

Chapter 11

Classifying Organizations

Most academics and management consultants have put their energies into understanding and improving firms and public services (usually welfare agencies). Other social bodies, if they are even mentioned, are generally regarded as atypical or special and lumped together in miscellaneous categories like ‘not-for-profit’ or ‘quangos’. Efforts to understand their structures, management and leadership have been minimal beyond a scandal-driven newspaper exposé, the occasional case-study for a doctorate, or a one-off investigation instigated by those responsible at a time of change or crisis.

In these unusual bodies, being business-like — that is to say running an efficient, responsive and effective operation — is important, but pursuing such values by imitating business structures and methods is usually grotesquely inappropriate. Performance appraisal, for example, needs rather sensitive adaptation to be effectively used by a church, a complaints authority, a political party, a self-help group or a think-tank — and the notion is almost without meaning in a social movement organization.

A useful typology should not merely pigeonhole unusual social bodies, it should penetrate to their nature and assist in their design and operation. It should also give some indication of how the different types relate to each other. The typology offered here seeks to do just that.

INTRODUCING THE TYPOLOGY

This typology is based on recognizing the core role of an organization in society (i.e. its communal function). It operates on the self-evident notion that the part that any organized body plays in society must be an expression of its *functioning* (as explained in G-4: Ch. 10). In the nature of things, intrinsic functioning expresses identity and is determined by stable values which are evident in activities and achievements.

Because the domains of functioning establish social identity and each has a communal aspect, they offer a society-oriented way to classify organizations. Here the label ‘organization’ is not to be restricted to business

enterprises but used to refer to deliberately constituted and publicly recognizable social bodies of every conceivable sort.¹

Core Role: Communal Function

Organizations of all sorts should explicitly and continually work on their functioning via all four domains (G-4: Ch. 10): i.e. installing a vision, developing a viable culture, determining growth possibilities, and running the operation. We have seen that these four domains are (respectively) needed to define, maintain, support and solidify the identity of the organization. We noted that functioning simultaneously serves both the organization and the wider community, and discovered that each domain simultaneously looks inward and outward (cf. Master-Table 34). Because our concern now is with the societal role of any organization, our focus is on the effect of functioning on wider society rather than on the internal community — but remember that one is part of the other, so these are essentially identical.

To recap in this context: the vision defines organizational identity by keying into ethical and personal issues — and it has the potential simultaneously to contribute to the *transformation* of society; the culture maintains and expresses organizational identity by highlighting and affirming certain essential values — and it simultaneously contributes to the *differentiation* of society; growth supports and evolves organizational identity by meeting social needs — and it simultaneously contributes to the *strengthening* of society; and the operation solidifies and confirms organizational identity by ensuring the efficient production of valued outputs — and it simultaneously contributes to the *sustenance* of society.

In practice, it is evident that all organizations do not focus equally on all domains of functioning. Because the achievements they seek differ in fundamental ways, they function differently and require different forms of management and leadership. All domains of functioning require some attention. Although an organization may take them all very seriously, they do not treat each equally. The Body Shop (UK), for example, may include global transformation in its vision, but society views it

primarily as a manufacturer and purveyor of soaps and cosmetics. It must do likewise because it stands or falls as a business according to its success in selling those products — whether or not the world is transformed. The vision in this case supports the operation, not the other way around.

Any social body must accord primacy to the domain(s) which provide the rationale for its existence and on which its inflow of resources and continuing survival depends. A political party, for example, does not persist and receive financial support according to the efficiency or quality of its operations (important though these may be for success). It stands or falls on ideological criteria and the vision of society it espouses.

An organization's core role in society, the communal function which it willingly accepts and urgently protects, is determined by what counts as achievement and hence by the domain of functioning with which it identifies or accords primacy. Organizations do, of course, serve many communal functions — providing employment, training staff, fostering patriotism &c — and so they seem to have further social roles. But these other functions are best thought of as side-effects. If it is imagined, say, that a business primarily exists to provide employment then inefficient businesses should be supported. This makes no sense (except perhaps as a short-term measure). It would be far more useful to support the launching of new more efficient businesses. However significant an organization's side-effects are from the community's point of view, they must remain subsidiary for the organization itself. For example, the UK's Automobile Association lobbies on behalf of motorists, but few members would remain if roadside services were withdrawn and few would withdraw if this lobbying ceased. In other words, the core social role of this body is essentially one of servicing breakdowns not promoting motoring.

The core role of an organization in society can usually be recognized from the way its principal objects are defined. As people are intuitively aware, these objects are explicitly designed to identify the precise nature of an endeavour. You will find that the objects are usually carefully formulated to support one or more of the upper four types (levels) of values. The core role then emerges from the domain and communal function which that value dominates.

Principal objects can be defined: (a) in an enlightened way as activities which primarily support the pursuit of certain ultimate values; (b) in a clannish way as activities which primarily support the pursuit of certain value systems; (c) in a benevolent way as activities which primarily support the pursuit of certain social values; (d) in an economic way as activities which

are primarily pursued for their tangible or monetary value. Some combination of these is also possible.

The four types of principal object lead to four main core roles (or communal functions) in society aligned with the domains i.e. the core role may be to transform, to differentiate, to strengthen or to sustain society. Because purposes are hierarchically related, possible combinations are restricted to adjacent domains. There are three combinations of two core roles, two combinations of three core roles, and one set of all four core roles. Taken together, this results in the ten-fold typology of organization based on social role (function or identity) which will be presented and briefly explored in this chapter. The classification is laid out and the types numbered with examples in Master-Table 36.

Recognizing the Types

The names used for social bodies and organizations are extraordinarily numerous. Usage is conventional or haphazard with a vague logic. Terms indicating an organization or social body include: institution, association, company, guild, fraternity, syndicate, society, group, centre, agency, trust, club, partnership, movement, institute, commission, authority, consortium, federation, tribunal, exchange, collective, foundation, league, party, union. Typically, any social body can choose from amongst a variety of synonyms: e.g. a business may also refer to itself as a firm, a company, a corporation, an enterprise, or simply as an organization. So the typology will not depend on such nouns, but will instead be labelled using adjectives which catch the flavour of that type of endeavour followed by a suitable noun. (I try to avoid over-using the nouns 'organization' and 'body'.)

The full classification contains 10 distinct types. There are four mono-functional types — visionary bodies, membership associations, promotional groups, and service organizations; three di-functional types — ethical bodies, evangelical organizations, and reforming agencies; two tri-functional types — ideological and sectional associations; and one tetra-functional type — universal institutions.

Most of the chapter is devoted to examining the four mono-functional types. The essential properties of these four mono-functional types are summarized in Master-Table 35 with an indication of what more complex types must encompass. These other types must synthesize the imperatives of two, three or all of the four mono-functional types in an appropriate fashion. So it is reasonable to speak of all types or bodies with a transforming function as 'vision-generating', all types or bodies with a differentiating function as 'member-

ship-centred', all types or bodies with a strengthening function as 'reform-generating', and all types or bodies with a sustaining function as 'customer-centred'.

The four mono-functional types are each summarized briefly below noting their role in society, their source value and programme, their defining function and main output, and an illustrative example. Other more complex types with that function are listed: they are more fully explained with examples at the end of the chapter. (The numbering is based on that provided in Master-Tables 35 and 36.)

Visionary bodies (#7) foster the transformation of society and need to be built around the importance of the vision. Their principal objects refer to the direct application of ultimate values to social life. They apply given or developed ideals to particular domains in order to identify values for widespread use within and across existing societies. The prime outputs are missions to be adopted and implemented by others, usually governments and organizations. *Example:* The Center for Human Understanding was set up, initially within the University of Chicago, to allow 'a few persons from many parts of the world and from realms of both thought and action [to] learn from one another in an atmosphere where the search for truth is the paramount concern'.²

More complex types of vision-generating body include universal institutions (#1), ideological associations (#2) and ethical bodies (#4).

Membership associations (#8) provide for the differentiation of society and need to be built around the importance of specific cultures (or, from the societal perspective, specific sub-cultures). Their principal objects refer to the protection and promotion of specific value systems in society. They promote the value to society of the distinctive roles and interests of their members, and seek to produce benefits for members with the view that this will indirectly or directly benefit society. *Example:* The British Medical Association (BMA) is set up to pursue and promote the interests and values of registered medical doctors. It is the prime body defending the income and social status of doctors. Although the BMA seeks to improve the community's health, these concerns are naturally pursued from a medical perspective.

