

# The Third Sector, the State and the Market: challenges and opportunities in an era of austerity

Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> October 2014, 9.00am – 5.00pm

Venue: The Circle, Sheffield

For directions to the venue location: <http://www.thecirclesheffield.org.uk/location>

Event contact: Emma Smith ([e.smith@shu.ac.uk](mailto:e.smith@shu.ac.uk) / 0114 225 3073)

## Event overview:

The relationship between the third sector and the state is in a process of change, and the current focus on austerity in economic policy is playing its part in shaping the change process. The increasing focus, by central government, on 'market-based solutions to social problems' is leading some commentators to suggest that third sector organisations including social enterprises, voluntary sector organisations and not-for-profits, are becoming tools of the state and the market.

This symposium is interested in investigating the challenges and opportunities arising from the current government's policy towards the third sector. More broadly the symposium will consider how those in the third sector understand their own role in relation to the state and the market, and how organisations may be affected by pressures to adopt 'mainstream business practices'.

We encourage both academics and third sector practitioners to join us for the symposium, which is free to attend. We have some exceptional speakers lined-up who will be presenting, and stimulating discussion on, a range of themes. Focusing on contemporary relations between the third sector, the state and markets, the following subjects will be explored;

- The scope and limits of volunteering within the current era
- The emergence of new models for ownership of organisations and property
- The marketization of public services and its consequences for third sector organisations

The symposium will also include keynote addresses from Rob Macmillan of the Third Sector Research Centre, and Professor Angela Eikenberry from the University of Nebraska.

Places at the symposium are limited to 40, so prior booking is essential. To book a place please fill in the attached form and send it to Emma Smith at [e.smith@shu.ac.uk](mailto:e.smith@shu.ac.uk)

**Programme:**

9:00-9:30	Registration and coffee	
9:30-10:45	Opening and Keynote Speech Welcome and house-keeping from organisers  Welcome and opening from Jane Hustwit, Involve Yorkshire and Humber  Keynote speech from Angela Eikenberry, University of Nebraska. Questions and discussion	
10:45-11:15	Coffee break	
Session 1 11:15-13:00	<b>Volunteering in a changing climate: limitations and potential.</b> Chair: Chris Dayson, Sheffield Hallam University <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Paper 1A</li><li>- Paper 1B</li><li>- Paper 1C</li></ul> 15-20min presentation with minimum 45min discussion	<b>The ownership and use of physical assets for community benefit</b> Chair: Peter Wells, Sheffield Hallam University <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Paper 2A</li><li>- Paper 2B</li><li>- Paper 2C</li></ul> 15-20min presentation with minimum 45min discussion
13:00-13:45	Lunch provided by a Sheffield Cooperative	
Session 2 13:45-15:30	<b>How third sector organisation are responding to changes in economy and policy.</b> Chair: TBC <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Paper 3A</li><li>- Paper 3B</li><li>- Paper 3C</li></ul> 15-20min presentation with minimum 45min discussion	<b>Reflections on new commissioning and procurement approaches.</b> Chair: Rob Macmillan, University of Birmingham <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Paper 4A</li><li>- Paper 4B</li><li>- Paper 4C</li></ul> 15-20min presentation with minimum 45min discussion
15:30-15:50	Coffee break	
15:50-17:00	Plenary and close Presentation from Rob MacMillan, University of Birmingham - <i>Beyond 'marketisation': developing the relationship between markets, the state and the voluntary sector</i>  Question and discussion  Closing summary from Jane Hustwit, Involve Yorkshire and Humber	

## Abstracts

### **PAPER 1A: With State challenges, the Market provides: Attributes to building hidden philanthropic success from a TSO in rural Ireland**

*Louise Duffy and Maria Gallo (National University of Ireland, Galway – St Angela's College, Sligo, Ireland)*

Following the Celtic tiger in Ireland and the onset of a long recession, third sector organisations (TSOs) have experienced challenges to their sustainability from both state and market forces. With reduced funding streams and support from both government bodies and the private sector, many TSOs continue to experience financial uncertainty, insecurity and vulnerability. How are TSOs coping in the age of austerity and are there any financial opportunities to provide a glimmer of hope?

This paper presents evidence from a recent unique case study on an athletic organisation in the North East of Ireland that shows philanthropic practices instrumental in sustaining the organisation over many years. This success is achieved through volunteer leadership after deferring to the government funding challenges and maximising the market opportunities in their rural area. A qualitative research approach to gathering the case study data included semi-structured interviews, a focus group and documentary analysis.

