Organizing processes in the voluntary social sector

- a study of institutionalization and organizing in: Bedre Psykiatri Ungdom, Headspace, Sind & Livslinien

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Abstract

This thesis is the result of an empirical study on the organizing processes related to the volunteer organizations of Bedre Psykiatri Ungdom, Headspace, Sind and Livslinien. These organizations operate within the voluntary social sector and provide services for the psychologically vulnerable and their relatives. The purpose is to investigate organizing practices and their nature, in order to gain a better understanding of the voluntary social world. This understanding shall contribute to improvement in the co-creation efforts of the public sector and civil society.

The empirical study takes root in the philosophy of social constructivism by generating interpretations from the collected data. The research strategy is based on principles of ethnographic research where the researcher has conducted self-ethnography because the researcher has been a member of one of the case organizations. Furthermore principles of triangulations have been used in the remaining case organizations where the empirical data is collected through semi-structured interviews, observations and collection of documents.

These findings are interpreted into a theoretical framework using 8 dimensions to explain how the case organizations adopts bureaucratic and collectivist practices in their organizing efforts. There is a tendency that shows that the volunteer organizations are becoming more professional. This visible in those organizations that have employed management who provides clearly defined frames in which the volunteers can navigate in. These frames are formalized through written volunteer policies and volunteer handbooks, and serve the purpose of avoiding misdirected activities, which can result in ineffective organizational performance. Findings indicate that the volunteer organizations are also based on collectivist principles of social control based on personalistic and moral appeals, informal social relations and non-monetary solidarity incentives, and these characteristics explains the motivations of the volunteers. Furthermore the study explains the consequences of depending on too many collectivist practices and how the engagement of the volunteers may wane in a response to this. It highlights the need for blending bureaucratic and collectivist practices in the organizing efforts.

Additionally the study clarifies how the institutional environment influences these organizing practices, because the social structures in the organizational field creates isomorphic change. This points to the fact that the case organizations conform to the formalized structures of the foundations, upon which they are dependent on for financials aids. Moreover, it is argued the organizational field will create a rational institutional myth, stating that ‘frames’, ‘structures’ and ‘formalization’ is needed in order to receive funding and to secure the quality of the service. This explains why certain practices from the findings on the organizing practices are based on bureaucratic principles.

However, it is identified that the case organizations can also decouple from these formalized structures which enables them provide the best service for the psychologically vulnerable users. By being responsive, flexible and different, the volunteer organizations separate the voluntary offer from that of the public and professional offer.
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1 Introduction

In recent years there has been a great attention towards how voluntariness can become included in the welfare production in the society of Denmark. In regards to this there is a consensus among politicians that volunteer organizations and government institutions need to improve their cooperation. This focus of cooperation is often referred to as the co-creation between the public sector and civil society in the welfare area (Sørensen & Torfig, 2012). A metaphor that explains this urge for co-creation sounds:

“[…] we should not perceive volunteering as extra icing on the "cake" or cream in your coffee, but rather as a part of the bread in the welfare state” (Dinesen, 2014).

Several researchers, consultancies, and interest organizations are now focusing on how the public authorities can stage this co-creation through policy making and education of public employees, and further upgrading of volunteers and quality assurance of the volunteer organizations’ output. In regards to this there are conflicting viewpoints.

The latest report on ‘The Volunteer Social contribution’ published by the Social- and Integration Ministry explains that the volunteer organizations are in general fond of the developing partnership with the local public authorities, but: “the municipalities want the volunteers too much – in their zeal they drive too fast and become too controlling” (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012, p. 33). A researcher who is questioning the current policies for co-creation is Anders La Cour2, who recently published a book on an analysis of the volunteer social sector and the government’s volunteer policies3. He argues that the “[…] voluntary logic holds its own chaos of indeterminacy, unpredictability, spontaneity and so on. The political logic is a question of regularity, safety and planning” (La Cour, 2014, p. 143). In relation to his viewpoints I find it important to gain understanding in what a volunteer organization actually is. This study will thus focus on the volunteer organizations as opposed to the co-creation between the public

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1 Among others; Frivilligrådet, Center for frivilligt socialt arbejde, Marselisborg – center for udvikling kompetence og viden
2 Associate professor at the department of management, politics and philosophy at Copenhagen Business School
3 This book was published in May 2014 after I began my research
sector and civil society.

1.1 Area of research

Volunteer organizations face several organizing challenges. Some researchers pay attention the motivation of volunteers, which is a distinctive feature of the organization since these workers are unpaid. Thus the motivation of volunteers is an important issue when speaking of voluntary organizations. However this research will not take its outset in motivational theories, but direct the attention to organizational practices that shape the organizations. Within this it cannot be neglected that such practices has a motivational attribute to the volunteers as well. To study the organizational practices I have found 4 case organizations; Bedre Psykiatri Ungdom, Sind, Headspace and Livslinien, which are all volunteer organizations within the field of the social volunteer sector. These will be presented in chapter 2: Case organizations.

To gain understanding of their organizing practices, I have been inspired by Katherine K. Chen’s work on studying the organizing practices that has taken place in the organization of the Burning Man Festival, which is a yearly cultural event taking place in the United States. This study is published in the book; “Enabling Creative Chaos” (Chen, 2009). Her work is found useful because of its direct attention to the voluntariness, although there are differences in the context of her case organization in comparison to the case organizations of my study. Among these differences are the national context and the focus on a different voluntary sector, namely the cultural, where I direct the attention to the social sector. However, her usage of classic organizing theories, namely the Bureaucracy and the Collectivist, and her notion of how the volunteer organization adopts practices from both theories in order to balance between over and under organizing has led me to the theories that creates the basis for my research and will be presented in Chapter 4.

I identify the theories of the bureaucratic and collectivist organizations as some that relate to the demarcation that the society in general draw between the voluntary organization and the public sector. Using La Cour’s word from above the voluntary organization revolves around indeterminacy, unpredictability, spontaneity. While the public sector maintains regularity, safety and planning” (La Cour, 2014, p. 143). These exact words are very similar to how scientists
refer to demarcation between the collectivist organization which allows for flexibility, responsiveness and meaning, while the bureaucratic organization afford fairness, efficiency and stability (Chen, 2009, p. 21).

Organizational theories have had a tradition of analyzing categories of organizations where the studies of Marx Weber and the birth of the Bureaucracy is one of the most well known. After his studies, various other organizational categories have made it possible to study the organizational practices. Furthermore theorists have become more aware of the fact that an organization is subject to its relation to the environment it operates in, and is thus organized in accordance to this relation. With these traditions in mind, this research will also apply concepts of institutionalization, where DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that there exists a process of institutional isomorphic change, within a organizational field, which forces the organizations to attain similar structures.

1.1.1 Research question

On the basis of the current political interest in the voluntary social sector, how can an understanding of the organizing processes in this context contribute to an improvement of the co-creation between the public sector and civil society? In order to answer this broader question I pose the following research questions:

- How do the case organizations adopt bureaucratic and collectivist practices?
- What is the process of balancing between these practices?
- Which institutionalized structures can explain this process?

1.2 Definitions

To clarify the concepts that are used in this study, the following definitions are needed:

1.2.1 Organization and organizing

The term ‘organization’ refers to a unit which are made of ‘[…] nets of collective action, distinguished by artifacts and meaning related to that action. An anthropology of complex organizations should study the construction of meaning and artifacts typical (or unique) for
complex organizations” (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992:186) referenced in (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014). I rely on Czarniawska-Jorges’ definition on an organization, and also follow the reasoning of such being created by social constructions, which I will elaborate briefly in the methodology in Chapter 3.

The term ‘organizing’ then directs the attention to the process of organizing the collective net of action. This can be done through certain ‘practices’ which is the term I will use when analyzing how the case organizations adopt bureaucratic and collectivist practices.

1.2.2 Volunteer work and volunteer organizations

According to Anders La Cour, the volunteer sector has a problem of definition in the current political attention. He questions if we should identify volunteer organizations as; A third sector? A NGO? A charity organization? A non-profit organization? Or just refer to it as the civil society or social economy? (La Cour, 2014b). To clarify my standpoint I choose the following definition:

Volunteer work takes place when a person engages voluntarily in unpaid work which is beneficial to persons which are not family members of the volunteer (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2001). Furthermore volunteer organizations are defined as an organization that is voluntary established and can freely commence and discontinue its operations, whereas governmental organizations are subject to statutory law, thus volunteer organizations can also be included in the term Non-governmental organization (NGO). In this study I will refer to them as volunteer organizations.

The volunteer organization works on a non-profit basis and is based on volunteer and unpaid work, although the organization can include paid employees as well. Nearly 40% of the Danish citizens engage in volunteer work (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012). This work is organized by different types of volunteer organizations. The latest volunteer report published by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 2012 makes a distinction between the following areas:

- Culture, sports and leisure
- Social, humanitarian, welfare, health and prevention
- Political, religion and interest organizations
- Housing and local community
- Education
The majority of the voluntary workforce in Denmark works within the area of culture, sports and leisure, where local sports clubs, scouts clubs and music festivals attracts many volunteers (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012). However, there is a rising tendency to work with the social area, which is also the focus area of this research.

1.3 Motivation

My motivation for writing a thesis about the voluntary social sector and the organizing processes that take place in this context stems from various sources. First of all, I am volunteering for one of the case organizations; Bedre Psykiatri Ungdom (BPU), and through this job I have been inspired to pay attention on the organizing challenges that a volunteer organization face. This inspiration is also driven by the syllabus of cand.merc.SOL with a special attention to the course “Organizational processes”. Moreover, I am currently working part time at the consultancy; Marselisborg, which has established various projects that have involved the co-creation of the public sector and civil society. At last I find the subject important because of the current political interest in voluntariness.

2 Case information

In the following section I will provide background information on the case organizations being studied in my research. The selected organizations in this research are all volunteer organizations working within the same field. All organizations are members of the Psychiatric Network formed by The Social Network; an interest organization that aims to improve the Danish psychiatric field. The Psychiatric Network constitutes 13 organizations that focus on the improvement of the conditions for the psychologically vulnerable and their relatives (DetSocialeNetværk, 2014).

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4 Publications on these projects can be found here: http://marselisborg.org/index.php/viden/publikationer/

5 Psychologically vulnerable is a modern term that replaces the term “mental ill”. This term is widely used in the Danish psychiatric field because it has an improved ethical sound, and it will be used throughout the paper.
2.1 Bedre Psykiatri Ungdom (BPU)

BPU is the youth organization of Bedre Psykiatri (BP), formed by a group of employees from BP and students in 2009. As with the mother organization BP, BPU is an organization that works for the relatives of psychologically vulnerable and their focus is on the relatives which are in the age group of 18-30 years of age (BPU, 2013). The organization’s main objective and service is to establish networking groups for relatives, either family members or friends who are in need of support. Networking groups are a non-therapeutic offer where relatives gather 8-10 times over a period of 4 months (ibid.). The groups are facilitated by a volunteer who plan the session according to the group’s needs and invites various professionals to the meetings. The secondary purpose of the organization is to abolish taboos about being a young relative of a psychologically vulnerable, which is done through various events (Document Y).

The organization has its secretariat in Copenhagen at the office of BP where a part time unpaid intern has an office and is employed by BPU for a period of 4-5 months. Financially, the organization is self-sufficient through fundraising, and has only a minimum dependency on the mother organization. Most funding comes from the National Health Board and Copenhagen Municipality’s ‘§ 18 funds’, moreover the organization charge a member fee of 100DKK per year (Document Q). The organization has well-established local groups of volunteers in Odense and Copenhagen, where the volunteers organize networking groups and arrange other events such as theme nights with lectures, flash mobs at public places, and other events that improve the organizations appearance in the psychiatric field. Currently the organization has approximately 40 active volunteer members. Most of them are students of social studies while some are full-time workers or taking a degree in another field, but has a personal interest in the cause of the organization.

In the past year, BPU have received funding to support a geographical expansion of the organization, which made it possible to pay a volunteer to work 10 hours per week in establishing new local branches (Document N). However, because of a management challenges this has been a difficult task and the project has not established these branches (Document Bc).
2.2 Headspace

Headspace is a new volunteer-based organization which opened its doors in six centers across Denmark in September 2013, and has recently expanded with one new center. The aim of the organization is to be a pre-municipality offer to the youngsters who face difficulties in life (Interview A). This means that Headspace provide informal counseling for young people in the age of 12-25 where no records are taken. The goal of Headspace is to help young people with their difficulties and guide them towards other offers at local volunteer organizations or help them with communicating with public institutions. It is important to meet the youngsters before they get into a critical condition and become a cost to the municipality and the national healthcare (Interview A). The organization is based on volunteer work, where young people, mostly students in social areas, provide counseling to an assigned user. The volunteers cooperate with employed professionals in the counseling, however it is the aim to have the employees as a support function in the organization, while the volunteers are mostly working with counseling and various specific tasks such as marketing and communication (Interview C). Currently the volunteer workforce consists of nearly 170 volunteers (Interview A).

The seven centers are located in Aalborg, Horsens, Odense, Roskilde, Rødvre, Esbjerg and Copenhagen, while the secretariat of the organization is located in Copenhagen. Headspace is initiated and governed by The Social Network where the former prime minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, is the current president of the board. The idea for starting Headspace is inspired by a similar offer in Australia, also called Headspace, however the Australian version is not based on voluntary work (Interview A). Currently the organization is financed for two years by Velux Fonden and Den Obelske Familiefond (Headspace, 2014). Besides this the local centers are dependent on their relation to the municipality, by whom they receive the physical location and a half-time employee. In addition to the volunteer workforce and the half-time employee from the local municipality, each center has 3 full-time employees, and there are 2 full-time employees at the secretariat (Interview A). Headspace separates from the other case organizations by being founded upon the principles of co-creation and has a strong relationship to the municipalities. The aim of the organization is that a Headspace center, to some extent, is similar all over the country. This does not imply that Headspace is a ‘McDonald-concept’ (Interview A: 2), thus the management is attentive to how they can balance their organizing efforts while being a volunteer
organization. In this study I have included the centers of Horsens and Rødovre.

