

## **Re-mixing the economy of welfare: what is emerging beyond the market and the state?**

Seminar 4: What are the implications for the VCS workforce (paid and unpaid)

Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> November 2009  
Nottingham Trent University

### **Notes**

#### *10.30 – Introduction and Welcome*

Welcome by **Chris Bellamy**, Nottingham Trent University. Praised the ESRC for funding such events, a sign of the value they place on knowledge exchange between academics and practitioners. Also wishes to thank the organisers of this seminar, Irene Hardill, Sue Baines and Rachael Cicinski.

**Sue Baines** introduced the seminar series and explained how this fourth session fits into the six session series. The first session was in Paisley looking at national differences in voluntary activity, the second in Bristol looking at the contribution of voluntary work in BME communities and the third in Newcastle looking at local differences in voluntary activity. This session will be looking at the workforce, a key distinction in the voluntary sector. The next, and fifth, seminar will be in Birmingham and on the topic of information sharing. The date of this session is to be confirmed, but is expected to be around the 29<sup>th</sup> March.

#### ***Morning session: The nature of work in the voluntary and community sector (chaired by Irene Hardill, Nottingham Trent University)***

10.45 – **Miriam Glucksmann**, University of Essex – *Elder care work and the 'total social organisation of labour'*

The presentation aims to suggest ways of thinking about different socioeconomic modes of work. The first part will introduce the total social organisation of labour (TSOL), with the second part looking at work undertaken on elder care using the TSOL approach. Changes in the world of work have involved reconfigurations in the relations between different modes of work. Rather than looking at the modes of

work separately, it is best to look at them together in a framework. TSOL is an attempt to look at how modes of work interconnect, but the terminology of it is not accurate – it is not total, and the organisation does not come from outside but rather is shaped by the processes within. It refuses the distinction between work and employment, and sees more modes as work than economic analysis allows. It looks at the connections across boundaries, the shifting of boundaries and the dissolving of boundaries. It arose from feminist work in the 1970s which argued that unpaid labour has equal value to paid labour, and indeed underpins paid work. But up until the 1990s, the analysis of unpaid labour took place separately to the analysis of paid labour, with no analytical link made. The TSOL aims to bridge this gap and to study the interdependence of the different modes. More recently there has been a move towards looking at other basis and sectors of work. The TSOL framework can be used at different levels, from micro/household to national and international. It has informed two large pieces of work of Miriam's; looking at women on the assembly line in the interwar period, linked with new resources in the home and; looking at weavers and casual women workers in Lancashire and how exchanges between each other and men worked. Others have used TSOL in different ways, e.g. Rebecca Taylor's work on volunteering.

An ESRC fellowship on elder care was awarded, inspired by changing labour conditions. It sought to explore the interconnections of work activities;

- Across the processes of production/provision, distribution, exchange and consumption;
- Across boundaries between paid and unpaid work, market and non-market, formal and informal sectors;
- Across activities that are simultaneously both work and non-work;
- Across different temporalities of work.

In order to do so, three research 'probes' were adopted as useful areas in which to think about these relationships;

1. call centres: varieties of intermediation
2. ready-made food
3. modes of provision of elder care

Links were made between the empirical work and the conceptual framework of the TSOL. A number of articles have emerged from this work. There was an interest in understanding the proportion of paid and unpaid work, but it was hard to find out

how much unpaid work there is. They ended up looking at four countries (Italy, Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom), selected because of their different welfare emphasis. With each country an attempt was made to disentangle with elder care the contribution of the market, the public sector, the voluntary sector and the family. Community input was lumped in with family. In each country a different configuration and different relationship between the modes was found to exist, and how the tasks were divided in elder care was very complex. This can be seen in the diagrams on the slideshow. Huge differences were found between countries, with different socioeconomic ways of undertaking elder care work;

