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**SWP 13/92 "THE METAPHORS OF THE VOLUNTARY/  
NON-PROFIT SECTOR ORGANISING"**



**RICHARD KAY  
Doctoral Student  
Public Sector Management Group  
Cranfield School of Management  
Cranfield Institute of Technology  
Cranfield  
Bedford MK43 0AL  
United Kingdom**

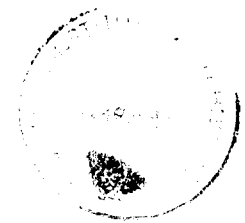
**(Tel: 0234-751122)**

**(Fax: 0234-751806)**

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# THE METAPHORS OF THE VOLUNTARY/NON-PROFIT SECTOR ORGANISING

By Richard Kay



## SUMMARY

The cognitive function of metaphor has received increasing interest from a number of disciplines, including that of 'organisational and management theory'. The basic premise in this latter work is that our theoretical explanations of organisational life are based on metaphors that lead us to see and understand organisations in distinctive yet partial ways. This paper outlines research undertaken to identify the metaphors-in-use in the voluntary/non-profit sector. The analysis took the form of identifying individual nouns/verbs and phrases used by the chief executives to make sense of 'critical incidents' of their choice. The nouns/verbs and phrases were, it is argued, images of particular core/root metaphors.

The paper also develops the argument that the chief executives are not only multiple metaphor users, but also creative users, bringing together in tension images of different metaphors, forming complex and creative metaphors. The notion of diadic, triadic and four dimensional thinking is introduced to depict this process of engaging in and resolving the paradoxes of organising.

The multiple and creative use of metaphors is seen as an important component of leadership in the voluntary sector.

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Two metaphors are seen as having particular significance for the voluntary sector, those of 'journey' and 'culture'. The proposal for the centrality of the 'culture' metaphor for voluntary organisations is used as the basis for the argument that voluntary organisations are better depicted as 'social value institutions' emphasising their distinction from the private business sector.

### 'METAPHOR'

An interest in metaphor has been with us for many centuries, and most accounts of metaphor acknowledge this by quoting Aristotle: "But the greatest thing by far is to be master (sic)\* of metaphors. It is the one thing that cannot be learned from others; and it is also a sign of genius since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of similarity of dissimilars. Through resemblance, metaphor makes things clearer.".(1) However, with the exception of the Romantics, metaphors over the centuries have tended to be regarded as either having an aesthetic value or as an enhancement of language. During the last quarter of a century though, much more emphasis has been placed on the cognitive function of metaphor. Despite this shift there has still continued to be 'tension' between:-

- i) The idea of metaphors as decodable, as implicit or elliptical similes translatable into literal sentences and the idea that translation from the metaphorical to the literal is not generally possible.
- ii) The tension between the aesthetic and cognitive accounts of metaphor's role.

\* Footnote: Authors are quoted accurately; any sexist language is not condoned, this is pointed out by putting (sic) after such language.

Underlying this tension is the difference between a view of the need for language to correspond with reality, and therefore of metaphors needing to be translated into literal language, and a view of language 'creating reality in its own image'.

Kittay (2) argues that the view of language and thought, according to which metaphor appears as an ornament or comparison, requires a conception of mind as a passive receptacle of perceptions. These perceptions, when tidily brought together through proper rules of inference and logical deduction, result in knowledge only when not adulterated by the imperfect, deviant, but indispensable vehicle of language. Instead, she proposes we need to understand language as an expressive medium which, as Ross (3) points out, allows us to say what we think in language just as the artist expresses her/himself in paint; that we understand language is not merely a conduit for our thoughts.\* Black's (5) work on metaphor has stimulated the exploration of the thesis that metaphor has an irreducible cognitive force. Black develops the interaction theory of metaphor from the work of Richards (6); the latter quotes Samuel Johnson in "Boswell's Life" - "As for metaphorical expressions, that is great excellence in style .... for it gives you two ideas in one". The key notion outlined by Richards was that, in seeing metaphor as cognitive, there is the recognition that in metaphor two concepts operate simultaneously. But, unless the two ideas

\* Footnote: Lakoff and Johnson (4) in a similar vein point out, "Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of what that system is like."

brought together in metaphor work on each other in some significant way (the interaction theory of metaphor), then, apart from being merely ambiguous, metaphor would be either a succinct way of speaking or, conversely, an elaborate way of speaking, since an extra idea is brought in where a single thought would do just as well. Kittay (2) proposes that the "interaction theory" of metaphor be re-termed a perspectival theory.\* She argues that to call the theory 'perspectival' is to name it for the function metaphor serves: to provide perspective from which to gain an understanding of that which is metaphorically portrayed, a distinctively cognitive role. She writes, "Since 'perspectival' implies a subject who observes from a stance, we can say that metaphor provides the linguistic realisation for the cognitive activity by which a language speaker makes use of one linguistically articulated domain to gain an understanding of another experiential or conceptual domain, and similarly by which a hearer grasps such an understanding.".(2) This emphasis on perspective is similar to that of Berggren (7), who states that "Metaphor has always been one of the central problems of philosophy, nor is it simply because metaphors are in fact used and abused in every area of human discourse. Even more important is the fact that metaphor constitutes the indispensable principal for integrating diverse phenomena and perspectives without sacrificing their diversity.".(7)

\* Footnote: Kittay (2) argues that the perspective view of metaphor underlines the view that metaphor involves not two isolated terms or ideas but two systems, because language and meaning generally require that linguistic terms be systematically related.

Thus, to these writers and others such as Schön (8) and Morgan (9), metaphor involves a process, involving the transfer (metaphora - carrying over) of one term from one perspective, system, frame of reference to another (Morgan (9) calls this "image crossing", whereby A is seen as B) and product/s, new perspective/s, way/s of seeing, created by that process.

Many accounts of metaphor emphasise this 'seeing as' approach. However, Beardsley (10) and Hausman (11) argue this seeing-as approach does not highlight the importance of recognising the inner tensions of metaphors, the tension or incongruity when two (or more) meaning units, ideas, concepts of a different domain, category or kind of perspective are brought together. Hausman (11) also points to the constant use of a simple subject - predicate model, i.e. "man is a wolf"; or, relevant here would be 'organisation as culture'. Hausman (11) uses examples from poetry to demonstrate the interaction of meaning units to form complex creative metaphors; where there is an integration of the meaning units in tension but "without a sacrificing of their diversity", (Berggren (7)), to create new meanings. The creativity arises from the integration of the meaning units but the tension is not extinguished. Hausman (11) argues a metaphor does not say "see this as that" but rather "see that this is what it is not", but because the relationship does not present sheer nonsense, the paradox of metaphor, it articulates "this is that which is not that; is this which is new.". It is therefore proposed that the theory of metaphor which says metaphor is "seeing A as B" ignores this bi-directional

tension between meaning units from different domains of experience or perspectives.