This research reveals five interrelated fundraising/philanthropy factors that contributed to the funding success for this case study organisation. First, this study examined the levels of knowledge and understanding of philanthropy. While the Irish government has recently issued a report and ambitious targets to improve the imprint of philanthropy across Ireland, this has not filtered through with an infrastructure or support for TSOs. This case study reinforces this trend, as the organisation had little recognition of their activity as philanthropic. Instead their reaction to state funding cuts was to identify the most strategic ways to attract additional funding. This demonstrated the volunteers' attributes of tenacity and commitment to the organisation. Second, the volunteers act as stewards for the organisation, thus building trust with external stakeholders showing the responsible use of funding acquired. Third, particular funding dependencies emerged and this TSO created a strong case for support, reinforcing it to members and to the general public, therefore showing these volunteers had a shared vision and potential impact for funding on the organisation. Fourth, the evidence points to great affinity by past members of the organisation spread worldwide and the current volunteers showed strategic thinking to translate this great kinship into a regular funding stream. Lastly, findings illuminated a link between excellent volunteer leadership and fundraising/philanthropic practices, highlighting the key role leadership plays in developing the organisation and sustaining momentum for this fundraising work.

The study revealed significant hidden philanthropy—long-standing donors, prolonged volunteerism— personifying the great leadership and commitment to this TSO. Novice volunteers work altruistically but without any conscious correlation of their actions as philanthropic giving, despite the attributes that emerged from the study.

This case study findings suggest the need for training and support for volunteers in fundraising support and philanthropy. It is anticipated that although this paper concentrates on research from one case study that the findings will resonate with many smaller TSOs. The attributes identified may be a potential checklist for other TSOs: does our organisation have these factors in place? Could this combination of attributes contribute to our success?

## **PAPER 1B: Balancing acts of work in the Third Sector: older volunteers' experience in woodland conservation**

*Amanda Bingley, Sandra Varey, Alison Collins (Lancaster University, UK) and Rebecca Oaks (Member of the Institute of Chartered Foresters)*

Woodland conservation is considered essential work in order to maintain the natural environment and sustain biodiverse woodland habitats vital both for wildlife and to promote human health and wellbeing. However, conservation work is largely reliant on an intergenerational volunteer workforce many of whom are older retired people, who are balancing the opportunity to contribute in conserving their local community open space with the challenge of doing strenuous work.

In this paper we report from a small qualitative pilot project funded by the British Academy examining skill sharing and motivations of older conservation volunteers within an intergenerational cohort. Early findings presented here suggest older conservation volunteers are caught between the desire to do useful work which they value as benefiting their health and wellbeing and the realisation that these essential conservation services should secure greater State investment and provide jobs for working age people. Older volunteers also appear to derive benefit from conservation tasks by being supported by volunteer group organisers to be able to pace the work, thus enabling the continuation of conservation volunteering into older age and enhancing the benefits gained from outdoor activities. They enjoy the flexibility of voluntary work, which fits in with their social and family commitments and allows them to resist the pressures and responsibilities experienced in their working lives.

We argue that as the balance is shifted towards greater State reliance on conservation volunteers to enhance the environmental capital of 'natural' spaces, this element of free will and voluntary effort is eroded, which could potentially impact on the motivation and thereby the benefits of taking part in this work. Thus, even in this age of austerity, there is a need for a more generous balance in managing conservation between what is expected of voluntary input and State investment, and that this balance would be mutually beneficial to both Third and State sectors.

## **PAPER 1C: The dangers of creating a volunteering market: Empirical findings, theoretical perspectives**

*Jon Dean (Sheffield Hallam University)*

This paper seeks to build on recent literature (Dean, 2014; Holdsworth and Brewis, 2013; Hustinx and Meijs, 2011) which have examined how trends in volunteering, at organizational, operational, and policy levels, may be negatively affecting the nature of volunteering itself. As communities fracture, due to social and economic pressures, writers such as Sennett (1998: 148) see greater market individualism as part of neoliberal flexible capitalism, which ultimately creates societies 'which provide human beings no deep reasons to care about one another'. Clearly, if such a trend exists, there is the potential for long-term damage to the act of volunteering.

