggest a method of influence, eg physical power suggesting force, personal power suggesting persuasion. Though he recognises individuals can have more than one source of power, he feels that in order to be effective in exercising power, individuals should examine their own sources, and use the appropriate method of influence. This viewpoint is analogous to Morgan's (1986) listing of 14 sources of power which provide individuals with various means of enhancing their interests and resolving (or perpetuating) organisational conflict. However, as opposed to Handy's pure bases, Morgan's sources largely concern methods of influence in different areas.

Perhaps a less rational, and more realistic analysis of the intra-organisational power "wheeler-dealing" that is possible in organisational life, has been highlighted by the French researcher, Crozier (1976), who develops a notion of uncertainty as a base of power at the intra-organisational level (as Mintzberg, 1983). This is allied to the functionalist school. Crozier, in looking at decision making in bureaucracies, came to the conclusion that they were scenes of a power game, where the aim was to manoeuvre others within the organisation into positions where their actions were predictable, while you retained complete freedom of action. In this way one would hold power through freedom of action. He noted that the bureaucratic organisation, through the routinization of action, removed such power bases.

#### **(b) The Use of Power**

Together with the nature and sources of power comes the issue of its use. Authority and influence all imply an action, a use of power. Power and its use are bracketed together in Etzioni's (1975) view of power in his theory of compliance. Etzioni put forward this theory to generate a classification of organisations. The theory is based on the relationship between those who have power, and those over whom they exercise it, and is a view based on the system of rewards in the organisation. Three kinds of power, thus defined, are put forward, a) coercive, b) remunerative, and c) normative, which are based on physical coercion, cash transactions, and the allocation of symbolic rewards. Interestingly the normative power is further subdivided by Etzioni. Pure normative power relies on the

manipulation of esteem within the organisation inspiring the rising of people to ideals. Social power relies on the allocation of acceptance within the social group. Etzioni argues that pure normative power is witnessed more in vertically ordered organisations, and social power in horizontal, informal organisations.

Etzioni then looks at the involvement of subordinates along a continuum from commitment to the organisation to alienation from it, in order to develop his theory of compliance. The three kinds of involvement Etzioni delimits are a) alienative, essentially a hostile relationship, b) calculative, a low intensity means-oriented relationship, and c) moral, a devoted relationship. The moral involvement classification is further subdivided, as was normative power, into pure moral involvement, where organisational norms are internalised, and social moral involvement where sensitivity to social group relations is important. A classification of nine possible organisations based on the above is shown in Figure 4.1.

**FIG. 4.1 ETZIONI'S NINE ORGANISATIONS**

KINDS OF POWER	KINDS OF INVOLVEMENT		
	Alienative	Calculative	Moral
Coercive	1	2	3
Remunerative	4	5	6
Normative	7	8	9

Of the nine types of organisation encompassed in Figure 4.1, types 1, 5 and 9 are termed congruent by Etzioni. They are termed, 1 : coercive compliance; 5 : utilitarian compliance; 9 : normative compliance. Congruence occurs when there is harmony between the kind of involvement participants have due to 'other factors' (eg personality, previous applications of power) not related to the form of organisational power, and the kind of involvement that the predominant form of power at the organisation generates. He argues congruent cases are more

frequent because they are more effective. He discusses the example of normative powers:

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

(Etzioni, 1975, p 13)

The reason given for the occurrence of incongruent organisational types is that the exercise of power depends on the resources the organisation can recruit and the licence it is allowed in using them. Examples given are that Trade Union power can curtail the license to use resources, basic value commitments of participants colouring the resources thus recruited. Because congruent organisations are more effective, Etzioni feels that organisations generally shift their compliance relationships from incongruent to congruent. This can occur by a change in the power applied by the organisation (eg a shift from corporal punishment at a school to stress leadership of teachers), or a change in the involvement of participants (eg changes in recruitment criteria).

The system of rewards, and the kinds of involvement of individuals in organisations obviously concern motivation. Much work on motivation looks at the individual themselves, and how they are motivated to perform tasks within the organisation. Work on motivation also covers how people are motivated to perform tasks within the organisation. For example McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Theory Y makes various assumptions about people, Theory X seeing employees as generally reticent to work, Theory Y as able to derive personal pleasure from work. From these assumptions methods of motivation of employees are put forward, Theory X employees requiring incentives, control and direction, Theory Y employees requiring responsibility and opportunities for self actualization. Argyris (1960) however looks towards the organisation as the focus of motivation outlining two models of managerial actions: Model I suppressing issues in a closed, defensive system, Model II providing an open system for discussion. Argyris assumes that persons require the opportunity for self actualization in their roles. Work on psychological contracts and the role of the

organisation in negotiating them (eg Schein, 1985) provides a more proactive role for the organisation itself. The psychological contract can be seen as a set of expectations on the part of both the individual and the organisation as to what needs must be satisfied by the expending of energies (on the part of employees) or the payments made (by the employer). Schein notes that the contract changes over time (ie one desires different forms of return throughout one's career) and thus the contract should be constantly renegotiated. As was noted above, Schein goes on to note that in this negotiation, leaders of the organisation in particular transmit the culture of the organisation. Implicit therefore is the fact that a change in the transmission will lead to a change in the contract between employee (or in this research the driver) and organisation.

A similar viewpoint is put forward by Handy (1985) who discusses how organisations apply influence to individuals through socialisation. Organisations, he notes, use socialisation to influence the individual to adopt its values and customs which is particularly important in organisations with strong cultures. One does not therefore merely physically join the organisation, one must also join psychologically. Organisations attempt to bring about this socialisation through schooling (formal instruction), apprenticeship (given tasks), cooption (progressively adopted), and mortification (harassed into conformity). Handy goes on to note that the response to these methods can be rejection (leaving the organisation), compliance (unwilling acceptance), identification (acceptance, with dependence on the organisation or a person in it) or internalisation (complete commitment). He argues that internalisation only occurs at the upper reaches of the organisation where one can have a hand in shaping the organisation. He also argues that compliance and identification must be maintained over time, otherwise the actor becomes disillusioned and rejection occurs.

Around his central theory of compliance which was discussed above, Etzioni discusses various "spokes" of allied issues. One concerns the form of elite of organisational members due to their source of power, be that 'office power' or 'personal power'. The resulting classification of elites covering formal and informal leaders, officers, and non-elites. Another of his spoke issues concerns the potential impact of not being able to recruit suitable resources, which will lead to incongruence. He noted that the method of recruitment mirrored the method used to control participants in the organisation once they had been acquired.

Thus an organisation based on normative power would use recruitment methods based on socialisation, and organisations based on coercive power use physical recruitment.

Thus it can be seen that certain perspectives, be they marketing management, cultural, leadership, or political, emphasise varying aspects of organisational functioning. While many other viewpoints exist, the above has shown that even a handful of relevant theoretical viewpoints can provide many different insights into organisational life. Although these important aspects of organisational functioning have been discussed, the research is begun without any a priori commitment to any viewpoint. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, this is an important aspect of theory building research.

Section 4.2 will now depart from the theoretical context of organisational understanding, to take a trip into the physical context of the organisations which make up the three case studies in this research.

#### **4.2 PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDIES**

The voluntary car schemes, whose operation and management are the focus of this research, are real organisations, operated by real people, in real places. In order to preserve the anonymity of all three factors, pseudonyms are used. This has the advantage that it can take nothing away from the findings presented, and addresses some of the ethical issues encountered in conducting qualitative organisational research. Unfortunately the real names associated with the respective case studies are their link with the real context in which they operate. This context is an inseparable part of their organisational life, albeit of minor substantive relevance to this research. This Section will however guide the reader into the relevant contextual worlds of the case studies in order to preclude any gross preconceptions arising from the pseudonyms. The areas in which the Schemes operate will initially be sketched in Section 4.2.1, only omitting facts which would lead to their identification. The areas will then be described using broad-brush socio economic data in Section 4.2.2.. The specific organisational profiles are given in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The three worlds to be entered are those of Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme (VCS), Village Community Car Scheme (CCS), and District Voluntary Transport Scheme (VTS). They all operate in the same Shire County of England, with Hamlet VCS operating within the local government District from which District VTS takes its name. Village CCS operates within the neighbouring district.

#### **4.2.1 Case Study Area Sketches**

The Hamlet of this research is no more than a few homes straddling a minor road. The land is very flat, many hedgerows having been removed, emphasising the smoothness of the country. Indeed farming is conspicuous when one visits this village: tractors and the fantastic gadgets which transform them often lumber along the road, some passing with great difficulty. The road itself is more often than not a muddy mess; the droppings of these beasts having been sculpted by their own immense rubber feet.

Farming is not the only or even main employer of Hamlet people though. The more recent migrators are "not village people", as one inhabitant stated. The "more well to do types" work in the nearby city and only live in Hamlet. In effect they emigrate every morning to the city, only returning to Hamlet for their evenings and weekends. These people live in some of the nicer cottages. Approximately 20 years ago the settlement only consisted of 4 or 5 cottages, but then some private bungalows and a row of council houses were grafted on to create the present scene.

Hamlet's population profile, and indeed that of many rural villages in Britain, can be seen to be in a constant state of flux. The newcomers have been mentioned, but the self renewing forces can often leave at the same time. Many teenagers who have suffered from "nothing to do and nowhere to go" as one inhabitant puts it, move to areas where jobs and activities are located, leaving a profile of middle aged and elderly people. This is the situation as described by a Hamlet Parish Councillor who noted that there are now a lot of elderly people in their 70's and 80's. While she mentioned that this group is dwindling, 8 having died in the last year, the present middle aged population are the elderly of tomorrow. With

children leaving as they grow older, an increasingly ageing population profile can be expected in the future.

Apart from the Village Hall and the Church, the only other service in Hamlet is the Post Office, though no sign alerts you to its presence. The Post Office is run from the front room of a bungalow on Main Street. On closer inspection the otherwise average double glazed front door is covered in leaflets and posters, and nervously opening the door (one cannot help but knock) leads one into the converted hallway with its counter. The Post Office is open part time during the week for a minimum of services. In fact "open" means that the owner of the house will be at home and available to sell stamps and pay pensions on request. A small post box also exists at the end of her driveway.

For any other services the inhabitants must travel to the slightly larger village approximately 3 miles away, that has a small general store and public house. The nearest medical facilities are at yet another village, approximately 9 miles away, which also has a few small shops. In fact an inhabitant of Hamlet must travel to the City approximately 15 miles away (in another County) for anywhere near a full range of services. A shopping bus is provided by a supermarket in the city, which is used by mainly older residents without access to a car. The shopping bus is one of only two buses per week which call at Hamlet. In fact both actually call at the end of a lane which is approximately one mile from Hamlet's limit. This lane has no footpath nor streetlighting. In interview with a local Parish Councillor, the lack of bus services was attributed to the settlement's physical location. With the nearest town within the County (the home of District VTS) being 20 miles away, buses based there "don't want to know" about Hamlet.

This is the rural context in which Hamlet VCS operates. This context is one of a small rural settlement with a low level of services and therefore the potential for a real amount of isolation. The impact of isolation will not however be evenly distributed. It will fall more heavily on those without access to the facilities and services which are outside Hamlet. Of course central to this rural access problem is the availability of personal and public transport. Isolation may also have a political aspect with Hamlet being close to the border of the County, far away from bus service providers in their own County and District, and out of the sight of closer, but administratively different, providers just over the border.

Approximately 12 miles to the west of Hamlet, in the same County but just the other side of a District Council boundary, lies the larger settlement in which Village CCS is based. In an area of undulating landscape, Village has a population ten times larger than Hamlet, and indeed serves the many smaller settlements dotted around it. While the single soiled rural road is an essential part of the feel of Hamlet, Village itself owes its origins to a road. It lies on what was a Roman road, which was established in later eras as a stopping point for carriages. The old route is now a main cross-county route which runs through the village, dividing it into two. On one side lies the old village centre, and on the other the new estates. The old centre is based around the intersection of the Roman road and other minor roads. The developments there include food outlets, a supermarket, banks, take away foods, and a large newsagent/confectioners, totalling approximately 15 outlets. This centre is very busy, with the many cars stopping off for these services adding to the local traffic. Close to this hub is Village Church, public houses, a very small library, and ancient cottages, followed at their heels by the rolling countryside. On the other side of the Roman road is the large new estate of both council and private homes. The estate is criss crossed by the many children who attend the biggest comprehensive school in the locale, which lies in the middle of this estate. In fact, one of the many school buses parked to the rear of the school transports the older Hamlet children to the Village for their education. The school is not the only service on the estate: a well frequented community centre (run with no small degree of rivalry with the Village Hall located in the old village) and Health Centre both exist.

Village is approximately equidistant (25 miles approximately) from the major city in the County, and 3 cities in adjacent counties, and Villagers show no particular orientation to any of them. Regular shopping trips are instead to an adjacent pit town approximately 5 miles away, or either of two larger mining towns within about ten miles. These are served by a regular but infrequent bus service. The birds eye view of Village shows the relative hustle bustle of the area as compared to Hamlet, though it remains only a flicker of activity in an otherwise green swath.

The ancient market town which is home of District VTS has its roots in its role as the local market centre. This continues today with two separate markets; a large market in the centre of the town thrives three days a week selling all kinds of foods, apparel and consumer goods, while two days a week at the edge of the

town centre a cattle market takes place attracting farmers and their livestock from throughout the area. On market days the town is both colourful and congested with farmers and visitors from the surrounding villages.

The town is large compared to the other settlements discussed, having a resident population of nearly 20 times that of Village. In fact the town is the seat of the local District Council, being the largest town therein. This district is the largest in the County, and includes just over 100,000 people in a predominantly rural scene. With its busy cattle market lying under the gaze of the ancient 14th Century Church, and the land rovers, horse trailers and agricultural merchants and shops, the town retains the feel of a rural market town. This rural market town has most of the services needed by its inhabitants. A bus station provides the focus for journeys to surrounding villages and cities, and the town also has a train station. The town centre contains all major high street stores and services, the ancient streets concealing many a fine hostelry in its crooked streets. Medically the town provides two hospitals as well as doctors surgeries. The hospitals however only provide day care facilities: for specialist and emergency care one must travel to another town or more usually one of the neighbouring cities approximately 20 miles away.

Thus is the world in which the Schemes live. This life is intimately linked with the rurality of the area in which they are placed. For those living in these communities, this life, and all that it involves, is usually full of pastoral pleasure, but could be reduced to rural remoteness.

#### **4.2.2 Case Study Area Socio-Economic Profiles**

The sketches etched above give a picture of the villages and towns themselves. However a more tangible socioeconomic description helps ground this world. Figure 4.2 shows figures from the 1981 census for the study areas. Data is given for the County and the County City, within which the case studies exist, in order to provide relative data. Figures are given for the District (which forms the operating area for District Voluntary Transport Scheme) and for the market town ("District Town") in which it is based. The census figures for District Town and Village data is based on ward level information: District Town is composed of seven wards,

Village of one. In order to provide a comparable view, figures are also given for the ward in which Hamlet is located ("Hamlet Ward"). This ward includes Hamlet itself and 5 surrounding settlements and outlying properties. Hamlet has the second biggest population of these settlements. The other figures given for Hamlet are for the Parish of Hamlet.

The only gross data given is for population (column 1) and households (column 6). The other figures are percentages and location quotients. Location quotients provide a measure of centrality by relating the percentage of variable x in area y, to the percentage of variable x in area z, where y is a subset of z. Thus:

$$LQ(x) = \frac{\% \text{ of } x \text{ in sub-area } Y}{\% \text{ of } x \text{ in the area } Z}$$

This then gives an index of relative concentration. A value of over 1 means that the variable x is relatively more concentrated in area y than in area z as a whole. The area (Z) to which variables (x) are compared are those of the District. There will always be problems related to comparability with this statistic. It is felt however that with the District being predominantly rural, and indeed the setting for two of the study areas (with the other located just outside its border), it is the appropriate base population against which to compare the data.

The variables give an indication of the extent of ageing in the areas, both for the elderly generally (60+) (Column 2) and the frail elderly (75+) (Column 4). The data also provides a surrogate measure of mobility by providing the percentage of households without cars available, homing in on those households which only contain persons of pensionable age. The growth of the elderly and frail elderly, and their mobility problems, especially in rural areas, have been discussed. By providing data on ageing, and a surrogate measure of mobility for elderly persons, a useful insight into the study areas can be gained.

The relative sizes of the gross populations of the areas can be seen in Column 1. Columns 2 and 4 illustrate the overall concentration of elderly persons in cities and towns. Both the City and District Town both have the highest concentrations of elderly and frail elderly persons. District Town has a relative concentration of

FIG. 4.2 CASE STUDY AREA SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES\*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Population	% 60+	LQ <sub>b</sub>	% 75+	LQ <sub>b</sub>	Households	% Households no car available	LQ <sub>b</sub>	% Households no car available and only pensioners	LQ <sub>b</sub>
County	976,748	18.99	-	5.14	-	357,187	41.35	-	-	-
City	268,257	20.84	-	5.80	-	100,552	55.48	-	21.05	-
District	103,733	17.90	-	4.90	-	36,643	33.88	-	24.05	-
District Town	32,568	20.04	1.12	5.71	1.17	11,946	42.66	1.26	19.37	0.81
Village	2,543	14.35	0.80	4.40	0.90	883	26.73	0.79	13.48	0.56
Hamlet Ward	1,668	15.59	0.87	3.24	0.66	567	13.76	0.41	7.40	0.31
Hamlet	246	9.35	0.52	2.44	0.50	87	8.06	0.24	4.60	0.19

\* see text of Section 4.2.2 for column explanations

both elderly and frail elderly as compared to the District as a whole, it being the largest urban centre therein. It is interesting that Village, Hamlet Ward and the Parish of Hamlet are relatively underrepresented with elderly persons as compared to the District, even in a District which itself has a lower percentage than the County as a whole. Hamlet Parish has only half of the elderly and frail elderly that could be expected from the District data, having 23 persons over 60 years, instead of an expected 44. Obviously the elderly do not live in large numbers in these rural areas. In fact the nearest location quotient to the district level occurs in the Village for persons 75+.

Column 7 shows the great differences in car availability in the region. Again as would be expected the greatest numbers of no car availability are in the more built up areas (City and District Town), very low figures being registered for the more rural areas. The District has a high level of car ownership as compared to the County as a whole reflecting the rurality of the area. The location quotient for District Town, as compared to the District as a whole, reflects the much higher concentration of households without cars in urban areas, as compared to a rural district.

Looking at the availability of cars to households containing only pensioners, it can be seen that in the District over 70% of those households without a car contain only pensioners, a percentage of just over 24% of all households. The percentages for the study areas throw light on this situation. The percentages of households with no car available and containing only pensioners falls with population size and increased rurality. However, the proportion of those households without a car available, which contain only pensioners, to households without a car generally actually increases as population decreases; ie non-car owners are predominantly the elderly only in the rural village/hamlet. This indicates that perhaps in rural areas the reason that no car is available is most likely due to age related problems, eg lost licence, due to age/ill health, lone female who cannot drive, cost. In urban areas though reasons related to income per se may be more important. This would account for the high percentage at District in Column 9.

Overall the figures provide a good overview of the study areas. Hamlet is an area of low numbers of elderly persons and very high car ownership, the households

without cars more likely to contain only pensioners. District Town however has a high number of elderly, and moreover frail elderly persons in residence. Car availability is low. The Village has average to low numbers of elderly (with slightly more frail elderly, and high car availability). While the low numbers of elderly persons and high car availability in Village and Hamlet could be used to negate claims of a transport problem this would be simplistic. Car availability may be high, but this is out of necessity in rural areas. As noted in a study of rural poverty (Brown and Winyard, 1975), some households make great sacrifices to be able to afford to run a car: some families foregoing breakfast and buying clothes only from jumble sales in order to keep a car. In the field it was indeed found that running a car was seen as crucial, the loss of which was greatly regretted. Also those who do not own a car in the rural areas are, importantly, more likely to be pensioners than not. Thus, those who have to face the problems of using rural public transport, discussed in Chapter Two, are predominantly the elderly. It could be argued that this number is not great, however for those households there would be a significant reduction in quality of life.

#### **4.3 SUMMARY**

This chapter has achieved two contrasting aims. In describing the physical context which the researcher faced in the field (Section 4.2), the reader has been led into some of the actualities of the organisations. In this way some meaning can be imparted to the areas that are "Hamlet", "District" and "Village". In contrast, the reader has also been presented with a variety of potential meanings which can be imparted on the organisations themselves (Section 4.1). By recognising the possible metaphors that can be ascribed to organisations, the understanding of such organisations has hopefully been freed from implicit biases. With the context of the case studies now made explicit, Chapter Five presents a research strategy and methodology which will provide a rigorous approach to the understanding of the operation and management of these voluntary car schemes.

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## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE RESEARCH DESIGN**

The aims of this chapter are three-fold. Firstly it outlines the specific aims of the work and the research questions to be addressed developed from Chapters Two and Three. These beg a certain research strategy - the framework for data collection and analysis - and this will be outlined. Chapter Five secondly describes the research methodology - the research tools used and the method of analysis of the data. Throughout the chapter the strengths and weaknesses of the research design, and methods adopted, will be emphasised, which set the research in its methodological context. Finally the chapter will describe how analysis of the data was approached in the field, at the within case level, and cross case level.

#### **5.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY**

From the earlier discussions it can be seen that the focus of the research is to identify the reasons why change does or does not occur in rural voluntary car schemes. With such schemes operating in potentially complex environments, an evaluation of the schemes' operation and management, and how they act in the transport market will be illuminating. The stated aims of the research are therefore;

To evaluate the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes (with specific reference to change), in order to explain their current and potential role in the transport market.

From these aims, specific research questions are formulated, which if addressed appropriately, give an insight into these aims. These questions focus on the factors which affect the organisations' operation and management;

- What is the scheme? (How does it operate?)
- What influences the operation and management of the scheme?
- How, if at all, is the scheme changing?
- Why (or why not) is it changing?

From these research questions, a research strategy has to be designed. The research strategy gives the framework in which data is collected, and should not be confused with the research methods, which are the actual data collection techniques used. Yin (1984) gives three factors to be used in deciding the research strategy, these being a) the type of research question posed; b) the extent of control the researcher has over events; c) the degree of focus on contemporary versus historical events. By looking at these requirements an appropriate research strategy can be decided upon. The various strategies discussed by Yin are "experiment", "survey", "archival analysis" and "history". The three factors differentiate between the strategies, to give a "relevant situation" for the use of each strategy. Using Yin's approach to strategy selection, the appropriate choice here is the case study. This is because a) the questions are explanatory (aiming to explain how and why events occur); b) the researcher has little control over the events taking place; and, c) the focus of the questions are very much upon contemporary events.

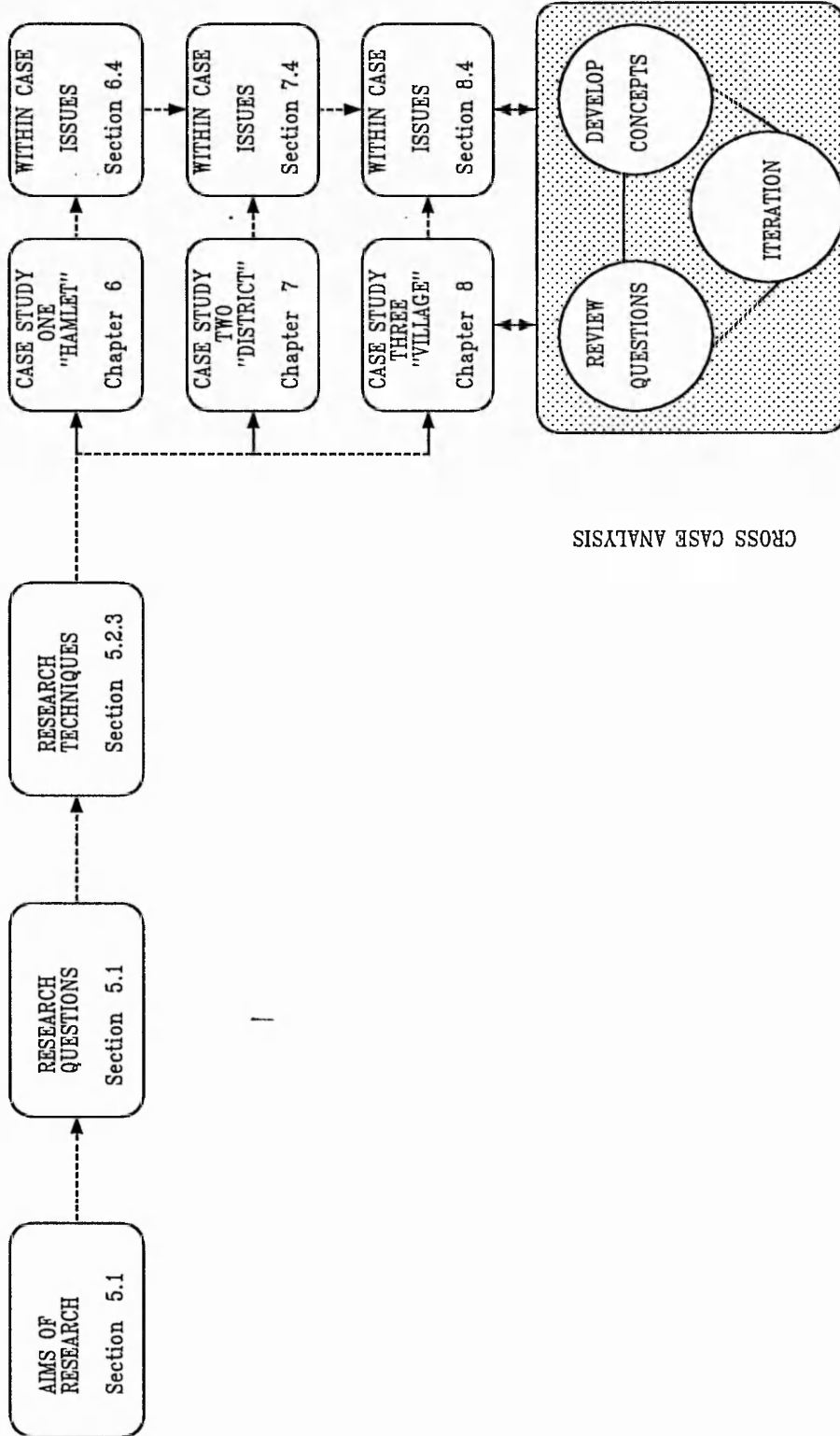
Yin further defines the key elements of the case study as;

"... an empirical inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when,
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which,
- multiple sources of evidence are used". (p 23)

This can be seen to be a particularly appropriate strategy for this research: the 'contemporary phenomenon' of the management and operation of voluntary car schemes is to be studied in the real life context. Indeed the relationship between the operation and management of the car schemes and the context (environment) in which they operate is complex and unclear. Using multiple sources of evidence in a case study strategy is the most appropriate strategy to address these questions. Figure 5.1 shows the whole strategy of the research from aims to methodology, showing where the case studies and analysis fits in. References to relevant Sections of the thesis, where further discussion of the topic occurs, are highlighted in the diagram.

FIG 5.1 THE RESEARCH STRATEGY



### 5.1.1 The Case Study

Although in organisation studies there has been a "slight renaissance for the case study since the late 1970's ..." (Bryman, 1989, p 177) there is much debate surrounding its weaknesses. Indeed in the somewhat defensive exposition of the case study by Yin, a section exists on "Traditional Prejudices Against the Case Study Strategy" (p 21). These "prejudices" concern their lack of rigour (and therefore reliability of findings), their length, and their basis for generalisation (the latter being an oft recurring criticism of the approach). "Lack of rigour" can be put down to sloppy case study research in the past, which has allowed biased views to influence data collection and conclusions. To remedy this the researcher can increase the reliability of the study (showing that if the same study was repeated one would gain the same results), establish construct validity (the correct operational measures for the concepts being measured), and internal validity (non-spurious relationships) and external validity (establishing the area to which the findings can be generalised).

The problem of length can be seen to be due to confusion about the case study. Methods applied in the case study strategy are often time consuming and lead to a large volume of data, however all the data should not be presented in the final report. Instead, enough data should be shown to illustrate conclusions, the vast amount of raw data being available for inspection outside the final report. However, problems of generalisation are the most recurring criticism of the case study design, and they can be traced to confusion about the case study approach in contrasting it to survey research. In the survey approach the sample generalises to the population. Yin states;

"This analogy to samples and universes is incorrect when dealing with case studies. This is because survey research relies on statistical generalisation, whereas, case studies (as with experiments) rely on analytical generalisation"  
(p 39).

The method put forward to enable analytical generalisation is a multiple case study strategy treating cases as multiple experiments, ie a replication logic. The theoretical insights gained in an initial case are tested by experimenting in the

different contexts of the subsequent cases. By predicting a) similar results between cases (literal replication), or, b) contrary results but for predictable reasons (theoretical replication), theoretical propositions can be refined. Bryman (1989) feels that this approach works "fairly well" when research is carried out at the individual sites by the same researcher. However when other investigators carry out the replication studies, and especially re-studies, problems occur. This is because differences in results cannot be attributed to any particular reason - is the theory wrong or is it that the time, the place, or indeed the investigator's approach is different?

In this thesis the research is carried out by the same researcher over a restricted period of time and thus the approach was seen to be applicable. However in practice it was the essence of the replication logic argument that was taken on board, ie treat each case as an individual experiment and generalise your findings to theoretical propositions, and not the strict analytical methods put forward by Yin for analysing evidence to aid prediction per se (see Section 5.3).

### **5.1.2 Theory Building Approach**

The Case Study is a broad strategy and is used in many different disciplines. Platt (1988) notes the various definitions of the case study, and the "skews" given by the disciplines using the approach, including political science, sociology, psychology, educational studies and organisation studies. However, the various functions that the case study can be asked to fill (Platt notes 15), it does with varying degrees of success. Often no rationale exists in the choice of the approach to link research function to choice of case study strategy. So what is the function of this research for which the case study strategy is proposed? Of the fifteen functions noted by Platt, seven are rhetorical (concerning the presentation of an argument) and eight logical (which are an essential part of the argument of the work). The rhetorical functions include 'illustration' (to provide example), 'empathy' (to provide meaning about the unfamiliar), and mnemonic (to aid retention in the readers mind). It is felt that these functions cannot be decided pre-research, as the findings are not known, however they can provide a useful touchstone when compiling and presenting the results. Of more relevance in the preparation for research are the logical functions of the case study.

Platt classifies seven of the eight possible functions by the degree to which, a) their use will be confined to the particular case, and b) they will provide the basis for inference. The functions of this research broadly fall into the category covering use beyond the particular case(s) and use for inference, ie to provide;

"... a basis for inference to points not directly demonstrated and with relevance to cases not studied"

(Platt, 1988, p 13)

Theory building and inference from case studies (and ultimately data) stands at odds to the traditional hypothesis testing approach, and is based on the idea of "grounded theory" first crystallised by Glaser and Strauss (1967). They argued that the verification of existing theory had

"primacy on the current sociological scene, the desire to generate theory often becoming secondary, if not totally lost, in specific researches"

(p 2)

They therefore argued for a strategy of valid theory generation through a close link of research findings to the emergent theory:- the new theory being 'grounded' in the findings. Eisenhardt (1989) shows how it is possible to build theory from case studies, noting their applicability when little is known about a phenomenon, or current perspectives seem inadequate. Using rich case study accounts theory can be built which covers the features of the cases. The function of the case study research put forward by Eisenhardt is very similar to that adopted here, as this area is indeed not well researched. The aim is to explore the subject area in three sites, analyse the data yielded, shape new theory from the findings and evaluate current theory by considering current literature and work in the area.

### **5.1.3 Choice of Case Study**

Although the case study design is not based on statistical sampling from a population, in order to generalise the findings and build theory from individual cases, some rationale must exist in the choice of the cases. To do this the unit of analysis for the research must be decided - what is the case? The 'case' in a

case study can be an event, an individual or as in this situation, an organisation - rural voluntary car schemes. However, due to the nature of the research questions posed here, there may be a further unit of analysis; change in the organisation to respond to the market place (if it occurs) and the influences on it (in so doing or not doing). Where there is more than one unit of analysis the case study is termed 'embedded'. This embedded design focuses the research onto the issues stated in the aims.

The 'case' once defined, when coupled with the aims of the research, allows some rationale in the selection of cases. The case here is the rural voluntary car scheme, and the aim is to evaluate their operation and management with specific reference to change in them. As discussed in Section 3.2, schemes vary a great deal in their organisation, and it was decided to follow a strategy of "maximum variation sampling" (Patton, 1980) amongst the rural schemes. The schemes are to be selected to represent a range of the dimensions outlined in Section 3.2. The schemes therefore cover both Council for Voluntary Service/Volunteer Bureau run schemes and home run schemes; are all located within one shire county in England (in order to have schemes subject to the same transport planning authority) but have variation in District Council area and Health Authority area; have different sizes, (size being measured surrogately by number of trips taken). Other rationales are obviously feasible, Patton (1980, p 105) noting six methods of purposeful sampling vis a vis random sampling. These include the sampling of extreme or deviant cases, typical cases, critical cases, politically sensitive cases and also convenient cases. As the aim here is to explore certain issues in car schemes generally, highlighting common patterns and unique variations that emerge, this rationale is chosen.

Two other methods have however come to bear in the choice of cases. Firstly, although there can be no such thing as a typical voluntary car scheme, two of the schemes in the County were dismissed outright because they are so different in their aims to the others. These are the two Community Care Groups who only provide transport as part of their wider care services. This therefore injects a measure of Patton's "typical case sampling strategy" into this rationale. An element of expediency is also present, with choice being made to a certain extent with regard to gaining access to the schemes. Much has been written on gaining access to conduct research (eg Buchanan et al, 1988, Burgess, 1984) and this will

be discussed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight at the individual case level. Suffice it to say here that coordinators of various schemes are known to the researcher, including those at two of the selected case studies. With time available for field research being finite, this is undoubtedly a consideration in choice, as long periods of access negotiation could have been at least problematic, at worst disastrous to the research. These realities of the research said, the cases selected do meet the criteria of the research aims, questions and sampling strategy. It is felt that with some degree of anticipation of potential problems and constraints, a course of 'least resistance' for the research can be plotted, which in no way negates the validity and reliability of the findings.

## **5.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The above has discussed the research strategy which stems from the research questions posed. A detailed methodology utilizing various techniques will now be presented, to be used within this theory building multiple case study strategy.

### **5.2.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches**

Various sources of evidence can be the focus of data collection in case studies; documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. These can include the whole gamut of quantitative and qualitative research techniques, combining the two, or even being limited to only one of the approaches. Quantitative research methods are often termed scientific methods as they are based on the measurement of certain pre-determined properties. Qualitative techniques however, are concerned with understanding how the subject of the research constructs their world, therefore there are no pre-determined categories to measure. The emphasis is upon allowing the categories to emerge.

In deciding the mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods to be used, one should choose the techniques which will address the research aims and questions. The aim is to evaluate the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes, with specific reference to change. The case study

strategy is seen as the most appropriate strategy to addressing this. One approach within this strategy is to allow those involved with the scheme to explore and explain, in their own words, the operation and management of the schemes, and the issues which they see as important to it. Indeed this can be seen to be the most appropriate way of finding out what is important in influencing rural voluntary car schemes in the context in which they operate for two reasons. Firstly, it has been shown in Section 3.1.2, in discussing RUTEX, that the influence of individuals upon experimental schemes cannot be overstated. Thus an individual centred approach is necessary in this analysis. Secondly, the management of an organisation is enacted by individuals whose own perception of the 'reality' in which they operate is crucial. A quantitative approach could only measure the importance of predetermined variables on the operation and management of the organisation. Hence it would involve a researcher's judgement of what is their 'reality'.

There is much (often polarised) argument concerning the relative merits of quantitative versus qualitative research methods, and vice versa. Much of the debate stems from commitment to certain philosophical stances; the positivists adopting quantitative methods to analyse and define the objective reality which they feel exists, the phenomenologist adopting qualitative methods to tap into the internal 'reality' of the subject (which is taken from a multiple array of 'realities'). In practice, however, both qualitative techniques and quantitative techniques are often used side by side. Bryman (1984) notes that in recent literature there are three areas in which the link between epistemological position and data collection techniques used breakdown. These are in (a) the arguments based on appropriateness of techniques for certain problems, (b) the use of qualitative techniques for exploration and quantitative for verification, and (c) the view of the two approaches being complimentary. Two of these three areas are mentioned above in the discussion on choice of qualitative emphasis (because it is appropriate) and mixing of the two techniques (because they are complimentary). This then suggests a break from the epistemological position which permeates the research questions. This position is based on understanding the perceptions of actors in the scheme as the key to understanding the operation and management of the schemes - a phenomenological approach. However, as stated earlier it is felt that this is not the only approach, and will provide one viewpoint on voluntary

car schemes which must be judged by the yardstick of the research methods themselves.

### **5.2.2 Research Methods**

The research tools adopted aim to provide a flexible, mainly qualitative, approach to exploring and explaining the operation and management of car schemes and the reasons why/why not change does/does not occur. The techniques used at the individual case study site cover interviews, observation and participant-observation, and document searches.

#### **a) Interviews**

Patton (1980) outlines three variations of the qualitative interview. The informal conversational interview is designed for complete flexibility. There are no predetermined questions and questions flow from the immediate context. While no such interviews are stipulated in the research methods used here, they were in actuality found to be of particular use in the participant-observation sections of the research, when the researcher was 'chatting' to clients he transported in his car.

The interview guide was the most frequently used interview technique. Here a list of questions is compiled that will be addressed during the time allotted. As Patton notes, the advantage with this technique is that basically the same information is obtained from all people interviewed (the interview is focused), yet it allows individual perspectives to emerge.

Standardised open-ended interviews are used to obtain information systematically from respondents. The questions are open-ended, yet are asked in exactly the same way to each respondent - hence are they standardised. This technique was used less frequently than the others, yet importantly early on in the study to obtain the coordinators' view of the scheme and certain parameters of it.

In all interviewing it is particularly important to develop a good, trusting relationship with the interviewee in order to encourage discussion. Obviously this includes providing assurances about the confidentiality of all findings, yet it was

found, in the field, to go much further than this. Non-threatening language and dress were important, as was the central tenet stressed, (especially to coordinators) that they were the experts, and the researcher is attempting to learn what it is like to do their job. This was particularly important in the two smaller schemes whose contact with academia were nil. (Particular examples and conclusions will be highlighted in the individual case analyses).

## **b) Observation and Participant-Observation**

Gold (1958) (in Burgess (1984)) outlines four roles for the observer, ranging from 'complete participant' to 'complete observer'. 'Complete participant' observation hides any observation role in membership of the group/organisation, and observation is covert. 'Participant-as-observer' involves the researcher participating as well as observing. S/he makes explicit the observational role, yet develops relationships with the observed. 'Observer-as-participant' and 'complete-observer' are differentiated by their contact with the subject, which is brief and detached respectively.

In this research, using Gold's typology, the researcher was took up two roles. In driving for the schemes the researcher was first and foremost observing, yet becoming part of the scheme to the user he transported (participant-as-observer). In sitting in on other drivers' trips he was more observer-as-participant, sitting in the rear seat chatting to driver and user. In interviewing and sitting in on the schemes' operations he was again observer-as-participant. Yet Gold's typology does not account for the relationship which developed in the case studies. While driving for the schemes was the only true participatory activity, the observer-as-participant role is too remote. By constant contact and interaction with the few people involved in these small organisations, immersion into their organisations was unavoidable.

Observation has often been seen as open to too much researcher bias which affects the reliability of the research. However a prepared researcher who records what is seen and heard diligently can use observational techniques to understand the context of the organisation, to see things which participants may take for granted or feel unwilling to discuss, and, importantly, to gain impressions about

the organisation which then become part of the data (Patton, 1980). The juxtaposition of observational data from separate cases is particularly illuminating.

### **c) Document searches**

Documents can include any kind of record held by the organisation including letters, minutes of meetings published and unpublished reports. If access is obtained to these documents they cannot provide useful insights in their own right, but can provide a touchstone by which to judge the qualitative data. This was particularly useful in the car schemes studied as quantitative information on operational criteria could sometimes be computed from documents provided. Also of interest was the actual amount of documentary information available at the schemes which gives an insight into the level of formality at these small organisations.

A particular strength of the case study strategy is its readiness to include various data collection methods, and data sources. By combining the various evidence from these, triangulation is possible, ie a cross-checking of data which increases its validity. This done, stronger findings and theories can be built, the diverse sources coming together to provide rich insight into the case.

### **5.2.3 Research Techniques**

The plan of the research techniques is outlined in Figure 5.2, with Appendix C containing descriptions of the actual research techniques. It can be seen that Figure 5.2 is in four columns addressing what question is being addressed, how it is to be addressed (the research technique), the research method to which the particular technique belongs, and who is to be the subject of the inquiry. The division of the research design into questions, and techniques to answer them, is however somewhat misleading. The techniques overlap and all can illuminate the questions posed. All techniques come together to create an overall picture of the organisation; how this occurs depends on what emerges in the field at the case study sites. The techniques are briefly described below, the full aims and methods appearing in Appendix C.

FIG. 5.2 THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

RESEARCH QUESTION	TECHNIQUE	METHOD	SUBJECT
What is the car scheme? (operation and aims)	1. <i>Introductory discussion</i>	Conversational interview	'Co-ordinator'/Initial Contact
	2. <i>Questionnaire</i>	Standardised open ended questionnaire	'Co-ordinator'/Initial Contact
What influences the car scheme?	3. <i>Searches</i>	Document searches and requests	'Co-ordinator'/Initial Contact
	4. (a) <i>Boundaries</i> (b) <i>Landmarks</i> (c) <i>Chronicle</i>	Unstructured interviews using interview guides	All involved at the scheme. Key actor(s) Key actor(s)
	5. (a) <i>Job description</i>	Respondent completed document and discussion	Key actor(s)
	(b) <i>Activity diary</i>	Respondent completed document and observation	Key actor(s)/scheme
How is it changing?	6. (a) <i>Attributes</i> (b) <i>Attitudes</i>	Unstructured interviews using interview guides	Key Actors
	7. <i>Change Resumes</i>	Unstructured interviews using interview guides Plus observation Plus observation/participant observation	
Why (or why not) is it changing?	8. <i>Exploration</i>	As necessary	As necessary

Research techniques 1, 2 and 3, the *Introductory Discussion*, *Questionnaire*, and *Searches*, yield information on the scheme and its operation by providing a checklist approach to obtaining the operational parameters of the scheme. They do however go somewhat further, due to the method in which they are administered. Using an open ended structured interview approach the subject is allowed to emphasise issues s/he feels is important, under the topic raised. The subject of these techniques is the coordinator of the scheme as defined by the scheme in the initial contact with the organisation, and are the people responsible for the day to day running of the scheme.

The *Introductory Discussion* comprises of a very informal conversation with the coordinator with the aim of securing access to the scheme, and obtaining some general introductory information on the scheme which is useful to help plan the research at the study site (for example when it will be convenient and suitable to conduct the various techniques). Also the technique provides an initial impression of the scheme from the coordinator.

The *Questionnaire* aims to provide core operational data on the scheme, its users, resources, and environment in which it operates. As mentioned above it is a structured open-ended interview from which standard information is obtained. However the respondent can emphasise their own perceptions in this technique.

The *Searches* are in two parts, (a) a document search to follow up issues addressed in the *Questionnaire*, and (b) a general information request. *Searches* (a) aims to verify certain issues and identify any change in them through documentary evidence, whereas *Searches* (b) is an attempt to indicate the level of information available at hand, and also after a period of one week from a request at the scheme. This provides an insight into the level of formal data available at the scheme.

Research techniques 4, 5 and 6 again look at the scheme itself, but aim to discover important influences on the scheme. This is done by looking at present (and past) features of the organisation, including its organisation, strategies, operation, decision making processes, history and *raison d'être*. These techniques utilise interview guides, together with observation and respondent completed diaries and descriptions.

Technique 4 aims to identify potential influences on the scheme by; *Boundaries* - finding out the involvement of actors in the scheme; *Landmarks* - identifying key decisions in the organisation and how they were/are made; *Chronicle* - finding out how the scheme has evolved, and what has been important in this. Boundaries is aimed at all involved in the scheme at the present time, Landmarks and Chronicle being aimed at 'key actors' identified in the Boundaries.

Technique 5 looks at how the scheme works, and the influence of key actors on the strategy of the scheme. The *Job Description* is a respondent completed form (and subsequent discussion), which asks the key actor concerned to imagine they are leaving their post indefinitely and to compile a 'Job Guide' for their stand in. This serves two purposes. First, it prompts the respondent on longer term strategic issues and influences on the scheme, due to the 'indefinite' component. Second, the acting/'imagination' component distances the respondent from their position allowing the respondent to "get at" his/her thinking on the subject (Eden (et al), 1983, p 29).

The *Activity Diary* looks at day-to-day influences on the scheme, and the role of key actors in it. Originally a purely observational technique, it was amended for two of the schemes. This was because activity concerning the schemes that were run from home was sporadic, and on an ad hoc basis. Thus observation was not feasible. Therefore all the schemes were given two sizes of an 'Activity Form' to fill in, which could be filled with tasks performed concerning the scheme including who was involved. Discussion afterwards focused on the typicality of the week, and tasks not occurring. The traditional observation of day to day workings was only possible, and therefore carried out, at the office based scheme. However some observation was possible at non office based schemes during visits to the schemes to administer other techniques.

Technique 6 is again in two parts, together looking at key individuals in the scheme, and their own background and involvement in transport in *Attributes*, and their vision for the future in *Attitudes*. Again an interview guide is used for both techniques. Attributes attempts to uncover the key actors' motivation to be involved in voluntary transport provision. While personal information is not asked directly, in order to avoid any notion of a threat from the researcher, it is gleaned from any other discussion in which the topic arises. While the aim of the Attitudes

is to ascertain the key actors' perceptions of the future and their influence on it, it also raises directly the issue of change in the scheme. Again scenarios are used to distance the respondent from reality.

Research technique 7, the *Change Resumes*, focus on change in the scheme specifically as perceived by various actors both within and outside the organisation. "Change" as a concept is difficult to comprehend and hence the techniques aim to both ground the concept (give it a focus), and introduce it progressively. The techniques again make use of interview guides and observation techniques, though also necessarily involve participant observation. These discussions/interviews are designed to include all those involved in the scheme in various ways. Initially the subject's knowledge and attitudes to the scheme are examined, though the main thrust of the interviews is their perception of change in the scheme and reasons for it. The technique is in four parts, covering various groups involved in the scheme. With users and drivers it is important to enter their world and as such they are interviewed during the trip in the car, or at the destination. Participant observation is very useful in this area. Users perceptions of the scheme and change in it are found using observation and interview guides, with the researcher acting as either co-passenger or driver. Drivers perceptions are discussed and observed by the researcher acting as a co-passenger. Also, by driving for the scheme, the researcher puts himself in the shoes of the driver, which provides useful insights.

In interviewing key actors at the scheme and key actors external to the scheme (as identified by earlier techniques), a focus to change in the organisation is used. The subject is asked to describe a chart for the scheme, similar to the "ones in the ACME Ltd cartoons of managing directors". By discussing the curve described, change in the organisation can be discussed. Again the fictitious cartoon scenario allows distancing from reality enabling easy discussion. Also, with the cartoon character/fictitious scenario there is an element of projective technique (Branthwaite and Lunn, 1985) whereby the barriers to talking about the car scheme to which they are so close are in part broken down. The aim in the *Change Resumes* is to obtain perceptions of the organisation, change in it, and reasons for change/lack of it.

Technique 8, the *Exploration*, is a catch all 'technique'. It consists of the tying together of the themes emerging in the earlier techniques, and the collection of any new data which is needed to do this. Only one technique was used in all three studies under this heading, this being the investigation of the reasons behind drivers leaving the scheme, or becoming less active. It is in effect the natural, step after interviewing current drivers concerning their perceptions of the scheme, and change in it.

This discussion of research tools provides a sanitised view of the research. Designing the research and deciding upon the techniques to be used was only the start of the research, and at times changes of plan became the rule rather than the exception. While these changes were an important part of the research process, and indeed the case study data (they are recorded and will be discussed for the individual studies) at times the researcher became anxious as to the next step. Of particular concern was the appropriateness of the techniques at the different case study schemes. At the Village Scheme certain techniques were laughed at by the subject (and the researcher) because they were obviously of no relevance in that context, however they still needed to be asked in order to illicit this response. Occasionally the word order was changed, but the meaning and question itself could not be shied away from. As worrying at the time was the inappropriateness of the method of administering the technique. While the home run schemes were difficult to observe, as little actually happened in the course of a said day, the office run scheme was always hectic. Visiting the scheme with the aim of completing technique x, y or z was impossible. Opportunism in the research became the only way forward. As in Bresnen (1988), the list of 'perfect' techniques, in his case his questionnaire, took a battering, and people were interviewed when the opportunity arose. One had to become content with visiting the study organisation more often in order to increase the opportunity, and be content to observe in only the majority of visits. Again, though at times unnerving, this becomes a valuable part of the experience in the case study.

### 5.3 ANALYSIS

The "logical" model of the research process suggests that the final section in the discussion of the research design is analysis and findings. However in the theory

building approach to case studies, and indeed most qualitative field research, there is a simultaneous collection and analysis of the data. Analysis will thus be discussed under the three headings, covering that which took place;

- a) during the individual case study - In the field;
- b) at the conclusion of the individual study - Within Case Analysis, and;
- c) at the conclusion of all case three studies - Cross Case Analysis.

### **5.3.1 Analysis in the Field**

During data collection a set of field notes should be generated to force the researcher to constantly ask questions of him/her self, to record impressions, and to note how opinions/ideas are changing with immersion in the case study. Following Burgess (1984) these notes can be divided into three. Firstly, transcriptions of interviews are the "substantive fieldnotes" which have systematically recorded the case study, and include documents, diaries, descriptions of events. Secondly, "analytic fieldnotes" are written up after the technique. These look at the analytic questions the research is addressing, the themes that are emerging in the process, and the concepts to be developed. It is particularly important to make these notes because as one becomes immersed in the study, ideas and thoughts on the research change, and the documenting of this change is particularly useful. Finally, "methodological fieldnotes" cover impressions on activities in the field, noting problems and reflections, and provide the context to the techniques.

While Eisenhardt (1989) notes how to record successful fieldnotes, she only states one reason as to why they should be taken; in order to be flexible in data collection, and to adjust research techniques, for example by adding new techniques/cases. Burgess (1984) gives various reasons for their use, including reflection (methodological notes), systematic recording of events (substantive notes) and to make future analysis easier (analytic notes). In this research the overriding utility of the fieldnotes, (not including transcriptions and observations, which were the raw data of the studies) was in their forcing the researcher to think systematically about what had been learnt about a case after a tiring day in the field. The notes varied in length and insight, yet as a prompt to thought they were

invaluable. Allied to this, the notes became a personal diary of the research, giving honest reflections on how the work was proceeding. This helped any problems to be thought out 'on paper': the acceptance of an opportunistic approach at the office based scheme was greatly aided by pouring ones heart out to the personal research diary.

### 5.3.2 Within Case Analysis

Eisenhardt describes the aims of within case analysis as;

"to become intimately familiar with each case as a stand-alone entity. This process allows the unique patterns of each case to emerge before investigators push to generalise patterns across cases"

(p 540)

However the volume of data often makes this a more difficult task than it appears. The texts that exist on qualitative data analysis generally give techniques or tips to aid the process (Burgess, 1984, Miles and Huberman, 1984), all with the aim of becoming familiar with the case. A recurring theme in the literature is the indexing of fieldnotes, ie labelling notes with reasons why the point is interesting/important (bearing in mind the study questions), the labels eventually being organised into categories of similar labels. This was found to be a structured yet inflexible approach to analysis. By looking at every line in a transcription, the emphasis became shifted to very small details as opposed to general issues; it was felt that the process stifled patterns emerging. Instead a summary sheet for an interview/observation was prepared outlining key issues and evidence that were felt to have emerged in addressing the research questions. In doing this rival explanations or conflicting evidence could then be considered (the field note book being of particular use) the issues being subsequently discarded or revised.

The within case analysis was finalised with a "Case Study Profile" describing the case and providing structured information about it. This, together with a summary of the issues which emerged from the data and evidence for them, became the case study write up. These are presented for individual cases in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight

### 5.3.3 Cross Case Analysis

Eisenhardt (1989) notes that the idea behind cross case analysis is to force the researcher to go beyond initial impressions of the study, with the intention of generating meaningful concepts. Various tactics are suggested to do this, including dividing the data by data source (the aim being to corroborate or reject emerging ideas), listing similarities and differences between cases, and looking for within-group similarities and between-group differences (thus generating a coherent classification). Miles and Huberman (1984) describe methods to aid this process including the use of flow diagrams, matrices and continuum. These are all examples of Patton's (1980) logical analysis; forcing the researcher to think about the findings; and logically extending the results.

All descriptions of this analysis process render it rigid and mechanistic. The methods used to "force" thought should be suited to the researcher and the data, and it is very difficult to describe such a process (as shown in Miles and Huberman, 1984). Bearing this in mind, the approach adopted here is outlined below. Figure 5.1 highlights two inputs into the cross analysis that were an essential ingredient of this analysis. Following the final case study the original **research questions** were reviewed, as were the original trail of thoughts and assumptions that led to the formulation of the questions. The purpose of this was to focus the mind upon the original conceptions the researcher had before the research techniques had been applied. As noted in Section 5.3.1 ideas change throughout the whole length of the research. If original trails of thought and questions are not reviewed, an important finding of the work could be missed at the end of the research, it merely being assumed to be part of this new found wisdom.

Once the researcher was again familiar with the original context of the research, the within case issues from the individual studies and the data, upon which they were founded, were cross-assessed. This follows Eisenhardts **iteration**, whereby an iterative process takes place, assessing how well the issues emerging at individual cases compares with evidence from the other cases. However unlike Eisenhardt who see the role of iteration only at the penultimate "shaping hypotheses" stage of theory-building research, in this work it is felt that any cross comparison of issues could only be valid if the data upon which they were

founded was considered. An iterative comparison of both data and issues therefore provided a useful framework for cross analysis.

A useful tool in this iterative analysis was the listing of issues from case studies and the evidence for them. Similarities and differences between issues were then listed, asking the question: why are they different? The data underpinning the issues could then be used to answer the question, illustrating certain conceptual similarities and differences. Another step consisted of displaying conceptual similarities and difference in matrices. This was particularly helpful as when empty cells for a certain concept are present, the researcher is forced to attempt to answer why this concept was not represented by reference to the case study data.

After this, the researcher was thoroughly conversant with all data and issues, and imperceptibly had started to develop concepts of which it was felt the issues were part. This movement into **concept development** was established by three particular aids to the process; arrays, flow diagrams, and definitions. Arrays show the extreme manifestations of individual concepts. The positioning of the case study findings relative to one another along such an array forcing the refinement of rough conceptual ideas. Flow diagrams focus the researchers thought on the implications of various concepts, and their interaction, and the constant definition and redefinition of concepts into concise, three to four sentence explanations, being of particular use. Obviously by placing ones thoughts into words, one is forced to think through ideas. Many different arrays, diagrams and definitions were developed at this stage of the research. Chapter Nine presents the final definitions and arrays which it is felt are important in explaining the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes. In Section 9.1 a simplified summary of the cross analysis of the within case issues is presented. This shows various unifying themes which aided the conceptualisation of the findings presented in Sections 9.2, 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5.

#### 5.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has built upon the stated aims of the research to develop an appropriate research strategy to address these aims. This strategy involves a theory building approach based on case study research. This approach is

particularly appropriate because of the explanatory nature of the research questions posed for these organisations. Various methods have been developed to provide a rigorous analysis of the organisations selected.

Some of the strengths and weaknesses of the approach adopted have been described, because the methods used provide the yardstick against which the conclusions of this work will be judged. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight will show the results of the approach in the form of case study profiles. These will take the reader up to the level of the within case analysis at the individual studies. In these individual profiles a further evaluation of the methodology will be provided by describing how well the individual techniques performed in the field.