More complex types of membership-centred body include: universal institutions (#1), ideological (#2) and sectional (#3) associations, ethical (#4) and evangelical (#5) organizations.

Promotional groups (#9) enable the strengthening of society and need to be built around the impor-

ance of growth and development. Their principal objects refer to the pursuit of social values, and their function is to focus and shape some aspect of social life in terms of these needs. They work through the general public and government as well as by directly addressing relevant organizations. So their prime outputs are priorities or policies or proposals, often for or against change, for adoption by others in a particular society. *Example:* The UK's Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) was founded 'to embolden enterprise, enlarge science, refine art, improve our manufactures and extend our commerce'. What the RSA actually does is to mount lectures, inquiries and publications which provide a forum for people of all walks of life to come together and think about the future. The hope is that such activity will shape new ideas and stimulate action on a wide front. This has been recently attempted in the areas of education, the environment, and the company.

More complex types of reform-generating body include: universal institutions (#1), ideological (#2) and sectional (#3) associations, evangelical (#5) organizations and reforming agencies (#6).

Service organizations (#10) provide for the sustenance of society and need to be built around the importance of their operations. Their principal objects specify tangible worthwhile endeavours only: i.e. they define types of activity which are distinctive and good in themselves. The function of these enterprises is to do or produce something of immediate value to society, as cheaply as possible. So the outputs are desirable goods or services. Customers must be found and kept, and the principal objects must be pursued efficiently and economically if the enterprise is to survive. Such considerations have little or no significance for the survival of organizations within the other nine types. *Examples:* a bakery may be set up to produce bread and cakes — baking is good in itself; or a school may be set up to provide teaching for handicapped children — teaching is good in itself.

More complex types of customer-centred bodies include: universal institutions (#1), sectional associations (#3), reforming agencies (#6).

Properties. Because the logic and feel of the types of organization stem from a different communal function and concern with a distinct type of value in society, a variety of distinctive features are noticeable. The different roles and outputs of the organizations as noted above are the most evident features. Also influenced are certain common needs in all organizations like: what motivates participants or insiders, how resources are provided, where leadership comes from, and how rela-

tionships with the wider community are handled. The identity of the organization is dependent principally on the upper two levels of the associated core domain of work: the top (fourth) level offering an *essential rationale* and an internal identity, and the third level ensuring *political support* and an external identity. Leadership and effectiveness in the organization depend on the lower two levels of the associated core domains of work: the second level ensuring *maximum impact* and the lowest level ensuring that interaction with society is *appropriately adapted*.

We will now consider each of the mono-functional types of organization in these terms.

VISIONARY BODIES (#7) & VISION-GENERATION

Nature. Visions steer all progress by creating a conception of the most beneficial identity imaginable and possible. So it is not surprising that organizations have emerged which are dedicated to articulating and preaching visions. It may be that Plato and Aristotle ran their academies primarily to produce and disseminate a vision of a good society. Today's specialized visionary bodies also tend to be relatively small and oriented to inquiry.

The *function* of a visionary body (and any more complex type of vision-generating organization) is to apply ideals to particular domains and identify values for widespread use within and across societies. Their core role is to transform society. In other words, the visionary work serves the wider community rather than the organization itself. To do this work, the visionary organization must be an inquiring body dedicating itself to mankind rather than to a particular nation. Its outputs are reports identifying and explaining the need for certain endeavours (principal objects) in particular realms of concern. The hope is that societies, essentially their governments, public bodies and significant organizations, will identify with the report and foster or pursue the suggested endeavours. The more complex types of vision-generating organization have to combine such requirements with assistance to members, pressure for social reform, and provision of services.

A variety of influences appear to be fuelling the desire for visionary work: the growth of self-reflective awareness and dialogue amongst people; the predominating modern value of social improvement; the movement of advanced countries from a goods-based to a knowledge-based economy; transport linkages interconnecting all parts of the world; global electronic communication making instant reporting and influence possible; the potential to destroy the world quickly

via nuclear bombs or slowly through pollution and environmental destruction; the inter-linkages of economies via trading and financial flows; and the increasing potential for technological solutions to deal with problems of extraordinary difficulty and complexity.

The United Nations Organization (UNO) is a quasi-governmental body generated by a vision of international relations based on peace, security and justice as stated in the preamble to its founding charter. As well as fostering cultural developments and performing various practical functions, the UNO is expected to be vision-generating in specific areas. It does so by setting up visionary bodies to deal with topics like the environment where the need for international cooperation on a global scale is now widely recognized (see Ex. 11.1).

The Earth Summit: A World Commission on the Environment and Development was set up in 1983 by UNO with Mrs Brundtland (subsequently Prime Minister of Norway) as Chairman. The first outcome, a Report in 1987, *Our Common Future*, called for 'sustainable development' to ensure progress over the entire planet into the distant future. The Commission led to many working groups and national reports and a meeting in 1992 in Brazil dubbed 'The Earth Summit'. The aim of the meeting was to produce an 'Earth Charter' to embody basic principles which should govern the economic and environmental behaviour of people and nations. Its 'Agenda 21' was to be a blueprint for action in all major areas to the end of this century and into the next. The means to carry out the agenda and agreement on the necessary strengthening of certain institutions was also specified, and various conventions on climate change, forestry &c were signed.

Ex. 11.1

The aim of a visionary body is to produce ideals and visions that others will spontaneously recognize, pursue, adopt, resource and implement. It is inappropriate to criticize them for being toothless, or to belittle their output as airy theories and good intentions. The visionary body may engage in a certain degree of promotion of its visions or even devise developments to demonstrate the practicability of the vision. But it cannot and should not seek to impose or coerce.

Participation. These bodies require sponsorship or a source of income that enables independent functioning. However, the production of ideas is not a costly labour-intensive or materials-intensive activity, so visionary organizations may be small and exclusive. Entry or involvement tends to be based on commitment to the ideals of the organization as evidenced by the person's past record. Members are commonly expected to give voluntarily of their money, time and energy, often assisted by the generosity of their employers in government, universities or large firms. A small core of full time staff may be funded, but full-time

commitment from others may be unnecessary. Small visionary-bodies may exist under the umbrella of more complex types of vision-generating organization e.g. within a large university (#1) or major political party (#2).

Identity. Visionary bodies are distinctive because they seek to benefit everyone everywhere. This is possible because their *essential rationale* is to be found in ultimate values. In other words, the principal object, the formal *raison d'être* of the organization, actually specifies or implies ultimate values. This is what draws people to participate and contribute.

Pursuing Truth: The World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS) was established in 1960 'for distinguished scientists and scholars to discuss the vital problems of mankind, independent of political boundaries or limits, whether spiritual or physical; a forum where these problems will be discussed objectively, scientifically, globally and free from vested interests or regional attachments. It will function as an informal 'world university' at the highest scientific and ethical level, in which deep human understanding and the fullest sense of responsibility will meet'. WAAS has worked on issues like conflict resolution and world education.

Ex. 11.2³

The visible identity of a visionary body is based in the value system which must be selected to ensure *political support* for the organization. These ideas should be recognizable in the output. For example, the group charged with the production of the UNO charter of human rights embodied the value-system of western liberalism because of the influence of the founding members. Without such an identity for UNO, it is unlikely that they would have agreed to its formation. In relation to UNO's environmental concern, Robertson notes that there are two opposing visions on offer. In the best tradition of someone whose loyalties are already committed, he describes one as hyper-expansionist ('HE') and calling for further economic growth much as in the Brundtland Report, and the other as sane, humane and ecological ('SHE').⁴

Leadership. Visionary bodies specify social values to *maximize their impact* on people. So their leadership must be viewed as a form of communal leadership. The leader ought to feel like a natural servant of mankind and be recognized as such. Community leadership may be based on holding political or governmental offices as in the case of UNO; or it may be drawn from those with recognized achievements who are eminent in their fields, as in the case of the WAAS.

Alternatively, leadership may be self-proclaimed, flowing from a disinterested inner drive on behalf of humanity. The founders of the great religions emerged

from amongst the people, gathered a small band of disciples or followers, and launched a spiritual programme for their society and beyond. Indeed, anyone in the community may take up the challenge, be anointed as leader by a few like-minded people, and form a visionary body. All that is required is an exquisite sensitivity to ultimate values, and a down-to-earth appreciation of realities.