One such example is the trend toward volunteering to improve one's own skills, in order to better compete in the jobs market, rather than to fulfill a social need. A move to more instrumentally motivated volunteering has changed organizations' recruitment strategies, which focus on the benefit volunteering can bring to an individual (such as developing their social, cultural, or human capital) over the potential altruistic benefits that arise from donating ones' time to help others. Volunteering is also used as a tool of competition. With universities seeing their offer of volunteering as an area where they can develop a market advantage, recruiting students with the promise of wider and better experiences in order to aid their future employment (Holdsworth and Brewis, 2013), volunteering has become an area to 'sell' experience. The volunteering recruiters interviewed in Dean (2014) talk of volunteering as a product to be 'sold' to young people, which leads to young volunteers taking on the mindset of the consumer. While this creates obvious moral and ethical questions, perhaps more importantly it raises questions of practicalities about volunteer commitment.

This paper seeks to take these empirical findings and locate them within theoretical discussions about the inherent consequences of the individualism and marketisation of elements of everyday community life. Drawing on the social theory of Kropotkin, Tonnies, Sennett, and Bauman, this paper will frame current developments within those of the history of marketisation, and examine how the notions of charity and community become affected by the developments of neoliberalism. While it is recognized that a social theory paper may be an odd fit with this symposium, it is hoped that this brings an alternative approach, and proffers a shared language and framework, for conceptualizing the impact of markets on third sector organizations, and the very nature of charitable acts.

### References:

- Dean, J. (2014) How structural factors promote instrumental motivations within youth volunteering: A qualitative analysis of volunteer brokerage. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 5 (2), 231-47.
- Holdsworth, C. and Brewis, G. (2013) Volunteering, choice and control: a case study of higher education student volunteering. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17 (2), 204-19

Hustinx, L. and Meijs, L. (2011) Re-embedding volunteerism: in search of a new collective ground. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 2 (1), 5-21.

Sennett, R. (1998) *The Corrosion of Character*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

**PAPER 2A: Learning from Liverpool's Past: how the 1970s co-operative movement might help us understand the prospects for mutual housing alternatives today.**

*Matthew Thompson (University of Manchester)*

This paper explores possibilities for a mutual alternative to both state/market provision of social housing and public/private-led approaches to regeneration of declining inner-city neighbourhoods in an era of austerity. An in-depth case study of Liverpool is presented, as a city at the forefront of urban change – an outrider of industrial decline, the post-industrial transition, and now austerity urbanism – with a rich history of social innovation in collective housing alternatives. In order to understand the potential of Liverpool's emerging urban community land trust (CLT) movement, rather than simply analysing the present – the austerity urbanism in the wake of Housing Market Renewal – this paper looks to the past. Findings from an historical analysis of the genesis and growth of the city's 1970s co-operative movement will help present insights and lessons on how CLTs might form a viable alternative for neighbourhood regeneration and social housing provision in times of austerity. The parallels and differences between the two periods, the role of the state, economic and social conditions and the housing models are first identified, before exploring the key social, political and institutional factors that shaped the development of the country's largest concentration of co-ops outside London. By closely analysing the conditions contributing to Liverpool's 1970s co-op movement, as well as the reasons for its eventual decline, new light may be shed on future prospects for the development of CLTs and other mutual housing models.

## **PAPER 2B: Scottish Community Land Initiatives: the wider context of local empowerment**

*Tim Brauholtz-Speight (University of the Highlands and Islands)*

Over the last 20 years, a series of distinctive local initiatives have emerged in the Scottish Highlands and Islands. Initially labelled “community buyouts”, so counterposing them to the 1980s “management buyouts” of company shareholdings, they saw locally-constituted organisations pursued local development goals through buying control of the physical resources around them – particularly land. The first few initiatives, often responding to crises, mobilised support and funds through public appeals. As the wider political context shifted, public policy followed, and institutionalised official support – advisory, technical and financial – helped grow this movement. Today, community land initiatives (CLIs) – a commonly-used term to refer to any locality-based group that controls, or is considering control of, land in the name of the community – are found across Scotland. In some areas, particularly the Western Isles, they have become major landowners. They vary in size, activities and other characteristics. However, most are run as social enterprises with a locally-based membership, and are engaged in multiple economic and social projects in their areas.

This paper draws on the sociology of power, participation and community to look at how these CLIs have woven together different forms of power, from different sources. It is well-known in community development that no community exists in isolation, and that “much of what produces communities are relations and decisions that exist well beyond any single community” (De Filippis and Saegert 2008). The paper therefore highlights how, while local inspiration, knowledge and effort have been at the heart of these initiatives, their success has also been due to the way in which they have joined up action at different spatial scales to make change in their localities. It notes some of the distinctive enabling features of the Highlands and Islands historical and policy context, and situates the growth of the CLI movement within that. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of this for current notions of localism in an age of austerity.