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## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME**

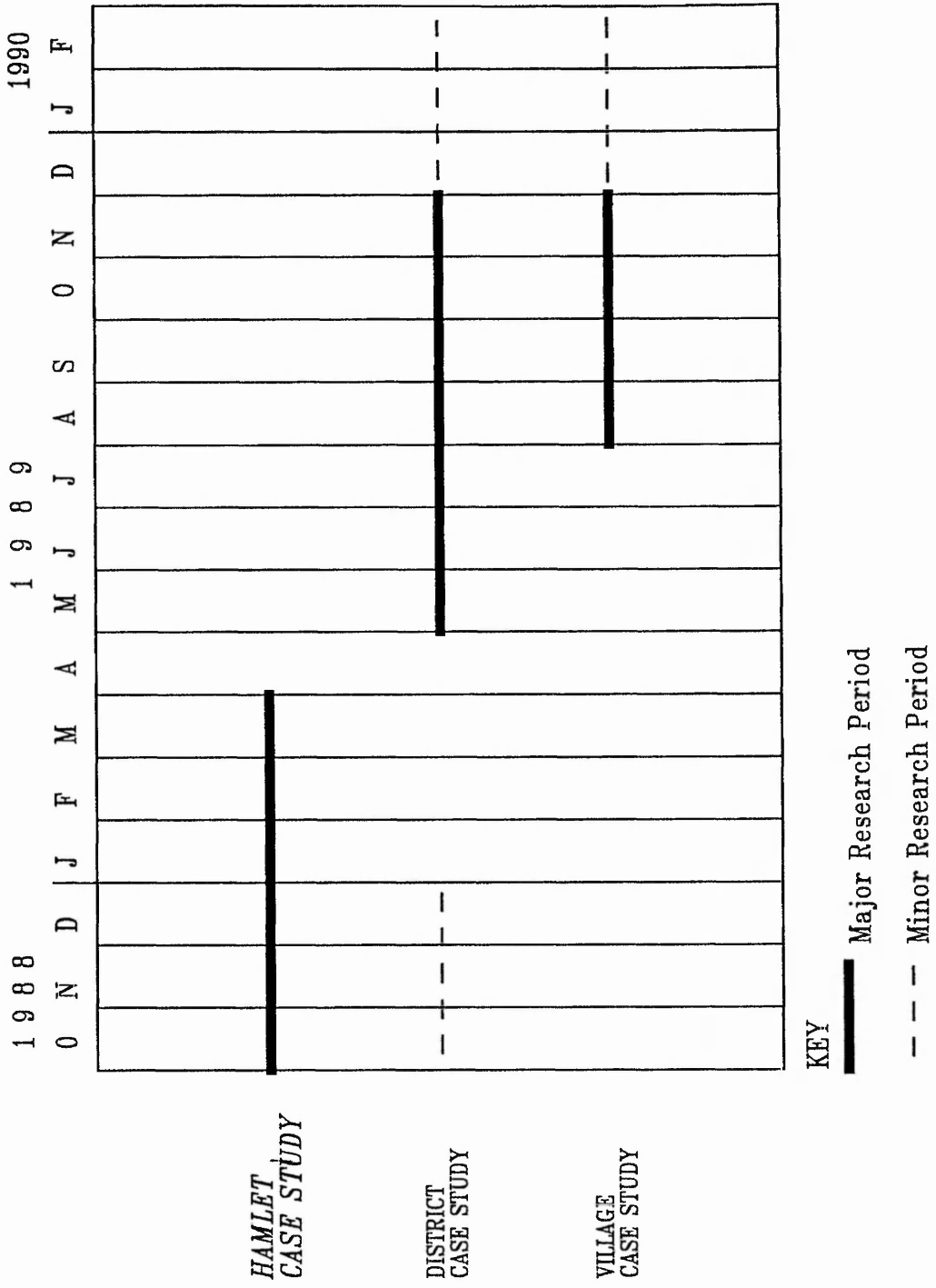
The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of the first case study at the Hamlet Scheme, describing the themes that emerge in addressing the research questions at this site. The chapter initially covers (Section 6.1) issues which emerged in gaining access to the case study and performing the research techniques. This is followed (Section 6.2) by a detailed account of the study, including a profile of the Scheme built largely on the findings from the Questionnaire and Searches, and a discussion (Section 6.3) of the analysis of the organisation built upon the other techniques. These techniques come together synergistically to provide a picture of the case study, the within-case analysis (Section 6.4) outlining the conclusions drawn.

#### **6.1 GETTING IN AND GETTING ON**

Buchanan et al (1988) have given guidelines to organisation researchers which they see as central to the researchers' effectiveness in the field. These cover the whole time at the study organisation. This section will cover the time at the Hamlet Scheme under Buchanan's headings of "getting in and getting on": the negotiation of access and the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

At first sight the 'negotiation' of access at the Hamlet Scheme was simple and straightforward. An initial 'cold' telephone call in August 1988 outlined the researcher's interest in car schemes and desire to visit the Organiser for a chat about the Scheme. However due to holidays she was not available until early September. The second phone call, in early October elicited a first meeting at her home in mid October. It was to be the first of many trips to the Hamlet between then and April 1989. Figure 6.1 shows a timetable of the research undertaken. Having followed Buchanan's advice, the effectiveness of their recommended approach at the Hamlet Scheme can be evaluated.

**FIG 6.1 TIMETABLE OF RESEARCH**



Buchanans advice of;

"Use non-threatening language when explaining the nature and purpose of your study",

was indeed needed in the *Introductory Discussion*. The need for non-threatening language (such as wanting to "learn from your experiences" and not "research the scheme") was immediately apparent. The scheme was a home run scheme, but more specifically a front room run scheme. All other home run schemes visited had been administered in the kitchen, office or study, but this was in the living room; one was entering not a car scheme, but someone's home, and indeed life, with the informality that this entails. The interview schedule for the *Introductory Discussion* had sufficed in other meetings, however the conversational approach was found to be difficult here. The Organiser was nervous. The use of a conversational, non-threatening approach could not negate a problem which arose having following Buchanan's advice .....

"Use friends and relatives wherever possible".

The friend used in this case was the Rural Community Council's Transport Officer, who is the central point for non-financial support for car schemes in the County and thus known by all Coordinators. He expressed a desire to visit the Hamlet Scheme, to which the Organiser agreed. It was thought that his presence would be useful, as he could be seen to be supporting the research which would increase its credibility. However the presence of the Officer, in the albeit informal approach made, gave the meeting a smack of an official visit, only increasing the tension in an already shy Organiser.

While the situation described may have increased her nervousness and ability to speak, it is felt that it did not alter her response to the request for the Hamlet Scheme to be a case study, however his presence did affect the time taken to gain access. Buchanan states;

"Allow for this (access negotiation) to take time",

and in Buchanan's terms access was easily won, access being obtained at the first meeting. However effective access had to be won over time. Firstly the early techniques took longer to administer, as a long preamble accompanied individual techniques which aimed to become acquainted with the Organiser. Secondly extra visits and phone calls were used in the early stages of the study, designed specifically to increase contact with her and gain her confidence. This worked well and the Organiser became noticeably more relaxed, especially as a result of describing personal experiences, thus increasing the researchers approachability.

Buchanan's advice thus needs qualifying. Sometimes in a small organisation, one person may have the decision regarding access. This person may grant access quickly, but need reassurance over a longer period of time, effective access thus being gradually won. Important in this is the screening out of those people who, if associated with the research, would give it a certain air. The problem with this screening out, is that if one is approaching the study cold, the subject is not known to the researcher, and thus one does not know who, or what to screen out. Access would thus be ideally approached by initial contacts with the subject on a one to one basis without specific reference to the proposed research.

Buchanan's final two recommendations were also taken on board;

"... deal positively with respondents' reservations with respect to time and confidentiality. (Fifth), offer a report of your findings"

The first of these did not seem necessary. While the work and time involved was detailed to the Organiser, together with the fact that everything was in strict confidence, the Organiser merely nodded. Not once were any reservations raised during the research. However while she often laughed during the research if a session was preceded with "obviously this is in strict confidence", she did occasionally point to the tape recorder and, half jokingly, ask not to let anyone hear the tape. This always concerned some item of village scandal or gossip, and nothing intrinsic to the research. Thus while the confidentiality promise seemed to have little effect on 'getting in' it was useful in establishing what the Organiser herself saw as confidential.

A report on the work was also offered at the outset, and occasionally during the research. This again only elicited a nod. However once time at the study site was completed, the Coordinator took up a specific offer to write an article about the scheme for the village news letter. She also went further, in writing;

"I would be grateful (sic) for something for the news letter, also I would like a report about what you thought of the scheme and if you knew any way we could improve it etc"

When a verbal response to the request for an evaluation was given, she was noticeably relieved after the researcher initially noted that the scheme was "doing a good job". However she was not very interested in wider issues (eg Health Authority funding and concessionary payments) that were raised; all that was needed was personal reassurance. She did not request further feedback. Thus while offering feedback may help at the outset, and during the research, its particular utility is in noting the form of feedback which is requested, and reaction to it.

A final point on access to the scheme, of equal relevance to the other case studies, concerns participant observation. It was found that in offering to, and actually driving for the scheme, not only was goodwill achieved, but Coordinators and others involved at the scheme became easier to approach. Existing contacts were more approachable, and new contacts, upon hearing the researcher had driven for the scheme previously, chatted openly about experiences. Driving was always a topic of conversation and a useful lead. The driving element of the research was thus performed at an early stage in the following case studies.

## **6.2 HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME PROFILE**

Following the format of the overview of all schemes in Nottinghamshire outlined in Section 3.2, this profile will first describe the general organisation of the scheme, followed by the service provided, going on to the resources used to provide this service. While the aim of the profile is factual description, it does go much further than that of the Countywide description in Chapter Three which was based on a questionnaire survey. The standardised open ended interview technique used in

the *Questionnaire*, and probing of data available in the *Searches* puts greater onus on the context of the organisation, the emphases and nuances derived giving an understanding of the organisation in its own terms. Thus while comparable information for schemes is given in the profile, it also allows an understanding of the scheme as an entity in its own right. While this profile builds upon the *Questionnaire* and *Searches*, early on in the study some limits of the organisation had to be defined. Of particular use here was the *Boundaries* which asks the Organiser to recommend people to talk to who are involved in the Scheme, and those who are less involved now, in order to obtain a definition of the organisation. Figure 6.2 shows the results, and provides a reference for subsequent discussion of the Hamlet Scheme. The Organiser notes the help of two individuals other than those depicted in Figure 6.2; Mrs K and Mr W, especially Mrs K who will stand in if she is on holiday. When both were contacted "for a chat about the Scheme" they were incredulous that they had been mentioned as being involved, and did not feel they would be able to say anything informative about the scheme. Mrs K notes that "I think I stood in once for her ...". Obviously the Organiser includes people in the organisation who do not feel they are involved at all.

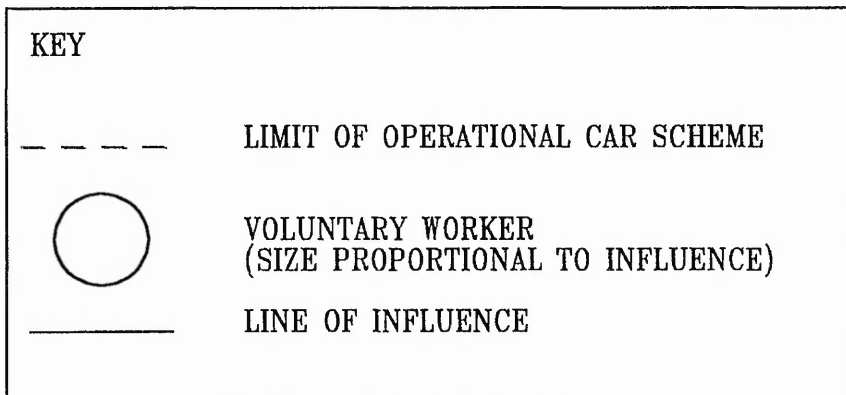
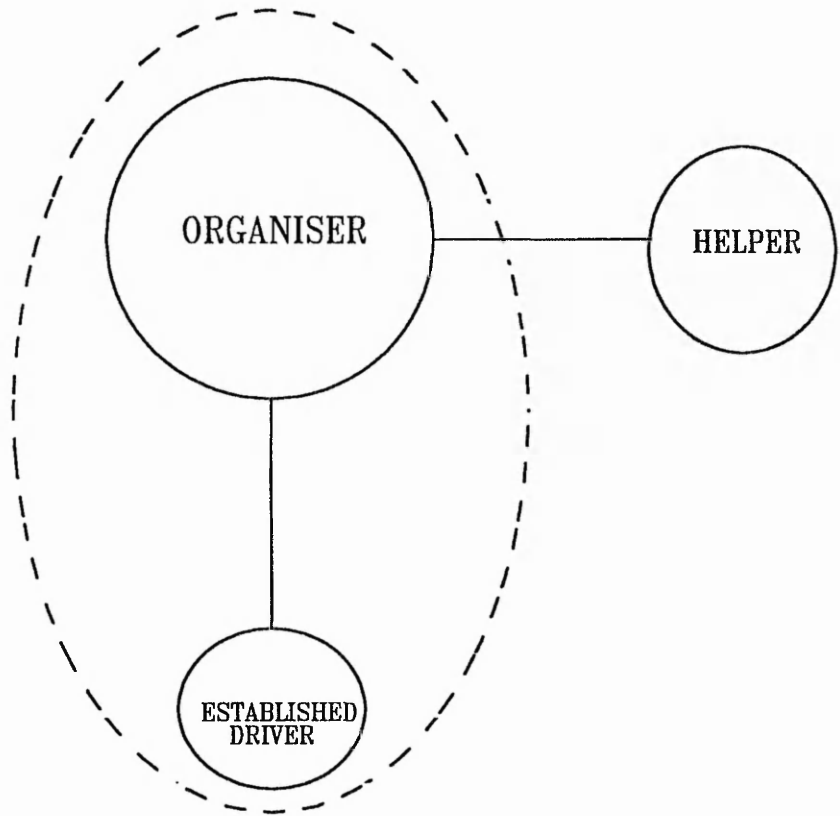
### **6.2.1 Organisation and Service**

<b>Base:</b>	<b>Coordinator's home</b>
<b>Area Served:</b>	<b>Hamlet and surrounding villages to approx radius of 5 miles. This includes Hamlet itself, one larger village (where one of the drivers lives), and two very small settlements.</b>
<b>Established:</b>	<b>September 1983</b>
<b>Personnel Involved:</b>	<b>One organiser</b>
<b>Constitution:</b>	<b>No</b>
<b>Steering Group:</b>	<b>No</b>

FIG. 6.2

HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME

ORGANISATIONAL MAP



**Criteria of Use:** Anybody

**Purpose of Use:** Medical - Yes.  
Day Centre - Perhaps.  
Shopping/Social - Unsure.  
Work - No.  
Combine Medical and Social - No.

**Referral Mechanism:** Self: 99%.

**Booking System:** User phones Organiser.  
Organiser phones Driver.  
Leave at that if driver available.

**Trips Available:** Anytime Driver available.

**Charge:** 14p pm (pence per mile) equivalent, ½ price with Bus Pass.

**Provide Escorts:** No

**Charge**

**Co-Passenger:** No

**Charge for**

**Shared Journey:** Yes

**Payment**

**Mechanism:** Driver paid in car by passenger, claims any outstanding monies from Organiser on Booking Form tear off slip.

The Scheme can be seen to be a small informal organisation, run by one person from her home in Hamlet. However she does note that users "can leave a message with the lady next door" (the Village Post Office). As will be discussed below, the Organiser feels that she is an important Helper. There is a very loose

definition of the area served, described as "sort of locally", and criteria and purpose for which the scheme can be used. It is noted by the organiser that the criteria of use are: "mm ... anybody really", and it appears that some potential demands on the Scheme just have not "cropped up", and thus have not been addressed. For example, asked whether shopping/social trips were catered for, she replies:

"I personally would (take people) but I don't think you could do it on the Scheme".

This was confirmed by the incomprehension when certain prompts were given. Asked if the Scheme would ever take Social Services' Day Centre Trips, the reply comes that she: "would if needed, never asked".

It is interesting that the Organiser is quite worried about the scheme "escalating" if other demands are catered for by the Scheme. It was to be heard again and again throughout the study that the Scheme was "ticking over" nicely, a situation that satisfies the Organiser. Indeed asked whether medical and social trips could be combined, she replies:

"No ... it could escalate".

The charge of 14p pm is small compared to the Nottinghamshire schemes described in Chapter Three, and charging has only been in force for 2 years. Before this, the service was provided free to users. Charging came into force because of dwindling finances. When asked if the current operating system of the Scheme (ie loose criteria/self referral) is open to abuse, the Organiser feels that it is not, though could have been when no charge was made. Even at that time though she feels the Scheme was not abused, though may be "one or two put on the scheme a bit".

### **6.2.2 Resources**

**Number of Drivers: 12/88 = 4 including Organiser**

**1/89 = 3 including Organiser**

**Sex:** All female

**Location:** 1 in neighbouring large village  
 1 coordinator's next door neighbour (other side to post office)  
 + Coordinator

**Finance:** Current Income: County Council Planning and  
 Transportation Department Grant £250  
 Bus Pass Claim £135  
 Balance October 1988 £575

The Hamlet Scheme thus has very low numbers of drivers available. In December 1988 the numbers fell to 3, which included the Organiser herself (who is constrained in her availability due to an organised shopping trip one morning a week, and attending a disabled persons' day centre two days a week). Of the other two drivers, one is the Organiser's next door neighbour (who is constrained by part time work). It is interesting that of the four people involved in the running of the Scheme (two drivers, Organiser, and Helper) three quarters actually live in adjacent houses. Documentary evidence shows that many drivers have been involved in driving for the Scheme throughout 1988 (12), though only the four noted have driven a significant amount of times (ie more than once per month). The other people had stopped driving for various reasons, which will be discussed in Section 6.3.4.

Finance in the Scheme is enough for it to "tick over", the County Council being the only funder through its block grant (given once per annum), and concessionary fare payments (claimed once per quarter). However other funders have aided the Scheme in the past. 1983 saw a grant of £266 from Opportunities for Volunteering for three years. It was when this "money from London" ended in September 1986 that the Scheme started charging passengers. The local District Council granted the Scheme £53, £118, and £115 in 1984, 1985, and 1987 respectively - all one-off grants. The only other source was a £50 donation from the Community Council upon the Scheme winning the "Village

Venture Competition" for rural community action. Asked whether the Scheme ever fundraised, it was found that this occurred:

"only when we're desperate - down to about £100".

Thus few resources provide a small village transport service. In fact most trips are for users in the larger village close to Hamlet (75%), 21% being for Hamlet users and 4% for users from the two other villages close by (1988 figures). Although trip numbers may be small, the current lack of drivers means that the Organiser has difficulties in meeting all trip requests, though has yet to turndown a trip due to lack of drivers.

Obtaining quantitative information from the Hamlet Scheme is made difficult by the fact that no records are kept by the Organiser, only the returned Booking Forms and a 'Cash Book'. The forms are used by the Organiser to record the trip request and appoint a driver. The appointed driver is given the sheet on which she enters the miles she has covered, monies received, and claim for reimbursement. The cash book records all cheques and payments incoming and outgoing, but are not audited annually even by the Organiser. Thus all information required has to be gleaned from these, or requested from the Organiser's memory. This obviously presents difficulties in itself, though of equal importance is the fact that the booking forms are not always fully completed by the driver or the Coordinator, and some only consist of the drivers tear off strip, thus losing much information. As such many statistical measures are not only difficult, but often impossible to derive.

### 6.2.3 Operation

	<b>Trips</b>	<b>Miles</b>
<b>1987</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>1988</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>2850</b>

**Destinations 1988: 84% Medical/Chiropodist/Dentist**

**16% Regular Old Peoples Club in neighbouring village**

This section is was crude due to the problems of data availability mentioned above. However some points of note emerge. The majority of trips are for health related reasons (1988); 35% of total trips being to the doctors surgery in a nearby village approximately 5 miles from Hamlet, 31% to the City Hospital approximately 13 miles away, the next most visited destination being an Old Peoples' Club at 16%. Thus the traditional rural community lift-giving model of the car scheme, which sees the schemes serving all transport needs, is not valid. The Organiser notes that the Scheme was established because medical need was felt, and this, coupled with her fears of escalation and lack of different demands mentioned earlier, has prioritised medical trips. Of particular note though is the flexibility of the trip purpose;

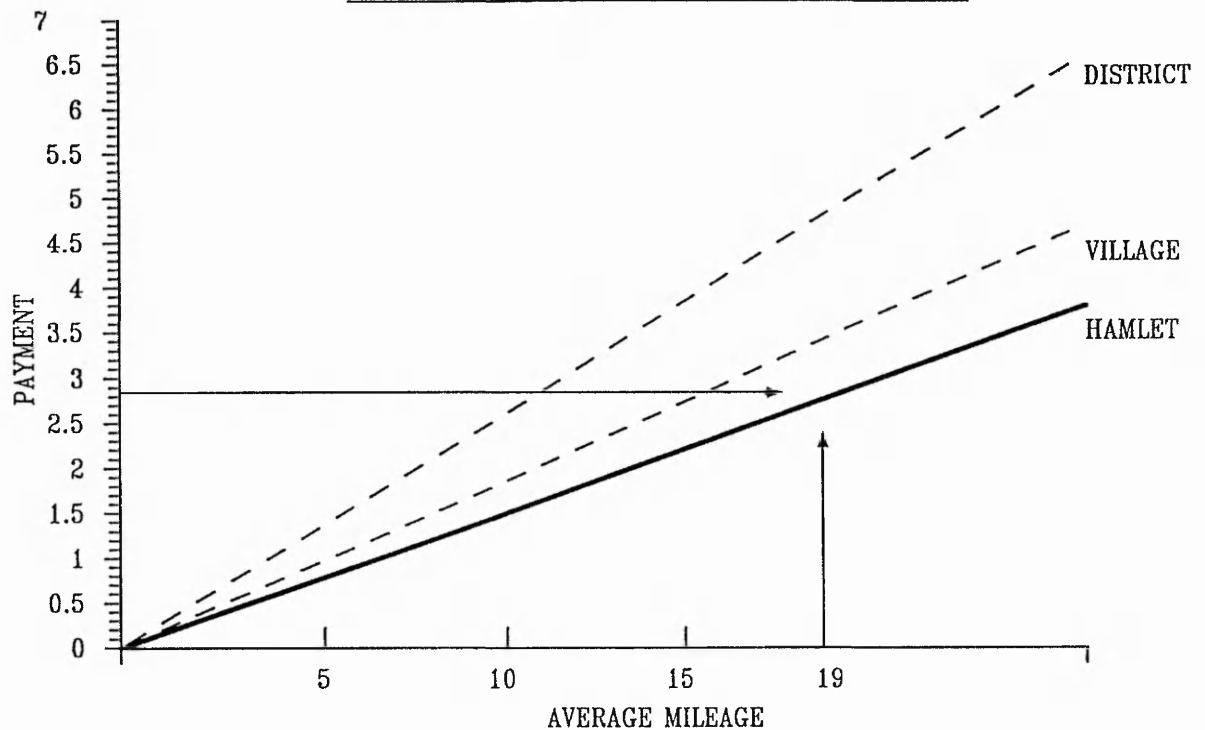
"I don't think you could do (social trips) on the Scheme",

yet the Old Peoples' Friendship Club, which is a social club once a fortnight at a local public house uses 16% of all trips, the third largest demand. This club is organised by villagers themselves.

Trips completed in 1988 were less than that of 1987, the most significant decline being in the second half of 1988. Why is this so? The lack of drivers could be blamed, however the Organiser notes that no trips have been refused because of lack of drivers. Indeed she could not give a reason for the decline. It appears from the Booking Forms that individuals' medical needs, which vary over time are currently low. Early 1988 saw regular demands from certain individuals which stopped with courses of treatment. With total numbers carried being small, these changes can have significant impacts on total numbers carried.

Another point, which will be discussed later, concerns the average journey lengths. 1988 saw average lengths of 17 miles per trip (Figure 6.3). At the low mileage rate of 14p pm, this means an average payment per trip to drivers of £2.38. Of course this is a very rough average but it does show that payments per trip are small. This takes on more significance when compared to the situation at the other study sites.

**FIG. 6.3 AVERAGE MILEAGE AND PAYMENT AT  
HAMLET VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME**



### 6.3 THE HAMLET STUDY

This section describes how the case study unfolded in more detail, before going on to outline the key themes emerging at the Hamlet Scheme in addressing the research questions. The period in the field included seventeen trips to the study site, and numerous phone calls to the Organiser (to keep in touch and to arrange meetings). The pre Christmas period consisted of interviews with the Organiser and occasional driving for the scheme (thus interviewing users). The post Christmas period was marked by more driving and the interviewing of drivers and users (by sitting in  $\bar{on}$  trips), and others involved in the scheme (which in effect was Helper). The express interviews with the "others involved" were thought to be the more threatening of interviews from a Organiser's point of view, and thus were only attempted after her confidence and goodwill had been gained. The final week covered interviews with ex-drivers, of which more below.

The pre-Christmas period also included a few observation sessions at the second study scheme of the District Voluntary Transport Scheme (see Chapter Seven) which turned out to be of some use. The direct juxtaposition of the two schemes raised various questions and crystallised certain issues. However, if this period at

the District Scheme would have included the administering of specific research tools, the replication logic of the research had been compromised, and the researcher confused. For this and other reasons, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven, the District study was postponed until the Hamlet study was complete.

### 6.3.1 The Organiser

The interviews with the Organiser of the Hamlet Scheme were a cushioned introduction to research in organisations. Meetings were arranged at her home where her individual attention was available for as long as desired, the usual period being 1½ to 2 hours. This meant that a meeting could be entered with specific aims, which it was known could be achieved in the time available (having allowed time for 'reassurance' as mentioned in Section 6.1). This was to be an ideal situation not repeated in the other studies.

While all the research tools were altered to the extent that the "front roominess" and informality of the Scheme required an even more friendly and informal manner than originally intended, only one tool the *Activity Diary* had to be altered significantly. The intention was to sit in on the schemes, observing them in operation. This would have been impossible at the Hamlet Scheme where work only occurred intermittently. Thus the matrix as shown in Appendix C was formulated for the Organiser (and other key actors) to fill in, two sizes of matrix being offered to the Scheme. Once completed it was the subject of discussion concerning the typicality of the week, and specific points on its contents. This technique was retained for the study of the Village Scheme.

When looking at decision making with the Organiser in the *Landmarks*, it is the lack of decisions that is surprising. Again the Organiser notes that Helper and Mrs K are "big helps" when any decisions have to be made, decisions being equated with problems at the Scheme by Organiser, which rarely occur. Helper, in response to who would decide if anything was to change about the scheme;

(emphatically) "Well the decision would rely entirely on Organiser ... it would be a case of what she felt she was able to cope with".

Decisions were also probed by looking at important times in the Scheme's history. Organiser, asked if she could remember the most important or critical letter the Scheme had received, eagerly recalls a circular letter from the County Council thanking all Scheme Coordinators for their work. The lack of decision making is further reinforced by the oral history given in the *Chronicle*, which uncovered the fact that the Scheme was in fact a Parish Councillor's idea which the Organiser was merely asked to transact. As the Organiser noted, the Councillor;

"... must have talked it over at a Parish Council meeting ... He asked me, and I agreed to do it as I had a lot of time on my hands"

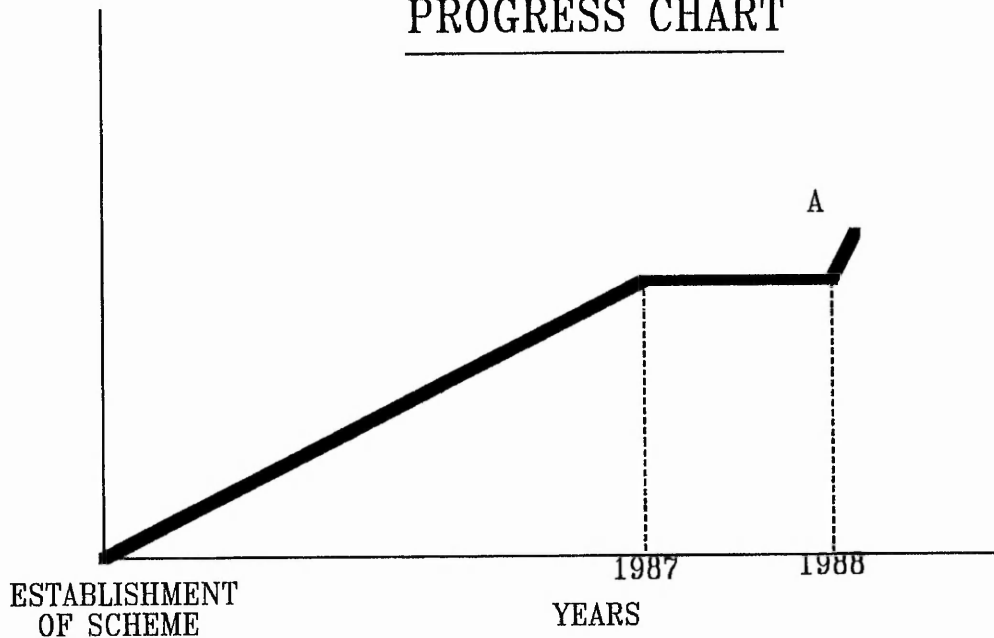
She helped set it up to the extent of helping organise fundraising, and recruiting drivers. It is indeed interesting that the Councillor was in fact a District Councillor who attended a Council meeting in which the funding of District Car Scheme was on the agenda. He then visited the District Scheme, as he thought that the Hamlet could benefit from such a scheme. He was interested to find that one of the District Scheme's drivers lived in the Hamlet and had recently become disabled in an accident. Chatting to the then Coordinator of the District Scheme, they decided it would be useful to establish a scheme in Hamlet.

Maybe this background to the Organiser's involvement explains her views on planning and change. The *Job Description* was designed to give the respondent the chance to emphasise strategic issues in their role by writing their own job description, highlighting any particularly important points. All of the Hamlet Organiser's reply, and all important points noted, consisted of day to day operational activities, with nothing resembling strategic issues at all. Indeed planning, strategic or otherwise, is equated negatively with expansion by the Organiser. When asking if any plans have ever been made for the Scheme, the Organiser, somewhat shocked, replies;

"eh ... what, to expand it? ... (She notes that one other village had wanted to come in with the Scheme but could not recruit the drivers) ... but, not major plans, no ..."

Change however does not have to be part of a master plan and it is interesting to see the progress chart she describes for the Hamlet Scheme (Figure 6.4). Importantly, kink A is due to the recruitment of one extra driver. This can be coupled with the results from the *Attitudes* technique, where the Organiser, when asked to look at the Scheme's horizon to see if there are any clouds or sunshine there, can see neither.

**FIG. 6.4 HAMLET ORGANISER'S SCHEME  
PROGRESS CHART**



The Organiser was a helpful, somewhat shy subject, who relaxed over the time spent with her. She was as surprised, as the researcher was embarrassed, by some of the questions asked in the very early meetings. Clouds on the horizon which were mentioned by other schemes, such as Government Bills and changing legislation seem a long way away from the Hamlet Organiser's front room in the rural Hamlet. She administers the Scheme quietly, and with few problems, that is enough for her. So, what is the best thing about the Scheme?

Hamlet Organiser: "I think it's a useful thing to do cos' I think without it, especially the older people and that, they'd be stuck to get to the Doctors and that. That's the only thing I can say ... It's a useful thing to do for the villagers ... it's that community thing really, in't it".

### 6.3.2 Key actors

The intention to allow the Organiser to identify 'key' actors in the organisation was adhered to in the *Boundaries* technique. This way important leads were obtained which could be followed up in interview. It also allowed a definition of the organisation in the members' terms, the Organiser's 'key actors' being asked for their own key people as well. This technique worked well, though not because key people could then be interviewed to discover their views on the Car Scheme as intended. Rather the key actors' inability to discuss the Scheme due to their lack of involvement emerges, showing:

- a) the lack of rigid structures in the organisation (people only come together for specific problems which occur), and;
- b) the lack of problems which actually do occur. Thus the Scheme to all intents and purposes is organised by the Organiser alone.

The only key actor defined by the Organiser who felt able to talk about the scheme was the Helper who is the village postmistress (run from her home's reception), Parish Councillor, and significantly the Organiser's neighbour. Helper's position is intermittent, being only for when 'problems' occur; this thus far being (from Helper's *Job Description*) (a) standing in for the Organiser when she is on holiday (it has happened once); (b) having a collection box for the Scheme on the Post Office Counter; (c) co-signing cheques; (d) putting a word in for the scheme to the Parish Council if it needs funds (this has never happened). Indeed as the Helper herself puts it in discussing what would happen if she left the scheme;

"I suppose really it ... (thinks) I've got a list of drivers, for both villages, and that would have to be passed on. Really the majority of work the Organiser does herself (thinks) ... and of course arrangements would have to be made for the booking ... Oh yes! There's one thing I did this week , I emptied out the box on the counter".

### 6.3.3 Users

Users were interviewed during trips in two ways; either by the researcher being a co-passenger (and using the opportunity to interview the drivers), or by being the driver. The Organiser was asked if users were available to "chat to" at the outset of the research, and she was very willing to arrange interviews with them. She was informed that users general impressions of the Scheme were sought, and she was offered an interview schedule to look over to check. However she laughed and said that she was not worried about any of the questions and declined to see the schedule.

Thirteen users were interviewed in total, five with the researcher as driver, and four as a co-passenger. Another four were interviewed during the Friendship Club Christmas Party in the local pub, an event to which the researcher had transported two people. Being a new face amongst the elderly people, and thus somewhat of a novelty, was useful in that they wished to fuss and speak to the researcher. The impromptu group interview which was conducted (of users who had come with other drivers) provided a good cross fertilisation of their ideas and a free ranging discussion ensued.

Two problems occurred when interviewing as driver and co-passenger, these being physical and methodological respectively. Firstly, as a driver taking someone to a destination, the time available to interview is limited to the time spent in the car. The waiting period before a medical appointment is variable, and often nervous patients, and a waiting room full of other such patients, make less than ideal subjects and settings. It would also be possible to conduct the interview before or after the trip. However it was felt that users were less than willing to be interviewed after a trip/appointment, and a pre-trip interview would have involved more work on the part of the Organiser in arranging the interview, and would have necessarily involved entering the users' home. This may not have been acceptable to the (predominantly) elderly subjects. Thus interviews were conducted whilst driving. The physical problems of interviewing when driving are not insurmountable. The handbrake of a car makes a useful hanger for a tape recorder, also the windows of the car can be shut and fan turned off, in order to cut down background noise (this was however a problem in the later studies which were conducted in warmer weather). The major problem occurs

during the interview itself. Whilst the interview schedule can be relatively easily memorised, it was often the case that when tapes were transcribed, it was realised that leads in the conversation had been missed and not probed fully. Obviously this was not evident at the time of the interview when concentration was necessarily divided. However the numbers interviewed in this manner was not great, and thus the significance of the problem should not be over stated.

The second problem was methodological and occurred in interviewing as a co-passenger. Here there is a problem of the users responses being affected by the presence of the driver. This could hinder and affect discussion on the Scheme generally the expression of any negative aspects of the scheme. Of course this could be a potentially large problem. However limited time and resources was partly the reason for such an approach - with time and travelling expenses to be the study site being limited, the opportunity to interview both user and driver was very attractive. These potential problems were countered in two ways. Firstly drivers were asked privately beforehand not to join in the interview with the user. In this way the user could be the focus of the discussion, allowing the researcher to concentrate, and be more attuned to any responses which needed to be probed. Occasionally drivers did join in, though almost invariably it was after the user had hinted at an aspect of the Scheme of which drivers were ignorant. Thus a driver's inquisitive response led to a discussion on the point, which if plotted clearly by transcription, could yield both user and driver views on the topic. A shocked driver response was often heard as knowledge about the Scheme on the part of drivers was usually very low in the Hamlet Scheme. For example on one trip a user was asked is she had ever had any problems obtaining a lift, or ever been turned down?;

User: eh, I did have trouble, I had an emergency last week, and Organiser tried everything and she couldn't ...

Researcher: couldn't get a car?

User: No. That's the only time.

Driver: Gosh she must be short (of drivers) now then! She asked me if I could go ..."

This led to a discussion on driver availability and why more people did not volunteer.

A second method was used to counter any clamming up in the presence of the driver on the part of the user, which was based on a truism learnt early on in the research: as soon as the interview is over, the respondent will start to give the information you asked for. Thus, once the interview schedule was complete, a point would be made of saying "Thank you, that's really useful and good of you", thus flagging the end of the interview. However the tape recorder was left running. Occasionally discussion would then be prompted by repeating the general thrust of their response. For example;

"Thank you, that's great and really useful. Yes, she does a good job doesn't she ..."

This usually led to a further insight, at a deeper level than the one procured during interview. Of course this raises ethical issues of taping without consent. However the respondent was always asked if a tape recorder could be used (invariably allowing this) and was always told when it was being turned off, even after the extra discussion. Thus anything new and perceived to be controversial coming from this discussion could be censored by the user.

The major findings from the *Change Resumes* to users are very much at odds with early preconceived ideas about the schemes, which envisaged that pressure for change in the organisation from users, what are often seen as in grass-roots organisations, would be strong. This was partly shattered in the very first user interview at the Hamlet Scheme, where questions about "the Scheme" were not even understood, and the concept of a voluntary car scheme had to be explained. The major reason which could be found for this was uncovered during participant observation. When the researcher's face turned up on the doorstep, users would always ask the whereabouts of their usual driver. If they had not been alerted to the 'new boy' by the Organiser, they would be very shocked. Users generally have the same driver at the Hamlet Scheme (as a general policy by the Organiser), and thus pressures to change on the Scheme from users would be difficult as "the Scheme" is, to them, somewhat transient.

The Scheme, once explained, or initially understood, would even then be seen not as an organisation, rather as the Organiser. Questions about the Scheme were

responded to as questions about the Organiser. Various comments, following questions about the Scheme, include;

"We can't fault it, I mean she, she tries hard to fix us in you know ... she's been wonderful, she tries very hard"

"Convenient, and well patronised. She does her best"

"You just basically ring up ... and leave it to the Organiser to organise, and the car's there on time - it's marvellous"

And asking about the pressures on the Scheme continuing to operate;

User: "The pressures that the Organiser has?"

Researcher: "Well the pressures on the Scheme"

User: "She tries to put herself out"

(Indeed in these quotes, and in all interviews at the Hamlet Scheme, the Organiser was referred to by her christian name.)

Thus any criticism of the Scheme would be criticism of her, which could be seen as a barrier to influences to change. The appointment of the same driver for a said user, and the self referral mechanism, whereby users talk to the Organiser directly, means that "the Scheme" does not exist in user minds, and if it is conjured up, is equated with the Organiser. The Organiser is the Scheme.

Needs in transport have been the subject of many articles and much time has been spent on their quantification, discussion and evaluation. That all trips witnessed in the Hamlet Car Scheme were needed at that point in time is the main conclusion of this Study. Public transport does exist in the area: one bus a week stops at the end of the road leading to Hamlet. This road is approximately one mile long and unlit. This bus also serves the other villages. Its destination is the nearby City (approximately 13 miles away). There is also one bus a week to a supermarket on the edge of the City. The Ambulance Service runs from the major City Hospital. However a large sign in the hospital foyer informs patients that they must use any other forms of transport, including voluntary, for trips to hospital if

they are available. People who use the Scheme, use it as it is to them the best, and effectively the only, transport choice they have;

Mrs P: Is approximately 60 years old. She has been diabetic for 32 years and has, during that time, needed regular checkups at hospital. Lately she has been having to visit hospital more often due to failing eyesight. She notes that ambulances are available, indeed she used to travel in them before the Scheme was set up. The journey was however very long, having to divert to pick up many people. After her appointment she would have to wait at least three hours for the trip home.

Mr T: Is approximately 55 years old. He needs to visit the hospital regularly for physiotherapy and checkups on this epilepsy. He could have trips with his brother, however this means he must leave home at 7.00 am and return at 6.00 pm for a 1 hour appointment at the hospital 13 miles away. He notes that the Scheme takes away the problem of asking friends "cos you don't always like to ask when you go regularly".

Mr M: Is approximately 80 years old and lives alone in a remote cottage that used to be railway signal house before the line closed. He is very unsure on his feet and is in pain, which a chiropodist relieves once a fortnight. He has no relatives in the area, and with his cottage being isolated and the chiropodist being in the city suburbs, he relies on the Scheme for transport, and acquaintances for other services. The chiropodist is consulted on a private basis, and thus an ambulance is not available.

Miss G: Is 17 years old and now requires regular orthodontic treatment at the Hospital. In the past, when she has only needed to visit hospital occasionally, her father has taken time off work to take her. However this cannot be done on a regular basis.

Mr & Mrs W: Since his stroke, Mr W who is 75 plus and his wife who is approximately 70, have been reliant on others to provide transport.

He did possess a car but the cost, plus his stroke, have meant that it had to be sold. "We used to have a bigish car, and of course when Bill was 75, and the car needed quite some expense, we thought it was getting a bit too much, and we gave the car up". He used the Scheme regularly when he first came out of hospital after his illness, and now intermittently for checkups. He is still very immobile.

Both Mr and Mrs W use the Car Scheme once a fortnight for the Friendship Club. The people in the club used to transport one another, but now as age creeps upon the group, less and less members possess a car. Mrs W notes that her daughter lives nearby is willing to give her lifts, but her husband is on kidney dialysis and needs regular treatment, and she works, thus constraining her availability. Mrs W does not like to ask her very often.

This is the transport market served. These people do not receive the transport they want elsewhere and so they use the Scheme. The free market philosophy is to give people effective choice. These people have been given this choice by the Car Scheme.

As a driver for the Hamlet Scheme one could enter the Organiser's and the users' lives more fully. By recording feelings and views in driving, a feel for the Scheme could be obtained. Foremost in these feelings at this Scheme was the embarrassment at asking for payment (in fact if the user did not raise the issue the researcher was not paid - he could not raise the issue. This happened twice.) As noted in the field note book after accepting £2 that the user thought the charge was, when it was in fact £2.50;

I just didn't feel right asking for more. Asking for payment generally feels a bit un-neighbourly, eg charging your friend for a lift to the shops.

Other points concern technical problems such as helping people in and out of the car, where to wait for them, and where best to park with someone who cannot walk very well. One point which alarmed the researcher in offering to drive, is that

it was he who had to raise the issue of insurance cover with the Organiser. She had arranged a trip for him without asking about insurance, or indeed registering him as a driver.

#### **6.3.4 Drivers and Ex-Drivers**

As mentioned above, current drivers were interviewed by means of sitting in on trips. This was however much easier than interviewing the user, as the time spent waiting for the user to return to the car at the destination could be utilised. Only two drivers were driving for the scheme at the time, one living in the Hamlet, the other in the neighbouring village. The drivers were interviewed to find out how they saw and evaluated the Scheme and driving for it, and how they felt the Scheme had/would change.

The major finding in addressing these questions is again the lack of knowledge about the Scheme. The drivers do not know how many people drive for the Scheme, the names of any other driver, and indeed the driver from the larger village had never met the Organiser. This driver in fact asked many questions about the Scheme; how it compares to other schemes, who the other drivers are, how the Organiser decides which driver to send on a trip. Again, as with users, the issue of the Car Scheme seemed to be being raised for the first time. Indeed in a question asking for tips in driving for the Scheme, neither current driver could give any concrete advice:

"I don't know really, eh ... you just take every person as they come really don't you?"

While knowledge of the Scheme was poor and hazy, a clearer picture emerged concerning their motivation in driving. Both stressed that they liked "helping out" and would have driven for less payment. The driver with the larger car noted that the payment probably did not cover for wear and tear, and with her previous car the payment never covered petrol. So, would they change anything about driving for the Scheme?

Mrs W: "eh no, not really I don't think. Obviously it would be nice if, you know, there was no worries about lack of drivers and lack of finance."

Mrs R: "The only thing is I wish that I could probably be available when I wasn't available. You know, I don't like to say no if I can possibly fit it in ..."

Thus they felt no personal problems only sympathy for the Organiser in her job. The "I don't like to say no" philosophy probably sums up the motivation of the drivers: they are doing their bit, and do not like to let the Organiser (not the Scheme) down.

It was found from documentary evidence that twelve people had driven for the Scheme throughout 1985. Thus in considering what motivates drivers, it was thought that there may be some use in finding out what stops them driving. Thus ex-drivers became the subject of interview, this being included under the heading of the *Exploration* technique. As noted this technique was really a free hand to pursue any issue which seemed to be important. Up to now the picture at the Hamlet study had been of no change in a "scheme" which people often never even considered, which was in fact equated with an unassuming lady in the Hamlet, who happened to be organising some trips. Everybody was very happy with it and the only change of any significance in the operation of the Scheme was the dramatic decrease in numbers of drivers available. It would be interesting to establish what makes them stop driving, and if there was any pattern in this.

The Organiser was asked in the course of a discussion on drivers to "talk through" what had happened to the drivers that did not drive as much now. A list was shown by the researcher, highlighting the 8 of the 12 ex-drivers that were unknown to the researcher. Various people on the list were discussed in order to ascertain which ex-drivers had concrete, non-contestable reasons for leaving the Scheme. This left a list of those people who potentially may have been demotivated for some reason. This list covered five people whose reasons for driving less were vague to the Organiser. It was felt too threatening to ask to speak to them to "find out more about/get behind the reasons for their reduction in driving". Thus later in the discussion the Coordinator was asked if they could be approached for a chat about the Scheme - as people who had been involved

with it in the past. The Coordinator had no reservations about this, and provided relevant telephone numbers.

The aim of the technique was to induce these ex-drivers to talk freely and honestly about their reasons for driving less. Obviously anyone who was demotivated for negative reasons about the Scheme may be reticent to talk about this, and as such a direct approach was not appropriate. Instead an interview schedule was used following Appendix C. Ex-drivers were told that they had been recommended by the Organiser to talk to, as they "have been important to the Scheme". The aim stated was wanting to learn about the Scheme from various perspectives, and confidence was stressed. It can be seen that the schedule covers very general points about the Scheme and their involvement in it, aiming for a relaxed approach. Questions 5 aims specifically to clarify whether or not they still feel involved or not, and 5b, delivered in a matter of fact manner, aims to give them an opportunity to state why they have stopped driving. (Throughout the questionnaire ignorance about their involvement is stressed). Thus question 5 gave them the chance usually to reiterate the reasons given to the Coordinator. The other questions all come together to describe their experiences in the Scheme. Question 21, focused on driver recruitment, the best approaches to it, and what puts drivers off driving. This employed a projective tool - a driver recruitment poster designed by the County RCC. By discussing the pros and cons of this poster, one allows the ex-driver to talk about driver motivation and demotivation without personalising the issue. This technique yielded some particularly interesting results.

Out of the five targeted ex-drivers, four were able to be contacted, all four interviews being completed in one day. This intensive interviewing enabled complete researcher attention to be focused on such a complex issue, and aided the addressing of such a thorny issue as demotivation.

Mrs P: She had been a committed driver up to approximately November 1988, when she had told the Organiser she could not drive any more. In interview the reason given for stopping driving was the fact that only one car was now available for both her and her husband. If her driving would clash with a time he needed the car, it would cause a problem. However Mrs P obviously had enjoyed driving for the Scheme, talking

enthusiastically about her experiences. Perhaps a greater insight came with a very heated discussion between herself and her husband. The issue of payments to the drivers was brought up. Mr P said very strongly that the Scheme didn't pay drivers enough, and that Car Scheme mileage on his car exceeded personal mileage. Mrs P noted it was charitable. Mr P became annoyed - he shouldn't be out of pocket, especially as the trips were to the hospital, who should provide transport themselves in his eyes.

Mrs C: No car was now available to her, however she felt that perceived commitment was a problem in recruiting drivers. In discussing the recruitment poster, she noted strongly that emphasising "next week", thus implying regular commitment, would put people off.

Mrs H: She was available less due to work commitments, but felt she was still a driver. Again, in discussing the poster she felt that formality was stressed too much in the bottom right; "The stranger makes it appear more formal".

Mrs M: She again had increased work commitments. In discussing the poster, she again mentioned; "Regularity puts people off - they think they can't do it". She felt that the "Time to Spare?" implied "commitment", and thought that a more apt title would be "room in your car?". This ties in with her comments on the Scheme itself. When asked whether, in an ideal world, there was anything she would change about the Scheme, she noted that when she became involved initially she had hoped that the Scheme could be used for all transport needs, including social trips. She would like to have this function, and indeed to provide "emergency cover" for villages (drivers on call all the time), and would be prepared to do this. Again in discussing the poster she felt the term "lift" was negative; it was something you could do even if you weren't in a car scheme. She felt the poster made it 'sound like a County (Council) run thing, than more of a community thing'.

Decreased availability of drivers should not be a problem per se in Schemes. The Organiser herself notes how more drivers, even with constrained availability, would

be useful. The full truth of these reasons cannot be gauged and is not the aim of the research. However ex-drivers all noted that drivers could be demotivated by issues concerning the formality, or increasingly formal role of the Scheme. This was also witnessed in fortuitous interviews with firstly a user who had been a potential driver for the Scheme, and secondly, a discussion with another ex-driver at the Friendship Club Christmas Party. In the discussion with the user Mr S, he notes in response to a question "how long has the Scheme been going?";

Mr S: "I know I bought a new car in 83, and I said then I think I'll put my name down for this. And then eh, I wanted to do it absolutely voluntary, you know, no charge no nothing. But I'd got to book my mileage and this, and that, and the other (shakes head and slaps hands on thighs) ..."

Mr S never drove for the Scheme. Instead he continued to take friends free of charge to hospital/doctors/local chip shop. With Mr W, the ex-driver interviewed at the Friendship Club, there was a similar pattern. From approximately five trips a week, he had reduced to nothing. His legend concerning why he reduced his commitment, centres upon the reprimand he received at the local Hospital for allegedly parking in the way of ambulances. He refuted this and was very annoyed:

Mr W: "... and I thought, well I'm doing their job, and you've got to park right down in the car park! ... It narked me!"

He also notes, with great verve, specific incidences of "abuse", such as people not being ready for him when he arrived for the pick up, and users changing appointments and not informing him. Mr W opted out of the Scheme, and also continued to transport neighbours and friends on an informal basis.

It appears that drivers have been demotivated by abuse of the Scheme (in their eyes), the commitment in driving, and even the paperwork involved. These could be seen as symptoms of the perceived formality in the scheme. By formality it is meant the degree to which the Scheme is (or is perceived to be) part of a broader, more formal transport service, be that public transport, Health Authority, or Social Service transport. Although with ex-drivers perceived formality can only be seen to be directly responsible for one driver stopping her driving (Mrs P), its

full impact cannot be gauged. However formality can be seen as a general demotivator, perhaps tipping the scales in favour of drivers not being available. Indeed current drivers do not want to utilise the booking forms decided by the Rural Community Council: for most trips drivers do not complete starting/finishing mileometer readings, or use the tear-off claims slip. These could be seen as a rejection of the trappings of a formal scheme.

Perceived formality and the increase of it is important. A picture of a very informally run Scheme has been painted, and drivers have joined such a Scheme. These drivers are community oriented, like to "do my bit", and "don't like to say no" to requests to drive. However in serving formal destinations, having increased commitment, and coming into contact with some formal trappings of the Scheme, the Scheme they joined may be seen to have moved from its original modus operandi, thus demotivating drivers.

#### **6.4 WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS**

The conclusions to this Chapter build upon the insights gained in addressing the research questions at the Hamlet Scheme. Specific respondents' answers to techniques do not suffice for the within case analysis. While, for example, the Organiser is the Scheme in users' and drivers' eyes, one must go further to ask due to what aspect of the organisation this is so. Only by moving from specific information to the important issues of which they are part, can a replication logic be followed for the other case studies, and theory ultimately be generated.

The process of qualitative data analysis has been discussed earlier, thus it suffices to reiterate that of particular use were the analytic field notes generated (which recorded changing thoughts during the research), key word listing and analysis, and inductive logical analysis. These enabled the important aspects of the scheme listed below to be gleaned from the rich qualitative data obtained. Four particular issues emerged and are discussed below.

#### **6.4.1 Concentration and Scale**

In looking at what the Scheme is, what influences it, and how it is changing, the issue of the Scheme's concentration and scale is important. The actual numbers involved in running the Scheme is effectively one, and effective decision making is down to that one person. This one person only administers the Scheme, having no thoughts on planning and development, indeed planning is seen to be a negative concept which is linked with expansion. Decision making is perhaps the wrong phrase. Since the Organiser was asked to run the Scheme, decisions have only come up in response to problems, which have generally occurred infrequently. When this decision making takes place, it does so informally with the Organiser's next-door neighbour. It is indeed interesting that three quarters of the people now involved in the Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme live in three adjacent houses in the village. Finally the impetus for the makeup of the organisation to change is small. New people have not become involved in the running of the Scheme. The only involvement seems to be either historical, or due to the location of ones house.

Thus in looking at the research questions, the scale and concentration of the Scheme is important. The potential for change in the Scheme from within is low, and indeed influences on the organisation would be dealt with in an informal, satisficing manner, effectively by one person whose ideal for the Scheme would be for it to "tick over". Also the scale and concentration of the organisation may positively stifle any criticism of the Scheme as it is equated with the person of the Organiser.

#### **6.4.2 Context**

It was noted above that organisational decision making only comes into action in response to problems. However few problems seem to occur in this organisation, partly due to the context of the Scheme, and how the Scheme itself defines this context. The population of the area is low and problems do have less probability of cropping up. However of more importance is how the Scheme defines and articulates its market. The Scheme has a very vague definition of its operating area: new demands from outside this area are met if a driver is available to do the

trip. Likewise the Scheme has a very loose mechanism for defining trips: self referral puts decision making into the hands of the user. This definition and mechanism mean that the organisation is in a non-problem oriented situation. While potential problem areas such as trips for people in receipt of mobility allowance may be present, the Scheme's criteria for a trip are so easily met (by being in the vague operating area and ringing the Coordinator for a trip) that the problems never surface.

The mechanism for obtaining a trip, and definition of operating area again mean that the Scheme is stifling any pressures to change, by not being attuned to problems. The Scheme ticks over in the local community, the referral mechanism giving the Scheme a self-help community feel. Indeed without this self referral mechanism, the Organiser would not be seen as the Scheme.

#### **6.4.3 Philosophy**

The philosophy of the Scheme is made up of its whole being, which comes together to determine its operational philosophy. The two issues outlined above are important in this, however this term was seen as all encompassing of the Scheme. The Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme ticks-over in the village without any plans or strategy. It operates informally with drivers doing their bit, and users referring themselves, the Organiser merely matching the two. Users, drivers and even key actors do not particularly think about the Scheme, their knowledge of it being low. An operating philosophy pervades the whole Scheme, which will be important in determining how the Scheme operates, but also in how it instigates and reacts to change. It is argued that the instigation of change in the organisation will be very limited due to the informal, administrative, and therefore constrained dynamics of the organisation. Reaction to any change in the environment in which it operates, be it increased or new demands, or reduced finance, will be administrative; the Scheme will indeed continue to tick over as long as it is possible for it to do so.

Of importance in the philosophy is that it determines the criteria by which it operates and by which those involved in it act. These criteria, however, at the Hamlet Scheme are being challenged.

#### 6.4.4 Formality

Formality here is the degree to which the Scheme is, or is perceived to be, part of a broader more formal service. It has been noted that drivers are apparently demotivated by a perceived increase in formality. People put off from driving do not want to be bothered with "all that form filling" and mileage claims; and some want to do it for free. Ex-drivers would like to take any form of trip, not just medical. Current drivers have said that commitment puts people off volunteering to be a driver.

Thus the Scheme may be perceived as having a formal role in the transport market. As such the Scheme is perhaps seen to be at odds with its philosophy in which informality, self-help, and community are key words. The Scheme copes with demands for health trips, having to ration itself to these trips due to limited finance. It must also charge for trips due to limited funds, which involves extra administration. By being involved so greatly in a (what can be perceived as) formal game, with all the trappings of formality it engenders, some drivers do not feel justified in their driving for the Scheme. Perhaps with a more formal role in the transport market, this self help philosophy will be further challenged, leading to even wider dissatisfaction than currently occurs.

