



biblio.ugent.be

The UGent Institutional Repository is the electronic archiving and dissemination platform for all UGent research publications. Ghent University has implemented a mandate stipulating that all academic publications of UGent researchers should be deposited and archived in this repository. Except for items where current copyright restrictions apply, these papers are available in Open Access.

This item is the archived peer-reviewed author-version of:

Title: Volunteering in a hybrid institutional and organizational environment: An emerging research agenda.

Author: Lesley Hustinx

In: M. Freise & T. Hallmann (Eds.), *Modernizing Democracy*. New York: Springer.

To refer to or to cite this work, please use the citation to the published version:

Hustinx, L. (2014). Volunteering in a hybrid institutional and organizational environment: An emerging research agenda. In M. Freise & T. Hallmann (Eds.), *Modernizing Democracy*. New York: Springer. Pp.99-110.

Volunteering in a hybrid institutional and organizational environment: An emerging research agenda.

Lesley Hustinx, Department of Sociology, Ghent University

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, volunteers are core participants in classic voluntary associations; however, the organizational context of volunteering has changed significantly in recent decades through the proliferation of new and hybrid settings of participation that mingle roles and rationalities of civil society, state and market. In this chapter, I examine the consequences of this organizational change for the nature and functions of volunteering by means of a literature review.

INTRODUCTION

Volunteers have always been a cornerstone of associational life. Their voluntary and unpaid work, ranging from organizing activities and taking leadership positions to service and advocacy work, is crucial for the functioning and survival of any association. Traditionally, volunteers are core participants in classic voluntary associations; however, the organizational context of volunteering has changed significantly in recent decades. In this chapter, I examine the consequences of this organizational change for the nature of volunteering and for the classic societal functions of voluntary associations and volunteering.

A key observation in recent years is the proliferation of new and hybrid settings of participation that mingle roles and rationalities of civil society, state and market (Billis 2010; Eliasoph 2009). In

particular, changes in contemporary welfare regimes, and more specific new modes of governing social welfare, are an important driver (Billis 2010). The system-wide coordination by the state is interchanged with modes of governance based on volatile and heterogeneous networks and partnerships with both market and third sector (Bode 2006). The third sector is confronted with a devolution of public responsibility and an increasingly competitive environment characterized by short term contracting and demands for accountability, performance and efficiency. Of course, cross-national variations in institutional contexts need to be acknowledged (Bode 2010; Henriksen et al. 2012). In liberal welfare regimes, hybridization means a departure from the 'pure' model of grassroots voluntary associations and is seen as a consequence of increasing government intrusion (Eliasoph 2009). In contrast, in continental Europe, 'hybridization' means a shift in the nature of hybridity, moving from a traditionally 'organized' welfare mix to a 'disorganized' welfare mix (Bode 2006). A deregulation of the previously stable partnerships between government and third sector is occurring.

The impact of this increasingly hybrid welfare architecture on citizens' voluntary engagement is an emerging topic in the academic debate (Eliasoph 2009, 2011; Hustinx 2010). However, the exact consequences of these changes for volunteering are ill understood. As yet, few empirical studies on the topic exist and no systematic research agenda has been developed. To learn about the consequences of these sector-wide changes for volunteering, in-depth research into the micro-settings of volunteering is warranted. In this chapter, I present a literature review on hybrid organizations as a present-day setting for volunteering, mainly focusing on volunteers engaged in social service delivery, which revealed three central themes: the impact of institutional and organizational hybridity on 1) the nature and experience of volunteering, 2) the interactional order in volunteer settings, and 3) the societal functions of volunteering. In the remainder of this chapter, these themes will be discussed. It is important to note that this chapter does not present an exhaustive literature review, but rather discusses a number of exemplary studies.