### References:

DeFilippis, J. and Saegert, S. (2008) Communities develop: the question is how? Chapter 1, pp1-6 in DeFilippis, J. and Saegert, S. (eds) The community development reader, New York: Taylor and Francis.

## **PAPER 2C: Transformative Voluntary Organisations: Critical Reflections on the Practices of Community Hubs**

*Alex Wharton and Beth Perry (Centre for Sustainable Urban and Regional Futures, University of Salford)*

Community-based activism has the potential to transform cities and produce more socially just, economically viable and ecologically sustainable futures. In this paper, we would explain the potential and discuss some of the main conditions for its realisation, drawing on interviews with staff at Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisations, interviews with managers and users of community hubs across Greater Manchester and a review of the academic literature.\* A theme of the discussion would be the way in which third sector organisations interact with their communities and with other bodies, including academics. An argument would be made for pre-figurative action research, both as a means to improve the social and physical infrastructure and as an end in itself.

\*\* The research for this has been undertaken with GMCVO as part of a GM Local Interaction Platform project, Realising the Value of Community Assets.

### **Paper 3A: Third Sector Independence: Relations with the State and the Market in an Age of Austerity**

*Dr Valerie Egdell and Dr Matthew Dutton (Edinburgh Napier University)*

In an age of austerity the third sector is facing opportunities and challenges in its relations with the State and the Market as organisations grapple with a changing political, policy and financial climate. Drawing on a four year qualitative longitudinal study which examined the opportunities and challenges facing third sector organisations in Scotland in the delivery of public services, this paper explores the range of different strategies third sector organisations based in Scotland have employed to respond to this changing climate. The paper will explore how third sector organisations have managed the demands of changing funding structures and the changing relationships with government. In exploring responses of the third sector, this paper will examine how third sector organisations understand and negotiate the tension between their independence, mission and ethos-driven social action, and delivering commissioned and contracted public services. In doing so this paper highlights the challenges of delivering services in a dynamically changing political, policy and financial climate to third sector independence, as well as the opportunities for organisations to emphasise their distinctive contribution in public service delivery.

## **PAPER 3B: Faith-based social entrepreneurship: The changing face of Christian social action**

*Andy Wier (Church Army)*

This paper will present and reflect on the changing face of Christian social action in an age of austerity localism. While much faith-based social action under New Labour involved participation in government-sponsored community regeneration initiatives, it will be argued that recent years have witnessed the emergence of more entrepreneurial forms of Christian social action. Three recent manifestations of this will be considered in turn - the emergence of 'fresh expressions' of Church, the growth of social action by large evangelical churches and megachurches, and the establishment of a national market place of Christian community franchises and brands. It will be argued that these developments illustrate the changing relationship between faith-based organisations, the State and the market economy. The paper will then conclude by consideration the public policy implications of such phenomena within the context of debates about post-secularism, neo-liberalism and the market state.

## **Paper 3C: Commissioning with the third sector in an era of austerity: evidence from two adult social services departments in England'**

*Jenny Harlock (Health Services Management Centre, University of Birmingham)*

The last decade has seen increasing use of third sector organisations (TSOs) to deliver public services across Europe (Evers and Laville, 2004; Pestoff and Brandsen, 2010). TSOs have been lauded as generators of competition and contestability in public service provision, and as sources of public service modernisation, in an era of austerity (Cabinet Office, 2010; HM Government 2011). In this context, new ways of managing and organising these emerging relationships between states and TSOs have been required (Bode, 2006). Though national nuances exist, recent evidence suggests there is growing convergence towards the use of (quasi) market systems to govern relationships between states and TSOs in public service delivery (Henriksen et al., 2012; Ascoli and Ranci, 2002).

Nowhere has this been experienced more keenly than in the so-called 'liberal' UK. Since the early 1990s competition and contracts have been increasingly favoured over traditional grant aid for TSO service delivery, leading to the now familiar and well documented "contract culture" (Taylor, 2002). This has given rise to concerns that far from being independent partners in the delivery of welfare, TSOs are becoming marketised agents, providing services defined and circumscribed by the state.