## REFERENCES

Buchanan, D., Boddy, D., and McCalman, J. "Getting In, Getting On, Getting Out and Getting Back", in;  
Bryman, A. (Ed) (1988) Doing Research in Organizations. Routledge, London, U.K., pp 53-67.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME

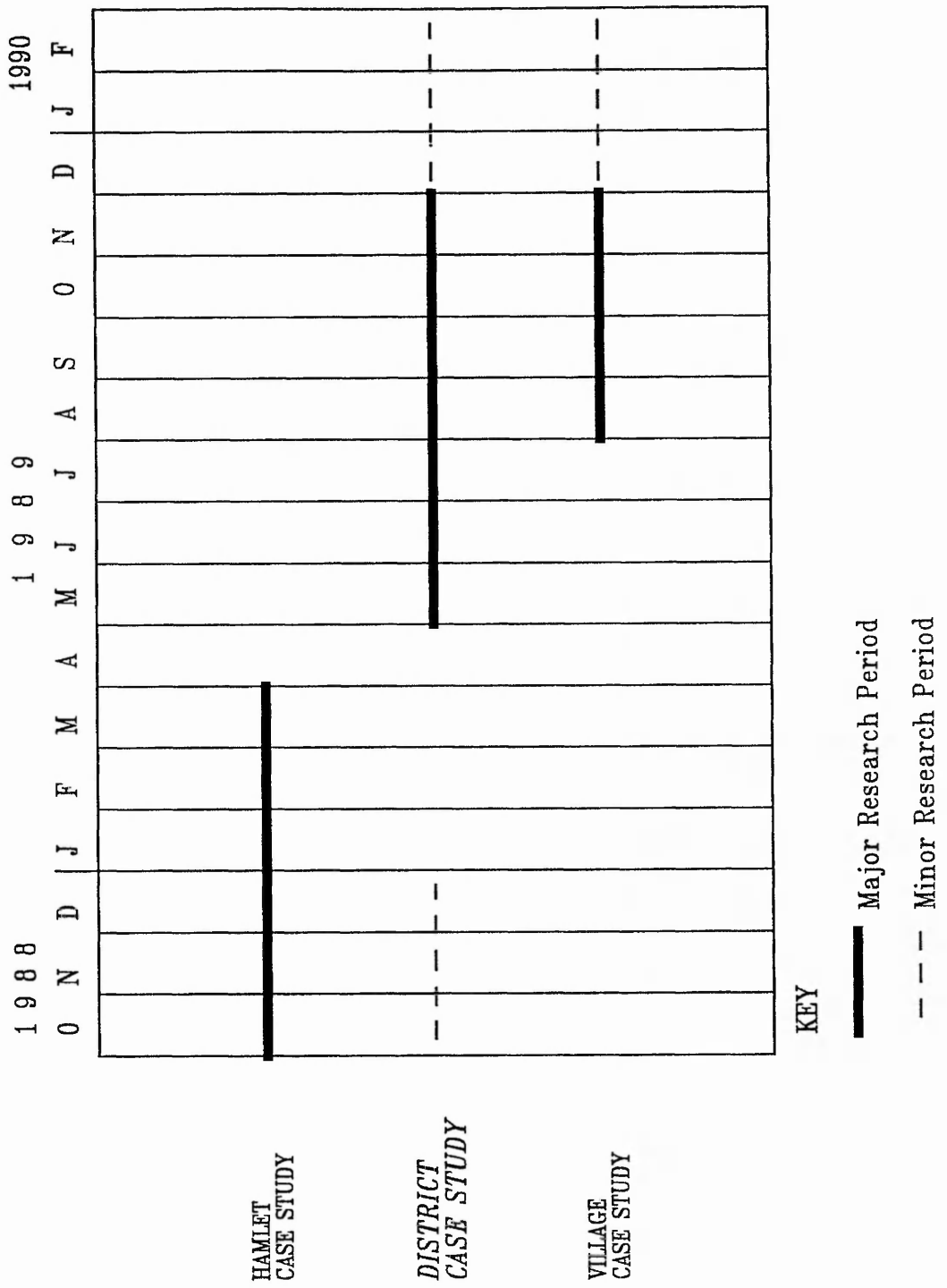
This chapter focuses on the second case study in the research, the Scheme based in the District Town. As in the previous chapter, issues concerning access to the case study and the performance of the research techniques will be addressed initially in Section 7.1. This will be followed by a profile of the Scheme, its organisation and service provided, the resources it has at its disposal, and a review of its operation in Section 7.2. The findings from the research techniques performed at the study site will then be outlined in Section 7.3, leading to within case analysis conclusions in Section 7.4.

#### **7.1 GETTING IN AND GETTING ON**

The experience of obtaining access to the District Transport Scheme and developing a relationship there was somewhat different to that experienced at the Hamlet Scheme. Figure 7.1 shows a map of the research conducted at the District Scheme. It can be seen that a start was made on the research which subsequently had to be aborted. The reason for this "false start" was a change in personnel at the Scheme, particularly the retirement of the established Coordinator (this will be discussed in detail in Section 7.2.1). This discussion on access and performance of the techniques will focus upon the main body of the research which commenced when the new Coordinator was in place.

Buchanans' advice was again of only general use at the District Scheme. No friends or relatives were used as an initial contact. The Scheme had however been visited on an informal basis in 1987, and thus the researcher was known at the Scheme. This helped in the initial approach to the Scheme in that it was not a "cold call". Buchanan also recommends the use of non threatening language in negotiating access. This was indeed emphasised at initial meetings, however its real use came throughout the whole duration of the research, especially in the drawn out quest for effective access as discussed below.

**FIG. 7.1 TIMETABLE OF RESEARCH**



**KEY**  
 — Major Research Period  
 - - - Minor Research Period

Buchanan's advice of offering something in return for the subject's time did not even need to be offered to the original Coordinator of the Scheme. At that time (October 1988) the Scheme was in need of funds, and before access could even be requested, she agreed to the research, noting that the Scheme wanted all the attention and publicity it could get, as it was a "critical time" in the Scheme's life. When the research was resumed, with a new Coordinator was in place, the response was somewhat different and indeed full of foreboding. The new Coordinator was very busy, and although the *Questionnaire* was completed, and access requested and agreed to very quickly and easily, there were no less than six interruptions during the technique (four drivers came into the Bureau, and two phone calls required her attention). Chaos ruled the early stages at the Scheme, meaning effective access was again hard won, not because of a quiet, shy, accommodating Coordinator as at Hamlet, but because of the difficulty in predicting and obtaining access to actors to complete interviews at the Scheme. This chaos was very disconcerting in the early stages of the research, as techniques could not be administered. While the chaos gradually subsided, the busy-ness did not. During one two hour observation at the Scheme (5/12/88) 18 phone calls were made and 17 received at the Scheme. This was interspersed by the exchange of information between those present at the Scheme pertaining to the calls (for example which driver would be best to do that trip, who was available, and if they could share a certain trip with another user). Also four drivers visited the Bureau, all of whom had to be generally supported by the Coordinator. Obviously this made the administering of techniques very difficult as one had either to be prepared for interruptions, or indeed had to interrupt proceedings oneself.

Chaos can be contrasted to busy-ness. Whereas busy denotes being engaged in some kind of action, chaos implies confusion and a lack of predictability. This lack of predictability led to problems in managing the research at the District Scheme in the early stages. While office hours and staff rotas existed during this early transitional period from old to new Coordinator, often the people expected to be present at the Scheme on a certain day were not present, as there had been a change in the rota. Hours were not definite for individuals as new staff were being employed. This made the planning of research methods very difficult. Also mistakes were made by the stand-in voluntary workers and the new Coordinator in the early stages (for example forgetting to book a lift, or to ring back the referrer)

which meant that there were often furious periods of activity. This made the administration of techniques very difficult.

The initially chaotic and subsequently busy organisation was perhaps intensified by the size of the Bureau itself. The Bureau is made up of one room of approximately 12' x 24' plus a small kitchen/toilet. The room contains three desks, a work surface, filing cabinets and displays and often a Transport Coordinator plus voluntary helpers, Outreach Worker, Exit Options Worker and Bureau Organiser. The size of the building thus seems to magnify the amount of work going on. Indeed the new Assistant Coordinator commented on how difficult she found it to work in the Bureau with all the "information flying around the room".

So gaining effective access to research the organisation was not going to be easy. An organisation was accessed with new staff taking over the running of the Scheme, with variable working hours. After much thought (and worry) a strategy was adopted to address these problems.

Firstly, in order to feel able to interrupt more easily, the actors' acceptance, trust and even tolerance had to be won. Two strategies were adopted. A sheet outlining the research and its aims was distributed. This was useful as it explained clearly what the research was and was not attempting. In non threatening language this sheet succeeded where earlier verbal attempts to explain had failed due to interruptions. Secondly, in order to gain acceptance and trust, the researcher made himself helpful to the Scheme. The efficacy of driving for the Hamlet Scheme has been described earlier. At the District Scheme the same was also true. Often the researcher drove when the Coordinator was struggling to place a trip, and helping at the Scheme also involved making coffee when everyone was busy, and washing up at the end of the day. Biscuits and snacks were also brought in for breaktimes. Often it was heard at the Scheme "ooh, he can come again" or "isn't he lovely" during sessions at the Scheme. This acceptance took some time (2-3 weeks) and could not be forced. Indeed during this period, opportunities to administer techniques were resisted as it was thought it may negate the ongoing attempts to gain acceptance.

The second strategy to address the problems of effective access to the Scheme was to have an opportunistic approach to the study after the initial acceptance period, what Buchanan et al (1988) call the "art of the possible" - the exploitation of research opportunities as they arise in the field. The approach adopted here was to spend as much time "working" in the Bureau as possible. Work involved formal observation of the Scheme, and the gathering of quantitative data from old files kept at the Scheme. However if an opportunity arose to conduct a technique (when a topic naturally came up during conversation, or there was a lull in activity) that technique would be conducted. After the initial turmoil and acceptance of this opportunistic approach, the "art of the possible" became the "art of the probable" as certain days were known to be quieter than others, and certain subjects would be present, thus probable techniques to be administered could therefore be prepared in advance. After the Hamlet study, where techniques could be easily planned, learning to relax and await opportunities was not easy.

Finally the subject of confidentiality in the busy Bureau had to be addressed. When the opportunity arose, and the subject was asked if s/he could answer a few questions, other people present in the Bureau invariably carried on with their work or talked amongst themselves. It was felt that no subject was affected by another's presence. No technique was administered with only one other person present as it was felt their overhearing may affect the subjects' responses. The interviews with the CVS Manager, the Transport Coordinator and the ex-Coordinator were carried out privately in the Bureau, a public house, and private home respectively.

Thus effective access to the Scheme was won. The practicalities of field research are such that a compromise between theoretical and practical issues sometimes must be made. It is felt that by recording the compromises necessary, yet at the same time carrying out the research techniques previously constructed, reliability and validity is not lost.

## **7.2 DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME PROFILE**

As noted in the introduction to this Chapter, this Section will address the organisation and service, resources and operation of the District Scheme. This

derives predominantly from the *Questionnaire* and the *Searches* carried out at the Scheme. However the *Boundaries* technique was particularly important in the early stages of the research in defining the limits of the Scheme. Figure 7.2 shows the organisational map for the Scheme. During the first aborted part of the research the post of Coordinator was held by the same person since the Scheme's inception, who shall hence forward be termed "Trailblazer". The incumbent Coordinator, who held the position throughout the main body of the research, will be termed "Coordinator". These changes are discussed in Section 7.2.1 and will be returned to throughout the Chapter.

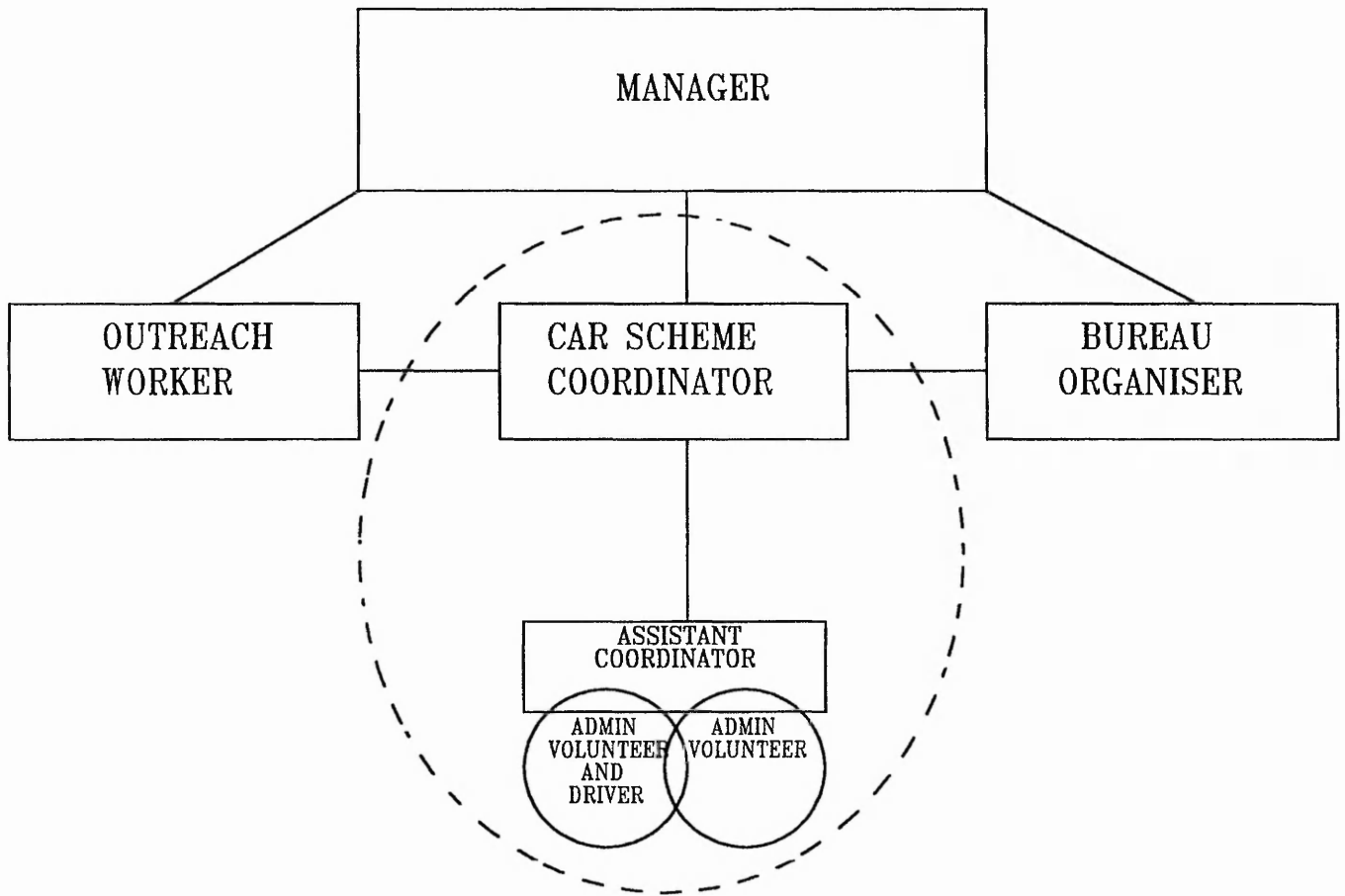
### **7.2.1 Organisation and Service**

<b>Base:</b>	<b>District Volunteer Bureau</b>
<b>Area Served:</b>	<b>District Council Boundary; Area 250 m Population 103,000</b>
<b>Established:</b>	<b>November 1981</b>
<b>Personnel Involved:</b>	<b>Coordinator Assistant Coordinator 2 Volunteer Helpers Plus two other members of Bureau staff who help out when necessary</b>
<b>Constitution:</b>	<b>CVS Constitution covers transport Scheme</b>
<b>Management Committee:</b>	<b>Made up of affiliated voluntary groups to Council which meets every 2 months. This covers all the Bureau's activities.</b>
<b>Criteria of use:</b>	<b>"Is there any other transport available? Who is meeting the cost of the journey?"</b>

FIG. 7.2

DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME

ORGANISATIONAL MAP



KEY	
-----	LIMIT OF OPERATIONAL CAR SCHEME
○	VOLUNTARY WORKER (SIZE PROPORTIONAL TO INFLUENCE)
————	LINE OF INFLUENCE
□	PAID WORKER

**Purpose of use:** Medical - 52% of total trips  
Day Centre - 1.4% of total trips  
Social - 34% of total trips  
Work - No  
Combine Medical/Social - Occasionally

**Referral Mechanism:** Third Party: 99%  
Self: 1%

**Booking System:** Referrer checks if person needs transport  
Referrer telephones Scheme  
Scheme arranges driver  
Scheme telephones referrer  
Referrer contacts user

**Trips available:** Seven days a week. However office open to take bookings  
Tuesday 2 - 4 pm  
Wednesday 9.30 - 12.30 and 2 - 4 pm  
Friday 9.30 - 12.30  
Answer machine available at other times

**Charge:** Public transport equivalent

**Provide Escorts:** No

**Charge Co-Passenger:** Yes

**Charge for shared journey:** Yes

**Payment Mechanism:** Driver paid passengers contribution in car.  
Claim outstanding amount from Bureau, paid every month.

The District Voluntary Transport Scheme can be seen to be quite different to the Hamlet Scheme in its organisation, and service provided. While its organisation is more complex, the service it provides is organised along very different lines to that of Hamlet.

The area served exactly matches the District Council boundary. Thus any trip originating within this boundary can be serviced by the Scheme. Trailblazer notes that the Scheme was never advertised to users, as with a population of over 100,000 in its operating area, the Scheme could be engulfed with requests. This matching of the political boundary is a function of the organisation of Councils for Voluntary Service of which the Volunteer Bureau, and hence the Car Scheme, are part. CVS operate throughout the country with the aim of

"the provision of a strong and stable "infrastructure" which will enable communities to develop and maintain a caring environment for their members"

District CVS Annual Report 1987-88

Organised on a District Council basis, they are funded by a variety of agencies; core funding comes from the County Council's Social Services Department and the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, with other sources contributing to the CVS for specific projects or as a direct donation.

The District CVS aims to develop infrastructure through five methods: helping to establish new voluntary organisations; providing resources for groups to use; providing information and advice; helping people to acquire new skills; and promoting liaison. This it does through a Head office (based in the District Council offices), a Sub-Office (in the west of the District), and the Volunteer Bureau (in the east of the District and largest settlement) in which the Car Scheme is based. There are two Volunteer Bureau branches, one based in a settlement at the centre of the District, and one in the CVS Sub Office. These are open only one morning a month and are staffed by workers from the District Volunteer Bureau, and CVS Sub Office respectively.

As discussed above, some changes in staffing have occurred in the Scheme. When the Volunteer Bureau was established in 1981, Trailblazer (a term given by

the researcher for reasons shown in Section 7.3) was appointed as Bureau Organiser. Quickly however transport emerged as an important need in the community and the Transport Scheme was established. She coordinated the Scheme as well as organised the Bureau, and with the help of volunteers the Scheme grew rapidly. In 1985 the CVS appointed an Outreach Worker whose job it was to promote and publicise the Bureau. This was partly due to the fact that much of Trailblazer's time was now having to be devoted to the transport Scheme. The Outreach Worker was taught how to administer the Scheme for times when Trailblazer was on holiday. The Scheme continued to grow, but in November 1988 Trailblazer left due to ill health and the Scheme becoming "too much". At this point, the then CVS Secretary was selected at interview (at which she was interestingly in competition with a current driver of the Scheme), to fill the new role of Transport Coordinator (she had in the past stood in for Trailblazer during holidays and ill health). The separation of the Transport Scheme was further reinforced by the appointment, in June 1989, of an Assistant Transport Coordinator, and a new Volunteer Bureau Organiser. The discussion of staffing in the Bureau is completed by mentioning the Exit Options Worker, who attempts to place unemployed people in the voluntary sector who have left Government training schemes.

The Bureau itself is based in a small 16th Century chapel and aims to "promote, support and develop the activities of volunteers in the area" (CVS Annual Report 1987-88 p 17). Integral in this is the recruitment and placement of volunteers of all ages and backgrounds. Analogous to this the concept of volunteering is promoted by the Bureau through the media, by talks, providing information, and fostering the support of the statutory and business sectors in voluntary action. The Bureau itself is open to the public one full day and two half days a week. At this time the Transport Scheme is staffed, and bookings are taken. At other times an answering machine operates. Another 1½ days are used by the Scheme for administration, though the Bureau is not then open to the public. All Bureau workers are part-time, with the Transport Coordinator and Assistant Coordinator work 25 and 15 hours a week respectively.

Thus the Transport Scheme can be seen to be part of a much wider organisation than the Hamlet Scheme. The CVS is subject to a voluntary Management Committee made up of affiliated groups including other charities and voluntary

groups. The Management Committee meets once every two months and is usually discussed under "Staff Reports", though occasionally is included as a separate item if something particularly important needs to be aired. However, as the Manager notes

"the system is currently under review; a small subcommittee may cover the Transport Scheme in the future".

The Scheme is also discussed at the Staff meetings which take place once a month. These are informal meetings of all the staff mentioned in Figure 7.2 giving them an opportunity to discuss any problems.

The service provided by the District Scheme is also somewhat different to that of the Hamlet Scheme. The major difference between the Schemes, which has an effect on the actual service provided, is the nearly complete dominance of third party referrals in the District Scheme. It was decided very early in the Scheme's history only to take third party referrals; as in this way it was maintained that the Bureau would not have to determine the relative needs of the large market area they served, instead this could be left to a recognised third party. The reliance on recognised bodies is however complemented by the criteria of "who is meeting the cost of the journey?", and "is there any other transport available?". While the latter criteria is rarely mentioned in the Scheme, the former question is very frequently asked when a decision must be made. By assigning the costs of a trip to funds received from the referral body, the Scheme aims to cover all costs. Occasionally a self referral will occur. The person will be taken at the Coordinators discretion if no other transport is available. The Coordinator, in discussing self referrals, explains that they occur "very rarely, ie a visit to private medical facilities when passengers meet the full cost of the journey", private trips not being treated as a special case at the Hamlet Scheme.

This situation flavours the Scheme's whole attitude to the service. While the Hamlet Scheme is frightened of escalation, the District Scheme will take any trip if it is referred and it will be paid for. When discussing abuse the Coordinator notes that:

"we're in no position to judge ... we can only take the referrer's word for it!"

Indeed the link to the referrers is strong. When asked if the Scheme provides escorts, the Coordinator notes;

"we've never actually been asked by the Surgery".

In looking at finance, any co-passenger will be charged for the trip as;

"if they went on buses they would both be paying".

This is the kind of service offered by the District Scheme. It has adopted a fixed method of operation which determines the service provided.

### **7.2.2 Resources**

#### **Number of**

**Drivers:** 42

**Sex:** 19 male, 23 female

**Location:** Throughout the whole District, though predominantly in or around the District Town.

<b>Finance:</b>	- Opportunities for Volunteering	<b>£18,700</b>
<b>1989/90</b>	- Health Authority claims up to	<b>£6,500</b>
	- County Council;	
	Social Services Department claims up to	<b>£2,000</b>
	Planning and Transportation Dept General Grant	<b>£800</b>
	Concessionary Payments	<b>£750</b>
	- Telethon	<b>£500</b>
	- Children in Need	<b>£500</b>
	- Fundraising	<b>NIL</b>

It can be seen that the District Scheme has many more drivers available, with availability never being a large problem. This is because the Volunteer Bureau,

due to its very nature, provides a ready source of people wanting to do voluntary work. Trailblazer is worried about the possible consequences of a complete physical split of the Transport Scheme from the Volunteer Bureau on the grounds of driver recruitment. However she feels that a move to larger premises, albeit separate to the Bureau, will enable more driver support to be given than in the currently very cramped Bureau. In contrast to the Hamlet Scheme there is a different approach to the vetting of potential drivers. The fact that the Scheme is based in a Volunteer Bureau leads to relatively strict vetting procedures; interview, application form and viewing of driver documents - the first two being mandatory for the recruitment of any volunteer as discussed in Chapter Three.

It is very interesting that in the Scheme there is a nearly equal proportion of male and female drivers. This could be due to the situation, which the Trailblazer describes, of a husband and wife visiting the Bureau:

"... you'd get a couple come in and the wife would be wanting voluntary work, and you'd be talking to her and her husband would be wandering around the walls. And he'd suddenly say, "what's all this then?" (upon seeing the Transport Scheme Poster) "I've got a car, I wouldn't mind doing a bit of this!"

Looking at the ratios of male to female drivers more closely, the attraction of the retired male to the Transport Scheme could be due to various factors. Two in particular stand out. Firstly, in traditional role models, caring voluntary work is often seen as "woman's work". Thus any older potential male volunteer may see driving as a more suitable voluntary position. Secondly, in the older retired population, the numbers of female driving licence holders is relatively small, thus making males much more likely to be voluntary drivers.

The profile of the drivers, male and female, is made up of three loose groupings: retired males (and to a lesser extent females), middle aged women, and generally young unemployed males and females. The retired drivers are available to drive at most times of the day, whereas the middle aged women are often constrained by school times and school holidays. (Some middle aged males drive for the Scheme but are only available at evenings/weekends.) The group of unemployed drivers is small and decreasing (with decreasing unemployment in the area at the

time of the research). It was noted by the Manager that for unemployed rural dwellers a car is necessary for obtaining access to job opportunities. He felt that the mileage payment offered could allow the person to keep a car financially viable. The drivers are located throughout the District, though there are naturally more in the District town itself, with some drivers recruited from outlying villages. There is also a small cluster of drivers in the western centre of population where the CVS Sub office is located. Interestingly none of the staff of the Scheme drive for it, indeed they actively resist driving, as they feel they should not become involved in this side of the organisation.

The financial resources at the District Scheme for 1988/89 can be divided into core funding (Opportunities for Volunteering and County Council Planning and Transportation grant) revenue payments for trips completed (from the local Health Authority and County Council's Departments of Planning and Transportation and Social Services) and what is termed "opportunist" funding at the Scheme (Children in Need, Telethon). No fundraising takes place.

The Volunteer Bureau (and the Transport Scheme itself) was established through the national charity Opportunities for Volunteering. When this funding terminated the Bureau and the Scheme were funded through the Local Development Agency. A second claim was made in November 1988 to Opportunities for Volunteering to provide core funding for three years just for the Transport Scheme. At the time the financial future of the Scheme looked bleak according to the Manager (as it had often in the past). In February 1989 the Scheme had grown and needed to cover the costs of increased administration. The Bureau had become physically too small, and the Planning and Transportation Department were attempting to find new premises for the Scheme. The Health Authority would not cover administration costs, and it was felt that the Social Services Department had contributed enough through CVS core funding. The charity was therefore approached, but with little hope of receiving funds. This was due to the fact that few of the many applications are successful, and the Bureau itself had already received funding from them in the past. However the Manager was surprised that the charity accepted their argument that the Transport Scheme was a separate project, and they provided £18,700 over three years. This has funded the Coordinator's salary and allowed the Scheme to employ her assistant.

While the County Council Planning and Transportation Department provide a £800 grant which is treated as core funding, recently (1989/90) the Scheme has qualified for an extra £1,500 Coordination Grant which can also be treated as core funding.

The revenue payments received, are those amounts that can be claimed from various bodies for trips done on their behalf. Two bodies, the Health Authority and the County Social Services Department provide maximum amounts up to which the Scheme can claim against referrals from these bodies. Trailblazer notes that while the funding from Social Services was forthcoming, the funding from the Health Authority was hard won. After various meetings the Health Authority would still not fund trips to hospitals made by the Scheme. Therefore Trailblazer gave a one month warning to the Authority that all health trips would be stopped. This threat was subsequently carried out, and after approximately 6 weeks the Authority "capitulated" and decided to provide these funds. This legend of the Scheme "black mailing" the Authority lives on today at the Scheme.

The Planning and Transportation Department concessionary revenue payments are available for all car schemes to claim back for half the cost of trips for passengers possessing a valid Bus Pass. In 1989/90 the District Scheme claimed back £750 in concessionary payments. This may not seem very high, but is due to the fact that the District Council operates a scheme whereby elderly residents can choose between a bus pass or television licence, thus reducing the number of valid bus pass holders in the area.

As noted the Scheme also takes advantage of what it terms "opportunist" funding. The two sources currently tapped are "Children in Need" and "Telethon", both national TV charities. Applications are made to the local charity committee for funds for a specific reason. For example Telethon money is used for transport enabling handicapped people to remain in the community. However while "opportunistic" funding is sought, the Scheme does not fundraise.

Of course this discussion ignores the other resources available to the Transport Scheme simply by being part of the Bureau and CVS. The resources of typing facilities and administration services, and the expertise and knowledge of the voluntary sector of those involved in the CVS and Bureau should not be

underestimated. Knowledge of the voluntary sector in which the Scheme operates is a great help in various ways, for example in knowing of potential funding sources, and having local links with other voluntary, commercial and statutory groups. With these resources the Scheme not only knows of such sources of funding, but also how to make a successful application to them.

### 7.2.3 Operation

	TRIPS	MILES
1986/7	1469	41,674
1987/8	2062	63,464
1988/9	2978	87,554

1989 52% Medical

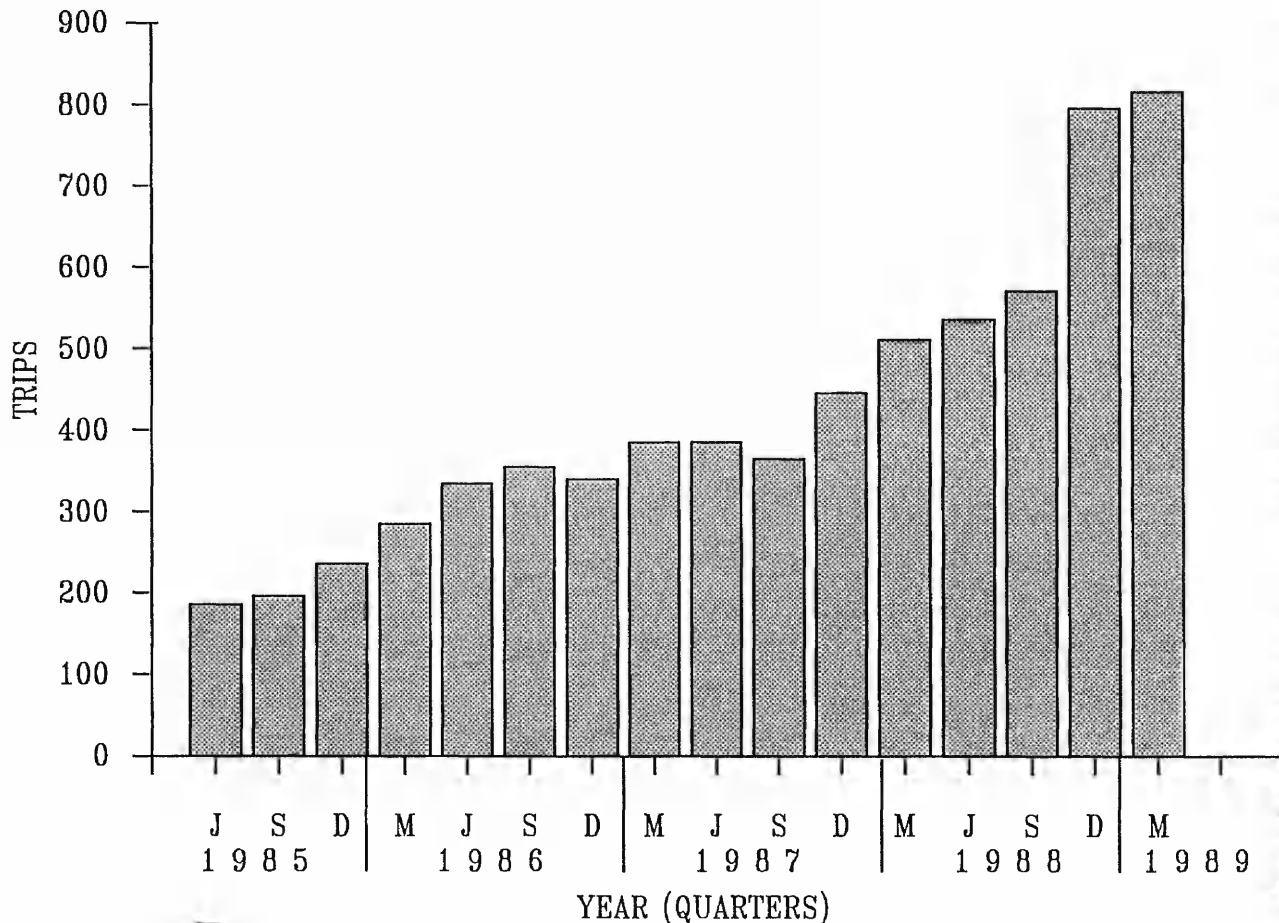
34% Social (referred by statutory or voluntary body)

In Chapter Six the problems of data availability at the Hamlet Scheme were mentioned. This was not a problem at the District Scheme, as operational data exists in various forms at the Scheme. While old diaries of trips and records of payments made exist in raw form, various publications exist giving edited data. Over the years reports on the Scheme have been written for internal reasons, eg Annual Reports, and Information Packs about the Volunteer Bureau. Also the Scheme has compiled operating statistics to be used to show the growth and demands on the Scheme. These include trip breakdowns by funding source and costs incurred. The generation of such statistics has been made deliberately easier with the introduction of the new computer in June 1989, designed to generate all manner of statistics. It is planned to use these to increase awareness of the Scheme specifically with funders. All software is designed by the Management Committee Treasurer.

It can be seen from the profile that the number of trips carried by the Scheme has increased quite rapidly and is a slightly larger increase per annum on the year previous. Those involved in the Scheme note that over the years there are busy and quiet periods which conform to an overall pattern, borne out in Figure 7.3 showing quiet summers and busy winters. This is put down to referrers (Hospital Consultants/GP's) taking vacations, and elderly people not being as unwell during the summer months. In winter the opposite is true. What is of particular note however is that the winter peak does not subside to a lower level, instead the trips 'level out' at this new high for the summer months, ready for a new peak in the following winter. People at the Scheme cannot give a reason for this higher levelling off. Perhaps as more referrers find a need for the Scheme (which is highlighted in winter) the Scheme reaches new heights. Although third party referral predominates, the increased awareness of the Scheme by potential users, whose friends may have been referred to the Scheme, could also be important. Maybe in asking doctors etc for the Scheme in preference to an Ambulance brings in an element of self referral with increased awareness. Another point of interest in the trip figures is that they are usually provided at the District Scheme on a financial year basis, April to March. This is at odds with the Hamlet Scheme, where calendar year information only is kept. Obviously with audited accounts being made at the CVS, and the Transport Scheme being both part of this and itself aware of financial considerations, accounting year information is more appropriate.

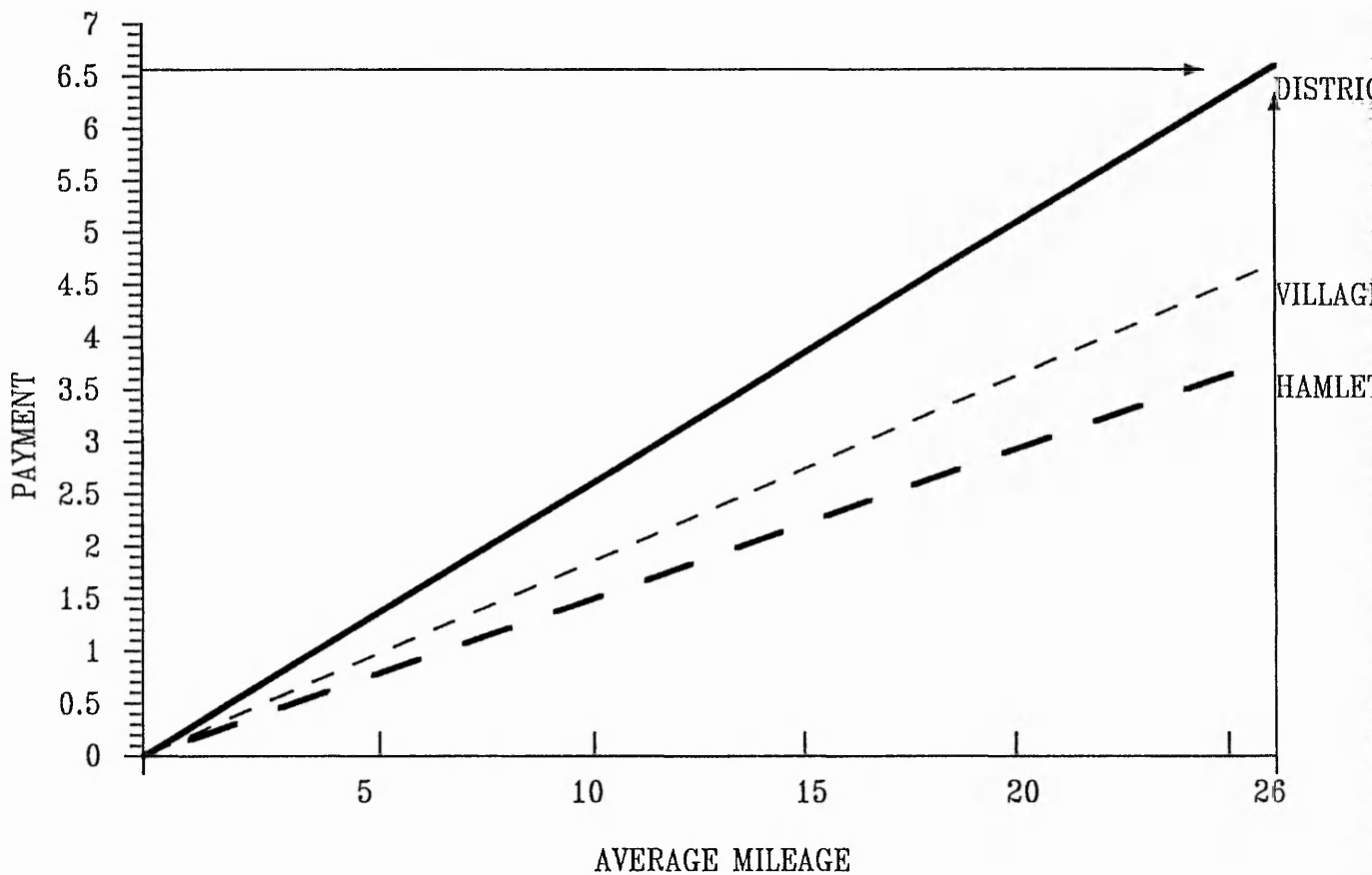
Trip purpose is largely medical or social, and is purely dependent on the demands of the referrer. The most visited destinations are all hospitals, the most popular being in the County City (approximately 15 miles). It is quite common for trips to hospitals as far as 50 miles, in this case for childrens surgery. In the past the Scheme has taken people to London (approximately 500 miles) for disabled persons driving tests. Social trips are to various centres and activities, both voluntary and Social Services organised. The balance of trips is made up of a variety of purposes including nursery school attendance, holiday play schemes, trips to handicapped/elderly persons parties. Again the key to all these trips is that someone must have referred the user and will pay for the trip.

**FIG. 7.3 TRIPS COMPLETED BY DISTRICT SCHEME**  
**JUNE 1985–MARCH 1989**



Comparative operational statistics for District and Hamlet Schemes are shown in Figure 7.4. It shows that the higher average journey lengths and higher mileage payments to drivers mean that it is possible for drivers to receive payments which are a lot higher than at the Hamlet Scheme. With vehicle depreciation usually not perceived as an immediate cost, the drivers may perceive a surplus payment for trips completed over costs incurred.

**FIG. 7.4 AVERAGE MILEAGE AND PAYMENT AT  
DISTRICT VOLUNTARY TRANSPORT SCHEME**



### 7.3 THE DISTRICT STUDY

This section, as in the equivalent section of the last chapter, will describe how the case study unfolded before going on to outline the key themes emerging from the case study.

The period in the field at the District Scheme was in two parts: an initial aborted period of five weeks from November to December 1988, and the major period from May 1989 to January 1990. In all 34 research trips were made to the Scheme, together with numerous phone calls to arrange meetings and occasionally request information. The initial period was aborted due to the

Trailblazer's departure. In the initial *Introductory Discussion* Trailblazer granted access to the Scheme, at the same time noting her intention to soon leave. It was decided that, in order to study the Scheme with her in charge, the District study would be brought forward and run in tandem with the Hamlet study which had already commenced. This was sacrificing the replication logic of the research though it was thought both practical and necessary to do so. Trailblazer left four weeks later and before the research at the Scheme had started properly - only 3 observation sessions had taken place (without her being present). It was thus decided to abort this initial attempt, as the reason for the early start had disappeared and the replication logic of the research could then be reinstated.

Of the main field research period the first two months were largely spent sitting in on the Scheme and observing, and driving for the Scheme/interviewing users. The one-off interview with Trailblazer took place early on in this period. The next month focused on the key actors in the Scheme, with often opportunistic interviews with them. Towards the end of this month and during the next drivers and ex-drivers became the centre of the work. Again ex-driver interviews were kept until later in the research because these interviews were felt to be perceived as the potentially most contentious to the Coordinator. The next period of five months saw observation at the Scheme and some document searches. Contact became less over this period though phone calls were frequent (at least once a week) in arranging Management Committee and staff meeting observation. A Christmas Party held for drivers, the first ever, was also held over this period. The period in the field came to an end having attended Management Committee and staff meetings.

A definition of the limits of the organisation has been given in Figure 7.1, however the *Boundaries* research technique provided a list of key actors in the Scheme, past and present that would be the subject of the techniques. The CVS Manager, Coordinator, and Trailblazer were the subject of the *Boundaries* technique, and there was agreement between them on the key actors involved. These will be discussed individually below.

The Manager was seen by both Coordinator and Trailblazer to be "in charge". As Trailblazer stated, in response to the question of who is worth talking to about the Scheme;

"Manager, cos he's really in charge of it, and will have some ideas of the long term and how the Scheme should go in the long term. Particularly now I've gone, cos I mean he's now in charge."

This "now in charge" is interesting. The Manager has always taken overall responsibility for the CVS and Volunteer Bureau (including the Transport Scheme) to the Management Committee. However because Trailblazer had herself developed the Scheme, the Manager merely giving her a free hand to do so, her departure, and the subsequent employment of a Coordinator, have placed him into a more direct role. It is interesting that with this change in staffing has come a definite boss/employee relationship, witnessed in observation as will be discussed in Section 7.3.1.

Others who were seen as important to the Scheme, though not as involved now obviously included the ex-Coordinator who left during the study. In the *Boundaries* technique with Trailblazer she interestingly included specific people in referral bodies; Deputy Director of Social Services, Surgeries and Doctors in them, and voluntary agencies who referred trips. These were seen as important by her, as it was they who provided trips for the Scheme to service. It is interesting that Trailblazer, and to a lesser extent Coordinator, know specific people in these agencies which is in stark contrast to the Organiser at Hamlet. With the third-party referral mechanism at the District Scheme, it is more oriented to this statutory sector. Indeed as Trailblazer noted in recommending important people to talk to;

"Well, the referral bodies rather than the users - I mean you want to talk to the users as well (defensively), but the people, referrers, who've been using it for years are our main contact."

As the referral bodies were out of the limits of this research they were not approached, however the contrast with Hamlet in the size of the organisation, and maybe the orientation of it, is notable. No actors are included from the past, indeed it appears that Figure 7.2 (plus Trailblazer) contains all those of importance in the Scheme from its beginnings.

### 7.3.1 Trailblazer and Coordinator

The transition from old (Trailblazer) to new Coordinator during the study period has been mentioned above, and it is felt that because of this transition, both should be discussed in parallel. The contrast emphasises changes in the Scheme generally: a shift from an almost personal crusade of one person, to a functional position within a transport organisation.

As Trailblazer had left the Scheme when she was interviewed, the *Boundaries* technique was of particular significance, as a historical context to all questions was necessary. Dunkerley (1988) discusses the advantages of "oral histories" in emphasising the interpretation and reconstruction of the past through socially constructed values. The historical evidence yielded in interview with Trailblazer, provided very strong evidence of her own constructs. Not least in this were her reflections on important decisions throughout the history of the Scheme, illuminating decision making processes, and her own attitudes to the Scheme.

Trailblazer took on the job as Bureau Organiser in 1981 and quickly (within 2 months) transport requests were engulfing the Bureau. She recalls that this prompted the first major decision which had to be made at the Scheme - whether to provide transport at all. The Manager notes that although the Bureau was not intended as a service provider, rather a facilitator, he and Trailblazer decided that this should be the one service they would provide. While requests for other services could be passed on to relevant agencies, no body seemed willing, or indeed able, to accept a responsibility for transport. Thus out of necessity, and a frustration with other bodies, the Transport Scheme was born. Seven years later Trailblazer would leave due to ill health, and the Scheme "getting too much" for her, gladly handing over to an appointed Transport Coordinator.

Trailblazer sees very distinct stages in the development of the Scheme, linked to certain important decisions uncovered in the *Landmarks* technique. First was the decision to provide any transport at all, as mentioned above. Second was the decision to expand the Scheme, and once this was decided, to thirdly, obtain the funds to do so. As she notes;

"Once you've done one (trip) at all, you've got to decide whether you want it to expand. I mean you can't let something stand still, you've either got to stop it or expand it. I suppose the next big decision was "it's going to expand we've got to get funding: who do we ask?"

It was the quest for funding which preoccupied her throughout her time at the Scheme. She notes that the voluntary sector traditionally looks to the Social Services Departments for financial assistance. However they already assisted the Scheme through funding the CVS, and besides most trips were health related. People felt she was "ridiculous" in wanting to spread the burden of funding between those who (she felt) were responsible for trips: Health Authorities, and County Council Planning and Transport Department. However she:

"... segregated the various passengers into various groups and (I) said "we should be asking the Health Authority for that money etc etc"."

Indeed the "Battle" with the Health Authority mentioned above is to her, and continues today within the Scheme, to hold legend status.

"That was blackmail quite frankly. I mean we couldn't afford to do their trips for them without them paying. So I simply said "right, I'm sorry but we haven't got the funding, there are too many Health Authority trips and I'm afraid we can't do any more". I gave them about a months warning and I said "after that there will be no more Health Authority trips"."

Local referrers were contacted and informed of the decision, in addition to Health Authority managers. Referrers, especially local Doctors and Hospital Outpatient Departments contacted the Authority expressing their support for the Scheme. Trailblazer notes that;

"... then they (the Health Authority) started to wriggle ... they tried to push the funding onto all, they were trying to push it onto the Ambulance Service, they were trying to push it onto the District Managers, they tried to push it everywhere."

Various crisis meetings took place during the two or three months the service was withdrawn;

"... and finally they capitulated and we got our funding from them."

These definite stages to the Scheme which she perceives, and the legend of the Battle of the Health Authority, illustrate her very close involvement in the Scheme's development, elevating her role to a crusade rather than a job. Her impact, level of involvement, and approach are further illustrated in the *Landmarks* technique. In responding to a question on the third party referral mechanism and who made the decision to adopt this mechanism;

"I had to make decisions as I went along, but if there was anything important I always went and had a word with (CVS Manager). And if there was anything really important we had a quick word with the Management Committee ... and if there was anything really big, I kept it to myself (laugh). I mean I didn't let them know I was blackmailing the Health Authority for instance."

This was Trailblazer's approach; anything goes in the pursuit of her vision for the Scheme. As she goes on:

"You can't do these things through the hierarchy. I mean a Committee sits down, it turns everything out, and by the time they've discussed it and done it, it's too late for anything and you haven't got anything."

Thus decisions were made with various levels of involvement from others, the more important the decision as she saw it, the more clandestine and informal the consultation. The vision she attempted to make flesh was a Scheme providing a professional transport service with assured funds. When asked about any important events, phone calls or letters which stand out at the Scheme she notes:

"Well it's all funding actually ... once you've got funding, so you can look ahead."

This looking ahead would involve addressing problems in the Scheme which she never had time to look at because of her continued quest for funds. These would, in her eyes, be driver training and testing, and insurance matters. As Trailblazer herself said, her last hours spent in the Bureau were to get funds, and she looks back with extreme satisfaction that she was seen as "ridiculous" in attempting to obtain finance from non-Social Services sources;

"within 7 years I'd got it from everybody, including the Health Authority."

The *Job Description* allowed Trailblazer to describe a job guide for a stand in, including the important jobs to be done etc. These jobs she links to what she sees as the "final stages" of the Scheme; computerisation and premises. Trailblazer herself articulated problems of space to the Management Committee. While they said that it was "nonsense, we can't get any funding, and this that and the other!", the Treasurer mentioned that he thought he could put off a relocation for a while by computerising the system. This was done, and Trailblazer notes:

"Before that I couldn't have handed it (the Scheme) over easily. But once it was put on the computer, as long as I could teach the programme, the whole job's there."

This implies that the campaigning work and constant quest for funding which took up a lot of Trailblazer's time is not necessary now. Indeed other comments confirm this view. In discussing the Voluntary Car Scheme County forum, which brings together operators throughout the County, she feels that the meetings are of little use now because the Schemes have better funding and there are not any big problems to crystallise their thoughts. Also in the *Attitudes* technique she feels that for the District Scheme pressures will always be financial, while the opportunity open to the Scheme is that it is now accepted and is taken seriously. In evaluating the Scheme she feels that it has had a "good start", and now should aim for growth in man hours to run the Scheme.

All these suggest that Trailblazer had a distinct trailblazing role in the Scheme. Perhaps in the early days of the Scheme (and indeed voluntary car schemes generally) a vision for the Scheme was more easily formulated, as all ground was new and all the problems that occurred were new. As such, an approach to the

management of the Scheme which was action oriented and pugnacious was perhaps necessary. However the personal character of the Coordinator must also be important. In the *Attitudes* technique she herself notes that:

"I've always run something that people have said something ought to be done. I've never said "oh, wouldn't it be lovely to have ...". I'm not that kind of person. I'm usually the one that seems to end up running things (laugh). In rural communities there is always something to do."

Getting things done is her forte, and is an approach to life which has also led her to learn to drive only recently in her fifties, and to leave the traditionally male occupation of her first job in relatively later life, in order to train for a highly demanding career. This career was never realised as the Bureau job took over, but it is little wonder that after seven years at the Scheme she was relieved to vacate the Bureau post as ill health had meant that the very demanding goals she had set personally for the Scheme had become too much. While a trailblazing role may have been necessary in the early years of the Scheme, it is felt that she would throw herself enthusiastically into any position which she took up.

The new Coordinator had previously stood in for Trailblazer in her occasional absence. This she did through her salaried position as CVS Secretary. Indeed in looking at her involvement with transport *Attributes* it is evident that, unlike Trailblazer who has always been the one who "ends up running things", the Scheme being seen as an extension of this social facet, Coordinator's involvement in this area has been through her job. Trailblazer brought a personal vision to the provision of transport, stamping the whole Scheme with her name, whereas Coordinator has instead stepped into a newly created job which she transacts efficiently and professionally. While in response to questioning concerning how she became involved in transport Trailblazer notes that there are always things to be done in rural areas which she seems to end up doing, Coordinator relates another story - a work background which has progressed from a position in a statutory Authority, to CVS Secretary, to Transport Coordinator. It is this background she brings with her to the position she occupies.

This is clearly seen in the *Activity Diary*, observation of her job, and her relationship with the CVS Manager and the Management Committee. During

observation at the Scheme there was a transition from hectic to busy to now comfortable operation as Coordinator took over. During quieter periods at the Scheme there is now a friendly chatter about the latest "Marks and Spencer" bargain purchased during the dinner hour, evening classes being taken, and other non-work activities. A comfortable office feel to the Bureau emanates, often revolving around coffee-time. However when work again beckons, undivided attention is given to the tasks in hand. Talk concerning the Scheme is very rarely of strategic issues, and even if this does occur, the issues usually concern personnel matters such as wages, holidays. Strategic issues and visions are absent.

That this situation did not occur when Trailblazer was Coordinator is difficult to prove, as observation only took place under her leadership twice. It is also problematic to ascribe this situation to the appointment of a new Coordinator. However that there has been a change in emphasis at the Scheme can be stated with a high degree of reliability. The researcher observed the Scheme twice under Trailblazer (11/87 and 10/88) and talked with her twice over the phone before she left. In these visits and discussions the "critical" nature of the current situation at the Scheme was stressed by both her and the Administration Volunteer. The researcher became sensitised to the importance of the future at the Scheme, and various issues surrounding it. Thus he was surprised in finding no mention of the future in his early visits to the Scheme after Trailblazer had departed. Had the "crucial" time passed by in a matter of days? When the Administration Volunteer was questioned concerning said crucial issue at the time, the researcher only received an unconcerned response, noting that everything would work out. Indeed this was the general response from others at the Scheme including the new Coordinator. For such a battling strategic pugnacious view to so permeate the Scheme, and then be so lacking was distinctly noticeable. That Trailblazer herself also perceived such a change could be possible. Approximately five months after she had left, she noted that the Scheme could be rated at "5/10" in response to a question as to how the Scheme was faring "out of ten" in the *Change Resume*. Only if the Scheme "really got determined" could remaining problems of too few man hours, and driver support be "sorted out".

That Coordinator rarely gave personal reflections on issues raised in interview, and did not always have full information about them again provides an interesting

comparison to Trailblazer, and an illumination of her status as Transport Coordinator in the organisation. This status, and rights and duties analogous to it, are typically well defined within the organisation. The change in approaches to the management of the Scheme are also evident in the relationship between Coordinator and the CVS Manager, and Coordinator and Management Committee. The Management Committee structure and process at the District Scheme has been described above. At the Scheme there also exists a Staff Meeting process. The Staff Meetings consist of a monthly meeting for all those working at the Volunteer Bureau, the CVS Secretary, and Manager. These were established in 1986 as a means of allowing everyone to be aware of what each other is doing. While they are described as very informal, recently minutes have started to be taken. Trailblazer had quite strong views as to how she herself used the Management Committee and in interview the Staff Meetings were never even mentioned by her. The new Coordinator however has a different perspective. While she notes that the Management Committee "talks" and the Staff Meeting "gets things done", the staff involvement (including her own) in both is not great. The Staff Meeting does allow for discussion amongst staff, however in observation it was found to be less of a discussion/brainstorming group than a method through which the Manager could inform Staff of strategic matters, such as changes of premises, funding. Issues raised by staff, only under a kind of "Any Other Business" concerns courses they wish to attend and other personnel matters. Of note here is that while the Manager does not run these meetings in any way autocratically, staff do not suggest ways forward, and ideas for the future, rather the Manager suggests and the staff agree. Indeed the researcher was surprised at the long periods of silence and lack of discussion at the Staff Meeting.

Management Committee meetings provide much less opportunity for staff to speak, indeed staff only have to attend to answer any questions and give reports. The Manager is the most vociferous of staff at the meetings, and often articulates matters previously decided at Staff Meetings. In discussion with the Coordinator after attending a Management Committee meeting she mentioned a dislike of "non-expert" committee members advising and telling the Transport Scheme what to do, illustrating an acceptance of her subordinate position in the system. Unlike Trailblazer she does not however attempt to short circuit the system, instead she acts within it doing her job as best she can.

The Scheme is not the Coordinator's, and in conversation she never equates herself to the Scheme as Trailblazer did. Instead she fills a position in the organisation. This position is similar to other members of staff in the Bureau. In Trailblazers reign at the Scheme, while the other staff had formal meetings with the Manager, and treated him as "the boss", the Transport Scheme (and Trailblazer as its' leader), enjoyed a more fluid relationship with the Manager, and indeed the CVS which he represents. While the new Coordinator is given instructions and tasks to carry out, Trailblazer compiled her own tasks and had a less hierarchical relation with the Manager. Perhaps this was due not only to Trailblazer's approach to the job, but also that she had established the Scheme and was most expert on its organisation. Now that the Manager has appointed a Coordinator plus an Assistant to run the Scheme, a more hierarchical structure exists in which the Coordinator transacts what is to her a job. A more formal organisation in its own right is indeed a goal of the Manager. Over the coming three years he aims to;

"move away from the ad hoc basis which of necessity was the way it had been done, and get the Scheme going well."

By this he hopes to increase its "legitimacy" by moving out of the Bureau and giving the Scheme its own "identity", thus fostering;

"a greater knowledge, and appreciation of the important role that it plays, amongst the decision makers."

