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The new spirit of volunteering in the age of internet
- *Exploring Swedish nonprofits online volunteer affiliation*

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Abstract

This study links together the question of how nonprofit organizations use their internet websites to affiliate potential volunteers, with the question of how volunteering has transformed over the past decades. Previous volunteer research suggests that volunteering is getting more individualized and flexible and that volunteer organizations adapt by creating more enabling volunteer approaches. Internet is playing a large role in this "re-embedding" of volunteering. It is unclear how resilient Swedish civil society has been to such changes, therefore, the study explores these developments by researching ten Swedish volunteer organizations websites between 1998 and 2018 using the Wayback Machine. The theoretical framework expands upon Leslie Hustinx Beckian concept of institutional individualization by supplementing it with Wendy Browns' Foucauldian concept of neoliberal governance. The study identifies four main practices of volunteer affiliation that remains over time, but also identifies a shift in how these practices are being framed; from a movement-oriented framing to an agreement-framing where volunteering is seen much more like a transaction. The study concludes that a new volunteer subject risks being constructed via this new approach to volunteer affiliation. This new volunteer subject would be more individualized, flexible, marketized and entrepreneurial. The space of volunteering seems to be transforming towards a marketplace and Swedish nonprofits might need to reevaluate what kind of volunteers they are seeking to affiliate.

1. Introduction, research problem, study aim and questions

Internet has arguably had a large impact on how established nonprofit organizations (NPOs) perform communication (Lentz 2011), as well as how stakeholders get involved and attached to them. This poses a question of how volunteer organizations have changed with the usage of internet to affiliate[1] volunteers which this study intends to explore. Civil society scholars argues that in late modernity, volunteering is getting increasingly instrumental and marketized (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003; Lorentzen & Hustnix 2007; Cnaan & Parks 2016). The majority of such volunteer research however, has focused on individual volunteers (Snyder 2008; Wilson 2012), rather than the ways in which volunteer organizations transform, which remains an under-researched topic (Snurbein 2012). Some researchers (Hustinx 2010; Hustinx & Meijs 2011) hold that volunteer organizations during the past decades have increasingly tried to accommodate the changing volunteer landscape by developing new, more flexible and individualized (i.e. enabling) ways to affiliate volunteers. Arguably the internet has played a crucial role in such developments but there is little to no research linking these subjects together. As researchers have pointed out the internet has been increasingly adopted by nonprofits during this time (Dumont 2014; Wells 2015) so it's not farfetched to assume that websites have been key platforms for these developments. Not only are websites hence impossible to ignore, but rather, studying them over time would provide the most feasible way to explore new forms of volunteer affiliation in practice.

The literature also indicates a degree of diversity in said trends. Hustnix and Meijs (2011) holds that changes of this kind has prevailed in North America for a longer time, but is more recent in Western Europe where volunteering has been embedded in a stronger membership tradition. As Hvenmark & von Essen (2010) suggest, such a tradition is even stronger in Sweden because of the long standing *Folkrörelse* [Peoples movement]-tradition. Long term research suggests that Sweden has rather stable rates of volunteering as well as NPO commitment (von Essen, Jergermalm, Svedberg 2015) and therefore has been more resilient to change. Nevertheless some claim that Swedish nonprofits are in fact developing towards a more individualized and flexible landscape (Hvenmark & von Essen 2010, Hvenmark & Robertsson 2015). For example, the strong connection between membership and volunteer

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[1] In this study the term "affiliate" is used rather than the corresponding "recruit" or "mobilize" in order to highlight the particular relation between a formal NPO and a volunteer – weaker than a professional recruitment, yet more formal than smaller associations or grassroot-mobilization.

commitment in Sweden is supposedly weakening (Hvenmark, 2008). Further research is however needed in order to confirm or falsify these claims.

Over the past decades, the welfare state has become more and more dependent upon civil society in its everyday functioning. Also, civil society is said to be a cornerstone for the promotion of democracy, altruism, and collectivism, holding society together (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003). If the traditional act of loyal, stable and altruistic volunteering is becoming marketized and instrumental, this risk changing or hollowing the unique character of civil society, or at least profoundly change how we perceive volunteering in the 21st century (Hustinx & Meijs 2011). Therefore, a broader exploration and deeper understanding is of urgent importance. The problem is on the one hand that we know too little about how nonprofits affiliate volunteers online and its implications, and on the other that we need more empirical data in order to evaluate whether Swedish nonprofits in fact do transform as international research suggests. We thus need to explore how internet has been utilized by nonprofits on a meso-level, which also will allow us to better understand and assess these acclaimed processes of more individualized and flexible volunteering.

The aim of this study is therefore to analyze potential transformations of volunteering in Sweden, and the implications, by exploring how Swedish volunteer organizations have used their websites to affiliate volunteers since the late 1990s. To achieve this aim, the study will strive towards answering these research questions:

- In which ways have formal volunteer organizations in Sweden used their websites to affiliate volunteers over the past two decades?
- What online practices to affiliate volunteers are found within the studied organizations over time?
- What are the implications of these developments for volunteering?

By using the Wayback Machine (2019), a platform that allows to access archived copies of websites from previous points in time, this study will retrieve website data between 1998 and 2018 and analyze how the selected nonprofits have affiliated volunteers. Below, previous research will be discussed, followed by an outline of the theoretical framework and the methodology before the result is presented, analyzed and interpreted. The article then concludes with a discussion.

2. Background and previous research

The interest of this study is 'volunteering' within 'formal nonprofit organizations'. The "Oxford Handbook of Civil Society" (Edwards 2011) describe nonprofits as a "specific category of associational life in civil society, and are usually defined by their high level of formality in terms of legal registration, by the preponderance of external funding in their budgets […] and by their roles as intermediaries that sit between grassroots constituencies and communities, and government and other agencies" (Rathgeb Smith 2011). The focus is larger 'organizations' rather than smaller 'associations' since organizations affiliate the largest body of traditional volunteers. According to Cnaan & Park (2016), participation in nonprofits occur through; (1) association participation, which contains membership in organization and participating in membership activities, (2) giving, which means donating money and supporting charity events and (3) volunteering, which is the main focus of the study, defined as "freely doing something without remuneration that is intended to improve others' quality of life directly or indirectly, with the recipient being outside one's own household" (Cnaan & Park 2016, p. 24f).

Ever since Robert Putnams (2000) famous publication about the lonesome bowler there has been a growing concern within research about a perceived decline of volunteering. In this view, civil society is subject to a process of 'dis-embedment' (Hustinx & Meijs 2011) where social capital, traditional active membership, volunteer commitment, and citizen engagement is decreasing, resulting in a potential democratic deficit (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003; see also Stolle & Hooge 2005 for a discussion). Yet, in contrast, some researchers hold (and I agree) that we rather should conceptualize this as a process of 're-embedment' where forms of volunteering and commitment to civil society organizations are being transformed and embedded in new contexts, structures and frameworks (Hustinx & Meijs 2011; Hustinx 2010; Lorentzen & Husting 2007; Hvenmark & von Essen 2010).

2.1 Micro, macro and meso transformations of civil society

Civil society research clearly indicates that transformations are happening on all levels. Primarily, the literature on volunteering has been interested in changes on the individual micro level, i.e. changing availability, willingness and preferences of individual volunteers from biographical changes of late modernity (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003). Review articles

from Snyder & Omoto (2008) and Wilson (2012) support this claim by concluding that most research is interested in the motivations and preferences of individual volunteers. Transformations on a macro level on the other hand, involve new ways of financing organizations as well as new hybrids of civil-public, civil-private and public-private partnerships (Hustinx 2010). Nonprofits have been increasingly incorporated, together with for-profits, in new ways of organizing welfare provision (Skocpol 2013; Milligan & Fyfe 2005). These new partnerships and hybridizations have had a major impact on nonprofits' economic and managerial prerequisites (Hvenmark 2016; Sanders 2012).