This paper explores empirically how TSOs are responding to such changes, focusing on TSOs delivering social care services to the elderly in England. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2010 with representatives of seven TSOs in two local authorities in Southern England. A further ten interviews were conducted with social service commissioners in the local authorities in order to provide a context to the investigation of TSO responses to competitive contracting. Of particular interest was the implementation of contracting changes, and the management of the relationship with TSO service providers.

Interviews revealed that an uneven and diverse contracting landscape is emerging, and that the position of TSOs within this landscape varies considerably. Some TSOs face new competitive contracting arrangements for services, some a formalisation of existing arrangements, and some experience little more than a review of their grant funding. Interviews suggested this is a result of the varying implementation of contracting changes by commissioners, who strategically adapt and adjust competitive contracting processes in order to create a more level playing field for some TSOs, and implement grants and contracts accordingly to manage TSO services requiring different terms, specifications and degrees of flexibility.

Interviews revealed TSOs themselves respond in diverse ways to competitive contracting, and with mixed results. Some TSOs are embracing the changes, taking advantage of opportunities to expand their income and services.

Others resist the changes, and some TSOs are doing both: welcoming certain aspects of change, such as the increased financial stability and security of contracts, and not others, such as the loss of flexibility.

The findings highlight the key role of commissioners in shaping the experiences of TSOs through their implementation strategies for competitive contracting. Meanwhile TSOs' ability to negotiate and manage these changes is tempered considerably by their reliance on local authorities for funding. Those with limited capacity and resources are particularly likely to feel the strain of change.

## **PAPER 4A: Social Impact Bonds – teething trouble or intractable challenges in a developing policy area?**

*Eleanor Carter*

In the UK and internationally Social Impact Bonds (SIBs) are surrounded by significant buzz (Stone, 2012) – though some might suggest ‘hype’ (McHugh et al., 2013) – and are heralded as a mechanism to drive solutions to some of the most complex and expensive social problems (Social Finance, 2010; Roberts, 2013). At core, a SIB can be understood as a three-way relationship between a public sector commissioner, third sector service provider and independent investor with capital flowing between the three parties, as shown in figure 1 below. Social investors (independent investors seeking both financial and demonstrable social returns) provide capital to cover the operating costs of a third sector service provider. The provider then delivers a service targeted at the achievement of measurable improvements in social outcomes (for example the reduction in reoffending rates amongst a group of newly released prisoners). Depending on the level of improvement in social outcomes the public sector commissioner then makes ‘outcome payments’ which reimburse the original investors. As such, this policy can be understood as the epitome of the marketised relationship between the state and the third sector; the ‘Payment-by-results’ contract that sits at the heart of a SIB underscores this as an archetypal ‘market-based solution to social problems’ (Eikenberry, 2009). SIBs can also be seen to contribute to a shifting dynamic in the expectations and relationships between philanthropic investors and the third sector. Despite the significant political capital invested in SIBs to date and with 15 SIBs currently operational in the UK, there has been very little academic scrutiny of the concept.

This paper will outline the SIB approach and invite discussion on a number of theoretical and pragmatic problems relating to its application. In particular three lines of criticism will be outlined. Firstly, ideological criticism is discussed – where ‘social outcome’ definition and contractual specification bring mission drift for third sector organisations. Secondly financial criticisms are exposed – with the total cost implications of the SIB approach questioned in relation to the challenge of releasing ‘cashable’ savings for the public sector. Finally, more pragmatic criticisms are presented with the contractual complexities of the SIB counterpoised with the benefits (and drawbacks) from more conventional commissioning practices.

## **PAPER 4B: Inquiry into the Future of Voluntary Services**

*Laird Ryan and Andy Benson (NCIA)*

This paper has been produced as part of the NCIA Inquiry into the Future of Voluntary Services. The Inquiry is specifically concerned with those voluntary organisations that deliver services in local communities, especially those that accept state money for these activities. These are the groups that have been particularly affected by successive New Labour and Coalition Government policies regarding the relationship between the voluntary and statutory sectors, and attitudes and intentions towards the future of public services. In this and other papers we refer to these as Voluntary Services Groups or VSGs.

It has long been NCIA's contention that the co-optive nature of these relationships has been damaging to the principles and practise of independent voluntary action. The nature and scale of the Coalition Government's political project – ideologically driven - to degrade rights, entitlements and social protections, and to privatise public services that cannot be abolished is now laid bare. This has created new imperatives for VSGs to remind themselves of their commitment to social justice and to position themselves so that they can once again be seen as champions of positive social, economic and environmental development. Our Inquiry is a wide ranging attempt to document the failure of VSGs, and the so-called 'leadership' organisations that purport to represent them, to resist these shackles on their freedom of thought and action. But it is also an attempt to seek out the green shoots of a renaissance that will allow voluntary agencies to assert their independence and reconnect with the struggle for equality, social justice, enfranchisement and sustainability.