To do this the Coordinator and assistant he has appointed have experience and knowledge of the Social Services statutory, and voluntary sectors. Neither noted any personal experience of mobility handicap in interview (Attributes) unlike Trailblazer. Thus has the nature of the Scheme changed.

As mentioned at the introduction to this section the contrast of old and new Coordinator illuminates the changes in the Scheme generally; an institutionalisation of a personal vision to a position. Trailblazer was involved in the Scheme primarily because it was her job, but was also involved on a personal level, due to experience of mobility handicap and a history of rural self help. She made the Scheme by forging new approaches to funding, often made through

informal channels. The Scheme forged is the result of seeing through a personal strategy to realise a vision. Coordinator has stepped into the Scheme thus made. The job that she successfully applied for, she does professionally and efficiently within the existing organisational structure. Any strategy mentioned by her is not her own vision, but the organisational direction decided. That she works efficiently and professionally is not meant to imply cold detachment. That she cares for the Scheme and its future is beyond doubt, however the vision and personal crusade of Trailblazer has been transformed into a list of tasks on a job description.

### **7.3.2 The Manager**

The key actors involved were identified through the *Boundaries* technique administered to the Coordinators, and those observed at the Scheme. The only other actor who can be termed 'key' is the Manager of the CVS, whose role in the Transport Scheme has recently changed.

The relationship between the Manager and the Coordinators has been discussed above. As noted Trailblazer states that he is in-charge now that she has left, implying that although he was CVS Manager beforehand, she was still in charge of the Transport Scheme. Probing further on the relationship she notes:

"Well, he always says we were all equal but I never believed it. He's in charge of the whole of the CVS, and the Bureau is a small part of the CVS."

As the Transport Scheme was but part of his job, and as she had run the Scheme in her own way from the beginning, she was effectively in charge of the Scheme, with the Manager having overall responsibility. The person who ran the Scheme from its beginnings with a visionary approach has left leaving him with effective responsibility; has the Manager taken on her visionary mantle?

As with the Coordinators, the Manager is oriented to the statutory sector in discussing the Scheme, and this could be seen to be due to his (and the Scheme's) roots in the CVS. The Manager sees the establishment of the Scheme,

and growth of it, as intimately linked to the establishment of the CVS. He feels that the "past should explain the present" and the aims of the CVS (promoting more and better voluntary action through liaison with statutory, voluntary and public agencies) are analogous to those of the Volunteer Bureau, and therefore the Scheme. The Scheme emerged to fill a gap in services which the Bureau could not ask others to fill; while it went against the stated purpose of the Bureau of enabling voluntary action, not providing services, the Scheme was established. This is the first of the two major decisions outlined by the Manager in his *Landmarks* of the Scheme's history. However once decided, came the second major decision. "Where do we get the cash to do this?" Here the CVS wider origins took over, and the Scheme was plunged into the statutory field.

He notes that a third party referral mechanism was decided upon early in the Scheme's life which was designed to limit demand and allow others to make decisions on transport needs. The Manager feels that:

"By working through the Agencies you then ensure that you're offering a service to local voluntary and statutory - primarily statutory I accept, nevertheless that is the area that we as an organisation work with. If it was simply an open door, then, in fact what you're doing is nothing different from offering a taxi service to people which is not in the realm of what this voluntary organisation is about."

This took the Scheme into the referrers realm and the Scheme grew rapidly, to cover about 50% of the working time of the Bureau and to the point that funding had to be formally addressed;

"a few trips a week, ok, you could mask that, but when it came to a stage where the Bureau Organiser was spending more time organising transport than recruitment and placement of volunteers, then its the tail wagging the dog."

Third party referral meant that trips could be assigned to "who should pay", and therefore "who should be approached" for finance, and it was felt that Social Services and Planning and Transportation Departments of the County Council (who were providing limited support) and the Health Authority would be targeted.

Thus the Manager is oriented to the statutory sector. However it is felt that the visionary mantle of Trailblazer is transformed to a professional form with the shift to his leadership upon her departure. This professional mantle is witnessed in how his new effective responsibilities fit into his job, and how he approaches the Scheme and its future. The Transport Scheme is only one part of his responsibilities and indeed is approached as such. In the *Job Description* and *Activity Diary* techniques it was found that it was very difficult for the Manager to discuss the Scheme as an entity outside the main body of the CVS. Thus even with an effective role in the Scheme, it can only be one part of his job. Indeed the *Attributes* technique shows that his involvement with the Scheme is only through his job, not an affinity for getting things done in rural areas. He has a formal strategy for the Scheme, aiming to hive off the Scheme from the Volunteer Bureau, and emphasising new premises and more man hours to be a central tenet of his strategy for change (*Change Resume*). His aim is for a separate identity for the Transport Scheme, to increase its "legitimacy" with funders:

"Over the three years, what it will actually do is have a discrete identity, still part of the CVS, but more people will understand what it's about ... there should be a greater knowledge and appreciation of the important role that it plays amongst the decision makers, the people who, ultimately will say that it will continue."

Central to this is a strategy of increased awareness. This is facilitated through a Newsletter to referrers, though interestingly not users. This strategy is to obtain finance, which is seen as the biggest cloud on the Scheme's horizon (*Attitudes*). This is seen as an internal problem, the above strategy to address it being a "straightforward" response. However the potential effects of the Griffiths Report he sees as an external problem. The Manager notes that;

"... we haven't actually sat down and broached whether in fact this service will be provided on a contractual basis",

implying that a contractual arrangement is at least feasible.

In discussing the internal problem of finance, the Manager feels that it is merely a problem which any other voluntary organisation faces;

"that Statutory Services acknowledge what you're about, but when it comes to backing you up with hard cash that's different. But we're no different in fact from a whole range of voluntary organisations in the District. In some ways we might be better placed ... because its easier to churn out quantitative justification for your Scheme than it is for say, MIND to explain the differences it is making to people with mental health problems ... and to prove that MIND is a legitimate organisation."

Here a difference emerges in the approaches of Trailblazer and Manager. Often the Manager was heard to contrast the Scheme to "any other voluntary organisation", though with Trailblazer it was differences between the District Scheme and other voluntary organisations (especially other car schemes) that were always stressed, seeing the District Scheme as frankly being much better! Indeed the Manager sees one of the great pluses of the decision to operate the transport service, despite going against the aims of the Bureau, is that:

"... we (the CVS) are getting our hands dirty ... we're grappling with the kinds of problems that any other voluntary organisation is grappling with. So it ensures that we've got that relevance, that we don't actually become ... removed or at a distance from the reality of what people are trying to do as voluntary organisations ..."

By being a "hands dirty" exercise as part of the main thrust of the organisation is not how Trailblazer would see her Scheme.

The Manager, although now effectively "in charge" of the Scheme and staff, has not assumed Trailblazer's mantle. The quietly spoken, considered, efficient man in his early 30's is very committed to the voluntary sector and District CVS (and thus the Bureau and Transport Scheme). However his professional, rational approach to the Scheme is in stark contrast to Trailblazer's personal battle for her Scheme. Three year funding has allowed designated personnel to be employed and a change strategy to be followed, which will move the Scheme towards the statutory service realm.

### **7.3.3 Other Actors**

Other actors in the organisation were interviewed, though it was found that they had little input into the decision making process, little strategic knowledge about the Scheme, and made only operational comments about it. Cameos of the actors will be given below, before any important points are discussed.

The CVS Manager introduced the **Administration Volunteer (AV)** to Trailblazer when the Scheme started. He was on the International Year of Disabled Persons Committee with the Manager in 1981. The Manager asked if he would like any involvement in the newly established Bureau, and he accepted. As transport reared its head, AV became increasingly involved with the Scheme, working very closely with Trailblazer, spending early days at the Scheme designing administration forms. As time went on he increasingly became involved in the booking and placing of trips, but not in dealing with the financial side of the Scheme. He now knows the administration of the Scheme, and according to Trailblazer can sort out any small problems occurring. He is on various Committees including "Disabled Persons' Information and Advice Line", "Disabled Persons' Sports Club", and is very knowledgeable on disabled persons' problems and potential solutions. His knowledge of the Scheme is however limited to administrative issues.

The **Administration Volunteer and Driver (AVD)** initially started driving for the Scheme in 1986 upon the death of her husband. She had experience in voluntary groups concerned with mental handicap, and felt by driving it would help get her out more. Over time she has started to assist AV one afternoon a week in the administration of the Scheme, while continuing to drive. When approached for interview she noted;

"Well I don't know if I can help you, I just help out - dogsbody."

Indeed her level of knowledge about non-administrative issues was low and she has no input into Scheme decision making.

The **Outreach Workers** involvement in the Scheme comes from her job being based in the Bureau, and her having occasionally to stand in when others are absent. Despite this she has little knowledge about even the administration of the Scheme, and indeed had to be retaught the basics when the Coordinator

prepared to go on holiday. She is quite nervous about involvement in the Scheme and recounts with fear crucial trips which she has been left to arrange, including a vivid recollection of a trip for a patient for regular courses of injections for cancer treatment. As Outreach Worker she is responsible for going out into the District raising awareness about the CVS, the Bureau, and volunteering generally.

The **Assistant Coordinator** joined the Scheme in June 1989, employed with the 'Opportunities for Volunteering' finance. She came from a local hospital where she was employed as a Hospital Voluntary Services Worker, coordinating voluntary work within the hospital. As part of the Manager's strategy to increase the legitimacy of the Transport Scheme, her responsibilities will include (as well as administration) publicity and driver recruitment. Even in the early months of her employment she was finding that contacts made through her previous position were of use in this new role. With her only recent involvement in the Scheme her knowledge was low.

The major points gleaned from interview and observation of these remaining actors, concerns their involvement with the Scheme and symptoms of it. It was noted earlier that a 'job' culture exists at the Scheme; this is reinforced by these actors' involvement in the Scheme. Although relations with the Coordinator are informal, her advice is always sought over problems occurring, and she is the central figure in most discussions. Relations with the Manager are quite clearly hierarchical, a fact verified in Staff Meetings. While AV and AVD are volunteers only, they approach their job in a concerned, professional manner. While these may be elements of the culture that exists, the presence of a history of involvement in the voluntary sector is also striking at the Scheme. While the volunteers have worked in other voluntary capacities, the employed workers in the Scheme all have a voluntary/statutory background (including the Manager and Coordinator). It is as if all involved possess a CV of involvement in the field. Their respective other 'involvements' are often mentioned in the Scheme, giving it an air of professionalism. This is in contrast to those involved at the Hamlet Scheme, whose involvement in voluntary transport appears to be due more to the fact that they happen to be in the Hamlet.

#### 7.3.4 Users

Users of the District Transport Scheme were interviewed in the same way as at the Hamlet study, with the researcher as driver, or as co-passenger. This produced the same physical and methodological problems and solutions as discussed in Section 6.3.3. In all eight users were interviewed, seven with the researcher as driver, 1 with researcher as co-passenger. This compares to respective figures at Hamlet of thirteen, five, and four. The total number of users interviewed is lower because one user whom it was intended to interview, was too unwell to talk, and two users did not turn up for their trip. These points will be returned to below. The ratio of interviews of users as driver and co-passenger are different, as at the District Scheme the offer to drive was taken up much more readily than at the Hamlet Scheme. This is because at the District Scheme the total volume of trips taken is much higher, and more opportunities for trips existed. As noted it was one of the researcher's strategies to aim to be helpful, especially when certain trip requests were difficult to place.

The findings from these interviews with users were again very much against original preconceived ideas of the research, that pressure for change from users in these small grassroots organisations would be very strong. Again there was ignorance about the Scheme though to a much greater extent than at the Hamlet Scheme.

In discussing the Scheme and change in it in the *Resume* with users, ignorance and confusion was great. Only one user interviewed knew the names of anyone at the Scheme (because she knew one driver very well) while others had distinct problems in conceptualising that a "car scheme" existed, let alone where it was based: quotes such as these were often heard;

Mrs J: (very confused) "I think the lady who took me yesterday, she, she, had 2 people in the car from the District Town! The District Town! ... I just can't make this transport out!!"

Mr R: "All I know is I ring up if I'm not going."

The level of ignorance about the Scheme was coupled with little idea as to what the Scheme could be used for, and a wish (when asked if there was anything they would change about the Scheme) that they would publicise the Scheme as described by the researcher so others knew about the Scheme.

These points can be linked to the fact that the user finds out about the Scheme through a third party. All that users usually know is that a car is offered to them to transport them to a certain destination, which arrives at their house at the allotted time. Indeed if a user cannot make the trip, it is usually the referrer who is informed and not the Scheme directly. Because of this situation, it was also found that there was a matching of certain trips to certain destinations, especially amongst elderly users whose knowledge of the Scheme was generally worse. For example Mrs E uses a taxi for trips to the Doctors, an Ambulance for trips to the Hospital and the Scheme for visiting trips (her initial referral coming from Age Concern). Mr S notes that he takes the bus to the Doctors (despite being partially sighted) and the Scheme to the Partially Sighted Club (initial referral being from the Social Services Department). It is because of this third party referral mechanism that users often do not realise that a Scheme exists, use the Scheme to its full potential, and, realising that there is an element of luck in their Doctor (etc) knowing about the Scheme, wish that it was more widely available to other potential users.

It is also due to the impersonality of the Scheme that users could articulate about the Scheme as transport per se, which opened up the Scheme more readily to criticism vis a vis the Hamlet Scheme. One user who had great difficulty in discerning the Scheme as something different to the Ambulance Service was quite outspoken in her criticism of the Scheme. She wished it was more organised, and that drivers would know the way to destinations better, and be more punctual. Another noted that the Scheme needed "sorting out" in response to a question asking if there was anything he would change about the Scheme. Another noted that she would prefer the same driver all the time and indeed an older more reliable driver. What is interesting however, is that once the nature of the Scheme was explained to users (that all drivers were volunteers and did not make any profit) the users were almost apologetic, implying that they would not have criticised the Scheme if they had realised. The only response mirroring the kind

experienced at the Hamlet study came from a user who knew people at the Scheme, noting that "they really do a good job of work".

In the sample of users interviewed at the District Scheme there was a greater mix of ages, and destinations visited than at the Hamlet Scheme. Of the 8 persons interviewed only 5 were elderly, the destinations served including hospitals, as at the Hamlet Study, but also private alternative medicine organisations, Social Services destinations and shopping areas. However this said, the major use of the Scheme was to meet unfulfilled transport needs as in the Hamlet Scheme. "Unfulfilled" in the District Scheme users sense though is not caused by a total lack of transport, rather is due to the inaccessible and/or inconvenient transport that exists.

Mrs M: Mrs M, aged approximately 40 years has been using the Scheme for about two years since she decided to follow alternative medicine to treat her multiple sclerosis: the disease has led to her losing the ability to drive. She is now wheelchair bound, and has very little control over her legs. As such she cannot use any form of public transport from her large village just outside the District Town. She likes having the same driver who can confidently handle her in and out of the car. Her husband can drive but is out at work during the day.

Mrs W: She lives in a very small isolated village in the District. No public transport runs through the village, though does pass down a major road approximately one mile away. Mrs W however is very immobile - she can only walk approximately 40 metres at a time. She uses the Scheme to visit her daughter who lives approximately 20 miles away, and to go shopping with her (hiring a wheelchair at the destination). She is referred by Age Concern in these trips, though must pay herself. She likes using the Scheme as she doesn't have to always be asking neighbours. She and her husband have lost the use of their car due to old age.

Mrs G: Is approximately 45 years old and suffers badly from arthritis. She lives in the District Town and uses the Scheme to travel to hospital

for regular treatment. No car is available during the day in the household. She notes that buses are available, but the journey takes 3 times as long and involves changing and walking between bus stops. Also the return trip from the hospital takes a different route to the outward, and leads to confusion. Travelling by public transport she "stiffens up" very badly, and, she feels, negates the arthritis treatment. She is referred by her Doctor.

Mrs B

and Son: Mrs B and her 8 year old son make the journey to the major hospital in the City approximately 15 miles away regularly. He has diabetes which is currently very unstable. When it has stabilised he will be able to have treatment at the local hospital in the District Town. She is referred by her Doctor, and the trip is paid for by Income Support benefit collected at the Hospital. She notes that bus or train transport can be used, as can an Ambulance. However the amount of time taken by these modes, and changes involved, make her son feel weak and sick.

Mr S: Mr S lives in a large village between the District Town and the County City. He is aged approximately 80 years, is not good on his feet, is blind in one eye, and virtually deaf. He uses the Scheme to travel to the Partially Sighted Club run by Social Services, who pay for his trip. This is his only trip out once a month. He used to travel by bus but does not any more due to his disabilities. He thinks he will stop attending the Club as his deafness means that he finds the Club "damn boring". He notes his deafness is very isolating.

It can be seen that transport may be available, but for various (usually medical) reasons it is not convenient, and people would rather ask for private car transport. These medical reasons effectively rule out transport that is not quick and user friendly.

During participant observation as a driver it was these medical needs which came to the fore. Even after the first trip completed, the researcher felt inadequate to

deal with the level of infirmity presenting itself. During the first trip, if it had not been for the help of a co-passenger, he could not have coped with Mr S the partially sighted and deaf passenger. The researcher felt particularly nervous in this job, knowing people depended on you to organise and help them. This dependence often led to nervousness in the researcher. For example, when faced with a wheelchair bound multiple sclerosis sufferer (which he was not expecting) he had great problems placing her in the car. When eventually she was in, they were running very late for the therapy, for which she had to be present at a set time or she would have to miss. She noted that if she missed the treatment she would deteriorate badly over the extra week she would have to wait. In the traffic queues that occurred the researcher felt that a blue light was needed - no required - on his car: this was an emergency! Coming to a halt at the destination in time, having made up time speeding to the Centre, a wheelchair had to be fetched, her put in, and a series of steps negotiated (poorly) under the watchful eyes of the Centre Organisers. Waiting for the return leg was full of worries and nerves. It also led to an apprehension of future trips (which was entirely justified). What if the child with unstable diabetes was sick in the car due to the petrol he claimed he could smell? What if we crashed - he had no seat belt on and his mother refused to wear one? What if this lady, in the middle of a week of cancer treatment, did not get to the hospital (God only knows how to get there in the one-way system!) on time and they had finished treatment for the day? Please let there be someone available at the destination to guide this partially sighted, arthritic man into the Club!

These reflections from the Field Note Book are of course personal and the point is not that other drivers would necessarily feel the same. However these were feelings that never emerged at the Hamlet Scheme where users did not seem like "critical patients". Indeed as noted at the beginning of this Section that one user was unable to be interviewed due to his poor health.

The other point emerging from participant observation, at odds to that completed at the Hamlet Scheme, was a feeling of being used. In the Hamlet Scheme everyone was very grateful, sometimes a little overpowering in their gratitude. Of course there was no need to be, but it does make one feel appreciated. This expression of gratitude, often throughout the whole trip, meant asking for payment upon completion was often difficult, as noted. This was not however the case at

the District Scheme, especially amongst those who had no grasp of the Scheme as an entity. The contrast was stark between undying gratitude at the Hamlet Scheme and a brief "thank you" at the end of a District trip. Once even the "thank you" was omitted. There was never any problem at the District Scheme over asking for cash at the end of the trip. Indeed as mentioned at the opening of this Section, two users did not turn up for their trip. When the researcher rang the Coordinator the first time it happened, he was in a panic. Perhaps the lady was unwell or even dead. This had never happened to him before, or come up at interview. The Coordinator was not surprised, and noted that this often happened. The feeling of being used intensified.

So a mixture of ages were transported, some with a high degree of infirmity. Often these people had little knowledge of the Scheme which led to the driver feeling more like a taxi driver than a volunteer.

#### **7.3.5 Drivers and Ex-Drivers**

It is when looking at drivers and ex-drivers that the starkest contrast occurs between the District and Hamlet Schemes. Whereas the Hamlet Scheme effectively has three drivers on its books, the District Scheme has a list of 42 drivers. As in the Hamlet case study the aim was to talk to these drivers about the Scheme, and how they felt it was changing, if at all. It was decided also to approach ex-drivers, as they emerged in the Hamlet study to provide a useful insight into driver motivation which in turn is important in looking at the changing numbers of drivers. Therefore a list of drivers was obtained and Scheme records researched in order to find frequencies of driving through the last year. Again the method would then be to talk to the Coordinator to find out concrete and contestable reasons for a reduction in driving by individuals. However, even with a quick glance of the computer list of drivers, the differences in the nature of the District Scheme became evident. Firstly drivers had notes next to their names indicating their preferences and availabilities in driving. Notes such as "weekends only", "school holidays only", "Any", "Monday evenings only" and "Local Hospital only" littered the pages. Obviously drivers occasionally gave some strict limits to their volunteering. Secondly together with the difference in sheer numbers of drivers to those at the Hamlet Scheme, was the shock at numbers of men

involved. Up to this stage most contact in the research up to now had been with females - users, organisers and drivers. However at the District Scheme the male/female ratio of drivers was 19/23.

Using the list, and knowledge of drivers' frequencies of trips over the last year, current and ex-drivers were selected for interview. Again the Coordinator was approached cautiously concerning ex-driver interviews, however no problems occurred in obtaining permission to approach these people. The respective interview schedules for drivers and ex-drivers outlined in Chapter Five were again utilised.

In discussing the Scheme with **current drivers** it was found that although specific knowledge of the Scheme was low (eg knowing other drivers, or numbers of drivers) there was agreement on general themes surrounding the organisation; the Scheme had changed to the extent that it had become busier, and the major pressures on it were definitely financial. Also on specific points about driving there was a consensus: the cash payment was enough to cover the cost of running the car though not to make a profit; the best thing about the driving for the Scheme was that it gets you out and you're doing a useful job for society; advice to other drivers would be not to let the passengers get to you, and that things will go wrong.

The reasons for the agreement concerning organisational issues and driving practise could be found in the organisation itself. When they discuss the Scheme, drivers refer to "the office", "the Bureau people" and "the boss". Driver contact with the Scheme is either through calling into the Bureau (for those living close by) or in being telephoned by the Scheme to receive driving instructions. Calling into the buzzing Bureau, or having the telephone call - "Hello, its District Bureau here, I wonder if you could do a trip for us?" imparts an "I am part of something greater" feel to driving for the Scheme. The office culture of the Scheme which is evident in the Bureau, and often transmitted over the telephone, perhaps instils this feeling in drivers. Indeed drivers often refer to driving for the Scheme as a job, one driver noting that he decided to drive for the Scheme in preference to "another part-time job", choosing to drive as he could be "my own boss". Perhaps the relatively high average payments to drivers, as shown in Figure 7.4, reinforce this view. Contrasting these with the Hamlet Scheme, an element of job philosophy occurs

in the approach to formality in the Scheme. While formality was seen negatively at the Hamlet Scheme, at the District Scheme drivers utilise the tear off claim slips, filling in mileages as necessary. Indeed some drivers who were accompanied by the researcher noted the great utility of these forms in convincing users that you were a bona fide driver on their doorstep. One of these drivers was particularly proud of the system of using the form as ID, filling in mileages, and receiving payment at a later date, noting that;

"Oh yes, it's all official like".

Perhaps the greatest acquiescence to perceived formality came from the same driver who once noted;

"I did actually drive for a non-NHS Scheme once on an evening."

Obviously he quite happily equates the District Scheme with the NHS.

The job philosophy also appears significant in District drivers' attitudes to abuse. 'Abuse' as a term is not usually used by District drivers, though "bad customers" are often mentioned: the non-talkative, non-thankful customers do obviously occur. While a Hamlet driver noted with horror a user being late for a trip, often users do not turn up for trips for the District Scheme as noted above. As one driver put it;

"It's all in a day's work."

The Coordinator perhaps best summed up the drivers in going through the drivers list with the researcher;

"Oh they're a good lot. They don't mind hassle."

She went on to describe how occasionally she has to inform a driver that the user is incontinent;

"Oh, don't worry" they say, "I'll put a plastic sheet on the seat!" They're a good lot!"

Hence a distinct philosophy seems to be alive at the District Scheme, a philosophy which equates driving with a job. It appears that drivers feel they can put limits on their driving (as shown on the driver sheet), will put up with hardship in driving for the Scheme, and as it is equated with a more formal job, will take this hardship as "all in a days' work".

Looking at **ex-drivers** allied points emerge. The researcher talked through the list of drivers with the Coordinator, again looking for those with concrete and those with more contestable reasons for less driving. However it appeared that of those whose trip frequencies had declined during the year and those whose were generally low, most had concrete reasons for this. The Coordinator noted that most drivers "come and stay" and as they grow old with the Scheme very often stipulate local journeys only, there being a "gradual drop off". Those with strict limits on their driving all seemed to have valid reasons for this, such as having young children at home during the day leading to availability at "weekends only". The drivers seemed to have no qualms at all about reducing their commitment. Indeed the Coordinator was happy with this situation. Having discussed the drivers in detail with the Coordinator, only two drivers were found who stipulated "any" trips and had driven infrequently over the year, the reason being unknown to the Coordinator. These were interviewed using the Schedule outlined in Chapter Five.

Again the drivers had similar views on the pressures on the Scheme (financial) and changes going on (growing numbers of trips) - one though feeling no change had occurred. With regard to change in the organisation, one felt that no change had occurred, while the other noted that trips had grown, and that;

"We've got a new Boss",

meaning the Coordinator. Again, as the above quote indicates, there was again a job philosophy in these drivers interviewed. Asking the other driver about the best things about the Scheme;

"What about doing the job you mean?",

and both mentioned, in a jocular manner, problems with certain users. However as one noted;

"They're few and far between. You just take them in your stride."

So why had they reduced their driving?;

Mrs H: Mrs H has been involved in the Scheme for about 1 year and drove 10 times in the last year. She lives in a large village to the west of the District, and usually takes people living in the west of the District to hospitals in the west. She notes that she drives "quite often", taking usually the same people. She feels that the Scheme has not changed during her involvement.

It appeared in talking to her that she enjoyed the "job" a great deal, but her low numbers of trips?;

"Well I've said, just ring me and if I can go I will".

Mrs B: Lives in a village very close to the District Town. She has been driving for 4 years. 10 years ago she gave up work and started driving for the Hospital Car Service. However she found out about the District Scheme after 6 years, and has driven for them since. She says that she drives about once a week, "sometimes more, sometimes less" (she drove 10 times last year). However over the last few weeks she says she's been driving less as her husband has just retired, and since then, "we always seem to be busy. I think that's why she's (the Coordinator) been ringing less - I've always been saying "No"" (laugh).

Both stress that they can say "No" and have no obligation to drive when asked, both being quite open about the fact; no "concrete" reason is in fact deemed necessary. Indeed in an early observation session at the Scheme the researcher pointed out to the Administration Volunteer that;

"I suppose sometimes you have to pull on drivers' heartstrings."

This provoked a very strong reaction from both him and the Outreach Worker present, both noting that they would never ever exert any kind of moral obligation on drivers.

It appears that drivers volunteer for the Scheme on a more professional (albeit voluntary) basis at the District Scheme. This may be reinforced by the formality (and trappings of it) of the Scheme, and the 'job culture' that it transmits. With a job one takes the rough with the smooth, and can reduce ones hours or even retire, while perhaps with more of a moral obligation one is annoyed at abuse of goodwill, retirement including more negative undertones.

#### **7.4 WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS**

Again, as in the Hamlet study, in looking at what the voluntary car scheme is, what influences it, and how it is changing, certain issues are important. The findings from the research techniques, a summary of which has been given, were analysed for the study to give the issues outlined below. The issues are presented here with the results being applied to the Hamlet Scheme and vice versa.

##### **7.4.1 Complexity**

The District Transport Scheme is within a complex organisation. Many people are involved in providing a trip in the District Scheme. In the widest sense the CVS and CVS Management Committee structure includes many people who all ultimately play a part in providing transport. However even in the narrow sense, a complex system involving many people surrounds the provision of one trip. On one level there is the interaction between patient, referrer, and scheme, and on another there is the communication through the booking procedure between those at the Scheme and between the Scheme and prospective drivers. Finally there is the structural method of actually providing and paying for the trip covering the sending out of instructions, through the making of the trip and recording of details, to relaying these details to the Scheme who pay the driver and charge the funder.

In managing this complexity there is a precise definition of the service area and strict mechanism for obtaining the service, as outlined above. This level of complexity is facilitated by a bureaucratic system which provides predictability in the Scheme. The bureaucracy involved distances the user from the Scheme to such an extent that they see the Scheme as a service and not a personality as in the Hamlet Scheme. As such criticism of the service per se is not stifled. This is perhaps reinforced by the presence of the next issue the District Scheme.

#### **7.4.2 Formality**

Formality was discussed as an issue at the Hamlet Scheme under problems concerned with increased formality: drivers losing their justification for driving. Formality however is brought out here as having a distinct presence, though without problems surrounding the issue. People become involved in organising the Scheme as a job, and bring with them the relative merits seen to be of use in this job (this in contrast to earlier days in the District Scheme). The people involved are staff within a voluntary organisation having defined positions in it, dealing with others in the organisation as befits their position: within the Management Committee staff are not allowed to talk, the Manager representing them; the Manager is seen as a boss, with the Coordinator being the centre of attention within the Scheme. The shift to this more formal structure with the departure of Trailblazer and the securing of longer term funding has been discussed.

This formality appears to pervade the organisation including drivers, who accept their formal position and the advantages and disadvantages that go with it.

#### **7.4.3 Culture and Leadership**

Culture and leadership are important issues discovered at the District Scheme, that are discussed here together as the latter seems to have influenced the former. The District Scheme, with its complex organisation and bureaucracy, and the formal structures within it, has a professional culture. All involved with the Scheme do their appointed jobs in the appointed manner. A comfortable office

culture exists in both Bureau and Scheme. Indeed her legend of the "Battle of the Health Authority" does live on.

When Trailblazer was "in charge" at the Scheme however, comfortable was not the key word. Every day seemed to be a "crucial" moment in the life of the Scheme, her personal crusade for the Scheme tackling all-comers to win a favourable outcome for the Scheme. Rather than a comfortable office culture in the Scheme, a battling spirit pervaded those concerned with it. This is not to say that the bureaucracy and formality at the Scheme are due to her departure. The Scheme is not more bureaucratised since her departure, and with increased funding, and the recruitment of a new Coordinator and Assistant Coordinator, formal structures within the Scheme have increased only a little. What has happened though, is that her departure had led to a splitting of her responsibilities between a professional Coordinator and the professional CVS Manager. Her battle may have been won, it now being time for the consolidators to move in. With all these changes has come a shift in culture within the organisation which is of importance in looking at the research questions posed.

So has this new culture filtered through to drivers, as well as pervading those involved in the organisation of the Scheme? It appears that drivers and ex-drivers do see their position in the organisation as a job. However those who drove 'under' Trailblazer, as well as those recently joining the Scheme, both see driving as a professional situation, albeit on a voluntary basis. Also when asked about change in the Scheme only one driver commented that "we have a new boss", thus implying that no great significance is attached to the departure of the ex-Coordinator.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME

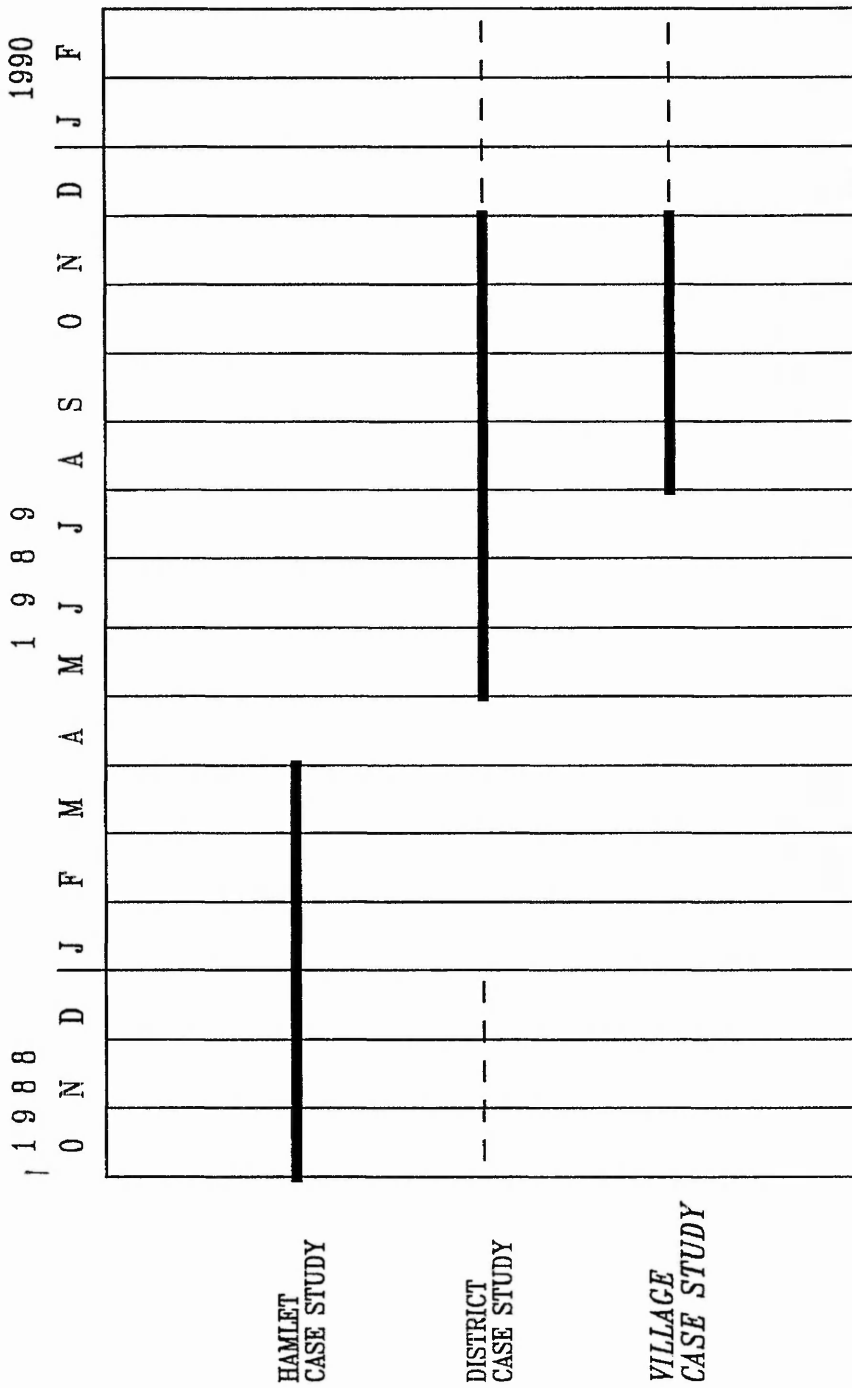
This chapter deals with the final case in the trilogy, that of the Village Community Car Scheme. Again the format followed in this chapter will cover issues concerning access to the organisation in Section 8.1, followed by an analysis of the operation of the Scheme in Section 8.2, discussion of the findings from the research techniques in Section 8.3, concluded in Section 8.4 by a description of the within case analysis.

#### **8.1 GETTING IN AND GETTING ON**

The first experience of the Village Community Car Scheme came in late 1988 when the researcher visited the Scheme to find out more about car schemes generally. The approach and visit was to the Treasurer/Secretary's home, as she was listed as the Scheme contact in the County Community Transport Guide (where she was actually listed as the Coordinator). The meeting, which discussed the Scheme generally, was at her home at the kitchen table where most subsequent sessions were held. The next contact with the Secretary was at a Rural Community Council organised conference, where the research was introduced to her, and the idea of the Village Scheme being a case study broached. Approximately four months later a trip was made to her home to ask for permission to study the Scheme, having previously sent an overview of the research. The plan of the research undertaken is shown in Figure 8.1.

Access to the Scheme through the Secretary was agreed with her that day, however two points of interest arose which would be important in gaining effective access over the early period of the study. The first, and more minor point, concerned the presence of the Secretary's husband on that visit. The meeting was in the late morning and, as the researcher's questions kept coming, the husband became slightly agitated. Although he hardly spoke during the meeting, he began to pace and look at his watch as dinner time approached. Although this was no problem to the researcher, it was felt that the husband's agitation could affect the willingness of the Secretary to spend long periods of

**FIG. 8.1 TIMETABLE OF RESEARCH**



**KEY**  
 — Major Research Period  
 - - - Minor Research Period

time with the researcher when the husband was present (as he usually was, being retired). As such, a point was made to always chat to the husband prior to a meeting with the Secretary, and indeed to get to know him as well as his wife, including him in informal chats. A mutual interest in sports made this process very easy and enjoyable. The second point of interest from this original meeting only became fully clear after 2-3 meetings. During these early meetings the researcher was treated with what could best be described as a kind of reverence: his approval of the Scheme was often sought, and his 'expert' knowledge alluded to, "do you think this way of doing the booking is alright?" This puzzled the researcher, until chance comments by a user, and the Secretary, on the same day. When taking the user to a hospital appointment, he was asked whether the Secretary had explained who the researcher was, and what he was doing;

"Yes you're looking at the Scheme or somat - you're from the Council aren't you?"

Later that day the Secretary asked the researcher detailed questions about any possible changes in County Council policy towards voluntary car schemes. The researcher was not being able to give a definite opinion, and the Secretary seemed unhappy and referred to the close relationship between him and the Officers at the County Council with responsibility for schemes, mentioning the Rural Community Council meeting at which we had met previous to the research. It was realised at this stage that at the Community Council meeting the researcher had given a paper after the Council Officer, and had sat with him as part of an "Any Questions" panel. During this meeting our opinions came over as very similar, and potential collaborative work mentioned. It was felt that the researcher was perceived at the Scheme as a quasi County Official, and one who perhaps was evaluating the Scheme despite no mention of this by the researcher.

These points recognised, the techniques used to gain effective access at the other case studies could be used and stressed. Making an effort to be friendly with the Secretary's husband has already been mentioned. However an effort was also made to stress 'humanness', with personal stories (as at the Hamlet Scheme) and indeed academic circumstance;

"I'm not an expert I'm more of a student trying to learn about car schemes - so I've come to you".

This non-expert, finding out role was stressed to all at the Scheme, together with reassurances about confidentiality. These techniques, together with driving for the Scheme in the early stages of the research, and generally becoming known as a person, helped win over effective access. As time went on the researcher's leg was often pulled by the Secretary, and entertaining chats had at her home with her, her husband, son-in-law and whoever was present. When other members of the Scheme were interviewed later in the research, although the researcher still used the techniques above, it is felt that the Secretary had passed on the feeling that he was not actually checking up on them. Indeed this was witnessed at one stage when the Secretary was ringing an Organiser to arrange an interview with her. The researcher overheard the Secretary talking on the phone;

"No, leave your best china away, he's not a china tea cup bloke"

It is felt that the winning over of one person, who was the initial contact at the Scheme, and person through which all meetings were arranged, was useful and important in neutralizing any negative feelings unwittingly brought, like a virus, into the study by the researcher. Obtaining confidence at the Scheme was obviously central to negating this quasi-County status. However merely stating that everything is in strict confidence is only part of this process. In all three studies the "all in confidence" statement was always treated dismissively by the subjects of the research. One must however always be aware that the issue of confidentiality, and other worries and perceptions may be simmering just below the surface, and must be addressed. (It was during the Village study that the only request for confidence was made from an Organiser. Interestingly, as will be discussed below, it was not confidence from the wider world which was requested, but confidence from others at the Scheme).

With the Village Scheme being run from private homes, with all interviews (apart from some drivers and users) being conducted in homes, the problems experienced at the busy District Scheme were not encountered. Generally techniques could be decided upon prior to interviews, thus dropping the requirement to be as opportunistic. Only occasionally did techniques have to be

aborted due to the unexpected presence, or interruption of a visitor. Whenever it could not be decided to press on with a technique, or beat a retreat, the latter was chosen so as not to risk goodwill at the study site.

Looking at issues of "getting in and getting on" at all three studies undertaken, various issues have arisen concerning the initial contact with the organisation and the subsequent negotiation of effective access, that is access to the people in the organisation in as close to their usual state as possible, and in a position to answer questions honestly and openly. In making the initial contact at the Schemes, it was found that it helped if those approached were already known on an informal basis. This proved much more comfortable than a cold call. It is felt that the use of friends/acquaintances should be treated with caution; one should ask oneself **what their perceived relative status and position is to the organisation being studied**. In the small voluntary organisations studied here, the use of 'official' acquaintances could too easily stamp the research with an 'official seal' and all the preconceived notions this can engender.

All issues arising revolve around **obtaining the trust and confidence** of the objects of the research at the very first meeting, and its continuance to the very end of the research. Obviously the use of non-threatening language is important here in explaining the nature of the work, and indeed throughout the research, though of particular importance was the need to stress emphatically that one was not an "expert". It is very easy when entering a small voluntary organisation, which is not involved or even aware of the research/academic world, to be given the title of "expert". However this only serves to close up effective access to how the organisation operates. In explaining the research in busier organisations it was found that a typed sheet (in non-threatening language) was of use, as in the heat of the hectic organisation's moment, ones explanations of the work could leave a lot to be desired, or even be difficult to get across to everybody concerned. The initial explanations of the research are only the beginnings of obtaining effective access through winning the trust and confidence of people in the organisation. In the organisations researched here, it was found that helping at the organisation, from making coffee to driving for the scheme, was important in gaining acceptance. However it was in building a relationship with the researched that one also had to give of oneself. Telling people about one's life adds some humanness to the "external expert", as does the sending of Christmas

cards, and postcards from holidays. It also takes one into the organisation, and indeed is a pleasurable aspect of this form of research. Perhaps in larger organisations a more formal relationship between researcher and researched is both possible and expected, without hindering the validity of the work. However to gain effective access to these smaller organisations especially those run from home, the lives of the subjects is being entered on a human level, occasionally in their lounge with home-made mince pies in hand.

Two of Buchanan's pieces of advice were found to be applicable to the research though in ways different to those intended. These were;

"... deal positively with respondent's reservations with respect to time and confidentiality", and

"offer a report of your findings"

(Buchanan et al 1988 p 56)

It was found that reservations over the time involved did not materialise. In the two home run schemes, especially where one person was responsible for the decision to grant access, it was felt that there was reluctance to voice any reservations as to the time element involved in the research. This could be due to a disinclination to disappoint, or as a function of the researcher being perceived as the expert who could not be turned down. Whatever the reason it was felt that the time element involved must be spelled out in no uncertain terms. Dealing positively with reservations concerning confidentiality, and offering a report were found to be of more pertinence interest. Neither seemed to help in gaining access, both generally being of little interest to the organisations studied. Their utility came in **monitoring subjects' responses to the issues**; the type of confidences assumed to be of importance, and the reaction to the offer of "a report", suggested form it should take, and the use to which it is put.

The final experience concerning 'getting in and getting on' at the three studies concerns the method of administering techniques. The busy District organisation demanded an opportunistic approach to the research, entering the field armed with possible techniques to be administered, and maximising time at the scheme.

The home run schemes however allowed a more structured approach as techniques were administered at predetermined times and at home, where interruptions were minimal. However of equal importance is developing the skill to **leave the field** with certain techniques not having been attempted. Occasionally the temptations to complete a technique are high, even though the climate is poor (for example the subject is busy, or has obviously had enough for one day). At this stage one must leave the techniques for another day and thus preserve the goodwill of those being researched, and the validity of the exercise.

## **8.2 VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME PROFILE**

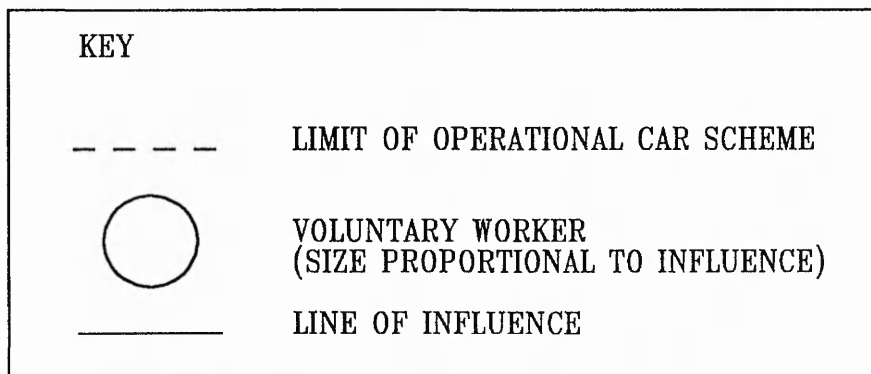
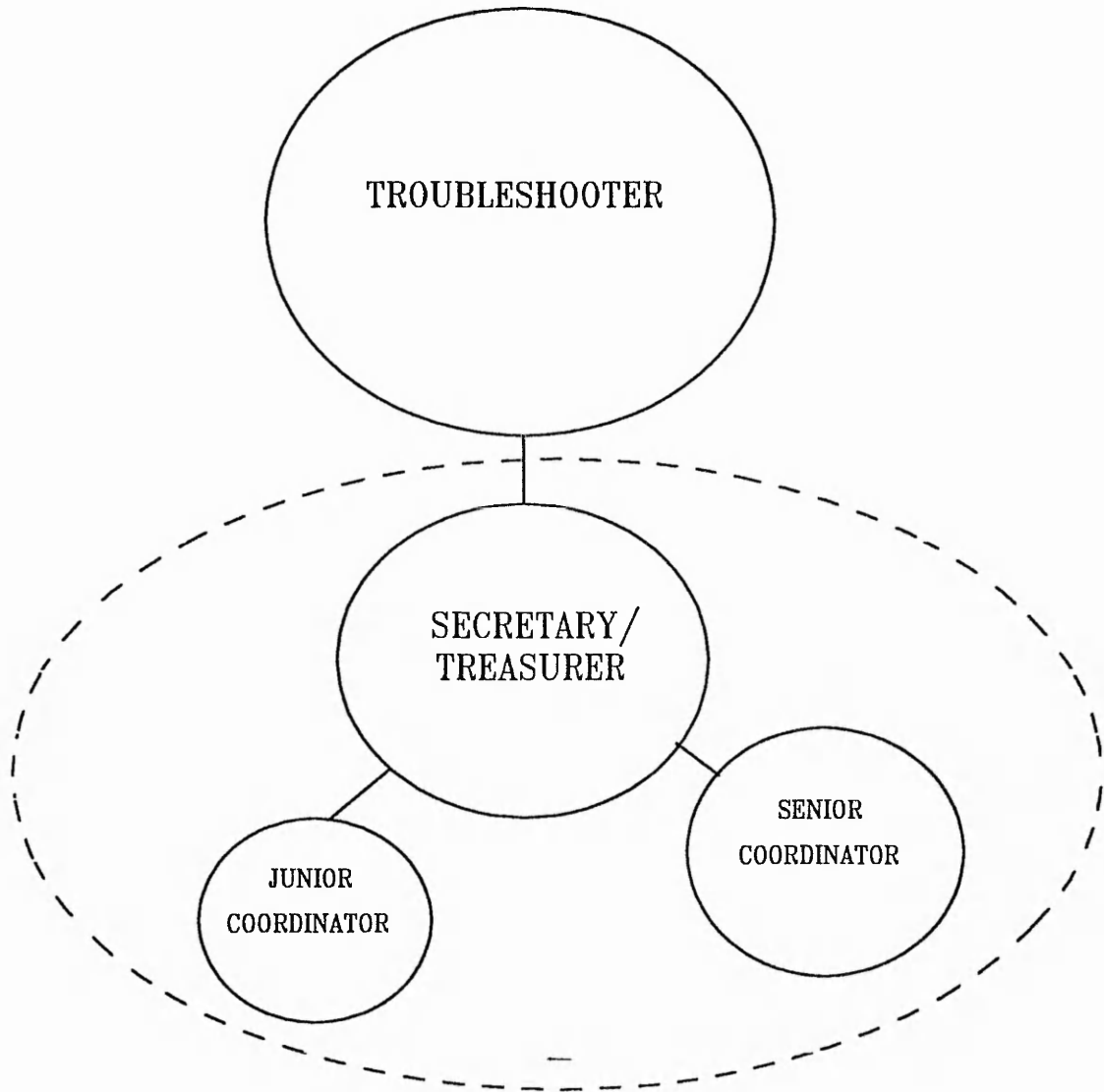
As in the previous case study Chapters, this Scheme Profile will cover the organisation and service provided by the Scheme, the resources it has at its disposal to do so, and the operation of the Scheme. Again this is based predominantly upon the *Questionnaire* and *Searches* carried out at the Scheme. The organisation to be studied was defined using the Boundaries technique. The organisational map delimited is shown in Figure 8.2. The issues surrounding this will be discussed in Section 8.2.1.

### **8.2.1 Organisation and Service**

<b>Base:</b>	<b>Home of Secretary/Treasurer, Village</b>
<b>Area Served:</b>	<b>Approximately 8 miles radius from Village</b>
<b>Established:</b>	<b>November 1981</b>
<b>Personnel Involved:</b>	<b>Secretary/Treasurer 2 Organisers "Troubleshooter"</b>
<b>Constitution:</b>	<b>No</b>

FIG. 8.2

VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME  
ORGANISATIONAL MAP



**Committee:** No

**Criteria of Use:** Medical - Yes  
Social/Shopping - Yes if handicapped  
Day Centre - Yes

**Referral Mechanism:**

	Troubleshooter	Secretary
Third Party:	10%	50%
Self:	90%	50%

**Booking System:** Coordinators take it in turns to ring Village surgery on an evening to take bookings from receptionist. They are also on duty alternate weeks to take self referrals.  
Coordinator then rings driver.  
Users also randomly ring Secretary/Treasurer, or either Coordinator for a trip. This trip passed on to duty Coordinator who then arranges driver.

**Trips Available:** Whenever a driver can be obtained

**Charge:** 18 p pm (user pays 10p pm)

**Provide Escorts:** Occasionally

**Charge Co-Passenger:** No

**Charge for Shared Journey:** Yes

**Payment Mechanism:** Driver paid passengers' contribution in car. Claim outstanding amount from Treasurer by calling in. Paid in cash.

While the person listed as the Coordinator in the County Community Transport Guide is the main point of information for the Scheme, and indeed its public face, she is in fact the "Treasurer/Secretary" of the Scheme (a title used only for official correspondence) (she will henceforward be referred to as Secretary). The organisation of the Scheme is, in actuality, somewhat less well defined than the District Scheme which had similar numbers of people involved for two reasons. Firstly there is a considerable overlap in duties performed by those in the Scheme. While the "Troubleshooter" (the name the founder of the Scheme she herself uses to describe her role in the organisation) ostensibly offers advice only, she effectively takes all major decisions at the Scheme. While the Secretary is present to keep the finances up to date, and is intimately involved with the Scheme's fundraising, she also takes many trip bookings. While the two Organisers take bookings during alternate weeks, both effectively take bookings anytime, Senior taking many more than Junior as she is known more widely in the village. Secondly, despite alleged "flatness" in the organisation, a hierarchy was found to exist in the Scheme, paralleling the length of involvement in the organisation, (hence the "Junior" title being bestowed on one of the organisers by herself). This was uncovered through the various techniques which will be discussed in Section 8.3.

Others involved in the organisation and important to the Scheme, either now or in the past, were requested from those noted in Figure 8.2. However only two ex-Organisers (whose involvement ceased in 1983/4 due to pregnancy and leaving the area) were discovered.

The people involved in the organisation are not subject to a Constitution or Committee structure. The Troubleshooter has been instrumental in thwarting any moves towards an official committee. As one of the Organisers states;

"(The Troubleshooter) has always said that it was never going to be run on those lines because the more Committees you have, the more argument there is, the less quickly you get things done."

The Secretary adds to this view;

"(Troubleshooter) she doesn't want that, and I tend to agree with her, the majority of us do ..."

It is stated by the Secretary that some would prefer a formal Committee structure, however the informal 'Invoice Meetings' between Troubleshooter, Secretary and the two Organisers held approximately every 6 weeks have fulfilled this role. Here all driver payments, Coordinator booking forms, and trip details are matched in order to provide a three way check that all is running smoothly.

The loose definition of the organisation of the Village Scheme permeates the whole Scheme, and can be witnessed in various parameters of the organisation. All those involved in the Scheme note that an 8 miles radius is the critical measure of the operating area. However this is not a hard and fast rule. Indeed, when asked to describe the area served, the Secretary states;

"Village and surrounding villages to a radius of about 8 miles from the Village, though having said that we have taken people from as far away as ..."

It emerges that this radius is very fluid. Also the definition of journey purpose and criteria of use are not strict, Troubleshooter noting that any trip is "considered on its merits": those merits being based primarily on lack of available transport. However other criteria were also given from other actors, and indeed witnessed by the researcher, these being the availability of a driver to do any trip, degree of mobility handicap of user, potential frequency of proposed use, and cost to scheme. With journey purpose there is a general agreement on medical priority, however as noted above, any use is considered, even shopping/social trips if the "merit" is judged to be sufficient. While the Troubleshooter was definite in this ruling, the other actors in Figure 8.2 (especially the Organisers who take the booking) were very unsure on this grey area, noting that others would have to be consulted, and Troubleshooter would have the final decision. The greyness continues when the idea of providing escorts is broached. Secretary notes that she occasionally escorts patients, "but not officially".

The fluid booking system at the Village Scheme has already been mentioned. The two Organisers state that their major job is ringing the surgery every evening

of their week duty to take the surgery's referrals. However while this system is oriented to third party referrals, in actuality a very high proportion of bookings come as self referrals, most coming to the Senior Coordinator despite who is on duty, as she is well known in the village. (It can be seen from the profile that those within the organisation are unsure as to the relative proportions of self and third party referrals.) Troubleshooter is particularly happy that this fluidity occurs noting the flexibility of the Scheme in being able to answer requests at any time of the day, a quality which she maintains would be lost if "office hours" were kept. The others agree.

Charges and payments for trips are at variance to the other schemes. The charge to the passenger is only 10 p pm, co-passengers travelling free while sharing passengers are charged. The payment is made, as in the other Schemes, to the driver in the car after the trip is completed. However the Village Scheme is again at odds with the other Schemes in that the outstanding payment is made only in cash, by the driver calling in to the Secretary's house in person. No cheques are given or indeed sent out by post. The payment they receive makes up the driver payment to 18 p pm.

### **8.2.2 Resources**

**Number of Drivers: 18**

**Sex: 6 male, 12 females**

**Location: Mainly in the Village  
4 in nearby village (3 miles away)**

**Finance: County Council Planning and Transportation Department**  
**General Grant: £800.00**  
**Extra Grant: £250.00**  
**Plus Telephone Rental Payment to Secretary and Coordinators)**  
**Village Parish Council: £200.00**  
**Fundraising (1988 Figure): £507.00**  
**(Whist Drives/Car Boot Sale)**

It can be seen that the Village Scheme has 18 drivers available, mainly located in the Village itself. Most trips originate from outside the Village. Out of these 18 drivers approximately 6 can be seen as core drivers, who are called on regularly to complete trips. At the Scheme there is always the desire to recruit more drivers to match the growing numbers of trips. A poster asking for drivers exists in the local Doctor's Surgery, and an appeal for drivers has been made on local radio. However most drivers are recruited by word of mouth in the Village, by existing drivers or acquaintances of the members of the Scheme. Many of the drivers are elderly, only one younger fit male being regularly available for trips which involve heavy lifting of handicapped persons.

The financial resources at the Village Community Car Scheme can be divided into three sections. Firstly the Scheme receives financial support from the County Council Planning and Transportation Department through its grant, and also concessionary payments systems. The Village Scheme is the only scheme in the County which receives financial help with the telephone bills incurred by members: the Secretary and two organisers having their telephone rental payment covered. The Secretary also receives an 'Honorarium' of £130 from the £250 Extra Grant, towards her telephone bill and administration costs. The second and third sections of funding are due to the result of the opportunistic fundraising at the Scheme organised by the Secretary. Any opportunity is exploited by her in the quest for funds, and every year letters are sent out requesting funding from local Parish Councils, and charities, both local and national. Various bodies respond to varying degrees, the most consistent funders being the Parish Councils and Rural Community Council. For 1989/90 however the only donor was the Village Parish Council. The only national funds ever received were three years Opportunities for Volunteering finance at the outset of the Scheme.