The second paradox of metaphor highlighted by Hausman (11) is that metaphor not only creates reality but also discovers it. Hausman (11) asks, if metaphors are creative, how can they provide insight into reality, unless reality is construed as excluding anything extra-linguistic and extra-conceptual? Hausman's (11) account of the creative metaphor is that it creates its significance, thus providing new insight,\* through designating/naming a unique extra-linguistic and extra-conceptual referent (a referent being an object, a physical thing, an event, conception, expression). Thus Hausman (11) argues, to be creative, a metaphor must meet two conditions: uniqueness and extra-linguisticity. Uniqueness is necessary to the notion that the referent of a creative metaphor is new and individual; while the extra-linguisticity is necessary to justify saying that the creative metaphor is 'appropriate' or 'faithful' or 'fits the world'. I am however cautious of using the concept of 'fits the world' because of its relation to the correspondence theory of truth. Morgan (9) uses the concept of 'engagement' or 'co-production', to emphasise the notion of us engaging objective realities subjectively: "By putting ourselves into what we see, in a way that actually influences what we see .... this process involves both subjective constructions and concrete interactions between real 'others'".(Morgan (9)) Another concept I would suggest as having value, stressing this interaction between language and reality, is that of

\* Footnote: What Kittay (2) terms "epistemic access".

'dialogue', emphasising the bi-directionality of the interaction and the creativity of language.

Thus the notion of interaction can be extended from the account of metaphor as being interaction between the meaning units to an interaction (bi-directional) between the creative metaphor and reality. This interaction process reflects the triadic relationship between thought, language and reality. It will though, it is emphasised, be pragmatic tests, such as the value of it in enabling us to cope with the world/reality, which will assess the creativity and appropriateness of a new metaphorical expression. Language does not mirror reality. As Rorty (12) stresses, "Languages are made rather than found, and that truth is a property of linguistic entities or sentences".

This section of the paper has outlined the development of the interaction account of metaphor, an account which emphasises the paradoxical yet cognitive and creative functions of metaphor. This approach to metaphor has been applied to the field of organisation and management theory.

#### METAPHOR AND ORGANISING

The work on metaphor has been multi-disciplinary, and in recent years increasing attention has been given to the role of metaphor in organisation and management theory and practice. Morris and Burgoyne (13) have noted six metaphors which inform the everyday practice of management development: the metaphors of building, engineering, agriculture, zoology, medicine and the military; laying solid foundations (building); stress, frictions, interfaces (engineering); sowing seeds, cultivating people (agriculture); zoologists



talk of breaking in young managers and the organisation as a jungle; medical metaphors: taking symptoms, organisational health and decay diagnosis; and, the military metaphor being widespread - mobilising resources, corporate strategy, staff, headquarters, logistics, planning.

Mangham (14) points to the practice of the use of courtship, warfare and the 'wild west' as ways of organising the experience of more or less friendly takeovers. Mangham (14) argues that "We notice colourful imagery of takeovers because it is novel and unexpected. We do not see the everyday metaphors of accounting because they have become the commonplace expressive form within which organisational activities are framed. Thus in research, productivity, marketing, personnel and even charity work, the terminology of finance has grown in dominance".(14) Mangham is emphasising here the account of language as "creating reality in its own image".(14) and that "all language is metaphorical"(14), since it involves seeing reality through language, i.e. seeing A as B, an account of metaphor outlined earlier. Thus Mangham argues, the normalisation of metaphors is a cause of their downfall as source of insight "where they initially clarified through the provision of a different perspective, they later obscure through their semblance to literal facticity".(14) He thus differentiates between the creative metaphor and metaphors which have now become taken-for-granted.

Morgan's (9) work though is at a different level of abstraction. He emphasises how many of our conventional ideas about organisations build upon a small number of taken-for-granted metaphors. Morgan (9) argues that the theories

promulgated in writing on organisations and management, and also theories in use,\* are based on metaphors that lead us to see and understand organisations in distinctive yet partial ways. In highlighting certain "interpretations", metaphors tend to force others into a background role. Our ability to achieve a comprehensive understanding depends on the ability to see how different metaphors may coexist in a contradictory or paradoxical way, "organisations are many things at once".(9) Morgan (9) proposes that there are five dominant metaphors structuring organisational theory:-

- i) organisation as machine;
- ii) organisation as organism;
- iii) organisation as brain;
- iv) organisation as political system;
- v) organisation as culture.

Jelinek, Smircich and Hirsh (15) propose that organisational analysis has been evolving towards more complex, paradoxical and even contradictory modes of understanding. Instead of monochromatic thinking, they suggest an interpretive framework more like a rainbow, "a code of many colours that tolerates alternative assumptions. We need to understand organisations as having machine-like aspects, organism-like aspects, culture-like aspects and others yet to be identified. We need to encourage the tensions engendered

\* Footnote: Morgan rejects the traditional belief that theory gets in the way of practice; "for, in recognising how taken-for-granted images or metaphors shape our understanding and action, we are recognising the role of theory. Our images or metaphors are theories or conceptual frameworks. Practice is never theory-free, for it is always guided by an image of what one is trying to do. The real issue is whether or not we are aware of the theory guiding our action.".(9)

by multiple images of our complex subject."\*(15) Most writing on organisations and management has tended to focus on the private/commercial sector. Morgan's work on metaphor has had a similar focus. What of the voluntary sector?

#### THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

Handy (16) argues that the implicit model of the organisation in textbooks is an engineering one, "the organisation is conceived of as a sophisticated clock or engine with interlocking parts, something which can in theory be designed to be perfect (were it not for the unpredictability of some of these human parts)".(16) He proposes though that things are changing. "New words in the organisational literature are words like 'culture', 'shared values', 'networks and alliances', 'power and influence', 'federalism', 'compromise and consent' and, most crucially, 'leadership' rather than 'management'. These are not the metaphors of engineering but those of political theory and they symbolise a new way of thinking about organisations - as societies or communities rather than as machines or warehouses. New words are the heralds of change, and these point to a revolution in the way we think about organisations .... The new language recognises what the voluntary world has known all along - that organisations are living communities with a common purpose, made up of free citizens with minds and values and rights of their own".(16)

What then are the images/metaphors-in-use in the voluntary sector? Are these different from the private sector which, it is proposed, tend to be the metaphors identified by

\* Footnote: This issue of tensions engendered by multiple images will be returned to later in this paper (see Page 27).

Morgan (9) as dominating organisational and management theory?  
Do the metaphors-in-use reflect the changing imagery proposed  
by Handy (16)?

#### THE METAPHORS-IN-USE IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

A methodology to identify the metaphors-in-use was developed from the work of Schön (8) and Miller (17) on metaphor. Schön's article (8) focuses on the issue of "social problem" setting. He argues there are "generative" metaphors underlying how social problems are perceived and proposes that the problem meaning can be reframed through the use of another generative metaphor. He points to how the "surface language" of a story offers a clue to the generative metaphors which set the problem of the story. Schön's work facilitated the development of a methodology which:-

- i) deliberately set out to generate 'stories';
- ii) enabled the identification of 'surface images' as clues to deep or generative metaphors.