- *Italy*: strong informal economy and a weak welfare state. The elderly mainly live at home, and there is low female employment. There is an enormous reliance in the informal market, on migrant workers with low wages. This is paid for by public sector money via the care recipient. The informal market involves a lot of paid workers. There is minimal voluntary sector input.
- *Netherlands*: the market is not in the picture of care provision at all. The voluntary sector is important. Welfare provisions are generous and help to maintain women's exclusion from the labour market. The voluntary sector mirrors the public sector. There is a consensus regarding the sovereignty of family life, and a legal obligation for the family to care for elderly relatives. Public resources go to the voluntary sector to provide care services. The aim is to support the family, in particular by offering respite care. Voluntary organisations didn't see elder care work as work.
- *Sweden*: the voluntary sector is very undeveloped. The welfare model is based on the individual and the state, not on the family. High taxation and high spending, with phenomenal state provision of elder care. The state is the primary financier, provider and employer of elder care. There is some market work now, but generally only in outsourcing. Charity is a dirty word, with extreme opposition to it. The family takes little responsibility for elder care, with many older people not wanting their children looking after them.
- *United Kingdom*: a very complex and diverse network of provision. The voluntary sector is diverse, with some paid and some unpaid work. The family is key. The public sector pays the market sector and the voluntary sector to undertake care tasks. The interaction between the modes of work affects elder care provision.

11.15 – **Rebecca Taylor**, Third Sector Research Centre, University of Birmingham – *Paid and unpaid work in the CVS*

This paper is based on PhD research. There are many issues in the voluntary sector; professionalisation, contracting, provision etc. The focus here is on the career aspect, looking at how people enter the sector, work in it and how they leave it. There is a shortage of data on paid work in the voluntary sector, so the Third Sector Research Centre is doing some now. Voluntary and paid work interact, and if one goes up the other tends to go down, or vice versa. In textbooks on work, little or no mention is given to voluntary work. These mentions tend to concentrate on it being small and female-dominated. Conceptions of work see it as paid and as done in the public domain, usually by men. Work that is unpaid is seen as domestic, private and usually female. Where does volunteering fit into this? Volunteering is marginal and doesn't fit the model. So how to understand volunteering in terms of the sociology of work? The research looked at two very different VCS organisations and interviews were conducted with people at a range of levels within the two organisations.

Careers literature rests on an older conceptualisation of career, in which career is structured, laddered and male dominated. Career is still based on the idea that it is only a career if you're being paid. But the term 'career' is useful in linking the individual as decision maker with the labour market in which the decision is being made. But we must abandon the notion that careers must move upwards with time, and that they must have a fixed trajectory or type. Case studies emerged from the research;

1. *Elizabeth*; a family history of women volunteering. Completely informally moved up the ladder of responsibilities within the organisation, resisting at every step. Restructuring led to a new level of paid workers who took the responsibility of the more senior volunteers, so they all left.
2. *Diane*; paid and full time at the same organisation as Elizabeth, but had wholly different motivations for being there. Family background was strongly individualistic and against the idea of charity, and while the organisation insists that paid staff give 10 hours per year of voluntary time, Diane has actively resisted doing this. Prior to getting the job with the organisation, Diane would not have had voluntary organisations on her radar at all.
3. *Jose*; had to balance doing the unpaid work that he loves with earning a living in a paid job. His priority is to his local community.

In conclusion then, when about careers in the voluntary sector, we need to move from traditional conceptions of career or work and recognise the diversity of careers. There is no typical career. Also, is sectors the most useful way of thinking about careers, and would we not be better thinking about fields of work, with people moving between sectors in the same field.

12.00 – **Sophie Bowlby**, University of Reading – *Plenary*

Both papers highlight how we conceptualise work, and this is an inspiration for many academics. Wanted to pick up on two points made this morning; Miriam made a point about how and where community support had been included in her modes of work, and this highlights the fuzzy boundary of family and friends and the formal and informal work of individuals within the community. Also, does this mean a local community, or some other non-location based community? The second thing is that work in the VCS seems so chaotic, and so Rebecca's way of thinking of fields of work helps in some way to better understand this chaos. Wanted to conceptualise work in this sector as caring work, but does this then fit with the sporting and cultural aims of some voluntary organisations? The notion of caring brings up notions of why people do this work. In the UK there are positive connotations of doing voluntary work, it is approved of and seen as a good thing, and as such it was interesting to see how this is different in other countries. Expectations and motivations of volunteers connect to how this work should be provided. How does the caring work in the voluntary sector link to other caring work, provided by the family, state or private sector? The way voluntary sector organisations are run may reflect their ethical commitment, but they don't always. Restructuring is a source of tension as volunteer workers may expect to be treated more ethically than they sometimes are. Miriam showed how differently the same type of care is provided in different countries, but this can also be found on a more local scale. It is also worth thinking about how this work can be organised over space.

### **Questions and Comments**

**Irene Hardill**, Nottingham Trent University – we are part of the public sector at NTU, but also a charity. Students are encouraged to volunteer. Employees can take up to five days per year of paid leave to undertake voluntary work.