This study situates itself on the meso level. The meso level relates to institutional and organizational processes mediating micro and macro. Studer & von Schnurbein argue that "[i]n general, incentives and organizational context affecting volunteers are less discussed than individual motives and dispositions" (2012, p. 406). Already in 1999, Rochester (1999) studied how organizations involve volunteers. His focus was however the models for how volunteers related to the paid staff, where he identified four models with different degrees of volunteer involvement. Like Rochester, McDuff et.al. (2009) note how the ways in which nonprofits involve volunteers could also depend on whether the organization itself is more traditional/hierarchical or more flexible/marketized. This has also been elaborated by Ahrne and Brunsson, (2011) who argue that organizations could be more or less complete or partial in their structure. Hence, differences in the studied nonprofits' organizational context could affect how they choose to affiliate volunteers.

2.2 Changing volunteer-organizational relationships

Eikenberry (2009) has written that in Europe as well as north America nonprofits are becoming more business-like by adopting new discourses from the for-profit world, which results in changes in management similar to New Public Management in the public sector (Sanders 2012; Hvenmark, Fyrberg, Yngfalk 2014; Hvenmark 2016). Lorentzen and Hustinx (2007) note that organizations affected by increasing market logics get centered on accountability and efficiency and thus become more professionalized and specialized. This in turn influences the attitude towards volunteering, which becomes a question of inputs and outputs in relation to the organizational goals. Nonprofits therefore are said to adopt new ways for matching volunteers with volunteer assignments within more flexible frameworks. Meijs & Brudney (2007) have suggested that organizations could match assets and

availability of volunteers with clearly defined assignments via a 'slot machine'. Other scholars point to the fact that more and more of the volunteer-organization matching process is becoming outsourced to volunteer centrals or agencies that are mediating the process of finding and matching volunteers with assignments (Hustinx 2010; Hustinx & Meijs 2011). Yet, many such practices that organizations use to involve volunteers are unknown, and the research on the subject is mainly suggestive and theoretical, not empirical.

Scholars like Leslie Hustinx (2010) argue that nonprofits now have to renegotiate how volunteers affiliate with the organization, which in turn is altering the relationship between said organization and volunteer. One example of this is that organizations have started to emphasize the benefits and perks of volunteering, making volunteering more of a transaction or "unpaid work" (Keelmen, Mangan, Moffat 2017). Another practical example is said to be the emergence of alternative styles of volunteering (Brudney 2005; Lorentzen & Hustinx 2007). Regular or Formal volunteering is often used to describe the most traditional form of volunteering (Brudney 2005), and is associated with being a member and/or do voluntary work for a NPO on a long-term, highly committed base. In contrast, episodic volunteering has emerged as a term for describing volunteering that takes place on single occasions, sporadically, short term and without any systematic regularity (Cnaan & Handy 2005; Cnaan & Park 2016). Micro volunteering has emerged as a new and even shorter-term episodic volunteering where volunteers perform micro assignments or micro tasks for NPOs that could be shorter than an hour's work. (Jochum & Paylor 2013). Virtual volunteering is a term to describe volunteering that takes place exclusively online or through ICTs like apps, websites or social media (Brudney 2005; Ihm 2017; Cnaan & Park 2016) and has gained territory over the last decade. These emerging styles of volunteering are new contexts in which volunteering takes place, and yet they are primarily researched from the perspective of how individuals practice them, rather than how organizations are facilitating them. Hopefully this study can contribute in this regard.

2.3 Volunteering in the Swedish context

Sweden has the advantage of long term research into volunteering and civil society participation performed by Ersta Sköndal College. This research shows that volunteering in Sweden is remarkably stable (von Essen, Jergermalm, Svedberg 2015). In 1992 – 2014 volunteering has been performed by about 50% of the population aged 16-84. Hours spent

volunteering are also solid; around 14 hours per week per person and neither the rate nor the time seem to decrease in the younger generation. The amount of volunteers that are also members in organizations are 87% and has not changed between 2009-2014 (ibid.), which suggests that membership is still an important 'container' of volunteering as it traditionally has been in Sweden (von Essen & Hvenmark 2010; Hvenmark 2008). These numbers do not indicate that transformations toward episodic, flexible or marketized forms of volunteering is affecting Sweden. There is only small suggestions pointing in such a direction, for example that the number of not-membership-affiliated volunteers are higher in the youngest age group, which suggests a somewhat more flexible commitment. Also, Hvenmark (2008) and Hvenmark & von Essen (2009) have indicated that membership as an important feature of Swedish nonprofits is slowly weakening into more consumer-like relationships (cf. Lorentzen & Hustinx 2007). In the 2014 survey from Ersta Sköndal participants were asked how continuous their volunteering was over the last 12 months and as many as 60% of those who volunteered did so only on one or on a few occasions. This indicates either that episodic volunteering is already a well-established way of volunteering or that it's always been integrated in traditional forms of volunteering in Sweden. Among the episodic volunteers, non-members are overrepresented, which might suggest that episodic volunteering weakens ties to organizations. Also, the growing number of volunteer assignments mediated through volunteer services like Volontärbyrån [The volunteer bureau] (Volontarbyran.se) indicates a trend where volunteer organizations use these new flexible platforms to recruit volunteers (Hvenmark & von Essen 2010). Further exploration is needed to shed more light into this question of continuity and change in the Swedish nonprofit sector. As with Volontärbyrån, many such changes would arguably be intertwined with the evolution of the internet.

2.4 Nonprofits in the age of internet

As Lentz (2013) has pointed out, there is a general scholarly diversity on the subject of whether the evolution of ICTs is profoundly transforming society or is just being embedded in its existing structures. The same diversity extends to the subject of how ICT transforms civil society and she argues for a middle ground where ICTs and civil society stand in a reciprocal relationship (Lentz 2013). In his famous NetLab studies, Barry Wellman (2006) found that the internet, rather than replacing other forms of communication, is adding and expanding the ways in which individuals and associations interact in communities. Dumont (2014) has found that nonprofits utilize websites to meet expectations on accountability and transparency

and calls for a more dialogical communication with stakeholders. Nictschke and Donges (2018) have concluded that high capacity organizations are more active in communicating via the web. In contrast, Suárez (2000) holds that all nonprofits benefit from the internet since they're not bound by external factors (like funding) in their website communication. Hackler et al (2007) argues that ICTs are an untapped potential that nonprofits are not using to their full potential, and according to a recent report by Accenture (2017) Nordic, nonprofits need to "catch up" when it comes do utilizing digital technology for organizational goals, including communication and relationship-building on the web. One consequence of nonprofit presence online is the 'virtual volunteer' (Brudney 2005). Ihm (2017) has found that virtual volunteering rather supplements than replaces non-virtual forms of volunteering. It is unclear to what extent nonprofits provide the option of virtual forms of volunteering in any systematic way (Ihm 2017). Despite the above-mentioned research, volunteer involving practices utilized via nonprofits websites have, to my knowledge, not been explored historically nor qualitatively and have not been researched as interconnected to other processes of transformations within civil society. This is a clear research gap which this study intends to contribute to fill.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Re-embedded volunteering

Social research into volunteering has pointed to the fact that in late modern society, societal as well as biographical factors are influencing and transforming individuals' willingness and availability to volunteer (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003). On a broader level, economic and cultural developments affect work life, family and spare time. More fluid and consumer-centered lifestyles are affecting readiness and time to volunteer. Preferences of individual volunteers are also being affected, resulting in more instrumental and self-centered attitudes towards volunteer commitment (Hustnix, 2011; Hustnix & Lammertyn 2003). To deal with these changes Hustinx and Meijs (2011) argue that volunteer organizations try to *re-embed* volunteering by what they call *functional enabling* (see figure 1).