The methodology chosen to generate stories or narrative was the 'critical incident technique'. This was used to elicit narratives from a purposive sample of 26 chief executives/directors of voluntary organisations, providing services directly or indirectly to children and/or young people. These were selected by 'peer acclamation' as particularly effective,\* in order to analyse the sense-making of the chief executives. The critical incident technique was used as a window into the world of the chief executives' experience as chief executives and their use of metaphors/images of

\* Footnote: The purpose of the research was not to study the issue of effectiveness. It is recognised that effectiveness can be conceptualised in many ways. The aim here was to identify 'la crème de la crème' chief executives.

organising.\* Each chief executive was asked to recount four incidents in the preceding twelve months, two in which they believed they had been particularly effective and two ineffective. Not all the chief executives could recount four incidents; however a total of 94 incidents was described. The transcripts of the interviews were then analysed for surface/satellite images of core metaphors. It was recognised that any identification was tentative and so a second person was used to negotiate the allocation of images to particular metaphor categories. Morgan's (9) metaphor categories were initially used, however it was quickly recognised other metaphors were in use. Table 1 gives examples of that allocation.

This table shows examples of the nouns and verbs and phrases that have been identified as images of particular metaphors. There will be seen to be nouns and verbs that are embedded in everyday language as well as phrases that stand out as more, even becoming prominent as clichés. It is argued that these all have significance as they are used in 'the sense-making' of the chief executives.

\* Footnote: The concept 'image' was used for the term which was said to be a 'satellite image' of a particular core metaphor, see Table 1 for satellite images of the core dominant metaphors (Page 13).

Table 1

Examples of Allocation of Terms/Images  
to Metaphor Categories.

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- a) Plan, objectives, authority, accountability, hierarchy, to the 'machine' metaphor.
- b) Staff, strategy, targets, to the 'military' metaphor.
- c) Organisation and personal needs, groups, boundaries, environment, health, to the 'organism' metaphor.
- d) Power, influence, conflict, negotiation, to the 'politics' metaphor.
- e) Values, traditions, norms, principles, to the 'culture' metaphor.
- f) Decisions, information, communication, to the 'brain' metaphor.
- g) Crossroads, directions, stages, travel, to the 'journey' metaphor.
- h) Role, performance, drama, juggling, to the 'theatre' metaphor.
- i) Keep balls in the air, team, keeping cards close to one's chest, to the 'game' metaphor.
- j) Money, budget, deficit, to the 'business' metaphor.
- k) Regional, national, local, field, to the 'territory' metaphor.

(Images were also identified of 'change', 'chance' and images of 'images of the organisation'.)

Table 2 below shows the metaphors identified by Morgan and those in use by the chief executives.

**Table 2    Metaphors of Organising**

	<u>Morgan's (9) Metaphors</u>	<u>Volunt. Organis'n</u>
The dominant metaphors of organisational theory.	Machine including military) Organism Political system Culture Brain	Machine Organism Politics Culture Brain
	* Psychic prison Flux and transformation Instruments of domination	Military Business Journey Game Theatre Territory

It is suggested that Morgan (9) did not identify the 'journey', 'game' and 'theatre' metaphors as he concentrated at the organisational level. His was a top-down approach. He also developed his work from an analysis of academic work and not theories-in-use. The research though was of the metaphor use by chief executives who are sense-making both at a personal and an institutional level, their theories-in-use.

The research showed that, contrary to what Handy (16) is proposing, the 'machine' metaphor is extensively used in voluntary organisations and co-exists alongside the other metaphors. The chief executives are multiple-metaphor users

\* **Footnote:** Morgan (9) uses the metaphor of:-

- i) Psychic prison to emphasise the notion that people can actually become imprisoned by their ideas, thoughts and actions.
- ii) Flux and transformation is used as a metaphor to emphasise the processes of 'change'.
- iii) Instruments of domination emphasise the processes of social domination where individuals or groups find ways of imposing their will on others.

and voluntary organisations are seen as many things at once. An analysis of the quantitative use of the metaphor use shows the 'brain' metaphor predominates with ten chief executives; 'organism' with six; 'politics' with six; and, the 'machine' metaphor with four chief executives.

There is no suggestion here that a chief executive has a particular dominant metaphorical style, i.e. one metaphor will always predominate. There will always be a dialectic 'interactive' relationship between the chief executives and their situation. The chief executive will "engage objective reality subjectively".(Morgan (9)) It is suggested a metaphor will dominate at a particular time, i.e. 'be on top', again reflecting the chief executives' interactive relationship to their experience.

However, it is recognised the use of an image/metaphor would need to be learned. The Russell, Munby, Spafford and Johnston (18) research shows a change and learning of new images/metaphors by teachers to make sense of their experience over time. A similar longitudinal study of chief executives may also demonstrate that learning process.

An analysis was undertaken of the comparative metaphor use by the 26 chief executives. All the chief executives of the eleven largest organisations, (200 staff or more) (ten of the eleven being also the most experienced as chief executives), have a comparative high use of the 'machine' metaphor, compared to the other chief executives. This would suggest the size of the voluntary organisation does correlate with the extent of the use of the 'machine' metaphor (the Meyer (19) study supports the thesis, the larger the organisation the more formality).



However, the greater the size did not correlate with the greater the comparative use of the 'machine' metaphor. The four largest organisation chief executives (2,000 + staff) used the machine imagery less than the seven other chief executives of this group of large organisations. There is choice, not determinism. It was noticeable that ten of these largest eleven shared another pattern, that of the use of the 'culture' metaphor. The comparative analysis showed that ten of the chief executives (the ten who were the most experienced chief executives) made comparatively high use of the 'culture' metaphor. Thus, what was evident was that the large organisation (and most experienced chief executives) do not replace the 'machine' imagery with the 'culture' imagery (or vice versa). This exemplifies both/and thinking and not either/or thinking. There is not a move away from 'machine' imagery to other imagery, as Handy (16) appears to be proposing. The chief executives are multi-metaphor users.

It is argued that the quantitative metaphor analysis of the research shows that there does not appear to be any difference between the private and voluntary sectors as regards different metaphor use. However, it is proposed that two metaphors have particular qualitative significance for the voluntary sector:-

- i) the 'journey' metaphor;
- ii) the 'culture' metaphor.

- an argument which will now be developed.

#### THE JOURNEY METAPHOR-IN-USE IN VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

One of the ongoing criticisms of organisation and management theory has been the tendency to reify the organisation, considering the organisation as a concrete

entity. The use of the concept 'the organisation' (a noun) reinforces this reification process, presenting a static image of the entity or a product. The use of a verb 'to organise' however places emphasis on process, identifying the dynamic nature of organising or managing. Morgan (9) introduces a metaphor "organisation as flux and transformation" as a way of emphasising change; of creating new means of thinking about change; and dealing with change in organisations. However, the analysis of the research data identified a different dominant metaphor of process in use, that of 'journey'. The analysis also showed a rich and varied range of images of the 'journey' metaphor.

To make sense of this imagery use, a classification system was developed. This classification system also facilitated the identification of 'images in tension' as statements of the chief executives became more complex, other metaphors being introduced into their discourse. It will also be proposed that the use of the 'journey' metaphor may be a distinctive feature of the voluntary sector.