**John Ramsey**, Age Concern England – in his experience, organisations try their best to treat staff well, but there is a perception that funding monies should go to clients, not staff. There is a pressure to put all the money into clients, rather than to invest in staff. The media portrayal is a problem here.

**Angela Ellis Paine**, Institute of Volunteering Research – pointed out that unpaid staff are only a proportion of staff in the voluntary workforce.

**Domenico Moro**, Third Sector Research Centre, University of Birmingham – doesn't think that the extent of volunteering is that reflective of paid work alone. Which data is taken is vital, and the question 'for which sector do you work' is limited. Is working to find a better way to capture this, but the sample size or inaccurate questions make it hard to explore.

**AEP** – the number of volunteers in the sector is double the number in the paid sector. But we don't know which is growing, the sector as a whole or the proportion of paid staff. The position of volunteers in organisations is changing, with volunteers getting more marginal.

**RT** – agrees that it can be an issue of data collection and of understanding roles.

**SB** – it has been very difficult in work she's done to discover the breakdown of paid and unpaid labour in the voluntary sector.

**Chris Bellamy**, Nottingham Trent University – the terms are so heavily determined by labels – what do we understand by volunteering, as there are whole swathes of voluntary work undetected by social policy work. Sports administration in particular is often overlooked, and generalisations made about volunteering may be disproved in these areas, e.g. sports administrators are often men of an age to have paid jobs. They may be establishing human capital in order to help their paid careers.

**RT** – wanted her research to cover four voluntary organisations, including one trade union, because the terms of the debate are then shifted away from the existing discourse on volunteering.

**Kaye Hannah**, Volunteering Nottinghamshire – is involved in strategic decision making. Current trends are a rise in the number of volunteers looking for placements, with people looking to learn skills or to have bridge employment. Lots of volunteers name investing in human capital as a priority. Sports volunteering is huge in Nottinghamshire with over 40,000 sports volunteers in the county. The definition of volunteering is unclear to many people, so conceptualisations may miss out on these people.

**Eddy Hogg**, Nottingham Trent University – a further issue is that recording just the number of paid and unpaid staff at an organisation doesn't fully capture the balance of work between paid and unpaid staff – 40 volunteers may contribute fewer work hours per week than 5 members of full time paid staff.

**AEP** – definitions have to be extended to that more people see the tasks they do as volunteering. How relevant is the concept of motivation to volunteering? Might it be to do with obligation?

**RT** – doesn't like the term motivation, prefers to see it as how priorities influence what people do with their time. Distances these debates from the psychology literature which looks at the propensity to volunteer.

**Graham Bowpitt**, Nottingham Trent University – looking at the distinction between paid and unpaid work. A typical contract of employment requires the employee to perform certain tasks, but lots of what the employer does at work comes outside of this contracted remit, so is by definition voluntary. So the changing nature of work has caused a blurring of what is paid and what is unpaid.

**RT** – indeed people on 40 hour weeks often work 70 hours weeks. Is this voluntary work?

**Daniel King**, Nottingham Trent University – might the boundaries and career trajectory debates be different in alternative sectors, e.g. in arts, activism etc? Here, people may do certain things that for a few hours per week are paid but for the rest of the time is unpaid. This work is not voluntary in the formalised sense, but is not paid either.

**Rob Wilson**, Newcastle University – identity is important, because people do things in order to build up a sense of identity and to project a sense of self. The problem with continuous measurement of the sector is that it is trying to account something, and it is on this issue that the accounting system may fail.

**MG** – there is a need to link the individual level to a wider level, to look at the interactions between individual and the market. It is crucial to see the overall reshaping of the economy. We as social scientists need to think about the restructuring too, not simply leave it to the economists.

**IH** – the time which people have to devote to activities such as volunteering is shaped by the needs of others in the family.

**JR** – be careful about using the terms 'unpaid' and 'voluntary' interchangeably – they are very different.

**DM** – agreed. Volunteering is something done for the self maybe more than unpaid work. In a recession, it would seem that unpaid work is declining.

**Sue Baines**, Manchester Metropolitan University – in the social policy context, volunteering has a high status. Is the policy emphasis on volunteering particular to the English speaking world?