2.3 Sind

The national organization SIND was established in 1960 and aims at improving the conditions for psychologically vulnerable and their relatives in all ages. This is done through 30 local branches spread evenly across Denmark and secretariat in “Handicappens Hus” in Høje Taastrup (Sind, 2014). In 2010 Sind Ungdom was established to targeted at the age group of 16-35 years of age. Sind Ungdom works in close relation to the mother organization and follows Sind’s articles of association.

Sind has an important voice on the political scene, aside providing direct support for the target group of the organization, they also aim to help them indirectly by influencing officials and politicians both locally and nationally in their decision making. The organization also has a number of celebrities speaking for their cause and her Royal Highness, Crown Princess Mary, is the patron of the organization.

The organization is funded by local municipalities, Danske Spil’s lottery funds and various project funds. In addition to these funds, the organization also claim a member fee of 200DKK per year. The organization is currently undergoing a somewhat major organizational change, where a newly hired organizational consultant has initiated change of professionalization. Therefore, some of the organizations services such as telephone counseling, publishing of magazine, and a “besidder ordning” which provides legal aid for psychologically vulnerable, will be managed by the secretariat (Interview B). The local branches offer various services such as visiting friends, lectures, drop-in center, and arrange different events throughout the year (Sind, 2014). The local branches make offers according to what they believe is needed in their area and what resources they have, both financially and volunteer vice. They receive financial support from the secretariat, but are also responsible for raising their own funds. Some branches have their own Sind House, while others share a location at a volunteer house provided by the municipality (Interview B). In this study I have included the branches of Sind Skive, which is a ‘meeting place’ for the psychologically vulnerable. Sind Copenhagen is a more professional oriented counseling center.
The number of active volunteers is unknown to the secretariat. The volunteer workforce constitutes a wide variation of people who are interested or work as professionals in the psychiatric field as well as psychologically vulnerable and their relatives (ibid.).

2.4 Livslinien

Livslinien (the Life Line) is a counseling offer for suicidal vulnerable established in 1994. The founder and today’s chairman of the board, Morten Thomsen, had had a personal experience of wanting to commit suicide, why he saw a need for a better treatment for people in a similar situation. After this experience he created a telephone counseling line (Livslinien, 2014). Today, Livslinien is providing a broader range of services targeted to both suicidal vulnerable, their relatives, and those left behind from a suicide. The organization consists of 9 paid employees and 230 volunteers (Livslinien, 2012). The voluntary workforce are engaged in the telephone or online counseling, while the employees work with quality assurance of the offers to suicidal vulnerable and develop materials, courses and consultancy to professionals who work with suicide issues in their professional work (Interview D).

The organization is highly recognized by and cooperates with the Social Ministry, who has a member at the board and is the main source of funding since 2005 (Livslinien, 2012). In addition to this, Livslinien also receives lottery funds and private donations. Because of solid funding the organization has recently been able to extend their telephone opening hours and opened an online chat counseling. The organization does not have local branches, its only physical location is in Copenhagen. The founder Morten Thomsen is also the co-founder and international director of the The Social Network (Nissen, 2013).

2.5 Concluding on case information

These case organizations are each engaged in the co-production of welfare in Denmark, targeted to psychologically vulnerable and their relatives. According to organizing matters the brief information above indicates that they are quite different, but in some ways also similar, a point that I will elaborate in the analysis.
3 Methodology

As a starting point of my study I will address the method used for answering my research questions. The research is primarily based on qualitative data, where I have conducted interviews, observations and collected internal documents in the case organizations. In the following, I will first defend myself as a ‘humble ethnographer’ and explain my usage of self-ethnography (Alvesson, 2003). This directs the reader to a brief section about the scientific standpoint of this study. Hereafter, I will clarify my access to the field and subsequently why these organizations have been chosen for the study. To give an overview of the collected data I will present a table that visualize the techniques used and the type of data outcome derived from each of the four case organizations and their local branches. For each technique I use in the collection of data, there will be a section explaining the execution and reflections regarding the usage of this method. At last, I will explain how the data has been coded. An evaluation of data and comments on limitations of this chosen methodology will not be present in this section, but will appear after each part of the analysis.

3.1 ‘Humble ethnographer’

When using an ethnographic approach in the research, the focus is to find data that illustrates the phenomenon, as closely as possible, according to what it is in the real world. This position is also referred to as naturalism, where the aim is to study the social world in its natural state, without being disturbed by the researcher’s appearance (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The counterpart to naturalism is positivism, which is closely linked to a quantitative method, where the aim is to generate universal laws that can be tested (ibid.) Ethnography, or conventional ethnography, as referred to by Alvesson (2003), has been a widely used method for studying social phenomenon, where the researcher, also called an ethnographer, is “[...] participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 1). Therefore, this approach allows for multiple methods in the data collection, which provides the researcher with rich knowledge of a particular phenomenon. Because of its multiple techniques, it is said to be more
‘sophisticated’, because it involves a feeling of having ‘been there’ (Alvesson, 2003).

Since my study is within an organizational context, I focus my ethnographic principles on those of organizational ethnography (Neyland, 2008). However I declare myself a ‘humble ethnographer’ because only part of the data has been collected according to the principles of a ‘true’ ethnographer i.e. in the case of my participation in BPU. For the other case organizations the data collection relies more on the principles of triangulation, by using more than one source of data (Brymann & Bell, 2007). The strategy of my research has been on-going for a period of 8 months, with an exploratory nature that has directed me towards different organizations. Yet I have been anchored in my initial ideas about ‘challenges in organizing voluntariness’ and these ideas have defined my research from the beginning. Taking this idea into the context of multiple organizations is as a research strategy of multi-local ethnography (Jakobsen, 2006), which allows me to follow a problem or conflict across the different case organizations.

3.2 Studying an organization as a member of the organization

The ethnographic approach in my study has taken the form of self-ethnography (Alvesson, 2003). Here I have been ‘close’ to the organization of BPU, where I have volunteered since fall 2011 and been a member of the board since fall 2012. The active collection of data was initiated in the spring 2014. Alvesson (2003) argues that personal involvement in the organization of study can be a resource as well as a liability. Self-ethnography has multiple advantages but also disadvantages that should be highlighted. It allows for natural, easy and a unique access to the field of study, where the researcher is not ‘breaking-in’ to the setting (Alvesson, 2003). Furthermore the research can be said to become more efficient because the self-ethnographer already has knowledge of the organizational context. However it is more a struggle of ‘breaking-out’ and take a distance towards one’s organizational context composed of colleagues and external stakeholders. The major difference between conventional ethnography and self-ethnography is that the setting of the research is the home base of the researcher (ibid.). Empathy in the field can make the data too subjective, thus the researcher has to maneuver between different techniques to become more objective towards the field. Therefore it has been necessary for me to conduct interviews with my colleagues in order to change between different researcher roles of involvement and detachment (Brymann & Bell, 2007).
3.3 Scientific Standpoint

As already indicated, the methodology is inspired by ethnographic principles, thus my scientific standpoint belongs to the philosophy of social constructivism. This approach is dependent on both the informants’ interpretation of their social reality, and further of my interpretation of their statements, which forms the epistemological base for my research (Christensen, 2011). Since my primary data of qualitative origin is infused by social meanings, where intentions, motives, beliefs, rules and values are involved in the process of interpretation, the results of my findings cannot conclude a universal trend (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This means that the findings for this study might not be the same if I studied other volunteer organizations or another voluntary sector.

Gergen (1997) argues that the appearance of the social constructivist trend in the scientific movement was enhanced by scientists of the time who were engaged in the cultural context and how ideas were shaped in this context and further shaped the scientific and cultural praxis. Among the most prominent scientist of social studies who contributed to this movement, we find Max Weber (Gergen, 1997). As noted in the introduction I will use his theory of the bureaucracy, and further Rothschild-Whitt’s theory of the collectivist organization and theories of institutionalization, which all lies within the boundaries of social studies, thus I claim that their usage falls in line with my scientific standpoint.

The attentive reader will note that I have also turned to secondary quantitative data derived from the report on “The Volunteer social contribution”. Findings from this report will be used, when necessary, to underline an argument or provide tentative arguments when my primary data is insufficient. Thus I do, to a limited extent, turn to a more positivist approach.

3.4 Access to the field

As mentioned above, I have gained a natural and easy access to BPU due to my work as a volunteer in the organization. I have full access to data from BPU, however I felt there will exist a bias in only using this data for the thesis. I saw a need for improving my research by studying
other organizations as well and pursue the multi-local ethnographic approach.

To provide the research with other perspectives of organizational matters, I have chosen other organizations that work within the same field. This decision was made because I could gain advantage as a researcher, as I already possessed some understanding of the world of the other organizations, which is an advantage according to Alevesson (2003). The sampling of cases tends towards random sampling, because the organizations have been selected randomly within the voluntary social sector (Brymann & Bell, 2007). Even though the organizations work within the same field and bear the same name, they are not necessarily similar according to organizing matters. This is already clear in my introduction of the organizations above and will be even more visible in the analysis. I believe the random selection has given the data nuances that I could not have foreseen, and therefore the selection method has strengthened my research.

The first organization I had in mind was Headspace. Following its launch last fall, I thought that organizational matters must be something that is highly discussed, thus I contacted a volunteer consultant at their secretariat in Copenhagen. After visiting the secretariat I decided to visit two of their centers, which were coordinated with the secretariat. When approaching the case organizations I informed them that I was working voluntarily for BPU, because I hoped this information would improve my access.

Further I contacted Sind, because it is the oldest, biggest and most well-known organization in the field. I started off by researching their webpage, and found that they have recently reorganized the organizational structure and hired an organizational consultant who I contacted at their secretariat in Høje Taastrup. She further advised me to contact their center in Skive, and then I choose to visit their place in Copenhagen as well. Finally, my meetings with Headspace and Sind gave me inspiration to contact Livslinien, who only has one location which is in Copenhagen. My method for finding informants tends towards a snow-balling effect, where the first meeting with one informant has opened doors to new informants within the organization (Brymann & Bell, 2007).

In all organizations I have been greeted with an openness and interest towards my project which made it easy for me to enter the organizations. They have not previously been overrun by
students who would like to use them as case organizations for a project. I have felt that they had more energy to serve me as a student, and responded quickly to my inquiries. This has certainly made the collection of data smoother. In the following table I have quantified and specified the type of the collected data.

Tabel 1  
**Overview of collected data**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secretariat</th>
<th>BPU</th>
<th>Headspase</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>Livslinien</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Observations</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• National Board meeting 24.03.14</td>
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<td>• Visit of approx. 1.5 hour 22.05.14</td>
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<td>• Strategy meeting 02.04.13</td>
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<td>• Strategy meeting 12.04.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Meeting with coordinator 27.09.14</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Interviews</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• With Volunteer Consultant 18.03.14</td>
<td>• With Organizational Consultant 10.04.14</td>
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<td>• With Project Manager 22.05.14</td>
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<td><strong>Documents</strong></td>
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<td>• Volunteer contract</td>
<td>• Volunteer policy (draft)</td>
<td>• Volunteer contract</td>
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<td>• Minutes from board meetings 2013-2014</td>
<td>• Volunteer handbook</td>
<td>• Volunteer contract (draft)</td>
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<td>• Minutes from general assembly 2014</td>
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<td>• Educational programme (draft)</td>
<td>• Volunteer policy (draft)</td>
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<td>• Minutes meetings with auditor and accountant 2014</td>
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<td>• Articles of association</td>
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<td>• Secretary Handbook</td>
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<td>• Draft versions of volunteer handbook</td>
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<td>• Overview of received funding</td>
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<td>• Organizational change spring 2014</td>
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<td>• Volunteer’s satisfaction survey 2014</td>
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<td>• Intern’s work plan fall 2014</td>
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<td>• Annual cycles 2014-2015</td>
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<td>• Application for Tryg Fonden</td>
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<td>• Application, evaluation and accounts on project ‘Andre ligesom mig’</td>
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<td><strong>Local branch</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Observations</strong></td>
<td>• Informal meeting 04.04.14</td>
<td>• Visit of approx. 2 hours 16.04.14</td>
<td>• Visit of approx. 3 hours 12.06.14</td>
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<td>• Common meeting 06.05.14</td>
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<td>• Common meeting 03.06.14</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Interviews</strong></td>
<td>• With HR volunteer 01.09.14</td>
<td>• With center manager 16.04.14</td>
<td>• With Manager 12.06.14</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Documents</strong></td>
<td>• Minutes from common meetings 2012-2014</td>
<td>• Status on users</td>
<td>• Newsletter April, May, June 2014</td>
<td>• Volunteer contract</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Minutes from project groups, HR team, networking groups and other informal meetings 2013-2014</td>
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<td>• Welcoming folder</td>
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<td>• Minutes meeting with Sind Ungdom 21.08.14</td>
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<td>• Volunteer Handbook</td>
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<td>• Newsletter September 2014</td>
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<td><strong>Local Branch</strong></td>
<td>Rødovre</td>
<td>Copenhagen</td>
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<td><strong>Observations</strong></td>
<td>• Visit of approx. 1.5 hour 25.06.14</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Interviews</strong></td>
<td>• With Psychologist 25.06.14</td>
<td>• With Manager 16.06.14</td>
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<td><strong>Documents</strong></td>
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<td>• Volunteer handbook</td>
<td>• Development plan 2012</td>
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<td>• Organizational diagram</td>
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</table>

All empiric data is available on the attached flash drive. In appendices: I Interviews, II
Observations and III Documents, each source is given a letter which will be referred to in the analysis.

3.5 Observation in the field

The self-ethnographer is said to take on a secondary role in the usual organizational life and becomes an observing participant (Alvesson, 2003). This category implies that I am an overt observer, meaning that the informants in the setting are aware of my status as a researcher, while I am also participating in the work at the same level as the informants (Brymann & Bell, 2007). In BPU I have told my colleagues that I would use our organization as case material for my thesis, and I have discussed it with the president of the board before I began my collection. For the other places where I have conducted observations, the informants have been aware of my role as well. I have been invited in as a visitor and in some cases explained the purpose of my visit clearly during the informal conversations that took place.