Functional enabling is a re-embedment strategy where the organization tries to account for the changing state of availability and individuality of volunteers by on the one hand volunteer-center the forms for recruiting and managing volunteers, and on the other hand by

making the matching process more marketized through an exchange process of clear inputs and outputs (i.e. account for what a volunteer gets vis a vis is expected to give) (Hustinx & Meijs 2011; Meijs & Brudley 2007; McDuff et.al. 2009). Functional enabling also includes negotiating and lowering expected level of commitment and shortening or altering the duration of volunteer assignments by making the volunteer commitment more flexible. It would also incorporate adding non-traditional forms of volunteering to the organizational repertoire such as episodic, virtual and micro-forms of volunteering and present these as alternatives to the volunteers. As one potential key component of functional enabling Hustinx (2010) points to the metaphor of the *menu* (Korczynski & Ott 2006):

> The restaurant menu is created to enchant and appeal to the customer, and it does this not only substantively through the descriptions of the available food, but also formally through the placing of the customer as the autonomous figure who chooses between available alternatives. (Korczynski & Ott 2006, p. 912)

The menu can be used to metaphorically describe certain types of volunteer matching/managing practices where the volunteer choses between suitable assignments that coincide with their own preferences, and thus assume the role of the customer in a market.
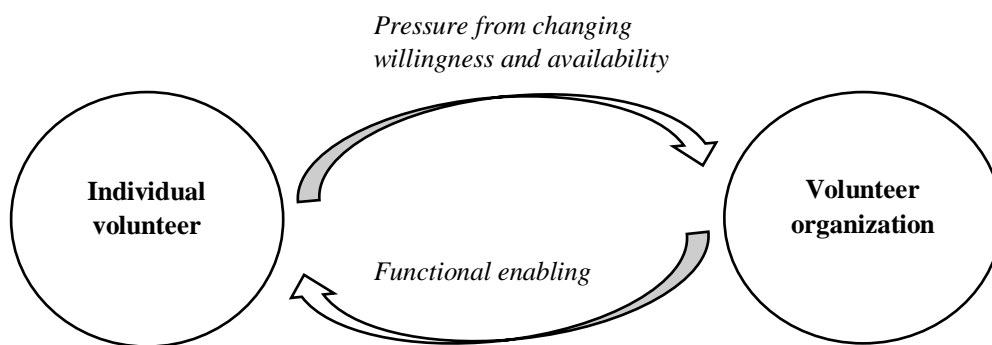

Figure 1 – Re-embedded volunteering

Situating re-embedment "online" would assume communication as a key constituent of this functional enabling. In the online intersection of organization and volunteer, a repertoire of *communicative actions* allows the organization to affiliate volunteers. In the analysis of this study, such communicative actions, when structured analytically, will be understood as *practices of volunteer affiliation*. A "practice" will then refer to a 'set' or 'cluster' of

communicative actions with a certain characteristic. This is further supplemented with the assumption that organizations assign various meaning to their communication through a process of *framing*. Framing in communication refers to "words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker uses when relaying information to another" and "may reveal what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand" (Druckman 2001, p. 227). Hence, analyzing the framing of these practices over time will allow us to see the underlying dimension of how organizations have transformed their online volunteer affiliation.

3.2 Re-embedment as institutionalized individualism

Hustnix seem to conceptualize re-embedding from two different perspectives simultaneously which results in somewhat of an ambiguity. The re-embedment framework draws upon Beck's (2007) theory of individualization in late modernity (Hustinx 2010; Hvenmark & von Essen 2010). Beck (2007, p. 681) advocates that "individualization is misunderstood if it is seen as a process which derives from a conscious choice or preference on the part of the individual. The crucial idea is this, individualization really is imposed on the individual by modern institutions". On the one hand Hustinx argues accordingly by saying that volunteers are becoming 'institutionally individualized': "the institutionalization of individualized volunteering occurs through 'primary' and 'secondary' processes of re-structuring. Re-embedding in primary contexts is facilitated by voluntary associations that offer more attractive and flexible volunteering menus to (potential) volunteers" (Hustinx 2010, abstract). In this view, individualized volunteering is a result of volunteers being socialized into these new and more individualized organizational contexts. On the other hand, she argues that volunteer organizations rather 'adapts' to an already individualized volunteer landscape: "[r]ecently, volunteer-involving organisations have been *adapting* their management approaches to facilitate and proactively accommodate new and more individualised styles of volunteering" (Hustinx & Meijs 2011, p. 9, my italics). In this view, re-embedding is merely a response to the changing availability, willingness and preferences of the already individualized volunteer. So should the ways organizations facilitate new affiliations with volunteers' be understood as coping strategies or socialization mechanisms of volunteers? I'll argue that they are both. Re-embedding is hence both a response to the individualized landscape of the volunteer base, and is yet at the same time an act of institutionalized individualism (see figure 2).
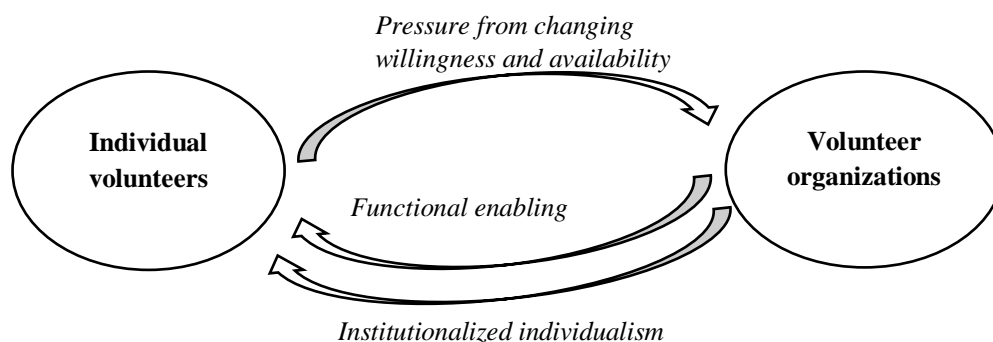
Figure 2 – Re-embedment as institutionalized individualism

Unfortunately, the rationale for modernization and individualization to occur, in this view, is that modernization is a process of its own. Society is exposed to, adapts to, and enforces modernization without any rationale beyond the process itself. For me, this is a weakness in late modern theories such as Beck's institutionalized individualism because it lacks a heuristic understanding of how to explain the logic of historical social change, which I mean is a question of power relations. Beck (2007) does not ignore power; on the contrary, he writes extensively on the subject of inequality. In his view, however, inequality and individualism are merely *functions* of modernization rather than something that emanates from, and actively enforces power relations and power-infused rationales. I therefore intend to re-frame, or at least supplement, the theory of re-embedment in a more critical framework in order to unpack these dimensions of power in the transformations of volunteering.

3.3 Re-embedment as neoliberal governance

Usually neoliberalism is conceptualized as a bundle of ideological politico-economic policies and relations such as de-regulation, privatization, regressive taxation, and similar initiatives, together with a belief in the market to structure society and resolve political problems also resulting in structuring public as well as nonprofit enterprises according to for-profit management models (Brown 2015). Wendy Brown forcefully supplements this view with a perspective of neoliberalism as a distinct rationale, a distinct discourse, a distinct normative order that "transmogrifies every human domain and endeavor, along with humans themselves, according to a specific image of the economic" (Brown 2015, p. 10).