**MG** – there is far more regulation of the voluntary sector in the UK than there is in the Netherlands. There is a different culture in the Netherlands, where part of being a citizen is to volunteer. There is less suspicion of volunteers causing problems, and so the issues that have led to regulation in the UK are not on the radar. Here, volunteering is circumscribed by legal changes. In Sweden people didn't even understand what volunteering meant.

**RW** – so what does volunteering mean in these different contexts, and how does it translate? Suggests thinking of volunteering in sectors rather than as one big blob.

**GB** – there is different characterisations of the state in different cultures, and how it is perceived. So in Sweden the state is all, whilst here it is perceived more as a necessary evil.

**SB** – the Finnish attitude to the voluntary sector is the same as in Sweden, with the attitude almost that someone doing unpaid work is taking a job away from someone who could be being paid to do it.

**MG** – there is a more rigid paid/not paid line in these cultures, where what is paid is work and what isn't isn't.

**CB** – in the 1960s it was frowned upon for middle class families to do their own housework, because it was perceived that it was better to be paying a tradesperson the going rate to do the work.

**AEP** – but volunteering does occur in Sweden, just in different ways to how it occurs here. So how we think about volunteering is crucial here.

## **Lunch**

13.30 – **Colin Williams**, University of Sheffield – *Unravelling cultures of community engagement: a geographically-nuanced approach*

There are geographical differences between affluent and less affluent areas in terms of the amount and type of voluntary activity which takes place. The perception is that affluent areas have more formal volunteering whilst less affluent areas have more informal volunteering. This session aims to use the TSOL framework to unpick and transcend this distinction. Community engagement can be seen not as unpaid work but as not for profit motivated help provided for and by friends. In the dualism between formal and informal engagement, the latter is often looked down upon, and this analysis seeks to move beyond this. Instead of a dualism, a spectrum from paid to unpaid and from formal to informal. Some jobs, for example, have contracted pay and then further cash in hand overtime or similar, so are both formal and less formal. It's messy, blurred and complex at every border on the spectrum.

Presented as Venn diagrams, with lots of areas where roles overlap and are messy with movement and blurred boundaries. Looking at Figure 2, a table of the extent of different forms of work, paid work is higher in all types of work in affluent areas, except for paid favours, which are higher in more deprived areas. There are different work cultures in different areas. So suggests a new connection, that people in more affluent communities have higher participation rates in unpaid legitimate forms of community engagement. In deprived areas there are higher participation rates in reimbursed and/or illegitimate forms of engagement, but the voluntary sector often fails to capture the latter. In deprived areas there is more reliance on community engagement for material support, whilst in more affluent areas it is more for social and emotional support. So for theory we need to move away from seeing volunteering as always unpaid and always legitimate. Our theory should better reflect the participatory culture of participation, and to reflect the differences between more affluent and more deprived modes of engagement. Policy currently aims to nurture engagement in community-based groups, and this works in affluent areas. But it doesn't work in deprived areas, so a twin-track approach is needed, to nurture 1-to-1 aid as an end in itself, and to formalise illegitimate volunteering. It could aim to develop mutual exchange systems to reflect participation through tally or payment systems. This is suited to deprived areas. The formal institutional framework is maybe not the idea structure; we need a more nuanced system which recognises geographical differences.

#### 14.00 – **John Ramsey**, Age Concern England/Help the Aged

Aims to take the policy and practice side of the argument of the debate. What will be talked about here is a very formal type of volunteering, but this doesn't mean that Age UK agree about this definition. It is important to make the distinction between the volunteering sector and the voluntary sector. Age Concern and Help the Aged merged on April 1<sup>st</sup>. Age Concern have 300 affiliated member organisations who are all independent organisations. There are approximately 60,000 volunteers across the Age UK family, whose contribution equates to about £170m a year. In one year, they give over 1,000 years of service to Age UK, and they are fundamental to who Age UK are and what they do. The world of volunteering has changed enormously over the past 20 years. The place of volunteering in society has changed, with muddled terms being used. It is now mentioned in terms of skill development, health benefits, social exclusion and is seen as a panacea for society's ills. Money