The organization's social values govern how wider society evaluates the output and so need to be chosen to ensure that the vision is regarded as realistic and worthwhile by those who are expected to take action. Most would regard the output as beneficial if it addressed such things as the need for monetary stability, the need for peaceful resolution of ethnic differences, the need for full employment, and the need for ethical management of large corporations.

Once the social value is chosen, the output must specify principal objects in the form of projects, enterprises and activities for people, other organizations, and governments to pursue: like Agenda 21 at the Earth Summit (Ex. 11.1). These must be *appropriately adapted* to the situation without betraying the cause. This is why all religious founders, like Jesus or Buddha, who address omnipresent and universal spiritual needs are so historically embedded, and why they must take so much from existing tradition in the process of overthrowing it.

Limitation. Visionary bodies alone are insufficient in society. Vision-generation can devise an identity capable of maintaining new values, but adherents dedicated to those values are essential. So now we turn to consider membership associations which differentiate society by devoting themselves to sustaining and promoting their members' identity.

MEMBERSHIP ASSOCIATIONS (#8) & MEMBERSHIP-CENTREDNESS

Nature. In Ch. 5, we emphasized that an association was the product of people with a common interest who joined together to promote certain objects. Now it is necessary to recognize that there is one special type of association in which the interest being shared and promoted is the social status and role of those in the association. In other words, the common interest is self-interest.

An organization based primarily around promoting its members' self-interest is called here a membership association. Any organization, whatever its social function, which at root believes in or is dedicated to the importance of a particular group in society must be

viewed as membership-centred. Membership-centred bodies may push for legislation or other developments, and may even offer society a vision: associations of medical doctors regularly do such things in the area of health and health care. Nevertheless their concern remains unerringly directed at their members' interests and values. The National Union of Teachers works primarily for the interests of teachers which it assumes will benefit education and so society. Likewise, the British Nuclear Forum works primarily for the interests of the nuclear power industry, and the Tobacco Advisory Council works primarily for the interests of tobacco companies — although the degree to which the good of society is considered by such bodies seems to be of a lower order.

The point is that the *function* of a membership association (and any more complex type of membership-centred organization) is to promote the value in society of the distinctive roles, activities, needs, beliefs, interests and preferences of its members. Note that these are all individuating values. So their role is to differentiate society.

The distinctiveness, character and richness of any society arises in large part from the range of interests of its citizens as evidenced in numerous membership associations. These bodies provide self-affirmation internally and self-promotion externally. Members look to them partly for mutual support, but mainly to enhance their social standing, to increase their security, and to persuade governments and other bodies to put resources at their disposal. Should these efforts succeed, ever more people and ever more capable people will wish to be members and the future of their value system will be assured.

Those membership associations with which people are immediately familiar include professional and occupational associations and trades unions. Other examples are umbrella organizations like trade associations (e.g. British Menswear Guild), employer bodies (e.g. the Confederation of British Industry) and coordinating groups in the voluntary sector (e.g. Federation of Astronomical Societies, National Council for Voluntary Organizations). Community associations probably fit into this category as well.

It is possible for umbrella membership associations to have member organizations which are also membership associations. In the UK, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Association of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences (ALSISS) are examples. ALSISS describes its aim as promoting social science research in society — but this is equivalent to promoting social science researchers. In so far as it is successful, prestige and finance will flow to members of its members

because they control and define what counts as social science research. As in all such organizations, it is assumed that society will benefit, but this is usually difficult to quantify and the opportunity costs are never considered.

Consortia which form to campaign and lobby for vested interests in a particular sector seem to be a variant of membership association e.g. The Campaign to End Housing Shortages in the UK, is a body supported by the House Builders' Federation, the New Homes Marketing Board, the Building Employers Confederation, the National House Building Council, the Federation of Master Builders, the National Council of Building Material Producers and certain Building Societies.

Most people feel the need to belong to at least one membership association. Membership bolsters both our sense of belonging and our sense of being special within the diffuse anonymous complexity of modern society. New membership-centred organizations emerge when a new role develops in society. When planning, for example, is recognized as something of social value: various groups supporting planning and planners spontaneously emerge. First, perhaps a society of strategic or long-term planners is formed and then associations for different applications of planning: city planning, health service planning, transport planning, social planning and so on. Not surprisingly, this type of organization is mushrooming as society becomes more complex: in the US there were under 5000 trade associations in 1956, almost 13000 in 1975, and over 23000 in 1989.

Participation. If a person has the required qualification, entry to a membership association is usually easy, even automatic. Entry is nearly impossible without that qualification. In the early stages, entry criteria may not be sharply defined, sometimes to encourage membership to reach a critical size, and sometimes because the new value system is not evident. Sooner or later, however, strict membership criteria need to develop. The family therapy movement, for example, spawned numerous associations of family therapists. These were little more than cells, essential to promote the new ideals of family therapy and eager to help people act on its therapeutic ideology. However, as the movement thrived, the organizations became more significant and the visionary urge to transform society diminished to be replaced by a more selfish urge to protect hard-won prestige. As a result, a pressure grew to regulate membership by accrediting family therapy training.

Typically, the membership association's work in wider society benefits potential-but-not-paid-up members as well as the actual membership. The organization wishes to be recognized as large and powerful,

but it is assessed by the number of its paid-up members and depends on them for financial support. It needs to trade off the cost of membership against the numbers of members. Compulsory or automatic membership may be introduced to strengthen the association. For example, 'closed shop' arrangements block workers from holding certain jobs unless they are members of certain unions. Less forceful encouragement to join may be provided by a variety of fringe benefits from vintage wine offers to cheaper insurance. But this obscures the fact that resources in a membership-centred organization stem primarily from the membership itself. Members are expected to contribute through voluntary purchases (ties, mementoes, journals &c) and gifts (donations, endowments, bequests &c) as well as compulsory annual dues.

Identity. The *essential rationale* of a membership association is its value system, which consists mainly of tenets and conventions defining the tribal identity of members. The principal objects are defined to enable the organization to do whatever is required to strengthen and defend this value system. Members share a consensus on the importance of their value system. They see that an organization is needed to differentiate themselves and to debate with those who think differently and therefore 'wrongly'. Beliefs of great moment to doctors, for example, are regularly challenged by nurses, psychologists, managers, policy analysts, politicians and others. Similarly, trade unions and employer organizations rarely see completely eye to eye.

Coexistence of membership associations with near-identical value systems does not make much sense. It leads, for example, to various trade unions claiming to represent the same sort of worker. This may generate an unseemly competition for members, and splits the power base in negotiations. Amalgamation is the treatment of choice for needless multiplicity.

The reverse arrangement, which is apparent in the UK's National Health Service and its universities, is also not wholly satisfactory. Here a single union includes a range of workers with a variety of distinct value systems. Unless a single dominant approach can be found, fragmentation is preferable.

However, the identity of the association that is visible to the public, and so ensures its *political support*, is to be found in the espoused or highlighted social values. Doctors emphasize their concern to prevent and cure illness, rather than the particular beliefs which maintain what is sometimes an unjustifiably over-dominant position in health care. Trade unions are similarly eager to present themselves as concerned about the state of the economy and unemployment whatever the effects

of picketing, strikes and restrictive practices.

Leadership. Leadership in a membership association flows from members and their identification with the principal objects. These objects determine the support of the membership and hence must be chosen to *maximize the impact* of the organization. Because no identified leader, whether of the governing body or of a paid or unpaid executive, can instruct or override the wider membership, he or she needs to function more like a delegate. Outside bodies are always aware that the members hold the power and that agreements or decisions taken by formal leaders can be rejected or reversed by the membership. So those in formal leadership positions speak of the 'honour' of their position and walk the tightrope between being a mouthpiece and exerting real influence.

The work here demands sensitivity, self-restraint and loyalty. Leaders must be found from amongst those active members who are prepared to devote much spare time to their tribe. Elaborate governing bodies with many committees and working parties are common in all large membership associations. Often a commitment to serving on these over several years is expected of members as a matter of routine because the paid executive body is so small. Many quite large organizations, like the International Psychoanalytical Association with over 5000 members, have no more than a few paid administrative and secretarial staff.