The third section is the result of the continued fundraising events organised by the Secretary. She energetically organises a Whist Drive at the local Village Hall every month which the other members of the Scheme assist in running. The Organisers bake for the event, and join in the game, the Troubleshooter transporting some of the players (many of whom are users and drivers). The Secretary also bakes,

plays (alongside her husband) and does all the other organisation of those events. Of particular note is the securing of prizes for the Drive, acquaintances, local Doctors and others who have an interest in the Scheme all being approached to donate. In 1988 the Whist Drive netted over £450. Other opportunities are constantly sought by the Secretary, for example she is planning a "knit-in" and has approached the local school for finance. In 1988 a driver also raised over £50 from a Car Boot Sale. The fundraising has become a perpetual job for the Secretary who enthusiastically considers anything in her quest for finance for the Scheme.

### 8.2.3 Operation

	<b>Trips *</b>
1982/83	212
1983/84	452
1984/85	600
1985/86	894
1986/87	788
1987/88	978
1988/89	887
1989/90	?

**Approx**            90% Medical  
                           10% Social Services

#### **Destinations**

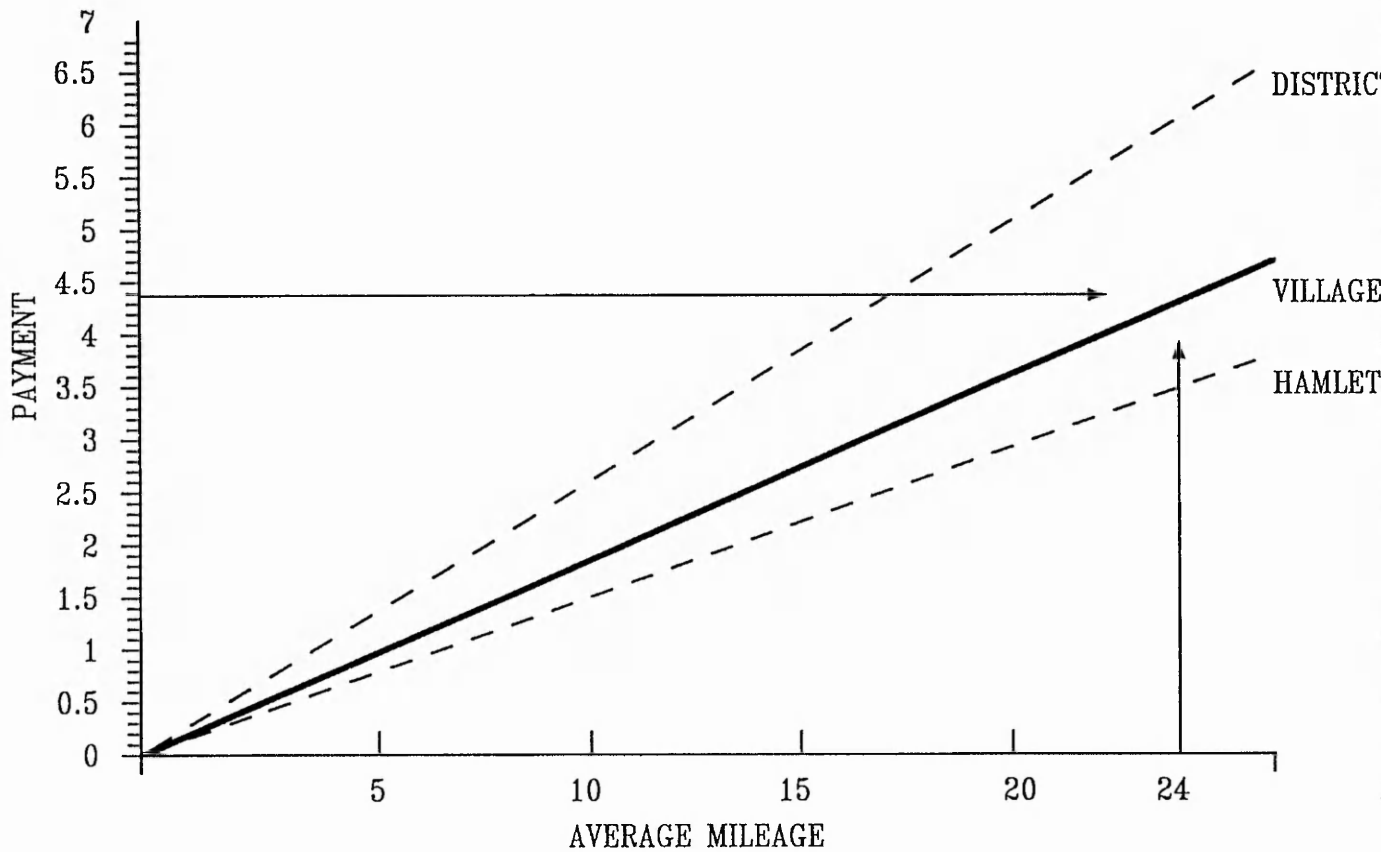
<b>1988:</b>	<b>Village Surgery</b>	<b>30%</b>
	<b>Hospitals within 15 miles</b>	<b>40%</b>

**\* Information derived from old invoices**

The same problems of data availability and accuracy occurred in obtaining documentary evidence at the Village Scheme as they did at the Hamlet Scheme. The only published data at the Village Scheme comes out at the Financial Year

end at the Scheme. This consists of audited accounts (done by an acquaintance who did an accountancy degree though failed; "but no-one seems to mind" (Secretary)) and a breakdown of total trips, mainly by destination and origin, though recently with a section on Social Service Department referrals (these being trips paid for by this department). The only other data source at the Scheme consists of old invoice slips containing information on a trip basis on miles, destination, user and often driver. These emerged when the researcher requested operational data, and was handed a very large dusty box from Troubleshooter's loft. In collating this information contained in the old invoices it was found that only between 80 and 95% of 'audited' trips could be accounted for. The reasons for this give a useful insight into the problems of data collection at small voluntary organisations. First two drivers who did a great many trips in the past did not claim back the cost, and thus gave in no invoice. Second, the researcher was told that some trips, usually Social Services referrals, do not always "go through the system". Third, some invoices are not handed in and are lost. Finally some invoices are not fully completed as the Secretary/Organiser/Driver knew what the invoice represented at the time, though looking back the information is unclear. These create great problems in researching one scheme, and make accurate cross scheme comparisons difficult and often meaningless. However, operational information comparing the three studies is shown in Figure 8.3. For the Village Scheme it can be seen that average journey lengths and the payment to drivers come together to give average payments between those of the Hamlet and District Schemes. Again this may influence drivers' perceptions of their role in the Scheme, as will be discussed in Section 8.3.5. It can be seen that the number of trips completed by the Village Community Car Scheme grew rapidly from 1982 to 1985, the period witnessing a four fold increase in trips. Since then trips have remained reasonably constant around the 800/900 mark, though audited figures show a peak in 1987/88 of 1197 trips. 1000 trips per annum make the Village Scheme the largest home run scheme in the County by 400 trips. Most trips are medical in nature, given at approximately 90% of total trips by the Secretary, with 10% being Social Services (this could be treated with some caution though, bearing in mind the earlier discussion on the flexibility of trip criteria and purpose).

**FIG. 8.3 AVERAGE MILEAGE AND PAYMENT AT  
VILLAGE COMMUNITY CAR SCHEME**



However most trips bring people in from outlying villages to the surgery/health centre in the Village (30%), or to hospitals within the District Health Authority within which the Village nestles. All of these facilities provide general health care and include a regular eye clinic to which the Scheme transports many elderly people, — more specialist care being obtained at the larger hospitals outside the District. Thus it can be seen that the Village Community Car Scheme provides a service to the Village and its environs which is not strictly defined. By being flexible and responsive Troubleshooter notes that it aims to retain a "community" feel, local fundraising in the community assisting with this aim.

### **8.3 THE VILLAGE STUDY**

This section will describe how the case study at the Village Scheme unfolded, and the issues arising from the research techniques administered. The period in the field at the Village Scheme lasted for 5 months from July to November 1989, during which time 17 trips were made to the Scheme. This is the shortest period in the field, contrasting with 9 months at the District Scheme, and 7 months at the Hamlet Scheme. These differences are due to the fact that the Village Scheme being the final study, the researcher was more organised and efficient in the arrangement of interviews and completion of work. Also the ease of interviewing at a home run scheme, vis a vis an office based scheme have been mentioned. These two factors enabled the research to be carried out in a more "time efficient" manner. While the Hamlet Scheme was also home run, it was the first study, in which the researcher was himself learning the best methods to conduct the research. As such a longer time was necessary in the field. The problems at the District study of having to learn to relax into an opportunistic approach meant that time in the field had to be maximised, thus leading to a longer period in the field for the study as a whole. This period at the District Scheme included a 3 month period consisting of document searches and making arrangements to sit in on the Management Committee.

The five months of research at the Village Scheme followed a similar pattern to the other studies. The first three months consisted of observation of meetings, driving for the Scheme and interviewing users. Again this approach was taken in order to increase goodwill and cooperation at the Scheme. Introductory techniques were also conducted with the Secretary. The remaining two months at the Scheme saw in depth interviews with the members of the organisation, document searches, interviews with drivers, and finally interviews with ex-drivers . The period at the Village Scheme did overlap with that at the District. However, by that stage, all interviews with key actors at the District Scheme had been completed, the overlap essentially consisting of document searches and arrangements to meet the Management Committee at the District Scheme.

In Chapters Six and Seven, the discussion of the Coordinator(s) have been the first role addressed, followed by other key actors. At the Village Scheme no designated Coordinator exists. However the Secretary/Treasurer fulfils the criteria of "Coordinator" in that she is in effect responsible for the day to day running of

the Scheme and is the face of the Scheme. As such she will be the initial subject of discussion.

### 8.3.1 Secretary/Treasurer

The Secretary/Treasurer (discussed here as Secretary) of the Village Community Car Scheme, was the initial contact at the Scheme and the person through whom all arrangements to conduct the research were made. Often making lunch or snacks at our meeting, she is a very open helpful lady. Indeed helping out seems to be her forte, be it in the accommodation she provides for a mentally handicapped boy when his father is working a night shift, the dog sitting she often does for a friend, or indeed the Football Pools round which she completes in the Village every week. She is well known in the village, partly because of the Pools round, but also due to the Car Scheme and the local fundraising she carries out in connection with the Scheme. She became involved in the Scheme virtually at its conception, by answering an advert in the Doctor's Surgery for drivers. After two years of driving she took over the bookkeeping, and since then the job, and time it takes, has grown, as she notes in the *Attributes* technique;

"If I'd have come into it now I definitely wouldn't have taken it on. But I've grown with it now."

The Secretary was drafted into this new role by the then Coordinator, however the Troubleshooter notes that she has her eye on "suitable people" to join the Scheme all the time, the Secretary being classed as suitable. Indeed, in the *Boundaries* technique, Troubleshooter qualifies this suitability;

"She works terrifically hard - I don't know how I got her! She's a fantastic secretary, a fantastic worker"

In Section 8.2 it was noted that the title of her position is for correspondence purposes only - "it looks better when you're writing off". It was also mentioned that the duties she performs overlap considerably with other members of the organisation. The 'observation' in the *Activity Diary* confirmed the variability of the Secretary's job. The Secretary sees her job as "just" doing the books every two

weeks. She notes that the two Coordinators arrange all the trips, however thinking deeper she feels that she takes quite a lot of bookings herself. She notes that this is because she is near at hand for some people who are not on the phone, although she also takes many booking on the phone. All these bookings she passes on to the duty Coordinator. In fact it appears that the Secretary does a great deal of tasks not in her *Job Description*, including the once a month Whist Drives to organise, other fundraising opportunities to exploit, and invoice meetings to arrange every six weeks. The *Activity Diary* gave her the chance to stress the more strategic aspect of her job. However the Secretary's list did not contain strategic issues, rather specific points relating to the book keeping, for example keeping the cash book up to date, checking invoices are correct, and making sure cash is available for drivers when they come in.

The Secretary is very much a do-er, which is no where more evident than in her fundraising work. She is always on the lookout for fundraising ideas, and has even been on Local Radio appealing for drivers and funds. However her ideas do not always comply with those of Troubleshooter, and when this happens the power of the latter is flexed and, it seems, is usually victorious. Illustrative of this was the decision to drop a potential new source of funding which was forged by the Secretary. She considered that the nearby school could donate part of their annual fundraising effort to the Scheme. The Headmaster was therefore approached, and he was to contact the Secretary about the idea. The idea was, in the mean time, raised with Troubleshooter;

Secretary: "Well I thought she'd be tickled pink. Well no!! (agitated) She wasn't happy at all! She thinks that using the school for information is ok, leaflets like, but for money, no!"

Researcher: "Will you go ahead then?"

Secretary: "No. Not now. She's kyboshed that."

It appears that in the area of finance, and approaches to raising funds, there is a divergence of opinion between Troubleshooter and the Secretary. The *Attitudes* technique goes on to investigate the Secretary's attitudes to change. In asking what the Scheme's future looks like, sunny or grey, the Secretary responds;

"Well (Troubleshooter) seems to think its sunny. We will get more money (from the County Council). I'm not so sure about that."

She went on to note that County policy makers would be more than happy to allow volunteers to work for nothing, rather than provide finance. With increased demands for trips more money would have to be raised;

"It's alright (her) saying that about finances, she won't even sell raffle tickets!"

What is of significance here however is not the difference of opinion per se, or indeed the topic of divergence, rather the acceptance of Troubleshooter's rulings despite her not holding a formal position in the organisation. Indeed during the techniques designed to probe how the Scheme, and change in it, is perceived, the Troubleshooter's opinions came up constantly. The *Landmarks* techniques addressed important decisions in the Scheme's life, and the *Chronicle* looked at the history of the Scheme. However both were declined by the Secretary. For the *Landmarks*;

"I think perhaps, do you think (Troubleshooter) might be the best one to answer that? Cos' I mean she started it off",

and for the *Chronicle*;

"I can't really say, again that probably is a question more for (Troubleshooter)"

Obviously Troubleshooter is seen as central to the Scheme's being. In the *Boundaries* technique with the Secretary, she notes problems that a fledgling scheme she knows of has encountered;

"You see they didn't have somebody like Troubleshooter to get it going to start with, and they didn't have people like (Senior and Junior Coordinator) and myself to keep it going when it was started. It needs a Troubleshooter to do it .. she's there whenever we get, come up against a problem"

This central role is also mirrored in the *Attributes* technique addressing planning and change, and the *Change Resume* discussing change. The difference of opinion on the Scheme's horizon has been mentioned. However in looking at change the Secretary mentions points which came straight from the Troubleshooter's manifesto;

Researcher: "Is there anything you would like to see change in the Scheme?"

Secretary: "No I wouldn't like to see it change from what it is ..."

Researcher: "Will it change in the future?"

Secretary: "I think so. The (County) Council will want more of a say in it - in the running of it ..."

Researcher: "... has the Scheme changed much over the 8 years you've been involved in it?"

Secretary: "It's still the same as it was before. I think that probably is because we don't have a Committee, you know, ... we occasionally have a general meeting. But we don't take minutes or anything like that. I think that's why it's worked well. We just don't argue, we just fall in with each other. It seems to work well that way. (Troubleshooter) likes it that way; I like it that way."

The phobia of change, the fear of the County Council taking over the Scheme, and abhorrence of the Committee structure are all (it will be seen) favourite rallying calls of Troubleshooter, which are stressed here by the Secretary (and, it will be seen, by the Coordinators of the Scheme). The Troubleshooter has effective decision making power in this organisation. The others including the Secretary go to her with "any problems", large or small, from whether to accept a self referral from Mr X, to whether a certain driver should be "struck off". Also any individual initiative it seems, must be discussed with her for clearance. Generally agreement seems to exist between all those in the Scheme, though the true extent cannot ever be precisely gauged. Differences of opinion do exist, some differences between Troubleshooter and Secretary relating to finance, with other

differences amongst those involved being best discussed under other headings. In all these differences of opinion, and indeed any conflicts of interest, Troubleshooter determines the outcome. The Secretary could be seen to be constrained in her position in the organisation by the relationship with Troubleshooter. Troubleshooter could be seen to suppress the Secretary, but importantly, it is the willing acceptance of Troubleshooter's authority that gives the latter her power in the organisation.

### **8.3.2 Troubleshooter**

In the plan of the research techniques given in Figure 5.2, the "Coordinator" and "key actors" are designated as the major subjects of the techniques. Chapter Six discussed the findings of the techniques under these headings, however in Chapter Seven the key actors became "Manager" and "other actors" due to the importance of the Manager at the Scheme. In the Village Scheme one actor, Troubleshooter, again has preeminence amongst the key actors, and thus will be discussed separately.

'Troubleshooter' is the term the recently retired schoolteacher uses to describe her role in the Village Community Car Scheme. A very active pensioner, she was absent during the research for some time, whilst she and her husband travelled around Europe. In fact she arrived back later than intended, as she was enjoying herself so much she had decided to stay:- this did not surprise anyone in the Scheme. She is said to be (and indeed was witnessed to be) often late or unavailable for meetings, due to her hectic lifestyle. She sees herself getting involved in the organisation of the Scheme mainly in an ad-hoc specific problem oriented role - hands on running of the Scheme is left to the others. It was however, found that her influence on the Village Community Car Scheme is very great.

It was Troubleshooter who established the Scheme in 1981. Her aims in establishing the Scheme were very personalised, described in the *Boundaries*, as being to "repay a debt". Her husband had been unwell and had to spend some time in hospital in the 1960's. During that time friends took her and her children to visit him over a period of approximately two months. She has never forgotten

this. With the 1970's petrol crisis she had wondered how someone in her shoes would have managed to get to hospital. When she became a Community Teacher in the Village area, it was part of her job to take part in local community development projects. With this debt to repay, and having attended an National Council for Voluntary Organisations meeting addressing the concept of voluntary car schemes following their recent legalisation, she decided to establish a car scheme;

"(So) as soon as you were allowed to pay them (drivers) I thought, oh, yes, that's a good thing. I'd offer my services to take somebody ... but what about people that moved into the village and don't know anyone (to give them a lift). I'd be alright, my friends would be alright, they could ask me, but I was thinking of you know, the poorer people in the village, and ones' who'd come in."

She organised a public meeting to discuss the idea of a Scheme at which parents, a Health Centre Doctor and Rural Community Council (RCC) representatives were present. Confident that there was some demand for trips (as she had herself taken requests for trips from some parents), and with some volunteer helpers from the meeting, she slowly started to offer the car scheme service to the Village. At the meeting RCC representatives felt that posters around the village should announce the 'Grand Opening' of the Scheme. However she strongly resisted this approach noting that she had "made that mistake before" when she opened a "Mother and Toddler" Group. Many people had attended the first session of the Group, and it could not cope, leading to a rapid fall off in interest. Thus she wanted to merely;

"let it grow, very very slowly. It's the best way. People take a lot more notice from word of mouth."

The Scheme started with 2-3 drivers and 2 Coordinators to take messages, give out invoices, and make payments. An initial payment of £50 from the County Council and £100 from the RCC set the ball rolling. However finances were limited, and the Scheme struggled in this opening phase, until the Doctors at the local Health Centre completed a sponsored walk on behalf of the Scheme raising £800. This she notes in the *Chronicle* as being the

particularly important event in the history of the Scheme, not only because of the money raised, but because it was indicative of the essential relationship they had with the Doctors. This relationship which they still have, and is so important to her, centre upon the statement that "they are with us";

"It's so important that they are with us. You can get misunderstandings. You know, sometimes a message goes wrong, and you could get that acrimony. But you know them and you can ring through (to them)."

Of particular importance in this relationship she feels is that they can be approached about whether or not certain users are fit to travel, and even drivers are fit to drive for the Scheme. She feels that this informal situation is not evident in every car scheme though;

"There is this nice feeling. I think that all these other services that I've seen and they've got offices, or things like that. Well you don't need it."

She feels that offices hinder this all important relationship from developing, and indeed are a positive hinderance in the operation of voluntary car schemes, the operation of which should be bounded by few rules and regulations.

The informality of the Scheme is a favourite topic of Troubleshooter and arises often in discussing the Scheme. In discussing the decision making structure of the Scheme in the *Landmarks* technique, she feels strongly that a Committee, including other than herself and Secretary plus the two Coordinators, would slow down the decision making process. She feels this very strongly, and it is reiterated by one of the Coordinators (the other being less than convinced). Indeed, when asked about future plans for the Scheme (in the *Attitudes* technique), it is obvious that the planning process is seen to be at odds with the informal modus operandi she wishes for the Scheme. In contrast to the majority of the interview, she becomes quite stern in her response to a question enquiring as to whether any plans, formal or otherwise, have ever been made for the Scheme;

"No. And no records are kept officially. No I think it is something that has to be loaded for the time - if circumstances change we can change our methods of doing things. I don't think it has to be laid down - there's no laws."

Although the lack of "rules and regulations" in the Scheme are said to maintain its flexibility, Troubleshooter feels (in the *Change Resume*) that the only thing that has actually changed in the Scheme is the way invoices are collected, and this changed within the first six months: "I think we've got it right". This informal situation may not last forever though. Plans may not have been made for the Scheme, even positively avoided, however other peoples' plans may impinge on the Scheme. When asked how she sees the Scheme changing in the future, say in 10 or 15 years she notes the prospect of outside bodies influencing the Scheme.

"Well I think this particular one will be basically the same. But I think in time there will be more regulations to abide by."

She notes, in particular, rules being enforced covering the vetting of prospective drivers, which would come around as a result of increased financial input from outside bodies. Unfortunately, even though it would take away from the friendliness of the Scheme;

"I think in time my hand may be forced."

Increasing demands on car schemes generally for social trips, trips to Social Service run destinations and other non-medical destinations are also seen as potential external influences. These demands will increase to the level that volunteers could even join together to provide a profit making quasi-public transport firm, however the Village Scheme would not "fall into this trap";

"I mean we don't want to do anything other than medical - we've already been approached .... No. No way. Not our particular drivers ... they're doing a good turn to the sick and the elderly."

It is these sort of external influences (which are perceived negatively) which are seen to be the potential sources of change in the Scheme - not proactive change from within. Shifts away from her perceptions of the Scheme are not welcomed; a Scheme of which she feels the best thing is;

"The friendliness, the friendship ... the neighbourliness. Cos' essentially it is a good neighbours Scheme. The friendship and neighbourliness it engenders. I should say, "well it gets people to hospital when they wouldn't otherwise be able to get" - but they would have had to get somehow, they would have had to pay for a taxi or ... whatever. But the main thing that comes out of it from the word go is that how nice people are - it is a village. And how kind and generous people are."

It can be seen from the above that Troubleshooter, the founder of the Village Community Car Scheme, tells a personalised story of the Scheme's origins and her hopes for it. Planning, rules, regulations and change are not on the agenda for the Scheme in her eyes. Rather she wishes the Village Scheme to stay true to its informal, friendly origins, holding out against the forces of change. In discussing her role in the Scheme, both with her and other members of it, it appears that her wishes for the Scheme are not merely of the "pie in the sky" variety, rather firmly on her agenda for the Scheme. The *Job Description* and *Activity Diary* allowed Troubleshooter to delimit her operational and strategic roles in the Scheme respectively: both appear at first sight to be minimal. She describes the major work completed over recent weeks in connection with her post as organising a collection to buy some flowers for the Secretary who is going in to hospital;

"... that's all I've done this week. Oh, there's a Whist Drive on Saturday. At least I think so. I've got to ring (Secretary) and check."

Pressed further on the work she does;

"Well I've no commitment at the moment (for next week), but I mean the telephone could go any time. Because the understanding with me is that I drive if they can't get anybody else. I mean I'm not particularly keen to do it, I've plenty to do (laugh)."

She recalls that over the past three months she has completed approximately five trips. It appears that her day to day involvement in the Scheme is minimal, a situation with which she is content. It is however interesting that the Troubleshooter title she bestows on herself in the Job Description is also distinctly ad hoc. "Troubleshooter" status confers with it the final arbitrator over problems that occur;

"Usually I say, "what do you think", and they say "well I think this". And in the end it's usually me that makes the decision, what we shall do. And it usually goes by that .... That I see as the main thing I do."

She goes on to note that although she has this role, it is the Secretary who deals with most problems that occur, it is her that gets a lot of the "brickbats";

"It is one of the things that I feel very upset about, but I can't really do anything. She's the one who gets all the actual hassle, she usually turns to me then, and I'll send a nasty letter if necessary."

So is there anything important to know in fulfilling this role?;

"Well I rely on the Secretary. She sees new drivers, and things like that. I do feel that really I ought to get in touch with new drivers and that I ought to know them. But in point of fact it's Secretary that does that ... She really is a fantastic Secretary. She just does all the running. I just say will you see to it, will you ring round, will you do this and she does! She's a fantastic worker!"

However while her role may be small, her status and influence in the organisation is large and without question. From the above it appears that when she is consulted over a problem it is she that actually decides not advises. It is also she that gives guidance, and even tasks to the Secretary. In discussions with her it is obvious that her influence in the Scheme is not purely historical. In the invoice meetings which the Village Scheme holds, her opinion is given and sought on topics which are central to the ethos of the Scheme, for example in taking various categories of user. (Indeed as noted above in discussing the Secretary's role

(Section 8.3.1) in the organisation, the Secretary refuses to give information on topics which she sees as being in the Troubleshooter's realm).

That she is the Final Arbiter is without question, her decision is indeed final. However this is not to say that everyone agrees with the rulings. The disagreement between the Secretary and Troubleshooter over fundraising at the local school has been mentioned, and other frictions between the organisers of the Scheme will be discussed in Section 8.3.3. The disagreement in itself is not of particular importance, as these can occur in any organisation. What is of importance in this organisation, is that someone without a day-to-day role, or even a specific strategic role in the organisation, exerts unquestioned influence over it. This same person has distinct views on the future of the Scheme and outside influence on it, the lack of a role for a formal committee in the Scheme, and indeed formal structures at all. She also actively resists any pressures for committees and formal structures. Interestingly at an Invoice Meeting that the Researcher attended, the Secretary noted that a couple of the drivers wanted an open meeting to discuss the Scheme, especially mileage payments to drivers. This was vehemently resisted by Troubleshooter. The Secretary noted that it was a long time since they had convened such a meeting, however Troubleshooter said that Secretary should delay it by saying that it would be better to hold it once Troubleshooter had been to her daughter's wedding, one of the Coordinators had been on her holiday and Secretary had been into hospital. The latter never happened for another 7 months, and no meeting had been held after 11 months, when the Researcher exited the Scheme.

That formal decision making structures would limit her influence on the Village Community Car Scheme is without question, especially when one considers the opinions of others in the Scheme currently have no bearing on the future of the Scheme. The invoice meeting mentioned above showed well the impotence of others in the Scheme, and how Troubleshooter saw any moves (in this case from drivers) to change the Scheme. It was a meeting where the Coordinator present said virtually nothing. The main dialogue at the meeting was of the form of the Secretary asking the Troubleshooter questions, or informing her about what was happening in the Scheme. When Troubleshooter had ruled out the chance of the open meeting with the drivers she sighed;

"That's one of the things; when we started off it used to be such a happy bunch. It still is, but it's just the odd ones."

### 8.3.3 Other Actors

The Coordinators both joined the Village Scheme in 1984, though not at exactly the same time. One Coordinator has lived in the village all her life. When her husband was ill he had used the Scheme and thought that it had been a useful service, so when the then Coordinator (who was her next door neighbour) mentioned that the job had come up, she volunteered for it. She had been forced to give up work due to ill health and wanted to "keep in touch with the outside world". The other Coordinator was a newcomer to the village when she took her job with the Scheme some two months after the other Coordinator started. In the health centre she was complaining to the nurse about the problems of being new to the village: "I'll get you involved in village life" said the nurse, who went on to talk her into volunteering for the Coordinator's job. For ease of reference the two Coordinators mentioned above are termed 'Senior' and 'Junior' respectively, because as will be seen, length of time at the Scheme and living in the village, and old friendships in the village have conferred with them a certain status within the Village Community Car Scheme.

Neither Coordinator appears to have a strategic role in the Scheme. In the *Activity Dairy*, which gives them a chance to stress strategic tasks, both mention important jobs to be done in their absence as;

"making sure no-one is left without a car because then everybody panics"  
(Junior);

"... have a bit of humour and plenty of patience ... you've got to be kind: a bit of a Marjory Proops" (Senior);

"be diplomatic" (Junior).

In describing a progress chart for the Scheme in the *Change Resume*, both relate it directly to trips, noting a general 45° upward trend. Neither have decision making powers within the Scheme. In uncertain situations (as will be shown later) both mention Troubleshooter as the final decision maker, and to a less extent

Secretary. However, whereas Troubleshooter's dominance seems to have led to a little friction in her relationship with Secretary, this is not the case with the Coordinators. Both accept her authority completely, and would not even accept a trip if it was thought that she would not approve. It has been noted that in the invoice meetings Troubleshooter is the focus of policy discussions and has the final say, Coordinators often being silent. At one of the invoice meetings, as everyone debated whether to have a cup of tea and wait for Troubleshooter to arrive, or to get started. Junior noted;

"oh, I'll put the kettle on, cos' you (Secretary) don't want to say anything important til' Troubleshooter comes do you."

Both Coordinators carry out their job from home and are distinctly proud in describing how they manage their job, for example in showing the researcher their own booking pads. Junior made particular note of how her system was different to that of the Senior Coordinator's. In fact this consisted of recording every phone call made in pursuit of a driver for a trip, vis-a-vis the Senior's method of merely recording successful calls. Both feel the system, of which they are part, works very well and again are proud of the Scheme itself. In being asked if there was anything they would change about the Scheme;

Junior: "We just pick people up, take them where they want to go, and bring them back home again. In fact I think they get a good service ... I mean we go out even on our week on duty - we still continue our own lives; but if we're in, and the phone rings, and someone wants a car service, we don't say "I'm sorry, we can't do it". No matter what our family commitments may be, we always see to the car service; and not everyone's thoughtful about when they ring up to ask if they can have a car ... I mean such as 12 o'clock on a Sunday ..."

Senior: "No ... it's all a homely thing. You see I'm here 24 hours every day, whereas when you have an office it's only open so many hours a day isn't it. Well you're not ill to order are you."

The homeliness of the Scheme is mentioned very often, in particular the benefit in terms of flexibility of having no office. Both Coordinators note in *Attitudes* technique, when asked how the horizon appears, that the Scheme's hand may be forced into having an office based Scheme. Junior feels this would mean that users would not get as good a service, Senior notes that having an office would change the homeliness of the Scheme;

"Troubleshooter tries to, keep it more in a family atmosphere, you know. She would rather see it like that, than see it expand ... You increase on everything, like say a little office for us all, or something like that - it spoils it all! It's all a homely thing at the moment."

It is interesting here that in relating their jobs the Coordinators stress the method in which trips are booked: they have a duty week every other week, ring the surgery at 5 o'clock for trip requests and place the trips after 6 o'clock. Both take pride in the method that they record trip requests. Indeed the Secretary and Troubleshooter, in describing how the Scheme works, stress this method and the triple check of trips taken. Running in parallel to this what often appeared complex formal system, (see Section 8.2.1 on the three way invoice check) was a great desire to maintain the informality of the Scheme:- homeliness and 24 hours opening means that people who are not "ill to order" can be helped. The flexibility thus maintained means that such emergencies can be catered for. However two points emerge. Firstly while true emergencies should not be taken by a voluntary car scheme, rather an NHS Ambulance, it appears that emergencies actually means **any short notice trip** which Troubleshooter or Coordinator would bless. These are the main benefactors of the 24 hour service when the system of the Scheme being put to one side. Secondly and leading on from this, it is unclear what **criteria** exist in providing cars at short notice. These will be discussed below.

The main benefactors of the 24 hour service on those people who self refer for **any short notice** routine trips. The phoning of the doctors surgery as a system may be stressed, though in fact "quite a few" (Senior) trips are taken at home, Troubleshooter estimating this to be 90% of trips, Secretary at 50%. Most of these trip requests come to the Senior Coordinator. As Junior notes in describing who is important in the Scheme:

Junior: "... course Senior does more than me. More people in the village know her than me, and they will ring her, themselves, instead of going through the surgery, you see."

Researcher: "Is that ok with the Scheme?"

Junior: "Well they should go through the surgery but it doesn't really matter. No, I accept it as being a fact of life that more people in the Village know Senior, so if they want a car they ring her. Or they know Secretary. If Secretary gets one when I'm on duty, she rings me, and I will give an invoice number to it ... It's no good me getting upset about it."

In this way the system is shorted. That Junior does appear somewhat upset about this, as was evident in her defensive tone and aggressive justification of why this happens is interesting, but of more importance here is that the fluid system as it exists allows the Senior Coordinator's status in the community to come to the fore, giving her an important role in the Scheme. The informal nature of the Scheme is important not only in allowing Senior to 'naturally' receive more trip requests, but also in influencing the Scheme's dynamics. While it is clear that Troubleshooter is responsible for most decisions, Secretary and Senior have a close personal relationship (again due to both having lived in the village for a long time), which appears to form a bond having the effect of marginalising Junior. In observation, when Secretary telephones Junior her tone is formal and more business-like than when she speaks to her friend Senior about the Scheme (which she appears to do much more often). Indeed Junior notes, when discussing plans for the Scheme in the *Attitudes* technique;

"I always say I'm a Junior member of this club. So I don't really have a lot to say in major decisions."

It is contested that this hierarchy is due to there being no formal organisational roles with related status to negate these personal factors influencing the operation of the Village Car Scheme. Structures to negate these factors, such as specific instructions to users to contact the Coordinator on duty if necessary but in the first instance to book through the surgery, and criteria on what the Scheme can be

used for do exist, but are not enforced. Also a committee would negate personal relations being important in how the organisation works. Junior notes in *Attitudes*, when asked if any plans have ever been made for the Scheme;

"When I joined I must admit I thought it was strange there was no what I call, ... well like a proper committee if you see what I mean? But it seems to run very well ... I accepted it as this is the way they do it."

Junior notes that in other voluntary organisations she has been a member of, committees have existed. Perhaps Junior is the person who Secretary refers to in discussing the role of committees in the Village Scheme;

"No Troubleshooter doesn't want that, and I tend to agree with her - the majority of us do. There's just one or two that think we ought to, you know, take minutes etc."

Indeed the relationship between Secretary and Junior and the result of the lack of formal roles is illustrated by the situation in which confidentiality became an issue for the only time in the whole research. The *Activity Diary* allows respondents to keep a diary of their week's car scheme related activities. Junior was asked to complete the sheet (as were other members of the Scheme), however a problem occurred in how the researcher would collect the form. It was suggested that she could pass it on to the Secretary who the researcher saw regularly. Junior was quite affronted:

Junior: "Oh, you want Secretary to see what I've written!"

Researcher: "Oh, well no, not ..."

Junior: "Well do you!"

Researcher: "Well no. I'm not ..."

Junior: "cos I don't want to lay myself open for criticism from her if you see what I mean!"

It was agreed that she would pass the completed form to the Secretary. This was not done and the form was not retrieved from her, Junior being unavailable due to ill health when the researcher called twice at her home.

Looking at the unclear **criteria** that exist in providing a car at short notice, two particular examples can be given. Firstly, when Junior Coordinator was defending the fact that having office hours would reduce the service, she went on to detail an example of how the flexible hours were preferential to "office hours" (in the *Attitudes* technique);

"No you wouldn't get the service. See, yesterday morning, Secretary got a call from the surgery, and she rang me and I managed to arrange a car. Where if it was run through an office, that person wouldn't have managed to have gone to the maternity unit. And I wasn't on duty this week. You see we don't stick to set hours and hard and fast rules at all ... Well we would prefer them (users) to do that - give as much notice as possible, but this was a maternity thing, and some relative had had a baby and they wanted to go and see the baby."

It is surprising that this is taken as an example of the emergencies which are short notice bookings - a visiting trip. No criteria appears to exist on what short notice journeys are taken, just as the criteria surrounding which trips generally can be taken are equally vague. The same week as the interviews with the Coordinators, Mr W had been taken to hospital in the researcher's car. He was blind and did not get out of his house very much. He expressed a wish to travel to a nearby (10 miles) town to visit his sister-in-law, could he do this trip on the Scheme? This was put to the Coordinators separately;

Junior: "Well we don't normally do it for social occasions, because if we once start...But having said that if one of the drivers wanted to go and do some shopping there, they might just be willing to do it. But, we do take Mrs S which you could call a social occasion, every Sunday, but we don't normally do that. And we have been known to take one lady I think to a funeral ... You can't do it on a regular basis I don't, I don't think ... That would be arranged through Troubleshooter or Secretary; Senior and I would know about it, but Senior and I wouldn't make the decision."

Senior: "I'm sure if it was a one off or not very often, possibly. You see he is blind, he can't use public transport, can he, which is a lot in his

favour for using us for anything like that. Put that question to Troubleshooter. I'm nearly sure she will take him, you know, if it's not too regular."

There certainly appears to be a very large degree of uncertainty. Both mention that a one off trip may be possible, and Junior notes that availability of a driver is important. But social trips are not normally done. Thinking further they obviously are. Senior brings in the question of availability of public transport. However this will only work "in his favour", it will not guarantee a trip. It will be for Troubleshooter to ultimately weigh up the pros and cons of this trip.

By looking at the Coordinators of the Village Community Car Scheme, a certain picture has emerged of the Scheme as a whole. It can be seen that a detailed system for administering the Scheme exists, the Coordinators administering the system and also being part of it. This system, marked by regular Invoice Meetings to provide a three way check of the books, 'duty' weeks, detailed Trip Books, and ringing the Surgery at 5.00 pm, is at the same time complex, defended by the Coordinators (and others in the Scheme) and, paradoxically, fluid and often inoperative. Criteria for the trips catered for are quite hazy, and seem to be ultimately down to one persons discretion. At the same time the 'duty week' system does not in effect operate; self referrals to one particular Coordinator, or even the Secretary, being the norm.

Personal relations and status in the Scheme and village are important in the operation of the Scheme and determine the Coordinators' respective roles. Whether the system by which the Scheme operates allows this to happen, or is a symptom of it, will be discussed in the conclusions to this Chapter, suffice it to say here that they are important in the Scheme's operation.

#### **8.3.4 Users**

Again the researcher's contact with users was through participant observation as a driver, and also as a co-passenger with the user. Six users were interviewed in all, five as a driver and one as a co-passenger. In the *Change Resume* of users a variable picture emerged with parallels to both the Hamlet and District Scheme's

users. There was generally a high level of ignorance about the Scheme, though the three users who referred themselves for trips were aware of how bookings could be made, the people in the Scheme, and indeed the Scheme as an organisation. The self referral users could be seen to be similar to Hamlet Scheme users (in knowing the organiser, equating the scheme with that person, the equation stifling any criticism) the others having traits of the District Scheme users (in not knowing the names of organisers, difficulty in conceptualising the Scheme, and with some criticism of its operation).

The variability of users in defining how trips can be obtained and what the Scheme can be used for mirrors the variability of the Scheme's organisation as a whole. Two regular users over the last seven years who know the Secretary very well, note how surprised they were to find that the Scheme could be used by other members of the public;

"Well we didn't know at first that anyone could use it. A friend told us! I rang (Secretary) and - yes!!"

It also appears that they are still confused about how the Scheme operates. The Secretary was always their driver until her car was written off. Before this happened it appears they felt that the Secretary herself was providing a car service. When asked how they obtain a trip they reply that;

"we ring (Senior Coordinator) now, because (Secretary) has got no car now".

Other users were particularly unsure as to what the Scheme could be used for, indeed the debate that subsequently surrounded one user's (Mr W) enquiry as to what purpose the Scheme could be used for has been detailed under in Section 8.3.3, and explains user confusion. Despite this general level of ignorance, the three self referrers have a higher level of knowledge about the organisation. When asked if they know the people at the Scheme, one mentions Secretary only, the others mention Secretary and Senior Coordinator. They also perceive of the Scheme as an organisation with some pressures on its operation (all three mentioning driver availability). All three of these users rate the Scheme as '10/10' and would not change anything about it.

The other three third party referral users came through the surgery (two) and through a next door neighbour. All are quite satisfied with the service the Scheme provides and none know of any pressures on the Scheme. One of these users is very unsure as to what the car scheme actually is, noting;

"The doctor tells me the details (of the trip) and that's it"

The same user also asked the driver (researcher) at the end of the trip;

"How much is the taxi-fare?"

The six users interviewed were of various levels of mobility handicap and transport need. Public transport (bus) in the village provides an infrequent service to the two major population centres approximately fifteen and twenty miles away. Other bus services exist to smaller nearby centres, though journey lengths are noted as being quite long. Of the six users interviewed, four use public transport regularly for non-medical journeys. The other two users have serious sight problems and do not use any form of public transport:

Mrs M: Lives in a village approximately three miles away from the Village and is approximately 70 years old. She can drive, though has not driven since she was married during World War Two. Since her husband died two years ago transport has been a problem and she has been using the Scheme. She needs to visit an eye consultant every six months for treatment on cataracts in one eye, being blind in the other. She sees the Consultant on a private basis, as she was worried about NHS waiting lists and losing sight completely. She also uses the Scheme to visit an NHS hospital regularly since having a stroke a few months ago. She is referred by the NHS Surgery in the Village and does not know people in the Scheme. Mrs M did use public transport (bus) before her stroke, but now relies on a friend and the Scheme. She notes that she does not always like to ask the friend for transport, as she will not accept payment.

Mr W: Aged approximately 70, Mr W is referred to the Scheme by a neighbour who provides some informal care to him (eg cooking meals occasionally, making phone calls for him). He suffers from Glaucoma and is blind. He also fell recently and broke a hip, now being very unsure on his feet. He has been using the Scheme for five years for regular trips to hospital. He cannot use buses and uses Social Services transport to attend a social club once a week. He notes that he would like to get out more (to see relatives, and on social club outings) but transport is a problem. He feels that social club members do not tell him about outings and try to put him off going because he is a liability.

Mr and

Mrs F: Are both aged over 65 years and are quite active, though have no car available to them. They have been using the Scheme since it started. Mr F uses the Scheme to visit the hospital outpatient department intermittently, Mrs F using the Scheme to go the Surgery in the Village (they live approximately 2 miles from the Village) and visit the Eye Hospital approximately 10 miles away. They refer themselves, and know the Secretary very well as they use the Scheme twice a month. They use buses for social trips, and have also occasionally used Ambulances for trips to hospital. However the last time they used the non-emergency Ambulance they had to wait a long time for the return trip, the appointment and journey time totalling 7 hours vis a vis 2¼ when the researcher took them.

Miss S: Is approximately 30 years old and is referred to the Scheme for transport by her Doctor. She uses the Scheme three times a year to take her mentally disabled son (approximately 5 years) to hospital for various treatments. She has been using the Scheme since he was born. She uses public transport quite frequently though notes that it is unreliable and so she usually seeks lifts from friends. She prefers using the Scheme as travelling with the Ambulance takes too long.

Mrs S: Mrs S is approximately 75 years old and has been using the Scheme for six years since her husband died. She uses the Scheme to visit the Hospital 10 miles away (mainly concerning her cataracts) and the Village surgery (approximately one mile away). She knows the Secretary of the Scheme very well having lived in the village all her life, and thus refers herself. She uses the bus (accompanied by her daughter) for social trips, and is usually offered an Ambulance by her Doctor. However she tells him that she can arrange her own transport.

From the above it can be seen again that it is not so much the lack of other transport which makes these users turn to the Scheme (though buses are very infrequent in the outlying villages), rather the convenience of the Car Scheme vis a vis other transport. As such the situation is allied to that in the District Scheme.

During participant observation as a driver with the Scheme, the researcher had variable feelings regarding the servicing of the transport needs of the above users. On the one hand there was the reluctance of the researcher to bring up payment at the end of the trip coupled with extreme gratitude for the lift on the account of the user (in particular Mr and Mrs F, and Mrs S). On the other hand there was a certain feeling of being used with the trips for Miss S and Mr W, both for different reasons. Relating the Scheme to a taxi service has been mentioned above, and occurred in the journey with Miss S. However while this in itself grated somewhat, her youth and lack of obvious medical need (even in the case of her child) did make one feel somewhat taxi like. "Could the statutory services not provide transport for her?" was one note in the researcher's field notebook. With Mr W it was not that his need was not great, rather that his need for special care was so great that the researcher felt only a qualified carer should take him to hospital. After the researcher had led him slowly from the car to the clinic waiting room (during which he had nearly stumbled over and he had bumped his head quite hard on a door) he waited for Mr W to come from the consulting room, and scribbled in his Field Notebook;

"I'm getting really nervous about the trip back. When he comes out should I sit him down while I go to reception? The seats aren't very good for him

and they're filling up - should I leave him standing while I get the car round? I'm worried about his leg, what if I drop him?"

The worry was real and intense, and there was a deep feeling that this situation of an untrained helper in charge of such a fragile cargo should not be allowed to occur.

The other point of note from the participant observation of users and the Scheme concerns the redundancy of the operating system of the Scheme. On the booking forms associated with the trips the researcher drove, 'start mileage' and 'end mileage' sections were both crossed out by the Secretary. She had gone on to fill out the amount that should be received from the user and that claimed from the Scheme (both of which should have been calculated upon miles completed). Indeed, although a large point was made by the Secretary of the researcher picking up the form previous to the trip (regular drivers have their own stock which they record details of the trip given by the Coordinators over the phone) the form served no useful purpose other than as a note of what payment the user should make.

#### **8.3.5 Drivers and Ex-Drivers**

At the Village Scheme drivers were the subject of interviews in order to determine how they saw and evaluated the Scheme and driving for it, and how they felt the Scheme had changed. Ex-drivers were also the subject of interviews aimed at finding out reasons behind their non-driving as in the other case studies. Initially the Secretary was asked to list drivers in the Scheme (which she did orally), being further prompted on drivers who had driven for the Scheme over the last year. The Secretary listed 16 drivers in total. As in the other case studies the Secretary was asked to describe the drivers and their involvement over the last year in order to ascertain why people had ceased driving. Out of this list of sixteen drivers, the first four were described as current. These four were the subject of the current driver interview of the *Change Resume*.

The major finding from the four interviews with current drivers is that no uniform views of the Scheme and driving for it emerged. At the Hamlet Scheme there was a general lack of knowledge about the Scheme and there was a distinctly informal "helping out" attitude to the driving, which contrasted strongly with the formality and "job-like" manner and attitude of the District Scheme drivers. At the Village Scheme both these traits came over strongly though not uniformly, in interviews with three of the four drivers. Two of the three drivers, Mr M and Mrs F, indicated a strong liking for the informal community Scheme. Both feel that the mileage rate they receive just covers petrol payments, though they would both definitely driver for less. This indicates that their driving goes far beyond cash transactions. Indeed when asked to detail the best thing about the Scheme, and later to give it a mark out of 10, Mr M responded that the best thing is;

"Purely and simply the friendliness of the people and meeting them. I'd give it 10! Cos I think it's great."

Mrs F also feels that the Scheme is worth 10, the best thing being the Scheme's flexibility, meeting people and importantly being able to say "No" to a request to drive a trip. She also feels this is not only the best, but also an essential thing in her and others driving for the Scheme. Obviously the driving goes far beyond a job, in that they are motivated to drive by perhaps a more community centred aim. Indeed in asking the two drivers how it would be possible to recruit more drivers, Mr M felt that some young mothers might like to help out the Scheme in their spare time, and Mrs F:

"The more it is sort of appreciated and published people will help ... Now there's a chap down the road from me, he lost his job, and I asked him, and he wouldn't consider it! There's no reason why he shouldn't, he's bored and he doesn't know what to do with himself, and yet he wouldn't consider doing it. It's just different types of people really - he's just not community minded."

Neither driver quotes any incident of what could be termed abuse of the Scheme, though Mr M notes, somewhat alarmed, that since he started driving for the Scheme he has rapidly put mileage on his car. In discussing anything (in an ideal world) that they would change about the Scheme neither would change a thing. It

is obvious that neither see driving for the Scheme as a job, stressing rather the voluntary "helping out" which they do. This is at odds to driver interviews at the District Scheme, and broadly (though not completely) in line with the Hamlet interviews. At the Hamlet Scheme perceived abuse of the Scheme with increased formality was an, albeit small, issue amongst current drivers, and a major issue amongst ex-drivers, something which did not emerge in these interviews.

The other driver of these three at the Village Scheme is Mr N, who is currently winding down his driving for the Scheme. After 3½ years working with the Scheme, he is demotivated and now trying to keep down his driving commitments. He notes that in his first year driving for the Scheme;

"I finished up doing two or three (trips) a week. In that first year I worked with the car service, I just did nothing but the car service, but the next year I worked for British Sugar, and I've tried to keep the driving down. Because ... I got a new car - well in the first year I'm bloody sure I must have put 20,000 miles on the clock and a lot of that was car service."

Mr N was generally quite happy at completing trips for the Scheme, noting that he specifically requested longer trips because he enjoyed them, and indeed they were more cost effective. Mr N felt that the payment for doing trips however was not sufficient. When asked about payments Mr N launches into a very detailed description of how the payment system works, including demonstrating how he fills out a booking chit. He mentions that he "has been on at" the Secretary for about a year now to increase payments to drivers. He relates the story that payments just have not kept up with the costs of motoring. He notes that "a while ago" payments increased from 15 - 18 p pm, however this was not enough:

"I said to Secretary, when petrol started going up sort of thing, I think this lot is still based on petrol being at oh, about £1.20, or £1.30 a gallon. Well it's nowhere near now! See if you're lucky £1.70, £1.80. And they still haven't altered it. I don't think, it is a viable proposition, sort of thing for me. If you could call it, I'm subsidising the car service."

Mr N definitely would not drive for less payment.

Perhaps Mr N's impressions and motivations in driving for the Scheme are demonstrated most lucidly when he is asked about the best and worst things about driving for the Scheme. Asked about what is the best thing about driving for the Scheme, he notes that he's "one of those people that physically enjoy driving". Asked about anything he would change about driving for the Scheme, he notes;

"The trouble is really, what can you say ... you've so many variables, haven't you, with it, in that you're relying on these appointments, and stuff like that. I think, if you could liaise more with hospitals to get a reasonable appointment, so, like some of our appointments are for 9 o'clock in the morning, and you're having to get away for 8 o'clock ... The hospitals are just filling a slot, they don't think where you're coming from."

He also notes that they infrequently tie up two trips, having instead to use two drivers (he puts this down to having two Coordinators) which he feels to be somewhat wasteful. Mr N's commitments will now stop, as one of the part time jobs he has taken in the past has blossomed into a full time position for which he will have to move away from the area. He will be quite happy to leave the car scheme. It is felt that with a higher payment (something he has raised often with the Scheme) his love of driving would have made him want to continue his relationship with the Scheme. Instead he has devoted too much time for too little reward. In many ways he mirrors driver sentiments at the District Scheme: he enjoys driving a great deal, needs at least a minimum level of payment, and refers to his role as a job. Indeed the advice he would give to new drivers parallels District drivers;

"You don't want to get too involved with the people (users) concerned, ... alright you've got to be able to talk, but you've got to be able to chat ... I certainly don't want to hear all about their illnesses and ailments and things like this - the only thing I want to know is if I am going to the right hospital and the right department and that."

In other ways though he has similar traits to the ex-drivers interviewed at the Hamlet Scheme in that he has been demotivated in driving. However his demotivation has not concerned the perceived increase in formality at the Scheme

as seen by ex-drivers at the Hamlet, rather the lack of a more formal, transactional relationship with the Scheme. It is felt that if he was with the District Scheme, Mr N would still be enjoying his driving today.

The other driver at the Scheme, Mrs S, is not as clearly a community oriented driver as Mrs F and Mr M, feeling that the payment received is important in her continued driving for the Scheme; she would definitely not drive for less money. Indeed she feels that the way to get more drivers is through increased payments, noting though that Troubleshooter has stopped any increase in payments. She mentioned that "one or two" of the drivers want an increase in pay. However, feeling that the current rate is just about enough, she puts this down to them "being moaners". Her motivation in driving is helping people out, and she particularly enjoys meeting new people. Indeed she mentioned that her career as a nurse was a good preparation for driving for the Scheme. Driving approximately 2-3 times a week is only part of her retired life, Mrs S also being the Neighbourhood Watch Coordinator, and very active member of the Womens' Institute and local gardening club. Due to illness she only completes short local trips, but is quite happy with this. Indeed there is nothing she would change about the Scheme, even in an ideal world, feeling that everyone in the Scheme is really friendly.

Hence a picture emerged at the Village Scheme in interviews with current drivers that was somewhat different to both earlier case studies. It appears that motivation in driving for the Scheme is not uniform throughout drivers. While some derive pleasure from helping out people through their driving, another sees his driving more akin to a job. His time at the Scheme though has come to an end with demotivation centring on lack of financial reward for the job done. Pressure has been exerted on the Scheme itself to change payments, however, as Mr N notes when discussing change at the Scheme: "There's been no startling changes"

Perhaps Mr N is one of the people Mrs S refers to as "moaners", and one of Troubleshooter's "odd ones" who stop the Scheme being quite the "happy bunch" it used to be. However this odd one, one quarter of the current driving force, has been demotivated in his driving for the Scheme because his expressed will to

change payments to drivers has been met with an opposite will to keep the payment at the current level.

According to the Secretary, of the twelve "ex-drivers", eight are difficult to contact and/or put on a trip due to various reasons. Four of these problematic drivers are constrained because they work, and are therefore free on evenings only. Another one is unemployed but "always seems to be busy" and is therefore difficult to contact, as is the case with a retired driver on their books. The other two drivers are difficult to use due to ill health and car availability. It is interesting that these eight are put forward as difficult to contact by the Village Scheme, whereas at the District Scheme the equivalent people had informed the Scheme as to their availability, the Scheme not attempting to contact them for certain trips because of this: at the District Scheme they have other commitments, at the Village they are difficult to contact. The other four drivers are interestingly used discretionally by the organisation itself in their driving; because of the driver's desire to drive free of charge in one case, in the others because they are seen as unsuitable for some reason.

Mrs P insists that she will only take people on trips from her own village (a few miles from the Village), however she will not accept payment from the Scheme (only the user) for this service. The Scheme accepts this offer readily and does not force payment upon her or give her other trips. With the other three drivers the Scheme is more proactive in their discretion over use of their services. These three are seen as unsuitable due to "problems" in the past with some facet of their driving. Because of these problems they have been barred from driving. Rev P's problems concerned his forgetfulness. Occasionally he did not turn up for pre arranged bookings, and when hurriedly contacted, apologised for forgetting and went on to complete the trip. The "final straw" came when having taken somebody to hospital he announced that he could not wait for the return leg because he was busy. He has not been used again. Mr G unfortunately died recently during his effective dismissal. He had some unspecified illness and had become increasingly dangerous in his driving, indeed some users had complained. However Mr G loved driving for the Scheme. The Secretary had mentioned to him that due to his age and health they "couldn't possibly keep putting on you to do all these trips"! However he noted that it was no bother and really enjoyed helping out. As such Troubleshooter contacted the Surgery and

asked his Doctor if he would tell him that he was unfit to take other people regularly in his car, and that he had written to the Scheme to tell them so. As such he was stopped, the Troubleshooter being very pleased with how this was done to let him down gently. Now an arrangement exists whereby the Doctor will write to the Scheme if he feels anyone is medically unfit to drive.

Mrs H was told by the Scheme that she would not be allowed to drive for the Scheme again. Complaints had been received by the Scheme concerning the smell of her car, the odour being due to her transporting her dogs in the back of her vehicle. She accepted this, though recently has had her car valleted and has asked to drive again. She has been given one or two trips to "see how it goes". It is the barring of drivers that Troubleshooter notes as the most difficult part of her job, and as the sort of problem that arrives back on her lap.

It appears that drivers are not ex-drivers as such: in ceasing to drive they have a self or Scheme induced reduced commitment. One driver who had driven a great deal according to invoice returns was interviewed by phone, as he was noted by Secretary as not driving a great deal now. It appears that he now works day time shifts and thus is not available as much. He enjoys what driving he does noting that users are always "so grateful". Indeed he would like to be able to drive for less. Thus in looking at Village Scheme drivers and how they evaluate the Scheme and driving for it, a certain picture emerges. It appears that some current drivers enjoy their driving for the Scheme, in line with the Hamlet model. These drivers would drive for less and are motivated by "helping out". They are not bothered with filling in the forms and feel that potential drivers are those that are community minded. However unlike at the Hamlet, these drivers noted their desire, and indeed ability to say 'No' to a trip request, and also do not mention specific experiences of abuse. The fourth current driver also falls broadly into this Hamlet model, though not as strongly as the other two drivers. Thus there is a happy situation whereby such drivers are sustained in their motivation in driving for the Scheme: a self help *raison d'être* is maintained without the moral obligation.