Drawing on the writings of Michel Foucault, Brown (2016) argues that neoliberalism works to a large extent through *neoliberal governance*. For Brown, governance refers to a way of governing and managing by shaping peoples' conduct rather than repressing them and is thus

closely related to what Foucault termed Governmentality (Foucault 2010). Brown means, as do many other interpreters of Foucault (the literature on Governmentality is extensive), that power governs through creating desirable subjects, and that power is programmatic in that it programs the subject in a certain manner (Brown 2016; Hörnqvist 2012; Miller & Rose 1990). Brown (2015) argues that neoliberal governance constructs subjects according to a distinct economic rationality that works towards creating better prerequisites for the market and capital accumulation and would thus, in her Marxist interpretation, be a key feature in the bourgeoisie hegemony. In this framework, re-embedment can be viewed as a set of "technologies". Brown (2016) does not herself explicitly use the term "technology" to conceptualize how subjects are created through governance. However, technology is a well-established concept within governance/governmentality literature drawing on late Foucault. For example, Miller & Rose (1990, abstract) mean that governmentality works through 'technologies of government' although these are not necessarily neoliberal. Merging this term with Brown's (2016) notion neoliberal governance, however, allow us to speak of *technologies of neoliberal governance.*

According to Brown, (2016) neoliberal governance works through three main technologies: individuation, devolution and responsibilization. *Individuation* is a technology in which subjects are de-collectivized and isolated as individuals. It relates to other theories of individualization where individuals are constructed as autonomous subjects but emphasizes the individuated actor as an economic agent on the market. Individuation entails cooperation between individuals rather than collective action. A pursuit of common goals, not collective goals. Individuated subjects work together but not as one unit. *Devolution* is a technology in which decision making is decentralized and outsourced, preferably to the individual. By devolving authority and mandate to smaller entities competition arises and spurs 'entrepreneurialism'. Devolution also allocate responsibility away from larger units such as the state, the financial system or the organization and is thus conjoined with the technology of *responsibilization*. When subjects are constructed as autonomous decision makers they are also held accountable and "an order is produced in which the social effects of power — constructed and governed subjects—are configured as agents wholly responsible and blamable for their lives" (Brown 2016, p. 10). This opens subjects up for interventions that further shape and governs subjects into acting according to economic rationales: "[r]esponsibilization discursively and ethically converts the worker, student, poor person,

parent, or consumer into one whose moral duty is to pursue savvy self-investment and entrepreneurial strategies of self-care" (Brown 2016, p. 9). Brown summarizes:

> [c]ontemporary neoliberal governance operates through isolating and entrepreneurializing responsible units and individuals, through devolving authority and decision-making, and through locally implementing norms of conduct. […] Integration and individuation, cooperation without collectivization—governance is a supreme instance of *omnes et singulatim*, that gathering and separating, amassing and isolating that Foucault identified as the signature of modern governmentality (Brown 2016, p. 5, italics in original)

This is how an economic subject, ideal for the circumstances of late modern capitalism, is created and governed. I argue that this critical framework is an important supplement of how to understand Hustinx and Meijs' (2011) theory of re-embedment. Re-embedment is not merely a response by volunteer organizations to the challenges of late modernity but an active part of neoliberal governance by working as technologies of governance (see figure 3).
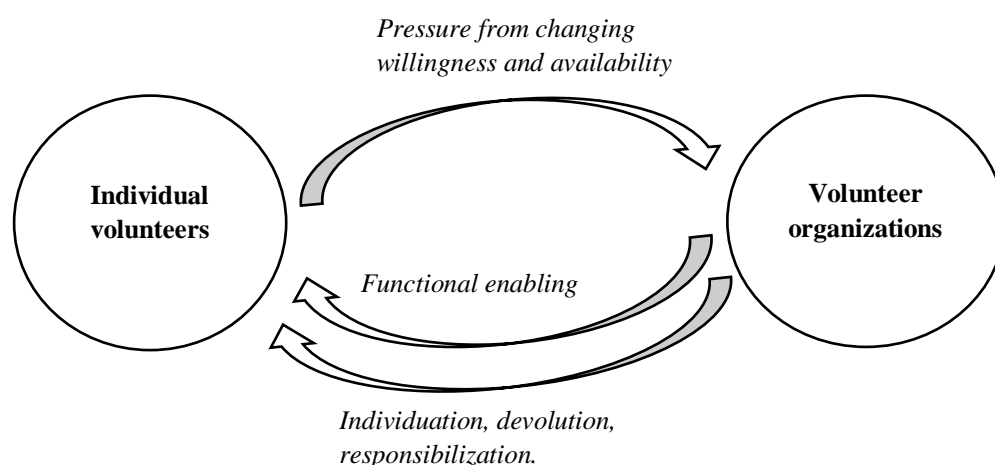

Figure 3 – Re-embedment as technologies of neoliberal governance

Viewing the data gathered in this study through the lenses of re-embedment as institutional individualism and neoliberal governance will on the one hand make it possible to interpret what kinds of transformations of ways to affiliate volunteers online might be evident. On the other hand, if the data shows that transformations of this kind are happening, these theories help to evaluate and discuss implications for individual volunteers as well as for the volunteer organizations. One brief clarification might be needed here. Individualization has different meaning within different perspectives. In Hustinx (2010) and Beck, (2007) individualization

is a process where individuals gets detached from traditional structures (or 'embedment'). In Brown (2015; 2016) individualization/individuation is rather a process of isolation and de-collectivizing in order to create the lone, responsible and entrepreneurial (neoliberalized) individual suited for acting on a capitalist market. In this way, I argue that Brown supplements Hustinx' theory of re-embedment by showing how a certain kind of volunteer subject gets constructed. This helps to unpack a power dimension in the theory of re-embedment that will allow for a deeper understanding of the implications of re-embedment. However, we should not assume that Swedish nonprofits are actually transforming in this way before we have a chance to explore this empirically. How this exploration will be conducted is elaborated in the method section below.

4. Methodological considerations

4.1 Research design

The main objective of this study is to gather and analyze website communication data from a number of selected nonprofits over time in order to explore how they affiliate volunteers. Similar to virtual ethnography the internet is here understood both as a tool for data generation as well as a specific site for research (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). Organization's online presence could, much like individual's online presence, hence be viewed as a site for self-representation, communication and identity building (ibid.). Therefore, following organization's online presence over time will enable us to explore how organizations develop their practices of volunteer affiliation. This study works from the assumption that the online presence of organizations embodies the values and represents actions of that organization (Nissenbaum, 2001). Wells (2015: ch 4, no numbered pages) notes that

> [w]ebsites' content represents what organizations choose to present to users: it reflects intentional choices on the part of organizations about who they are […] They are the core of an organization's online self-representation and embody what sort of civic or political relationships they are seeking to establish with supportive publics

Even though online communication is a specific representation of the organization, this view does not suggest that websites only represent an exclusive online context, but can be treated as great sources of information about the organization's offline presence as well. Volunteer affiliation is complex, multifaceted and not easily quantifiable, which is why a more qualitative approach is necessary. The intention is to explore broader developments that a

study limited to only one or two cases simply would not capture. The study does not focus on lived experiences or a subjective nature of individuals and has therefore not engaged in interview or case study approaches (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). The study will qualitatively analyze the data collected from organization's websites over time in order to explore developments with regard to the research questions. There will of course be limits to what such an approach can achieve, like sub-organizational agencies behind potential developments, causal explanations or practical results of these practices. The study will explore communication via the so-called web 1.0, which excludes the exploding field of social media communication. This, however, isn't a limitation, but rather a possibility since websites remain crucial parts of organization's communication (Wells 2015). Up until the social media boom, websites were the main online platforms, making them more suitable for historical and comparative exploration.