Large and more socially significant membership associations (e.g. of doctors) and more complex types of membership-centred organizations (e.g. the Roman Catholic church) need an executive hierarchy of full-time employees headed up by an appointed top official or chief executive, as well as their governing council and various governing committees which are filled by election. Commonly there is an attempt to ensure that employees, or at least senior executives, are also members because outsiders cannot possibly identify sufficiently with the value system. So top management in the British Medical Association (BMA) is made up of non-practising doctors; and senior managers in trade unions are also members of that union.

Membership associations have a stake in many societal issues and exert their influence through asserting their preferences (i.e. internal priorities: L-3) with the hope that these values will be accommodated by governments and organizations. The effectiveness of such assertions depends upon their being *appropriately adapted* to the situation. The Confederation of British Industry, for example, is expected to take up a stance on diverse current issues, including (at the time of writing) European integration, job-training schemes and interest rates. Exactly what value the executive promotes at

any instant depends on many things including the mood of the country, an analysis of the issues, and the views of the members. The BMA sharply moved its position on UK health service reforms after the Conservative victory in the 1992 election. This tactical approach to priorities usually disturbs some members to whom it appears to reflect a betrayal of principles. In fact it reflects the reality that times change, that society is bigger than any single sub-group and that the only enduring principle is to benefit members. Adaptation is self-evidently essential.

A successful membership-centred organization is one that can keep wider society focused positively on its own values. Ideally, whatever the decision being faced, the membership-centred organization hopes that the choice will be swayed in its favour. Groups like the farmers and doctors are viewed as powerful because it seems that their membership associations so often get governments to make decisions in their favour.

Limitation. To highlight a unique identity, membership associations bring together people who are often otherwise dispersed and distributed in a wide variety of settings. These organizations are vehicles for pride and self-assertion. However, if society is to develop, then membership-centredness is not enough. Bodies specifically geared to strengthening society are needed.

PROMOTIONAL GROUPS (#9) & REFORM-GENERATION

Nature. The next distinctive type of social body finds its origin in the importance to society of its growth and development. Such organizations exist to promote particular social values and foster specific changes held to be generally beneficial. They are dedicated to influencing public opinion, pressuring governments to modify policy, and shaping organizational decisions directly or indirectly. Hence the general label of reform-generation. These bodies focus on a specific issue or domain of importance (other than that defined by a sub-group's self-interest) and they seek to stimulate or shape improvements. Naturally, this may sometimes mean opposition to current proposals or to recent changes.

A variety of labels have emerged for promotional groups according to which form of activity is most prominent: Among the groups are: 'political lobbies' oriented primarily to parliamentarians (e.g. the US National Rifle Association); independent 'think-tanks' dedicated to producing useful knowledge (e.g. the Policy Studies Institute); 'campaigning organizations' seeking to influence the whole of society (e.g.

Opportunity 2000 promoting work equality for women); 'regulatory authorities' protecting social values in a specialized area (e.g. a statutory gaming board); 'voluntary watchdogs' trying to influence a monopoly (e.g. a body formed by users of a state-controlled railway); 'citizen action groups' which emerge in response to an issue (e.g. a group seeking to overturn a court conviction); and 'funding agencies' (e.g. the Mental Health Foundation).

Such organizations are all about exerting social pressure through promotional activities. (An alternative label might have been 'pressure group', except that membership associations are so evidently masters of pressure while many promotional groups are not.) The amount and diversity of promotional activities, which are the operations of the body, depend on its size and strength (i.e. its resources). Typical operational activities include: convening meetings, seminars and conferences; commissioning and producing reports; publishing newsletters, pamphlets and periodicals; supplying speakers; lobbying and briefing politicians; coordinating letter-writing campaigns and petitions; advertizing and exhibiting; maintaining a library; providing information and giving advice; helping local cells get organized; funding relevant research and projects. What makes each promotional group unique is not the way it operates which is rather uniform, but the social value which is being promoted.

Low Pressure Tactics: New Consumer is a public-interest research organization which (disingenuously) describes itself as an information-provider and not as a campaigning body or pressure group. It describes its goal as 'enabling the individual to bring social and ethical values to bear on everyday purchasing or management decisions': these principal objects are social values. It carries out and publishes surveys of businesses: these principal objects are its essential activities. The organization has an explicit aim of encouraging, or rather subtly pressuring, businesses to alter their policies in the direction of greater social responsibility. The dimensions of corporate policy surveyed seem to reflect public concern and foci of crusades about armaments, tobacco, pollution, equal opportunities &c. The desire to foster reform is unmistakable. Ex. 11.3⁵

The *function* of promotional groups (and more complex types of reform-generating organization) is to focus and shape some aspect of social life. Their role is to strengthen society. At a minimum they affirm an uncontroversial social need and aid its use as a priority by decision-makers. When they go further and seek to develop a better direction for government or relevant enterprises, their output consists of specific proposals or policies for adoption and adaptation. Acceptance of a group's values or proposals within government or an

organization is typically influenced by public opinion. So any output is supported by information, analyses, publicity and campaigns to mobilize public opinion.

In any particular domain there is likely to be a number of promotional groups each with its own slightly different orientation. For example, many groups in the UK seek to promote the social value of peace but the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament does so by campaigning and focuses on weapons of mass destruction, the Conflict Research Society does so by promoting an understanding of the causes and solutions to conflict, while the Council for Arms Control does so by promoting research and focusing on the need for arms control and disarmament. There are also other reform-generating groups in the same area: some evangelical (e.g. the Peace Pledge Union which is pacifist and emphasizes non-violent methods), some ideological (a Peace Party), some universal (e.g. the peace studies discipline within Universities).

Participation. Promotional groups vary greatly. In many, any interested person can become a member and offer support either through subscriptions (like Friends of the Earth), or through voluntary work (like citizen action groups). In the larger bodies, it may be possible to obtain paid employment. Employed staff tend to be identified with the cause and not just a particular issue or campaign. So, just as supporters may be workers, workers are often supporters. Some community leaders are rather generally involved and identified with reform and good causes. They seem to move round the campaigning circuit, or take their turn on different government-instigated inquiries and commissions.

For some organizations, like users groups or environmental campaigners, a large public membership is positively desirable. However, even when membership is large, its control may be minimal: ordinary members of the World Wildlife Fund (which funds and promotes conservation), for example, have no voting powers. Other bodies, like independent think-tanks or research foundations may have a limited and exclusive membership and so can support an idiosyncratic view of what is desirable. Public bodies, like the UK National Consumers' Council, which exists solely to promote the consumer viewpoint, are different again in that they are constituted by statute to work on behalf of the public and they lack members altogether.

Identity. The *essential rationale* behind any promotional group is to be found in a social value which usually appears in its title. The Prison Reform Trust in the UK presses for improvements in the prison system. Greenpeace seeks to ensure we live in peace with our environment. Such organizations, even when their

particular crusades or campaigns are irritating, tend to be regarded as relevant and worthwhile by the community generally. Everyone who is part of the organization sees its espoused social values as the main motivation for joining.

Financing comes from grants, donations and gifts from government, corporations and members of the public. Ensuring such *political support* for the organization depends on the principal objects because these determine the visible identity and membership of the body. Public support may be far more forthcoming, for example, for undoing injustice in one criminal conviction rather than in another. Similarly, in the health field, it may be easier to raise money for research than to gain support for a lobby to change legislation — even though the latter might be of more certain benefit to the community.

Objects may generate conflict between organizations in the same sector if the underlying social value differs. For example, citizen groups which campaign for the rights of people with 'learning difficulties' may clash with parent-led pressure groups seeking the overall well-being of the same people, but now described as suffering 'mental handicap'. The former term is based on the values of assimilation and normalization, while the latter term is based on the values of differentiation and specialized extra care.

Leadership. Leadership of a promotional group is based in the choice of priorities for change within the domain. These emphases and issues become the internal priorities for efforts by the organization and should be chosen to *maximize impact*. No promotional group is ever neutral, not even research funding bodies: the type of work funded and the assumptions built into funding criteria mean that values permeate choices implicitly if not explicitly. The leadership here lies primarily with the governing body (and its various subcommittees) which must set priorities and decide assumptions, and secondarily with the top officers. Top executive positions naturally go to those who are sympathetic to the governing board's approach to the domain, and who are identified with its values in regard to necessary improvement.