This technique allows for a more unstructured collection strategy where the researcher is driven by the events that take place in the observed setting. Through this method it is possible to open up for tacit knowledge about how the informants organize a volunteer organization (Emerson, Frezt, & Shaw, 1995). Such knowledge is also referred to as unsolicited information, which is useful information when a researcher wants to interpret the field including all existing elements (Brymann & Bell, 2007). Such information might not be present in an interview setting, where the framing for the interview is known by the informant - hence they will act according to this. The potential discovery of unsolicited information also creates the frame for a later interview, where it is possible to dig deeper into the tacit knowledge of the organization.

3.5.1 Execution of observations

The observations that did not take place in BPU were planned in line with the interviews. During the observations I took brief notes and elaborated on these immediately afterwards in order to ensure thick-descriptions of the observed (Brymann & Bell, 2007). The elaboration is time consuming, but the importance of doing it immediately after the participation has taken place is crucial, because the amount of information will decrease the longer the researcher takes to do this task (Kristensen & Krogstrup, 1999). Because of this time consumption I found it necessary to plan the execution of gathering the various data, and spread it out over a longer period of time.
The observations that I have made through my work at BPU, has mainly been done through our more formal meetings, where I have jotted down notes and elaborated on these after the meetings. The note taking have not disturbed the setting, because I would usually take notes during these meetings.

3.5.2 Reflections on observations

At my first observation at Headspace Horsens I conducted the interview first, and then hung-out at the center. I learned that this order should be revised. The observation provides something to the interview setting that makes it easier to carry out the interview, because the informant and researcher by that time have gained a sense of feeling about each other, which makes the conversation go smoother. Further I will gain information from the observation that I could get specified during the interview if necessary. Therefore I chose to revise the order, by first hanging out and then make the interview at the following places I visited. Through the observations at the local centers of Headspace, my role as a researcher has taken a different approach apart from the self-ethnographer. Here I have not been a member of the organization, participating in the work, but taken a role that relates to Gold’s observer-as-participant which also involves interviewing (Gold, 1958). Again my role has been overt to the informants, which is why I have not been a complete observer, who does not interact with the informants.

The first observational task at Headspace Horsens did not go as smooth as I had wished. This was partly due to the fact that I had not foreseen the effect in the way I conducted the data, as mentioned above. I also believe it was due to the fact that the manager of the center knew me, and coincidently I also knew one of the volunteers there who used to be a former classmate. This discovery somehow changed my researching role and I felt we spent too much time catching up on personal matters. However, as I got more trained in the role as observer-as-participant, I felt that my observation at Sind Skive was more successful. Here I sensed different openness towards me as a visitor. In the elaborations I made after the visit I wrote:

“I did not really have the chance to present myself, but I believe Hanne had told some that I was coming, and what my purpose of the visit was. But actually there was not really a need to explain why I was there, because I could be there because of the same reason as everyone else. Around the table I was invited in to the small talk
about the comics from the newspaper, the weather etc. everyone who entered said
good morning to me as well” (Observation I:1).

The manager, later explained to me in the interview the values of the place, as being an open
place where everyone can be themselves. If I had not taking the time to hang out in this place, I
would not have noticed that these values truly existed.

3.6 Semi-structured interviews

The primary data also includes 7 semi-structured interviews with different informants from each
of the case organizations as described in Table 1. This method has been used to gather detailed
information on the informant’s insights and interpretation of these (Kvale, 2007), and aditionally,
as noted above, the interviews gave me a chance to discuss incidents from the observations.

The selection of informants is again based on a random selection, depending on who responded
to my request and who had time. Concerning Headspace, I talked to the manager of Horsens, but
in Rødovre it was an employee who had time (Table 1).

3.6.1 Execution of interviews

Prior to the execution of interviews I had notified the informants of the themes that I would like
to discuss with them. This gives the informants a chance to prepare for the interview and reflect
on themes, thus they can provide me with qualified answers. The interview guides included the
following themes which were differentiated according to whom I interviewed: 6

- Prior experience, including experience with volunteers
- Organizational structure
- Daily management tasks
- Recruitment processes
- Knowledge sharing
- Quality of service
- Volunteer’s motivation for volunteering
- Evaluation on the volunteer contribution
- Collaborations – with partners and funds
- Organizational challenges
- Future of the organization

All interviews were held in Danish, recorded and transcribed. The used citations throughout the

6 Interview guides for each interview is available on the attached flash drive.
It is of my understanding that the personal knowledge and experience I have as a volunteer in the field of the voluntary social sector was an advantage in the interview setting. It is also argued by Kvale (2007) that the common framework and mutual context is essential in the research situation, however, I found it necessary to control my own interpretations which could generate leading questions. A controlling mechanism for this purpose is to ask open questions, as well as give the informants time to reflect on a posed question, which could turn to a further elaboration of the answer. This also allows for spontaneous and emotional expression about the subject (ibid.). An example for such an expression is indentified in the interview with Sind Copenhagen, where the manager, when asked about the organizational structure, reflected on this, and immediately drew a few sketches on a piece of paper:

\[ \text{K: (starts by drawing) So we have Arnfind up here, and then it's almost the volunteers who come. There are 15 volunteers and three interns. If I has to be exact, then you need one that goes down here... Then you have the volunteers, and then you have DLT which is the nationwide telephone counseling. There we have 8 psychology students who run it for themselves. Then there is also a coordinator for them, and that's me. Then I also have a social worker helping students, she is on 15 hours, and she belongs over here, and only here.. And then we have the interns. It's pretty funny you ask, because one could well have something like this. I'm going to update our development plan, which I will call our Business plan. There I could very well make an organizational chart.} \]

\[ \text{I: Yes. I think it gives such a good overview. Not that one needs to quantify how many there are, but it is a good snapshot of the organization.} \]

\[ \text{K: it is! In fact, I should switch a little and write interns here and DLT here, which there are 8 of. Because it has been a little struggle to get them in, and I had to fight for getting them integrated. I'm making a newsletter to all of us and everyone is invited to the summer party. The new thing is that we need to call it 'personal counselor' and 'telephone counselor'. Because we usually talk about the counselors and counseling, and in this they are also included, so I have to linguistically articulate it better (Interview F:3).} \]

This shows that in the interview situation, the usage of reflection periods can lead to elaborated

\[ ^7\text{The sketch on the organizational diagram can be found in Document K} \]
answers which are useful for the researcher, but it also creates a learning process for the informant. In the course of my research I also had the chance refer back to information that were given from the secretariat, in the cases of Headspace and Sind, which also allowed for an elaboration or interpretation on previous information.

### 3.7 Collection of documents

As suggested by Neyland (2008), documents can become a useful supplement in the ethnographers’ data collection. When collecting these documents the ethnographer should consider: What is the type of the document? What does it say about the organization? Who is the reader of the document? (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: Neyland, 2008). In an attempt to answer such questions I have used Neyland’s (2008) categorization of documents wherein examples of my own collection of documents is placed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type of document</th>
<th>Examples from this research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary sources</td>
<td>Documents produced at the time for the time</td>
<td>Annual cycle</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Intern’s work plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary sources</td>
<td>Documents produced which reflect on those times</td>
<td>Evaluations</td>
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<td>Internal surveys</td>
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<td>Statistics on users</td>
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<td>Annual reports</td>
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<td>Public documents</td>
<td>e.g. newspaper articles</td>
<td>Websites</td>
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<td>Newsletters</td>
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<td>Welcoming folder</td>
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<td>Annual report (Livslinien)</td>
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<td>Articles of associations</td>
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<td>Development plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private documents</td>
<td>e.g. internal memos</td>
<td>Recorded minutes</td>
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<td>Handbooks</td>
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<td>Volunteer contract</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solicited documents</td>
<td>Documents provided for the research purpose</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsolicited documents</td>
<td>Documents which are not provided for research purpose</td>
<td>Overview of received funds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a primary document is the annual cycle and work plans that I have from BPU. These say something about what is taking place at the moment. A secondary source reflects on the past, e.g. the documents which evaluate a past project, or annual reports which evaluate the
past financial year, or statistics on users, or a volunteer survey. These documents give me historic data. The public documents are all those which are available to external stakeholders. In this study it is the websites of the case organizations and the documents that can be retrieved from here. In the category of private documents I have the volunteer handbooks from all the case organizations; these are of a more formal character. Moreover I have minutes from meetings in BPU. I do not have any documents which have been produced by the organization for the purpose of my research. The overview of received funds, which explains which funds BPU have gained in the past, is an example of an unsolicited document.

3.7.1 Reflections on collection and usage of documents

When collecting the available documents the ethnographer should also consider the access and availability of the documents (Neyland, 2008). In this study, I have had full access to all documents of BPU, which I have retrieved from the online storage system. As a member, and in some cases producer of the documents, I should also consider the validity and authenticity of these (ibid.). Concerning the minutes keeping, BPU has a referent who records these, thus they are not biased with my interpretation. However, I have been a co-writer on the final evaluation of the project ‘Andre ligesom mig’; an evaluation which I will use in the analysis.

Concerning the handbooks, I have received these from the case organizations without obstacles. In the case of Sind secretariat, the handbook is in the making, thus I received parts that are draft versions. During the interview with Livslinien I was informed about a team leader meeting that took place the same evening. I asked if I was able to observe this, which was not possible, neither was it possible to retrieve the minutes. This incident verifies that there is a limit to how much access the organization can provide.

3.8 Coding of data

The process of coding data runs in parallel with data collection (Kvale, 2007). Because of this the analytical process is inherited in the whole research period, where I interpret and give meaning to data, which affects the coming interviews settings and selection of theories. From the transcripts of interviews, observations notes, and documents I have used the technique of open coding to structure the data into categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). In praxis I have printed all material,
stacked it into the different case organizations, where data from secretariats and local branches each had their own pile. For every pile, consisting of both transcripts, thick descriptions, and various documents, I have made a mind map of the content in which 38 different themes of categories were present. These themes have been compared to find those that occur most often. Not surprisingly, the themes resemble some of the themes from the interview guides, which exemplify the inherited analytical process mentioned above. The following themes were the most present in the data:

- Service & general organizational information
- Organizing processes:
  - Management & Employee tasks
  - Variation between local departments
  - Volunteer policies and volunteer characteristics
  - Recruitment and education
  - Motivation and values
- Coordination
- External collaboration
- Financing, reporting and statistics
- Future

3.9 Concluding the use of method

The methodology of this study is based on qualitative data where principles of ethnography and triangulation have been used in the research strategy. The data is collected through semi-structured interviews, observations, participant-observations, and documents from the case organizations. Transcripts, field notes, and documents are the text on which I have applied the process of open coding. This process has given me the above mentioned categories which will be applied to the theoretical framework that I will proceed to explain in the next chapter.

4 Literature review

To make a theoretical framework for my analysis I have found it necessary to discuss, what I refer to as ‘classic’ theories of organization. Chen’s (2009) notion of balancing between over- and under- organizing directs the attention to the founding theories of the Bureaucracy (Weber, 1946) and the Collectivist (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). These theoretical lenses provide categorizations of organizations, in which I aim to place findings from the case organizations that
explain the adaptation of a certain practice.

Contemporary organizational theory within the area of ‘New institutional theory’ argues that organizing; “[...] is more a matter of adapting to a set of institutional rules rather than coordinating and controlling different activities” (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014, p. 292). Thus I will continue the theoretical review with attention to institutional theory (Scott, 2003b; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan: 1977) which involves considerations of the organizing processes that also entails the creation of order in the environment of the organization.

4.1 The Bureaucracy

Max Weber, the German scientist, gave birth to the bureaucracy in the mid 1900’s. In his work “Essays in sociology” the bureaucracy is characterized by; an authority ordered by rules and appointed upon qualifications, a hierarchy of offices, office management based upon written documents, specialization, training, and rules (Weber, 1946, p. 196). The bureaucracy became widespread as organizations became bigger and needed more control. Therefore the bureaucracy was aimed at improving the public administration of Europe and was an important contribution to the development of the society and its democratization (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014).

Weber’s Bureaucracy is characterized as an organizational theory which belongs to Scott’s paradigm of organizations as rational systems (Scott & Davis, Organizations and organizing - rational, natural and open systems, 2007). The rational system theories have a high level of goal specificity and formalization and observe the organization as closed, therefore the bureaucracy gained its nickname the “Iron-cage” (Weber, 1946).

For many, the bureaucracy has a negative image which is likely to be a result of the following statement; “The more the bureaucracy is dehumanized the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation. This is the specific nature of bureaucracy and it is appraised as its special virtue” (Weber, 1946, p. 217). It is of my opinion that we often identify the public sector with this negative image, and therefore I find it interesting to use this organizational theory
in the voluntary context, where the voluntary social sector and its service is interpret as the contrary to the public service (La Cour, 2014). Contemporary scholars believe that Weber’s thoughts has been misinterpret. Among those are Scott (2003), who believes that the bureaucracy has been removed from the historical context and treated as a caricature of modern administration forms (Scott R. W., 2003b, p. 42) while Paul du Gay rejects the dehumanizational feature of the bureaucracy in his book “In Praise of the Bureaucracy” (2000), where he, among other points, claims that Weber’s bureaucracy also has ‘Ethics of office’ while being rational (Grey, 2009). However, the bureaucracy is still perceived as an extremely rational organization, a stand that Chen takes as well when speaking of the bureaucracy as over-organizing (Chen, 2009).

4.2 The collectivist

In contrast to the dehumanized organization, Rothschild-Whitt observed the rise of alternative organizational forms in the 1970’s, which were based on completely opposite characteristics than those of Weber’s bureaucracy. To clarify her observations she has distinguished the collectivist organization (or collectivist-democratic organization) from the bureaucracy along 8 dimensions, namely; authority, rules, social control, social relations, recruitment and advancement, incentive structure, social stratification, and at last differentiation (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 519).