An analysis of the transcripts of the 26 chief executives was undertaken to identify the use by the chief executives of the 'journey' metaphor, the form of the metaphor having a content of a range of 'satellite images'. These images were extracted from the text with the sentence context in which they were found. Thus one chief executive stated (Example A), "Again it is like a typical voluntary sector, where you are never quite sure who is driving whom ... who is on the Bridge of the Queen Mary". In this sentence there is a satellite image "driving" and also "on the Bridge of the Queen Mary"; both these images are of the means/vehicle of a journey.

Similarly, another chief executive stated (Example B), "being able to keep one's organisation roughly in the right direction having best guessed where the world was going; to be ahead of events as one can ... given all these imponderables, one has to be quick on one's feet". It is proposed that in this example there are satellite images of direction, "where one's organisation is going" and "quick on one's feet", an image of the chief executive being 'on foot' for this journey (means of travel). An example of a more complex metaphorical statement (Example C): "The image, although it is quite a favourite of mine, is about tightrope walking without a safety net. That it really was one of those events where you were on your own, you had to trust your own judgement; when it came down to it, you had to say 'yes, I reckon I can make it to the other side and it is going to be alright'.". The image of tightrope walking evokes images of the means of travel, "walking". There is also the image of direction in "yes, I reckon I can make it to the other side and it is going to be alright". The tightrope image also evokes powerful images of balance, danger and risk. A further example (Example D) is a statement "My job is mainly about the long term direction of the organisation; the corporate thing, yet at the same time trying to keep in touch with the day-to-day issues, otherwise you will come to be in a world of your own.". There is again the use of the satellite image of direction. Thus in these statements we have images of:-

- i) direction, emphasising the process aspect of the metaphor;
- ii) images of the means/vehicles of the journey, i.e. "on the Queen Mary" (ship); as a tightrope "walker" (on foot); other examples of the means/vehicle were identified: "bus", "aircraft", "ferry", "horse rider".

A closer analysis of these examples also suggested a further classification. In Example A it is possible to identify an image of difficulty/problem, "where you are never quite sure who is driving whom". The difficulty/problem has already been identified in Example C, i.e. tightrope walking. A much more dramatic example of the image of problem is Example E: "I feel like continually going through a hurricane; battered all the time; driven off course; somehow I don't sink, it gets close. The hurricane image also gives an image of being alone in that process, blinded by rain and the continual feeling of not enough energy to accomplish all those tasks. The hurricane is predominantly outside the organisation."

It can be seen that there is again the image of the means/vehicle, of a ship, identified through the phrase "driven off course", and consonant with that means/vehicle image is an image of hurricane highlighting difficulty/problem. This difficulty/problem imagery can be contrasted by a statement (Example F) by the same chief executive: "a fairly tranquil lake and I am the ferryman, and taking people with me on the ferry and crossing the waters on new adventures.". The "tranquility" image is very evidently contrasted with the "hurricane", yet there is also the use of a similar image of a ship/ferry, an image of a means/vehicle of the journey.

This example and an Example G "leadership is the qualitative bit that not only gives people the direction, but also gives them the motivation and the values and the overall sense of direction", focuses on the chief executive. In Example F, the chief executive is the "helmsman"; this image

is consonant with the means/vehicle of the journey, while in Example G the focus on the chief executive as leader is used in the context of the use of the direction imagery. Examples were also found where the focus was on the 'institution'. The journey imagery appears to have value in being able to be used at both levels anthropomorphically. An examination of Example C identifies another means of classification: "You were on your own, you had to trust your own judgement"; there is here an image of prescription, "you had to trust your own judgement"; it is an image of either/or thinking. "Trust your own judgement" prescribes action in one form only. However, in Example D the chief executive emphasises both/and thinking; the importance of the phrase "at the same time" is that what is being prescribed is this and/both thinking.

It is therefore proposed it is possible to classify prescriptive statements into either/or, both/and and a third choice where the chief executive intimates a sense of choice. These various examples show it is possible to classify the 'journey' metaphor-in-use in the journey matrix form:-

**Figure 1 Journey Metaphor Matrix**

	Means / Vehicle	Direction
Focus		
Difficulties / problems		
<u>Prescriptive</u> i) either/or ii) choice iii) and/both		

### The Significance of the 'Journey' Metaphor

The exploration into the 'journey' metaphor-in-use, a metaphor of process, has, it is argued, demonstrated its qualitative significance for the voluntary sector. While Morgan (9) makes no reference to the 'journey' metaphor, do other writers on organisation and management theory? A review of the literature indicates that journey imagery is being increasingly used by writers on leadership and is often used to compare the manager with the leader:- Golzen and Garner (20), "Managers are concerned with efficiency, marshalling the physical resources of the organisation. Leaders have gifts of inspiring people with a vision of the direction in which the organisation or even just their bit of the organisation is going." Bennis and Nanus (21), "Effective leadership can move organisations from current to future states". "Leaders concern themselves with the organisation's basic purpose and general direction."

Adair (22), "Leadership is action, not position; one of the distinctive features of leadership is the leader will find a way forward. He/she will generate a sense of direction".

A much more explicit and extended use of the 'journey' metaphor is by Kouzes and Posner (23). They write, "We use the metaphor of the journey as the most appropriate metaphor for discussing the task of the leaders. That is because the root origin of the word 'lead' is a word meaning 'to go'. This root origin denotes travel from one place to another. Leaders can be said to be those who go first. They are those who step out to show others the direction in which to head. They begin the quest for a new order. In this sense leaders are pioneers, they are people who venture into unexplored

territory. They guide us to new and often unfamiliar destinations. .... A main difference between managers and leaders can be found in the root meaning of the two words, the difference between what it means to handle things and what it means to go places. The unique reason for having leaders - their differentiating function - is to move us forward, leaders get us going somewhere."

What about the world of business? Is the 'journey' metaphor used in practice? Hayes (24) quotes a comment from the Chief Executive of Diamond Shamrock, "Why has our vision been narrowed? Why has our flexibility been constricted? To my mind, there is one central reason: our strategies have become too rigid ... a detailed strategy is like a road map, telling us every turn we must take to get to our goal.... The entrepreneur, on the other hand, views strategic planning not as a road map but as a compass and is always looking for a new road."

All these writings indicate the presence of the journey imagery is not a distinctive feature of voluntary organisations. However, the research highlighted how the discourse of the chief executives of voluntary organisations contains a rich, varied and extensive presence of the imagery of the 'journey' metaphor. Why? A number of reasons are suggested:-

- i) I shall argue later in this paper that voluntary organisations are better depicted as social value institutions because of the importance of social values to the sector. As a metaphor of process, it is proposed the metaphor of journey has particular qualitative significance for the voluntary sector, in that the

process emphasises action and the operationalisation of the values of the institution, the direction and journey to achieve the valued purpose. Examples of a striking use of the journey to achieve this valued purpose is the use of the term 'movement' for institutions of social change, which many voluntary organisations are.

A second example is from one of the voluntary organisations participating in this research. They had recently issued a new statement of purpose and values. They placed emphasis on their "Christian pilgrimage", "faith in action". It is suggested that the self-image of members of voluntary organisations is more likely to be that of traveller or pilgrim, rather than 'machine' or 'organism'.