For example: a charitable trust which funds policy-relevant housing research must decide whether to direct its efforts to quality of housing, quantity of housing, location of housing need, financing of housing, interaction of housing needs with other social needs or some other theme. Top officers need to provide background to the trustees on feasibility and relevance, but the choice should be made by the trustees. Once the theme is set, officers arrange for applications, assess them and indicate to the trustees which seem most

worthy. Trustees will (properly) want to make the final decisions on funding.

Reform-generating organizations which seek to have a more direct impact recognize that social change is not a simple rational matter. They know that the prestige and enthusiasm of those holding governance positions have a great deal of influence. Energetic respected governors, usually unpaid, are therefore sought. Top executives, usually poorly paid, may have an independent profile in some reforming bodies but never to the degree found in businesses and other customer-centred organizations.

The vast majority of promotional groups are small. They can do little more than highlight a particular social need by fostering communication amongst their members and interested or relevant outsiders. These bodies lack paid executives and do little strategic work. Slightly larger bodies may use press releases, conferences and other means to affirm values and develop proposals. However, if an organization is to monitor the society and suggest possible developments, it needs senior full-time executives with considerable understanding of the problems and issues. For example, most people wish to see better care for schizophrenia sufferers, but it is not clear what can be done given the complex nature of the illness, the importance of family life in relapse, the diversity of views of the various professional groups, the range of possible therapies, and the changing socio-political climate. Charting a way through a maze of controversy to produce ideas and proposals that are both broadly workable and could command general support is no mean feat.

Impact does not depend solely on the quality of the proposals, but also on whether or not people listen. So strategic objectives must be *appropriately adapted* and timed to current exigencies. Success can be measured by the influence that priorities and proposals have on strategic objectives set by relevant organizations or by government. For example, an anti-war campaigning body (but not necessarily an evangelical or ideological body) might tactically move from proposing unilateral disarmament as a desirable strategy to multilateral disarmament depending on the actual global situation, the social mood, and the ideology of the government in power.

Limitation. Promotional groups look to produce a general benefit or result in society, but are disconnected from and not responsible for the detailed means whereby results are achieved. Actually running things and producing goods and services which others judge to be worthwhile demands a different type of outlook and organization altogether. Without such bodies com-

munal life could not be sustained, and visionary, membership and promotional bodies would have no substrate or support.

SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS (#10) & CUSTOMER-CENTREDNESS

Nature. The enterprises that we are most familiar with are the organizations that society requires to ensure that we receive our essential and desirable goods and services. Their orientation is or should be unambiguously focused on getting things done. (The introductory account of purposes in Ch. 3 was based primarily on such organizations.) We can call these enterprises customer-centred because getting customers is the basis of their success.

None of the previous types of body had proper customers or clients, people (activists or action groups) simply took it on themselves to launch the enterprise on the community. In some cases, governments or organizations founded and funded the bodies for their own ends. Service organizations, by contrast, typically depend on customers or clients seeking what they have to offer and, generally, paying for it. The activist here is the entrepreneur. Where a need is evident but the customer cannot pay, a third party may pay. However, such indirect payment weakens accountability to the customer and so potentially reduces efficiency and impairs effectiveness.

The *function* of a service organization (and more complex types of customer-centred organization) is to do or produce specific things of tangible value to society as cheaply as possible. (Even if products or services are very expensive or selling at prices unrelated to costs as in fashion-wear, the organization should still aim to keep its costs down. Note that lowering quality to reduce costs means providing a different product/service.) The role of such organizations is to sustain society. The existence and well-being of the other three main types of organization, like society itself, is dependent on the useful outputs of vast numbers of this type of body.

Whereas activities of the other types of organization were almost stereotyped, activities here are distinctive, multitudinous and highly specialized corresponding to the diverse requirements of people and society. Distinctive activities defined by the principal objects are now the basis for survival, organizational competence and success. Continuing innovation and specialization of activity and product lead to ever-increasing numbers of ways to meet needs and produce wealth.

These organizations are at the sharp end of value:

their activities must be immediately and directly seen as beneficial without further mediation. So the other types of social body often seek to influence them. Visionary bodies try to alter the value context and legislation within which service organizations operate. Membership associations try to influence how they treat members. Promotional groups try to influence their policies or their regulation by social authorities. Service organizations are typically categorized as private, public or voluntary (non-profit) — see Ex. 11.4.

Some Service Organizations:

1. In the private sector are agricultural, manufacturing and service businesses of every conceivable type. Companies or corporations are the paradigm for service organizations, but sole proprietorships, professional practices and partnerships are also included.

2. In the public sector are governmental agencies whose nature varies from country to country. Because political considerations deflect the focus from customers and costs, governments are poor at running service organizations. So the number of these should be kept to a minimum. Nevertheless sovereign nations seem to need some hundreds of small and large service agencies. These are generally best set-up as independently governed bodies (quangos) rather than left within ministerially-controlled government departments. The police and taxation authorities are invariably public agencies, and so are some welfare services like income support and primary education. Some governments still keep basic utilities like electricity generation and water supplies in the public sector.

3. In the voluntary sector are many diverse organizations providing social, educational, religious and community services which are either traditionally voluntary (e.g. Royal National Lifeboat Institution, National Adoption Society, any local tennis club) or commercially unattractive (e.g. The Salvation Army; Homes for Homeless People). Funds come from public donations, government grants and commercial activities. Such bodies do campaign, but only to raise funds for their services or to lobby self-interestedly — not for reforming purposes. **Ex. 11.4**

Participation. Customer-centred organizations generate the employment on which the social and economic well-being of modern society depends. The decision to participate in a service organization is about being directly involved in producing desirable goods/services and profiting through being paid. Most employees and the self-employed earn their living from being productive and sustaining society as it is.

Private sector firms are supported by their investors, shareholders, who expect a financial return and in return participate minimally. In the public and voluntary sector, the payoff for those who constitute the organization is rooted in higher values and they may maintain their support despite inefficiency.

Each service organization should be a monument to the capacity of ordinary people to value things and demonstrate that value by paying personally. Ideally, service organizations operate within a market. Markets contribute to the creation of value when entry and exit is easy. A large number of customers and a large number of organizations maximize choice and increase diversity. An effective market enables customers and employees to feel independent and become valued by an organization. Where organizations have a monopoly or a captive clientele, which is common in the public monopolies and voluntary bodies, it is easier for those working in them to become inward looking and to seek to reward and perpetuate themselves much as if they were membership-centred.

Identity. The *essential rationale* of any service organization is primarily provided by the endeavour specified in its principal objects. These objects are the source of consensus for all those inside the organization. They are the basis of distinctive competence and financial viability. A firm's top management needs to be concerned with a wide variety of things including investments, technology, currency fluctuations, and even social problems — but if this concern replaces a focus on what the business is really about then direction is lost, costs are likely to grow and customers will suffer.

The social acceptability of a service organization and its image in the minds of staff derives from its internal priorities — the social values actually applied to its decisions in particular situations. By carefully selecting and balancing the various emphases, *political support* from relevant stakeholders can be assured. To make these delicate and far-reaching decisions, management must be guided and monitored by a governing body whose overview can cover all stakeholders. In businesses, boards largely consist of top managers together with a number of non-executive directors. By contrast, governing bodies of voluntary agencies and public services may have no executive members at all. In all cases, governing bodies need to take a more considered view of the balance of legitimate value pressures than executives do. When this does not happen, things go wrong. A leading charity for the deaf set up a commercial operation which tried to sell hearing aids which were available cheaper or free from other sources. Not surprisingly there was a public protest and some staff left in disgust.

Leadership. The long-term survival of any service organization in a market or managed environment depends on the quality of its strategic objectives and strategies. These need to be designed to *maximize impact*. What should the geographical dispersion of service centres be? How should new technology be

employed? When should a new product be commissioned? Where is the gap in the market? How can client-satisfaction be improved? Asking and answering such questions, not to mention implementing the answers successfully, requires full immersion in the realities of the situation. This is only possible for full-time employees. So, the balance of influence in service organizations is decisively tilted towards top executives. Voluntary services often operate poorly because the management committee (i.e. governing body) of the enterprise is over-controlling or refuses to appoint (or pay for) high calibre top managers.