The collectivist organization fits into Scott’s paradigm of organizations as natural systems, where there exists an informal structure and goal complexity (Scott W. R., 2003). Often, these organizations have many goals because it is directed by the behavior of the participants in the collective. The natural system values the personal qualifications of the participant of the organizations, whereas the rational system wants to undermine them. Organizations that pursue the collectivist practices tend to be client-oriented service organizations which has the typology ‘feminist organization’, or ‘alternative organizations’. Such organizations “[…] combine both purposive and solidarity incentives, giving attention to participant’s needs for affiliation, emotional support, and meaningful work” (Scott R. W., 2003b, p. 179). This typology matches the voluntary organizations who need to ‘pay’ their volunteers with alternative incentives than those of monetary value or advancement.
4.3 Rothschild-Whitt's 8 dimensions

In the first part of the analysis I will go through Rothschild-Whitt’s 8 dimensions when analyzing the organizing practices that are present in my empirical data. Therefore I will thoroughly explain each of these dimensions and introduce the reader to the kind of data will be applied for each dimension in this framework.

1. Authority
The first and most prominent dimension is the form of authority, where the collectivist organization becomes more democratic because; “… authority resides not in the individual, whether on the basis of incumbency in office or expertise, but in the collective as a whole” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 511). The dimension of authority deals with the question of whether authority is vested in a position or in the collective beliefs and mission. To gain information about authority in the case organization I am looking for decision making practices, employee tasks, and organizational structure.

2. Rules
The second dimension is concerned with rules in the organization, where the typical bureaucracy is highly formalized by rules, and the collectivist favors minimal use of rules (ibid.). On this matter I am digging into the volunteer handbooks of all organizations.

3. Social control
The dimension of social control deals with the organizational behavior. An organization that has strong adherence to the bureaucratic side, would act upon direct supervision, standardized rules and sanctions (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 519). On the other end, the collectivist organization’s behavior is based on personalistic and moralistic appeals and therefore the personnel of the organization are often homogenous in the sense that “the group select members who share their basic values and world view” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 513). For this dimension I will observe the homogeneity of the volunteers concerning their professional background. Moreover I will look at how they obey to the formalized rules and further the exercising of sanctions.

4. Social relations
The level upon which the social relations within the organization are founded is discussed in this dimension. For the ideal type of the bureaucratic form, social relations are based on impersonal and role-based relations. Contradicting this form is the ideal community, where relations are personal and of value to the member of the organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). This dimension will be analyzed through observations from my visits at the case organization and further I will use an internal volunteer satisfaction survey and the report on ‘The Volunteer Social contribution’.

5. Recruitment and advancement
In the collectivist oriented organization, employment is based on friendships and personal values, rather than certified skills and experience which are more important for a bureaucratic oriented organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Rothschild-Whitt (1979) further argues that collectivist organizations do not practice individual advancement in positional rank, where the bureaucratic organizations has a ‘career ladder’ that allows the members of the organization to advance in ranking. Concerning this I will turn to the recruitment practices and advancement of the organizations where findings from the handbooks describe the formal procedure, while findings from interviews which explains the procedure being used.

6. Incentive structure
The dimension of incentive structure analyzes the organizational members’ incentive to work for the organization. The bureaucratic organization would motivate employees through remuneration incentives, whereas the collectivist organization relies on purposive and solidarity incentives, and less on the material incentives (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). When analyzing this dimension I am only taking the volunteers into consideration and not the paid employees.

7. Social stratification
A dimension which Rothschild-Whitt (1967) believes also separate the bureaucratic organization from that of the collective, is social stratification. This relates to matters of social classes where members of the bureaucracy are separated by a hierarchy that institutionalizes a distribution of privileges and prestige (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Members of the collectivist organization are more equal when it comes to social classes. This can be indicated; “Through dress, informal relations, task sharing, job rotation, the physical structure of the workplace, equal pay and
collective decision-making process” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 517). In an effort to study this dimension I will relate to findings from the previous dimension of authority.

8. Differentiation
The last dimension deals with division of labor and specialization of jobs. The bureaucracy practices a maximal division of labor and specialization, where the collectivist practices a minimal division of labor and a generalization of job functions (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). To study this dimension I will direct the attention to the functions that the volunteers posses in the organization.

Rothschild-Whitt’s (1979) juxtaposition of the two organizational forms proves that such extremes on the mentioned dimensions would make two completely different organizations. The collectivist organization is claimed to be somewhat utopian because; “If they survive and begin to expand, such organizations confront strong pressures toward structural isomorphism from their environments. Many, over time, move in the direction of increasing hierarchy and greater formalization – a process Acker (1990) refers to as adopting a ‘gendered logic of organization’” (Scott R. W., 2003b, p. 179). If Weber was about to comment on the organization of the collectivist, he would probably assume that the organization was ineffective because personal and emotional elements such as individual moral and values would infect the organizations decision making.

It is difficult to find an organization that is organized exactly according to either the bureaucracy or the collectivist, however, they present structural characteristics which allow me to study the tendencies of the organizational practices in the case organizations.

4.4 Consequences of Over- and Underorganizing
The categories of organizations provide the extreme forms of organizing, however theorists believe that, in reality, organizations are hybrid forms of the categories a notion that Chen and Anders la Cour goes along with (Chen, 2009) (La Cour, 2014). While studying the organizational development of the Burning Man Festival, from its birth in 1986 up till the year of 2000, Chen examines consequences of over- and underorganization, which relates to the
categories of bureaucratic and collectivist practices\textsuperscript{8}. She makes the following definition of underorganization and overorganization: “If members underorganize, their organization does not have enough structures, such as designated rules, positions, or procedures, or enough coordination to support members’ efforts. If members overorganize, structures and coercive control constrain rather than enable organizing efforts” (Chen, 2009, p. 3). The triggers for underorganization can be members’ resistance to change because of ideological foundations. Moreover the growth of the organization will naturally induce formalization, but can also trigger overorganization (Chen, 2009). Chen identifies direct consequences of under- or overorganization. These consequences will also be referred to throughout the dimensions of the first part of the analysis and elaborated in more detail in analysis part II, thus I will explain them here:

Consequences of underorganization:

**Dissipated efforts:** happens when members of the organization spend too much energy on discussing who they are as a collective, what are the collective goals, and how should these be achieved. These discussions can arise when the organization has less structure, such as specified guideline, goals or division of labor (Chen, 2009, p. 13). The lack of a cohesive identity, norms and direction can result in members’ experience of anomie which can lower the productivity.

**Misdirected activities:** the above mentioned lack of structures can also result in members’ risk of misunderstanding, where they will spend energy on navigating in disorganization rather than fulfilling goals (Chen, 2009, p. 15).

**Privileged informal relations:** When groups uses informal relations in the recruitment and decision making processes, such ties will devote members to engage in emotional labor. Furthermore these informal relations can enhance members’ ability to climb the career ladder of the organization, and undervalues their actual professional qualifications for a certain position (Chen, 2009, p. 14).

**Masked hegemony:** If decision making policies are unclear in the absence of a formal authority, it can end in diffused accountability where control is exercised by few which allow the abuse of power (ibid.). Charismatic personalities have an advantage under these circumstances, but their energy can also run out and they will experience burnout (ibid.).

\textsuperscript{8} Chen also used an ethnographic approach in her study, where she volunteered for the festival in 9 years (Chen, 2009, p. 167).
Consequences of overorganization:

**Depleted meaning:** The bureaucratic practices can serve as tools which enable the fulfillment of desired goals – but when administered with coercive control, the substantive rationality can override the organizational members’ interest and dissipate meaning (Chen, 2009, p. 16).

**Stifled performance:** The above mentioned practices of overorganizing through coercive control can also lead to stifled performance which can be generated by demotivation, but also the fixation on rules where members ignores their relevance (Chen, 2009, p. 18).

**Intensified overorganizing:** in accordance with the fixation on rules, the active disregard by breaking these rules to do work, is a symbol of intensified overorganizing. It can be that rules are not updated to incorporate changing circumstances, why members go against them. This can hasten the organizations ability to introduce more rules and regulations, thus the desire of establishing control can stimulate panoptic surveillance (Chen, 2009, p. 19).

**Ignored, suppressed, or co-opted informal relation:** the contrary to the consequence of privileged informal relations, the hierarchy, rules, and roles can suppress informal relation which can have a negative effect on members’ ability to cooperate (Chen, 2009, p. 17). Even with a hierarchy of offices, it is also necessary for managers to use the informal relations to motivate and thereby maintain control (ibid.).

**Concealed hegemony:** opposite of masked hegemony, the overorganizing can conceal hegemony by giving domination to a few, which is legitimate and done with little resistance (ibid.). By using their power, managers can organize activities in accordance to personal rather than collective interests. Hegemony can also be experience by a group of managers which induce ‘groupthink’ (ibid.).

What is at play here, is the organizations ability to balance the practices of over- and underorganizing, in a manner that creates an ‘enabling organization’ (Chen, 2009). In the case of the Burning Man Festival, the organization dealt with ‘enabling creative chaos’, in this study the case organizations need to enable the best service for the psychologically vulnerable and their relatives. This task also involves the environment of the organizations, thus I will proceed with institutional theory.
4.5 Institutional theory

Among the early contributors to the field of institutional theory, the sociologist Selznick directed the analysis of organizations towards an understanding of the social forms and meanings where values and norms became important factors (Scott R. W., 2003b). Later Meyer and Rowan (1977), Scott (1983) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) contributed to the thoughts of Selznick by arguing that the organization is not only driven by competition and efficiency, but acts according to institutional structures that exist in the environment. These authors are classified under ‘new institutional theory’, while Selznick belongs to the former institutional theory (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014). They recognize that the organization is dependent on flows of personnel, resources and information originated from outside the organization, thus it is a open system perspective (Scott R. W., 2003b). This perspective does not distinguish between formal and informal structures, but interprets the organization as a system of independent activities where some are tightly connected while others are loosely related. This perspective stresses that organizations should be analyzed as processes producing theories of relations instead of finding substantial definitions, as presented with the bureaucratic and collectivist practices (ibid.).

The term ‘institution’ often gives rise to some confusion, because it can have different meanings. In sociology we refer to institution as a pattern for collective behavior. In this matter institution refers to the intangible “structures of our society which constructs our social reality” (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014, p. 286), thus I argue that my scientific standpoint is appropriate in studying such structures.

Scott provides the following definition of institutions as; “[...] social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. They are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life” (Scott, 2003b, p. 880). Summarizing; Institutional theories are not interested in defining organizational practices or make categorizations of organizations, but attempts to solve the question of why organizations are organized as they are, by pointing at certain structures in the environment.
4.5.1 Analyzing the institutional environment through social structures

When analyzing the institutional environment of the organization, Scott (2003) suggests that the social structures can be divided into groups of; regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive of origin, which becomes the ‘pillars’ of the institution (Scott, 2003a). Regulative pillars involve the usage of rules, surveillance, laws and, sanctions which serve as instruments that influence the behavior of the organization (ibid.) Additionally the normative pillars have a social obligation where the structures create expectations towards how the organization should behave. This means that the environment will evaluate the organization according to norms and values, which demands the organization to act morally. At last, the cultural-cognitive pillars are active in the creation of shared meaning. The institutional environment can be made up of all three types of elements, although some organizations will find it more important to convey to one element over another.

4.5.2 Analyzing the institutional environment through the organizational field and isomorphic change

Another way to analyze the institutional environment is by focusing on organizational fields. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) recognize that organizational fields tend to have a collective rationality, which means that organizations that operate within the same environment conform to the same organizational structures. Organizations in the organizational field: “[...] constitutes a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148).

I will continue the analysis by examining the organizational field of my case organizations in Analysis Part III, and in this comment on the structures of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive origin. The empirical evidence on this matter relates only to findings in the primary data in order to delimit the environment. After this analysis I will discuss matters of isomorphic change based on DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) identification on the mechanisms of coercive-, mimetic- and normative isomorphism.

The process of institutional isomorphic change forces the organizations in an organizational field to attain similar structures, thus they become more homogeneous. This process also explains why
open systems are subject to the *Law of limited variety* which predicts that a *system* will show evidence of no more variety than the variety to which it has been exposed to in its environments (Scott R. W., 2003b, p. 91)

DiMaggio & Powell identifies three mechanisms that drive this change: *coercive-, mimetic- and normative isomorphism* (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 158). The coercive isomorphism relates to the pressures that come from political influence and the eager for obtaining legitimacy. Such pressure can both be formal, in the form of the legal environment, and informal through cultural expectations, thus it is of my impression that this mechanism relates to what Scott (2003) identifies as regulative and cultural-cognitive structures. The coercive isomorphism is especially visible in the laws that the organization is subject to.

The mimetic isomorphism appears as a standard response, when the organization faces uncertainty. The organization will then look at how another organization has dealt with a problem, and copy the solution (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). I assume that this assumption also falls in line with the law of limited variety. To analyze this mechanism I find it especially important to have an overview of the organizational field, and furthermore I have data from different case organizations that can highlight this matter.

At last, normative isomorphism stems from the need for professionalization. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) suggests that this mechanism can be identified in the recruitment processes of the organization, where there will be requirements for certain skills for certain jobs (ibid). Thus this mechanism can be discussed in reference to the findings of Dimension 5 – Recruitment and Advancement.

When directing attention to the organizational field of a volunteer organization or NGO’s, DiMaggio and Powell also recognize that such organizations need to match their structures to those organizations that provide financial funds to their projects, which most often are the public administration and private funds. Moreover they acknowledge that the legal barriers to permission in this sectors do not exist because there is no need to protect a market or enhance competitiveness, thus the process of isomorphic change may happen even more rapidly (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).
By stating that organizational fields have a collective rationality, DiMaggio and Powell attempts to ‘revise the iron-cage’, by building on to Weber’s rationalized bureaucracy and fit his ideas into a contemporary organizational perspective that incorporates the environment of the organization. However, they stress that the process of isomorphic change can happen even though there is no evidence that it will increase organizational efficiency (ibid.) This leads me to another perspective on analyzing the institutional environment.