has as a result been pumped into the sector which has resulted in opportunities but also in responsibilities, with the introduction of targets, procedures, accountability etc. As such there is now a regulatory burden on voluntary organisations, with CRB checks in particular a huge issue. A blurring of volunteers and employees has occurred, with volunteers increasingly claiming employment rights. Going to volunteer has become something of a giant bureaucratic nightmare, where you can't just turn up and offer to volunteer but rather must jump through a number of hoops and other obstacles. A professionalisation of volunteering has occurred, with the traditional old ladies disappearing and new volunteers wanting to give their time in chunks, with greater flexibility. Volunteering now competes with lots of other leisure activities for people's time. Volunteer management has thus had to evolve to meet these new needs, understanding that people get something from volunteering, so managers can seek to understand and meet their needs. But there is a danger that management swings too far, treating volunteers as paid employees. The nature of funding – coming now as contracts – leads to a fear that organisations focus too much on targets rather than the needs of their clients. The growth of technology is leaving people behind, so now people who are socially excluded don't know about the latest technology. These changes throw up new challenges; how far should volunteering be entwined with the state? It can benefit from this, but there are also great benefits of volunteering which occurs in the fringes of society. Are we exchanging the soul of the voluntary sector for government money, or is this partnership to the benefit of the sector's work? But we're in a situation where we can't criticise the funder, who are the government. Thus a potential politicisation of volunteering, for example in the fasttracking of refugees if they volunteer. So what does this mean for volunteering? Should it not be the state's responsibility? How do we best involve volunteers? The government have made significant investment in volunteering, yet research suggests that the barriers to involvement are the same as they ever were. Emphasis is on the clients, not on the volunteers – it's the organisations who get it wrong. If organisations don't think about how they treat their volunteers, then the volunteers will walk away. In 1997, 70% of volunteers said they could be managed better. But 2007 the figure was 30%, but a third is still a large proportion. Management practice has typically been bottom-up. The problems are at the top, with senior management and trustees. Organisations need money and volunteers, yet trustee meetings nearly always concentrate entirely on money. Risk-petrified organisations are terrified by any chance of risk, and this

attitude redefines our attitude to each other as citizens. The “if it only saves one life” argument destroys what volunteering was all about, risk used to be central to voluntary organisations, but they are now too scared. We are all conspirators in this, no one takes enough risk. We seem to be on the way to hell, via good intentions. Volunteering is very simple really – people wanting to help – but how can we get more people engaged in helping more?

14.20 – **Solange Montag  Villette**, University of Paris XIII – *Rapporteur*

Feels strongly about the importance of different cultures in research. In France, welfare is only provided by the welfare state, whilst in Britain provision is larger. French academia doesn’t have the same research interest in welfare as a part of volunteering, maybe because the English state is less helpful and as such voluntary welfare provision is more important, e.g. French unemployment benefits are much higher than English. In separating state from religion in France, it makes it impossible to imagine welfare coming from anything other than a secular organisation, whilst in England much welfare is provided by faith-based organisations. There is a geographical problem, as between nations and different parts of the world there are different conceptions of what welfare is. There are thus clear geographical issues, what talking about what welfare is, or what older people are etc. When a state gives welfare it is a duty and therefore the provision must be fair. But when it is not a duty, rather an altruistic gift, why do it? Volunteering in more affluent areas is more formalised, maybe due to their not being such obvious and precise social problems as in more deprived areas. What is the role of volunteering and what is the role of the state?

### **Questions**

**Rachael Harding**, Framework Housing – to Colin, was there any analysis done along gender lines? Do more women than men do illegitimate voluntary work? To John, is there any evidence to suggest that the volunteers’ intent impacts upon how the help is received?

**CW** – women are far more involved in non-monitored activities, men far more in monitored activities.

**JR** – there is evidence that volunteering works, but a failing of many organisations is that they don't do enough to prove and advertise this. There is a feeling that it makes a real difference to the recipient if they know that the volunteer is there because they want to be, not because they are being paid.

**Muhammad Shehryay Shahid**, University of Sheffield – on the gender issue, from work conducted in an ethnic minority community, looking at formal versus informal volunteering. The work suggests that women engage more in 1 on 1 informal volunteering more than men. Ethnic minority women as dependents often have less of a role.

**Chris Ring**, Nottingham Trent University – what are Colin's views on the current welfare regime and community engagement?

**CW** – argues that informal illegitimate forms of volunteering should be formalised.

**CR** – but this is problematic for people who are very excluded from any legitimate activity, paid and unpaid. So how can a welfare regime which legitimises this exclusion be justified?

**CW** – when he talks of formalisation, he also wants to change the welfare regime.

**JR** – volunteering does exclude people too, because in general it doesn't want hard cases, rather volunteers who are easy to manage.