- ii) The essential 'value based' and intangible nature of much of the work of voluntary organisations, and the lack of any suitable overall performance measure analogous to 'return on capital' in industry, has been emphasised by authors such as Handy (16). In a similar vein, the ambiguous and often conflicting nature of 'goals' of public organisations, including not-for-profit organisations, has been identified by Nutt and Backoff (25). They point to the demands of interest groups, flux in missions and manipulation by important shareholders and third parties creating a complex and confusing set of expectations that are frequently conflicting. They note the difficulty which not-for-profit organisations have with goals. Thus, not-for-profit organisation funders may require efficient operations; clients want personalised care; staff want continual improvement of



resources; and trustees want prestige and tranquility. "These expectations produce conflicting goals as well as vague and hard-to-interpret requirements and priorities .... strategy development in situations that involves ambiguous goals is difficult, if not impossible. This ambiguity provides a sharp distinction between strategic management in public as compared to private organisations."\*(25) It is argued that the theory-in-use of the chief executives of the voluntary organisations to cope with this issue of ambiguous and often conflicting goals is the emphasis of the imagery of journey towards the achievement of the social purpose/s of the organisation, while managing the tensions of conflicting interests and expectations. The imagery of 'direction' has been highlighted in the matrix on Page 20. The imagery content of the metaphor thus allows for flexibility and change, while there is still a sense of 'direction' to the purpose of the journey. Later in this paper I develop Young's (32) concept of 'centration', suggesting the core values of 'institution' providing the centration or anchor points for the organisation in a time of change.

- iii) The social value purposes, often emphasising social as well as individual change, are frequently not totally achievable, at least in the time of the present staff and/or members. Similarly, a purpose to keep all young people out of custody, while providing focus and purpose, will not be achieved by one voluntary organisation; only

\* Footnote: Nutt and Backoff use Bozeman's (26) notion of publicness to draw attention to the degree which public authority affects how organisations act.

a small number of young people will be, and even then many other factors may impinge on that achievement. The 'distance' (journey imagery) and uncertainty of the achievement of the social purpose can be creatively conceptualised through the rich and varied imagery of the 'journey' metaphor. Yet, even though this uncertainty and distance can lead to confusion, and drift (journey imagery), the 'journey' metaphor also has an image of direction. So, even though there will be uncertainty and difficulty, tensions and pressures, the leader using the 'journey' metaphor needs to ensure the institution has direction. "It is better to travel with hope...." As an allegory, for example in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress", the 'journey' metaphor has been used to highlight direction, yet also difficulty and uncertainty.

- iv) The 'journey' metaphor's imagery of uncertainty and change are also useful to depict the context in which voluntary organisation's action takes place. The context which voluntary organisations are operating in today is that of turbulence, change and uncertainty. It has been proposed by Adair (22) that this is why leadership has once again come to the fore. "leaders like change, it is their chosen element .... he or she find a way forward, generate a sense of direction ... building a team which is able to ride out storms."

In summary, it is argued that the 'journey' metaphor may be a qualitatively distinctive feature of the voluntary sector. Whether this is so would need to be tested out in comparative research with private as well as public sector organisations.

The second metaphor which, it is argued, has particular qualitative significance for the voluntary sector is the 'culture' metaphor.

#### THE 'CULTURE' METAPHOR-IN-USE IN VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

An analysis was undertaken of the transcripts of the chief executives interviewed for the qualitative use of the 'culture' metaphor in comparison to the 'machine', 'brain', 'organism', 'politics' and 'military' metaphors which with 'culture' are the six dominant metaphors of organisational and management theory. This showed the 'culture' metaphor was:-

- i) third most used by one chief executive;
- ii) fourth most used by two chief executives;
- iii) fifth most used by 21 chief executives;
- iv) sixth most used by two chief executives.

Thus, quantitatively, it was relatively low but still significantly used in the sense-making by the chief executives.

Earlier in this article, it was proposed that 'metaphor' refers to a certain kind of product - "a perspective or frame, a way of looking at things" (Schön (8)); the research identified the metaphors-in-use, 'the product', which the chief executives used to make sense of their experience. Thus, while still a dominant metaphor, the 'culture' metaphor as a product had a relative low usage compared to 'machine', 'brain', 'organism' and 'politics'. As indicated earlier, metaphor also refers to a certain kind of process "by which new perspectives on a world come into existence".(Schön (8), Hausman (11))

Developing Hausman's "interaction account" of metaphor (as a process), it is proposed that the chief executives were

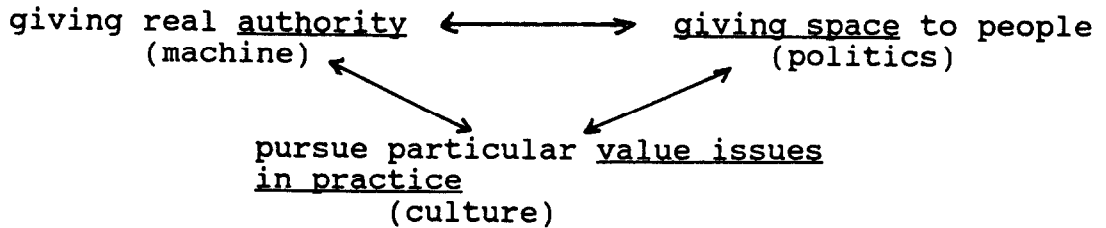
not only multiple-metaphor users but to varying extents also creative metaphor users, these creative metaphors being of varying degrees of complexity. This creative metaphor use, where two or more metaphors are brought together in tension to make sense of the chief executive's experience, is argued to be an important element in the process of 'leadership' in the voluntary sector. I use the concept of diadic, triadic and four dimensional creative metaphorical thought to express this complexity of creative metaphor use, the bringing together in tension of two, three and four metaphors respectively. It is proposed the chief executives are able to create new meanings through the reflective interaction of incongruent meaning units, meaning units from different core metaphors.

The focus here is on the creativity of the chief executives as they bring together, in tension, meaning units from different core metaphors/perspectives to make sense of their experience. The bringing together in tension of what are argued to be satellite images of metaphors, and making sense from the paradox, is argued to be the process of the creative metaphor.

It will be seen from the way the diadic, triadic and four dimensional creative metaphors are depicted that, whereas in the diadic creative metaphor there is one tension between the two meaning units, in the triadic creative metaphors there are three tensions, while in the four dimensional there are six tensions. This demonstrates the level of thought processes required to cope with this four dimensional complexity. It also shows how easy it would be to drop one or more metaphor to alleviate that complexity.



- ii) "They both give real authority to the Senior Management Team as leading the Society, but they give space to people who want to be experimental, pursue particular value issues in practices and new work."