4.5.3 Analyzing the institutional environment through myth and ceremony

Meyer & Rowan contributes to the institutional theory by arguing that formal structures reflect the myth of the institutional environment and is not necessarily applicable for the actual work of the organization. They warn that: “Once institutionalized, rationality becomes a myth with explosive organizing potential” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 346). They believe that the isomorphic change can have the following consequences for organizations:

- They will incorporate structural elements which are legitimated in the environment but not efficient
- They will employ ceremonial assessment criteria to define the value of such elements
- They will depend on the external environment of fixed institutions to reduce turbulence and maintain stability.

The origins of rational institutional myths are generated by three specific processes as identified by Meyer & Rowan (1977):

The elaboration of complex relational networks

I identify that this idea relates to what DiMaggio & Powell (1983) refers to as the organizational field. In this network or field, Meyer and Rowan argues that: “a particularly effective practice, occupational specialty, or principle of coordination can be codified into mythlike form” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 347). I find that such codification can also be referred to as ‘best practice’, thus it also relate to the mimetic mechanism of isomorphic change.

The degree of collective organization of the environment

In this process Meyer & Rowan (1977) identify that legislative and juridical authorities create rules of practice which become institutional requirements. I recognize that this process deals with the regulative structures (Scott, 2003a) and the coercive mechanisms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).
Leadership efforts of local organizations

This process explains how powerful organizations become active in shaping the institutional context. This way of influencing the institutional environment can be done by: 1) forcing the relational network or organizations in the field to adapt to their structures and relations, 2) attempting to build their goals and procedures into the society as institutional rules (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). I highlight that this also relates to DiMaggio & Powell’s mimetic mechanism.

To gain legitimacy, the organization can employ the practices of ‘decoupling’ which: “[...] enables the organization to maintain standardized, legitimating, formal structures while their activities vary in response to practical considerations. The organization in an industry tend to be similar in formal structure – reflecting their common institutional origins – but may show much diversity in actual practice” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 357) Recalling Chen’s consequence of stifled performance and intensified overorganizing, where members disregard the relevance of a rule or actively break it, I identify the employment of decoupling as an action that can balance the overorganizing, while the organization can stay legitimate.

The three processes of generating institutional myths and the act of decoupling will also be referred to in Analysis part III, when I use DiMaggio & Powell’s mechanisms for isomorphic change to explain why the identified practices from Analysis part I is adopted by the case organization.

4.6 Concluding the theoretical review

This chapter has introduced the reader to the theoretical framework that I will use for my analysis of the case organizations. The organizing practices of the Bureaucracy and the Collectivist organization forms the basis for Rothschild-Whitt’s 8 dimensions that allows me to incorporate the empirical findings in a structured model, wherein I include the consequences of over- and underorganizing introduced by Chen. When having explained matters of how the case organizations organize in the analysis part I & II, I proceed to answer why these practices unfolds by turning to institutional theory. This perspective includes the theories of Scott on social structures and DiMaggio & Powell on organizational field and mechanism of isomorphic change. Demonstrated above these theories rely on the ideas of Meyer and Rowan about the origins of
rational institutional myths and the following practice of decoupling. These theories will be integrated in the analysis part III.

5 Analysis part I

The first part of the analysis will use a framework that follows Rothschild-Whitt’s 8 dimensions of comparison between the two ideal types of organizations; the bureaucratic and the collectivist-democratic organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). These 8 dimensions are matched with the relevant themes from the coded data. This analysis of practices provides a more descriptive answer to how do the organizations organize and I will further elaborate on the findings including Chen’s (2009) consequences of over- and underorganizing.

Although my case material concerns 4 different organizations; Livslinien, BPU, Sind & Headspace, I have realized that within Sind and Headspace, where I have material from both the secretariat and 2 two local centers, there is a variation in organizing practices between these local centers. In the case of Sind, the secretariat has recently started organizing volunteers for specific tasks, which are separated from the local centers. Since I only possess little data on this matter and draft versions on the handbooks (Document D, E), I will not include the secretariat as a separate organization, however relevant information relating to the centers will be included. The same concerns the secretariat of Headspace, which does not organize volunteer activities isolated from those of the centers’. Therefore this part of the analysis splits up the organizations, which allows me to analyze their practices separately, this gives me in total 6 case organizations which will be referred to as; Livslinien, Headspace Horsens, Headspace Rødovre, Sind CPH, Sind Skive and BPU. When referring to ‘Headspace’, I refer to both the centers and the secretariat as one organization. Similarly when I refer to ‘Sind’, this includes the centers and the secretariat as well.

For each dimension I will provide an illustration of how the organizations are place on the continuum. In some cases I will support my argument with relevant data from the Voluntary Report 2012 (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012). I will conclude this part of the analysis with a model that shows all 8 organizations on a general continuum, which takes all 8 dimensions into account. Further I will reflect on my findings, and the theory and method I have used.
5.1 Dimension 1 - Authority

Starting from the top, all of the case organizations have a board of directors, in the case of Headspace it is the board of ‘The Social Network’ (DetSocialeNetværk, 2014). The board makes all the strategic decisions including improving accounts and recruiting/terminating paid employees. The employees are in charge of the daily management and the direct contact to the volunteers, who they are managing. This indicates that there exists a ‘hierarchy of offices’ (Weber, 1946) in the organizations.

When asked about the organizational structure, the manager of Sind CPH immediately drew a tentative drawing, showing that the paid employees are placed below the board, and hereafter the volunteers are organized in the function of either telephone counseling or face-to-face counseling (Document K). Although I have only been presented to the organizational structure at Sind CPH and BPU (Document Ay), I would argue that in all cases, paid employees are hired because of their expertise to manage the volunteers, thus the paid employees have authority over the volunteers, and daily decision making processes are not made by the collective of volunteers. As mentioned by the center manager of Headspace Horsens when commenting on what her role is:

“*My role is about the financials. How much can we use for this and that. I have the coordinating and over all role. I am also in charge of our ambassador committee. I dare to go out and make some crazy things. And often they (the volunteers) need to be pushed over the edge*” (Interview C:5)

The management tasks that the employees perform are often related to recruiting, training and supervise the volunteers, while taking care of the financial tasks. In the case of Headspace and Sind CPH, the employees are also in direct contact with the users and servicing them on the same level as the volunteers. While in Livslinien, it is only the volunteers who service the users, as mentioned by the professional consultant:

“*My daily function is to work with the volunteers. I make job ads, recruit and educate, and I have the daily contact with the volunteers together with my colleagues. So it is from the beginning, when they start here, that I help them through on many different levels*” (Interview D:1).

This answer also illustrates that there is a separation between the organizational members, where
some are ‘volunteers’, and others are ‘colleagues’. I assume that the later are the organizational members who are paid to work for the organization as well. The separation of organizational members is visible in all case organization (except BPU), where the references to ‘our volunteers’ and ‘the employees’ are used throughout the data. This leads to a representation of a volunteer organization being managed by paid employees, however, there is special attention to how the volunteers can be included in the decision-making processes. This is done through volunteer meetings, where they are allowed to present their wishes and ideas, which is the case for Sind Skive (Interview E).

There is evidence that points to the fact that volunteers actually like a higher level of authority, because this creates clearly defined frames, which they can navigate in (Interview D). Volunteers are highly motivated by servicing the users of the organization, and wish to see an improvement of the situation that the user is in, whether it be a client in a counseling session, a user of a drop-in center, or a suicidal. In Livslinien the management experiences that the volunteers;

“[…] have a very large identity in being a counselor. That is what they are here for, and that is what they want to do, the vast majority of them (Interview D:4)”.

To underline this statement the Voluntary Report (2012) found that 81% of the volunteers in the social sector is highly motivated by “given help and making a difference for others” (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012, p. 23). Thus my argument is that volunteers work for the users in their spare time, and do not wish to spend further time on decision making processes, to make consensus among the rest of the organizational members. Summarizing this, matters of “[...] hiring, firing, salaries, the division of labour, the distribution of surplus, and the shape of the final product or service [...]” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 512), which are the more strategic tasks of the organization, are less appreciated volunteers. Therefore a level of authority which resides in a position is valued by volunteers, and a democratic decision-making process about the daily management is less valued because it is time consuming. This is finely stated by the professional consultant of Livslinien, who mentions that the management of the organization provides the volunteers with ‘frames’ in which they can navigate in:

“I see it like we have some clearly defined frames, and I think we need that. About the volunteers, I think they thrive very well in it. It is seldom we hear otherwise (Interview D:4)”.
I recognize that the wording ‘frames’ can be referred to what Chen (2009) identifies as ‘enabling organization’. On the dimension of authority I cannot find evidence that shows that this dimension is ‘unbalanced’ in the case organizations, except for the case of BPU – which I will return to in analysis part II, therefore the organizations are placed on the continuum as follows:

The organizations that has been rated 5 on this dimension are mainly placed here because they are managed professionally by paid employees whose authority is vested in their position. BPU stands out because they do not have paid employees, but is managed by the board of directors, who are elected for a period of 2 years (Document Ba). However this board have been less effective at the time of research, thus its function as a strategic and management organ has been sparse (Observation A). Tasks are delegated to specific groups of volunteers, led by a group responsible (Document Ay). Since authority is less vested in a position, in the case of BPU, there could be other sources of authority as pointed by a volunteer in HR:

*One gets authority in BPU by daring to take ownership. And I’m not saying leadership, but ownership of the practices that you want to do better. If you think that the internal communication is poor, you get respect, and is seen as an authoritarian person, and it is in the positive sense, if you take ownership and say; 'I want to create a newsletter. I am going to ask you and you and you. And you shall answer me within a certain period'. And people think that’s great! And they are good at recognizing each other’s efforts. So about authority, it goes hand in hand with ownership, commitment and tasks. But it can be driven by many other things” (Interview H:3).*

Ownership, commitment and tasks are mentioned as drivers of authority in BPU. Thus authority does not necessarily have to be vested in a person who takes a position in the board. Since authority can reside in anyone, who ‘dares to take ownership’, the position of authority is at anytime likely to change, according to the level of ownership the volunteer voluntarily chooses to take. Therefore the indicator for BPU is towards the collectivist side of the continuum, while the
rest of the case organizations are placed on the far bureaucratic side, because they have employees who exercise authority because of their position.

5.2 Dimension 2 - Rules

The second dimension concerns the level of either formalized rules versus minimal stipulated rules that exist in the organizations. On this matter I have been looking at the volunteer handbooks of all organizations, where the extent and purpose vary from organization to organization.

In all cases the handbooks are a widely used information-sharing tool. They are given to new volunteers in order to ensure that they are knowledgeable about the conditions under which they work for the organization. This illustrates that all organizations use a form of written guidelines/rules to ensure consistency of their service. I identify that all organizations tend towards the more bureaucratic practice of formalizing rules, however there are still differences in relation to how it is used in practice.

The most developed and extensive handbooks are presented by Livslinien and Sind Copenhagen, who has produced handbooks that would be similar to any other non-voluntary organization. Besides giving a description of the organization, these handbooks serves the purpose of clarifying the expectations that the organization has towards the volunteers, this also includes rules about how many shifts one should take, and what to do in case of sickness. Moreover these handbooks also include clearly defined guidelines for servicing the users (Document I & L).

The Headspace secretariat has developed a shorter version of the handbook to the volunteers, which is used by the entire Headspace organization. As of today, the volunteer handbook mainly includes guidelines of recruitment and cooperation with volunteers, where demands about working hours are also given. Nonetheless it does not include guidelines concerning servicing the user (Document B). I assume this is not included because the organization is relatively young, and have not yet developed such written and universal guidelines. Moreover, the employees of each local center are closely involved in the counseling of the users, thus the guidelines must be taught to the volunteers in this process (Interview G), and the guideline still takes the form of
tacit knowledge. The organization has actively produced various procedures and guidelines for the employees on how to incorporate the voluntariness nature into the organization (Interview A).

Concerning Sind Skive, the handbook includes a policy that is based on the values of the organization; “Openness, well-being and respect” (Document H), which are the principal guidelines in servicing the users of the house. In this case one must take into consideration that the primarily service function of the house is not based on professional aid, but the house serves the function of being an open ‘meeting place’ targeted to psychologically vulnerable (Interview E). Therefore extensive guidelines on how to serve the users professionally are not needed.

In the case of BPU, the handbook is also under development and will contain general information about the organization, contact details for the volunteers who are group responsible, and details of external partners. Further it provides username and passwords for all online platforms which are used by the organization. This handbook contains more practical information and no guidelines on what the organization expect from the volunteer, e.g. in matters of working hours, nor guidelines on servicing the users (Document Ay).

BPU has the least developed handbook, and is placed on the continuum in between bureaucratic and collectivist practices because their rules are less formalized. The rules concerning the servicing of a user, i.e. in a networking group, which is their primary service are not written, hence they are not formalized. This illustrates, that the rules are made on “[...] the basis of knowing the substantive ethics involved in the situation” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 519). This point to an organizational process where the organization has trust in the fact that the volunteer will act ethically without it being stated by a written rule. However they also wish to ensure consistency and quality in their service because they have sporadically made sections for the handbook for the networking groups (Document Aa) and guidelines for how to use Facebook (Document Ac). There are no signs that show that the guidelines are implemented, however it can be observed that the organization recognizes the formalization of rules through volunteer handbooks as a need organizational process. A reason for them having a less developed handbook could be rooted in the problem of working hours need for developing and writing such guidelines. These working hours are provided by the employed workers in the other organizations, thus it makes sense that their handbooks are more extensive and updated.
Because of these finding the indicator for the second dimension concerning rules are as follows:

In this illustration I have marked 2 spots on the continuum for BPU. The purple mark is where they are actually placed with their current handbook, and the faded mark is where I predict they would like to be in the future. This is argued because the handbooks that I received are draft versions.