Another current driver however has come to the point of leaving the Scheme. He enjoys driving *per se*, though does not particularly like all the waiting around at hospital and steers clear of being an "Agony Aunt" to users. He has driven many

miles for the Scheme, though has not received enough cash back in return, the pressure he has exerted for increased payments being actively resisted. Looking at the other case studies, his view of driving as analogous to a job and distancing himself to a professional relationship with the user is similar to District drivers. However Mr N does not work for the District Scheme. Instead he drives for the Village Community Car Scheme, an organisation which will not vary its payments to drivers because it feels it both unnecessary, and to be a moving away from its friendly community basis if it does so. Perhaps of most interest at the Village Scheme is the barring of two drivers from volunteering for the Scheme (something completely new to the researcher), and the acceptance of a non-paid driver; all three are certain oddities about the Scheme. With regard to the non-paid driver, the rules of the game at the Village Scheme are flexible enough to accept this quirk quite happily (though it could be justifiably argued that any car scheme would accept such a driver). The barring, due to age and odour, again show the flexibility of the Scheme in that it is surprising that such events have occurred. Again it is the flexibility, this time in the organisation of the Scheme, which has allowed a discretionary ruling on the part of Troubleshooter to barr these drivers.

#### **8.4 WITHIN CASE ANALYSIS**

Certain issues therefore emerge as being of importance in analysing the Village Community Car Service. These are consolidated below.

##### **8.4.1 Relationships**

From the above it can be seen that one person has a great deal of say in the organisation. Troubleshooter is once removed from the operation of the Scheme, but is both omnipotent, and influences the organisation in her own personalised way. This is particularly interesting in what is allegedly a flat organisation. Moreover the other three members of the organisation do not operate in a flat manner. Senior Coordinator has more to do in the organisation because she is better known in the village than Junior, and is more actively consulted about the Scheme by the Secretary, because of her own personal relationship with her.

Also Secretary receives requests for trips because she too is well known in the village. Obviously relationships of individuals in the organisation are important.

These relationships also influence the way the organisation operates.

Troubleshooter's decision is final in areas of uncertainty (for example whether a certain trip should be taken) and in defining ways of operating the Service (for example no committees). Importantly it is in these ways that change is managed; effectively being stifled by Troubleshooter recruiting new people whose ideas align with her own, and indeed actively resisting change per se.

#### **8.4.2 Bureaucracy**

Within the Village Community Car Service set methods of administration exist which are unnecessarily complex (in obtaining bookings, administering trips, checking invoices). This is illuminated by the fact that the system is often shorted (by self referrals occurring, Secretary taking trips). These methods are defended and held up proudly by those involved in the running of the Scheme. They are also seen by Troubleshooter as an effective way of providing the Service, change in the parameters of the organisation being resisted by her.

That the quite complex methods exist in the Scheme, and are defended, may be seen to be at odds with Troubleshooter's claims that the Service's best points concern its informality and flexibility. However this flexibility is achieved by Troubleshooter advising the Service on all matters, and by being the final arbiter. Bureaucracy therefore exists, but the factors discussed under 'Relationships' above means it can be shorted.

#### **8.4.3 Motivation**

The variable motivation of drivers emerged strongly in this Scheme, some approaching their driving in a community/self help spirit, others more akin to a part-time job. Interestingly drivers motivation at the Village Scheme has in effect been stifled by the Scheme itself in three cases, by it prohibiting drivers the drive. With users too, variation in how they see the Scheme is discernable. The

'demotivation' of the three banned drivers provides the clue to the central tenet to this issue. The organisation of the Village Community Car Service (important facets being described in the other issues above) is fluid enough to allow discretionary rulings that can ban drivers. Perhaps it is this very same variability in the organisation which has led to variable motivation amongst other drivers.

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**CHAPTER NINE**  
**THE OPERATION AND MANAGEMENT OF RURAL**  
**VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**

Three case studies of rural voluntary car schemes have now been presented individually, each concluded by a within case analysis outlining the key issues influencing their operation and management. In this chapter the results of the cross analysis of these studies are presented. A brief summary of the themes emerging from the cross analysis, which unify the findings from the individual studies, are presented in Section 9.1. In the following Sections a detailed description of these themes is given which concern; People in the Organisation (Section 9.2), the Articulation of Demand (Section 9.3), Rules of the Game (Section 9.4), and Culture and Leadership (Section 9.5). Within these Sections concepts are developed which, it is contended, are crucial to the understanding of the operation and management of these organisations. These concepts are then evaluated (Section 9.6) in the light of current themes which frame organisational understanding (as discussed in Section 4.1).

**9.1 CROSS ANALYSIS**

As detailed in Section 5.3.3, cross analysis of the case studies utilized various techniques, the aim being to discern the concepts which unified the disparate conclusions of the individual studies. To achieve this aim, "gut" assumptions had to be cast aside and rival hypotheses considered. By reviewing the aims and the research questions of the work, and iterating between the initial findings from the studies and the data itself, constantly corroborating, rejecting and refining the ideas emerging, unifying concepts could be discerned.

Figure 9.1 displays the within case conclusions discussed in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight, together with certain unifying themes which pervade these issues. The evidence for these will be presented in the following Sections, where concepts of power, control and the definition of situation will be developed. These explain why certain issues emerged in one study but not another, and/or why similar issues have different forms.

**FIG 9.1 WITHIN CASE ISSUES AND CROSS CASE UNIFYING CONCEPTS**

CASE STUDY ISSUES			UNIFYING CONCEPTS
HAMLET	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	
CONCENTRATION AND SCALE	FORMALITY	RELATIONSHIPS	PEOPLE IN THE ORGANISATION SEE 9.2
CONTEXT	COMPLEXITY	BUREAUCRACY	ARTICULATION OF DEMAND SEE 9.3
FORMALITY	-	MOTIVATION	RULES OF THE GAME SEE 9.4
PHILOSOPHY	CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP	-	CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP SEE 9.5

## 9.2 PEOPLE IN THE ORGANISATION

"Formality" became an issue at the District Scheme in describing its formal organisation vis-a-vis the Hamlet case study. All people in the District Scheme have set, defined positions, and work interaction is dependent upon relative position at the Scheme (there are distinct lines of authority). Indeed the recruiting of people to fill positions (posts with defined tasks and aims) occurs at this Scheme. Taking this study out of the context of the others could provide another unifying concept for this important issue, for example organisational structure or bureaucracy. However the Hamlet and Village Scheme issues of "concentration and scale", and "relationships" show that within this research strategy, organisational structure is not important per se, rather in the qualifying effect it can have on people in the scheme, and indeed how it can be influenced by those people.

In the Hamlet study the issue of "concentration and scale" describes how the Scheme is, in effect, the Organiser herself: she is the sole decision maker, with no fixed mechanism for others to be involved; the potential of internal influence to change the scheme is therefore limited, the equation of the Scheme with the Organiser herself stifling any criticism of the Scheme; no new members of the Scheme are recruited. Thus in the Hamlet Scheme no organisational structure exists, the focus being on one person to develop the Scheme as she wishes. At the Village Scheme, the issue of "relationships" shows how an existing organisational structure can be influenced by people in that organisation. Although an allegedly flat organisation exists, with joint decision making powers, (though with defined tasks), two issues undermine this structure. Firstly, one person, Troubleshooter, is omnipotent at the Scheme, and guides the development of the Scheme towards her own clear (vis-a-vis the Hamlet Organisers) personalised aims. She is at the top of a hierarchy which definitely does exist. Secondly, this hierarchy is built upon the differential relationships between those involved in the Scheme: the closer one is personally to the Troubleshooting core of the Scheme determines ones position within the hierarchy.

The above discussion shows how the issue of "formality" at the District Scheme and that of the Hamlet Scheme are different, and hence not aligned in Figure 9.1.

While District formality pertains to how people are ordered in the organisation, Hamlet formality is a perception of the service by those having dealings with the Scheme. It is felt that in looking at the influence of people, and constraints to that influence in the organisations, the power metaphor as described in Section 4.1.4 is appropriate. Below various crucial facets of power structures for voluntary car schemes are proposed, which help to explain the within and cross case issues described above.

### **THE CONCEPT OF POWER**

Power is central to the understanding of the voluntary car schemes studied. Three distinct facets were found to be of particular importance. **Power incorporation** refers to how new power is taken into the organisation. The importance of power incorporation comes with its ability to reinforce, channel or repress new power, and therefore potential change, in the organisation. In the preceding case studies, power incorporation varied between the personalised and the institutional as shown on the array below.

**FIG. 9.2 POWER INCORPORATION**

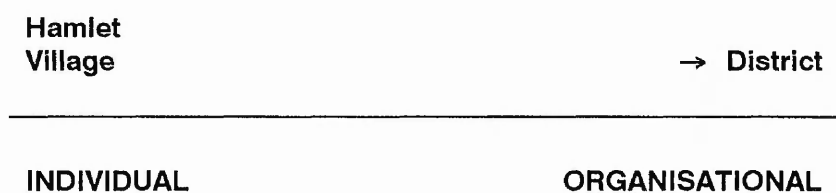


Incorporation of power at the Village Scheme was witnessed to be a personalised vetting of potential new Secretaries/Coordinators to determine who would fit into the current scheme. It is personalised to the extent that one person is responsible for incorporation, putting out feelers in an informal manner. Crucial to the decision whether to incorporate is that one should fit in to that same person's perceptions and opinions as to what Village Community Car Service is and should be. In this way change in the Scheme is brought into her terms of reference: it is effectively repressed.

At the District Scheme, proactive institutional methods of incorporation are the norm. New persons are recruited formally, through advertisements, to develop the organisation. This centres upon furthering the scheme's claim as a legitimate transport provider. Institutional implies that a more rational, predictable approach to recruitment is taken, assisting in the realisation of certain set organisational aims. However this has not always been the case, consolidation as a transport provider being a more explicit post-Trailblazer phase at the Scheme (as the arrow in Figure 9.2 indicates). Hamlet is not included on the array as incorporation of new persons into the organisation of the Scheme has not occurred at this scheme. Again the incorporation method matches the overall strategy of the Scheme in addressing the future: non-strategy equals non-incorporation.

The second facet of power, **power form**, refers to how power in the scheme is legitimised and effected and has two dimensions. Power is legitimised through **status** in the organisation (position in the organisation and the rights and duties bestowed on the person by virtue of this position) and effected through **role** (the performance of those rights and duties). It is different from organisational structure per se, in that people may hold one without the other due to power relationships, where in classical bureaucracy theory one has status concomitant with role and vice versa. The power form is an important influence on the organisation as the base and exercise of power will affect the potential for change in it. In the preceding three case studies the status of individuals in the schemes ranged from individualised to organisational (Figure 9.3).

**FIG. 9.3 POWER FORM - STATUS**



'Organisational' status signifies that rights to power, and the duties to express them, are conferred upon an individual only concomitant with a set position in the organisation. This was witnessed at the District Scheme where the Coordinator

has a certain status in the Scheme because she holds the position of Coordinator, whereas the Assistant Coordinator held another status due to that position. However the arrow in Figure 9.3 denotes that this has not always been the case. In the earlier days, when Trailblazer was the Coordinator, status was more individual based as can be witnessed by the great power she held and expressed in the Scheme, arguably greater than that of Manager. Individualised status on the other hand means that rights to power and the expression of them are not necessarily correlated with position in the organisational framework. This was the situation witnessed at the Village Scheme where Troubleshooter held great status in the Scheme, and Senior Coordinator held greater status than Junior Coordinator. Their status was not concomitant with their positions in the organisation, but was due rather to the individuals themselves and the relationships between them. This situation was in part facilitated by the informal **power construct** discussed below). The status of Troubleshooter could be seen to be **ascribed** to her by others in the organisation due to her historic links with the Scheme. Due to this ascribed status she holds power in the Scheme despite being effectively outside its boundaries.

Hamlet Scheme is allied to the Village Scheme in that persons have individual-based status in the organisation. However the powers of the Hamlet Coordinator, conferred upon her because of her status, are not exercised: her role, the performance of her rights and duties, is impotent. This is shown on the array below (Figure 9.4), which shows the variation in role of those who have status in the respective organisations. In the Hamlet Scheme one has little power when one has status in the organisation though no effective role within it. It makes the

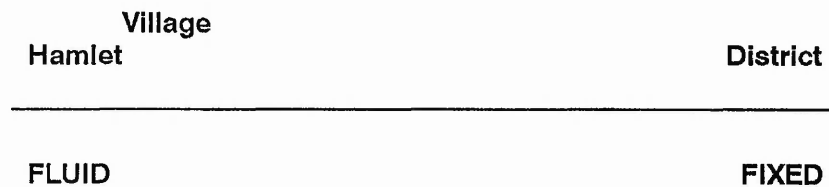
**FIG. 9.4 POWER FORM - ROLE**

Hamlet	Village District
<b>IMPOTENT</b>	<b>EFFECTIVE</b>

resulting job merely administrative. However, with an effective role, the rights of one's status can be exercised. At the District Scheme the organisational status of members is combined with an effective role, meaning that one can influence the organisation, though not beyond one's narrow organisational status. The organisational status of District actors acts as a constraint on the potency of their role vis-a-vis Village actors. At the Village Scheme, with status being due to the individual themselves, and thus not so narrowly defined, an actor can express their effective role more widely. With Troubleshooter having obtained the greatest status, and with roles being effective in the Scheme, the resulting legitimate power base of Troubleshooter in the Scheme is very great.

**Power construct** is the third facet of power, and refers to the lines along which power is exercised within the organisation. The situations witnessed in this study were found to lie along the array shown in Figure 9.5.

**FIG. 9.5 POWER CONSTRUCT**



In the District Scheme, power of a certain form in the organisation is exercised along fixed channels. There are distinct ways of doing things, and power cannot therefore be extended beyond one's status. As such, any substantial changes to occur in the Scheme must be sanctioned by the Management Committee, more minor issues being resolved by the Manager or Coordinator. In the Village Scheme, it is a deliberate policy (of Troubleshooter) to keep the service away from fixed power constructs, as witnessed by her abhorrence of forming a Committee. This combines with the individualised status of actors in the Scheme to allow one person to have great power in the organisation. It is interesting that the move to a fixed construct is most actively resisted by that same person. The power construct in the Hamlet Scheme is very fluid. Power is not exercised along set

channels, indeed it is rarely exercised at all. When decisions are made they will be made in an unpredictable manner, depending upon the situation.

### 9.3 ARTICULATION OF DEMAND

Articulation of demand is adopted as the unifying theme for the within case issues of "context", "complexity" and "bureaucracy". These issues appear at first glance to cover widely different aspects of organisational functioning. However, all three owe their origins to the theme of demand articulation.

At the Village Scheme complex mechanics exist in providing a trip, as discussed in Chapter Eight. What is particularly interesting is that while this complex system exists, it is often "shorted" by individual members of the organisation. Bookings do not always go through the correct channels due to the informal hierarchy that exists, also the crucial decision on eligibility is greatly dependent upon the personal discretion of Troubleshooter. These two factors concerning the mechanism for administering a trip and definition of demand catered for contrast to the situation at the District Scheme. Here the issue of "complexity" notes that not only is the Scheme part of a wide, complex, formal organisation, but that the operational methods of the scheme itself are predictable and strictly adhered to. This issue covers the fact that new demands will be measured against precise eligibility criteria, and if they match these criteria, will be dealt with in a set predictable manner. In the Hamlet Study the issue of "context" does not appear to fit well with these issues from the other Schemes, as it concerns an aspect of organisational functioning that is outside the organisation itself. However, the context in which the Scheme operates is essential in explaining its operation, because the Scheme does not have a great deal of control over new demands from this context of its operation. The Scheme operates in an area of low population, has a vague operating area, a loose referral mechanism, and indeed very loose criteria by which to measure trip requests. As such the Scheme merely administers trip requests, with new demands not being evaluated against strict criteria. This puts the scheme into a much more reactive position than the other Schemes with regard to its context. In explaining the operation and management of voluntary car schemes, issues concerning how these organisations control demand are therefore particularly helpful.

## THE CONCEPT OF CONTROL

In order to ration the resources of the schemes, demand for trips must be controlled. Two discernable, though closely linked facets of control are discerned under this heading: **control definition** and **control mechanism**. **Control definition** refers to how the schemes define eligibility for a trip. This has both an individual dimension by defining people who can travel (through personal criteria of use and trip purposes), and a spatial dimension by defining an operating area. The clarity of these definitions is important as it therefore determines the orientation of the scheme to certain transport needs, and notably to what extent the organisation can vary in this orientation. The case studies showed different levels of definition as can be seen from the array in Figure 9.6

FIG. 9.6 CONTROL DEFINITION

	Village	
Hamlet		District
<hr/>		
VAGUE		PRECISE

At the District Scheme, potential users are broadly defined by the ability to use public transport and its availability, but more precisely by determining who will pay the Scheme for the trip: who is referring the trip and therefore from which fund will it come? This is reinforced by adopting a spatial definition of the local District Council boundaries as its operating area. This contrasts with the other two study areas. Hamlet Scheme has a "sort of locally" spatial definition with an "anybody really" criteria of use. Purpose of use amounts to whatever they are asked, apart from work trips. On the surface, the Village Scheme adopts a more rigorous eight mile radius delimitation of operating area, though it is admitted that this is not a definite ruling. The effective definition of a trip is quintessentially vague: "any request is considered on its own merits".

**Control mechanism** refers to the actual mechanism of control to operationalise the definition of control. While the mechanism used in voluntary car schemes is

self or third party referral, the crucial element of the mechanism is the organisation's adherence to it. Figure 9.7 shows the array witnessed for this concept.

**FIG. 9.7 CONTROL MECHANISM**

<b>Village</b>	
<b>Hamlet</b>	<b>District</b>
<b>LOOSE</b>	<b>STRICT</b>

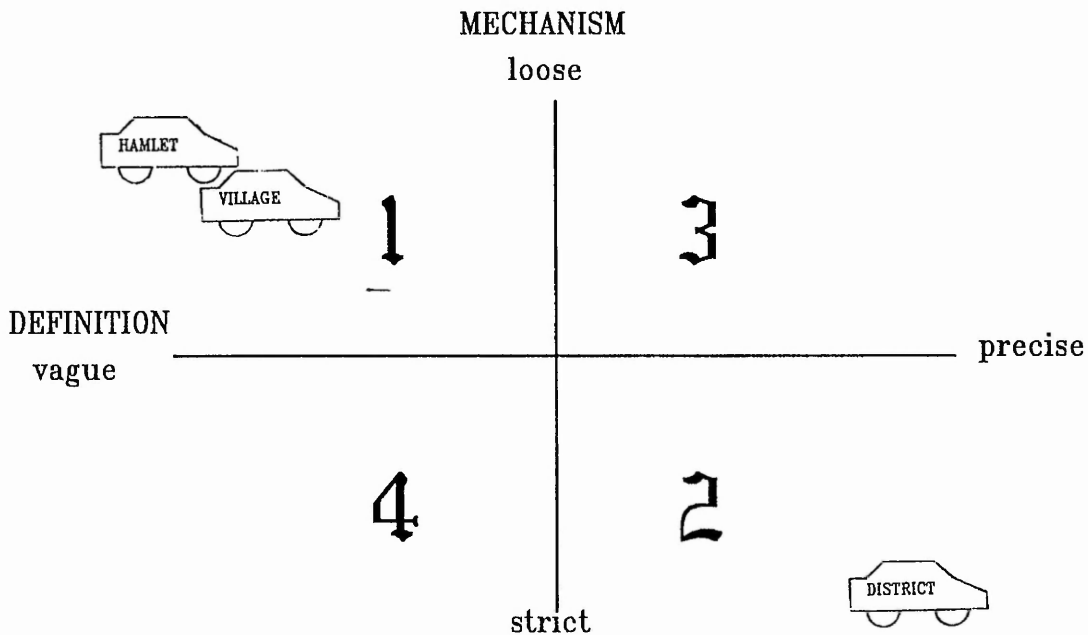
A very strict third party only referral mechanism is adopted by the District Scheme. This is in stark contrast to the very loose mechanism at the Hamlet Scheme, where users refer themselves by contacting the Coordinator personally or over the telephone. Again the Village Scheme lies somewhere between the two, though closer to the Hamlet model. A well defined third party referral mechanism exists whereby the local surgery is contacted to collect trip requests. However in actuality self referral is at least as prevalent, giving an overall quite loose definition of control.

In rationing resources, and making decisions on their allocation, the vague or precise definition of control operationalised by a loose or strict mechanism of control, gives the schemes studied very different orientations to transport need. Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme operates in a small ill-defined area with a very loose mechanism to decide trips. New trip demands can easily be placed upon the Scheme, the major determinant of their being met being the availability of drivers. The small operating area and population it covers does mean however that the probability of certain requests occurring is relatively low. District Voluntary Transport Scheme provides transport for those who meet its strict definition of a trip. It operates in a very large area through a third party mechanism, meaning that, unlike at the Hamlet Scheme where user interaction with the Scheme is high, users are one stage removed from the organisation itself. Any new demands would be decided by the extent to which they meet the facets of control. At Village Community Car Scheme a potentially strict control mechanism does exist,

though it is not adhered to. This means that new demands placed on the Scheme would have no predictable criteria upon which they would be accommodated or rejected. This, coupled with a vague control definition, means that the control of demand at the Village Scheme is variable.

Obviously the concepts of control definition and mechanism are inextricably linked in controlling demand for trips. Figure 9.8 shows how both arrays can be combined, and the resulting positions of the three organisation studied. Four quadrants are possible in the linkage thus defined. Two of these (1 and 2) are covered by the Schemes studied. On the opposite diagonal, quadrant 4 describes an organisation where the mechanism would be the end in itself, negating the alleged flexibility that a vague definition of demand engenders in a Scheme. Quadrant 3 describes an organisation where complete discretion would be applied to very strict criteria of use.

**FIG. 9.8 CONTROL OF DEMAND**



#### 9.4 RULES OF THE GAME

The "rules of the game" is the theme taken to unite the issues of "formality" emerging from the Hamlet Scheme, "motivation" at the Village Scheme, and to explain why no equivalent issue emerged at the District Scheme. "Rules of the game" describes the rules of behaviour for those involved in the respective schemes. Only when these rules are perceived to have changed (as at the Hamlet Scheme), or are unclear (as at the Village Scheme) does an issue emerge from this concept. The issue of "formality" from the Hamlet Study describes the root cause of disaffection amongst drivers in the Scheme: a perceived, and undesired formality in the Scheme. Not only did current and potential drivers want an informal self help/community Scheme, they also were not justified in further action if this was not achieved. However, while "formality" describes the specific root cause of disaffection amongst a sub-group of the organisation, the Village study concept of "motivation" provides a more overt recognition of the organisation's role in determining levels of disaffection. At the Village Scheme drivers note various root-cause demotivators, covering both high and low levels of formality. Indeed the Scheme itself could be seen to effectively stifle motivation by the banning of some drivers. Thus at the Hamlet Scheme, rules which define how the scheme "does things" appear to have been broken, while at the Village Scheme it appears that various and conflicting rules exist. No parallel issue centring upon disaffection emerges at the District Scheme. Those in the Scheme do not appear to be disaffected as in the other Schemes. As noted in the case study profile (Chapter Seven), current regular drivers are very happy with what they uniformly see as their "jobs", while those who have reduced driving commitments appear to have no hidden demotivators, merely other, stated commitments. Following the above theory, rules appear both to have been clearly defined and unchanging.

This great contrast between a clear demotivating issue at the Hamlet Scheme, various demotivators (with some overt Scheme led demotivation) at the Village Scheme, and a more natural lifespan of drivers at the District Scheme heralds a clear unifying theme. Without the context of the District and Village studies, a general demotivator of perceived formality could perhaps have been adopted as a crucial issue. However the obvious high formality (relative to the Hamlet Scheme) at the District Scheme, with which drivers not only feel happy, but positively want,

negate any ideas of formality being a "dirty word" for car schemes as a whole. The crucial issue could have therefore been taken to be the sustenance of drivers by the Scheme itself. Again, however, the Village Scheme findings shift the emphasis towards a more proactive role for the schemes in defining motivation in the scheme through certain rules by which it operates. These rules are obviously not physically "given", though the messages therein have no less impact because of this. In explaining this scenario, whereby rules of conduct for behaviour exist, defined by the organisation, the concept of the definition of situation is helpful.

### ***THE CONCEPT OF THE DEFINITION OF SITUATION***

A voluntary car schemes' situation is defined by its orientation to its context. Power and control concepts come together to have a crucial bearing upon this orientation. It is shown below how this orientation, articulated in the kind of trips served, has been crucial in the continued motivation of drivers.

The relationship between the concepts of power and control is strong. Power of a certain form is flexed through a construct, being reinforced, regulated or repressed through the method of power incorporation. Demand in the organisations is controlled by both defining that demand, and operationalising this definition through a control mechanism. One can look more closely at the relationship between power and control at the schemes, by addressing how they would respond to new demands for trips. This describes the *modus operandi* at the Schemes, the way in which they go about providing transport.

#### **- Hamlet Voluntary Car Scheme**

What power exists in the organisation of the Scheme is non-effective. The control of demand, albeit vaguely defined and loosely operationalised, becomes the major facet of the organisation, almost an end in itself. The Scheme will continue to administer the same demand for trips as always. Indeed any change in the Scheme will not be proactive, rather changing demands upon the Scheme will be **administered** until it is no longer possible to do so because of lack of resources.

- District Voluntary Transport Scheme

Power in this organisation is effective and is exercised along fixed lines. Power is exercised in a predictable manner, demand itself being controlled through a strict mechanism and precise definition to give a rational allocation of resources. The relationship between power and control is based upon rationality, achieved through **bureaucracy**. Changing demands upon the Scheme will not be administered as at the Hamlet Scheme, rather they will be evaluated with regard to the organisational strategy, the resulting actions being the result of a policy decision.

- Village Community Car Scheme

At the Village Scheme, power and control have an interesting relationship. The ill-defined and administered control of demand is an extension of the personalised power base of the organisation. Individual status with effective role gives wide ranging power, when flexed along a fluid construct. Any changes in the Scheme will be due to a **personalised** decision by the final arbiter, in the form of Troubleshooter, enacted through a vague definition of control, with a loose mechanism allowing this to happen.

Thus the concepts of power and control come together to give a modus operandi to the schemes. Just as they produce different modus operandi, they also produce different definitions of trips between the Schemes. Through this modus operandi schemes are orientating themselves differently in meeting demand for trips. The Schemes themselves are choosing people for trips, the onus being on the organisation in defining the trips it will be willing to service. As such a strict market mechanism does not occur. Rather, the Scheme operates within a certain context in which interrelated conditions (such as availability of alternative primary or tertiary transport, and social conditions) come together to determine a transport need. The organisation then orientates itself to this context, choosing which trips it will satisfy. This orientation of the Schemes - the coming together of power and control concepts to define and meet certain trips - define the rules by which the schemes play in the transport sector. Importantly they also define the rules of conduct for their behaviour, and the behaviour of those concerned with the scheme. The District Scheme has a precise definition of demand and a strict adherence to it. Power is used through formal constructs to back up this control. This gives a bureaucratised operation and management, with resulting predictable

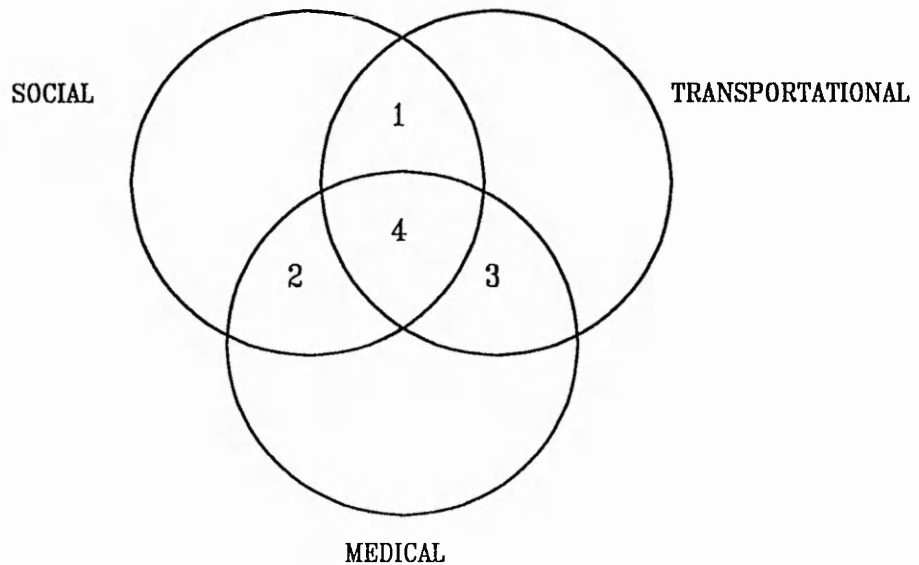
rules of the game. However in the Hamlet Scheme a very ill-defined, and loosely applied control of demand is developed into a reactive and administrative operation and management of the scheme by its combination with the ineffectual role of a Coordinator operating in an ill-defined construct. The resulting rules of the game that it lays down are weak, and indeed liable to be reactive. This would explain the disaffection amongst those drivers who wish to drive simply on a self-help, informal basis: the new high demands on the scheme, for what are usually connected with the statutory services, have been administered by the Scheme, giving those self-help drivers a perception of a change in the rules by which they drive. District Scheme drivers are satisfied with these same high demands because they are not seen to be in conflict with the rules of the game of their organisation. (Indeed a conflict of this kind is difficult to imagine occurring at the District Scheme as conflicting new demands would initially have been picked up as conflicting with its set rules and policies). The rules of the game given out by the Village Scheme are unclear. This mirrors the personalised effective power of one person being flexed along a fluid construct, coupled with the vague definition of demand which is loosely applied. The unpredictability of this operation and management would explain the disaffection amongst any driver, not just a self-help driver, who felt that the rules that they felt governed their organisation (and therefore their actions) had been breached.

Figure 9.9 illustrates the definition of situation by the Schemes. Three transport needs can be put forward to define the context in which a voluntary transport organisation operates;

- a) transportational need per se: due to the lack of available transport,
- b) medical need: the need for trips to medical facilities due to medical need,
- c) social need: the need for trips as a result of social need eg lack of personal financial resources.

# FIG.9.9

## THE DEFINITION OF SITUATION



SCENARIO				WOULD THE NEED BE MET ?		
				DISTRICT	VILLAGE	HAMLET
1	LIMITED INCOME/ ELDERLY	+ NO AVAILABLE TRANSPORT	BUT SHOPPING TRIP	X	?	X
2	LIMITED INCOME/ ELDERLY	+ TO HOSPITAL	BUT TRANSPORT IS AVAILABLE	* ✓	?	✓
3	TO HOSPITAL	+ NO AVAILABLE TRANSPORT	BUT WEALTHY	* ✓	?	✓
4	LIMITED INCOME/ ELDERLY	+ NO AVAILABLE TRANSPORT	+ TO HOSPITAL	✓	✓	✓
DEFINITION OF SITUATION				PREDICTABLE	VARIABLE	REACTIVE
MODUS OPERANDI				BUREAUCRATISED	PERSONALISED	ADMINISTRATIVE

KEY:

✓ YES

\* ✓ YES IF REFERRED

? UNCERTAIN

X NO

While none of the needs on their own would be sufficient for any of the Schemes to provide transport (ie they are not oriented to only one of the needs), the overlap in the three needs defines the context to which the organisation may be oriented. These are labelled 1 to 4. 1 defines a social and transportational need, though not medical (eg no available transport for an unemployed/elderly person for a shopping trip). 2 defines a social and medical need, though not transportational, (eg a medical trip by an unemployed/elderly person, though alternative transport is available). 3 defines a medical and transportational need, though not social (eg a medical trip for which there is no alternative transport though the person is wealthy/young). The orientation to these needs, the definition of situation, is shown by how the scheme would answer the question "Would you take this trip?"

All schemes would service the overlap of all three needs (4), this being the area of need to which these organisations owe their origins. When one looks at the other three scenarios however, the Schemes can be seen to define their situation differently. District and Hamlet Schemes appear at first sight to have defined their positions in the same way. However, while neither would serve scenario 1, District would only serve scenarios 2 and 3 if the trip was referred by a third party. Hamlet, on the other hand, would service scenarios 2 and 3, and if demands occurred for scenario 1 or 3 trips, and were articulated to the Coordinator, it is felt that the Hamlet Scheme would make the decision to administer these trips. The power structure, vague control definition, and loose mechanism would enable this to happen. It can be seen that at the Village Scheme it would be difficult to predict if the trip would be taken or not. It would depend upon how Troubleshooter saw the trip; her primacy being due to the power and control concepts.

It can therefore be seen how certain "rules of the game" are transmitted by the Schemes. Disaffection occurs when Hamlet drivers perceive a great increase in formal trips that the Scheme reacts to, which flies in the face of the conceptions of a small rural self help scheme that pervade the Scheme. The rules of the game are seen to have been broken. When the Village Scheme drivers are given variable rules and variable trips are met, due to the personalised modus operandi of the Scheme, some are bound to be disaffected at some time. However, when a driver joins the District Scheme, he or she knows what to expect, and with the

predictable situation of the Scheme, that is what they receive. It is in this way that the functioning of the Scheme is important in determining the Scheme's own future. A reactive or variable definition of situation by the Scheme may mean that factors outside its control can exert pressures on the Scheme, with potentially ruinous effects on crucial resources at the Scheme.

## **9.5 CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP**

The emergence of the within case issue of philosophy at the Hamlet Scheme has been described in the Scheme profile in Chapter Six. The "ticking over" philosophy, with drivers "doing their bit", appears to subsume the organisation. This is evident in the lack of will to instigate change from within the Hamlet Scheme. In Figure 9.1 the parallel issue emerging at the District Scheme is "culture and leadership". Here a professional way of doing things exists throughout the organisation, which is in stark contrast to the Hamlet Scheme. At the District Scheme the issue of "leadership" is entwined with that of culture as noted in Section 4.1.3. The change in leadership from the initial trailblazing leader to the current Manager has brought with it a shift to the more bureaucratised modus operandi currently witnessed. Leadership does not emerge as an issue per se in the Hamlet Scheme, as the current Coordinator does not take on the noticeable role of leader, having a purely administrative position. In the Village case study no separate issue of culture or leadership emerges. Instead the position of Troubleshooter is considered within the concept of power. The effects of the way of doing things that she has brought about in "her scheme", are considered under aspects of the definition of situation.

The theme unifying the within case issues of "philosophy" and "culture and leadership" is given in Figure 9.1 as Culture and Leadership. This is treated as a minor theme issue as it is perceived as a subset of "the rules of the game". This is because it is felt that for these voluntary transport organisations the concepts of power, control, and situation definition describe the pertinent facets of organisational culture and leadership. Section 9.4, in considering situation and the importance of the concepts of power and control in it, concluded that the differing orientations of the Schemes was due to the influence of people in the Scheme and the service offered. This in turn led to the transmission of various

rules. These cover the facets of organisational **culture** that are pertinent to organisational functioning in this research. Perhaps at its most basic, organisational culture concerns a) the people involved in the organisation (described under power), and, b) the articulation of their coming together, manifest in the product/service provided by the organisation (described under control). In a service organisation people are a key part of the marketing mix (as discussed in Section 4.1.1). Perhaps this explains the central role of Scheme orientation.

With regard to **leadership** it is felt that the power concept qualifies the effects of leadership. The ex-coordinator at the District Scheme has been put forward as a trailblazer at the Scheme. She transformed the Scheme from its original shaky beginnings, and enthused those at the Scheme with her mission. Indeed, she appears to have had all the makings of a transformational leader. That she had effective power in the organisation, and organisational status within it is beyond doubt. She flexed this power along the more fluid construct which then existed noting that important decisions were kept to herself. With changes at the Scheme has come a new power construct which has taken leadership from the Coordinator to the CVS Manager. New power has been incorporated into the organisation (by the Manager) to achieve organisational goals. He will carry these through using his effective role and organisational status. He, again, has the hallmarks of the transformational leader. However, he will flex his power along the fixed power construct that exists in the organisation, the new Coordinator having effective status only in the narrow organisational post of Coordinator. Leadership has thus been qualified by power issues.

At the Village Scheme, the ascribed status of Troubleshooter has been discussed. It has been proposed that this is facilitated because of the fluid power construct at the Scheme and her incorporation of like-minded new people, and therefore new power into the Scheme. However, while Troubleshooter may be termed powerful, it is more problematic to see her as a transformational leader. This is because her status, and therefore power base, is purely personal and not organisational. Importantly her power is flexed in a manner to defend the status quo, not transform it. It is felt that the major difference between Trailblazer and Troubleshooter is the personalised individual status ascribed to Troubleshooter, vis-a-vis an organisational status. The contrast between the two is well illustrated

in their attitudes to committees. In Trailblazers reign at the Scheme the CVS Management Committee was often ignored in order to achieve organisational goals. Since she left, the Manager uses them in a more bureaucratic manner. In the Village Scheme, Troubleshooter resists the move to a committee structure because it would undermine both her personal power at the Scheme, and personal ambitions for it. Indeed, the Secretary leads the Scheme in everyday operational terms, but any transformational efforts on behalf of the Scheme are undermined as she does not possess the necessary power to back them up.

Viewing and analysing the organisation following the culture metaphor would obviously have given centrality to culture and leadership. However in this research it is felt that the coming together of power and control, to define situation provides the most holistic explanation of the operation and management of voluntary car schemes. The power metaphor applied to such schemes helps to explain why demand is controlled as it is, and the resulting rules of the game. Within this framework culture and leadership issues are couched.

## **9.6 EVALUATION**

The previous sections have expounded a theory of organisational functioning. This Section aims to use these findings to evaluate the applicability to voluntary car schemes of some of the themes which have been used to frame organisational understanding, as were outlined in Section 4.1.

### **9.6.1 Power Systems and Potentials of Voluntary Car Schemes**

Section 4.1.4 outlined the power metaphor as applied to organisational analysis. Central to this was the assumption that a system of government, based on power relations, was necessary to resolve differing interests within organisations. Issues concerning the nature of power and its use were also discussed. The above theory of power in the car scheme studies shows that variable systems are possible, due to various combinations of power forms, constructs, and incorporation. The theories expounded in Section 4.1.4 concerning the nature and use of power can now be evaluated, leading to either a rejection of theory or

its extension. Looking initially at **power sources**, and specifically at the legitimacy debate described in Section 4.1.4(a), it appears that this research concurs with the Weberian view of authority. In this view different legitimate authority can be held by virtue of position, personality, or rules and regulations vis a vis the Mintzberg (1983) view that power not vested in office is illegitimate. This Mintzberg view would of course mean that Troubleshooter's power at the Village Scheme was illegitimate, whereas Weber would see it is legitimate in his traditional form (due to status). Within the power arrays formulated in the cross analysis, all individuals in the organisation have a place within the power system, it is the system within which they fit that is crucial. Perhaps illegitimacy of power did not emerge in the Mintzberg sense as the illegitimate power witnessed by him emerged from his study of departmentalised organisations where influence over a department from elsewhere could be construed as illegitimate. However the small organisations that have been the focus of this research were not departmentalised. The District scheme could be seen to bear the closest resemblance to this scenario, if the relationship between the CVS and car scheme is seen as inter-departmental. As the car scheme has become established, moves are underway to separate it from the CVS, and the current power of the CVS over the scheme is perceived by members of the Scheme to be increasingly illegitimate.

The variety of power systems witnessed in the case studies, and the power which they confer upon individuals within the organisations is particularly interesting. How this differential power has come about brings up issues of power bases, and the functionalist resource base discussion highlighted by Clegg (1977). Both functionalist and resource views offer some explanation to the current intra organisational research, and particularly the changing status of the founder within the organisation. When Troubleshooter and Trailblazer founded the Village and District Schemes respectively, the power they held was based predominantly upon their founding knowledge and expertise. It was therefore resource based. As others became involved in the Schemes (and the booking and accounting systems were computerised at the District Scheme) the Scheme's dependence upon this resource based power diminished. At the Village Scheme power is legitimised through individual status in the organisation, ie rights and duties bestowed on a member are not necessarily concomitant with a set organisational position. Thus when her resource power diminished, others having the technical expertise to perform her job, she could obtain a position in the organisation which

would maintain her resource power. This is the position of Troubleshooter, which is based on ascribed status derived from her having founded the Scheme. Meanwhile, at the District Scheme, where rights to power are only concomitant with a set position in the organisation, Trailblazer could only retain power by retaining a position within the organisation. She chose however to leave the Scheme (for various reasons) and as shown in Figure 9.3, power is now legitimised to an even greater extent by organisational status.

Thus an underlying contribution of this research to the organisational literature in this area is that the Schemes have very different expressions of legitimate power at the intra organisational level, which can be built on either resource or functional power. The power construct at the Scheme, be it fluid or fixed, and the form of power, stating how power is legitimised and affected are important determinants of this. These issues can be clearly brought into focus when changes in staffing occur as in the District Scheme. As noted in Chapter Four, other writers (Morgan, 1986, Handy, 1985) discuss power sources, and produce comprehensive lists of these sources. However it is felt that the power system at the Schemes defines the potential for power within the Scheme. Various sources may all be possible, including personal power (Handy, 1985) control of knowledge, control of decision processes (Morgan, 1986), however the power system at the Scheme will define their importance in organisational functioning.

Following Clegg (1989), the discussion of resource-based power (in our case due to expertise) is tautological; how can power be recognised independently of resource dependency when it is both its cause and consequence? He goes on to note that, apart from being a thing, power must also be a property of relations, and that it is the system of power relations that is of at least equal importance as debates concerning the sources of legitimate power. The issues outlined in Section 9.1.1 concur with this view.

In addressing theories concerning the **use of power**, the potential to influence organisational functioning again is an important conclusion of this work. In revisiting Etzioni's (1975) theory of compliance, two determining factors in his classification of organisations are power and involvement. Although he puts forward a theory of power which covers its base and its use, the research here reveals somewhat different findings. With regard to power, this work has a two

stage model of power form. As opposed to Etzioni this is not concerned with the meeting out of rewards to support directives, rather it defines the potential of persons in influencing the whole rules by which the organisation plays. The concept of power construct defines how this power can be used, and power incorporation how new influences can be regulated. This defines (together with control definition/mechanism) the rules of behaviour for those in, and involved with, the organisation. As such, power in this work is a potential to have a certain amount of influence of a certain kind, Etzioni's being a typology of how it can be flexed.

An interesting parallel emerges here with the discussion of strategy by Bryman, Gillingwater and McGuinness (1990), who note that a pervasive feature of the community transport organisations they studied was their strategy for survival in a perceived hostile interorganisational environment. Strategies witnessed were survival through consolidation, and expansion into existing and new transport services respectively. In this study, the District Scheme's incorporation tool is used as part of its strategy in addressing the wider transport environment in which it operates. However, the environment Troubleshooter aims to address is also at the intra-organisational level and concerns internal power at the organisation. The individual status and fluid construct that exist means that incorporation can be used creatively in an internal strategy. That Troubleshooter actively fights to keep the construct fluid is of note here - she maintains it and benefits from it in that she can then wield influence in the organisation despite having no organisational position. Her resultant power lies in her permitted fluid decision making, concurring with Crozier (1976) that one's ability to act in a non-predictable manner explains high degrees of power. Etzioni takes the discussion further in looking at the power structure of organisational members, due to their sources of power, with which there is a contrast with the discussion of power status in this research. He notes that sources of power can be due to 'office power' or 'personal power', the combinations leading to a classification of "elites", as shown in Figure 9.10.

The form of elite can vary between someone who has neither personal nor office power, a "non-elite", to someone with degrees of both, a "formal leader". Obviously there is a contrast here with the discussion of power status in this research. The status array given in this research implies that the two sources are mutually exclusive. Thus in this research one could be an 'officer', with positive

**FIG. 9.10 FORM OF ELITES**

Personal Power		Office Power	
		+	-
Personal	+	Formal leader	Informal leader
Power	-	Officer	Non-elite

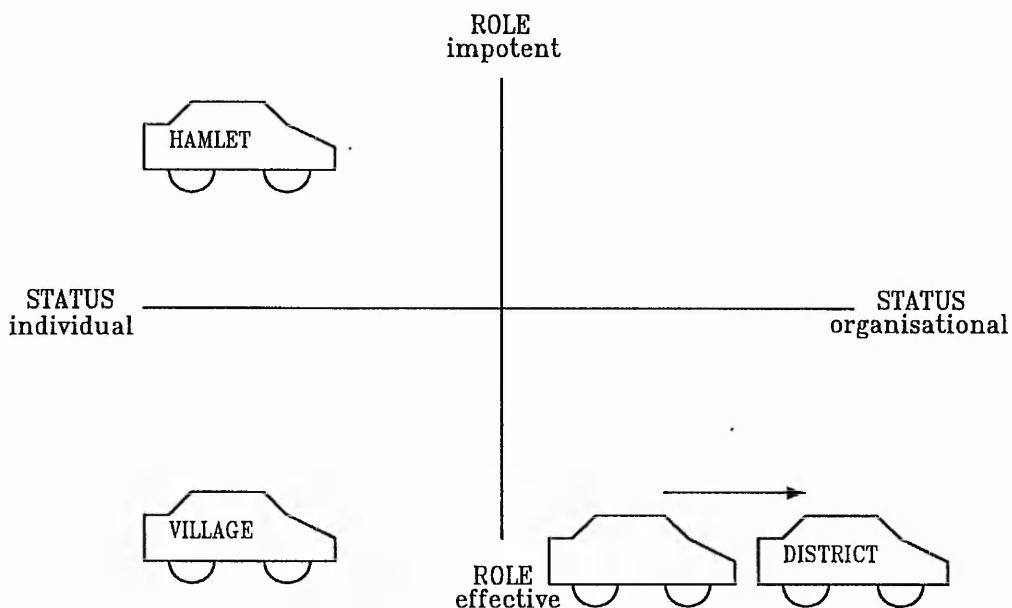
office power and negative personal power (organisational status), or 'informal leader', with negative office power but positive personal power (personal status). However, when one includes the array of role one can see a certain overlap. Figure 9.11(a) shows a combination of status and role as defined in this research, and Figure 9.11(b) a combination of form of elites following a similar layout. Figure 9.11(a) places the schemes in their relative status/role positions as described in section 9.1. The District Scheme is shown as having moved from a position of power form, where power legitimation has shifted to being based more on organisational status. This is to reflect the move since the demise of Trailblazer. Figure 9.11(b) is based on Figure 9.10. As Etzioni's arrays of "personal power" and "office power" are seen as covering both power base and how it is effected (though as the earlier discussion has shown Etzioni's "power" is due to the reward system used to support directives), the arrays of personal and office power can be seen to be a synthesis of status and role. This overlaps significantly with this research in that it highlights the dependence of the leadership concept on the power bases. While this may be relegated to a "spoke" issue by Etzioni, the discussion of power form, how it is legitimised and how it is used, is of great importance in this thesis.

In addressing issues of involvement in the organisation Etzioni looks at the form of commitment engendered by the type of application of power. He notes that congruence occurs when this involvement is in harmony with the application of power. He feels that incongruent organisations will move towards congruence as they are more effective. This is achieved by the organisation changing how power is applied, or participants changing in their kind of involvement (eg changes in recruitment methods). The above has shown that with regard to the application of

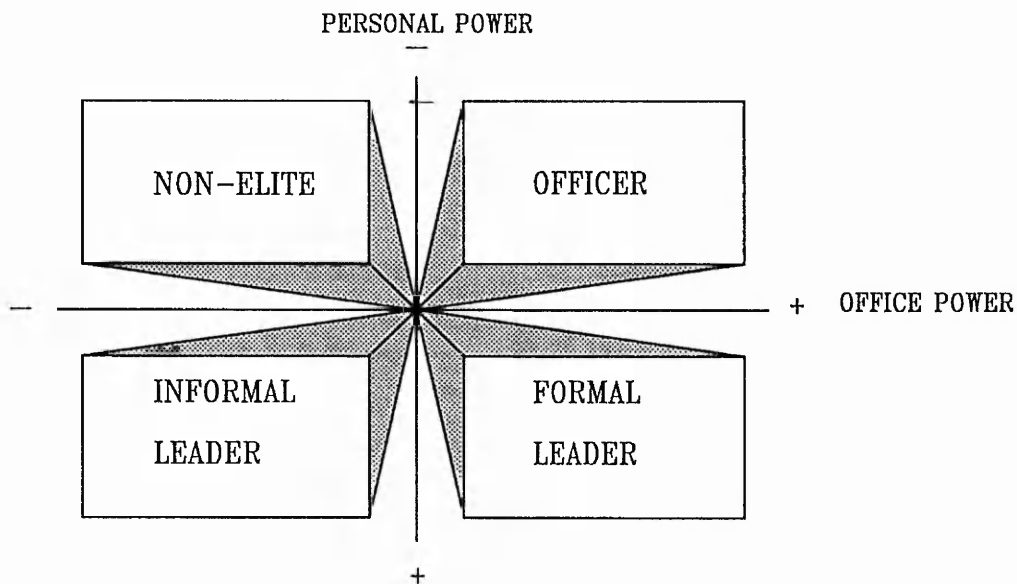
power, the organisational power systems studied define a potential to influence the rules by which the organisation plays. Unlike Etzioni the uniform meeting out

## FIG. 9.11 POWER FORM AND ELITES

(a) POWER FORM (STATUS AND ROLE)



(b) FORM OF ELITES (ADAPTED FROM ETZIONI (1975))



of rewards to individuals is not crucial, rather the potential influence of individuals on the organisation as a whole, translated into their impact on the rules of the organisational game.

The research has shown that unclear variable rules of the game has led to the demotivation of those involved in the Schemes. This is directly due to the influence of people in the organisation. Thus the role of the organisation itself is the key to maintaining motivation, however unlike Etzioni, it is felt that the move from an incongruent to a congruent position is not clear cut. At the Village Scheme the power and control situation is such that variable rules will continue to be passed to drivers and users until fundamental change occurs in the organisation. However Troubleshooter's resistance to change has been highlighted above. At the Hamlet Scheme again it is unlikely that the organisation itself will stop reacting to new demands put on it, and continued demotivation will occur. Unfortunately for the Scheme, Etzioni's "move to congruence" appears to be occurring not by organisational change, but by changes in involvement, the results of which will be staff shortages at least in the short term for both schemes, and perhaps longer at the Village Scheme. While the Hamlet Scheme may recruit drivers who are content with perceived formality due to a reactive definition of situation, it may be more difficult to recruit drivers content with a variable definition of situation as in the Village Scheme.

### **9.6.2 The Rationing of Voluntary Transport**

The concept of control put forward in Section 9.3 shows how a control mechanism and definition come together to ration use of the resources of the organisation. The control of demand thus determines which customers use the service. This relationship between organisation and customer directly challenges traditional assumptions on marketing in organisations in two areas. Firstly as will be discussed in this Section, rationing itself is alien to the marketing literature which is concerned primarily with increasing consumption of the good/service offered. Secondly this rationing of the service is itself not necessarily rational. This will be discussed in Section 9.6.3 in addressing how issues of power interact with control in the organisation.

The control of what is often a potentially very high demand, by defining those who are allowed to use the scheme and operationalising this definition, equates to some form of service rationing as outlined by Foster (1983). In her discussion of access to the welfare state, she subdivides rationing into the formal and informal. Formal rationing is that which is open to scrutiny and covers rules and regulations, waiting lists, and eligibility criteria. She notes that these formal methods are often modified by the discretion of the person applying them. Informal methods include purposeful delay of clients, dilution of service (ie not giving full service delivery) and moral judgement. Thus in the welfare state as a whole, people can generally be seen to be the key to the rationing process even in formal rationing, and particularly central in its failure. Professionals involved in service delivery can be seen as gatekeepers to the service which, coupled with the lack of choice that clients have in demanding the service, leads to a large imbalance of power between the producer and potential consumer of the service. Indeed much has been written about the professionalisation of medicine as a strategy to maintaining power through a monopoly of care (Turner, 1988), and the resulting inequalities due to the exertion of this power. For example, the hospital is seen as symbolic of the power of the medical profession (representing the institutionalisation of medical knowledge), the location of these hospitals and resultant inequitable accessibility to some groups of the population being an example of the negative exertion of this power (Illich, 1976). This discussion could equally be applied to the organisations studied.

In looking at the welfare state, Foster discusses methods by which the problems of inequalities in power could be solved. Administrative reform is one approach to what is seen as a lack of rational decision making in resource allocation. Administrative reform could provide explicit, conscious rationing (eg eligibility criteria) to minimise the power of the gatekeeper. It could also provide new professional-client relationships through new mechanisms (eg such as Community Health Councils in the medical profession) which would lead to a less unequal relationship between producer and consumer. Another approach, put forward by free marketeers, is the explicit empowering of the consumer. This would be achieved by creating competition in supply and providing financial resources to the needy (through vouchers). However the general conclusion drawn is that improving rationing systems (which will themselves always be necessary due to finite resources) to obtain a more equitable distribution of resources will be

extremely difficult without change in the ideological, political, and economic contexts in which rationing takes place. In particular the organisations providing welfare are seen to have unclear and often contradictory functions which make it impossible to devise unambiguous and unconflicting regulations to govern the actions of those involved in them (Prottas, 1979). Added to this, the unpredictable circumstances of clients means that the rules governing every interaction between client and provider would be unworkable.

Thus, on both the supply side (the organisation) and the demand side (the user), the fixing of rationing rules is felt to be difficult because of the people involved in the relationship between the organisation and the client. The resulting effect is differences in power relations between the organisation and the user which mean that the aims of rationing, limiting supply of a service to give priority to the people most in need, are not as easily met. The power of the organisation has been discussed at length in this work and the above shows that there is an inextricable link between the power relations in the organisation and the rationing of supply. However, while rationing in the welfare state may have the statutory obligation of giving priority to those in greatest need, the obligations on a privately run organisation in the transport market are more closely led by the organisation itself. Thus are the power relations between the organisation and its user of particular importance. The importance of people in the service organisations marketing mix has been mentioned in Section 4.1.1. In these small informal organisations, the power relations between those people have been discussed at the intra-organisational level. The expression of this power through the control mechanism has led to the Schemes being analogous to the gatekeeper to services mentioned above.

### **9.6.3 The Metaphor of Potentiality**

The idea of an organisation defining its own situation binds the preceding issues into a holistic theory of the operation and management of a form of rural voluntary transport, the voluntary car scheme. It is a theory which recognises the power system of the organisations, and the potential power of individuals within it. It also recognises a crucial expression of this power, the control system of the organisation. This can give the organisation potential power over its users,

through the systems of rationing it adopts. The theory also provides for the important relationship between the power and control systems which come together to define a trip, orientating the scheme to its operating context, moreover defining a modus operandi for the scheme and rules by which the actors at the organisation should play.

In doing the above the theory also serves to evaluate themes which have traditionally framed organisational understanding. Instead of a debate upon whether power is legitimate or not within the organisation, this work addresses how it is legitimised within the power system which exists. This system of relations can take many forms. It is also variable over time, thus negating the importance of the debate on functional/resource power bases. The system defines a potential to influence the whole situation of the organisation, including the rationing system which is an expression of the power system. As such a rational marketing approach to transport provision does not provide the appropriate metaphor to adequately describe the operation and management of these schemes. The various potentials of individuals in such schemes to express their power can create intra-organisational strategies that fly in the face of so called rational marketing approaches.

Why are power and its expression so important in this theory of these organisations? Perhaps the relative size of these organisations vis-a-vis the usual organisational case studies means that one actor can have more of an influence on the whole definition of situation by the organisation. Also the expression of power, the system of control, is crucial in defining this situation. The expression of power, ultimately defining the trip, is the "good" produced by a transport organisation. As such an actor is provided with a tool to stamp the whole nature of the scheme and how it is perceived, that is out of the reach of a manager in a manufacturing firm for example. Thus the theory does not address the topic of influence by looking at how one directly alters the actions of subordinates. Rather it looks at how the definition of situation in the scheme can affect the motivation of actors. Why should this facet of influence be so important in these organisations? Perhaps their voluntary nature and utilization of volunteer drivers, means that the sustenance of motivation by being socialised into the organisation, through identification with it, comes to the fore.