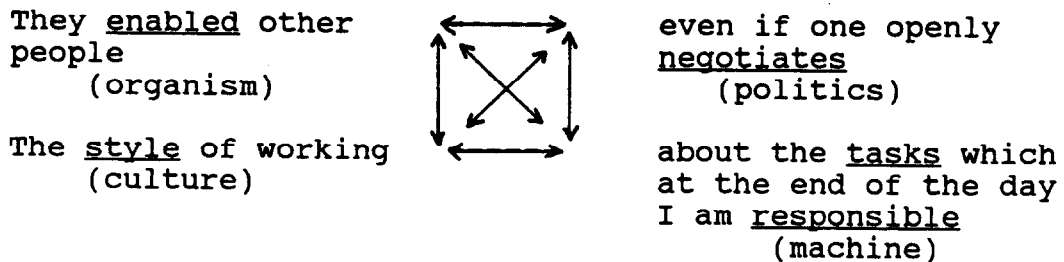


The Four Dimensional Creative Metaphor

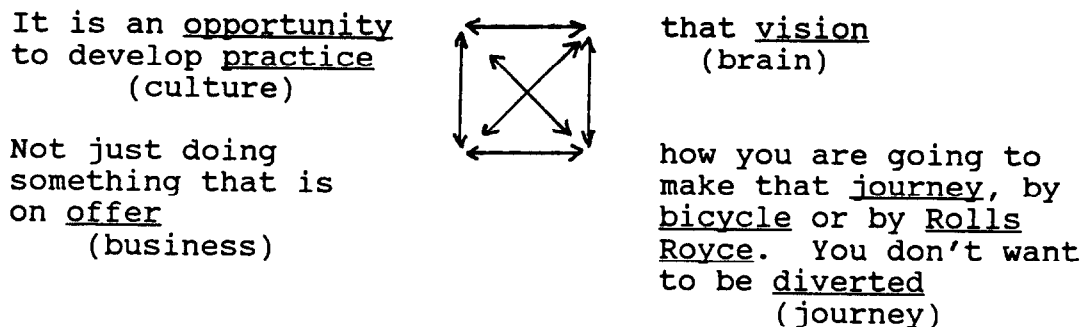
A third level of complexity is the four dimensional creative metaphor with meaning units from four metaphors/ perspectives in tension interacting, creating new meaning in a dialogue with reality. The arrows depict the bi-directional interaction between the four metaphors.

- i) "The ones I would regard as a success to the extent they enabled other people; even if one openly negotiates the style of working and is fairly clear about the tasks for which at the end of the day I am responsible ..."

This creative metaphor can be depicted as:-



- ii) "It is the opportunity to develop practice towards that vision, not just doing something that is on offer. You don't quite know how you are going to make that journey, by bicycle or by Rolls Royce. You don't want to be diverted."



The identification of managers "living with paradox" is of course not new (see Morgan (9), Vaille (27), Kouzes and Posner (23) and Hickman (28)). However, writers tend to concentrate on managers/leaders living with only two paradoxical perspectives. What the research showed was that in practice the chief executives bring together (but keep distinct at the same time) three or four different perspectives they have developed, creating complex creative metaphors.

An analysis was then undertaken to identify the metaphors-in-use in these creative metaphors.

**Metaphors-In-Use in the Creative Metaphors**

Table 3 below identifies the metaphors-in-use in the creative metaphors formation of the 26 chief executives. Also shown in brackets is the total quantitative percentage use in the chief executives' sense making.

**Table 3 Metaphors in Use in the Creative Metaphors**

	Number	Percentage	Quantitative % Use
Machine	109	26	(17.7)
Culture	70	17	( 6.5)
Organism	69	17	(16.8)
Brain	57	14	(21.4)
Politics	35	8	(15.4)
Journey	23	6	( 4.4)
Business	14	3	( 7.9)
Game	11	3	( 0.8)
Theatre	7	2	( 0.9)
Images of change	6	2	( 1.1)
Military	5	1	( 3.9)
Territory	3	1	( 2.0)

It will be noticed that the 'culture' metaphor is now the second most frequently used in the creative metaphor use, second to the 'machine' metaphor. The 'machine' metaphor was used by all the 26 chief executives in the formation of some of their creative metaphors. The 'culture' and 'machine' metaphors are therefore significant for the voluntary sector.

### Images of 'Solidarity'

The writings on 'organisational culture' by, amongst others, Schein (29), Morgan (9) and Johnson (30) have emphasised the shared nature of the values, ideology, beliefs, meanings and assumptions. Was there emphasis by the 26 chief executives of this solidarity? An analysis of the transcripts was undertaken to identify images of shared values, beliefs etc., i.e. images of a shared culture and solidarity, images of "we-ness". Of the 26 chief executives, eleven of them stated either "this is what we are about" or "this is what we stand for". No questions were asked of the chief executives about the purpose, mission, aims of their organisation, their disclosure of "what we stand for" and "what we are about" was unprompted and was mentioned as part of their discussion of the critical incidents. Only five of the chief executives made no use of any images of solidarity of the organisation, either in positive or negative terms. The analysis therefore showed a total of 21 of the chief executives used images defining in some way "what we are"; "what we stand for"; or, "what we are about". This is in contrast to the generally negative metaphors used to depict the voluntary sector, i.e. non-profit, non-statutory, non-governmental organisations.



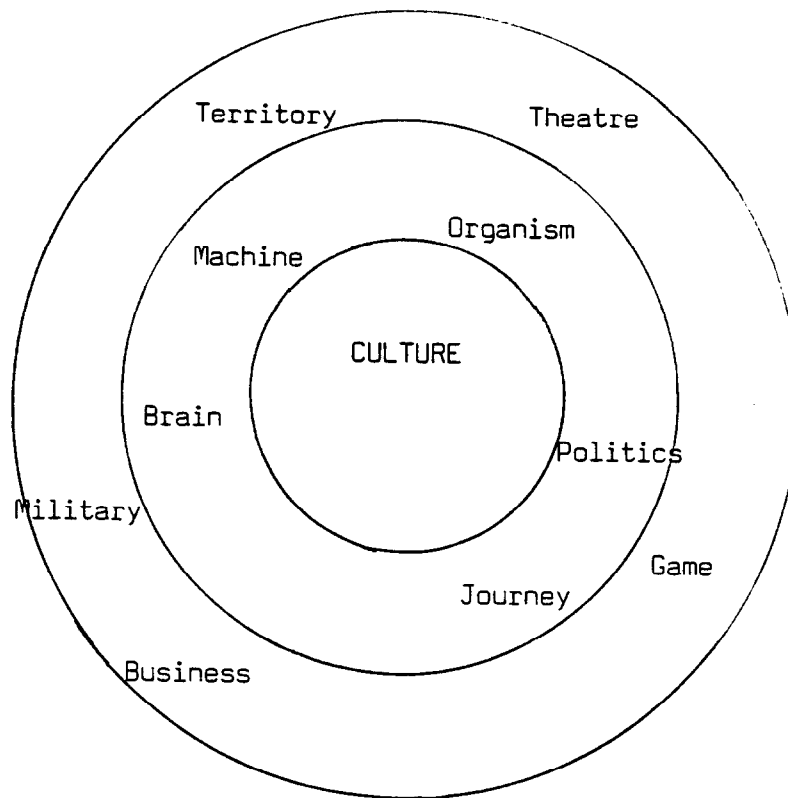
What was evident from this analysis of the chief executives' transcripts was the significance for them of the social values "which the organisations are about" or "stand for" as their reason for being. It is suggested it is significant that a number of voluntary organisations, whose chief executives were interviewed, had been going through lengthy consultation and development processes, producing an explicit, shared statement of a group of core values that the organisation stood for. The purpose was not only to develop a sense of wholeness and solidarity across widely dispersed organisations, both in terms of geography and variety of work, but also to develop a shared sense of purpose (terminal values\*) and ways of working (instrumental values) at a time of major change in the provision of social welfare in this country. Using Young's (32) concept of "centration", it is suggested that these core values provide the centration or anchor points for the organisation in a time of change. The organisations are able to manage major change, whilst paradoxically maintaining stability through the core values providing the anchor points. This is not to suggest that these core values will remain for ever, they may be changed.