Headspace, Livslinien and Sind CPH are placed on the far end of the bureaucratic continuum because their guidelines and rules are highly formalized in the form of a written handbook. When asked about the development of guidelines, the volunteer consultant explains the process of Headspace:

“In the period up to the opening, we (the secretariat) sat down and wrote and wrote. And we made these guidelines that some organizations like URK (Ungdommens Røde Kors) and Livslinien, writes afterwards. All this we did prior to our opening. I have worked as a volunteer for many years, and experienced that after sometime as a volunteer, then you write the policy. So then you been a volunteer in a while, and then, oh yes, it could be smart with a contract, so then we made a contract. All that; application, contract, interview guide for volunteer job interviews, a volunteer handbook, a volunteer policy, a template for how to supervise volunteers, a handbook for the center managers with particular sections on how to dismisses a volunteer, insurance, transportation etc.. All this was ready before we opened and even started to recruit anyone.

[…] It was my assumption that we had to make these building blocks and give them to the employees like ‘voluntariness for dummies’. We needed to control the voluntary nature without it being decentralized. As soon as we opened up, the voluntariness of the organization should be implemented. Our service is counseling, so if the employees did not have any frame for working with volunteers, they will invent it themselves - and then we have 6 versions of Headspace and voluntariness in
Headspace. So the strategy was that everything we could accommodate of essence material, it was written out” (Interview A:7).

This statement also highlights that formalization is needed for a volunteer organization like Headspace, or else the Headspace centers will develop each their own version of Headspace. If this happens, Chen (2009) would probably refer to it as a consequence of underorganizing which could relate to that of misdirected activities, because “[...] without guidelines on how to propose ideas and reach agreement in decision making, members risk continual misunderstandings” (Chen, 2009, p. 15).

The volunteer consultant’s observation about how other organization’s may write down procedures after the organization is founded, is an observation that can be identified with the case of the Sind secretariat. As mentioned by the organizational consultant of the secretariat, they have just started writing formalized rules and contracts for some of their volunteer’s assignments, which are now organized by the secretariat (Interview A).

For Sind Skive, I predict that the development of the present volunteer handbook is not as crucial task on the agenda, as it is for BPU and the Sind secretariat. I predict this because they do not need them for their current service, unless they in the future wish to establish a more professional oriented service for their users, which is driven by voluntary personnel.

In summary, “[...] the formalization of fixed and universalistic rules” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979), is a bureaucratic process which I find visible in the case organization through their written volunteer handbooks. The extend of the handbooks, and their rules concerning the servicing of users varies quite a bit, according to which service the volunteers provides. Therefore the indicators on the continuum have variations among the case organizations.

5.3 Dimension 3 – Social Control

As mentioned in the case information, all case organizations operate in the voluntary social sector, and service the psychologically vulnerable and their relatives. This voluntary field will nevertheless attract volunteers with professional backgrounds within health care. When looking
at the characteristics of the volunteers, observations from the data indicate variation in the professional backgrounds. When commenting on their workforce of volunteers, the psychologist from Headspace Rødovre explains:

We have a carpenter and an electrician for the janitor work, and anything practical. We also have one volunteer who bakes muffins or cakes for the users. [...] Some would like to work with young people, but are not prepared to have conversations. But it makes a big difference to us that there is someone who can do practical work, so we can spend time on the counseling. [...] We also have students of pedagogy, psychology and social worker. Then we have a nurse, a teacher, a former principal, and two sexologists. Then we have a banker, and another who is an accounting officer. The accounting officer is also one of the sexologist. She can help the youngsters with making a financial budget. [...] So it is about finding the resources of our volunteers, and see how we can use them. It's about informing the young people about what we are able to help them with. Often they have heard, that we are all psychologist, so they think it's just about counseling” (Interview G:2)

This illustrates that the volunteers’ willingness to work with young people and their problems, is the factor which accepts them as volunteers of the organization. The management will turn to more creative ideas about how their competences can be used, in providing a good service for the users which also involves the maintenance of the house. This also falls in line with Chen’s notion of the collectivist practices, as some that: “[...] favor looser, context dependent specifications that enhance responsiveness to individuals’ interest” (Chen, 2009, p. 9). At Livslinien they are more focused on recruiting volunteers with specific backgrounds:

“We are looking primarily for healthcare professionals. We do this because it's good to have some background knowledge in the field. We have a few who are not in these profession. We call them butterflies, I actually do not know why. But it requires that you have something else. It can be a manager or middle manager who has experience with having challenging conversations. We also have some actors who are familiar with being ‘on’ and have worked with themselves through their profession” (Interview D:2).

This also accounts for Sind CPH, who only recruits psychologist (Interview F), while Headspace Horsens mainly has psychologist students (Interview C). The professional background of the volunteers, can therefore illustrate that the group is quite homogenous. I argue that by sharing the same professional background, the volunteers might also share the same basic values, which the organization’s social control is based on.

On the other hand, professional background might not be the only element that makes a group
share the same values. At Sind Skive and BPU, the professional backgrounds are more diverse. As indicated by the manager of Sind Skive:

“We also have an old police officer who makes various events and activities. He has a large network and can find some interesting people who can make presentations, etc., And he has a shift too on every Tuesday morning. So they are extremely different. We also have some volunteers who have been mentally ill in the past, some has retired, others have been mentally ill, but returned to the labor market, and they have more resources than others” (Interview E: 3).

This implies that even though they have different professional background, the volunteers are homogenous in the sense that they have previous dealt with a mental problems, which can lead to a shared understanding for the cause that they work for. Observations from BPU are similar. Here the volunteers are mostly students within the fields of: communication, human resource management, business studies, law, psychology, nursing, physiotherapy and psychotherapy (Document Z). This illustrates a broad field, and less homogenous group when speaking of professional backgrounds. Most volunteers in BPU share the feeling of being a relative of a mental vulnerable, which is a motivational factor that makes them work for the cause of the organization (Document Z), and can demonstrate that the group shares basic values and beliefs.

Another characteristic that can be determined from the data is the age of the volunteers. In Livslinienn the two major groups of volunteers are young and older people. The young ones are studying and wish to get experience, while the elderly who are retired, have experience in the field and wish to spend their time on something meaningful (Interview D). In Headspace Horsens the volunteers are mainly young and they only have a few elderly people in their volunteer workforce (Interview C). Headspace Rødovre have a mixed group of volunteers ranging from very young to students, professionals, and retired (Interview G). For Sind CPH, the major group of volunteers is educated psychologist, and they can be characterized as professional and grownups. The same accounts for Sind Skive, where it is grown-up and retired elderly who commit to the volunteer work (Interview E). At last BPU, which is a youth organization, has younger volunteers ranging from 20-32 years of age, where the majority is students (Document Ay).

Summing up, the professional background cannot be the only element that determines if a group shares the same values, because a group can also share an engagement to work for the cause of
the organization, and in some cases they are also within the same generation of age. Thereby it can be argued that they also share personnel and moral appeals. This leads to an illustration where all case organizations are in the far end of collectivist side of the continuum. In general it can be explained by the fact that “[…] consensus is crucial, and people who are likely to challenge basic assumptions are avoided” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 514), and therefore the members of the organization needs to share basic values.

When taking into account the dimensions of authority and rules above, I found that most case organizations seem to have a higher level of authority that points to the bureaucratic side of the continuum. This indicates that the volunteer organizations are managed by direct supervision, through a centralized authority. Moreover rules and guidelines are quite elaborated for the Headspace centers, Livslinien and Sind Copenhagen, hence one can assume that the disregard of rules will follow sanctions.

In my attempt to understand how a volunteer can be sanctioned, I asked the respondents in my interviews, whether it occurred that a volunteer can be fired, and if so, on which grounds. The general response is that is happens rarely and if it happens, it can be because the volunteer has broken confidentiality, a rule that is also mentioned in all volunteer handbooks, except the one of BPU. The professional manager of Livslinien explains further:

“We support each other a lot, so that means that the volunteers who are on call should trust each other. So if we can see that there is someone they don’t like to be on call with – which they are very good at telling us – according to what we talked about with open communication, they are good at coming forward and saying that there is a problem with a another volunteer. So we have some awareness of it, and if it does not improve it may lead to a termination of the volunteer, but it happens very very rarely” (Interview D:5).

This also indicates that the authority, who can give a sanction, is depended on the morals of the volunteers, to come forward with a problem. And the problem can be sanctioned if one has not followed the guidelines. These finding leads me to the following figure of the continuum of social control.

Figur 3  Dimension 3 - Social Control
Summarizing, the indications are more to the collectivist side of the continuum because in general, the volunteers can be said to share basic values, which can be grounded upon their professional background, but also their individual willingness to work voluntarily for the cause of the organization. However the organizations that have a more centralized authority and formalized rules of confidentiality, are place more to the middle of the continuum, because this demonstrates that the mechanism of social control are not only driven by the personal and moral appeals of the collective.

5.4 Dimension 4 – Social relations

For this dimension I have faced trouble in analyzing the relations between the volunteers of Livslinien, Headspace Rødovre, Sind Skive and Sind CPH, because I have not involved them in my interviews, neither do I have observations which can explain this dimension. I do have little data from Headspace Horsens and further my own experience from BPU. Further I will comment on this dimension through findings of the report on ‘The Volunteer Social contribution’.

According to the 3000 respondents who have contributed to the report on ‘The Volunteer Social contribution’, 40% commits to voluntary work because they feel an urge to participate in a community (Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2012, p. 14). This does not clearly prove that volunteer organizations in general adopt more collectivist principles in the dimension of social relation. The tendency can be followed by BPU, where a satisfaction survey concluded that the volunteers ranked ‘the possibility of professional development’ higher than ‘creating social relations’, when they were asked about why they are volunteering (Document Bb). This signify that the reason for participating in volunteer work, as a student, is based on a need for gaining competences in the field, and ‘something for the resume’, which was also indentified in Headspace Horsens and Livslinien concerning their ‘young’ volunteers (Interview: D,C).
On the other side, the following observation from Headspace Horsens does indicate that volunteers find value in the social relation among volunteer colleagues and the employees, because they socialize at the center in their spare time:

“Today the house is open from 2pm till 8pm. Tina and Michael is here, while the 3rd employee Nanna is sick. Besides them are 5 volunteers. 2 of them have counseling session and the other 3 just came by because they live nearby. However one counseling session is cancelled, so one of the volunteers doesn’t have to do anything, and just hangs out with the others in the common area” (Observation E:1).

The same was observed at Headspace Rødovre, where volunteers also came by the house, even though they were not on call. This leaves me with a blurred picture of the social relation between the volunteers of the case organizations, which is visualized as followed:

Because of the lack of data explaining this dimension, most of the case organizations are place in between the bureaucratic and collectivist side. The Headspace centers are more to the collectivist side because findings prove that the volunteers enjoy the social relations in the organization, and ‘hangs out’ at the centers when not on call. This signifies that they value the personal relations, thus the relationship is not role-based and impersonal. For the rest of the organizations I can only assume that the volunteers in some way or another values personal relations, because they voluntarily wish to engage themselves in the organization. According to Chen (2009), the ignored, suppressed, or co-opted informal relations as a consequence of overorganizing would probably lead to cooperation problems with the volunteers, who work for free in their spare time. Without having clear evidence, I argue that this dimension must be balanced to the collectivist side of the continuum.
5.5 Dimension 5 – Recruitment and Advancement

Recalling the theory, the collectivist oriented organization recruits the employees through friendships and personal values, rather than certified skills and experience, which are more important for a bureaucratic oriented organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). I find this dimension quite interesting, because here I identify the dilemma of turning down a person who wants to volunteer. A dilemma which became visible through several of the interviews, where informants questioned; “is it morally acceptable to say no?”, “how much can we demand?” As it will show, the case organizations turn to a variety of different practices.

Some indications from the previous analysis concerning the recruitment of certain professional backgrounds and employee tasks of recruiting indicate that Livslinien, Headspace and Sind CPH have recruitment procedures that select volunteers on behalf of their skills. Further Livslinien explains that they recruit 4 times per year. 2 recruitment rounds for the telephone counseling and 2 for the internet based counseling. As explained by the professional consultant they have the following cycle:

“If we start from the beginning: you apply for a job, like you would do for any other job, by sending an application. Then you are invited in for an information event. There is always someone who leaves on such a night, because it’s something different than what they expected. We always try to prepare them well, so they know what it is about. After that you might get invited to a personal interview, and then you are ready for the training course” (Interview D:1)

This recruitment procedure is similar at Headspace, where the handbook in details explains a recruitment procedure of 7 steps where employees and experienced volunteers evaluate the applications through a ‘star system’, which assess the applicant’s; motivation, relevant education, relevant professional experience and ‘something extra’ that proves relevant competences (Document B). A structured recruitment procedure is also initiated by BPU who has their own HR team. BPU is implementing similar practices of recruitment rounds for the volunteer facilitators of their Networking groups, in an attempt to find the best candidates, and further provide the best service for their users. But also to attract the best candidates by offering them professional development, which the HR team predicts has a motivational contribution too (Document Z). For the first time BPU has turned down a potential volunteer as explained by the HR volunteer:
“We had the case with Sille - a young girl who wanted to be a facilitator. She has been here a few times for the common meetings - but she doesn’t have any role in BPU yet, because we cannot have her as a facilitator. She is too immature. And we have to be honest about it, and it can be hard to turn someone down. But it’s these little things that makes it possible for us to call ourselves a professional and volunteer-driven organization” (Interview H:3).

Further the formal introduction, whether it is an interview or an introduction evening, also gives the potential volunteer a chance to evaluate if this job is something they would like to volunteer for. Hence the formal recruitment procedure is not only for the advantage of the organization, but also the candidate (Interview D, H).

Findings show that the formal procedure is not always the one that is being practiced in reality. Headspace Rødøvre has found is useful to recruit on an ongoing basis and further, as mentioned in dimension 3 about social control, they have many different kinds of volunteers, and try to make them fit in to the service. This differs from the formal procedure outlined in the handbook:

“We do it in a different way. We do it on an on-going basis if we get some interesting applications. We have two interviews next week. We could use some more men, so if we get 2 candidates which are really good we take them in” (Interview G:2).