In developing and providing services or producing goods to order, those in the organization must meet deadlines and deal with a multiplicity of practical problems. This means setting tactical objectives and progressing tasks. Tactics and tasks must be *appropriately adapted* to the situation. If not appropriate, the strategic objective or higher values are not being recognized, if not adapted then failure is likely and time and money is being wasted. Poor task completion leads to a drop in quality, waste of money, dissatisfied customers, and low morale. In a market, competitors are liable to take advantage of the situation and will eventually drive the inefficient firm out of business. Voluntary bodies may not feel these effects and so tolerate inefficiency and poor quality much longer. In much of the public sector, too, market forces are virtually absent and management may be devalued or subordinated to political imperatives.

Closure. With the institution of service organizations, goods and services are produced for society. Society is sustained and prosperity is possible. We have covered the last of the mono-functional types, but said little about the more complex types. It is now time to examine these, but only very briefly.

THE REMAINING SIX TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

The aim in this section is to give a variety of unambiguous examples of each of the remaining types. Not a great deal of research or consultancy has been carried out in relation to such organizations, so nothing further will be said about their structure and management. We will commence with the di-functional types, and within these start from the highest level.

Di-functional Types

As indicated in Master-Tables 35 and 36, the di-functional types are as follows: *Type 4: Ethical* bodies which primarily seek to transform society in its entirety but

do so on the basis of a tribal membership of some sort, and therefore are differentiating; *Type 5: Evangelical* organizations which primarily differentiate people in society but also seek to strengthen society; *Type 6: Reforming* agencies which primarily seek to strengthen society but also carry out activities which sustain society.

Ethical Bodies (#4): These organizations primarily appeal to a tribal membership while seeking to transform society in an enlightened fashion. Such bodies are mainly international voluntary associations, often the product of a social movement, whose activities are confined to developing and disseminating ideas through organizing meetings, seminars, workshops and publications. The International Alliance of Women (IAW), for example, was set up in 1904 to secure all such reforms as are necessary to establish real equality of liberties, status and opportunities for women (the differentiating or membership element) but also to ensure that the status of every individual shall be based on respect for the human personality without distinction of sex, race or creed (the visionary or transforming element). Another variety are the visionary professional or disciplinary organizations, like the International Society for the Systems Sciences (ISSS), many of whose members join for just this reason. Its 1994 meeting is entitled 'New Systems Thinking and Action for a New Century' and its concern is with ethical action to transform the world (see Ex. 11.5).

International Society for the Systems Sciences: Systems scientists are often mocked for the grandiosity inherent in being visionary. The visionary element is evident from the seven inter-related imperatives identified for study in the 1994 Annual Meeting: "1) balancing our thinking better between the near...and far in both space and time; 2) achieving a better balance between individual and collective rights and responsibilities...; 3) ridding ourselves of obsolete assumptions...that perpetuate the widespread bureaucratic arteriosclerosis in the corporate, governmental, educational, and scientific establishments; 4) recognizing that in the global village...we will often find that 'less is more' and 'more is less'; 5) learning to design coordination-intensive structures that will be the key to public and private sector operations...[to] foster simultaneous centralization and decentralization, globalization and localization; 6) reinvigorating technological innovation and focusing it on societal needs; 7) managing the increasingly powerful technologies in a manner both ethical and enriching in human terms."

Ex. 11.5⁶

Keeping such bodies going is difficult, partly because there is an inherent contradiction between being visionary and being membership-centred. Funds for world transformation are hard to come by and the member-

ship, however committed, invariably find that their specific interests and needs are not being effectively forwarded. This problem lessens for those international ethical bodies which are umbrella groups whose members are full-fledged and successful membership associations in the various countries. The World Medical Association (WMA), for example, consists of autonomous national medical associations and works mostly in medico-ethico-legal and medico-socio-economic affairs. Individual doctors gain no direct benefits from the WMA and have little or no contact with it.

Evangelical Organizations (#5): These organizations primarily differentiate society by their adherence to a particular set of ideas or the values of a sub-group of society, while simultaneously being dedicated to generating reforms which strengthen society. The conflict noted in sustaining ethical bodies is absent in evangelical organizations. Membership-centredness is easily compatible with reform, even spurring it on, because members are gratified if they can strengthen society in the context of benefiting their value system and personal identity.

This is particularly true of church-based groups. Quaker Social Responsibility and Education is for Quakers only and helps them develop insights to improve society and make representations to public bodies. The Inter-faith Network in the UK works to facilitate the fuller participation of the different religious communities in public life. Its members share a religious vision of society and include representative bodies of various religions, inter-faith organizations, and a variety of educational and academic bodies in the religious sphere.

Most think-tanks are independent and non-political in their search for a way forward. However some think-tanks are membership-centred because they expect their output to adhere to a single ideology e.g. the Institute for Public Policy Research is socialist, the Adam Smith Institute is free-market oriented. Despite their bias, such Institutes are committed to producing feasible useful proposals that any government might adopt.

National professional or discipline bodies which set exams and standards are evangelical. The Royal College of General Practitioners, for example, was set up to improve standards of practice, education and research. As well as promoting the distinctive value of its members, such bodies do contribute to improving society through producing balanced reports on issues of social significance within their domain of expertise.

Evangelical organizations may be set up by tribes of

all sorts in response to a social threat. The fear of nuclear war has generated many specialized campaigning organizations e.g. Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, Clergy Against Nuclear Arms, Psychoanalysts for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Pagans against Nukes. The significance of these bodies is related to the influence of the tribe in society. Scientists are clearly able to achieve more than psychoanalysts or pagans.

A final example are the issue-based or group-based political parties like a peace party or a farmers' party. Only those involved with the issue or group will join such a party, and if there are enough non-member supporters then candidates may be elected to the legislature. However, if they are to achieve anything in the legislature, the party must develop and promote useful ideas and feasible proposals to strengthen and benefit society generally.

Reforming Agencies (#6): Reforming agencies are primarily reform-generating, but also provide essential services. They include large campaigning welfare providers, research-based pressure groups, some self-help groups, some scientific interest bodies, some regulatory authorities, and some international public service bodies.

A charity needs to be reasonably large, well-resourced and structured in a sophisticated fashion to be able to handle more than one communal function with any degree of effectiveness. Typical reforming charities with multi-million pound budgets include: Age Concern, the Royal National Institute for the Blind, Save the Children Fund, Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Oxfam. These have the social backing to provide a range of services and also to gain the public's attention as they press for social changes in areas of interest to them.

By contrast, many smaller voluntary service bodies over-ambitiously attempt to define themselves as campaigning bodies until, under financial pressures, they revert to type. The Cats Protection League (CPL), founded in 1927, is a typical example. It runs over 150 local groups with 17,000 members and in 1986 provided a service to over 75,000 cats. Included in its constitution are promotional objects: to encourage the neutering of cats not required for breeding and to inform the public on the care of kittens and cats. However, they acknowledge being unable to do as much as they would wish on the promotional side.

Some regulatory authorities are reforming agencies e.g. the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality have promoting and campaigning work to do as well as providing a service by investigating and pursuing cases of alleged dis-

crimination. International public service agencies like WHO and UNESCO not only provide services but seek to produce and publicize ideas and policies to improve society in specific areas. Some scientific bodies do the same e.g. the Royal Geographical Society arranges its own expeditions and provides training as well as promoting geographical science through the usual range of activities. Self-help groups, like the Rambler's Association provide services for their members, people who like walking, including maps, itineraries, publications and organized walks; and also actively lobby government on related matters like protecting public paths, maintaining access to open country and preventing damage to areas of natural beauty.

Tri-functional Types

The tri-functional types are as follows: *Type 2: Ideological* associations which primarily seek to transform society, but can only do so by both differentiating their members and supporters, and by strengthening society; *Type 3: Sectional* associations which primarily seek to differentiate their members in society, but can only do so by strengthening society and by providing services.

Ideological Associations (#2): Ideology-based political parties — in the UK: the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrat Party, the Conservative Party — exist to develop a vision to transform society in accord with a particular ideology. Membership of the party is usually relatively small. The party seeks to see society transformed or at least move in the right direction by forming a government. To win an election, it must appeal to the general population for support and votes, and this will only be forthcoming if the party is evidently working to strengthen society. If a party lacks any higher vision, then it is liable to have difficulty attracting capable members. This seems to be the case in recent times in regard to ideological parties in the US where disillusionment with politicians is high. However, if a political party is excessively visionary, then it is liable to lose its roots in the current preoccupations of society. In the UK, this seems to have happened to the Maharishi's Natural Law Party and the Green Party in the 1992 election.