## Paper 4C: The 3 C's of Fair Care

*Cheryl Barrott (Change AGENTS and Mutual Support)*

In 2000, the United Kingdom spent an estimated £12.9 billion on social care. As the population ages over the coming years, so the amount spent in real terms on care is projected to quadruple to £53.9 billion by 2050,

The growing social care crisis is one of the biggest challenges that our country will have to face in the years ahead. Failure to do so risks unacceptable impacts on the quality of life of millions of older and vulnerable people and the over-burdening the NHS. There needs to be significant change in the way social care is funded and a real breaking down in the barriers between health and social care.

There is also a need to be honest about the quality of some care that is provided and the poor working conditions and poverty pay experienced by those that work in the social care sector. It is frankly a disgrace that such important work is being undertaken by some of the most poorly paid and poorly treated workers in our country. (quoted from A Co-operative Agenda for Health and Social Care)

**Concept:** The Fair Care concept is to create fairness in care, for all the people involved, by developing micro co-operative enterprises of mutual owners, that builds on the Fair Trade model, to ensure that all the care provided is 'relational' on a human scale, co-produced, co-delivered and co-owned. The intention is to ensure 'dignity in care' for the carer and the cared for, based on the values and principles of co-operation.

**Campaign:** To ensure a wide a take up as possible, particularly within seldom heard socially excluded communities we are promoting the concept of Fair Care with the public, politicians, policy makers, other decision makers and people influence.

**Care Co-operatives:** Mutual Support, is an IPS (Charitable Ben Comm) form of co-operative, developing the Fair Care model. Comprised of three types of member owners:

- People who need care and support.
- Paid care workers
- Unpaid Carers/Friends/Family Members

The boundaries between, member owners is porous, the assumption being that all members of the co-operative should receive mutual support, to attain their individual and collective aspirations.

## **PLENARY: Beyond 'marketisation': developing the relationship between markets, the state and the voluntary sector**

*Rob Macmillan (University of Birmingham, Third Sector Research Centre)*

The changing relationship between the voluntary sector and the state in social welfare services over some two centuries has been characterised by one historian, following Beveridge, as a 'moving frontier' (Finlayson 1994). This idea is deployed in order to avoid a fixed and universal account of the role of the sector over time. Yet whilst it emphasises historical context, it may obscure as much as it reveals. In particular, it overlooks the unfolding relationship between the voluntary sector and the market. Until recently this has remained somewhat uncharted territory. However, the suggestion that the voluntary sector, conceptualised essentially as a non-market field of voluntary organisations and community groups, is somehow being 'marketised' is now attracting a deal of interest, and soul-searching, amongst academics and commentators alike. The spread of business-like systems and approaches, the promotion of social enterprise, a growth in 'earned income' and involvement in quasi-market contracting for the delivery of public services, suggest a space becoming increasingly subject to market-like processes. For some this strikes at the heart of civil society, and provides further evidence that 'everything is up for sale' in an era of market triumphalism (Sandel 2012).

This paper argues that there is a need to move beyond the rather crude portrayal of marketisation offered in much recent commentary. Voluntary organisations have long been embedded as agents in a complex array of different markets, as both consumers and producers. The unfolding processes and strategies through which *specific* markets involving the voluntary sector come to be made, shaped or extended are less well understood. Thus, the paper critically reviews debates on marketisation and suggests an alternative perspective. Inspired by the idea of 'markets as politics' in economic sociology (Fligstein 1996), which emphasises the active construction and continuous shaping of markets by a range of participants, the paper discusses the contingent and contested strategies and processes of market making in the voluntary sector. The argument is illustrated by an account of recent debates and developments involving the voluntary sector in children's services and family support in the UK. What emerges from this analysis is how an ongoing struggle for organisational position involves active and compelling interventions, designed to establish footholds in a specific field or market, as well as to enhance the 'room' for voluntary organisations to exist and flourish.

### References:

- Finlayson, G. (1994) *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
- Fligstein, N. (1996) 'Markets as politics: A political-cultural approach to market institutions' *American Sociological Review* 61(4): 656-673.
- Sandel, M. (2012) *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets* (London, Allen Lane).