\* **Footnote:** Rokeach (31) defined values as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct (instrumental value) or end state of existence (terminal value) is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

It is argued that the research demonstrates the qualitative significance of the 'culture' metaphor for the voluntary sector. It is therefore proposed voluntary organisations can be more usefully depicted as 'social value institutions'. This depiction emphasises their significant difference from organisations of the private sector.

Figure 2 below depicts the key metaphors of voluntary/non-profit sector organising.

**Figure 2**



The 'culture' metaphor is placed in the centre to depict the significance of the metaphor for the voluntary/non-profit sector.

This thesis of the centrality of the 'culture' metaphor for voluntary organisations is used as the basis of the argument for a reorientation of the view of voluntary organisations as "what they are not", i.e. not-for-profit, non-governmental, non-statutory organisations, to the view they are best depicted as:-

- i) having social value purpose/s;
- ii) social value institutions rather than 'organisations'.

#### VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AS SOCIAL VALUE INSTITUTIONS

Weber (33) argues that intrinsic to the concept of an organisation is the existence of a distinctive set of rules governing behaviour. He used the concept of legitimacy for classification of organisations. With different forms of belief in the legitimacy of authority were associated different authority structures and thus organisational forms. Weber identified three kinds of such belief: charismatic authority, traditional authority and, thirdly, rational legal authority, the belief that a person was giving an order in accordance with her/his duties laid down in a code of legal rules and regulations, and the legitimacy of those orders rested on that legality. It was this type of authority which Weber saw dominating with the spread of rationality. The pessimism of Weber for the future of the world under the process of rationalisation was highlighted by his belief that ultimate values would decline mainly through the calculability of formal rationality progressively eroding values from the world. This pessimism, I would suggest, led Weber to ignore a fourth source of legitimacy, a legitimacy highlighted by the

'Institutional School' of Selznick and others. That legitimacy is a shared acceptance of the valued purposes and/or valued practices; substantive or value rationality rather than technical rationality.(Weber (33))

Selznick (34) distinguishes between an "administrative organisation" and an "institution". The administrative organisation (based on the Weberian bureaucratic machine model), as Selznick (34) writes, is "particularly striking with its formal system of rules and objectives. Tasks, powers and procedures are set out according to some officially approved pattern, which purports to say how the work of the organisation is to be carried out; whether it be producing steel, winning votes, teaching children or saving souls. The organisation thus designed is a technical instrument for mobilising human energies and directing them towards set aims. We allocate tasks, delegate authority, channel communication and find some way of coordinating all that has been divided up and parcelled out. All this is conceived as an exercise in engineering; it is governed by the related ideals of rationality and discipline. The term organisation thus suggests a certain bareness, a lean, no-nonsense system of consciously coordinated activities. It refers to an expendable tool, a rational instrument engineered to do a job. An 'institution' is more nearly a natural product of social needs and pressures - a responsive, adaptive organism. This distinction is a matter of analysis, not of direct description. It does not mean that any given enterprise must be either one or the other .... most organisations are complex

mixtures of both designed and responsive behaviour.".(34)

Selznick is here using the metaphor 'organisation as machine' to designate the organisation, while using the metaphor of 'organisation as organism' to define the institution.

Selznick (34) emphasises the importance of the history of the institution, its evolution as it adapts to both internal and external forces. New patterns emerge and old ones decline, "not as a result of conscious design but as natural and largely unplanned adaptations to new situations.".(34)

Selznick (34) argues that this emphasis on adaptive change suggests that, in attempting to understand large and relatively enduring organisations, we should draw on what we know about natural communities. "This would lead to consideration of matters such as:-

- a) The development of administrative ideologies as conscious and unconscious devices of communication and self-defence ... the development of official 'philosophies'.
- b) The creation and protection of elites. In the natural communities, elites play a vital role in the creation and protection of values. Similarly in organisations, and especially those that have or strive for some special identity, the formation of elites is a practical problem of the first importance.
- c) The emergence of contending interest groups, many of which bid for dominant influence in society."(34)

Selznick proposes that, despite the diversity of these forces, they have a unifying effect. "In their operation we see the way group values are formed, for together they define the commitments of the organisation, and give it a distinct identity." (He terms this its "character".) He stresses that institutionalisation is a process. It is something that happens to an organisation over time, "reflecting the

organisation's own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and vested interests they have created and the way it has adapted to its environment."(34) For Selznick, to institutionalise is to infuse with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand. "From the standpoint of the committed person, the organisation is changed from an expendable tool into a valued source of personal satisfaction."(34)

For Selznick, the leader is an agent of institutionalisation, offering a guiding hand to a process that otherwise would occur more haphazardly; the leader is primarily an expert in the promotion (throughout the organisation) and protection of values, and the development of a committed polity. Using a 'journey' metaphor, Selznick proposes that leadership has the sense of being a hand at the helm to steer a course through uncharted waters.

Selznick (34) writes that in the institution people pursue the purpose and practices of the institution because they value them (emphasising the shared nature of these values). My argument, to be developed shortly, is that this value commitment is indeed a particular, defining characteristic of what are termed 'voluntary organisations'.

It will be seen that Selznick has introduced the 'culture' metaphor alongside the 'organism' metaphor. Perhaps reflecting his structural functionalist roots, his work is limited as a perspective on how this institutionalisation of values actually takes place (although there is some reference to 'politics').

The process of institutionalisation has been used by researchers into 'non-profit sector' organisations. The emphasis of this research has been on how organisational values are weakened or subverted through organisational processes; values, it is said, should have been institutionalised. I would argue that the fact that organisational values are changed does not necessarily mean they are any less shared by members.

Examples of the research using the 'Institutional Framework' are Messinger's analysis (35) of the Townsend organisation, Zald's study (36) of the American Y.M.C.A. and Scott's study (37) of agencies working with those with visual handicaps. Perrow (38), in a review of the Institutional Framework Studies, proposes that what some see as goal displacement may refer only to goals never entertained by the leaders. The outputs of the organisation may be just what they planned. This emphasises the need to introduce a political perspective to the analysis.

The importance of values has been highlighted in two recent studies. Harris's study of chairpersons of voluntary welfare organisations showed that "they tended to be drawn to their governing body, indeed to the leadership role, more by chance than through positive choice".(39) However, once in post as chairperson, "they seemed to rise to the challenge of leadership with alacrity".(39) Harris argues that this change of heart was because they were already generally well-disposed towards making a substantial commitment of some kind to the welfare of the community. "Their voluntary sector involvement

was for them one way amongst many possible ways of acting on personal values."(39) There was thus a congruence between personal and institutional values.