In explaining the operation and management of rural voluntary car schemes, the crucial aspect is the potential of actors to determine the situation of the organisation. The metaphor which sees organisations as possessing potentiality, the potential to define their situation in the market, could be seen to be appropriate. The aspect of the organisation which make this appropriate may centre upon size, its service product being transport, and also the voluntary nature of its staffing.

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**CHAPTER TEN**  
**CONCLUSIONS:THE CURRENT AND POTENTIAL ROLE OF**  
**RURAL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES**  
**IN THE TRANSPORT MARKET**

This thesis had as its focus rural voluntary car schemes, a form of organisation which provides a transport service for mobility handicapped persons in rural areas. The research aimed to evaluate schemes' operation and management (with specific reference to change), in order to explain their current and potential role in the transport market.

The thesis has provided an overview of the transport market in which this transport organisation operates, and the legislative influences upon this market. Foremost in the legislative influences is the ideological shift towards free competition in transport, and the moves towards a competitive tendering culture in the personal social services. These have implications for the future role of the voluntary sector transport provider, particularly when one notes that government envisages a mixed economy of service provision in the future, which aims to tap the expertise of the voluntary sector. This shift is given yet more importance when the demographic changes outlined in this thesis are considered.

The voluntary car scheme is one of the organisations that have to operate in this changing world. The growth of the car scheme concept was traced in this research, together with a description of how such schemes go about providing their services within one county of England. This was followed by an analysis of how shire counties in England, the authorities charged with car scheme planning, support such schemes. This provided an increased appreciation of this mode of transport, especially when one considers the lack of literature in the area.

In order to address the aims of this research one must move beyond appreciation, to understand what it is to operate and manage such organisations, and the influences upon this. Thus the schemes must be understood in their own terms. This was attempted through a multiple case study research strategy focused upon four questions;

- What is the Car Scheme and how does it operate?
- What influences the operation and management of the Scheme?
- How, if at all, is the Scheme changing?
- Why is it changing? (or why not)

Within the case study strategy, predominantly qualitative techniques were developed to allow the case study schemes to define the reality of their operation and management. Three case study organisations, operating within one shire county in England, were selected for this study. Detailed profiles of the schemes, together with analyses of the findings from the research methods were presented. It was found that certain within case themes were important in addressing the research questions at the individual schemes. The within case findings were subject to a cross analysis, which produced cross case concepts that are crucial in understanding the operation and management of the schemes and change within them. It is upon these concepts that the conclusions to this thesis are built.

The concepts developed in the cross analysis centre upon power, control, and the definition of situation. These come together to form a theory useful in understanding the functioning of such organisations. The power system as defined by power incorporation, form, and construct, is important in that it defines the potential of people in influencing the organisation. The changing position of founders within the case study organisations served to demonstrate the qualifying effect of the system upon key actors. It also helped to evaluate current thinking upon power sources, in that it was shown that it was possible for schemes to have very different expressions of legitimate power, built upon either resource or functional power.

It was demonstrated in the research that concepts of power and control were strongly related. While the control definition and mechanism determine how demand is articulated, they can also be seen to be an expression of intra organisational power. Depending upon how the concept of control is structured at the organisation, it is possible for one power holder to greatly influence the nature of the scheme.

The concepts of power and control come together to define not only how the scheme is operated and managed (the *modus operandi* of the scheme) but also the situation of the scheme: the orientation of the scheme to transport need, and the rules by which the scheme provides transport. The rules were found to be crucial in the continued motivation of actors at the schemes. If the rules were seen to have changed (for example if the scheme was perceived to be changing orientation), or were vague, it was possible for some drivers to feel that they were no longer justified in their driving for the scheme.

The concepts of culture and leadership, which have often been used to explain organisational functioning, are qualified by this conceptualisation of the schemes. The concept of power qualifies the effects of leadership by determining the potential of actors to influence the scheme, and culture perhaps at its most basic concerns issues of power (people at the organisation), and control (the product of the organisation, in this case the articulation of transport needs). The conceptualisation of the schemes put forward in this thesis also qualifies the traditional marketing management metaphor often used to explain the operation and management of transport organisations in the marketplace. In fact it explodes the whole concept of these organisations operating in a market at all. With control and power mechanisms coming together to define the situation of these organisations, the schemes can be seen to be rationing their services to potential users, and indeed exerting power over them.

This is an area where future research would be of interest. With marketing philosophies aiming to view the organisation from the consumers point of view, it would be interesting to investigate further the power relationship between user and organisation from the user perspective. This would aim to further clarify the transport options available for special needs transport users, as the expression of power, be it by the transport organisation or a third party referrer, is defining other peoples transport options, space, and therefore life opportunities. This idea emerged from the matching of service use to destination by users which was witnessed in the field (see Section 7.3.4). Here one user used a taxi for trips to the doctors, ambulance for trips to the hospital, and car scheme for visiting trips (referred by Age Concern). In this example a third party referral mechanism is used by the scheme, the referrers acting as gatekeepers to services. It is this kind of expression of power that would be worthy of investigation, addressing

questions of how and why they define eligibility, and to what extent this matches the eligibility criteria desired by the voluntary organisation. Perhaps in this way unequal power relations could be identified, and users empowered in the future mixed economy of services.

Policy implications arise from this conceptualisation of voluntary car schemes. Policy built around stimulating voluntary sector transport organisations to create new markets may be as inappropriate to some organisations as the marketing metaphor itself. The findings of the research can provide an evaluation of both the general policy shifts at national level, and the various approaches to the support of voluntary car schemes adopted by individual local authorities, as outlined in Section 3.1.4. Looking first at national shifts, the findings of this research show that organisations will react very differently depending upon how the situation of the scheme has been defined. Changing opportunities for organisations could cause operational policy shifts or personalised reactions, and these of course could be positive or negative. However in some organisations the power systems could be such that any new influences are primarily assessed as to their threat to both the current organisational systems, and individuals' intra-organisational strategies. The effects of changing opportunities could also be more indirect, though no less important. 'Business as usual' could be expected at some schemes, as in the Hamlet Scheme, although a changing demand for services is quietly, though effectively, changing their situation.

Looking at local authority led legislative changes, a similar conclusion is drawn. Section 3.1.4 outlined various approaches, covering financial, technical and non-financial support of schemes by authorities. This research shows that not only would organisations vary in their response to changes in support, but that forced hands-on regulation of schemes could be disastrous to their continued operation. If the policy changes were mandatory, in the form of new demands upon the organisation's operation (eg increased demands for certain trips) and management (eg forced vetting of drivers), the effects could be catastrophic. The research has shown that motivation of actors in these organisations can be quite precarious, dependent as it is upon the situation defined by the scheme. It is felt that in some organisations new operational and management requirements would lead to demotivation of both drivers and organisers, the legislation having in effect shifted the situation of the scheme.

Hands off support may therefore be more appropriate, as in this way the schemes would themselves determine their own situation, and their potentiality would be tapped. However transport choice would be being defined by the organisations themselves, through their rationing system, and it is here that the open sided hands-off support becomes politically unacceptable. For such support, transport authorities must accept the intra-organisational functioning of the schemes (of which their rationing system is an integral part), and at the same time justify payments from hard pressed budgets. Thus the transport authority must feel that the trips taken by the schemes are the authority's responsibility. If financial and non-financial support was made available to schemes without hands on control by an outside body, the mobility of groups in rural areas could be significantly increased by voluntary transport organisations continuing to survive, and therefore providing more transport choice. While it has been found that this is the ideal situation in which authorities can enable schemes, the thrust of this work has been that the future of the schemes is in the hands of the schemes themselves. Not all schemes will desire the extra finances, though for those that do the above discussion begs a strategy for them. By linking the control system to those of potential funders, adopting their definitions and criteria (and being able to verify this-begging a role for computerised information systems) the schemes could mount an effective campaign for funding. This was the strategy so successfully demonstrated by Trailblazer at the District scheme. However this research has shown that (a) the schemes should be wary of the possibility of the adverse affects on their situation for those involved in the scheme, and (b) that schemes may not even desire anything which smacked as "outside" interference.

The community transport sector as a whole, which includes organisations such as voluntary car schemes, has been cast in the role of transport prodigy, as was discussed in Section 2.2.1. It was noted that the sector was in tune with the current free market approach to transport provision, in identifying closely with consumer needs and meeting those needs as innovatory transport providers. This said they could play a star role in the emergence of a new transport paradigm. Two points emerged in the discussion in Chapter 2. Firstly the study of the Rural Transport Adviser posts, a brokerage post in tune with a free market in transport, showed that the institutional context of transport planning needs its own revolution before a new transport paradigm can be heralded. Secondly, the

potential of these organisations in meeting the challenge was not known: do they and will they innovatorily meet the transport needs of the community? A clearer picture has now emerged and this research has shown that this may be a simplistic assumption, and that many intra-organisational issues impinge on how the organisation meets community needs. At their inception the schemes could be seen to be innovatory providers of transport as people have taken the initiative to establish a new mode of transport. However the innovation metaphor ignores the power system metaphor which comes to bear when individuals form small voluntary service organisations. The organisation they define, which may have been founded for various reasons as this research shows, provides potential for many things including innovation, but also bureaucratic and personal intra-organisational strategies, and reactive non-strategies. It also defines a situation for the scheme which can have serious consequences for volunteer resources. All that can be concluded with certainty is that schemes have the potential to meet the challenge, however how they act in the future and the resulting transport picture will to a large extent be defined by their own initiatives.

**APPENDIX A**

**THE ROLE OF THE RURAL TRANSPORT ADVISER**

**S Cassidy and J Sutton**

Paper presented to the Universities Transport Studies Group  
January 1989

## PREFACE

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of rural transport brokers/advisers, though little information is available regarding their work. This is surprising given that they are perceived as playing an important role in promoting innovations in transport supply. In response to this lack of information a questionnaire survey was initiated in early April 1988, the results of which are presented here.

The survey was mailed to twenty-three rural transport brokers/advisers who were known to be in post in April 1988, using information supplied by the Rural Development Commission. Twenty-one completed questionnaires were received, (91%) which provides a sufficiently large data base of information from which to draw some conclusions about the post, role and methods used by the rural transport brokers/advisers in their work to date. In addition interviews were held with a small sample of brokers and sponsoring agencies to collect background and other relevant data.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Rural Development Commission and the rural transport advisers in carrying out this survey, and of Dr. David Gillingwater (Loughborough University) and Mr. John Abbiss (Trent Polytechnic) for their help and support in the survey design, and compilation of this report.

## INTRODUCTION

Following the 1985 Transport Act the government appointed the Rural Development Commission for Rural England to implement a Rural Transport Development Fund to help rural communities overcome some of the consequences of the Act, particularly the decline of commercial services. This fund, which stands at £1m per annum, was established as a transitional measure for five years - the objective not being simply to shore up existing provision (which could be done anyway through the tendered contract system), but to promote innovative services which could meet a range of needs, some of them unmet even under the old regulated regime. Grants have been given to purchase minibuses for community bus schemes (the most celebrated example being in Cornwall where eight schemes have been initiated); to help shared taxi schemes and voluntary car services; and to aid commercial operators who intend serving remote communities in joint projects (for example using school buses).

Approximately one quarter of the fund in England is also being used to employ transport brokers/advisers (figure 1); this, as much as the services, being one of the most important innovations to be tried in recent year. Since deregulation the number of posts being sponsored has risen to twenty three, and over the next year or two this is likely to rise still further (two more were to be added in Nottinghamshire in October 1988).

In Scotland, and to a lesser extent Wales, the situation regarding the transition period is somewhat different. In Scotland the Rural Transport Innovation Grant (the equivalent to the Rural Transport Development Fund) is administered by the Scottish Development Office, and is designed to encourage innovative projects to establish new services, or continue existing services. However, this fund is totally service oriented, only service operators being able to apply, not Regional Authorities. The scheme will therefore not fund adviser/broker posts, despite requests for such a position and their obvious scope in Scotland. Take up of the grant has not been great; Tayside Region leading the league table for scheme with five service approvals. In Wales though, one broker does exist set up in a similar way to the English posts, with funds coming jointly from Dyfed County Council and the Welsh Office. This post was established in June 1987, and it is thought that further posts are planned. Obviously, the experience of the English advisers may have some affect on the situation in both Scotland and Wales.

Prior to deregulation only two rural transport brokerage posts existed in the UK, in East Sussex (from 1982) and Hampshire (from 1983). The former post was established as part of the counties ESCORT project, which attempts to co-ordinate rural transport services. In practice the ESCORT project has focused on one area of East Sussex and the broker has been responsible for only part of the system, principally matching individual transport needs to available services; for example placing social services clients on non social services transport services such as a school bus, or scheduled bus service, and administrating the booking system with the aid of a computer which stores service details and client requirements. The broker is in house and performs a mediating function for social workers, disabled clients, school children and others referred to the broker and prescribed as being worthy of assistance. (The post does not extend to voluntary transport services or to the Health Authorities).

The Hampshire brokerage experiment has different objectives, although the goals are the same: namely, more efficient and effective utilisation of vehicles and staff, and more access for those in need. In Hampshire however, the coordination role has been more widely defined and is seen as a development post rather than an administrative position. For this reason it has been used as something of a model by other counties.

# Figure 1 Rural Transport Advisors in post, July 1988

## KEY

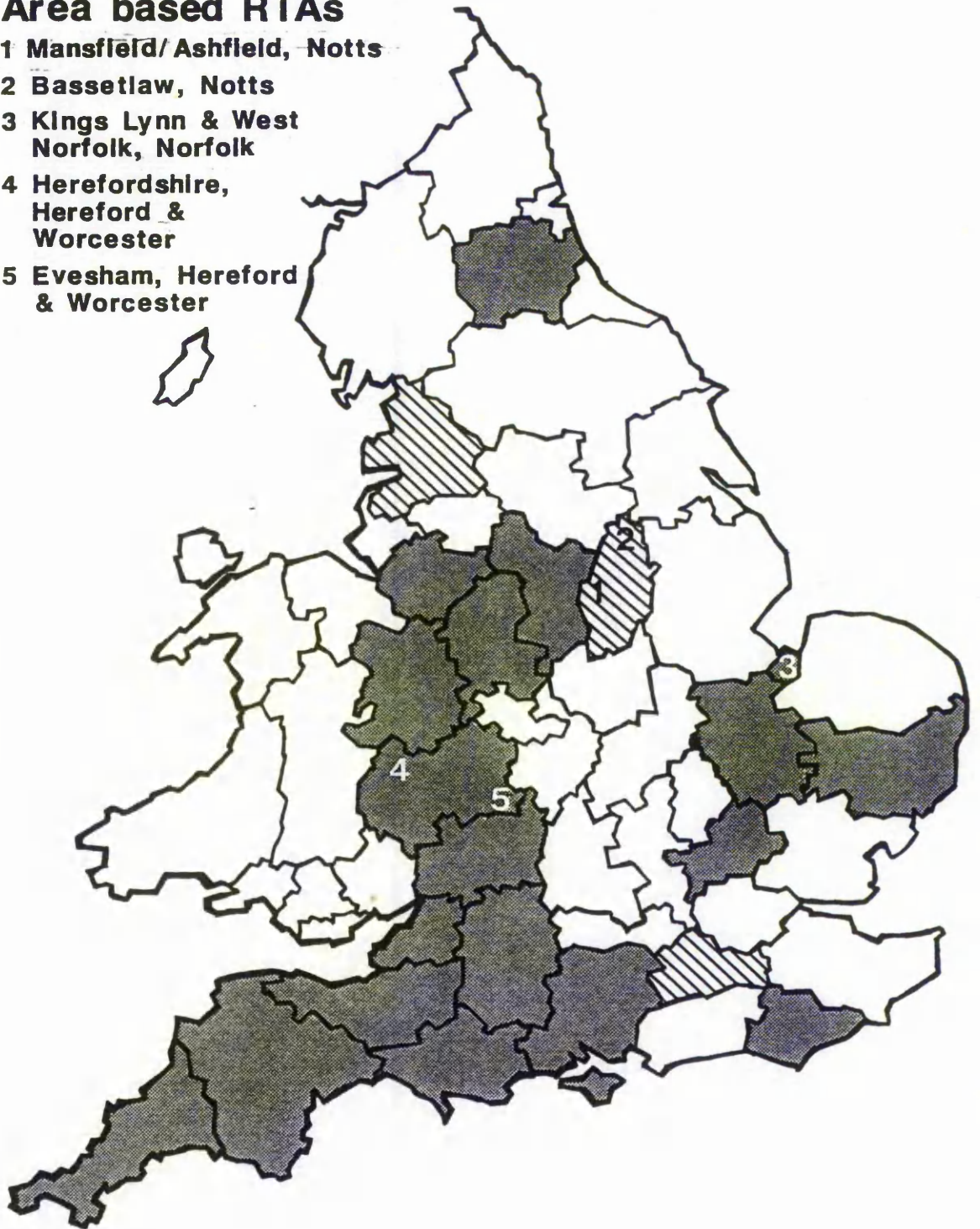


RTAs responding to questionnaire

Others known

## Area based RTAs

- 1 Mansfield/ Ashfield, Notts
- 2 Bassetlaw, Notts
- 3 Kings Lynn & West Norfolk, Norfolk
- 4 Herefordshire, Hereford & Worcester
- 5 Evesham, Hereford & Worcester



These early experiments were instigated upon the recognition that traditional approaches to transport planning and coordination, which emphasise strategic considerations and infrastructure requirements like bus stations and roads, omitted any formal involvement in the management of transport resources and in the design and development of new services. They also reflected a concern that changes taking place in the transport arena, as a result of legislation (beginning with the 1981 Transport Act), population and lifestyle changes, local government practice and so on, were not being addressed in current transport practice.

There was a growing realisation that what was needed was better coordination between transport suppliers, between planning and service agencies and the communities they serve. The brokers, whilst not expected to overcome all these problems, were seen as a means of exploring the issues in a way which would focus attention on the need for better cooperation and coordination between actors and agencies in the transport arena. It remains problematic as to whether this has and is occurring. One of the aims of this study is to examine whether the brokers role is having an impact in this area, and if so in what ways.

The concept of the transport broker is American in origin, and not surprisingly both the theory and practice of brokerage is more tried and tested than in the UK. The US Department of Transportation as well as other Federal agencies, like the Office of Human Development Services, have been experimenting with brokerage systems since the mid 1970's [1] [2]. Numerous demonstration projects having been experimented with many of which include direct management of services as well as their planning organisation and administration. They also vary more widely than the UK experiments to date, and include projects in commuter brokerage, specialised transport brokerage systems for the elderly and handicapped, use-side subsidy brokerage programmes [3], and urban community transport demonstration projects in vehicle pooling [4]. In the USA brokerage is more formally applied as part of Transportation System Management projects, a planning paradigm which is promoted by many planners and politicians as an alternative approach to transport planning which focusses on short-term specific projects, where results are quickly evaluated and clearly visible. There is opposition to this objective oriented approach in the US from traditional agencies and planners who are used to working within longer-term horizons but the mandate exists within states to fund and support these projects, and these have become increasingly popular [5] [6].

It is interesting to note that direct managerial control and operational decision-making is more prominent in many US schemes than in the UK. This may be due to time-lag and lack of experience here, although in the three UK urban based brokerage systems, in Birmingham, Brent and Tower Hamlets, the management and control of transport resources is considered a central function. [7] [8]

In setting the scene for what follows in the survey, the reader should be aware that brokerage is not just about style, method and presentation: brokerage dressed up as current coordination and presented in more colourful terms will soon be exposed for what it is, as American experience shows where the results in many areas have been disappointing ; but brokerage which introduces new ideas and solutions, new planning approaches, and communicates this to users, stands a much better chance of success. Brokerage, if successful, should provide both content and context for planning and practice.

#### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RTA's**

The first part of this survey focusses on the position of the adviser within the planning system, on the administration of the post, and the duties they are expected to perform.

The actual title of the post varies a great deal, however "Rural Transport Adviser" (RTA) is the term used by the largest grouping (6), and by the Rural Development Commission (RDC), and therefore will be used throughout the paper to describe the post, (the term "broker" is also popular but is defined more widely than RTA). Some counties apply more precise titles, like "Voluntary Transport Officer" in Hampshire and "Community Transport Officer" in Cambridge and Cheshire.

The survey sought to establish whether these various labels were reflected in differences in the approach and duties of the postholders. An analysis was therefore undertaken of a sample of job descriptions.

## Job Descriptions

Twelve job descriptions were received with the questionnaires and were examined to establish the roles that RTA's were expected to undertake. The table (figure 2) records their main areas of duties as regards coordination/brokerage type functions. (This table includes consideration of the job description for the two new RTA's in Nottinghamshire, making a total of 14).

Three areas of work were identified from the job descriptions: planning functions, organisation and management responsibilities and information/advice tasks. Within these broad categories a number of specific areas of responsibility were outlined.

Working through the table by category:

### Planning functions

#### 1. *Policy and Planning (3 mentions)*

Devon, Cornwall, and Derbyshire define the posts as having a formal input into the transport planning process, Derbyshire being the only county which specifically mentions the needs of disabled people. Devon incorporates the post into their Transport Coordination centre, itself an innovative approach to transport supply with the RTA post given the status of Assistant Coordinator responsible for developing rural schemes.

#### 2. *Planning Commercial Services (5)*

About half of those examined specify the duties of the RTA as being involved in the planning of commercial services, including buses and taxis. West Norfolk places more emphasis on this aspect than most (even though a local district initiative without any formal powers as a transport authority except for taxi licensing) whilst in Cornwall 20% of the RTA's work is allocated to commercial operations. Durham see the RTA role as an extension of existing departmental responsibilities but slanted towards the more remote rural areas.

#### 3. *Design of Services (5)*

Five counties, Devon, Derbyshire, Durham, Wiltshire and Worcestershire see the postholder as being involved in the design of specific services, including routing and scheduling. Durham mention this in regard to two project areas working with commercial operators, and Wiltshire also see this role as being important.

In general only about half of the posts examined have a positive planning function in the local authority framework. The brokers planning role also appears to depend upon their status within the local authority, and/or their links to it. In Wiltshire, for instance, the broker's actual work involves little design of services, despite its inclusion in the job specification, emphasising instead the information/advice aspects. This could be because the Wiltshire post is located in a Rural Community Council (RCC) as opposed to the planning department. By contrast in Devon the sponsoring agency is the Transport Coordination Centre of the County Council and duties include, "the development and implementation of an accessibility approach to the provision of revenue support for public transport in rural areas", the only county which specifies a planning framework or methodology for the coordinator to work within.

### Organisation and Management Responsibilities

#### 4. *Management of Services (2)*

Only one of the job descriptions examined specify that the RTA be actually involved in direct management of transport services, and even in this case, (Wiltshire) this is not being achieved. In general, Rural Transport Advisers are not expected to manage/operate services or be responsible for them. This contrasts with the three existing urban brokerage schemes (Birmingham Shared Transport Service, Brent and Tower Hamlets Community Transports) where the Brokers are actively involved in fleet management, training and suchlike. The two brokerage schemes in Nottinghamshire starting this summer include management responsibilities but it remains to be seen whether, like Wiltshire, the postholders have a less direct involvement.

#### 5. *Administration (8)*

Most counties see their advisers giving practical administrative support to new initiatives, such as organising meetings, keeping records, setting up simple monitoring systems for voluntary groups and sorting out details like reimbursement

**FIGURE 2 JOB DESCRIPTION ANALYSIS**

	PLANNING			ORGANISATION & MANAGEMENT				INFORMATION / ADVICE				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
CORNWALL	X	X			X	X		X			X	
DERBYSHIRE	X	X				X	X	X		X	X	X
DURHAM		X	X		X	X				X	X	
GLOUCESTERSHIRE								X			X	
HERTFORDSHIRE			X			X				X	X	X
NOTTS (2)				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
STAFFORDSHIRE					X					X	X	
SUFFOLK					X				X	X		X
W. NORFOLK		X			X	X				X	X	
WILTSHIRE			X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
WORCESTERSHIRE		X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X
DEVON	X		X		X	X				X	X	X
SHROPSHIRE						X	X			X	X	
Total	3	5	5	2	8	9	4	5	4	11	12	6

**KEY TO THE JOB DESCRIPTION DUTIES**

- (1) Input into formal planning process ; (2) Planning of commercial services eg. tendering;  
 (3) Design of services eg bus routes; (4) Management of operations eg. vehicles ; (5) Administration  
 of records / database ; (6) Organising voluntary services ; (7) Organising statutory services ;  
 (8) Research and analysis of local needs; (9) Monitoring eg bus surveys ;  
 (10) Liaison / consultation ; (11) Adviser /information point; (12) Promotion / publicity .

of expenses. The degree to which this support is offered depends upon the skills and personality of the advisers and the links between their sponsoring agency and local communities. Cornwall, for instance, specifies that only 5% of the advisers' time should be allocated to these tasks, whereas the Durham RTA is expected to undertake the day to day administration of the county's "Ruralride" bus service, a much bigger commitment which includes contacting the driver by radio with reports from the public or changes to the scheduled routes. Wiltshire also gives a high priority to this type of support.

#### 6. *Voluntary Services (9)*

About half of the sample posts include aims of organising voluntary services, like car schemes and community buses. Cornwall is particularly strong on this aspect (30% of the RTA's time), as is Hertfordshire, Derbyshire and Wiltshire. West Norfolk mentions it, but as a general aim and not as well defined as in other areas. Shropshire gives more weight to the support and initiation of voluntary car schemes which are numerous in the county.

#### 7. *Statutory Services (4)*

This is a more problematic area of RTA involvement, reflected in the sample where only three counties, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Worcestershire mention it as part of the RTA's duties. The Worcestershire RTA, based in Evesham and working mainly in the Evesham area, is expected to "seek cooperation and integration of local services, particularly existing statutory services", a fairly ambitious goal seeing as the post is based in a volunteer centre and is only part-time (18 hours per week). Derbyshire are more realistic, requesting that the broker "examine and advise on the opportunities for the public use of specialist transport resources including school buses, social services vehicles.....and ambulance vehicles", the last reference being one of only two to the Ambulance Service in any of the job descriptions examined. Clearly, statutory services create local political and administrative problems but it is surprising that most counties avoid what is an identifiable area of potential coordination. Shropshire refers to the Hospital Car Service and its possible integration with the Voluntary Car Service, but like Evesham the post is part-time in the Rural Community Council and likely therefore to have little impact on statutory services.

The job specifications examined see the RTA's helping to organise and support new services, particularly where this involves local communities and voluntary bodies, but few expect the broker to be involved in managing the services. The emphasis therefore is on offering organisational and administrative support rather than direct management functions.

#### Information and Advice tasks

#### 8. *Research and Analysis (5)*

Although most areas include information collection (see below) only 5 of the 13 see systematic research and data analysis as being part of the job. Gloucestershire in their job brief (too small to warrant the status of a job description) give particular attention to "Studying the availability of public transport for travel to work for young people seeking employment in identified problem areas", and mention two such areas as focus for the research. Notts see research as part of the trial areas demonstration projects, hoping that the findings will justify further practical work. Worcestershire and Cornwall expect their RTA to maintain an overview of local needs and resources, including monitoring of the effects of deregulation following the 1985 Transport Act. Derbyshire see the Rural Transport Officer "Carrying out analysis for general policy formation" one of the few to see the context of Advisers' work in wide formal planning terms.

#### 9. *Monitoring (4)*

This is another broad area of work which is generally poorly defined in the job descriptions. Formal monitoring procedures are included in four counties; Notts, Suffolk, Wiltshire and Worcestershire. In Suffolk, for instance, the Transport Coordination Assistant is expected to set up on-bus/household surveys, "to test the evidence of true need" and in Wiltshire the Transport Broker is required to monitor public transport provision "so as to detect possible problems emerging for voluntary organisations and community groups and endeavour to solve such problems in co-operation with the County Council". Monitoring is implicit in the duties of all the posts but the explicit definition of what this actually entails, apart from the four mentioned, leads to some confusion over the role of monitoring in the RTA's work. There appears to be no link in many cases between information collection/record keeping and the use of these in the planning and development of new services - the report back mechanisms are weak or informal with responsibility for committee reports resting with supervisors or sponsors not the brokers. In Notts the broker is expected to prepare regular progress reports for Local Steering Committees and the County's CT Development Group, but most are less structured.

#### 10. *Liaison/Consultation (11)*

This is one of the most widely supported functions most counties specifying liaison with a wide range of agencies, voluntary, commercial and statutory. Some counties, Staffordshire for instance, view this as a priority area "to promote better communication....and utilise and develop the existing network of village transport contacts". Liaison, thereby, aims to promote better understanding and is also seen by many as a means of channelling support, as in Shropshire in supporting and developing the voluntary car services. In Notts, the broker is expected to establish a network of individual contacts within statutory and voluntary sectors and to liaise with these in solving both group and individual transport problems. Thus, liaison and consultation can provide both the means of communicating problems/collecting information and the basis for action-oriented planning; however this latter description would seem only to apply in a handful of areas.

#### 11. *Advice/Information (12)*

This is the most widely mentioned aspect of the brokers work, although surprisingly Suffolk do not include it as a general duty. Most job descriptions require the post-holders to collect/disseminate information on voluntary transport schemes and provide wide ranging advice to local communities who wish to establish new services; this function may also extend to helping to set-up commercial services, as is the case in Devon and Durham. Most others define these duties as assisting in developing voluntary community transport schemes. Cornwall, for instance, allocate 30% of the RTA's time to this task. Hertfordshire see the need to provide "advice and guidance on technical issues affecting voluntary transport organisations.... the effect of legislative and technical change", whilst others see this advice and support as being more directed at forming appropriate bodies to run their own transport schemes (Wiltshire, Staffordshire). Generally speaking, the posts located in independent agencies like RCC's emphasise the community development aspects whilst those within local authority departments provide more specific transport related advice and guidance, though there are exceptions to this (e.g. Durham's intention of setting up local volunteer contacts to provide feedback to Parish Councils on local transport issues). Several counties also expect their brokers to keep and maintain a directory of unconventional services e.g. Devon, Cornwall, Wiltshire, West Norfolk, the latter is also expected to keep records of conventional services in the rural areas.

#### 12. *Promotion and Publicity (6)*

These functions follow on from the above and about half the sample specify these aspects of the job. Suffolk includes this but not the advice and information giving tasks, although in most cases promotion and publicity go hand in hand with the other information aspects. Devon emphasises both the promotion of voluntary community transport as a resource for other voluntary groups and for demands generated by the Transport Coordination centre and its clients, and recognises the potential application of community transport beyond the voluntary sector. Worcestershire (Evesham) on the other hand see the RTA publicising and promoting opportunities brought about by the 1985 Act, particularly where a potential exists for the development of new commercial schemes. In Hertfordshire and Notts, the brokers role is directed at promoting specific demonstration projects in unconventional transport. Derbyshire specify the promotion of the commercial and unconventional services, the latter through publicity. It is not clear how much the advisers are actually involved in designing publicity material and how far they are expected to support commercial advertising. Some uncertainty appears therefore in these aspects of the post, and confusion over duplication of effort and whether brokers are in the best position to perform their tasks.

The information and advice tasks are the most widely specified of the three general areas of work. This is perhaps because the RTA's are seen as performing supportive roles in transport planning, and given that many of them are on short fixed term contracts, their sponsors, particularly the county councils, may themselves be unsure how effective the brokers will be in actually managing or planning schemes. Given the uncertainties surrounding their posts and the wide variety of backgrounds of the brokers themselves, perhaps it is not surprising that the posts are defined as supportive positions with generally low levels of responsibility, although as the above shows there are exceptions to this rule which at least shows that the potential exists for higher level involvement.

The wide variety of tasks included in the job descriptions examined also indicates that many sponsoring organisations are unclear as to what role the RTA's will perform. In some cases the job specifications are ambitious and unrealistic, (e.g. Evesham, Worcestershire) and in other areas general and vague, as in Gloucestershire. Indeed, in some counties the brokers have a specific area focus working with particular types of service, e.g. Durham, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire and West Norfolk, whilst the rest are expected to cover the whole county, or at least the rural areas.

The next section explores how far the duties specified are executed and what aspects of the RTA's work are prioritised. The job descriptions suggest that the information and advice tasks are most prominent, with the organisation and

supportive work - second in importance. Planning and the design of services appears to be undertaken least of all, together with a direct involvement in the management of services.

### History and life-expectancy

As noted in the introduction the earliest UK brokerage scheme was established in 1982 in East Sussex, the Hampshire scheme following closely in 1983. The next scheme introduced was in Avon in January 1986. These first three schemes are somewhat different from the other eighteen in terms of funding which will be discussed below. However, all of the later eighteen posts (commencing in April 1986 in Wiltshire) were set up using in part Rural Transport Development Fund finance. A full chronology of the posts is shown in figure 3.

As this shows the introduction of Rural Transport Development Fund resources led to a big increase in appointments. From April 1986 to July 1987, sixteen posts came into being, four pre-October 1986 (deregulation day) (Wiltshire, Devon, Somerset and Shropshire), and twelve post October 1986 (Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Dorset, Durham, Evesham, (Worcestershire), Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk and Isle of Wight). Two more posts (Kings Lynn and West Norfolk; Gloucestershire) were established over the New Year period of 1988 marking the end of the Development Fund resourced posts; the Nottinghamshire posts of Summer 1988 being purely county council funded.

Of equal interest to the start dates are the resulting termination dates which are of course determined by the nature of the post contracts. Of the twenty-one Advisers surveyed, nine have two year contracts, and eight have three year contracts, some subject to annual renewal. The other four posts are the East Sussex and Avon permanent posts, the Hampshire post (which has a long term funding pickup by the County Council, after six years) and the Cambridgeshire post (which is for forty six months). This leads to a first batch of eleven of the eighteen renewable posts terminating between October 1988 and August 1989 (figure 3). It will be interesting to observe whether the posts continue beyond their current terms. This will largely be dependent upon whether the RTA's are perceived as having fulfilled the aims laid down by the Rural Development Commission (i.e. innovative service promotion), and perhaps more importantly by the other funders as they will presumably be responsible for any future financial support. (One of the early schemes, based in West Sussex County Council, from February 1986 expired in February 1988).

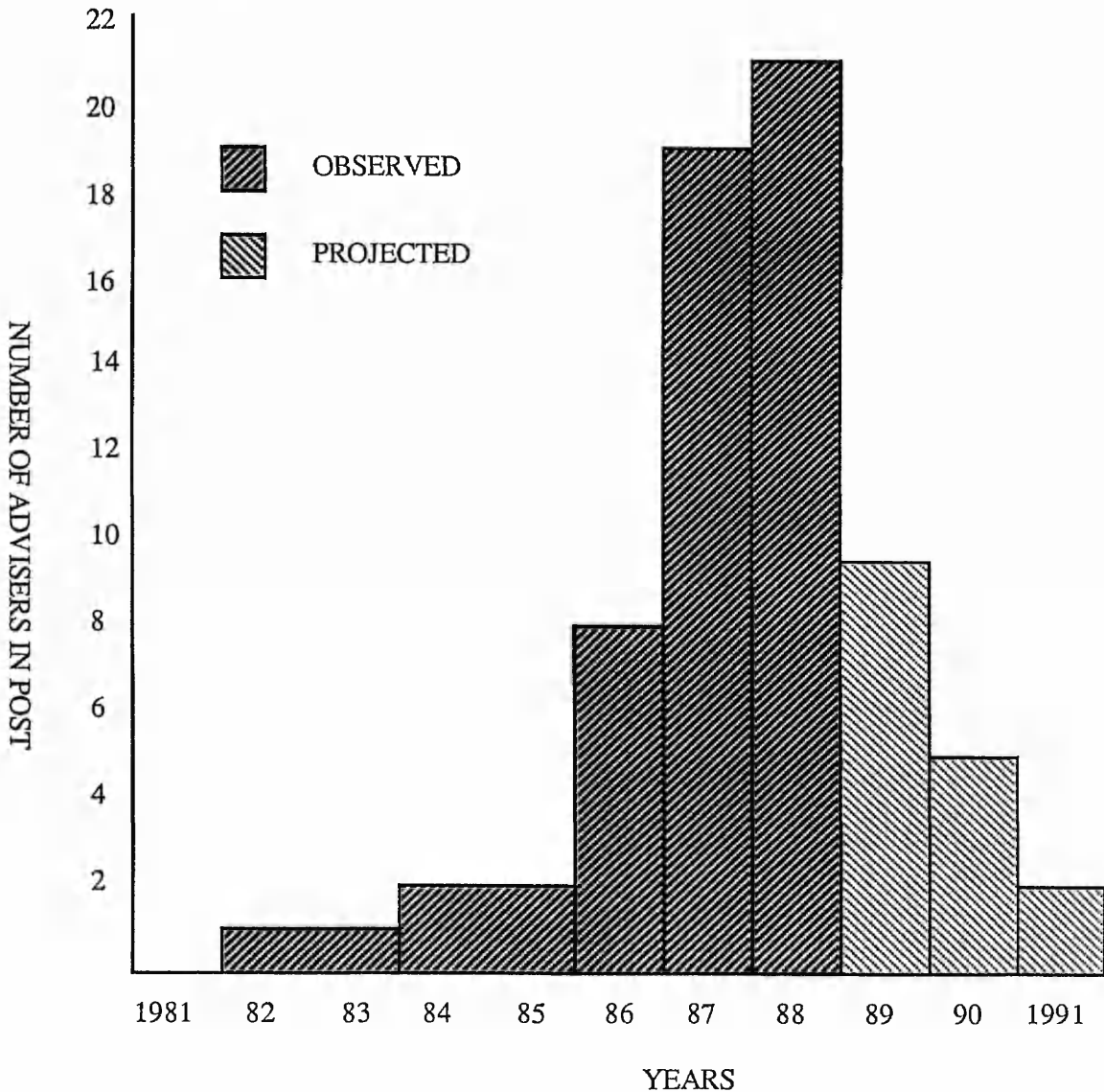
### Status and Organisational Setting

Of the twenty one Advisers surveyed, twenty have some measure of county council commitment in the form of funding, the one exception being the Kings Lynn and West Norfolk post when funding is between district council and the RDC. Eighteen of the twenty-one have some RDC input, the three exceptions being in East Sussex and Avon, where the post is 100% funded by the county councils, and Hampshire where the post is funded jointly by the Health Authority and county council on a sliding scale as mentioned above.

Looking more closely at the county council/Rural Development Commission partnership it accounts for fourteen of the posts, thirteen of these being a fifty-fifty split, and one being a seventy-thirty split (Cambridgeshire). A further three posts again have county council/RDC funding *plus* an input of less than 10% from some other body (District Council, Rural Community Council and a charity).

There appears to be little correlation between the funding body and the workplace of the Rural Transport Adviser, which may seem to be surprising. Twelve RTA's are based solely in county councils, two split time between the county council and the Rural Community Council (RCC), four are based solely in RCC's two in Councils for Voluntary Service and one in a District council (see figure 4). If only the eighteen Rural Transport Development Fund posts are considered, county councils have an input of a least 50% into fifteen of them, and 25%/40% in the other two. Yet only nine of these are based purely in the county council offices. Hence funding seems to be no real guide to placement of RTA's.

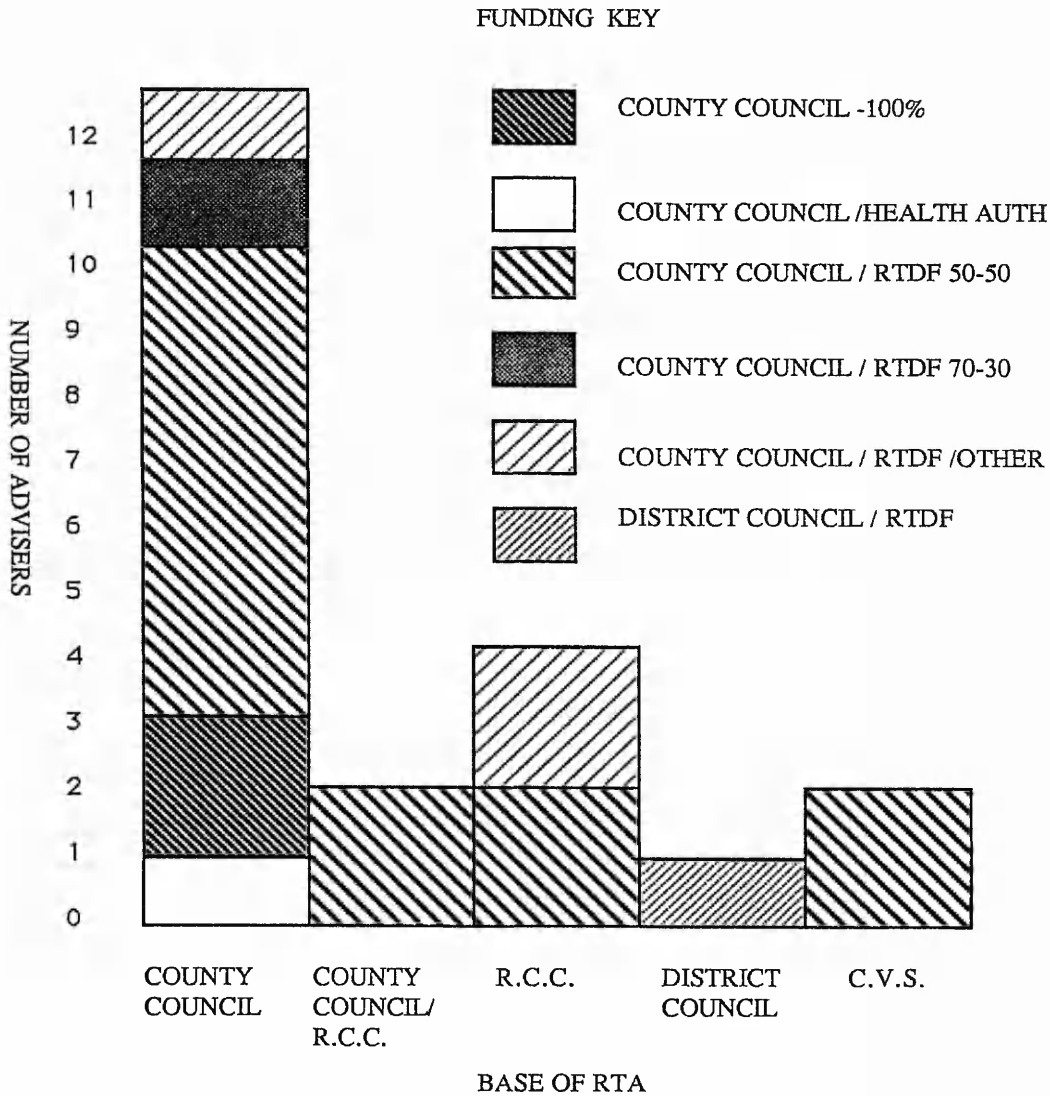
FIGURE 3. RURAL TRANSPORT ADVISERS IN POST, 1982 - 1991



The anomalies in location of the post holder does perhaps bring into question the perception of the Adviser by county councils and their status as transport planners. Of course it may be felt that the preferred location of the Adviser is outside the county council to foster closer relationships at the grass roots level, however, this does not overcome problems that could arise due to the disjoint relationship between funding/objective setting, and place of work. Indeed American research has shown that the broker does take on the status/image of the body in which he/she is located, which could adversely affect the brokers effectiveness.<sup>[4]</sup> Similar findings have been formed with reference to the UK public transport industry<sup>[10]</sup> The place or work also has a direct affect in influencing the committees to which he or she reports.

Fourteen of the twenty-one Advisers report directly to the transport committee/sub-committee of the county council, eleven of these being based purely in county council offices, and of the other three; two splitting time between the county council and RCC (Derbyshire and Hertfordshire) and one being based purely in the RCC. Of the remaining seven who do not report direct to county council transport committees, only one is based in a county council, three in RCC's, two in CVS's and one in a District Council. Location does therefore affect the communication channels and by

**FIGURE FOUR**  
**BASE OF ADVISERS AND FUNDING SOURCE**



inference the influence of the Rural Transport Advisers in gaining access to decision makers. Of the fourteen who report direct to the county council, all have at least a 50% financial input from the county council, whereas in the non direct reporting seven, three have split funding, with a lower county council commitment. Other committees stated in the survey were RCC Transport Committees, CVS Transport Committees, the Director of the RCC and RCC Executive Committees. The status and influence of these ad hoc committees is difficult to gauge and obviously with this wide range of communication channels the Advisers influence is many and varied.

**Summary of Aims and Objectives**

The post of Rural Transport Adviser has increased rapidly since early 1980, due to financial support from the county councils and Rural Transport Development Fund. Aims given to the post holders are low key and supportive, tasks having been defined very broadly with the main emphasis on information and advice giving and to a lesser extent organisational support (these areas themselves being very broad). In attempting these tasks the RTA does not have a

specific organisational niche in the transport planning and decision making arena; county councils may have a large financial input, though RTA's are based in various bodies and wield their influence through various committees according to whether 'in-house' or outsiders.

The job titles give no specific clues to the expectations of the post, the main influence on duties being the degree of involvement of the county councils. Levels of supervision and support vary to such an extent that it is often difficult to see where exactly the post fits in to the local planning hierarchy. Postholders are not empowered to regulate or intervene in transport, performing instead an advice or in some cases an advocacy role. How effectively they perform this role is discussed in the next section together with how much they actually follow the duties outlined above.

## THE ROLE OF THE RURAL TRANSPORT ADVISER IN PRACTICE

The above has discussed the post of the Rural Transport Adviser, various factors influencing it, and the tasks appointed to it. This section looks at the Advisers themselves, how they have gone about fulfilling the roles expected of them and the skills used to do this.

### Role Adopted

When asked to score out of a maximum of five the importance of various roles adopted in their job, there emerged a reasonably strong consensus of opinion (see figure 5). This shows that the "adviser/information" role is considered very important, with the "development/initiation" of action role a close second. These two preferences for information dissemination and propagation, suggest a catalyst role for the broker. Again, it is interesting to compare this to the urban broker model where action oriented tasks feature more highly, by contrast these are rated very lowly by RTA's. Obtaining middle ranking are the more formalised roles of "researcher" and "planner". The only "other" roles mentioned in the survey are "public relations", "promotion" and "marketing" which again are all methods of communication. The various roles adopted were analysed further to see if any role varied with (i) the location of the RTA - (purely county council based v.others), and (ii) the committee reported to - (direct to county council transport committee/sub-committee). For this purpose a Mann-Whitney U test was used \*.

\* A Mann-Whitney U Test was used to test whether;

$H_1$  = county council based RTA's and non county council based RTA's are from different distributions as regards role adopted, and the differences between the two are statistically significant, and

$H_1$  = RTA's reporting to a county council transport committee and those not are from different distributions as regards role adopted, and the differences between the two are statistically significant.

However no significant differences were found at the 0.1 level and hence roles adopted are not correlated with location or committee (funding differences were not analysed as there was not sufficient variation in funding mix for statistical analysis).

Figure 5. Roles Adopted

N = 20 RANK	ROLE	MEANSORE
1	Adviser/information giver	4.6
2	Developer/initiator of action/ implementor	4.1
3	Researcher/analyst of services & needs	3.3
4	Planner/coordinator of services	3.0
5	Operator/manager of services	0.4

### Methods Used

The methods employed to fulfil these roles were also analysed. Again, some clear trends emerged (see figure 6) "Responding to issues raised", "Development of services" and "Consultation" are the groups of most used methods, which fit into the roles identified above. A second grouping of methods used include the more formal techniques used in information dissemination and development of services i.e. "data analysis", "monitoring" "survey", all fitting into the "researcher role identified above. The more specific planning methods of "forecasting" and "modelling" are rated very low. "Coordination between agencies" has a relatively high standing in the methods used, despite the role of coordination being rated low, which implies that the method of coordination can be an important tool in the RTA's armoury though perhaps is used as a means to fulfil another role e.g. "developer/initiator of action". "Other" methods

mentioned were again concerned with communication; "Public Awareness", "Publicity", "Marketing" and "Talking to residents". Also mentioned was "encouraging new services to tender" which presumably involves communication about market opportunities and legislation.

The methods used were analysed further, to judge whether any of the methods adopted varied with (i) place of work and (ii) committee reported to. No significant differences were found in (ii) the committee reported to, though a significant relationship was found in the base of the RTA and the method of "Responding to issues raised", again using a Mann-Whitney U Test \*.

\* The hypothesis;

$H_1$  = those RTA's not based purely within county council offices rate the method of 'responsibility to issues raised' higher than those based purely within county council offices, could be accepted, using a Mann-Whitney U Test, at the 0.05 level for the one-tailed test.

Those RTA's based outside county council offices rate this method much more highly than those purely within county councils. Three reasons for this can be suggested. Firstly, the method is especially stressed by non county council funding bodies. Secondly, the method is more consistent with the perceived role of the RTA. Thirdly, the non-county council environmental encourages more contact with community agencies and the public. It appears that a mixture of the second and third is more likely a reason than the first, as evident from the sample of job descriptions available, both non county council based and purely county council based RTA's have this method stressed to them (column 11, figure 2).

**Figure 6. Methods Adopted**

N = 20 RANK	METHOD	MEANS CORE
1	Responding to requests received or issues raised by public or other	4.5
2	Development and implementation of new services	4.3
3	Consultation and participation exercises	4.1
4	Coordinating transport between agencies	3.2
5	Surveys	3.1
6	Monitoring and evaluation of services	2.9
7	Data analysis	2.8
8	Forecasting/forward planning exercises	2.2
9	Modelling and simulation	1.1

In order to judge the influence of the job descriptions on the roles and methods used by Rural Transport Advisers, a Spearman's Rank Correlation coefficient was calculated to measure the relationship for the twelve Advisers for whom job descriptions were available [9]. This task was hindered by analysis being on a very small data set, and hence only one significant correlation was found. Despite this lack of statistical rigour however, it was thought that a general relationship would be found, given that the job description should be just that - a description of the job. This was not the case though, with no trends emerging. The only correlation which was significant was between the planning methods adopted and the job descriptions (coefficient of 0.64, significant at the 0.05 level). However, this only shows that neither Advisers nor job description authors rate planning methods highly. Hence, although not statistically rigorous, from the exercise it appears that the influence of job descriptions on the practice of the advisers is ad hoc in nature.

### Priorities

Looking at the transport services to which the RTA's role and their methods are oriented three modes emerge as important (figure 7); bus services, voluntary car services and rural community buses. Traditional bus service involvement is reinforced by the fact that 50% of the RTA's state that they devote "most time" to bus services. An

equally high percentage of RTA's are involved with voluntary car services though less RTA's spend "most time with them". Rail and health transport aren't well represented with only 24% of RTA's stating any involvement.

**FIGURE 7 SERVICE PRIORITIES OF ADVISERS**

RANK	SERVICE	PERCENT OF RTAs INDICATING INVOLVEMENT	PERCENT OF THESE INDICATING "MOST TIME"
1.	Bus Services	95	50
2.	Voluntary Car Services	95	35
3.	Rural Community Buses	81	35
4.	Other community transport eg Dial-a-Ride / Group Hire	62	31
5.	Taxi / Shared Taxi Services	57	8
6.	Local Authority Transport eg Social Services / Education Depts.	48	10
7.5	Health Transport	24	—
7.5	Rail	24	—

\*RTA's were asked to indicate to which service they had devoted most time. Percentage given is the percentage of RTA's indicating involvement with that mode who have also devoted most of their time to it.

From the stated involvement it appears that the "innovative transport projects" that are being promoted are the traditional rural transport modes, voluntary and commercial, but not statutory services. This could be due to institutional difficulties in influencing the statutory sector, despite the obvious scope for brokerage.

There is no correlation between the role adopted, methods used, base or funding source and any of the services with which RTA's are involved. However, when the job descriptions are compared to service involvement, some patterns do emerge. Where job descriptions do not state specific transport sector input (column 6 or 7, figure 2) the Advisers become involved in an increasingly large variety of services (on average over 6 of those on the list) as do those whose job descriptions state involvement with statutory *and* voluntary services. Those RTA's whose job descriptions outline involvement in only voluntary services, become involved in a lesser number of services (average of 4). As would be expected, they devote most time to voluntary car schemes and rural community buses only.

Of the three RTA's whose job descriptions state statutory service involvement, only one RTA states spending "most time" (amongst others in this case) on a statutory service. In the "other" section the "publicity" activity is again mentioned in this case by an RTA who devotes most time on Bus services. The remaining "others" are "Taxi-Bus involvement" in Derbyshire and "Dial-a-Ride" in Hampshire.

Whilst the RTA's do have scope to prioritise their areas of work the job descriptions influence this process, and this applies equally to posts located in independent agencies and county councils. The lack of correlation between service priorities and other factors like methods used or role emphasised reinforces the view that there is a lack of

consistency in the performance of RTA duties.

### Computers

A final consideration, when analysing how Rural Transport Advisers go about their jobs, is the availability and use of computers. The earliest brokerage scheme in the UK, in East Sussex, was based around a computer booking and administration system, in this case developed by T.R.R.L. and East Sussex County Council. It is interesting to see if this approach has been replicated.

Eleven of the Rural Transport Advisers use computers in their work, the majority using various PC's or Minis (only three use a mainframe link). Of these eleven, eight are based within county councils, two in Rural Community Councils and one in a C.V.S. Seven of the RTA's use computers for word processing, or creation of data bases of public transport information, such as timetables and contracts - generally low level tasks. Of the remaining six Advisers who use computers, three use more specific "in-house" software to store information on needs/transport services, (Devon, Dorset and Somerset), the remaining three using software to manipulate data; the Isle of Wight Adviser using an in-house tender package, the Durham Adviser using SPSS, and the East Sussex Adviser using their brokerage software. All of these three advisers indicate that bus service work takes up most of their time, whereas the three advisers who use in-house data base software express "most time" allocation on voluntary car schemes, rural community buses and other community transport, only one stating any involvement with conventional bus services.

It appears from this survey that computers are not greatly used by RTA's as a direct aid to their work, their utility seen to be relevant mainly in conventional bus work. However, personal/mini computers are available to over half of the Advisers, and some did note that formal planning and monitoring, using computers, were areas they would like to pursue if time permitted. At the moment though the use of computers by RTA's is limited.

### Background of Advisers

The Advisers at present have a varied background. Although over half have worked in the transport field before (thirteen out of twenty), they have worked in a variety of transport fields, including "central or local government" (7), transport operations (6), "transport administration/management" (5) and "transport research" (2) (Figure 8).

**Figure 8 Location of RTA's and Background**

Transport Background Advisers	Location	Non Transport Background Advisers
9	County Council	3
1	District Council	0
2	County Council/ Rural Community Council	0
1	Rural Community Council	3
0	CVS	2
13		8

When one compares role, methods used, and transport mode involvement with transport background little difference between the groups emerges. However, as a group, non-transport background RTA's score "responding to issues

raised" as a more important method than "development of services" (average score of 4.6 vis a vis 4.0) compared to RTA's with a transport background who reverse the situation and score "development of services" higher than "responding to issues" (4.5 average score vis a vis 4.3). Looking at the base of the RTA's, the general trend emerges of non-transport background Advisers being located outside county councils. Looking first at the eight Advisers without a transport background, five are located in an RCC or CVS, only three being placed solely in a county council. This contrasts with only one of the thirteen advisers with a transport background being based in a RCC or CVS, nine being located solely in a county council. This may shed some light on the fact that informal methods are used more outside county councils. When this is coupled with the differences in communication channels i.e. committees reporting to, between RTA's with different bases, two groups of RTA's can be seen to be emerging, namely those with a transport background working in the transport authority (county council) and those working in other agencies with different mandates who have less technical or transport specific qualifications.

In terms of general education, degrees and further education diplomas are very much in evidence, with 95% of RTA's being in possession of one, the other or both. Again background varies a great deal with RTA's having qualifications from the social sciences, and business and finance as the largest singular groups, but also from the wide fields, of arts and science. The predominance of arts and social science could be seen to be ideal preparation for the communication roles adopted. Seven of the RTA's have membership of some kind of a professional body, six being members of the Chartered Institute of Transport. Of these six, four are based in county councils, one in a district council, and one splitting time between county council and Rural community Council.