The nature and experience of volunteering

We identified several studies that focus on the impact of hybrid(izing) organizational features on volunteers' experiences and practices. The majority of these studies examine the impact of key organizational transitions on volunteers' commitment and are situated in an Anglophone context, where hybridization should be understood as a departure from the classic grassroots model of voluntary associations towards a stronger entanglement with government. While these studies may reflect a more common and natural organizational life cycle towards increasing professionalization and formalization, other studies have focused on more 'entrenched hybrids' that are deliberately structured as hybrids (Billis 2010). We will discuss both perspectives separately.

Organizational transformations

Several studies examine the consequences for volunteering of an organizational transformation from a traditional grassroots association to a more professionalized organization (Kelley et al. 2005; Lie and Baines 2007; Warburton and McDonald 2009). This organizational change is mainly caused by a changing policy environment, involving increased public funding, processes of marketization, the emergence of a more competitive environment, a new contract culture and new demands for professionalism. According to Warburton and McDonald (2009), this results in a split between "a declining, traditional, 'charity' model and a new model run on business lines and incorporating elements of social enterprise" (pp.825-826).

As organizational practices become more professional, volunteers are confronted with new roles and demands. In the traditional setting, volunteers often perform unskilled and charity-type work, while in the new model, they deliver professional services and their work is approached in a managerialist way, with formal job descriptions, shifts and rosters. A stratification in the division of

authority between volunteers and staff occurs. New volunteers are trained to do specific tasks, not to participate in the organization as a whole. Kelley et al. (2005), in their study of an organizational transition from an underground syringe exchange program to a legal, public funded service organization in San Francisco, found that in the new setting, volunteers were mainly doing the unpaid work, while staff made the operational decisions, and volunteers were increasingly left out of information sharing and decision making. The organization more strongly aligned with public institutions and authorities instead of its earlier commitment to the community it was serving. As a result, the organizational transformation reduced volunteers' commitment, and in particular alienated the long-term volunteers who continued to adhere to the original goals and principles of the underground program. Also Lie and Baines (2007) and Warburton and McDonald (2009) found disempowering effects on the long-term, and usually older volunteers that were engaged in the traditional setting. Volunteers reported to lose the spontaneity they used to enjoy and to feel stressed about having to pass tests and making mistakes (Lie and Baines 2007). Warburton and McDonald (2009) found traditional volunteers to experience confusion and tensions being confronted with the managerial approach that was espoused by the central office and diffused through the local branches and new service areas. While many older people successfully made the transition to the new institutional order, the authors noted the risk of older volunteers being excluded in the process of organizational transformation. Being accustomed to the traditional organizational culture, some older volunteers were unable to make the transition to the new entrepreneurial model and showed resistance to the top-down imposition of change on the relatively autonomous volunteers in the local branches.

Volunteering in hybrid settings

In their study of a Family Program to alleviate poverty in the US, Bloom and Kilgore (2003) start from the observation of US government's increasing emphasis on neoliberal policy strategies, as

reflected in its retreat from the provision of social services, and an increasing reliance on the non-profit sector and volunteers. As a result, volunteering gets a new meaning and significance. Volunteers are supposed to take responsibility for the needs of vulnerable citizens and are expected “to solve serious problems” (Bloom and Kilgore 2003, p.432). Bloom and Kilgore examined to what extent volunteers can actually meet these expectations. The family program they studied aimed at involving middle-class volunteers to build an effective social support network for families in poverty, as a way of reducing social isolation, and to move beyond their own biases about people in poverty. Bloom and Kilgore concluded that while this unpaid work may bring meaning to lives of the volunteers, the problems and needs of families in poverty are too complex and rooted in society-wide structural inequalities, hence cannot be addressed by volunteers, who risk frustration and disappointment. In short, the one-to-one volunteering offered was not as promising as claimed by proponents of the US administration’s neoliberal agenda.