4.2 Sampling and case selection

In order to generate a suitable data corpus to analyze a number of relevant volunteer organizations were chosen by a purposeful sampling approach. Exploring the whole plethora of the nonprofit sector is simply not an option. Some limitations were therefore key in constructing a suitable sample of cases to study. As described above the interest is volunteering within formal nonprofit organizations (Cnaan & Park 2016; Rathgeb Smith 2011) active in Sweden. This does e.g. rule out charities and funds only engaged in collecting money (e.g. Pink Ribbon and alike), organizations with exclusive activity in other countries (such as The Lions Club), interest/lobby groups and other NPOs with a fully professionalized structure (i.e. less emphasis on volunteering, such as Amnesty). Such organizations are also important to research, but they are expected to say less about volunteer affiliation and were therefore excluded. The idea was to sample the most critical cases that were expected to say the most about the phenomenon in question (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). As an entrance point the study used member organizations of the umbrella organization Forum - Ideburna organisationer med social inriktning [Forum – Idea centered organizations with social focus], a large interest group that unifies Swedish volunteer and foreign aid organizations. Such social/humanitarian-focused NPOs are more centered on volunteer recruitment since they perform volunteer work on an everyday base, both to achieve their advocacy agenda and in general as their core idea. They are therefore expected to be in the forefront of volunteer

affiliation. From this starting point cases were selected through a purposive sampling process starting with an initial frame that evolved as the data collection began (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). Cases were selected based on a number of criteria such as having websites dating back to at least year 2000 and being established, highly profiled actors in the nonprofit sector that explicitly base their work on volunteers. From this, the research had to qualitatively explore which organizations that best matched the criteria and were expected to provide suitable data. One case at a time were mined for data. The number of cases were set to be a minimum of 8, which then grew to 10 cases as the duration of the mining process could be determined. The sampled organizations were in the end: Save the children Sweden, Swedish Red Cross, Swedish Red Cross Youth, The Salvation Army, Stockholm City Mission, Erikshjälpen [Eriks help], Brottsofferjouren [Crime victims jour], Hela människan [The whole man], Individuell Människohjälp [Individual Human Aid] and Majblomman [Mayflower].

4.3 Data collection

The method of research was to collect, process and analyze data from the selected organization's websites over two decades (1998 – 2018) by using the Wayback Machine (2019). The Wayback Machine provides continuous archived copies of websites as far back as 1996 and makes it possible to access relevant websites from the organization's where data can be mined. Wayback Machine has proven fruitful in studying organizational behavior (Arora et al. 2016) and to access historical data otherwise unavailable from organizations themselves. Instead of putting heavy resources on accessing and analyzing e.g. analogue communication material and annual reports or try to access subjective memories of interviewees in order to study transformations, this method generates reliable, hands on data from two decades for the chosen cases. In accordance with study resources the points of measure where determined to one observation each year for each organization. No amount was set for klick-deep (how deep in terms of number of klicks you venture into the website), yet no data was gathered from external websites redirected to by the main website. Also, in the majority of cases, local branches of the voluntary organizations (having their own websites or just a tab on the central organizational website) had to be excluded from the study in order to not generate an overwhelming data corpus. Because of the study's broad approach, gathering data from more organizations was simply higher prioritized than gathering such in depth data from fewer organizations.

Guided by the research questions, the websites of the selected organizations where then mined through an iterative process starting with a preset idea which was modified in a reflexive manner as the data corpus grew. The whole online world of each organization was difficult to exhaust, and the data collection had to focus on webpages within the websites explicitly related to volunteering or where the organizations described how to engage as a volunteer. As Marshall and Rossman (2016) stresses, it is notoriously difficult to develop a precise data gathering strategy beforehand in qualitative studies, since flexibility and reflexivity is required. The collection of data strived to account for all information relevant to the research questions. In this way a data corpus existing of text excerpts related to volunteering from twenty points of observation for each organization were gathered.

4.4 Material

The gathering process resulted in a large data corpus of website text from the organizations from two decades. In some cases, the Wayback Machine failed to provide data from a particular year for some organizations, and sometimes only the homepage could be accessed, but considering the overall number of observation points, this cannot be said to affect the reliability of the data. It's important to note that website data is not merely one type of data (Wells 2015). For example, individual posting in discussion forums is one type of data: human interaction. The data gathered here however, should rather be viewed as observed communication from the organization, directed towards the general public and potential stakeholders, and is thus *communicative actions*. Viewing the data as communicative action makes it suitable for exploring practices and framings of the organizations, which gives the data a high validity in regard to the study aim. Communication via the web is merely one form in which organizations communicate and is embedded in the context of the website medium, yet actions are always embedded in specific contexts and the communicative actions of the web are no less suitable than other communication data for extrapolating to the organization's overall volunteer affiliation. In the analysis, the data was treated as a set of actions to build relations to the volunteer, and the analysis aimed at detecting overarching practices to affiliate volunteers. The large amount of data (about 200 observations in total) for the high number of cases (10) contributes to a broad and reliable overview of nonprofit's communicative actions with a high prospect of generalizing the results to a broader spectrum of the nonprofit sector. The material is also suitable for further exploration and other research questions in the future.

4.5 Analytical approach

The processing of the data corpus mainly occurred through a thematically inspired qualitative coding process with a content focus. Considering the overall aim, and that little was known beforehand about online practices to affiliate volunteers, a mainly exploratory coding approach was suitable (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). Qualitative content coding is good for "capturing and imterpreting [sic] common sense, substantive meanings in the data" (Ritchie & Lewis 2003, p. 202) which suits this study vis a vis focus on language or conversations. Similar to Grounded Theory, the aim was to arrive at theoretical insights about the studied phenomenon by starting the coding openly and arriving at analytical themes on higher levels of abstraction, (Charmaz 2006; Marshall & Rossmann 2016) but also to detect latent patterns in the data. However, since the study is quite theoretically informed, theory as well as previous research implicitly guided the analysis. The generated analytical categories were tested and reapplied to the material in order to construct sustainable categories and the analysis actually ended up being quite abductive (Marshall & Rossmann 2016). The first phase of the analysis processed what practices that could be found over time. The analysis started with an open coding close to the data where communicative actions where coded (i.e. every time a new action occurred). When patterns across these open codes emerged, they were clustered into broader analytical categories which were then reapplied to the previous as well as the coming data material. As the process continued, four main analytical categories emerged that to a satisfactory extent suited and saturated the empirical data. During this phase, a quite clear temporal pattern also emerged which was investigated further in the second phase. In that phase, the four categories were reviewed and recoded according to two latent analytical dimensions that accounted for the temporal developments. The temporal pattern discovered in phase one was successfully confirmed and redeveloped in phase two. In the end, the analysis thus resulted in four manifest and ideal type-like *practices* (as noted in section 3) and two latent *framings* of these practices. Further, theoretical interpretation resulted in a discussion of implications for volunteering.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Since the study didn't involve any interactive method such as interviews, field work or surveys, less ethical issues needed to be taken under consideration. The study has chosen to reveal the names of the researched organization in order to be methodologically transparent. It

was the author's assessment that no harm would come to any of the organizations from the information disclosed in this study. Also, all information gathered in this study comes from public publications on the organization's websites and cannot be considered shielded or private information in any way. Nevertheless, the study was aware that sensitive or outdated information and opinions could be found on the historical websites and would in such cases respect that that kind of information should remain anonymized. This was however not much of an issue. The author has via email notified the affected organizations of the study aim and course of action, but has not asked for permission since the data material was public information.

5. Result

The analysis resulted in the identification of four analytically constructed *practices* which are present throughout the organizations over time. Each of these practices contain a cluster of identified communicative actions for volunteer affiliation, that is, a repertoire of actions that the organizations deploy to involve and affiliate the reader (for an overview of the clustered actions see appendix A). As such, each of the four practices remains over time, yet it occurs a change in the underlying *framing* that structures how the practice is utilized, resulting in a transformation of how the practices materialize over time. All practices are deployed by the organizations at various degrees at some point and are often utilized together. They are presented below as ideal-typical categories but in the empirical data they appear in many different, complex and intertwined forms.

5.1 Practices of volunteer affiliation

What online practices to affiliate volunteers are found within the studied organizations over time?