Further BPU also recruits on an on-going basis, where it happens that the friends of volunteers become part of the organization. Usually they are invited to the monthly common meeting, where they can experience if the organization is something for them. Afterwards they will join a project group, and find their place in the organization (Document Ag). Referring to findings in dimension 1 of a low level of authority, where there exist no employees, and a volunteer is able to shape his or her own position, an ability to be self-directed is much appreciated in BPU. This falls in line with Rothschild-Whitt’s observation on collectivist organizations where: “Personality attributes that are seen as congruent with the collectivist mode of organization, such as self-directive and collaborative styles, also may be consciously sought in new staff” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 514).

These two examples also confirm that the organizations actually use a mix of both bureaucratic and collectivist practices in recruitment. For the tasks where certain criteria, such as professionalism, age or experience must be met, the organizations might stick to the formal
procedure. For other tasks they go around the procedure and recruit on an informal basis.

At Sind Skive they also recruit on an on-going basis, using word of mouth or putting an advertisement in the local newspaper if necessary (Interview E). At the moment they are not in lack of volunteers. The manager explains that they have recently initiated a project that includes the users as volunteers, which has the aim of empowering them to get a feeling of being useful for certain tasks in the house, such as covering a shift in the opening hours. This is also one of the missions of the whole Sind organization, because it is believed that the performance of a volunteer job can improve the situation for a psychologically vulnerable, and therefore there is a job for everyone in Sind (Document Bd). However the manager face difficulties in this and questions if she should set some standards on what she can demand from a volunteer:

“They (the volunteers) do not take responsibility, e.g. they do not inform me if they are not coming. Sometimes we talk about being stricter, but it is difficult if there are no project funds for it. It causes us some problems. It's hard to be frustrated about it, when we do not have time to make the things we need to do, because someone is just sitting in the corner and staring, because they do. But it gives them value and that's the aim of it. It can be difficult for people to come here the first time. It's a little easier if you can get permission to do something voluntarily, then you get a shift per week and the rest of the time you can come here as a regular user. But when are you then one or the other? We got these name tags to wear when you are on duty, then visitors and users can tell who is working.

Maybe I should be better at saying no to someone, tell them that we cannot use them. But I have never done so because I just thought that people should contribute with what they can. I'm not so good at refusing someone. Some of the more resourceful volunteers have sometimes asked me: ‘can we really use them for something?’ Perhaps I'm starting to tighten up slowly. But I just believe it is such a failure to people, when they come here and offers their help and then we say: ‘Well, you are not good enough’ (Interview E:4)

This quote indicate that when the manager of the center sticks to the mission of Sind, she faces some organizing problems, because she cannot count on the volunteers and have faith in them taking the responsibilities she assigns them to. This puts her in a dilemma where she reflects on the usage of other practices, however they contradicts the mission.

Concerning advancement, findings from Livslinien show that there are two different ranks of volunteers. They are divided into groups, with each their own team leader, who is responsible for having the volunteers in the group cover certain shifts, and further the team leader is invited to
two annual team leader meetings (Interview D). BPU also has different positional ranks among the volunteers. Firstly, as mentioned in dimension 1, the board of directors, and further rankings as project managers who are in charge of the project group are also used. There are no criteria for becoming a team leader, a project manager, or member of the board, thus advancement is not based on skills or experience, but more on engagement. For Sind and Headspace, the volunteers are all on the same level. This indicates that there are little or no advancement possibilities for the volunteers, however, it might be that a volunteer qualifies for a paid job in the organization, which happened for the professional consultant at Livslinien (Interview D) and further the founders of BPU who are now employees by Bedre Psykiatri, ‘the mother organization’ (Document N).

On the basis of these findings the following indicators are given:

Figur 5  **Dimension 5 - Recruitment and Advancement**

The organizations placed on the bureaucratic side of the continuum tend to follow their formal recruitments procedures. Headspace Rødovre recruits on an ongoing basis which differs from what is written in the handbook. BPU is placed on the collectivist side of the continuum, because they have not yet fully implemented the formal practices, but wish to do so in the future. Until then, volunteers involve their personal network when in need of new volunteers. Sind Skive practices the word-of-mouth recruitment when they are in need of volunteers (Interview E), which places them on the far left of the continuum. Even though some case organizations uses more informal procedures for recruitment where they neglect criteria of competences and selects volunteers on a friendship basis, Rothschild-Whitt (1979) points at evidence that shows that collectivist organizations often attract highly qualified people, thus the formal recruitment procedure is not a security for finding the right volunteer.
5.6 Dimension 6 - Incentives

In the case organizations the incentives of the volunteers are very close the collectivist side of the continuum because none of the volunteers receive monetary incentives to do work for the organization. Thus their incentive is based those of non-material origin. As explained earlier, the motivation for working voluntarily is driven by ‘an urge to make a difference’, stated by the report on ‘The Volunteer Social Contribution’, which relates to the incentive of working for a purpose. The motivation is also driven by values, which might stem from personal experience such as; being a relative to a psychologically vulnerable, a relative of someone who committed suicide, or an experience of dealing with illness in the past. All examples of values and experiences which relate to the solidarity incentive. Findings also imply that the young volunteers also volunteer to get professional experience and because of the social relations, these are also non-material, thus all case organizations are placed in the far left side of the continuum, where the incentives are based on practices of the collectivist organization.

5.7 Dimension 7 – Social Stratification

Looking only at the volunteers of the case organizations, they are quit equal in matters of job tasks and positions in the organizational hierarchy, thus findings indicates that the social stratification of all case organization relates to the collectivist practices. If we include the paid employees of the organizations, and return to the findings of dimension 1, there is hierarchy in the organizations where employees and board of directors are placed above volunteers. This can imply that there is a sort of prestige in being member of the board, or becoming an employee after being a volunteer, however none of my data indicates that this is case. Therefore I place all case organizations to the collectivist side on the continuum, stating that the organizational
members of the volunteer organizations in general are quite equal, when it comes to social stratification.

5.8 Dimension 8 - Differentiation

The last dimension deals with division of labor and specialization of jobs. The bureaucracy practices a maximal division of labor and specialization, where the collectivist practices minimal division of labor and a generalization of job functions (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). To study this dimension I have examined the functions that the volunteers occupy in the organization. I have limited this dimension to only focusing on the volunteers and not the paid employees. I justify this limitation by arguing that the number of volunteers exceeds the amount of employed personal by large in all case organizations.

There is a tendency, in the organizations that have paid employees, that the job functions for the volunteers are very limited or very well defined. The best examples of this are Livslinien and Sind CPH. In both of these cases the volunteers can have two different kinds of functions. At Sind CPH, they are divided in two groups; the psychologists – most of them professionals, who perform one-on-one counseling or group counseling at the center, and another group of volunteers, mostly psychology students, who maintain the national counseling hotline. All other tasks like administration, PR, accounting, supervising etc. are maintained by 2 paid employees and 3 interns. In total Sind CPH have 23 volunteers (Interview F).

Livslinien also has a sharp differentiation between volunteer functions, where they can engage two kinds of functions; either online-counseling or telephone counseling. Besides being an online
or telephone counselor, one can also take on the team leader position. Further, selected volunteers also hold lectures about Livslinien and being a volunteer there. Tasks of fundraising, PR, statistics, financing, supervising, recruitment etc. are done by the employees (Interview E).

Headspace also has a limited primary function for their volunteers as counselors, however they can also have other tasks as explained by the manager of Horsens:

“We have a social committee that takes care of the social events. We have an introduction committee who are involved in the selection of new volunteers and who introduces and teaches them about how to be a volunteer here. Then we have an ambassador committee, who talks about in the public when there is a chance. For example, we have been twice down ‘The Cube’. They have something like a ‘late night’ once and awhile. They are the three committees we have. Well we also have a committee who is responsible for inviting interesting people to give lectures in the house” (Interview C:4).

In Headspace Rødovre they have volunteers that perform other tasks than that of counseling, which was also mentioned in a quote from Dimension 3. Here they have a ‘kitchen lady’, an electrician and a carpenter who can help with maintaining the house, and further they have a young girl who can help with updating their social media platforms (Interview G). In Sind Skive, the volunteers cover the shifts in the opening hours, have kitchen duties or arrange social events and lectures (Interview E). In BPU volunteers occupy all the tasks of the organization within the fields of: communication, facilitating networking groups, HR tasks, accounting and arranging social events (Document Ay) and therefore the volunteer jobs are somewhat differentiated, however the volunteers tend to rotate between them. As mentioned in Dimension 5 new recruitment processes have been initiated with requirements of specialization.

According to these findings, the case organization are placed as follows:

Figur 8  

**Dimension 8 - Differentiation**

Bureaucratic practice  
Hybrid  
Collectivist practice

Livslinien  
Headspace Horsens  
Headspace Rødovre  
Headspace Ay  
Sind CPH  
Sind Skive  
BPU
Livslinien and Sind CPH have well-defined functions for their volunteer workforce which requires specialization, thus they are organized to more bureaucratic practices. Headspace’s volunteers also have a primary function as counselors, but they can also assist in other functions which do not require specialization thus they are placed more towards the middle of the continuum. Here Sind Skive is also placed to the collectivist side because their functions do not require specialization, although they have limited volunteer functions because the employees maintain many of the daily tasks. BPU is placed on the right side of the continuum because the volunteers tend to rotate between many tasks. Again the arrow indicates that they wish to move more to the left and bureaucratic side of the continuum.

5.9 Concluding Analysis Part I

The analysis above shows that among the selected case organizations there is a variety of organizational practices, where Livslinien, Sind Copenhagen, and Headspace, stand out as organizations that are organized according to more bureaucratic practices than collectivist. They demand specific tasks and specific working hours from their volunteers like any other employer, however there are no signs of overorganizing. According to managers, volunteers are satisfied with the frames given, which balances the organizing efforts and enables the volunteers to provide the best service for their users.

The volunteers in these organizations also need certain professional backgrounds, which enhances the quality of the service and which further demands professional organizational practices. In many ways these organizations are very professional, but what characterize them as volunteer organizations is the volunteer workforce and their motivations to volunteer, which are based on the more collectivist practices concerning social relation, social control, and solidarity incentives. Scott (2003) would note that these organizations are goal specific and structured, thus they become more efficient when keeping the bureaucratic practices intact. Therefore I claim that they are professional volunteer organizations. In this matter, it is important to note that Livslinien and Sind CPH are old organizations, that over the years have grown, both in numbers of volunteers and amount of funding. They also started as small initiatives like BPU. Rothschild-Whitt (1979) suggests that growing organizations automatically will formalize when they...
encounter underorganizing problems, and this has probably also been the case for Livslinien and Sind CPH in the past.

Among these professional organizations Headspace is an atypical example, because they were born with both voluntariness and professionalism from day one. Recalling the introduction, they are also funded and managed on different terms, where the interest organization ‘The Social Network’ is their governing organ, they cooperate closely with the municipalities and they are funded as a project lasting for 2 years.

The more collectivist practices are found in BPU and Sind Skive, who seems to be less professional. And this is not a negative attribute, as long as it falls in line with the goal of the organization. Sind Skive demands something less specific of a volunteer, namely a demand that is only based on the volunteer’s engagement and personal values rather than professional background. The service of Sind Skive, is also radically different from the other case organizations, where a professional service is not the purpose of the place. In general their organizational practices match their goals.

BPU performs on average mostly collectivist practices, which especially relates to their level of authority. However BPU’s main service, the networking groups, demands specific competences from the volunteer facilitators and further rules on how to provide the service. These formalized rules are none existence, and the low level of authority calls for management. In some ways, BPU seems to be under-organized (Chen, 2009) according to their goals. This will be elaborated in Analysis Part II.

A picture of the general dimension, taking all dimensions into account shows that the organizations are placed in the ‘hybrid area’, because they mix the bureaucratic and collectivist practices and become ‘hybrid organizations’. However Livslinien and Sind CPH are more to bureaucratic side, while Sind Skive and BPU are more to collectivist side of the continuum.

Figur 9   General indicator
5.9.1 Reflections on findings

In general I find it surprising that the volunteer case organizations in broad terms are managed very professionally, which especially is the case of Livslinien, Sind CPH and Headspace, and is becoming more evident at the secretariat of Sind and in BPU. In regards to this I must underline that the analysis and the indicators on the continuum are given in a comparison of the case organizations own context. If I compared them with other organizations, e.g. some that are not volunteer based, the indicators might look different. But it verifies to some extent a general assumption about volunteer organizations as more professionally driven.

The usage of handbooks, which takes the form of written guidelines, secure the knowledge sharing and service standards which is especially needed when an organization expand in numbers of volunteers or geographically. Therefore Headspace have been very keen on producing these formalized instruments prior to their opening, thus I argue that they are born with professionalism, which also relates to the fact that they are born with the principles of co-creation, and has a strong relationship to the municipalities as mentioned in the introduction.

Concerning the dimension of social relation, I find it interesting that younger volunteers favor the ability to get professional experience higher than achieving social relations. Not that the social relations are of no value to the volunteers, but findings indicates that it is secondary. On the dimensions of social control and incentives, I argue that the case organizations are towards the collectivist side, depending on moral appeals and solidarity incentives, which I find obvious because they are volunteer based. I believe these dimensions are what clearly differentiate them from non-volunteer organizations.

About recruitment practices I also identify that this is done in a very professional manner in most
case organizations, which relates to the fact that they seek volunteers who have special qualifications that can preserve a certain level in the service they provide. However Sind Skive is contradicting this professional tendency because they do not provide a professional offer to psychologically vulnerable, but maintain their value of being a ‘meeting place’ with openness, and therefore they go against the tendency of professionalism among the case organization in my study, a point that will be elaborated in Analysis Part III

5.9.2 Reflections on method and theory

Concerning the dimension of authority the approach to studying this matter might not be sufficient, because I have not been part of the daily activities in the organizations except for BPU. Therefore I must stay humble to the analysis according to this, because authority cannot be identified by simply looking at an organizational diagram, or assuming that the employees have authority because they are paid workers. I refer to Meyer & Rowans (1977) point about decoupling; an organizational diagram can signify the formalized structures, but is might not be the internal practice of the organization.