In one of the most in-depth ethnographic studies available up to present, Eliasoph (2009, 2011) examined ‘hybrid’ youth empowerment programs in the US, which she described as top-down, funded civic projects operating “through a dizzy array of semi-civic, semi-private, semi-state agencies” (Eliasoph 2009, p.293). She noted that as a result of this more hybrid constellation, volunteer management was not so much focused on the experiences of volunteers, but rather on the measurement of activities and the organization of short-term, rationally planned projects with a predictable success rate, which guaranteed good publicity towards a diversity of stakeholders and funders. Eliasoph (2009, 2011) for example observed the introduction of various ‘accounting devices’ within these hybrid volunteer settings. The transparency that was required for multiple funding agencies and private donors translated into “constant documenting— hours spent volunteering, number of youth volunteers, number of adult volunteers helping the projects, number of youth served” (Eliasoph 2009, p.297). As a result, poor and minority youth volunteers, knowing that they were volunteering as members of prevention programs, started to speak publicly about themselves as members of categories and objects of crime and unemployment statistics. And during meetings,

youth volunteers in community service programs ended up devoting more time to the question of how to measure the hours they had spent volunteering than to any other question. The hybrid nature of this particular volunteer setting thus substantially changed the meaning of volunteering for the participants, who seemed to approach it in a much more distanced and instrumental way.

Another example of more hybrid forms of participation are community service programs for youth, which are introduced by public authorities to boost active citizenship among young people. Simonet (2009) studied two civic service programs, in the US and in France, exploring the role of socio-economic factors in young people's definition of, and experiences with, the civic service. Participants in the programs received some remuneration for living expenses to allow them to commit themselves full-time to their voluntary service. Simonet found that depending on their socio-economic background, youth volunteers had very different understandings of their service and of the stipend they received. The experience of the service differed a lot between youth from privileged and underprivileged backgrounds. While the former framed their motivations and experiences more on the 'volunteer side' of the service program ('do something useful for society', 'give back to the community'), participants who lacked financial resources put more emphasis on the 'occupational side' of the program. They were looking for a job and were referred to the civic service by a professional worker. Participants from an underprivileged background were also more often 'fired' or left the program more or less voluntarily. Simonet further observed a sharp distinction in the perception and use of the living allowance: it was 'pocket money' for those youth who were supported by their parents, and 'pay' or 'income' for those who had no other resources to live on. She concluded that more privileged youth experienced their service commitment as 'super volunteering', while many of the less privileged youth experienced it as a 'job', a job that was poorly compensated but the only means from which they could live, and a job that they aspired to leave for a better-paid one.

Similar conclusions were drawn from a study of single mothers on welfare in Canada (Fuller et al. 2008). The authors sketch a shift in Canadian social policy, characterized by the emergence of a new type of 'market citizenship' in which paid work is considered the primary ground for social inclusion, while social citizenship as an entitlement to a basic standard of living is eroding. As a result, single mothers increasingly face the societal rejection of care for their children as a legitimate alternative to full-time employment, and feel pressured to demonstrate their social worthiness. Fuller and colleagues argue that in this context, "volunteer labour is a key site where income assistance recipients struggle for social inclusion and moral legitimation in the face of material deprivation and moralizing discourses about motherhood, welfare, and work" (p.159). While these single mothers used discourses of altruism and care; they also motivated their volunteer activities by associating this type of work with paid employment. They considered volunteering as a way to acquire skills that could be useful in getting a paid job and as an opportunity to earn some material goods (food, some form of remuneration) necessary for survival and a minimum level of social inclusion, hence an underground income-generating activity. The authors conclude that in this new policy context, while volunteering can be seen as an act of citizenship, when conducted by vulnerable groups, volunteer activities should be considered as compulsory, driven by material needs and a normative pressure to legitimate claims to citizen entitlements. Volunteering becomes a strategic site where single mothers can make a symbolic statement of reciprocity towards a community that provides them with income assistance benefits.

Interactional order

A second focus of research is the interactional order in hybrid organizational settings. It refers to the relationships that organizational participants build with each other through everyday

interaction. In TSOs the main organizational participants are volunteers and paid staff.¹ Recurring themes are role ambiguity and boundary blurring, and the potential tensions and conflict areas that may result from them.

The relationships among volunteers

The group style concept (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003) lends itself best to study relationships within volunteer groups. Lichterman (2009) in the US distinguished between TSOs with a 'club' group style and those with a 'networker or plug-in' group style. The 'club style' is a traditional one and is typical for TSOs with formal membership, a strong collective identity and multiple organizational goals (e.g. the Rotary Club). In this setting volunteers are loyal to the organization, engage long term and perform unspecialized 'good deeds'. The main reward for volunteering is the socializing with other members and the associated social status.

More recently, the 'networker' or 'plug-in style' has become more prevalent in TSOs. This networker style can be found in informal and loosely connected alliances that are issue-based. In this setting volunteers 'plug-in' and engage in task-oriented volunteering. The main reward for volunteering is to feel good about oneself and enhance individual (career) goals. Lichterman has studied this group style in the Humane Response Alliance, a church alliance, (Lichterman 2009) and in Fun Evenings, a project for youth at risk (Lichterman 2006). In the Humane Response Alliance, the social map of partner organizations (civic groups, county agencies and churches) was held vague allowing the separate partner organizations to maintain their own group style (Lichterman 2009). In this network priority was given to doing over talking, which translated into a business meeting style that focused speech on manageable tasks, leaving little space to reflect on the broader picture of community relations. The organizers of the Fun Evenings project recruited their plug-in volunteers in

¹ Within the limited scope of the chapter, it is not possible to include a discussion of the (changing) relationship with clients.

such a way that the potential for relationship building among volunteers, and between volunteers and the young recipients was restricted (Lichterman 2006). As a result the opportunities to broaden volunteers' horizons or to cultivate social capital were limited. Volunteers were found to 'keep busy solo', and to be 'doing alongside'.

Also Warburton and McDonald (2009) found different types of social relations and ways of interacting depending on the particular setting – the traditional 'charity model' and the new 'social enterprise model' as mentioned above. In the former, 'old' order, volunteers had a long-term commitment (40 to 50 years of service was not uncommon) and felt very comfortable in their role and in their interactions with other volunteers and clients. When they came on duty, they were welcomed warmly by other volunteers, they socialized with each other, and joined each other at table for lunch. In contrast to this social, relationship-based conversational order, volunteers in the 'new' settings experienced an environment that was professionalized, more distant and formal. In a hospital play-scheme, for example, the co-ordinator emphasized the rules and regulations surrounding interactions with clients. Volunteers had to be flexible and they took their duties very seriously. At the night café, the volunteers who worked with homeless young people had to be alert to potential problems, for example checking the toilets for drug usage regularly; and they were well aware of the risk of violence or visits by the police (Warburton and McDonald 2009).

Volunteers and paid staff members

The tensions between volunteers and paid staff members and the resistance of the latter to the presence of volunteers in mixed volunteer-employee settings are an old and ongoing theme in volunteering research. These tensions are, among others, fuelled by the job threat that volunteers pose to paid staff members. This job threat grows in times of devolution of public responsibility, as the role expectations of volunteers expand (Netting et al. 2005). Tensions also derive from conflicting perceptions about the organizational identity among volunteers and paid staff members. Kreutzer

and Jäger (2011), in their study on six European patient organizations, identified three main conflict areas between paid staff members and volunteers: authority, whereby professionals and volunteers both claimed the authority to lead the organization; expectations about the output, where they found volunteers to expect an enormous output of paid staff members as a justification for their salaries; and motivation, with volunteers' motivation to be concerned with the organization's 'soul' whereas managerial motivation mainly focused on standard procedures.

The identified areas of conflict are partly related to the diversifying position of volunteers vis-à-vis professionals. The rapid growth of paid staff and the competition for funding for TSOs has led to a growing range of functions in TSOs, performed by a mix of paid staff and volunteers. In some TSOs, volunteers are engaged to take up responsible and complex tasks (cf. Bloom and Kilgore 2003). In other TSOs a hierarchy is installed, with volunteers being excluded from decision-making roles and performing less risky or ancillary tasks, leaving the complex or more important tasks to paid staff members (cf. Kelley et al. 2005).

With the growing interest of governments to involve volunteers in the public sector – a current example of the blurring boundaries between public and nonprofit sectors – tensions between volunteers and paid staff are also particularly present in public agencies. Dover (2010) notes that the attitudes of public sector staff have long been identified as a potential barrier to volunteer participation in public sector agencies. However, little is known about the reasons for staff resistance. In his study of the experiences of frontline staff (those who are actually charged with implementing volunteer programs) in a municipal ecology center in Canada, Dover (2010) found that while on the one hand, staff members were committed to voluntarism and community participation, on the other hand, they developed policies that placed volunteers in peripheral roles. To explain these contradictory strategies, Dover argues that staff's view of volunteering is influenced by three main institutional logics: professionalism, new public management (NPM), and community participation. From the perspective of professionalism, the profession needs to be defended and volunteer

management tools are thus used in a way that volunteers without specialist knowledge can only fulfill support roles. The NPM logic brings in ideas of quality and risk taking into volunteer management. The logic of community participation approaches volunteers as active participants in shaping the organizational goals and encourages volunteer involvement. These logics coexist and create tensions for the staff as they offer competing visions for volunteer involvement. The staff manages these tensions by finding value in each logic, but the resultant 'logic blends' can lead to contradictions in its volunteering strategy.

Societal functions

A final theme that emerges in the literature, are the societal functions of hybrid volunteering. Here, the main question is whether emerging forms of hybrid organization and volunteering can perform the same functions as 'classic' types of participation in voluntary associations did (or were assumed to do in a Tocquevillian sense).

Political participation

First, from a political science perspective, political participation and public opinion formation and speech are expected outcomes. Eliasoph (2011) observed that, because of the stronger need for legitimization in front of a more diverse number of stakeholders, hybrid organizations more strongly focus on the public good, through discussing more explicitly themes like justice, equality, and inclusion – thorny issues that classical volunteer groups rather prefer to avoid (Eliasoph 1998). Indeed, in her recent ethnographic study of empowerment projects in the US, Eliasoph (2011) observed 'public-spirited dialogue' among paid organizers. However, empowerment projects did not stimulate political talk among volunteers. Volunteers rarely talked about politics in the sense of public policy, and when they did, politics seemed close and personal. They were being taught 'civic skills

minus politics', learning technical skills such as taking notes or running meetings, without learning to see or care about the bigger picture. Although empowerment projects aim to address social inequality, there is hardly any room for complex and potentially explosive discussions on the structural causes and material conditions that need to be tackled (Eliasoph 2011). Simonet (2009) observed that privileged youth in civic service programs questioned the role that these programs should play in relation to underprivileged participants, whose material struggle continued throughout their service. However, while they were aware of it, there was no discussion about it nor any effort to help each other in the group. Ilcan and Basok (2004), who studied Canadian voluntary agencies concerned with social justice issues and operating in a neoliberal policy context, also found that the majority of volunteers were involved in direct service delivery, but that voluntary agency representatives, themselves involved in public policy debate, did not encourage volunteers to become involved in advocacy work and to 'grasp the bigger picture'. Similar findings emerged from a study of middle class volunteers in a Family Partners Program in the US, who provided relational and instrumental social support to families in poverty (Bloom and Kilgore 2003). Although volunteers got a better insight into the structural causes of poverty and the impact of stigmatization, most volunteers still held normative, individualized rather than structural interpretations of poverty.

Social capital formation

Second, from a sociological perspective, the focus is on social capital formation. Positive externalities include social integration, participation, community building and the development of generalized social trust. Eliasoph (2009, 2011) revealed that in empowerment projects in the US, short-term or 'plug-in' volunteers developed only weak ties with other volunteers, clients and paid staff. This could be explained by their episodic commitment, and by organizations' inability to stimulate bonding beyond social and cultural differences. While empowerment projects were expected to be inclusive (in contrast to the mostly socially homogeneous classic voluntary

associations), they tended to treat ethnic differences as light and chosen rather than to display their roots and specificities (Eliasoph 2009, 2011). Eliasoph further observed that efforts by middle-class plug-in volunteers in some cases were useless and even destructive. These volunteers, looking for a quick yet “rewarding, intimate experience” (p.145), did not come into sustained contact with recipients, undermined the organization’s feeling of family-like intimacy, and avoided those recipients that are hard to help or to bond with. Recipients learned not to trust the constant stream of plug-in volunteers who promised to help them and to bond, but for example gave contradictory advice with regard to their school homework. Eliasoph showed that volunteers who did not interact with the youth, but took care of organizational and financial matters, were much more helpful for the beneficiaries. Also Lichterman (2009) showed that flexible, optional and output-oriented volunteering in loose organizational networks failed to fulfill the ideal of nurturing social capacities among participants, and circumvented the development of collective civic action. Volunteers in a Family Program to alleviate poverty also had difficulties in building spontaneous and natural friendships with the clients, because they had to engage within a neoliberal policy framework that emphasized professional social work and surveillance (Bloom and Kilgore 2003).

CONCLUSION

Changes in the institutional environment of TSOs and in their organizational structure have changed the settings for volunteering. More specific, blurring sector boundaries have resulted in a nonprofit landscape increasingly characterized by organizations that exhibit hybrid features, that is, that combine different sector characteristics and logics. In this chapter, I have presented a literature review to provide some initial insight in the consequences of these broader institutional and organizational changes for volunteering.

In general, the picture that arises from this review is not so rosy. Many studies discussed the erosion of a traditional ‘club style’ or ‘charity’ model, typical of classic voluntary associations, and the

emergence of a more professional, managerial environment for volunteering, in which volunteers no longer seem to be a key stakeholder because accountability towards funding agencies is deemed more important. The organizational focus is increasingly put on successful projects, good publicity, rules and regulations.

While a greater organizational effectiveness may be reached shifting to a business-like model, it has become clear that also the nature of volunteering is radically different in the new environment. The role of traditional, long-term and highly committed volunteers with a strong collective identity is curtailed; emergent is a new type of professional 'plug in' volunteer who is involved on a short-term basis and is recruited to perform very specific tasks, following clear managerial rules and regulations – thus being 'stripped' from the traditional volunteer status of a full participant with ownership of the association, merely doing 'unpaid work' while being excluded from central organizational activities such as information sharing and decision making.

While the traditional volunteer represented an amateurish type of do-gooder, the emergence of the new, professional volunteer is also more likely to cause tensions with paid staff. This especially occurs in a context of devolution of public responsibility, where governments increasingly involve volunteers out of an economic rationale, to reduce costs, and role expectations towards volunteers grow. This leads to role ambiguity and feelings of job threat among professionals. At the same time, research has shown that the capabilities of volunteers in the provision of social welfare should not be overestimated, and that it is risky to rely on volunteers only to solve major social problems.

An important asset of hybrid organizations would be that they are open or accessible for a more heterogeneous population, explicitly aiming at a greater diversity of volunteers in terms of their socio-economic and cultural background, e.g. through empowerment projects or civic service programs. Existing studies however point to the dual experiences of volunteers from advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds. The latter create a greater awareness of their disadvantaged status, or

consider volunteering as a form of 'underemployment' through which they earn at least some pay. They feel compelled to volunteer, out of material necessity, or because of a normative pressure to earn their welfare benefits back. At the same time, little bridging social capital is built.

Finally, existing research points to the hampering effects of the new plug-in or business style of volunteering for the interaction and relationship building between volunteers. Because of the limited, focused nature of the volunteer role, there is little opportunity to build more substantial ties with other volunteers or with recipients. Volunteers do not learn about the broader structural causes of the problems they are supposed to tackle, as there is little opportunity for discussion and reflection. Short-term volunteering can also have a detrimental influence on the recipients of the service, who mainly learn not to trust volunteers.

In short, while it has already been demonstrated that classic voluntary associations have some characteristics that are not so favorable as commonly imagined (e.g. a lack of diversity and transparency, a paternalistic distance between volunteer and recipient, a disconnection from politics – see Eliasoph 2009; Theiss-Morse and Hibbing 2005), the hybrid settings that are emerging do not necessarily provide a promising alternative. However, caution is needed in drawing definite conclusions. While this chapter has discussed a number of exemplary studies, more systematic research is needed on the impact of this changing organizational landscape on the nature and functions of volunteering.

REFERENCES

- Billis, D. (2010, Ed.). *Hybrid organizations and the third sector: Challenges for practice, theory and policy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bloom, L.R., & Kilgore, D. (2003). The volunteer citizen after welfare reform in the United States: An ethnographic study of volunteerism in action. *Voluntas*, 14(4), 431-454.

- Bode, I. (2006). Disorganized welfare mixes: Voluntary agencies and new governance regimes in Western Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(4), 346-359.
- Bode, I. (2010). Creeping marketization and post-corporatist governance: The transformation of state-nonprofit relations in continental Europe. In S.D. Phillips & S.R. Smith (Eds.), *Governance and regulation in the third sector: International perspectives* (pp.115-141). New York: Routledge.
- Dover, G.J. (2010). Public Sector Volunteering: Committed Staff, Multiple Logics, and Contradictory Strategies. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 30(2), 235-256.
- Eliasoph, N. (1998). *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eliasoph, N. (2009). Top-down civic projects are not grassroots associations: How the differences matter in everyday life. *Voluntas*, 20(3), 291-308.
- Eliasoph, N. (2011). *Making volunteers: Civic life after welfare's end*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Eliasoph, N., & Lichterman, P. (2003). Culture in interaction. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(4), 735-794.
- Fuller, S., Kershaw, P., Pulkingham, J. (2008). Constructing 'active citizenship': Single mothers, welfare, and the logics of voluntarism. *Citizenship studies*, 12(2), 157-176.
- Henriksen, L.S., Smith, S.R., & Zimmer, A. (2012). At the eve of convergence? Transformations of social service provision in Denmark, Germany, and the United States. *Voluntas*, 23(2), 458-501.
- Hustinx, L. (2010). Institutionally individualized volunteering: Towards a late modern reconstruction. *Journal of Civil Society*, 6(2), 165-179.

- Ilcan, S., & Basok, T. (2004). Community government: voluntary agencies, social justice, and the responsabilization of citizens. *Citizenship Studies*, 8(2), 129-144.
- Kelley, M.S., Lune, H., Murphy, S. (2005). Doing syringe exchange: Organizational transformation and volunteer commitment. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34(3), 362-386.
- Kreutzer, K., & Jäger, U. (2011). Volunteering versus managerialism: Conflict over organizational identity in voluntary associations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(4), 634-661.
- Lichterman, P. (2006). Social capital or group style? Rescuing Tocqueville's insights on civic engagement. *Theory and Society*, 35(5-6), 529-563.
- Lichterman, P. (2009). Social capacity and the styles of group life. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(6), 846-866.
- Lie, M., & Baines, S. (2007). Making sense of organizational change: Voices of older volunteers. *Voluntas*, 18(3), 225-240.
- Netting, F.E., O'Connor, M.K., Thomas, M.L., Yancey, G. (2005). Mixing and phasing of roles among volunteers, staff, and participants in faith-based programs. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34(2), 179-205.
- Simonet, M. (2009). In between volunteer work and employment: Youth civic service in France and in the United States. In A. Moore McBride (Ed.), *Youth service in comparative perspective*, CSD Monograph No. 09-04 (pp.20-28). St. Louis: Center for Social Development, Washington University St. Louis.
- Theiss-Morse, E. & Hibbing, J.R. (2005). Citizenship and civic engagement. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 227-249.

Warburton, J. & McDonald, C. (2009). The challenges of the new institutional environment: An Australian case study of older volunteers in the contemporary non-profit sector. *Ageing & Society*, 29(5), 823–840.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research is supported by Grant G.0336.10 of the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO Vlaanderen). The author would like to thank Jozefien Godemont for her assistance in conducting the literature review.