Cornforth's and Hooker's study (40), in their view, suggested there was a good deal of evidence to suggest "voluntary and non-profit organisations are value-driven".

I would propose that extensively in the voluntary sector the legitimacy of rules is rooted in substantive values. Rules are followed because they are valued in themselves, or because they are means of achieving the valued purpose/s of the voluntary organisation/s. The extent of the institutionalisation of the particular voluntary organisation\* will be a matter of empirical research, and some people may well follow rules because they are codified and part of a "rational-legal bureaucratic" authority structure, rather than because they are valued. There may also be conflicting values even if people share the ultimate valued purpose of the voluntary organisation. My research indicates that the explicit focus on the institutionalisation process may well occur at particular stages of development of the organisation.

Billis (41) has suggested that "the puzzle" of non-profit management might be very broadly described as "the question of boundaries".(41) One of these is the nature of any boundaries that might exist between the voluntary and other major sectors. A second relates to the boundaries between roles.

\* Footnote: The term 'voluntary organisation' is used here as it is used commonly in discourse rather than in distinguishing between institution and organisation.



He (41) argues that the key features of a bureaucracy are, in the main, a clear cut differentiation between the status of:-

- a) employer and employee;
- b) employee and non-employee;
- c) providers and recipients;
- d) "chairman" and director;
- e) director and managers;
- f) managers and subordinates.

He points to situations where employees were previously the unpaid founders of the organisation; where complex funding arrangements make it difficult to identify who really is the employer; where volunteers complicate the neatness of the division between employee and non-employee; where there may be no differentiation between managers and other roles (i.e. non-hierarchical or collective projects) and "where self-help groups confuse the whole caboodle by employing staff from amongst their own members and providing services.".(41)

Kramer (42) suggests in his study of voluntary agencies providing services for people with disabilities that, while the organisation structure for service delivery expresses the bureaucratic character of a voluntary agency, its pattern of governance indicates its roots as a voluntary association and therefore these agencies have a distinctive hybrid character. In a later article (43) he notes another complication, the voluntary agency maintains two parallel lines of authority and management between board and staff and between professionals and volunteers in its governance and management.

Billis (41) proposes a model in which the key proposition is that "the worlds of bureaucracies and associations overlap (voluntary associations comprise groups of people who draw a boundary between themselves and others in order to meet some

problem. They have an objective or purpose. The concept of membership is crucial - without it, the boundary cannot be maintained) .... and that the middle, ambiguous territory is occupied by voluntary 'agencies' that possess the attributes of both associations and bureaucracies.". He suggests most of the "big battalions" will have entered the "bureaucratic world" but a large number of voluntary organisations are in the "ambiguous zone".

I would suggest that implicitly Billis and Kramer are pointing to the weakness of the traditional bureaucratic model of organisations (structured by the 'machine' metaphor) to describe and analyse voluntary organisations. As Morgan (9) writes, metaphors lead us to see organisations in distinctive yet partial ways. "In highlighting certain interpretations, metaphors tend to force others into a background role."(9) In his article, Billis (41) points out how participants in workshops and events have used phrases such as "the absence of roots" or "losing contact with roots".\* He notes that the dictionary definition of roots (which is an image of the 'organism' metaphor) refers to drawing strength, inspiration and sustenance. "It reminds us that, although resources might be seen as the sustenance elements of roots, we must also remember the role of inspiration."(41) He proposes the variables of the agency root system can be identified as implicit welfare policies, financial resources and human resources. Of importance to this article is his focus on

\* Footnote: A chief executive was heard by the author of this article to state "We are losing touch with our values".

'implicit welfare' policies. He notes implicit policies may appear in some form of mission statement. "More often they lurk in the background as organisational beliefs, influencing organisational policies and becoming explicit in times of crisis - often as a result of external intervention." (41) He points to the implicit fundamental beliefs and sometimes conflict over these in the 'agencies' of his case studies (these are both instrumental and terminal values. (Rokeach (31)) In another part of the article he notes that "Voluntary welfare agencies are distinctive because they have both a group of people who are committed (my emphasis) to the specific purposes of a particular organisation." (41) This emphasis on beliefs and commitment to the purpose are, I would suggest, images of the 'culture' metaphor. Billis is introducing the 'culture' metaphor to make sense of the case studies and develop his model.\* One metaphor alone, the 'machine' metaphor, is not sufficient to develop the model.\*\* He also introduces images of the 'politics' metaphor to make some sense of the processes within the case studies.

If there are weaknesses in the use of the traditional Weberian bureaucratic model of organisations\*\*\* (structured by the 'machine' metaphor) to describe and analyse voluntary organisations, is it then sensible to call voluntary

\* Footnote: My research indicates "the big battalions" do also use the 'culture' metaphor as well as the 'machine' metaphor.

\*\* Footnote: Billis (41) uses images of the 'culture' and 'political' metaphors to make sense of "the association".

\*\*\* Footnote: I would suggest the history of the development of organisational and management theory is a history of the failure to establish the 'truth' of one particular metaphor.

organisations "organisations", because of the term's strong link with the Weberian concept of bureaucracy? I am proposing that a more useful concept is that of social value institutions, which reflects the belief that extensively in the voluntary sector the legitimacy of rules is rooted in substantive values. Rules are followed because they are valued in themselves or because they are the means of achieving the valued purpose/s of the voluntary organisation. The concept of social value institutions reflects the purpose of their existence and their significant legitimacy structure.

#### CONCLUSION

The research into the use of metaphor in voluntary organisations indicates that the difference between voluntary organisations and those in the private sector is not that of metaphor use. However, it is argued, that two metaphors, 'journey' and 'culture', have particular significance for the voluntary sector; and that a particularly useful concept to describe voluntary organisations would be 'social value institutions'. Drucker (44) writes that "Non-profits do not base their strategy on money, nor do they make it the centre of their plans, as so many corporate executives do.". He quotes a chief executive who sits on the boards of both business and non-profit organisations as saying, "The businesses I work with start their planning with financial returns ... the non-profits start with the performance of their mission!".(44)

The conclusion of my research is that voluntary organisations are extensively 'social value' driven and this

is their distinctiveness from the private sector. The danger in this country is that we are increasingly seeing the voluntary sector being defined as part of the 'independent sector' with the private sector. That distinctiveness of the voluntary sector is being lost. The result is an increasing desire to apply the models of the 'market' and the private sector to the voluntary sector, without any reflection of the appropriateness of those models nor the resulting damage to the voluntary sector, ironically seen as increasingly important in the provision of welfare and other services. Research, training, model development and systems of accountability for voluntary organisations should reflect what they are and not what they are not. More should be learned of the theories-in-use in the voluntary sector before inappropriate models/theories are imposed upon the sector.

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## **Cranfield School of Management**

Cranfield Institute of Technology  
Cranfield Bedford MK43 0AL England  
Telephone National Bedford (0234) 751122  
International +44 234 751122  
Telex 826559 CITMAN G  
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