Below each of the four practices and the two framings will be presented and illustrated with empirical examples. I will further show how the form of the practices shift over time depending on the dominant framing, resulting in three different "periods". Volunteer affiliation by the researched organizations occurred through these four different practices:

Practice of invitation is where the organization invites the volunteer to the whole organization. The organizations describe their mission, the role of the volunteer and the structure of their work, they exemplify work and tasks that volunteers do and invite the

volunteer to contact the correct branch, local department or person to get involved as a volunteer. Often a starting point is for the volunteer to become a member in the local chapter of the organization. Emphasis is that the volunteer him/herself must take initiative to enter the organization first and then find a suitable assignment. This is illustrated by the following example:

> ## Erikshjälpen Second Hand
> In our stores we need help with everything from sorting, displaying, cashiering and café managing. You can be an expert on porcelain, shoes or awesome on tech support or just have a general love for second hand-stuff. No matter what we have a place for you who wants to volunteer.
> Find your nearest store »
> (Erikshjälpen, 2012) [2]

The quote highlights how the reader him- or herself must find and contact the nearest office in order to get affiliated. No clear assignment is advertised, rather the reader is invited to join first and then a suitable assignment can be arranged.

Practice of pick and choose occurs when the organizations display the different options for volunteering in one way or another. This is often done through a specific tab on the website where the reader can see the available assignments. For example, one way is to let the volunteer take a "what kind of volunteer am I?" test. Another form is to gather information about the volunteer through a form, in order to match or pair that volunteer to a suitable task according to the volunteer's preferences. These practices allow the volunteer to pick and choose more in detail what kind of volunteer assignment that volunteer wants to sign up for. This is illustrated below:

> **Become a volunteer!**
> We have many different volunteer assignments. Search our database to find your assignment.
>
> **Search database**
>
> (Swedish Red Cross 2014)

This quote highlights the fact that the organization has a database of advertised assignments and the reader is encouraged to search for a suitable and fitting job from a pre-set plethora of possible tasks. The reader then picks a task that suits the individual's preference.

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[2] All translations to English in the empirical material is made by the author.

Practice of community building is closest connected, but not exclusively, to the internet technology itself. Here the organization invites the reader to join a community around the organization. This occurs through for example discussion boards, membership portals and email lists. The reader is invited to tip a friend or come to an introductory meeting. Even corporations are invited to become "partners". Here, the volunteer might first want to join the community before getting involved as a volunteer. Other member's and volunteer's personal stories are on display, so the volunteer feels like this is a rewarding and warm community to join. An early example is the email-list invite displayed below:

> **If you want continuous information about how to support Save the Children:**
>
> ☐ **Put a cross in the square, fill out the form and press send.**
>
> (Save the Children 1998)

Here is an early example of how Save the children wants to establish an online network of supporters, the reader is encouraged to get affiliated by signing up to a digital newsletter where more information on how to support them will be presented. The practice of community building is the most peripheral of the four practices.

Practice of negotiation refers to different ways in which the organization tries to negotiate with the volunteer over what the commitment will look like. Typically, this occurs through describing what is demanded of the volunteer in terms of hours, education or other policies, but also to put heavy emphasis on what the individual gets back from volunteering. This also includes the opportunity to realize the volunteer's own agenda or start something themselves if the tasks provided by the organization doesn't fit the demand from the volunteer. The volunteer is expected to get involved at his/her own terms or at least have a clear view of the demands in order to make a well-informed decision. One such list of demands is illustrated below:

> **Event-group:**
> This is expected of you:
>
> You should participate in the meetings that the group has to plan the events that you will work with during a semester. You need to take responsibility for at least one event a year, together with others in your group. You also need to attend at least some other event that other members in the group work on. You need to be engaged for at least one semester. You don't need any previous knowledge about IM, but an interest in foreign aid is obviously necessary. (Individual Human Aid 2009)

This quote exemplifies how the organization emphasizes the requirements of a volunteer so that the reader has maximum information before making a choice. This is merely one way of negotiating with the reader and in this case the organization has quite high demands. Another way is to highlight the flexibility of the requirements and duration of the assignments.

5.2 Temporal changes and the framing of practices of volunteer affiliation

In which ways have formal volunteer organizations in Sweden used their websites to affiliate volunteers over the past two decades?

In this section the underlying "framing" structuring the combination, shape and utilization of the above described practices are described. Further, how the practices materialize under the influence of these framings over time will be presented. As mentioned, there are two main framings that can be detected:

Movement frame - refers to a latent wish by the organization to have the volunteer enter the larger context of that organization. The volunteer is expected to stand behind the whole agenda of the organization and perform work in accordance with the movement's goals and needs. The volunteer should preferably enter the organization as a member and affiliate on a local level and be active in the work that is being done or start/alter work that is suitable. The collective wishes of the movement/organization and the vision, missions and values of that organization should be the rationale for joining and the guiding principle for the volunteer in their work.

Agreement frame - refers to a latent wish or understanding by the organization that volunteers enter a kind of transaction with the organization. The volunteer is expected to know what they want to get out of the volunteering experience and the organization can provide a framework for the volunteer to get that. By displaying information about the terms of volunteering and offer alteration the organization can reach a deal with the volunteer. The organization works as a provider of the volunteer-assignments and the volunteer chooses an agreeable task according to his/her own preferences. The guiding principle of volunteering should be an agreement between organizational goals and individual wishes of the volunteer.

At an earlier point in time the movement framing dominates, but over time this changes and the agreement framing becomes dominating. The same practices are thus framed in a new

ways. In a rough categorization of the researched time period as an early, middle and late period we can observe a shift in framing (as shown in Table 1).

	Ca 1998 - 2004	Ca 2005 – 2010	Ca 2011 - 2018
Movement framing	Dominating	Co-present	Rare
Agreement framing	Rare	Co-present	Dominating

Table 1 – Framing of volunteer affiliation over time

5.2.1 "Movement period" - ca 1998 - 2004

During this first or early period of the researched nonprofit's online presence, the practices of volunteer affiliation are modeled according to the *movement framing*. It is, on the one hand, evident through the fact that the practice of *invitation* is most commonly used.

> "In Save the Children there are more than 300 local branches. Of our more than 95000 members around 6000 to 8000 are active in the work by spreading information, influence local decision-makers, collect money and much more. The work varies a lot between different local branches. By contacting "your" local branch, you can know more about what they do for the rights of children" (Save The Children 2000).

Here we clearly see that the reader is invited to join, not a specific task or context, but is invited to join the large movement by contacting the local branch. There are examples of work to be done but the volunteer enters the organization on the organization's terms and thus contributes to the movement. Referring to a local branch is one of the most common actions in this movement period; however, the practice of *Invitation* is not the only practice used when *movement frame* is dominating. All the other practices are utilized to various degrees, including *Pick and Choose* and *Negotiation* (which intuitively might be more associated with the *agreement framing)*. One example is when an organization has an interest subscription for interested volunteers (*Pick and choose*), where volunteers get contacted if tasks come up. In that case the volunteer is free to choose to join the assignment, but it's the movement's needs and not the volunteer that determents if volunteers gets contacted with requests. Another example is when organizations negotiate requirements (*Negotiation*) to be a volunteer, but still emphasizes that the movement set the condition for those requirements:

> "All volunteers undergo an introductory training about the City Missions history, goals and working methods. In order to make everyone that give of their time feel valued, we are keen that

all trained volunteers have the opportunity to get an assignment. Hence we arrange courses only when we need more volunteers" (Stockholm City Mission 2004).

Clearly the organization is bargaining with the potential volunteer. But on the other hand makes it very clear that the organization's need for volunteers is governing when it's suitable to recruit and train volunteers. And by doing this, the volunteer really gets incorporated in the "movement" by being educated and trained. This action has not disappeared in later times, but it's much less communicated as a clear requirement that volunteers need training. By communicating it, the organization makes sure that they get committed volunteer adepts.

5.2.2 "Intermediate period" - ca 2005 – 2010

In the intermediate period there is not one dominating framing, instead the framings are "co-present" or hybrid. The framings sort of overlap and creates somewhat of an ambiguity in the sort of volunteer affiliation the organization seeks. An illustrative example is the Red Cross Youth that describes how a volunteer can join an existing assignment or create something new.

> "Red Cross Youth works locally to affect globally. By engaging in your closest local branch you can make a difference and together with us work towards a better world. Click on your closest local branch to find out how you can help create humanity close to you. And if nothing fits – start something completely new" (Swedish Red Cross Youth, 2010)

Here it's unclear if the organization's or the volunteer's preferences that are the central issue. It could be interpreted as if the volunteer should enter the local branch according to a *movement framing*, but at the same time, the volunteer must feel like there is something there for him/her according to more of an *agreement framing*. In this practice of *invitation*, the conflict or co-presence of the two framings is evident.

Another observation about this intermediate period is the fact that it's during this time we can find the largest quantity of "text information" on the websites. This is probably also due to that the organizations use the web to get out more information to potential stakeholders, but when social media and smartphone technology is popularized after 2010, the organizations cut back on the information and make the websites more suitable for our fluid and "scrolling" consumption of internet.

5.2.3 "Agreement period" - ca 2011 ->

This period is clearly influenced by an underlying *agreement framing*, where the volunteer affiliates to organizations through a transaction process. Practices shift more towards *negotiation* and *pick and choose* which become most common. And within the practices the focus shifts towards involving the volunteers and their preferences in the process of building a relationship. If an "interest subscription" during the *movement*-period only entailed basic contact information about the volunteer, an interest subscription in the *agreement* period is more advanced, in order for the organization to gather information and make matches that suit not the preferences of the organization but the volunteer.

Previous work:

Education ☐ Elementary school ☐ High School
☐ College/University

Special Skills

Interests and hobbies:

*How many hours per week/month can you work? (Eg: xx

Hours/week)
*It suits me best to work: ☐ Noon ☑ Afternoon ☐ Evning
☐ Whole day ☐ Weeks ☐ Week ends

I would most likely want to work with:

(Salvation Army 2018, excerpt from volunteer subscription form)

As we can see, the goal here is to match the organizational goals and assignments with the individual volunteer preferences and availability in order to come to an agreement of how the volunteer can get involved. The volunteer affiliation process becomes a matter of describing and negotiating the perks and demands of volunteering and to make the potential volunteer

see how the organization is the right way to fulfill the volunteer's vision of volunteering. This is why a number of different actions of *negotiation* are needed. The most common is to negotiate the duration of volunteering.

> **"Do you have an hour over or two?**
> Regardless if you have two hours a month or two hours a year your contribution makes a big difference for children and youth.
> - 2 hours every other week: Homework help.
> - 2 hours a month: Right of the child – informer.
> - 4 hours a week: Conversation leader.
> - 2 hours a month: Advocacy work.
> - 2 hours a week: Project leader.
> - 6 hours a month: Board work.
> - 2-4 hours a year: Fundraising."

(Save the children 2013)

In the agreement period, almost all nonprofits do in one way or another display their available assignments in order for the volunteer to choose in the plethora of available tasks. This is sometimes done by having a list of assignments on the website, but it's also common for organizations to have a special database where potential volunteers can put in their preferences to find an assignment that is suitable. Sometimes this database is inhouse (created by the nonprofit itself), but sometimes the database is "outsourced" to volunteer matching sites such as "The volunteer bureau" or the volunteer matching site frivillig.se. This further increases the notion that there is an agreement between what organizations can offer and what volunteers are ready to enter.

> We are often looking for more volunteers to our programs. Here you can see which available assignments are up now. You don't find what you seek? We have room for everyone who wants to get involved. Contact your nearest local branch. As a volunteer you get the opportunity to grow and evolve. You get free training and a possibility to train in leadership.
> (Swedish Red Cross Youth 2014)

This paragraph highlights the volunteer-focus of the *agreement* – period. The volunteer can choose from a database of available assignments, but if that doesn't fit, the volunteer is welcome to join a local branch and do something else. Plus, the volunteer is encouraged by individual perks of volunteering and why it's good, not for the organization or the cause, but for the volunteer him- or herself. The volunteer gives some time to the organization but gets other resources back. And so, the transaction is completed.

6. Analysis and discussion

What are the implications of these developments for volunteering?

6.1 Shifting framing as volunteer re-embedment

Four different practices by which the studied organizations affiliate volunteers have been identified. These four practices are present in various degrees over the entire time-period studied but are utilized according to two different framings at different times, thus taking different forms. The different actions these practices contain, and their corresponding relations thus shifts accordingly. As time passes, the dominant framing shifts from a movement-oriented approach, where the volunteer is supposed to be affiliated to a collective movement, towards an agreement-oriented approach where the volunteer enters into a transaction with the organization in a more individualistic and cooperative relation. This transformation in framing clearly relates to the concept of *functional enabling* (Hustinx & Meijs 2011). First of all, the agreement framing is a much more flexible approach in the sense that the volunteer assignments, level of commitment and duration of tasks are lowered and more adapted to the availability and preferences of the volunteer. Second, the volunteer organization is interested in gathering information about the interested volunteer in order to match these needs to suitable volunteer opportunities in a volunteer-centered way. Third, there is a much larger emphasis on the encouragement of individual volunteers to choose from a presented plethora of volunteer assignments which are rich with information so that the volunteers can make well-informed individual choices. Also, joining as a volunteer without the requirement of membership seems to increase, which supports the claim that volunteering becomes more detached from the membership (Hvenmark & von Essen 2010; Hvenmark 2008). These are all clear indications of re-embedded volunteering by *functional embedding* (Hustinx & Meijs 2011) utilized by the organizations to increasingly account for the more individualized volunteer landscape.

6.2 Shifting framing as institutional individualism

We have established that the studied nonprofits are in fact using functional enablement by shifting towards a more agreement-oriented approach to their volunteer affiliating practices, making volunteering more re-embedded. This has implications for the volunteer. This new framing of practices should not be viewed exclusively as adapting or coping strategies from

the nonprofits to more individualized potential volunteers. These actions do in fact themselves help create the individualized volunteer. Let's use the practice of *pick and choose* as an example. In the agreement period this practice is often utilized as a database where potential volunteers choose available assignments according to their preferences. Put this in relation to the concept of the menu. The individual subject gets a sense of its own sovereignty and ability to choose in an individualistic manner between the available options, which in turn strengthens the subject's belief in, and need to adhere to its own individual preferences. If the potential volunteer is encouraged to choose between assignments with different duration, commitment levels, requirements, etc., those volunteers will be assuming the role of the customer before a menu in the marketplace. Another example of this is when the reader is encouraged to apply to be a volunteer by writing down his/her preferences to be matched with suitable assignments. Here the applicant will feel that his/her submitted preferences is a more important consideration in relation to the needs and goals of the organization. In both examples the practice of the organization is individualizing the volunteers. The individualization process is imposed on the individual by the institution of the volunteer organizations (Hustinx 2010). As these processes construct a more individualistic volunteer base, the organizations feel the need to further "adopt" to this new situation, which thus increases the process in a dialectic way or a "spiral". There seems to be a tension here where organizations want to recruit stable, loyal, long-term, committed volunteers to their cause, but doing it according to this transactional approach will result in more flexible and individualistic volunteers joining the organization. Organizations might not be aware of this spiral and its implications for their volunteer programs, or they are aware, and they are surrendering to the existing preconditions of the late modern society.