This discussion shows a varied background for Rural Transport Advisers in terms of transport experience, though the general level of education is high. The county council based RTA's can be seen as having the greater experience in the transport field than those in other settings, however, a strong educational background emphasising communication (written and oral), appears in both settings.

### **Training**

Of the twenty-one RTA's questioned, only nine mention receiving training in connection with their post, apart from the Rural Transport Adviser Training Days as organised by the Rural Development Commission). The most frequently mentioned source of training is through the Community Transport Association training events mentioned by six of the nine. Other training cited is "on the job", one off conferences and self -study CPC courses.

When asked to state areas in which training would be welcome, three major areas emerged: technical knowledge on transport legislation, the legal framework of transport operations and insurance the issues, (mentioned by eleven RTA's). For these community based transport legislation was of particular interest. Seven RTA's mentioned the need for training in presentation, public speaking/publicity skills. The other area of some consensus was that of specific development training, including establishment of dial-a-rides and minibus projects, mentioned by five RTA's. Other areas mentioned were computing skills, modelling and data manipulation.

Training, apart from the induction courses administered by the Rural Development Commission, is not therefore widespread, and is an obvious area for future attention, especially considering the role of the RDC once the Development Fund is no more. The Community Transport Association seems to plug some of the gaps, but with the large emphasis on conventional bus operations uncovered by this survey, scope still exists for further training. We understand that talks are underway between the Association of Transport Coordinating Officers, the Development Commission and an Open College among others regarding a C.I.T. accredited coordinators course, which hopefully would help to fill this gap. At the moment, as one RTA commented, "you learn by your mistakes", and therefore training in the early stages of the Advisers term of office would obviously be important. This does not obviate the need for training further in the Advisers career, especially the need for more advanced training for Advisers who have been in post longer and who therefore may assume wider responsibilities.

### **Summary of the Role in Practice**

This section has covered various aspects of how Advisers approach their work. The 'information/advice' and 'developer of initiatives' roles and methods come over strongly in this section, both being informal and less structured activities. The more formal methods of research (data analysis, monitoring and surveys) come over as secondary in importance. Allied to the information/advice and developer roles and methods communication emerges strongly in the 'others' section. Publicity, marketing, promotion and advertising are all used traditionally to communicate (about services, resources and demand) and tie in well with the roles and methods adopted. It appears that the adviser is aiming to utilise a wide variety of resources available in the rural transport scene to increase service provision. The large number of services to which RTA's devote time adds weight to this argument. The emphasis on bus services, voluntary car schemes and rural community buses shows that traditional and tried and tested services in rural transport is the target of

the Advisers efforts; the omission of statutory services perhaps being surprising with their obvious scope for brokerage, and the lack of experimentation with shared taxis or other demand responsive services like dial-a-ride is noticeably absent. Innovation, therefore, needs to be qualified as being in practice transferring services into new environments rather than innovations in service per se.

The degree of conformity of roles and methods adopted, is elucidated further by considering potential influences like i.e. the use of computers, training personal backgrounds, and the job descriptions. As noted the use of computers does not have a significant impact on the role of the Advisers, witnessed only in the East Sussex brokerage. Training is not great (Rural Development Commission Training Days being infrequent) and Advisers are therefore not channelled down a particular path in this way. The past transport experience and location of Advisers does however help to explain the predominance of informal techniques. It was shown that advisers without a background in transport emphasise these informal techniques greater than those with a transport background, and that they are more often located outside county councils. Regarding the influence of job descriptions, they do influence tasks but only in an ad hoc fashion, and the roles adopted by the advisers themselves appear to have more influence on the direct job output.

From the above a general picture of conformity of service orientation, and roles and methods adopted appears: this despite the variations in the location of the Adviser and past transport experience. In short, the sponsors may provide the context but the brokers determine the content.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

From the above discussion of the survey it can be seen that a lot of ambiguity surrounds the role of the RTA. In evaluating the impact of the postholders, account has to be taken of the factors giving rise to this situation. As described in this survey, these include the agency which sponsors the post, the base of the RTA, their status and report-back mechanisms, methods used, roles adopted and familiarisation with and knowledge of rural transport. Many of these influences are beyond the RTA's control and emanate therefore from the institutional setting for brokerage in rural England. The fact that RTA's adopt similar working methods and roles is attributable in our opinion to their low status and the low-key aims and objectives set for most posts rather than the influence of sponsors or any collectively arrived at view by the advisers themselves. We conclude that the RTA's are channelled into these roles by the advice and advocacy nature of much of their work. As seen from the survey one does not require a background in transport or planning to perform these roles.

Experience from the USA has demonstrated that brokerage can be organised at three levels of varying complexity and control [4]. Firstly, there is the information broker who undertakes the type of tasks described in this survey. The broker may identify opportunities, publish information in useful format and generally promote cooperation, but essentially this is a reactive position. The second level, vehicle brokerage, involves promoting and even managing vehicle sharing schemes between agencies, organising bookings on behalf of other operators, and undertaking a greater or lesser degree of vehicle administration. The three urban brokerage schemes referred to earlier are attempting to work at this level. At the third level, passenger brokerage, bookings are taken for individual journeys, and the schedules of different agencies are reorganised so that they may be mixing clients or passengers, but in a more transport efficient manner. In a proactive scheme, positive use may be made of spare capacity to increase provision further.

Most RTA's conform to the information broker model, although there are elements of vehicle and passenger brokerage in some areas; Devon with its Transport Coordination Centre undertakes the former whilst the East Sussex ESCORT project has for a number of years been administering a version of the latter. The current policy of emphasising the reactive roles for brokers would seem to be at odds with the innovation objectives laid down by the Rural Development Commission. In our view, innovation is rarely 'true' but in most circumstances means applying lessons learnt from elsewhere to the local situation. This in itself can be important and lead to satisfactory solutions but does have obvious limitations. Sooner or later ad hoc or piecemeal projects will need to be properly integrated with other transport networks and when this happens the arguments for more interventionist styles of coordination become more persuasive [8].

In the USA many brokerage projects have progressed from the information stage to more comprehensive projects involving elements of vehicle and passenger brokerage. Could the English brokers follow a similar development path? Given their current status this appears unlikely and a number of changes would be required to achieve this. These are summarised as follows: firstly the brokers themselves would need training in coordination and transport management and be afforded a status which gives them sufficient freedom and responsibility to manage as well as organize; and secondly, the positions would need to be incorporated into the transport authority at a senior level and given the appropriate powers to perform the expanded range of duties. These are two major proposals, which would take some time to achieve but indicate the scale of changes required if brokerage is to advance beyond its current position and status.

Many counties will prefer to retain the current level of involvement and measure the impact of RTA's in specific terms, and many are judged to be a success. However, the environment for transport planning and practice is undergoing major changes, driven on by deregulation and privatisation. The appointment of brokers is recognition of the need for new ways of tackling new and long established problems which are becoming more of an issue. The information brokers can help to alleviate some of these and apply specific solutions, but will it be enough? Should we not now be thinking of developing brokerage further and perhaps even applying TSM style planning in the UK? In judging the success or otherwise of the RTAs we are in danger of perhaps applying the wrong criteria, evaluating the content alone without considering the context within which coordination takes place. Deregulation, privatisation and tending of services are having more and more effect on the context for planning, and old style strategic planning fits uncomfortably under this regime. New styles and approaches to planning are needed and it is contended here that brokerage as a model is robust enough, as US experience shows, to tackle this new problematic in transport planning. It is not perfect and it needs developing: nor do we propose it as a negative reaction to competitive forces at play in the political-economy.

Brokerage has been around for over a decade and for several years in the UK. Its status, however, is low and it is regarded by many as marginal to the main transport planning concerns. The role of the RTA's as currently defined confirm this conclusion. At the present time as a new paradigm it is able to verify and demonstrate its usefulness but is not in a position to challenge or refute traditional planning. The political-economy of planning and practice are however undergoing a 'revolution' and brokerage is the only other real contender in the area, apart, that is, from a total free market approach. It is worth noting however how well brokerage works in the USA under liberal market conditions, indeed even developing new 'markets' like those which cater for the elderly and the disabled.

In summary, the role of the RTA's is constrained by the institutional context within which brokerage takes place. This more than actual work content determines the roles and status of the RTA. The future of the broker posts are in some doubt and may well be decided upon by criteria which measures the content but excludes consideration of the context.

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**APPENDIX B**

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEME REVIEW**  
**1990**

- i) Shire County Approaches to the Planning and Support of Voluntary Car Schemes**
- ii) Questionnaire Used in Nottinghamshire Voluntary Car Scheme Survey**

**Appendix B (i)Shire County Approaches to the Planning and Support of  
Voluntary Car Schemes**

In the Spring and Summer of 1990 Rural Transport Advisers or Public Transport Coordinators in seventeen shire counties around England were contacted, in order to ascertain their approaches to the planning and support of voluntary car schemes in the county. This was gleaned using a telephone survey and interview guide. The following is a summary of the responses obtained. An overall summary is provided in Table 1.

## Individual county council approaches

### CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The "Guide to Community Transport in Cambridgeshire (Cambridgeshire County Council, 1989)" lists twenty six car schemes that exist in Cambridgeshire, eighteen of which are supported financially by the County Council out of a £4000 budget. This is through a flat mileage rate of 6.2p pm (pence per mile) to cover deal mileage, which combines with a passenger contribution to give drivers 18.2p pm. This is linked to the County essential car user allowance which will soon be increased to 20p pm.

The criteria of use for Council supported schemes are that they can be used by (1) the frail, elderly and disabled people who cannot use buses and do not have access to a car, and (2) able bodied people who are unable to make ESSENTIAL journeys because they do not have access to a car or bus service. Schemes cannot however be used for journeys which are the responsibility of the Health Authority.

### CESHIRE

Cheshire County Council aim to:

"encourage and assist in the setting up of voluntary transport, but not as a replacement to local buses,"

while eligibility criteria are agreed with the County Council upon establishment of the scheme.

Within this framework the thirteen car schemes in the County are supported financially. Despite the fact that those schemes vary a great deal (some having only two drivers, others over seventy and a necessarily sophisticated administration system), all schemes receive a flat mileage rate support of 11.3p pm. The passenger pays a contribution of 12p pm (based on local bus fares), and thus all drivers receive 23.2p pm.

As well as this flat mileage rate of support the County assists schemes in other ways. The more sophisticated schemes, with large numbers of drivers and users, receive funding for part time Booking Clerks. The County also provides publicity for the schemes, aimed at potential users, and potential drivers/co-ordinators. Finally, the Council is attempting to tackle the problem of the growing number of trips made for medical treatment, which is seen to be outside the realm of public transport vis a vis hospital visiting. Councillors are presently holding meetings with individual District Health Authorities to discuss future funding arrangements. The clerks and the mileage rate account for the £45,000 voluntary car scheme budget, which has increased from £4,000 in 1986.

### DERBYSHIRE

Derbyshire transport policy assists community transport through the now countywide Dial-a-Ride service. However car schemes are effectively seen to be at the periphery of public transport and are not supported financially. The only financial help available to them are very small 'one off' grants from the Social Services Budget to assist Councils for Voluntary Service in establishing schemes.

## DEVON

Providing that they do not conflict with local bus services/statutory services and they attempt to fundraise, Devon County Council will financially assist schemes. It will do this by funding publicity material and meeting the operating deficit of schemes. In providing funds the Council does not impose any conditions, however it does provide guide lines on their role vis a vis statutory services.

It currently funds twelve small schemes out of a total of 30 listed in the "Guide to Transport Services in Devon" (Devon County Council, 1988). This totals £3000 (approximately £200 per scheme) which provide a service at between £2 and £0.79 per passenger journey. The other small schemes in Devon opt to operate financially independent of the council.

## DORSET

The existing 'Dorset Country Cars' network comprises about 30 car schemes, some of them 'home-run'. The County Council funds these out of its Public Transport Development budget and spent £1300 in the first six months of the financial year. The County Council requires car schemes to pay drivers 19 p pm and covers any costs not met by the passenger's contribution. No car scheme policy exists at present but the County Council does have guidelines for voluntary car schemes.

## DURHAM

No car schemes are known to exist in Durham; no County Council funding is provided for such schemes.

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Gloucestershire have a specific policy on the use of public transport/community transport, which is stated in their "Gloucestershire Travel Guide" (Gloucestershire County Council, 1989). Passengers are categorised as:

- a) people without their own car who are elderly and frail, handicapped or wheelchair bound, or
- b) able bodied without cars who, because they lack adequate public transport, are unable to make essential journeys.

While only category (a) people can use the County's Dial-a-Ride facilities, both categories can use voluntary car schemes for personal medical trips, and shopping/hairdressing. However only category (a) people can use schemes for social purposes. The commitment to the policy is realised through a transport

budget of £210,000 for community transport/Dial-a-Ride (including the payment of staffing costs) and £70,000 for voluntary car schemes.

Fifteen voluntary car schemes are supported through a flat mileage rate of 15p pm. Schemes can pay drivers and charge passengers any rate, however in effect these are 23 - 25p pm and 15 - 22p pm respectively. The 15p pm is paid by the County on an estimate of mileage for the coming quarter. This 'rolling' payment avoids the problem of schemes running out of money to pay drivers.

## HAMPSHIRE

Hampshire County Council currently assists car schemes in two ways. Firstly it meets the operating deficit (difference between income from passengers and costs) of thirteen WRVS schemes throughout the County. It will also give 'one off' grants of up to £50 to a handful of Community Care Groups and other voluntary groups. For 1989/90 this amounted to approximately £5000. It has been attempting to extend the deficit payment scheme to those groups, however they note that their major problem is lack of volunteer drivers and not finances. Hence the second method of assistance - publicity campaigns for recruitment. These are funded and organised through a standing committee of County, Health Authority and voluntary organisations. The week long yearly campaign consists of leaflets, advertisements and press launches to publicise voluntary driving.

## HEREFORD AND WORCESTER

Six voluntary car schemes are operated in Hereford and Worcester. A range of eligibility criteria is used for the car schemes depending on journey length and purpose. Short-feeder trips to public transport are also allowed. Car scheme passengers are charged equivalent bus fares and Travel Tokens are accepted. From its £25,000 car scheme budget, the County Council meets the operating deficit and also the cost of No-Claims Bonus protection for drivers.

The budget is under urgent review as the Health Authority has cut non-emergency services by over 70% and will now only transport stretcher-cases, wheelchair-bound patients, and chemotherapy patients.

The County Council is seeking extra budgetary provision for car schemes because of the resulting increased demands. Drivers in some car schemes are unhappy about having to transport very ill patients. One CVS is seeking a new office and permanent staff to cope with this new situation.

## HERTFORDSHIRE

Though the County Council does not fund social car schemes at present, it is hoping to develop new schemes in less accessible areas before the end of 1990. The "Community Transport Guide for Hertfordshire" (Hertfordshire County Council, 1989), which was jointly produced by the County Council and Community Council, does however mention the availability of grants up to £500 for capital purchases and the first year's operation. These are produced from the County's £40,000 experimental budget. Small grants are also possible from the Community Council's Rural Initiatives Fund. Many of the existing voluntary car schemes are provided on a county-wide basis by agencies like the Red Cross or WRVS. Others are purely to serve a local need such as Bengeo Fish Scheme (based at a

local church) and Hertford Lions Sunday Car Scheme to the Disabled Swimming Club at Hatfield.

#### ISLE OF WIGHT

Although approximately fifteen schemes exist, the County does not support schemes financially. Currently a guide to community transport on the island is in preparation after which community transport policy will be reviewed.

#### LANCASHIRE

In Lancashire voluntary car schemes are seen to be part of the public transport network and as such receive general Council support. However, financial support is only provided through the 'County Car Service' in the Lancaster region. The service, funded jointly by the county, Rural Transport Development Fund, and the Lancaster City Council was set up to co-ordinate all car scheme trips in the Lancaster region, and help establish new schemes. However, administration costs have been very high and council funding has been halted at £20,000. With average trip costs of £9 it has been difficult to justify the scheme vis-a-vis taxi services.

Smaller schemes in the County are not supported financially as no funds are available.

#### NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Nottinghamshire County Council provide two levels of grant to voluntary car schemes. Providing they serve health and welfare facilities and do not compete with established bus and rail services, any scheme can apply for a general grant not exceeding £800 per annum. Larger schemes qualify for an additional £1600 per annum, due to the high level of demand resulting in increased administration and commitment. In 1988/89 this totalled £17,525. Additional one off requests for funds have also been granted including grants for a computer, an additional telephone line/telephone use. The Council also reimburses half the fare of passengers holding concessionary travel permits; In 1988/89 concessionary payment totalled £11,800. The only impositions with the funds being that they be used to cover expenses associated with the scheme (including publicity/telephone calls), used only to convey Nottinghamshire residents, and that the schemes fill in a Quarterly Return, outlining trips undertaken, income from passengers, and expenses.

The Council published "A Guide to Community Transport Services in Nottinghamshire" (Nottinghamshire County Council, 1985) listing voluntary car schemes (17) and other community transport services. It was intended to update this Guide at frequent intervals, however the first revision will be based on the survey conducted in 1989.

#### SHROPSHIRE

73 car schemes of varying size exist in the county. In 1988/89 they carried 30,1000 passengers on 21,300 journeys and covered 534,900 miles. The County Council budget for car schemes is £90,000, of which £86,000 is already allocated. The County Council dictates the 26.7 p pm payment to drivers and recommends that the passenger contributes about one third of this cost; the County pays the balance plus any dead mileage. Administration of car schemes in the North of the County is carried out by the Rural Community Council and in the South, by the district councils.

The County Council (in its Draft 1991/92 Transport Policies and Programme) expresses concern that the closure of a number of cottage hospitals will lead to longer journeys by outpatients and visitors carried by the car schemes. This extra time commitment may deter drivers, the County Council fears, and has significant funding implications too for the County Council.

## SOMERSET

Many car schemes exist, most of which are self-supporting though the County Council provides start-up grants of about £100. The County's Annual Community Transport budget is £72,000, of which £15,000 goes to the Taunton Voluntary Car Scheme, based at the CVS; it also provides minibus services.

No County Council policy or guidelines exist for car schemes as such but its 1988 Public Transport Plan did consider the social needs of rural Somerset (see Appendix 6). This was based on a study of unmet needs carried out by the Transport Studies Unit at Oxford University.

## STAFFORDSHIRE

Staffordshire County Council fund thirty schemes for use when there is no private car, bus or rail available, if passengers cannot use a bus or rail and the journey is up to a maximum of seventy-five miles round trip. For 1989/90 the funding will amount to approximately £62,000 out of a budget for voluntary transport of £125,000. Each scheme is funded by means of a block grant based on numbers of journeys undertaken in the past, supplemented by regular visits to the scheme by County Officers to ascertain their needs. This process fixes the cash limit within which each car scheme must operate. Consequently a lot of administrative form-filling and checking is eliminated provided the cash limit is not exceeded. If the grant for one year is not utilised, next year's grant will be reduced. All supported schemes pay drivers 24.6 p pm which is tied to the basic WRVS meals-on-wheels rate.

## SUFFOLK

While no policy on community transport or voluntary car schemes exists in Suffolk as yet, the new Public Transport Plan will include policy statements on them. It is felt that the current situation of requests for finance going to committee on an ad hoc basis is not satisfactory. The County currently guarantees the running costs of five Volunteer Bureau based schemes and the network of schemes provided by WRVS in the county. All drivers receive 22p pm, made up of a contribution, based on bus fares of 14p pm from the passenger, and 8p pm from the Council.

The Council also pays fixed payments for telephone use. This support totals £12,050 1989/90, over £5,000 going to WRVS.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF KNOWN VOLUNTARY CAR SERVICES IN BRITAIN

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget Mileage rate paid to (1988/1989 drivers ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate policy for car schemes?	Criteria for using car scheme
Cambridgeshire (Martin Bishop, Community Transport Officer, (0223-317765)	18 Funded by County Council	£4000 includes grants for mileage	12.0	Produce Annual "Guide to Community Transport" booklet	-	Frail, elderly & disabled unable to buses and have no access to a car. Essential journeys for able-bodied people without access to car or bus. <u>No</u> Health Authority <u>trips</u> . Trips booked at least 24 hours <u>in advance</u> .

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget Mileage rate paid to (1988/1989 drivers ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate policy for car schemes?	Criteria for using car scheme
Cheshire (Cathy Cansdale, Community Transport Adviser, (0244-603742)	13 funded by County Council	£45,000 (4000 in 1986) includes publicity and payments to larger schemes for part-time Booking Clerks	0-15	Varies	-	Eligibility criteria for each scheme agreed in advance with CC. Generally: People without access to public or private transport or who can't afford taxis. Elderly and infirm people unable to use public transport. CC is investigating <u>outpatient trips</u> . Future funding under discussion with District Health Authorities.

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget Mileage rate paid to (1988/1989 drivers ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate policy for car schemes?	Criteria for using car scheme
Derbyshire (David Nellson, Rural Transport Officer 062982-4797)	6 Others	Varies	12	See leaflets in Appendix 1 (slightly dated)	-	Provision of Dial-a-Rides throughout the County. CC review proposed of present grant arrangements, DCC support, future CT objectives, and conditions of service. Also a review of standardising charges and support for users.

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget Mileage rate paid to (1988/1989 drivers ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate policy for car schemes?	Criteria for using car scheme
Derbyshire (David Nellson, Rural Transport Officer 062982-4797)	6 Others	Varies	12	See leaflets in Appendix 1 (slightly dated)	-	Provision of Dial-a-Rides throughout the County. CC review proposed of present grant arrangements, DCC support, future CT objectives, and conditions of service. Also a review of standardising charges and support for users.

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget (1988/1989)	Mileage rate paid to drivers ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate Policy Criteria for car schemes?
Devon (Terina Allen, Rural Transport Advisor, 0392-27123)	12 out of 30 funded by County Council	£3,000. C.C. will fund publicity and meet operating deficit if scheme approved.	Varies	Varies widely generally 15-20 or donation	To "nurture and maintain continuing support for community based public transport schemes where local interest and initiative is demonstrated".	Car schemes must not adversely affect any existing public transport service or statutory services. <u>Services must seek donations or raise funds.</u> Strict eligibility criteria to be agreed with C.C. Some schemes have limited operating area. Some schemes only accept NHS/Social Services referrals.
Dorset	About 30 schemes are included in 'Dorset Country Cars'.	C.C. funds from Public Transport Development Budget - £1300 in first 6 months of current financial year. County meets the operating deficit.	19 ppm (fixed by C.C.)		Yes	Guidelines to car schemes being sent.
Durham	None known to County Council.	No C.C. support.				
Gloucestershire (Jakie Harris, Public Transport Senior Team Leader, 0452-425609)	15 funded by County Council.	£70,000 for car schemes & £210,000 for other community transport.	23-25 includes C.C. flat-rate payment of 15 ppm made 3 months in advance based on estimated mileage.	15-22	Yes (see Appendix 2)	Personal, medical, shopping and hairdressing trips by able-bodied people without cars or public transport. As above plus social trips by people without a car who are elderly, frail, handicapped, or wheelchair-bound. (See Appendix 2)

County (contact) No. of known voluntary car schemes C.C. Budget Mileage rate paid to (1988/1989) drivers ppm (pence/mile)

Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile) Policy for community transport? Separate policy Criteria for for car schemes? using car scheme

Hampshire

C.C. meets operating deficit of 13 WRVS schemes also £5,000 in one-off grants of up to £50.

Annual 7-day recruitment and publicity campaign to help over come driver shortage. Organised by CC/WA/voluntary organisations.

Hereford & Worcester (Public Transport Team 0905-766798) 6 schemes including 3 based in volunteer bureaux and 1 in WRVS

C.C. provides £25,000 to meet operating deficit of schemes and pay for No Claims Drivers paid flat mileage rate of 23.3 ppm fixed by C.C.

Passenger contribution fixed by scheme, and based on local bus fares (see Appendix 3) and collected by driver. Travel tokens accepted.

Schemes must indemnify C.C. from any claims resulting from accidents. Monthly invoice to be sent to C.C. with a summary of journeys and contributions received from drivers.

For people who cannot use public transport for that journey (eg. elderly or disabled people, parents of young children). For journeys up to 8 miles for any purpose; 8-18 miles for essential purposes only; for 18-30 miles for hospital visits only (see Appendix 3): Typical essential trips are to doctor, optician, dentist, chiropodist, library, shops or relatives in hospital. Also provide lifts to nearest public transport. Schemes should not replace Hospital Car Service trips nor discourage the use of taxis or private lift-giving.

County (contact) No. of known voluntary car schemes C.C. Budget (1988/1989) Mileage rate paid to drivers ppm (pence/mile)

Hertfordshire (Robin Riley, Rural Transport Development Officer, 0727-52298)

Only 12 of the 44 car schemes listed do not have a very restricted operation.  
 No support currently but County Council grants of up to £500 available for capital purchases and the first year's operation.  
 Small grants also available to new rural schemes from Community Council's Rural Initiatives Fund.

Varies from 0-22ppm. One scheme charges £1 booking fee plus 30ppm. (See Appendix 4 for details of patient re-imburement criteria).

Mileage rate charged to Passengers (pence/mile)

"To encourage the development of community transport facilities or innovative services in areas of the county without adequate services".

Policy for community transport? Separate policy for car schemes? using car scheme

Standard letter advising driver's insurance company is available from Community Council. It also provides a Public Liability Insurance Policy (see Appendix 4)

Isle of Wight About 15

No County Council Support at present but under review.

Guide to Community Transport in preparation prior to drafting C.T. policy

Lancashire

Only the Lancaster County Car Service has been funded (£20,000) by the County Council, Rural Transport Development Fund, and Lancaster City Council. No funds available for smaller schemes.

Car schemes are viewed as part of the public transport network.

County (contact)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget (1988/1989)	Mileage rate paid to drivers ppm (pence/mile)
Nottinghamshire	CC funds 17 of 19 car schemes	£17,525 in grants up to £800 per scheme, plus an additional £1,600 for larger schemes. Also £11,800 in concessionary fare payments	18-26
Shropshire (Malcolm Miles, Community Council for Shropshire, 0743-60641. Sue Carpenter, including Public Transport Section 0743-25100).	73 car schemes	£90,000. County Council meets the operating deficit including dead mileage.	26.7 ppm.
Somerset (Public Transport Section, Somerset County Council, 0823-255695/6)		£72,000 budget for community transport of which £15,000 goes to Taunton Voluntary Car Scheme. Start-up grants (£100) available from County Council.	Varies

Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)

Policy for community transport?

Separate policy for car schemes? using car scheme

Criteria for

Trips must be to health and welfare facilities and not compete with public transport.

Some car schemes only accept 'third party' referrals.

Under review.

Varies.

15 schemes charge mileage rates but 4 charge trip rates.

Being developed.

Car schemes in N. Shropshire are run by the RCC and in S. Shropshire by the district councils.

See the RCC's comprehensive pack of guidelines for co-ordinators and drivers (Appendix 5).

About 1/3 of the cost.

Varies

"To encourage the development of community-based transport by providing revenue funding for community groups and to experiment with various types of service".

County (contact) No. of known voluntary car schemes C.C. Budget (1988/1989) Mileage rate paid to drivers ppm (pence/mile)

Staffordshire (John Lameris, Principal Planning Officer, 0785-223121 ext 7443). 30 The County Council budget (for 1989/90) is £62,000 of the total £125,000 for voluntary transport. Block grants are allocated on past journeys supplemented by regular needs assessments by C.C. officers.

Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile) Policy for community transport? Separate policy for car schemes? using car scheme Criteria for 50p minimum fare for journeys 3 miles not Escorts are not usually charged. The County Council expects demand for such services to increase as the numbers of pensioners increase, particularly in South Staffs. See Appendix 7 for CC's objectives and criteria for car schemes. CC provides standard letter of notification to driver's insurance company, (Appendix 7). Passengers must not have a private car, bus, or train under to driver's must be able to use transport and must not be travelling over 75 miles for round trip. Above this distance passengers can negotiate a mileage rate with the car scheme.

Staffordshire (cont'd) Under-spending one year's grant leads to a reduction the next year. See Appendix 7 for Grant Allocation Mechanism and simplified administrative system. Car Schemes can claim for administrative costs (stamps, phone, bank charges); group-hire and dial-a-ride are paid 10% and 20% respectively of their monthly net mileage claim to cover such overheads.

County (contract)	No. of known voluntary car schemes	C.C. Budget (1988/1989)	Mileage rate paid to driver ppm (pence/mile)	Mileage rate charged to passengers (pence/mile)	Policy for community transport?	Separate policy Criteria for car schemes? using car scheme
Suffolk (Bob Beaumont, Rural Transport Field Worker, 0473-230000 Ext: 6532/6576).	6 ? including a countywide WRVS scheme. Most of the other 5 car schemes are based in volunteer bureaux	£12,050 (1989/90) with over £5,000 of this going to the WRVS. Car schemes make quarterly (or more frequent) returns to claim grant from CC for any deficit and for telephone charges.	22ppm including dead mileage. (8ppm comes from C.C.)	14 ppm. Minimum total charge for under 3 miles 70p. Charges based on driver's total mileage (including dead mileage) and are per passenger (excluding necessary escorts).		Typical forms are given in Appendix 8

## REFERENCES

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Nottinghamshire County Council (1985) A Guide to Community Transport Services in Nottinghamshire, Planning and Transportation Department, Nottinghamshire County Council, Nottingham, U.K.

**Appendix B (ii) Questionnaire used in Nottinghamshire Voluntary Car Scheme Survey**

## VOLUNTARY CAR SCHEMES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Note: Please feel free to make additional comments against any particular question - question 50 provides for comments of a general nature.

#### The Scheme

1. Name of Scheme
2. Address
3. Telephone Nos. Booking  
Information
4. When was the scheme established ?
5. Which village/town/district is it designated to serve?
6. For what purposes was it set up?
  
7. Is the scheme incorporated within a Voluntary Organisation and/or registered as a Charity?  
(if yes please provide details)
  
  
8. Is the scheme run from co-ordinators home, or another location?  
If another location, do you own or rent these premises?
9. Does your Voluntary Car Scheme have a constitution?
10. Does your Voluntary Car Scheme have a management committee?
11. Does it hold regular meetings?  
If yes, how often

Operations

12. At what times can bookings be made?  
How far in advance need they be made?
13. At what times is transport actually available?  
(please state days and hours of operation)
14. Is there any constraint on journeys undertaken? e.g.  
distance, time.
15. For what journey purposes can the scheme be used?

<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>If yes, any restrictions?</u>	<u>Est. % of Total Trips.</u>
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Medical

Social

Shopping

Social Services  
Day Centre

Business

Any purpose

16. Do clients have to be registered before using the scheme?

17. How many clients do you have?

18. a) Do you accept clients who are.....?

	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>If yes, any restrictions?</u>	<u>Est. % of Total Trips.</u>
Mobility handicapped			

Registered  
disabled

Elderly

Mentally  
handicapped

In receipt  
of mobility  
allowance

b) do you apply any criteria against usage?

19. i) Do you take self-referrals?

If yes, what % of total trips

ii) Do you take referrals from a third party?

If yes, who from?

P.T.O.

(please estimate %  
of current total  
trips)

est. %

Social Workers  
G.Ps.  
Hospital  
Midwife  
Health Visitor  
Community Care Assistants  
Voluntary Organisations  
Other (please state)

- 20\* How many trips have been undertaken over last 12 month period? (\*Please provide data for latest 12-month period and previous years totals if available)
- 21\* Total mileage operated over this period?
22. What are the main trip purposes? e.g. Health/social related  
Is there any trend in journey patterns?
23. Do you provide escorts?
24. What are your current charges per mile?
25. What rate do you pay your drivers per mile?
26. Are fares collected by driver in the car?  
Or By individual invoice?  
Or By any other method? (please state)
27. How do you cover for 'dead' mileage?
28. Do you charge half-fare\* to those users holding an eligible Concessionary Travel Pass? (\*or free in Bassetlaw/Gedling)
29. Do you claim Concessionary Fare reimbursement from Notts. County Council?
30. Do you advertise your Scheme? e.g. for drivers, or for users
31. If so, what methods do you use?

32. Insurance - do your Scheme take advantage of

- i) Bonus and Excess protection?
- ii) Public Liability Insurance?

How is this administered?

Resources

33. How many drivers are registered with your Scheme?  
Of these, what is the approx. number of "core" drivers available regularly?

34. How do you vet potential drivers?

35. Of these drivers, how many are....? please state %

Male  
Female  
-----  
OAP  
Unemployed  
Students  
Other

36. Do you employ salaried or volunteer co-ordinator?

37. How many hours per week does the co-ordinator work?

38. If salaried under what pay-scale/conditions of service is he/she employed?

39. Do you have the use of a computer?  
If yes, what type, and for what purpose do you use it?

40. What administration book-up is available? e.g. typing, photocopying facilities, telephones.

Funding

41. i) Please provide details of all grants/donations received (1989/90)
- ii) is the current level of funding sufficient for you to sustain - or increase - the scale of your Scheme?
42. Any further claims for grant being considered? (please state)
43. Did you have a surplus/deficit in last year's accounts (88/89)?

Other

44. Do you know of any other Voluntary Car Schemes in your area? If yes, Is there any overlap with passengers/drivers/operating areas?
45. Are there any committees or other bodies on which your Voluntary Car Scheme is represented? (please state)
46. What do you consider to be the major issues relating to the setting-up of a Voluntary Car Scheme?

47. Are there any publications/circulars that you have found useful in operating your Scheme? (please state)
48. Would you find a forum for organisers of Voluntary Car Schemes useful? If so, what form would you like it to take?
49. What plans have you for the future?

Any Expansion planned?  
(Increased demand/Driver availability/Premises/Resources)

50. Please make any additional comments regarding issues and problems which you have experienced or are currently facing.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

RBH/GG/6/QUESTN/P

**APPENDIX C**

**CASE STUDY RESEARCH TOOLS**

## **CONTENTS**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Introductory Discussion -                    | <b><i>Introductory<br/>Discussion</i></b>            |
| 2. Structured Questionnaire -                   | <b><i>Questionnaire</i></b>                          |
| 3. Document Search -                            | <b><i>Searches</i></b>                               |
| 4. Organisation, Important Decisions, History - | <b><i>Boundaries<br/>Landmarks<br/>Chronicle</i></b> |
| 5. Operation and Strategy -                     | <b><i>Job Description<br/>Activity Diary</i></b>     |
| 6. Leadership -                                 | <b><i>Attributes<br/>Attitudes</i></b>               |
| 7. Change Discussions -                         | <b><i>Change Resumes</i></b>                         |
| 8. Exploration of Themes Emerging -             | <b><i>Exploration</i></b>                            |

1. INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION

- AIM a) to introduce the research to the scheme;  
b) to obtain an initial feel for the scheme

METHOD Informal conversational interview with the co-ordinator as initial contact.

- (a) Inform the co-ordinator what the case study will involve; time, data requirements, driving, sitting in on trips.

Stress that the researcher aims to learn, not to test. (This is important as respondents feel more willing to help/talk if they realise the researcher is not coming in as an 'expert').

- (b) Discuss the car scheme generally with the co-ordinator, who is allowed to dwell on any point. The researcher will prompt on various topics;  
General - How scheme started? When? Problems?  
Funding - How obtained? What amount? Problems?  
Users - Who (types)? Numbers? Problems?  
Drivers - Who (types)? Numbers? Problems?

Of interest are the priorities given, orientation of the discussion, and nature of points raised by the co-ordinator.

## 2. STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

AIM a) to provide core data on the scheme and the environment it operates in.

METHOD Structured questionnaire. It is administered by the researcher to the co-ordinator in a discussive manner, thereby allowing the respondent to dwell on/raise issues as they feel necessary.

The questionnaire addresses operational topics concerning the scheme under four broad headings,

- a) The Scheme;
- b) The Scheme and its Users;
- c) The Scheme and its Resources;
- d) The Scheme and its Environment.

This is based upon a model of the scheme consisting of four major parts;

- a) the organisation
- b) the output, and relationship between the output and the organisation
- c) the input, and relationship between the inputs and the organisation
- d) the organisations place in 'the market'.

This model is far from complete. However it is intended as a guide around which to structure the questionnaire.

## Technique 2 - Questionnaire

### The Scheme

- 1) Name of scheme
- 2) Address
- 3) Telephone - Booking  
Information
- 4) Time staff/available to make bookings  
  
M  
T  
W  
T  
F  
S  
S
- 5) When was scheme established?
- 6) Has it always been located here?
- 7) When does the service operate? - set days or with demand  
(if demand, is it feasible to travel at weekends?)
- 8) Is there any constraint on areas collected from?  
  
or taken to?

- 9) For what journey purpose can the service be used?  
 any purpose  
 medical  
 social services (day centre)  
 shopping  
 social  
 journey to work  
 other
- 10) Has the car scheme a constitution/steering group?  
 If yes obtain copy  
 how often meets?

The Scheme and its Users

- 11) Do you have to be a member to use the scheme?  
 If yes; How many belong?  
 Groups/individuals?  
 If no; so anyone can use the scheme?
- 12) (i) Do you take referrals from a 'third party?  
 Approx % of total trips?

From Social Worker	Rough %?
G.P.	"
Hospital	"
Midwife	"
Health Visitor	"
Other	"

(ii) Do you take self referrals?  
Approx % of total trips?

Do you apply any criteria? What?

So would you take anyone?

Anyone with a mobility handicap? Rough %?

Registered disabled	"
Elderly	"
Mentally Handicapped	"
In receipt of mobility allowance	"
Other	"

(iii) How does the booking system work?

Referrals (Flow Chart)

Self referrals (Flow Chart)

(iv) What approximate per cent of clients are you in contact with?

How many book;

Over the phone	Rough %?
Face to face	"
Repeat bookings	"

13) What approximate per cent of your trips are repeat bookings?

14) I may want to interview

- a) some of the people who provide you with referrals
- b) one or two of your more regular users, can you recommend any?

15) Is there any users/referers group or committee connected with the scheme?

If yes How often does it meet?

How often do you attend?

How would you rate its use?

- 16) How much and how do passengers pay for a journey?
- |            |             |
|------------|-------------|
| Invoiced   | (How often) |
| Pay driver | (What %)    |
| Come in    | (How often) |
| Other      |             |
- 17) Do you provide escorts?
- 18) Do you charge co-passengers?  
(How much )
- 19) Have you ever had to advertise for passengers?  
If yes, when ? where / how
- 20) Do you advertise now for passengers?
- 21) Do you think your booking/eligibility system is open to abuse, and has anyone ever tried to abuse the scheme?
- 22) Do you have a system for dealing with continual abusers?  
If so do users know about this?

The Scheme and its Resources

- 23) How many volunteers work with the scheme?  
Of these how many are drivers?
- 24) Of the drivers, how many are available during the day time?
- 25) Of the drivers, how many are
- |             |          |
|-------------|----------|
| Male        | Rough %? |
| Female      | "        |
| OAP         | "        |
| Unemployed  | "        |
| Night shift | "        |
| Students    | "        |

- 26) Do drivers take advantage of
- a) Bonus and Excess Protection - %
  - b) Public liability Insurance - %
- Any Other?
- 27) How much are drivers paid?
- 28) What is the mechanism for booking, and payment of drivers?
- 29) I may want to interview one or two of your more regular drivers. Can you recommend any?
- 30) Did your 87/88 revenue and funds cover your costs?  
How much deficit?  
How much credit?  
Have you ever been worried about financial aspects?
- 31) Could I have a breakdown of your funds for 1987/88?  
WHO  
AMOUNT  
MECHANISM (Ask contact levels)
- 32) Are there any constraints on use of money obtained from grants/donations?  
If so, what?
- 33) Could I have a breakdown of costs/expenditure for 1987/88?  
WHO TO  
AMOUNT  
MECHANISM (Ask contact levels)
- 34) What did you do with the surplus?  
or How manage deficit?
- 35) I may want to interview some of the grant givers. Could you again recommend anyone?

- 36) Do you ever directly promote the car scheme in attempting to obtain?  
funds - If so how?  
volunteers - If so how?

The Scheme and its Environment

- 37) Are there any other car schemes in the area, if so where?  
Have you ever taken another schemes' passenger/loaned drivers to a  
scheme, or is there any overlap?  
Do you have much contact with them?  
(by what medium/how)
- 38) Has any other scheme helped you obtain funds/volunteers?
- 39) Is there any district, regional, national voluntary car  
scheme/community transport forum/group of which you are a member, if so  
what?  
  
How often do you meet/attend, and how would you rate its use?
- 40) Are there any committees on which the car scheme is represented, if so  
which?
- 41) If I was starting up a car scheme, what is the best advice you could  
give me, or what do you wish you'd known before you started?

### 3. DOCUMENT SEARCH

#### a) Supplementary Evidence

AIM To check information from the questionnaire (technique 2)

METHOD Document search/various. Specific information is sought at the scheme from the co-ordinator. This can be through further questioning or observation, depending upon the nature of the information. However as the researcher is aiming to verify information already given, the technique usually takes on the form of document/statistical searches. The questions requiring verification from technique 2 are given below.

#### Supplementary Evidence Required From Technique 2

- Q1-4 - CHECK LITERATURE  
IS IT UP TO DATE/RECENTLY AMENDED (CHANGE)  
- WHAT IS EMPHASISED
- Q5&6 - OBTAIN OLD COPIES OF LITERATURE IF POSSIBLE
- Q7 - CHECK DAILY FIGURES FOR AT LEAST  
LAST FOUR WEEKS  
- WHAT ARE THE ACTUAL FIGURES
- Q8-11 - AGAIN CHECK LITERATURE, WHAT IS EMPHASISED
- Q12-16 - OBTAIN BOOKING FORMS, INVOICE FORMS  
ETC (WHICH ARE THE TRAPPINGS OF THE ORGANISATION)
- Q19&20 - WHAT IS EMPHASISED IN ADVERTISEMENTS
- Q21&22 - OBTAIN AND CHECK A COPY OF RULES
- Q27&28 - OBTAIN TRAPPINGS OF THE MECHANISM

Q30-33 - CHECK LAST YEARS FIGURES AND APPLICATIONS FOR FUNDS.  
EVIDENCE OF CONTACT - LETTERS/FORMS

Q36 - OBTAIN LITERATURE, WHAT IS EMPHASISED

Q37 - CHECK FOR YOURSELF WHAT THEY DEFINE AS THE AREA

b) Information available

AIM To indicate the level of information available at the scheme

METHOD

Information request.

The co-ordinator is asked, at the end of technique 2, for

- any literature on the scheme
- any figures statistics about the scheme

The levels and types of literature available at hand is noted. The co-ordinator is then asked to obtain it for next week. This information is used for 3a, but the process stands by itself as a technique.

#### 4. ORGANISATION, IMPORTANT DECISIONS, HISTORY

These separate techniques are grouped together as they interrelate with each other : decision making has an historical and organisational context; the history of the scheme shows decisions along the way and the evolving organisation; the organisation of the scheme has historical context and shows the decision making hierarchy.

##### (a) Organisation

AIM To obtain the subjects' impression of the organisation specifically of those involved in the scheme other than drivers and users

METHOD Unstructured interview using interview guide

The subject(s) is asked to recommend people it would 'be worth chatting to' to find out about the scheme/people involved in the scheme, apart from users and drivers. The subject is the co-ordinator, or if there is more than one person involved in the scheme, they are also interviewed so that the roles of those within the group can be confirmed.

The people mentioned are then discussed;  
their relationship to the scheme;  
involvement in the scheme;  
role in the scheme;  
introduction to the scheme.

These topics are probed and mapped in an organisational chart which is shown to the subject for discussion. An historical context is given to this technique by a further prompt - "Anyone who isn't as involved now as they used to be?", and is confirmed by 4(b).

These leads are used for the remaining techniques, and particularly 7(c).

N.B. IN 4 b AND c, 5,6 AND 7c THE SUBJECT(S) IS THE PERSON(S) WHOSE RELATIONSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND ROLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SCHEME IS, OR HAS RECENTLY BEEN, IMPORTANT.

(b) Important Decisions

AIM To look at the decision making process in the organisation and particularly to monitor what are perceived as important decisions in the scheme.

METHOD Unstructured interview using interview guide.

The subject(s) is asked

- 'What have been the most important, and/or difficult decisions up to now'
- 'What has been the most important letter and/or phone call'

These are then discussed, with the researcher probing the decisions with open ended questioning.

Decision making obviously shows indirectly the organisation of the scheme; the important decision recall showing the historical context of the scheme (This technique is completed previous to the history technique so that the subject 'picks out' events and decisions from his/her memory without having previously been forced to recall all events).

(c) History

AIM To show the initial aims of the scheme, see how it has evolved, and provide a basis for further probing of decision making.

METHOD Unstructured interview using interview guide

The subject(s) is asked to outline, step by step, the setting up of the scheme and who was involved. Specifically he/she is asked to recall initial aims, reasons for establishment, the *raison d'etre*.

During the discussion the researcher draws up a chart of actors and events recalled. The history is probed covering decision making (e.g. 'whose decision would it be...?'); the involvement of individuals (e.g. 'Who was involved at that stage?'); the occurrence of events (e.g. 'when did that happen?')

When the technique is 'exhausted', the researcher goes over the chart with the subject this is mainly as a check, but is useful in itself as it does reopen discussion.

## 5. Operation and Strategy

These two following techniques show both how the scheme works and the influences upon it operationally and strategically.

### a) Job Guide

AIM To give the subject the opportunity to provide a strategic view of the scheme and their role in it.

METHOD Respondent completed form and subsequent discussion. The form below is given to the subject to complete. This technique provides the opportunity to think strategically, and to show a) how they approach strategic scale tasks (if at all) b) how they see the important influences on the scheme. By enacting the 'leaving your post indefinitely' scenario, the subject can provide a more rational view of their role in the scheme's workings.

The completed form is discussed with the subject asking him/her to explain points on it:- e.g. Why are they important.

### b) Observation

AIM To show the workings of the scheme on a day to day basis, and the subjects role in it.

METHOD This takes two forms

(i) Respondent completed matrix and subsequent discussion.

The subject is given two Diary/Activities Forms (one large, one small) to complete (see below). He/she is asked to fill one in (the choice of form gives some indication of their perception of workload). This builds on the job guide by emphasising day to day activities vis a vis strategic. It shows the workings of the scheme and the subjects' role in it. The results are further probed by discussion afterwards. By asking if the week is typical, if it reflects the cycles of the scheme, and if any important 'jobs' have been missed out, the context of the diary is found.

This method stands alone as observation when it is impossible to actually observe the scheme in action due to the ad hoc nature of events. However, if the car scheme has 'opening times' for activities, the 'observations' above can be added to by actual observation by the researcher. The 'diary' method is still useful however, as it can show important events outside 'opening times'.

(ii) Observation

Here the scheme is observed by the researcher at opening times. Activities, information flows and occurrences are noted. Obviously this provides a greater insight into the workings of, and influences on the scheme.

	AM	PM	EVENING
MONDAY			
TUESDAY			
WEDNESDAY			
THURSDAY			
FRIDAY			
SATURDAY			
SUNDAY			

## 6. Leadership

These techniques look at individual(s) in the scheme, to note how they are important to the scheme.

### a) Personal Attributes

AIM To look at the leader(s) personal attributes to analyse how they may influence the scheme.

METHOD Unstructured interview using interview guide.

Those identified in 4(c) are interviewed to note their

- i) personal background
- ii) interest in transport/rural issues
- iii) history in transport

This gives a perspective on their approach to 'leadership' of the scheme, and hence their influence on the scheme.

Regarding (i) personal background, it is often easier to pick up information during other discussions, where it is less conspicuous to ask personal questions. The information also often emerges in sections b and c.

- (i) Information required
  - Age;
  - Occupation/previous occupation;
  - Academic History;

(ii) & (iii) How did you first get involved in voluntary transport?

(WHEN WHY)

- In what capacity?
- Have you always had an interest in transport?
- How did you first get involved in rural issues?  
(WHEN WHY)
- In what capacity?
- Have you always had an interest in rural issues?
- Do you have any interests/hobbies outside transport/  
rural issues?
- Do you read any literature in connection with the  
transport scheme.
- Have you attended any conferences/seminars in connection  
with the transport scheme?

b) Attitudes to Planning/Change

AIM

To see the leader(s) view of the future and their approach to it.

METHOD Unstructured interview using interview guide.

Those identified in 4(c) are interviewed concerning their

- a) perception of future changes in the car scheme
- b) feelings of anything in the future which could affect  
the car scheme, including pressures and opportunities.
- c) what they can do about them
- d) attitudes to planning for the scheme.

This builds on technique 4 (a) and (b) by asking more specific questions on how they see themselves within the context of the car scheme.

Specific questions to ask in the interview are

-How do you see the car scheme changing in the future? (Time warp scenario  
"come back in the future - what does the car scheme look like")

What is it like?

Changed? Why? How?

Not changed? Why not?

-Do you think the scheme has any pressures to face or opportunities open to it? (Horizon scenario - sunny/clouds?)

What? Why?

-Is there anything you can do about them?

-Have plans or even general ideas been made or put forward for the scheme ever?

Yes - When? Time Span? What involve?

No- Why not? Anything particularly stopping you?

(inapplicable/time/funding)

-Do you see anything on the horizon which could affect voluntary car schemes generally?

What? How affect? When?

## 7. Change Discussions

These discussions/interviews are designed to include all those involved in the scheme in various ways. Initially the subjects' knowledge and attitudes to the scheme are examined, though the main thrust of the interviews is their perception of change in the scheme and reasons for it. The technique is in four parts, covering various groups involved in the scheme. With users and drivers it is important to enter their world and as such they are interviewed during the trip in the car, or at the destination. Participant observation is very useful in this area.

a) to Users

AIM To obtain a user perception of the scheme, and change in it.

METHOD Observation and Unstructured Interview using interview guide.

A random sample of users are interviewed. They are interviewed on their trip by the researcher acting as either a co-passenger or driver. As a co-passenger or driver the researcher observes the passenger and their use of the scheme. As a driver the researcher carries out participant observation for Technique 7b. The questions on their perceptions of the scheme also serve as a lead into the discussion of change in the scheme. The topic of change is approached by asking for

- a) an evaluation of the scheme generally
- b) a discussion of likes and dislikes of the scheme
- c) a discussion of change in the past
- d) possible future changes
- e) an evaluation of pressures on the scheme

An example of the guide, as used at case study I is shown below. THIS SCHEDULE IS ADAPTED SLIGHTLY FOR THE DRIVER INTERVIEW

'USERS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

**PERSONAL**

1. Location?
2. Date?
3. Time?
4. Name? (Approx age? )
5. Where live?
6. Do you have a bus pass?

**OPERATIONAL**

7. How often do you use the scheme?
8. Where do you go with it?
9. Which driver(s) do you go with?
10. How did you make your booking today?  
(Stress medium ("oh so you use"))
  - a) Any problems in making it?
  - b) Did you have any problems in getting the lift?
  - c) Have you ever been turned down for a lift?
  - d) What would you have done today if no lift available?
  - e) How do you find the price?

**TIME AND CHANGE**

11. How long have you been using the scheme?
12. What did you do for transport before the scheme?
13. Can you remember how you found out about the scheme?

14. \_\_\_ years/months, in your view has the scheme changed much, or in any way over the past \_\_\_ years/months?

**\*ALLOW TO TALK\***

NO NO? (PAUSE) No changes then for either better or worse, its always stayed exactly the same? (pause)

Nothings happened you would have preferred not to happen or you are glad did?

YES Would you have preferred these changes NOT to have happened, or are you GLAD they did?

15. What do you like best and least about the scheme? (stress collaboration)

16. In an ideal world is there anything you would change about it if you could? (stress collaboration)

#### **PERCEPTIONS**

17. How would you rate the scheme out of say 10? Why?

18. What if any would you say are the pressures on the scheme continuing to operate?

#### **DRIVERS**

19. Do you know how many drivers there are for the scheme?

20. Any idea on what is the most, or the biggest pool of drivers that has been available over the five years?

21. Any thoughts on what stops drivers driving for the schcme/makes them pack up?

22. Any ideas on how we could get new ones to drive/what stops people wanting to drive?

#### **VILLAGES**

23. What village(s) do the drivers come from?

24. Which village uses the scheme most?

25. How do you find that?

b) To Drivers

AIM To obtain a drivers perception of the scheme, driving for it, and change in the scheme.

METHOD Observation, Participant Observation, Unstructured interview.

Drivers or a random sample of drivers are interviewed. The questions are of the same nature as those for users, though also contain an element of evaluation of driving for the scheme, including motivation and demotivation in driving. As discussed above, the researcher observes the drivers and the scheme as a co-passenger. Also by driving for the scheme, the researcher find out what it is actually like to be a driver. This provides extremely valuable insights when documented.

c) to the Scheme

AIM To obtain information from those closely involved with the scheme (as identified from 4(c)) concerning change in the scheme.

METHOD Unstructured interview.

In this technique, in order to provide a focus for a discussion of change in the scheme, the subject is asked to describe the schemes progress chart. The subject is asked to describe a chart similar to the "ones in the cartoons of managing directors". The researcher draws the curve described, probing reasons for the curve and significant points along it.

As in technique 6(b) it is felt that introducing a fictitious 'Managing Director' figure, the subject can step outside his/herself and their role in the scheme, to discuss change more easily.

## 8. Exploration of themes emerging

The aim here is to build upon the themes raised from the previous techniques. Of specific interest is the convergence or divergence of information from those interviewed in technique 7, and the changes (or lack of them) emerging.

AIM To obtain a statement on change in the scheme and the reasons behind it.

METHOD As appropriate.

The researcher is given a free reign to collect any relevant data for this purpose.

The only technique used under this heading was the "Ex-Drivers" Interview Schedule.

### "EX-DRIVERS" SCHEDULE

#### Introduction

- Explain Research
- Look three car schemes
  - Aim to learn how work/what do
  - Talking to all those who Coordinator say is/has been important
  - Want to help car schemes
  - Coordinator knows we're meeting today but in STRICT CONFIDENCE
  - Have list of questions - just to jog memory - feel free to diverge

\* \* \* \* \*

1. When and how did you become involved with the scheme?  
(approx date/how find out about)
2. How have you been involved in the scheme - why does the Coordinator say you've been important?  
(involved other than driving?)
3. What attracted you to - doing this?  
- driving for the scheme?
4. Have you ever been involved in any other voluntary work?  
(what/when/how)
5. What is your involvement with the scheme now?  
(matter of fact) Any particular reason why stopped? When stop?
6. How often did you used to drive for the scheme, say in an average week?  
- very much?
7. Where did you used to go with the Scheme?
8. Who did you used to take?  
I've been with a few - all seem very nice (mention names)  
Abuse at other schemes, don't know if any here?
9. Which villages did they come from?
10. Which village used the Scheme most?
11. Did you know other drivers in the Scheme?
12. How did driving affect your insurance?

13. How much did the Scheme charge per mile? How find that?  
How much did you receive per mile? How find that?  
How did you receive payment? How find that?
14. How would you rate the Scheme, say out of ten? Why?
15. What do you think are/were its best qualities? Why?
16. In an ideal world was there anything at all concerned with the Scheme or driving for it that you'd have liked to have changed?
17. I'm interested in how the scheme works. Can you tell me what for a typical trip would happen: everything you can remember from finding out about the trip to receiving payment? Could you talk me through?

Did this system always work like this?  
(any spanners in the works)

18. Over the ..... years/months you were involved, in your view did it change at all, or in any way?

No: No? (pause) No changes for either better or worse? (pause) It always stayed exactly the same? (pause) So nothing happened you'd have preferred not to have happened, or you're glad did?

Yes: Would you say these changes were generally for the better or not?

19. What would you say, if any, were the pressures on the scheme continuing to operate at the time?
20. Its been going since 1983. Silly question, but you know the progress charts cartoon M.D.'s have in their offices (sketch) - Any ideas what the schemes' would look like?  
(start/end/why?)
21. As say, hoping to aid schemes. Problems appearing in other schemes, and to a certain extent this, are:
  - obtaining funds
  - driver recruitment
  - trip management

I don't know if you've got any comments on these? (pause)

but, one thing I'd like to ask you finally,

(show poster - attached)

This poster was designed for driver recruitment. What do you think of it - do you think it'll work?

- How could we improve it?
- What could we stress to make people want to drive? (pause)
- What should we play down; if anything - what would put people off driving?

# Time to spare?

## SUPPORT OUR SERVICE



If you can give a few hours help to your village or want a lift.

Contact:

