《論　文》

The Functions of Non-profit Organizations

——A Case Study of Help the Aged in England——

Rie Yamanoi

1. Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the future trends in non-profit organizations for older people using a case study of a British non-profit organization.

Until recently, civic and volunteer groups in Japan were unauthorized except for corporations such as Shakaifukushi hojin (social welfare corporations) and others. Volunteer activities during the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake accelerated the enactment of the Law of Non-Profit Organizations in 1998. The purpose of this law was to accelerate and enhance civic and volunteer activities by recognizing civic and voluntary groups as legally incorporated entities. In fact, the number of non-profit organizations has been rapidly increasing in Japan. Additionally, the Long-term Care Insurance Law, which was enacted in 1997 and took effect in 2000, encouraged many non-profit organizations to deliver care services.

Non-profit organizations had never existed within the Japanese welfare delivery system until the enactment of this Law. After the Second World War, the Japanese government formed various types of non-profit groups and corporations including charitable, social welfare, private schools, religious, medical, special public, charitable trusts, cooperatives, and unincorporated organizations (Amenomori 1997).

These organizations were under close supervision by public authorities and solely dependent on government funds. Moreover, such non-profit organizations provided management positions for high ranking government officials who had retired prior to the normal retirement age. For example, it was not rare for a retired civil servant with little experience in social welfare to become the head of a nursing home.

Recently, as interest in volunteer citizen activities has been increasing, the number of unincorporated organizations has grown. However, such organizations can not acquire corporate status. Therefore, since they have no social trust to lend their offices funds or to obtain loans, they often cease to exist. In 1999, The Law of Non-Profit Organizations was enacted, enabling such organizations to acquire the status of 'non-profit organizations'.

The Long-term Care Insurance system accelerated the acquisition of authorization by the government. One purpose of that system was to encourage various kinds of

service providers to care for older people, whereas previously care service providers were limited to governmental and social welfare corporations established under the Social Welfare Services Law.

The Long-term Care Insurance system enabled other providers including private enterprises and non-profit organizations to offer these care services to older people by designating local governments to set aside a quota of available care services. Empowering care services as designated service providers allows them to stabilize their organizational administration so that they can make a profit on their services in accordance with the established regulations.

This system changed the conditions of non-profit organizations as they existed before the enactment of the Long-term Care Insurance system. First, since the new system allows them to charge for the care they provide, this assures non-profit organizations a reliable revenue stream. Therefore, many intelligent people argue that non-profit organizations should pay taxes on those revenues. On the other hand, other well-informed people oppose collecting taxes because it will weaken people's desire to launch volunteer activities. However, the national government attempts to collect taxes from non-profit organizations.

Second, some non-profit organizations have evolved to operate like for-profit enterprises. Originally, although the mission of non-profit organizations was to resolve social problems, recently many organizations lacking such a mission have appeared.

It is easy to launch non-profit organizations under the above conditions. If an entrepreneur tries to establish a company, he must raise a great deal of money and submit considerable documentation. However, when his organization is authorized as a non-profit organization by a local government, though he still has to submit many documents, he need not worry about raising money. Therefore, even non-profit organizations without a mission or a sense of social obligation have become more common.

Takada (2003) reported on some misunderstandings about non-profit organizations. The first is that non-profit organizations are now recognized as a kind of company that can be easily established without capital. The second is that they provide 'programs for the unemployed such as job training and job placement.' Some governmental reports have labeled non-profit organizations as novel economical providers. Furthermore, recent studies often discuss non-profit organizations from the limited perspective of business administration.

Third, while the number of non-profit organizations providing for older people while earning stable revenues is rapidly increasing, the number of those providing services for the handicapped and children remain stable. Even when non-profit organizations offer services for older people, those services are sometimes provided only for the elderly registered as in need of care based on the Long-term Care Insurance system.

While the number of non-profit organizations is increasing, we have often discovered

a state of confusion prevailing in the non-profit organization field. Some such organizations do not aim to contribute to society but their main purpose is rather to acquire certification that also contributes nothing to society but simply allows them to become Long-term Care Insurance providers. Furthermore, some newspapers have reported an increase in client grievances inflicted by the business methods of organizations certified as non-profit. Such conditions lead society at large to lose sight of the reason for the existence of non-profit organizations.

This paper aims to examine the characteristics and functions of non-profit organizations, using a case study of such an organization in England.

2. Specific factors of services and programs delivered by non-profit organizations

Long-term Care Insurance has enabled many kinds of service providers to enter the care market. Consequently, older people and their families are left on their own when deciding on an appropriate care service and provider. If they can not make a choice, care managers will gather information concerning service providers in their community and assist the elderly and their families to select care services that best meet their needs. After the Long-term Care Insurance system was in place, people sometimes select services delivered by non-profit organizations.

We must therefore examine the significance of services delivered by non-profit organizations among the many kinds of service providers. Why do older people and their families select services delivered by non-profit organizations rather than services provided by other kinds of providers? Why do care managers recommend non-profit organizations' services to users? Is it possible to distinguish differences between the non-profit organizations' services and those of other providers? What functions characterize non-profit organizations' services?

Many researchers have expressed opinions concerning services delivered by non-profit organizations. In this article, I use the three functions examined by Fujii (1998) based on a review of previous studies (Evers & Svetlidk 1999; Pestov 1992: Johnson 1981; Johnson 1987); 1) innovation, 2) advocacy, and 3) community development.

The first function, innovation, is that the non-profit organizations' activities are flexible, appropriate, experimental, and innovative. Most current institutional services were originally provided by voluntary groups such as nursing homes, home helpers, and visiting nurses. Gradually, the nation's responsibility to secure human rights has been emphasized, and as a result the government has started to provide some services.

Even today, services institutionalized and provided by governments are often one-size-fits-all, inflexible, and highly conservative, unable to adapt to meet users' continually evolving needs. Consequently, those needs often remain unmet in our society. In order

to cope with these unmet needs, some non-profit organizations offer new services, operating flexibly and experimentally in advance of institutionalized services.

The second function, advocacy, involves clearly identifying the critical conditions of minorities and the poor, and proposing alternative policies to central governments. In contrast, the profit sector, in its pursuit of revenue, prefers to ignore low-income clients who can offer few opportunities to deliver services which make a profit. Non-profit organizations often assist minorities through offering their services. Consequently, non-profit organizations often discover their difficulties and support them to improve their lives. They take their part and claim the rights of the poor who cannot claim by themselves; appeal on their behalf for their rights and provide measures to solve their problems.

The third function is community development. When non-profit organizations provide services, they often encourage spontaneous participation and solidarity among people. As a result, their activities create a community centered on mutually helpful relationships through providing a range of services.

When non-profit organizations operate in a community, their staff members tend to act as citizens, as opposed to the governmental sector's services which often intervene to complicated individual lives through means testing and the numerous regulations imposed by case workers in public assistance departments. In non-profit

organizations, however, staff members and clients are on an equal footing. It is possible for clients to solve their difficulties by joining the organizations' staff as volunteers or as paid personnel. Therefore, service users expect more understanding and sympathetic treatment that that provided by professional bureaucrats.

3. Case study methods

(1) Subject of study

In this article, the focus is on "Help the Aged," one of the world's non-profit organizations with head offices in London and branches not only in Britain but also in other countries, as the subject of our case study.

There are three reasons why this organization was selected: First, it is one of the largest non-profit organizations in Britain. Second, it has a track record of providing a wide range of innovative services for older people. Third, its active and continuous appeals to the UK Government have had a strong influence on national policies for the elderly.

(2) Study Method

People interviewed in September 2003 included an international public relations staff member, and the policy officer and Director of Communication and Marketing who provided valuable information on the organization's history, vision, activities and services. Based on data from these interviews as well as on examinations of their

annual report accounts, brochures and websites. Three functional characteristics of Help the Aged were investigated:1) innovation, 2) advocacy, and 3) community development.

4. Overview of Help the Aged

(1) Their vision and activities

The purpose of this organization is to work with older people and to identify their needs, champion their issues, and secure and uphold their rights. In their views, the elderly must : 1) be valued for their experience and skills and their potential ·contributions to society, 2) be personally involved in shaping their local environments, planning the services they need and participating in their communities, and 3) have their needs, hopes and aspirations fulfilled.

In order to realize that vision through campaigning, research, fundraising, and providing services, they work in partnership with other organizations such as voluntary, statutory, commercial and academic organizations, both locally and nationally. Their programs focus on campaigns, research, activities and services.

(2) Four programs for older people in 2003

The organization's annual report published in 2003 highlighted it's attempt to break four main barriers : 1) combating poverty, 2) reducing isolation, 3) defeating ageism, and 4) promoting quality. Table 1 lists the subsidiary aims to achieve the overall organizational goals.

① Combating poverty

Help the Aged believes that older people should have enough money to be able to keep warm and eat healthy and have enough left over to live on, not just survive. Hence they are working to: 1) increase the state pension; 2) encourage older people to claim the benefits due to them; 3) prevent older people from becoming ill and dying from cold winter; and 4) enable this organization to provide support to the poorest older people around the world (Help the Aged 2001a).

Recently, they have emphasized the prevention of death in winter (Help the Aged 2001a). They play a key role in a campaign to enact a Home Energy Conservation Bill obligating local authorities to give the elderly access to heating that is both cheap and energy-efficient. Additionally, to alert older people to the dangers of freezing winter temperatures, with support from British Gas, they have distributed 100,000 free thermometers through their network of 373 shops.

Furthermore, they work to alleviate poverty among older people. They have focused on providing a public pension as the main income for older people, and they play a significant role in encouraging support from the financial professions and academics for a state pension that is equivalent to the Minimum Income Guarantee,

For individual pensioners, they have established the Senior Line (a telephone helpline) and specially tailored mail-order and retirement services. That helpline

Table 1　Subsidiary aims and programs

	Combating poverty	Reducing isolation	Defeating ageism	Promoting quality in care
Programs Campaigns	•Campaign for the Home Energy Conservation •Alert the World Assembly on Aging •Support from financial professionals and academics for a state pension	•Campaign to reduce isolation and fear for millions of older people •Influence government to allow elderly over 60s discount on all bus fares	•Anti-age discrimination campaign •Campaigning group Better Government for Older People •Representing Age Alliance Wales on Welsh Assembly Government Advisory Group	•Report on underfunding of social care •Campaign to end crisis in the home care sector •Life under care improves for pensioners •Major increase in NHS resources
Research	•*Friday is Payday*, reporting Personal Expenses and Allowance •Research with the Oxford Institute for Aging	•Research into needs of disadvantaged groups •Biomedical research •Loneliness and isolation go under microscope •Formal mapping study identifying priorities of older people across UK	•Examination of age discrimination	•Research into experiences of older caregivers in everyday life •Preventing and treating Alzheimer's disease and osteoporosis •Inadequate care services
Activities and Services	•Distribution of thermometers •Senior Line •Medical and other care support for 29 other countries •Fund raising and financial support for countries suffering from natural calamities •Specially tailored mail-order and retirement services	•Social action to develop community resources •Leaflets providing information on health, benefits, finance, housing, and home •Publishing of London Guide and practical guide for ethnic minorities •Senior Mobility Bus •Developing Homeless Project and launching advice scheme •Senior link and Handy Van schemes	•Celebrating achievements of older people •Educational website for children •Retirement services •Practical advice about skills and jobs from the Third Employment Network and job placement •Organizing Independent Television Commission and offering training to older people	•Funding Mobile Medicare Units to deliver free medical care to older people in India •Delivering mail order system, home shopping website, health information leaflets, and outlets to enable older people to manage their own care

*Yamanoi based on *Annual Report and Accounts 2002*, *Help the Aged (2003)*.

enables older pensioners to offer practical suggestions so that all may speak with consultants. These latter services inspire confidence and enhance convenience and security of older people by distributing 42,000 information packs.

They provide such programs for the elderly in England as well as in other countries. For example, with their partner, Help the Aged International, through their Adopt a Granny scheme, provides medical and other assistance to older people in 29 countries. Additionally, with support from donations raised with other organizations, they have assisted countries suffering from natural disasters, providing immediate emergency relief and longer-term income-generating schemes developed by local partners with support from donations they raise with other organizations.

② Reducing isolation

Help the Aged recognizes that older people have the right to be as active and involved in the community as they want to

be. However, many of them feel trapped in their homes for want of adequate services and support. Help the Aged is working to : 1) involve older people in planning services, 2) provide practical solutions to overcome fear or crime, 3) understand the complex causes of isolation, and 4) reach out to older people in other countries (Help the Aged 2001a).

Older people more frequently expose themselves to mishap, even if they stay at home. Help the Aged fights bogus caller crime on the doorstep, and is a driving force in the campaign to prevent such crimes and to reduce isolation and fear through a Senior Safety network and its collaborators in the Home Office, police, local authorities, and other voluntary agencies.

Many older people experience difficulty taking public transportation, which often makes them feel isolated. Help the Aged addresses such difficulties in a variety of ways. First, they have negotiated with the government to offer discount bus fares for the aged, thus alleviating their economic burdens. Second, they have worked with Wales Pensioners and others to develop community resources and launch community development projects in six rural areas of England. Third, they have organized a fleet of 63 Senior Mobility buses, thus enabling hundreds of older people to get out and visit their families and friends.

Furthermore, Help the Aged provides assistance to the elderly living under disadvantaged conditions ; those who have

difficulty acquiring necessary information for their lives, older people from minority ethnic communities, and homeless people.
③ Defeating ageism

Despite many studies that show the abilities of older people to often be on a par with those of younger people, society considers the former to be vulnerable and in need of protection and care. Such a misunderstanding often deprives older people of opportunities to be more active in society. Help the Aged contends that the elderly deserve to be valued for the contribution they can make through their skills, knowledge, and experience, and that it is indefensible to waste their resources or ignore their needs and aspirations. To this end, Help the Aged works to 1) transform attitudes, 2) strengthen the law; and 3) improve public facilities and services.

First, society must be made to recognize the existence of age discrimination. Help the Aged is campaigning against anti-age discrimination. In conducting this campaign, older people are at the heart of decision making with the support of Help the Aged.

Second, Help the Aged has clarified the direct and indirect impact of age discrimination on the lives of older people and society as a whole.

Third, Help the Aged provides many opportunities for empowering. Frequently, older people feel they are too old to undertake anything new, since aging has rendered them powerless. Many fail to credit their own latent competence. In this connection,

Help the Aged supports services such as awards, insurance, practical advice about skills, as well as jobs and job placement services.

Fourth, age discrimination is reinforced by the media that portray older people as powerless. Watching such negative portrayals of the elderly warps society's understanding of aging. To address such media-driven misconceptions, Help the Aged have organized a conference with the Independent Television Commission of TV producers and programmers and persuaded them to offer training to older people around the country on how to speak to the media in a way that will help eliminate the negative stereotype of old people. Additionally, they have established a new education web site for citizens of the future, giving children valuable insights into the real lives of older people.

④ Promoting quality in care

Older people are entitled to dignity, choice and independence especially when in need of health or social care, whether in hospital, residential or nursing homes or in their own homes, In order to promote quality of life, Help the Aged has worked to: 1) expose bad practice, 2) promote good practice, and 3) get a fairer, simpler funding system.

Help the Aged has various kinds of programs designed to promote quality in care. Delivering adequate care service is essential for the peace of mind of older people who have an illness or disability. Help the Aged has appealed to both national and local governments to secure opportunities to use personal social services for the aged. Moreover, their programs cover income security for older people. At the same time, through empirical studies, they have clarified the actual conditions under which the elderly live, including their income, health, support, home services and residential care.

Help the Aged considers that the important thing to promote in care is partnership with other related agencies. Without such collaboration, it is impossible to eliminate obstacles and develop an adequate care system. First, they campaigned with the Fair Rate for Care consortium to bring an end to the crisis in the care home sector triggered by fee levels that are too low to sustain high-quality care or to keep homes open. Second, they supported the Older People's Reference Group in its work to implement the National Service Framework for Older People. Third, they raised funds in cooperation with their partner in the British Indian community.

Help the Aged delivers direct services to older people as well as launching indirect interventions such as campaigns and research studies. They developed a mail order system and issued home shopping website, and health information leaflets, This system enabled older people to access reliable service providers on their own (Help the Aged 2003).

5. Discussion

Here, I have examined Help the Aged in term of its three functions reviewed above

i.e., 1) innovation, 2) advocacy, and 3) community development, and I have discussed their implications for Japanese non-profit organizations in the welfare area.

(1) Innovation

The function of innovation determines whether non-profit organizations have delivered flexible, suitable, and innovative services superior to those of the public sectors. Abernathy et al. (1983) went on to develop a two-dimensional typology of innovation, basing its impact both on the production process of an organization, the existing markets and the users of products or services. According to this typology, one aspect of innovation is the creation of a niche that fulfills the necessity to provide new services to meet unmet needs.

Actually, merely institutional services cannot meet people's needs, which include the recognition of their various dimensions in tune with the times. Consequently, unmet needs always remain, and these chinks often are problems that often go unrecognized for the people concerned.

Nowadays, services for older people who suffer from disease and disability gradually have been institutionalized, while those designed to meet the needs of relatively independent older people are quite limited e.g., transportation, crime prevention, and other services to support their daily lives.

(2) Advocacy

The function of advocacy involves intervening to confront the conditions of minorities and the poor, and to propose alternative policies to the appropriate governments.

Help the Aged was originally established in order to protect the human rights of older people both in England and many developing countries. Therefore, its every activity includes advocacy for older people.

That advocacy mission has three dimensions. The first is providing evidence concerning the needs of older people. The elderly seldom regard themselves as poor and helpless. Therefore, the central government tends to reduce the services designed for them.

Help the Aged investigates attempts to clarify the real lives of older people. Their research themes include many different factors such as ageing, disease, income, loneliness and isolation. These themes combine to cast light on their real lives and needs which can serve as proof in appeals for aid from the central and local governments.

The second dimension is proposing alternative policies to central governments. Help the Aged has campaigned for income security, and health and care programs the elderly can rely upon. Consequently, such social interventions have effects on policy development.

The third dimension is to enable older individuals to gain access to necessary services. More recent younger helping professions often regard older people as so weak that they are unable to acquire new knowledge and skills, and tend to overlook their lifetime of experience and its potential

possibilities. However, the elderly have the potential to meet the challenge of new situations by drawing on their wealth of personal experience if only given the chance. Help the Aged provides both opportunities and information in support of older people, thus empowering them to deal with their problems on their own.

Citizen advocacy has stood up for the rights of vulnerable people, many of whom will particularly benefit from assistance and advice. Therefore, the participative structure of civil organizations can function as an important localized, democratic, and consumerist vehicle for allocating resources and changing misguided priorities (Johnson, 1981; Knapp 1996). Advocacy does not imply that it is up to powerful people and organizations to protect the human rights of vulnerable people whom they assume can not achieve their rights by themselves. By providing them with participative opportunities, the vulnerable elderly can recover their dignity and secure their rights on their own.

(3) Community development

This function involves creating communities based on mutually helpful relationships through encouraging people's spontaneous participation and a sense of solidarity.

First, Help the Aged has fostered the development of an intimate network of concerned organizations. Its activity is coordinated with such organizations as universities, research institutions, private enterprises and other civic groups. Although each organization's purpose and activities differ, each one's participation in the network enhances its operational effectiveness.

Second, Help the Aged has also promoted exchanges between different generations. Although nowadays many people regard the young in a positive light, older people are often dismissed as a negative element in society, in spite of research that clearly confirms their positive potential. Consequently, younger people think of the elderly as leading lives entirely different from their own. Help the Aged provides educational programs for future citizens in schools, encouraging them to appreciate the authentic values of the older generation, and to work together with them in improving society as a whole.

Third, Help the Aged provides the elderly with opportunities to participate in community development. Older people do not exist merely to be protected but to be respected for their opinion. Some older people may feel powerless to express their opinion due to society's low regard for them and the lack of opportunities to speak out. However, even such feelings of powerlessness can be gradually overcome through their participating in available programs, empowering them to make a valid contribution to community development.

6. Implications

One mission of non-profit organizations is to initiate activities to improve social services. However, many traditional non-profit organizations encounter difficulties

when attempting to carry out such activities, most of their financial resources derive from government funds and their senior staff are often retired public officials. On the other hand, the new type of 'non-profit organization' often concentrates on activities at the micro level such as interventions with individual clients, and fails to notice the macro inherent in the social system and in public opinion as a whole.

However, there are some exceptions to this shortsighted view, such as non-profit organizations most of whose members are handicapped people. The physically handicapped have been influenced by the example of the Independent Living Movement in the United States which often in particular vigorously defends rights with both the national and local governments.

Most Japanese non-profit organizations still depend on public sectors, with most of their financial resources supplied by governments. In addition, both the traditional and new type of non-profit organizations tend to provide institutionalized services as mandated by public laws such as the Long-term Care Insurance program.

This system has changed the nature of non-profit organizations as they existed before the enactment of the Long-term Care Insurance. The new system has encouraged financial motives that bring non-profit organizations large revenues.

Nowadays, although the central government guarantees the national minimum, not all needs are met by such public services. Human needs are complex, making it is

impossible for institutionalized services to meet all of them. Whenever services are institutionalized, unmet needs will inevitably exist. For example, the Long-term Care Insurance system encourages various service providers to participate in the care market. However, for-profit enterprises can not ignore their bottom line, with the result that they are reluctant to provide their services to the poor. This is why we must restore the original altruistic character of organizations.

References

Abernathy, W., K. Clark and A. Kantrow. (1983) *Industrial Renaissance,* Basic Books, New York.

Amenomori, T. (1997) Japan, Salamon, L.M., and Anheier. H.K. (1997). *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: a cross-national analysis,* Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York.

Bills D., and Harris, M. ed. (1996) *Voluntary Agencies; Challenges of Organisation and Management,* Macmillan, London.

Evers, A., and Svetlik, I. eds. (1993) *Balancing Pluralism, New Welfare Mixes in Care for the Elderly.* Avebury.

Fujii, A. (1998) Social Functions and Conditions of "Civil Enterprises" : "Civil Professionalism," *Community Society Studies* (Chiiki Syakai Kenkyu), No.10. (in Japanese).

Help the Aged (2001a) Addressing Excess Winter Deaths: the Causes and Solutions.

Help the Aged (2001b) Toolkit for Practioners: supported by the British Gas

Help the Aged Partnership.

Help the Aged (2003) Annual Report and Accounts 2002.

Help the Aged (2004) http://www.Help the Aged.org.uk / Adviceinfo / _ default.htm. (2004.11.5)

Johnson, N. (1981) *Voluntary Social Services,* Martin Robertson, Oxford.

Johnson, N. (1987) *Welfare State in Transaction,* Harvester Whearseaf.

Knapp, M. (1996) Are Voluntary Agencies Really More Effective? Bills D., and Harris, M. ed. (1996) *Voluntary Agencies; Challenges of Organization and Management,* Macmillan, London.

Salamon, L.M., and Anheier. H.K. ed. (1997) *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: a cross-national analysis,* Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York.

Takada, A. (2003) The New Stage of the Citizens' Movement in Contemporary Japan: Emergence of the Citizen's Movement as the Non-Profit Organizations, *Municipal Problems* (Toshi Mondai) Vol.94 No. 8. (in Japanese).

Watado, I., (2003) How to Estimate the Present Time of 'Civil Activity', *Training for local self-government staff* (Chihou Zichi Syokuin Kensyu), 2003,12. (in Japanese).

（山井　理恵、本学科助教授）