6.3 Shifting framing as neoliberal governance

By transforming the practices of affiliating volunteers into more agreement/transaction-like, organizations re-embed volunteering and contributes to an institutional individualization of volunteers. This process has some critical implications. The processes of re-embedding volunteers can be reinterpreted firstly as a process of individuating volunteers so that they become isolated from the sense of the organization as a collective unit working towards higher goals (Brown 2016). Instead the organization is seen as a provider of services from individual volunteers to individual receivers where the volunteer can enter the organization to

achieve instrumental goals (self-fulfillment, belonging, résumé-building, etc.). Second, there is a process of devolution. As we have seen, decision making is devolved from the organization down onto the individual volunteer, who needs to navigate through information, negotiate terms and compete on the market of available volunteer assignments, thus spurring a spirit of entrepreneurialism in the volunteer (ibid.). As volunteers get individuated and decision making is devolved, the volunteer gets responzibilized and held accountable for the achievements and service production (or lack thereof) of that nonprofit organization. As a responsible subject, the volunteer further needs to feed the entrepreneurial spirit by opening him/herself up to external as well as internal intervention (ibid.). These processes transforms the volunteer from a member in a collective struggle for the goals of the nonprofit/movement into an entrepreneur on a market of volunteer organizations and assignments where the nonprofits act as providers of the consumer product of volunteer opportunities. In this interpretation, re-embedding works as a technology of neoliberal governance where the nonprofit sector gets reconstructed as a marketplace and its volunteers gets reconstructed as neoliberal, marketized and entrepreneurial subjects suitable for that market. This process adds to the already existing marketization of the nonprofit sector, with blurring lines between the civil and the private (Eikenberry 2009), with an increasing managerialism (Hvenmark 2016) and for-profit logic. Also, the new volunteer subject is more suitable as an actor on the traditional marketplace of the for-profit world.

6.4 Conclusions

The individuation and responsibilization of the volunteer subject makes the volunteers and their changing availability, willingness and preferences blamable for how civil society is changing. Because of this, opportunities arise for nonprofit organizations to restructure and make other kinds of interventions in how they organize (Brown 2016; Eikenberry 2009). In this study, the ways in which organizations have changed how they try to engage, involve and affiliate volunteers have been scrutinized with a focus on the online world of their websites. However, such restructuring does not only occur within volunteer recruitment. As previous research has shown, nonprofits are transforming on a multitude of levels. Many of these transformations, as many have pointed out, (Hvenmark 2016; Eikenberry 2009) are transformations toward a more professionalized and commercialized direction, with more corporate partnership, corporate sponsoring, cause related marketing and corporate

management in order to adapt to the late modern world. As with new volunteer-relations, this is making the civil sector more closely intertwined with the market sector and the nonprofit world transforms towards a marketplace-like space. One strength of civil society has traditionally been the ability to function according to a democratic and humanitarian logic rather than according to a market or for-profit-logic (Skocpol 2003). A transformation of the civil world towards a marketplace and a market logic, as this study suggest, would potentially have large implications for volunteering and the work that nonprofits do. This transformation of volunteering from stable to flexible, collective to individual and altruistic to instrumental will possibly change the view of why and how people volunteer and will potentially drive nonprofits toward becoming more like "social enterprises" (Sanders 2012) with highly professionalized structures where democratic structures like membership are secondary to management. Nonprofits today therefore need to evaluate in what direction they are heading and what kinds of volunteer subjects they are affiliating.

In this study I've developed the existing theory of volunteer re-embedment; situating it, on the one hand in an internet context by adding the concept of communication framing, and giving it, on the other hand, a critical dimension by supplementing it with the concept of neoliberal governance. The results point towards the claim that nonprofits, through their websites, apply a more flexible, individualized and transactional approach to volunteer affiliation, which creates an individualized and marketized volunteer subject. A strength of this research is that the data is coming directly from the actual websites and are highly reliable. Also, the fair number of organizations researched in this regard makes the result a strong indicator of what is happening in the Swedish nonprofit sector on a broader scale. We should of course be careful to draw to severe conclusions from the results on a more general level, but with these ten highly profiled and critical cases pointing towards similar transformations, there are strong indications that this phenomenon is represented throughout a larger spectra of formal nonprofits in Sweden. Although these processes are hard to quantify, there is need of larger quantitative studies looking into the organizational perspective of how volunteering is changing, as this study has, in order to make more definitive conclusions about the prevalence of these transformations. The Wayback Machine used in this study could potentially be of service in such future studies, but a challenge will be to quantify volunteer re-embedment and volunteer affiliating practices to fit the website data. In order to better understand the new marketized volunteer subject, more qualitative studies need to be performed, possibly by in-

depth interviews. To further broaden the scope of this study, namely how nonprofits use the online world to affiliate volunteers, social media obviously needs to be incorporated. Social media is potentially an even more flexible and market-like platform for the affiliation of volunteers and I would hypothesize that social media is a key component in the continuous creation of the individualized volunteer subject. Also nonprofits themselves as well as scholars need to evaluate the actual impact of both these new volunteer subjects, but also of re-embedded volunteering at large, to the actual programs and everyday work of nonprofits.

This study set out to explore how volunteer organizations have used and are using their websites to affiliate volunteers in order to better understand how the Swedish nonprofit world is transforming. It has identified the presence of four distinct practices by which volunteers are affiliated; those four practices operate through different underlying framings at different times and the dominant framing has shifted from a collectivistic movement-approach to an individualistic and transactional agreement-approach. This new agreement approach is related to how volunteering is becoming re-embedded through functional enabling (Hustinx & Meijs 2011). This, in turn, is a component in the creation of the institutionally individualized volunteer (Hustinx 2010). The individualized volunteer is constructed as a customer, consumer and entrepreneur on a marketplace of volunteer opportunities provided by the nonprofits (Brown 2016). Re-embedment can thus be viewed as a set of technologies of neoliberal governance aimed at creating a more marketized volunteer subject. If this process continues it might have great implications for the civil society in Sweden and the act of volunteering as we know it. The internet plays a large role in how these transformations link volunteers and organizations together and will continue to have an impact on how nonprofits do their business. Business is a suitable word for what nonprofits will possibly come to be if they do not carefully evaluate how these developments can come to shape their future in the age of the internet.

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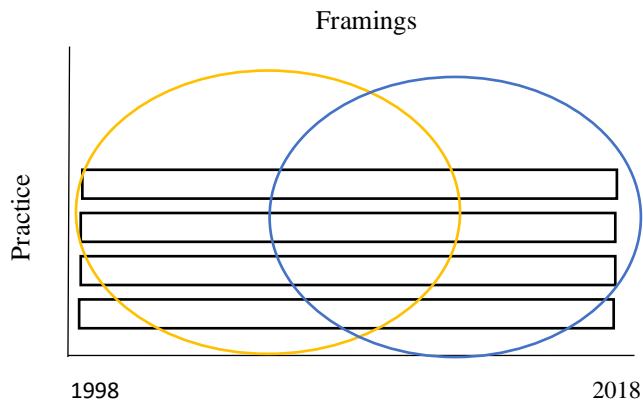
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Appendix A - Practices of volunteer affiliation, overview of result categories.

Framings

Practice

1998   2018

Practices of invitation	Practices of pick and choose
Contact organization directly Referring to other or special branch Referring to local branch (for more info, contact or involvement) Exemplifying volunteer work Describing the volunteer role(s)	Describing assignments in detail Interest subscription Sign up for a particular program Special tab with activities - website tab - in-house database - outsourced database Matching - preferences of volunteers - taking a volunteer test - connect volunteers with organizational needs
Practices of community building	Practices of negotiation
Membership portal Tip a friend Email list Discuss online Interviews or personal stories Introductory meeting or lecture Corporation partnership	Negotiating level and duration of commitment Negotiating perks and benefits of volunteering Realize your idea Start something yourself Describing demands and prerequisites