Social movement bodies may also be of this type. Non-political social movements have their own set of valued ideas, beliefs and principles (i.e. ideology) which give them form and strength. The movement spawns cells and networks as part of its attempt to transform society through spontaneous collective action rather than through formal channels. Joining a social movement is an act of differentiation. The networks typically promote values and offer suggestions in an effort to

reform society. The Communitarian Network in the USA, for example, has emerged as part of a movement away from excessive individualist tendencies which many people see as damaging society generally.

Ideological associations tend to be far more enduring and effective than ethical associations. The direct concern to generate reforms and strengthen society in specific recognizable and realistic ways apparently provides for greater focus, cohesion and solidity. In the case of some social movement organizations the visionary elements may be abandoned resulting in a shift of type to an evangelical organization. This seems to have been the case with the early family therapy groups and networks whose members initially imagined that they might change not just therapy and psychiatry, but science and society. Subsequently, the associations of family therapists became vehicles for professional self-promotion.

Sectional Associations (#3): These bodies are built on membership, seek improvements in society which are of general benefit, and provide members and sometimes others with essential and relevant services. Essentially, they may be thought of as reforming agencies dedicated to a particular sub-group in society.

This sub-group may be an ethnic minority. For example, the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood was founded in 1934 to look after the needs of the Cypriot community in Britain. It could not do so by having a narrow membership focus alone. It furthered its aims by organizing political and material support for Cyprus amongst the UK Cypriot community, and by promoting Cyprus and its culture in the host community. It offered services in the form of social, cultural and educational events.

Distinctive self-help groups tend to form around illnesses, often encouraged or even founded by dedicated professionals. Sufferers of rather common conditions (like epilepsy, asthma, migraine) and also of rare conditions (like tracheo-oesophageal fistulas, Prader-Willi syndrome, haemophilia) can and do benefit from such groups. The illness is the differentiating focus, and members are sufferers, relatives, professionals and researchers. The organization is based on a recognition that both promotional and reforming activities as well as direct services are needed by members. The British Diabetic Association is a good example. It was set up in 1934 and has over 300 branches throughout the UK. Its objects are to benefit diabetics and others interested in diabetes. It wishes to increase public awareness and understanding of the disorder and promote research into the condition, as well as providing services. Services include advice, information and support for sufferers and their families. It currently finances over 60 research groups and projects and publishes several

newsletters and pamphlets. The 1991 Annual Report reveals that of a total budget of approximately £6.5 million, about 35% was spent on services directly for members, and about 50% on promoting social change including research.

Not all groups connected with illness or disability are sectional as described above. The British Diabetes Association is categorized as sectional (#3), whereas the National Diabetes Foundation is promotional (#9) because it is primarily a funding body to deal with diabetic sufferers receiving human insulin. The British Deaf Association is categorized as sectional (#3) because its members are those who are profoundly deaf and use sign language. It provides services for its members and campaigns nationally. The Royal National Institute for the Deaf, however, is categorized as reforming (#6) because it provides services and campaigns on behalf of all types of deaf people, and its membership is completely open to any concerned person.

Training-cum-regulatory professional associations also fall into this category. Whereas the medical profession has a separate regulatory authority (the General Medical Council), standard-setting bodies (the Royal Colleges), and membership associations (the British Medical Association); less developed professions do not. The Institute of Chartered Accountants, for example, is above all a membership-centred body which must promote the interests of its members. However, it also has a statutory function as a regulatory authority. In this guise, it is service-centred because it regulates accountants in relation to auditing and other matters; and it is reform-generating because it puts forward proposals for improving accounting conventions and practices.

The Tetra-functional Type

Tetra-functional organizations are universal institutions which seek to serve all communal functions. Organizations of the tetra-functional type seek to affect everyone in society and exert an influence beyond national boundaries. The two obvious examples are churches and universities. (Note that many of the smaller churches and smaller universities are better categorized as sectional (#3) because they lack the resources to develop a transforming vision which can encompass and transcend present society.)

Universal Institutions (#1): The United Nations Organization, the universal churches and great universities are organizations which can genuinely claim to be able to pursue the full range of social functions while simultaneously realizing their own identity. Directly or

indirectly, they spawn numerous tri-, di- and mono-functional organizations.

The United Nations Organization is expected to do visionary work (cf. Ex.11.1), is based on membership governments who financially support it, presses for reforms in a wide variety of areas (e.g. trade, communications, refugees, rights), and provides services of many sorts (e.g. health-care, agriculture, peace-keeping).

Universal churches need to offer a transformative vision for societies, provide a social identity for their members, press for social reforms, and provide services internally for worshippers and both internally and externally for the needy. Universal creeds, like the Roman Catholic and Buddhist churches, affirm a universal faith and offer redemption and salvation for all.

A great university, like Oxford or Cambridge in the UK or Harvard in the USA, has an inescapable responsibility to be vision-generating. It must also serve the international community of scholars as a home for the various academic disciplines and therefore must be membership-centred. It expects to strengthen society by generating new ideas, discoveries, inventions and proposals of all sorts to be used by government and business. Finally, it exists to provide undergraduate and post-graduate teaching services which sustain society either through their vocational or cultural content.

Organizing such large and complex institutions is never a straightforward matter. Unlike other bodies, they cannot simplify themselves without internal and external accusations of self-betrayal. Although they contain people of the highest intellectual and moral calibre, this is not always evident in their operation. This is partly because the requirements of the different domains of functioning conflict wildly. Too much structure would interfere with the visionary work. Too little structure impedes the service work. Too much focus on social needs disintegrates the disciplines (whose logic has nothing to do with society). Too little focus on social needs makes for social irrelevance and ivory-towerdom. Leadership is fragmented and as much persuasive as authorized. These organizations, however hard they try, cannot really speak with a single voice.

REVIEWING THE TYPOLOGY

We have now considered the ten types of enterprise and their relation to society: transforming, differentiating, improving, and sustaining — or some combination of these functions. The main focus has been on the mono-functional types, whose structure and operation has been considered in some detail. However, the richness and vitality of a modern society depends on a full panoply of organizations of all types.

Customer-centred organizations whether universal, sectional, reforming or service are the engines of society. Their operations endlessly buzz to deliver tangible value. The standard of living in society depends on the efficiency and effectiveness of customer-centred organizations and the markets within which they operate. At the other extreme, the vitality, flexibility and potential of society is revealed by its tolerance of new visions. These often stem from movements which seek to transform society. A strong society can respond constructively to the output of vision-generating bodies — whether universal, ideological or ethical.

Improvements in society are based on vigorous growth within many types of organization — universal, ideological, sectional, evangelical, and reforming. The involvement of people can be ensured in society by encouraging every sort of membership-centred organization: universal, ideological, sectional, ethical and evangelical. This means expecting and supporting the self-affirmation of distinctive sub-cultures.

The Role of Business. The typology throws light on perennial debates about the role of business in society.

Businesses, like other customer-centred organizations, sustain society. That, in short, is the role of business. A business primarily sustains society by doing its business well, not by philanthropic acts, nor by the side-effects of its activities. Businesses must identify principally with their operations. Work on the vision, culture and growth must all be oriented to their operation. Such work does have a social function for the internal community, and inevitably has wider social effects. But a business does not exist to transform, differentiate or strengthen wider society except as a by-product.

A business must remain true to its own nature and pursue its own interests within the constraints of the ethical order and social forces. Swimming against the tide is exhausting and foolish. So successful businesses respond to social forces positively and, in this way, endorse them and contribute to the evolution of society. Here there are no special sectors — steel factories, publishing houses, banks, health care agencies, hotel chains, law firms — all must adapt to society's values or fail.

A particular business sector may or may not be something to be proud of. Communal standards, 'what everybody does', may be low, even squalid. However, any particular business can only adopt higher individual standards commensurate with its commercial and financial strength. Businesses must be pragmatic, and whatever their ideals, must always do what is appro-

priate at the time and respond to society as it is, not as they might wish it to be. Businesses are built on actual social values, not on fancy value systems or elevated moral theories. No business should respond automatically to moral exhortations of management gurus seeking respectability or politicians seeking an easy target.