**DK** – on the issue of managerialism, control and target culture. The voluntary sector has largely sleepwalked into this relationship. Can corporate-style voluntary organisations get out of this relationship, or has the success of such organisations been built around these relations? Are they in a position to resist?

**JR** – would love to think that they can resist. They should have the strength too, but fragmentation of the sector has diluted the strength of its voice. They are so incorporated in the sector that it is hard to see how this can change.

**AEP** – there are examples of organisations who have resisted and have managed to retain their volunteer ethos. Some bigger organisations are coming around to the idea of better managing of volunteers as a form of community engagement.

**JR** – Age Concern have recognised that they need to reengage their clients as volunteers and decision makers.

**RW** – was struck by all the versions of Help the Aged, with networks working together to meet the same ends. So different roles and responsibilities within an organisation.

**RT** – John mentioned government millions, yet the same barriers to volunteering still existing. Doesn't believe in these barriers, and says that the management of volunteers has improved considerably, and yet the number of volunteers has not risen significantly. Argues that the barriers are therefore more cultural than practical.

**JR** – but is the biggest barrier maybe numbers? There always seems to be the attitude that more is better, but is this necessarily so?

**AEP** – the focus on barriers often is on very practical barriers, yet perceptions and the attitudes of people are much more significant barriers. So the focus is often on the wrong things.

**RT** – it is even more embedded than that, it is in upbringing. There is often a school of thought that such attitudes can be changed by something as simple as leafleting.

**AEP** – but isn't it a dangerous game to suggest that culturally some people just do and some people just don't volunteer?

**RT** – maybe, but often there seems to be a notion that potential volunteers are just out there, waiting to be recruited.

**MG** – there is a danger of just talking about giving time as though it is totally different to giving money. Lots of people give the latter, and this is also affected by socioeconomics. We need to think about the whole bundle of altruistic activity.

**CW** – we accept as a nation paying some voluntary taxes, i.e. giving charity donations. These then pay to deliver necessary services. Is this right?

**DM** – isn't taxation to an extent based on democratic change, in that people have voted for the politicians who decided upon that taxing and spending?

**SB** – yes, but not everyone knew what they were voting for.

**MG** – in some places there is a culture of giving that we don't have in Britain.

**MSS** – what is the economic benefit of voluntary work?

**MG** – because if it's not done on this basis, someone else has to do it, so money is being saved from having to pay someone to do it. The economic contribution is being made by the volunteer through a donation of time that would otherwise have had to be paid for.

**CR** – assumptions are being made in policy about the willingness of people to provide care on an informal, voluntary basis.

**DM** – the TSRC is doing a cost/benefit analysis to put a value on voluntary activity. Some of the third sector has already done similar measures. But there are huge issues – what economic value, for example, do you put on one hour of volunteering?

**CW** – it depends on what you want to show, because it is an inherently political act. So the definitions are set in such a way that proves what the measurer wants to prove.

**JR** – Age Concern use the substitution pricing method – what would be the cost of someone else performing that task. Originally minimum wage was used by the

government and Age Concern, but now they both use the national average wage to calculate.

**Jacky Tivers**, Nottingham Trent University – we're only talking here about things that would have to be done. What about volunteering activities that simply wouldn't happen if a volunteer did not run them, e.g. theatre groups, junior football teams etc?

**SB** – but we can still put a cost on these, for example the cost of the football coach who would be employed to do what the volunteer does. And we can all agree that it is worthwhile.

**RT** – the impression of some trading schemes, like Colin suggested, is that they don't necessarily work in working class communities.

**CW** – they can be flexible, matching the culture of engagement in these areas.

**RT** – there is no government initiative to date which has really helped encourage volunteering in deprived communities, so we really need to think outside the box on how it can be done.

**CW** – could we argue for a citizen's tax credit for those people who do engage in community work?

**RW** – isn't it best to work with communities to produce methods of encouraging and facilitating engagement?

**MG** – in deprived communities volunteering is more often 1 on 1 because people know each other better, so does this need to be formalised? It is affluent communities who do more helping unknown others.

**SB** – is a lack of trust involved in this?

**CW** – you can't always owe someone a favour, and many people do not like doing so, so putting a system in place may help people around these social problems.

**SB** – bit this is not just a deprived problem, some affluent people can't reciprocate, so they feel uncomfortable receiving help.

**JR** – older people may find it difficult to receive help for these reasons, whilst those who have volunteered in the past find it easier to receive help.

**End**