Despite this, something must be done if people want a more enlightened society. It is up to people as individuals, *primarily within vision-generating, membership-centred and reform-generating organizations*, to respond to lapses in particular businesses or business sectors, and to take appropriate action. A person may also seek to use his or her leverage, either as a member of staff or director within a firm or as a supplier or as a customer. Firms, singly and together, will automatically respond to diffuse but consistent pressure from the public, the media, other organizations, the government and the law. The point to be emphasized is that no single business can or should be expected to lead social change, though many will properly seek to influence it.

Businesses in particular domains can and should group together in membership-centred umbrella organizations to support each other and to develop standards and publicize rudimentary self-regulation. Although such bodies cannot produce social change, they can reduce scandals. If a sector operates disreputably, governments eventually feel forced to introduce complex legal controls or to set up statutory authorities to regulate firms — which creates more costs for businesses and for society generally.

Transition. If all types of organization are functioning successfully, and if all are actively pursuing the values that establish their identity, then things will change in society. But if bodies function effectively, if they realize their potential, then the result could turn out to be disruptive. More seriously for the organization, if the values that support its rationale are not widely supported, then it will be impossible to obtain resources or gain what has been called the (informal) 'licence' to function in society.

Functioning (G-4) generates work and work requires people to participate willingly in an endeavour. To pursue effectively any endeavour (excepting the simplest one-man efforts), people must be organized within autonomous social bodies of the sorts described in this chapter. In addition, autonomy must be regulated to ensure that society is not deliberately or inadvertently subverted. This takes us to the subject-matter of Ch.12, the controlling conceptions of social life mentioned in the introduction to Ch.10. We now need to continue grouping levels of purpose where we left off at the end of that chapter. ❁

Master-Table 35

A ten-fold typology of organizations based on social role.

The more complicated organizations (shaded on the right) show combinations of the properties of the four mono-functional organizations. Each type of body finds its essence in one or more of the four domains of functioning and fulfils those communal identity functions (cf. Master-Table 34). Typing is performed by examining principal objects, and then confirmed by checking these against actual activities of the organization. The type numbers follow the layout in Master-Table 36. See text for further details and examples.

Type No.	Type of Organization	Role (Function) in Society	Output	Leadership Focus	Insiders	Source of Resources	Other Types [combined types/roles]
7	Visionary (and other vision-generating types)	To transform — to apply ideals to domains and identify values for use within and across societies.	Universally needed missions.	Appointed or anointed leader.	Idealists whose ideals are promoted.	Time, money and energy from wider society.	
8	Membership (and other membership-centred types)	To differentiate — to promote the value in society of distinctive roles and interests of members.	Benefits for members and, through them, society.	Active members and the wider membership.	Members whose status and security is bolstered.	Membership via dues, sales, gifts, bequests &c.	
9	Promotional (and other reform-generating types)	To strengthen — to focus and shape some aspect of social life within a society.	Priorities and policies for adoption and adaptation.	Governing body (including its sub-committees).	Workers/supporters (paid and unpaid) whose interests are furthered.	Grants, gifts, donations from public and/or private sources.	
10	Service (and other customer-centred types)	To sustain — to do or produce specific things of tangible value to society as cheaply as possible.	Essential and desirable goods and services.	Competent top executives.	Employees and the self-employed who are paid to produce.	People who get the goods or services (or others on their behalf).	

Master-
Table 36

Examples of organizations in each of the ten types.
Each type is labelled adjectivally only. The role(s) beneath the label link to the core domain(s) of functioning. Although other domains in the organizations are useful for society, they are not the essence of the organization. Note that the categorizational examples are illustrative, not comprehensive. Specific examples come from the UK except where noted or self-evident.
See text for further details and explanation.

No.	Type of Organization & Role(s) in Society	Core Domain(s) & Communal Function(s)	Categorizational Examples	Specific Examples
1	Tetra-functional Type: Universal Vision-generating, membership-centred, reform-generating, and customer-centred.	G-4 ⁴⁻¹ Transforming, differentiating, strengthening, sustaining.	Universal churches Great universities World-governing organizations	Roman Catholic, Buddhist Oxford, Harvard United Nations Organisation
2	Tri-functional Types: Ideological Vision-generating, membership-centred, and reform-generating.	G-4 ⁴⁻² Transforming, differentiating, strengthening.	Ideology-based political parties Some social movement bodies	Labour Party Communitarian network USA
3	Sectional Membership-centred, reform-generating, and customer-centred.	G-4 ³⁻¹ Differentiating, strengthening, sustaining.	Identity-based self-help groups Minor churches Ethnic support groups Training & regulating membership bodies	British Epilepsy Association Methodist church Greek-Cypriot Brotherhood Institute of Chartered Accountants
4	Di-functional Types: Ethical Vision-generating, and membership-centred.	G-4 ⁴⁻³ Transforming, differentiating.	Some social movement bodies Some international umbrella organizations Visionary discipline-based bodies	International Alliance of Women World Medical Association Internat'l Society for Systems Sciences
5	Evangelical Membership-centred, and reform-generating.	G-4 ³⁻² Differentiating, strengthening.	Ideology-based think-tanks Issue-based political parties Some religious bodies Standard-setting professional bodies Specialized campaigning groups	Institute for Public Policy Research Farmers' Party Inter-faith Network Royal College of Psychiatrists Scientists Against Nuclear Arms
6	Reforming Reform-generating, and customer-centred.	G-4 ²⁻¹ Strengthening, sustaining.	Campaigning welfare charities Self-help groups International public services Some scientific bodies Some regulatory authorities	Age Concern Rambler's Association World Health Organization Royal Geographical Society Commission for Racial Equality
7	Mono-functional Types: Visionary Vision-generating.	G-4 ⁴ Transforming.	Trans-disciplinary academic bodies Some United Nations bodies	World Academy of Art and Science World Commission on the Environment and Development
8	Membership Membership-centred.	G-4 ³ Differentiating.	Umbrella organizations Trade unions Professional associations Trade associations Community associations	Federation of Astronomical Societies National Union of Mineworkers British Medical Association British Menswear Guild Netherhall Neighbourhood Association
9	Promotional Reform-generating.	G-4 ² Strengthening.	Campaigning organizations Official pressure group Most regulatory authorities Citizen action groups Political lobbies Independent think-tanks Grant-giving bodies	Friends of the Earth National Consumers' Council Gaming Board 'Free the Birmingham Six' group National Rifle Association USA Policy Studies Institute Mental Health Foundation
10	Service Customer-centred.	G-4 ¹ Sustaining.	Businesses Professional practices Voluntary welfare services Activity-based interest groups Public agencies Some regulatory authorities Governmental executive bodies	British Petroleum An architectural practice National Adoption Society Cumberland Tennis Club National Health Service Industrial relations tribunal Inland Revenue

NOTES

1. Most of the organizations referred to are UK-based. Readers from most other societies should find comparable local examples without difficulty. Basic details of UK examples in the voluntary sector can be found in: National Council for Voluntary Organizations. *Voluntary Agencies: The 1988 Directory*. London, Bedford Square Press, 1987. Examples in the public sector are published in: Cabinet Office: Office of the Minister for the Civil Service. *Public Bodies, 1991*. London: HMSO, 1991; and *Improving Management in Government: The Next Steps Agencies Review 1991*. Cmnd 1760. London: HMSO, 1991. Where possible, the organizations described in this chapter have been contacted about their objects and activities to check that the accounts extracted from Reports and Directories were indeed correct at the time of writing.
2. Nef, J. (ed.) *Towards World Community*. The Hague: Dr. W. Junk, 1968.
3. Mudd, S. (ed.) *Conflict Resolution and World Education*. The Hague: Dr. W. Junk, 1966.
4. Robertson, J. *The Sane Alternative: A Choice of Futures. (Rev. Ed.)* London: M. Boyars, 1983.
5. Adams, R., Carruthers, J. & Hamil, S. *Changing Corporate Values: A Guide to Social and Environmental Policy and Practice in Britain's Top Companies*. London: Kogan Page, 1991.
6. Extracted from: *General Systems Bulletin*, Autumn, 1992, Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp.39-40.