The same kind of trouble I identify in relation to the usage of handbooks, where I can verify that they have them, but how they are actually used by the volunteers I cannot conclude upon, since I have not included these actors in my research design. This limitation in my method is a critical point to my study, which also affects the matters on social relation and social stratification. In an effort to improve this criticism I could have conducted interviews or focus groups with volunteers. I have actively decided to use the chosen method, where I have been participating in one case organization and further visited and interviewed employees from the other case organizations. By doing this, I can perspectives from multiple organizations which allows me to study other things than the internal practices, and turn to the institutional processes which I will proceed to in Analysis part III.

Concerning the used theory I identify trouble with placing the empirical findings in ‘boxes’ as I have done throughout this first part of the analysis. By doing so, I limit the written structure to only discuss the topic that relates to the dimension. According to this, I miss a theoretical answer to how a collectivist organization practices knowledge sharing. Some may argue that this can be
found in the dimension concerning rules, where the rules of the collectivist organization are
directed by: “ [...] some calculability, possible in the basis of knowing the substantive ethics
involved in the situation” (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p. 519). But in my opinion there is a problem
with this practice when the organization chooses to expand, and this can also verify the fact that
they naturally become more formalized as they grow (Chen, 2009) (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).
However the intention with this structure is to illustrate how the different case organizations
organize and I find the framework useful in this matter.

In relation to my methodology, it has also been difficult to identify consequences of under-
or overorganizing in all the case organizations, because I found it useful to have historic data to
make comments on this subject. Therefore I have made a separated analysis which only concerns
BPU and will focus on their consequences of underorganizing.

6 Analysis Part II: Consequences of underorganizing in BPU

Recalling the conclusion of part I, BPU is in general organized by collectivist practices. Because
of my own involvement in this case organization, I have a great amount of data that can provide a
basis for more in-depth study which also includes a wider time horizon. In this analysis I will turn
to Chen’s (2009) possible outcomes of underorganizing and explain how these consequences
have come into play in the organization of BPU. The data for this analysis is found in observation
from various meeting and documents on minutes from board meetings. The consequences that I
am referring to revolves around a specific project, therefore I have been looking at the project
description, including evaluations criteria, and further the financial statement and final evaluation
of the project.

“If members underorganize, their organization does not have enough structures, such
as designated rules, positions, or procedures, or enough coordination to support
members’ efforts” (Chen, 2009, p. 3).

As mentioned in the introduction of BPU, the rather small volunteer organization has managed to
receive funds from the National Health Board, for a 2 year project which was initiated in June
2012 and ended in June 2014. The project included an expansion of the organization and the
production of magazines, short movies, flyers and events. Further the project had a focus on the
improvement of the volunteer’s well-being (Document N). The funding made it possible to hire an employee on a consultancy basis of 10 hours per week for a whole year. The consultant’s primary job was the establishment of new local branches, while the other parts of the project were driven by volunteers.

A recent evaluation of the project concludes:

“The project manager for the theme magazines has stopped as a volunteer at the release of second magazine. He found that he was very much alone with the project and had a hard time motivating his group of volunteers. Here it may be mentioned that all the writers from theme magazines have not continued their volunteer work for the organization. The graphic artists who were part of the project are still attached to the organization.

The project managers for movie production experienced the same problem as above. The work on the short movies involved a heavy workload and the project team was demotivated. Eventually, it was only the project managers who worked actively with the project. One of the project managers stopped as a volunteer for the organization upon completion of the project. Her motivation for volunteering was to get professional experience as a psychologist, which she did not feel she got in her current position. The other members of the group are still in contact with the organization, but are currently not active. The second project manager continued her work in the BPU.

Further the employed Coordinator of the local branches has also experienced lack of direction and leadership from the national Board of Directors. She found it difficult to gain support from the board members because none of them had experience in the field. Therefore she turned to the mother organization. She experience that the board were none existent, and did not reply to her problems, especially about how to motivate the new volunteers to form a formal local board. They felt insecure in doing so, because they knew that the coordinator was only hired for the rest of the year, and they needed more support than that.

The organization has learned that there has been a lack of direction and leadership of the project, which has created a very negative impact because it actually has demotivated the volunteers who have experienced an excessive workload. This was in particular not the intention of the project, and it paints a picture of the BPU not being able to meet the demands for such a project in its current situation” (Document Bc).

The case points at various sources of underorganizing which in particular points to a general problem of a vanished leadership which did not support the volunteer project managers or the hired coordinator in their efforts. Recalling Dimension 1 on authority, the level of authority in
BPU is very low. Further information about previous recruitment and advancement procedures (Dimension 5) shows that this has been done on an informal basis, where self-directive and engagement serves as a personal attribute that can give members authority – hence they can become members of the board, or be in charge of leading projects - without having proved that they are composed of the right competences for doing so. The crucial outcome of the poor leadership practices was the termination of many volunteer’s engagement with the organization.

Without blaming personal efforts in completing the project, I identify two sources of underorganizing which challenged the organizational performance. Firstly, the role of the board in supporting the project was not clearly defined. When looking at the minutes from board meeting in the spring of 2013, the role of the board has been questioned many times. Both according to this specific project, but also in general. (Document Af). Since the board served as the highest authority in the organization, it implies that they have the necessary competences and designated roles to support the coordinator and project managers. According to the coordinator this was not the case (Observation K). She further explains that in the fall of 2013, the board did not meet regularly they had trouble coordination meeting dates, which explain why no minutes were recorded in this period (Document Af). The remaining board members became bystanders of the project while the president took on the whole responsibility of managing the project and the organization as a whole. However the workload became too much for the president as well, and in the end he chose to resign before his term had ended (Document Ag). A consequence of unclear decision-making policies and diffuse of accountability led to masked hegemony (Chen, 2009), where control is exercised by one person. Chen (2009) predicts that’s masked hegemony can have two outcomes; it allows for abuse to proliferate, where members of the organization control each other too much, but it can also hasten personal burnout. In this case there are no sign of the president being too controlling, actually the opposite occurred and he had to let go of his position (Document Ag).

Another source of underorganizing involves the recruitment process of the paid coordinator. A procedure which was done informally, where an internal project manager and former member of the board was chosen on behalf of her previous success with managing the local branch in Odense (Observation K). It is my interpretation that the social relation among her and the board members made it difficult for the board to exercise power over her function, and the board had no
control of her work in matters of documenting the hours she spend and her on-going output (Observation K). What Chen refers to as Privileged informal relations (Chen 2009) made it probable that problems were neglected because the actors did not want to ruin their social relations. With the identification of BPU being an organization based on many collectivist practices, the informal recruitment procedure and subsequent expectation voting and roles designation was not formally performed for this job. This does not imply that the coordinator did not have the right competences for the job, but there were missing parts of the recruitment procedure, which could have solved the problem of relying on social relations. If a formal recruitment procedure was initiated, the board would have reflected on which competences were needed for the position, an reflection that also incorporated reflections on their own lack of competences, and searched for these competences internally and external of the organization to find the right candidate. When finding the right candidate, the formal procedure would also demand the actors to sign an agreement which stated the expectations of each part, and thereby clarify the designated roles.

These examples of underorganizing have resulted in a project that did not meet the expected goals, especially with the attention to the expansion project and the improvement of volunteer’s well-being. Moreover the act of underorganizing can also lead to financial problems for the organization, since the project has been funded by the National Health Board, who expects to see some results. In this matter, a large portion of the funds were allocated for the salary of the coordinator, thus the money are already spend (Document Bd). As of today, the organization is waiting for a response on the final evaluation of the project, which will state if the organization should return some of the funding. The worst case scenario of such an outcome could terminate the organizations existence

Reflecting on the experience of the process for the above mentioned project, the board has chosen to strategically focus on the local branches and services they already have, and initiated an organizational development project in the spring of 2014 (Observation B). I interpret this is done in an effort to enhance the efficiency of organization and limit the misunderstandings, because with the lack of; “[…] structures such as specified guidelines, goals, or a division of labor, members my dissipate efforts on endless discussions of who they are as a collective, what they want to achieve, and how to accomplish aims” (Chen, 2009, p. 13). This indicates that
organization has realized that in an effort to accomplish the organizational goals, they will need more formalization and usage of bureaucratic practices, which is also identified by the HR volunteer:

“It is my impression that times are changing in BPU. Before it has exclusively been controlled by – ‘hey I have a good idea!’ – and then you have been allowed to run with the idea, almost completely unreflective. It has been going like this for some time, but now we want the organization to be professional. And if you professionalize an organization, I think you must manage the processes, the ideas and the good commitment. And that’s where I believe you have to control the spirit of volunteerism, otherwise it will be chaos” (Interview H:3).

However, the organizational members must be aware that such professionalization efforts can also trigger the opposite outcome of underorganizing – namely overorganizing. Chen (2009) points to outcomes of depleated meaning, where she explains that; “Bureaucratic practices can serve as enabling tolls for reaching desired goals. But when backed by coercive control, bureaucratic practices can become ends in themselves” (Chen, 2009, p. 16). Therefore the decision makers of BPU, regardless of whether it is the board of directors or project managers, must be able to recognize the organizational practices that should be balanced to either bureaucratic practices, or collectivist practices or a mix of both, in order to achieve the organizational goals.

7 Analysis Part III

The second part of the analysis continues upon the findings from Part I by explaining why a certain organizing practice is being adopted. Initially I will look at the organizational field of the case organizations which illustrates their environment. Because the case organizations operate within the same volunteer sector, and ‘produce’ a similar service, they all share the same organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). When explaining the organizational field I will draw on empirical findings which can illustrate a social structure in the institutional environment (Scott, 2003a) and how the three drivers for isomorphic change; coercive-, mimetic- and normative isomorphism are present (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). While analyzing this I will comment on how the rational institutional myths create certain organizing practices and argue how these practices can be decoupled from the formal structures (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).
7.1 Picturing the Organizational field

Recalling DiMaggio and Powell (1983) the organizational field of the case organizations is constructed by the actors that are involved in the ‘institutional life’. The organizational field also relates to what Meyer & Rowan (1977) identifies as an origin of rational institutional myth, where the ideas of the elaboration of complex relation network will unfold as well. I will show that the main categories of actors can be identified as; funding, partners and public sector. In Figure 10 further details of these categories provide the picture of the organizational field of the case organizations. The details are found through observations from the data and the illustrated actors cover the organizational field of this study only.

Placed in the middle are the case organizations, surrounded by ‘The social network’, an interest organization that supports the case organizations by creating an informal network where they can...
collaborate to solve challenges for youngsters and the psychologically vulnerable (DetSocialeNetværk, 2014). As mentioned earlier, The Social Network has recently developed its own volunteer organization, Headspace. Another ‘product’ of the Social Network is the annual psychiatric conference, where anyone interested in the field; volunteer organizations, politicians, professionals, psychologically vulnerable, their relatives etc., are invited in to discuss the current issues. The Social Network and their activities unite the volunteer organizations of the psychiatric field, wherein the case organizations of this study also belong. This formal network will make up an organizational field of similar organizations, however there are even more organizations in the field.

Looking at ‘partners’ side of the organizational field, we find the organizations that the volunteers collaborate with, a collaboration that does not depended on monetary incentives. Here other local volunteer organizations within the social sector is found. These organizations might also be a member of the Social Network. In the case of Headspace, they wish to collaborate with the local organizations that are present in the local area of their centers. These are among others Red Cross, TUBA, Ventilen and Financial counseling (Interview A, C, G). Further sports clubs, commercial as well as volunteered, are organizations with whom they arrange various activities, as mentioned by Sind Skive (Interview E). Local schools and universities are also partners, from where the users can be guided towards the organizations through student counseling. Further potential volunteers can also be guided from here. Especially Livslinien, Headspace, Sind Copenhagen and BPU are in close contact with educational institutions (Interview G, D, F, H).

Professional health care organizations, like general practicioners and psychiatric units organized by the regions are also potential partners, where potential users of the service might appear. Here OPUS, psychiatric centers and residences for psychologically vulnerable are organizations that relates to the organizational field, in a manner that also creates social structures of normative and cognitive cultural origin, because these collaborations are not legally sanctioned, but governed by shared understandings and moral (Scott, 2003a). As an example Sind Copenhagen mentioned that they have just started an initiative of collaborating with the residence Thorupgaard, a residence for those who have previously been admitted to the psychiatric departments (Interview F). Further the usage of public ambassadors, who advocates the cause of the organization are also ‘organizations’ that impose social pressures in the field. As mentioned by Sind (Interview A),
they widely use celebrities in their campaigns and have her Royal Highness, crown princess Mary as patron I argue that these collaboration are also build on normative structures, where the personal values of these ambassadors are reflected in those of the organization (Scott, 2003a).

Placed in the middle are the case organizations, surrounded by ‘The social network’, an interest organization that supports the case organizations by creating an informal network where the organizations can collaborate to solve challenges for youngsters and the psychologically vulnerable (DetSocialeNetværk, 2014). As mentioned earlier, The Social Network has recently developed its own volunteer organization, Headspace. Another ‘product’ of the Social Network, is the annual psychiatric conference, where anyone interested in the field; volunteer organizations, politicians, professionals, psychologically vulnerable, their relatives etc., are invited in to discuss the current issues. The Social Network and their activities unite the volunteer organizations of the psychiatric field, wherein the case organizations of this study also belong. This formal network will make up an organizational field of similar organizations, however there are even more organizations in the field.

7.2 Regulative structures through law enforcement

Regulative structures are enforced by laws, rules, surveillance and sanctions, and is one of Scott’s (2003a) social structures that the organization must comply to gain legitimacy. I will turn to the regulative structures of law enforcement by the government, and explain how the case organizations comply through their organizing practices.

An example that illustrates how the case organizations must comply with the law, is the need for professionals in the providing counseling for minors. Headspace complies with this, by having professional psychologists, social workers and educators employed at their centers, who supervise the volunteers. This regulative structure imposes some effects on how the volunteer organization must hire professionals, which creates a hierarchy of authority and can explain the adaptation of more bureaucratic practices in the organization as referred to in Dimension 1 above.

Observed in the analysis above, the employment of professionals is an organizing practice
performed by all organizations except BPU. In the case of BPU, they have come around the law enforcement by having a clear age limitation for their networking groups. Therefore they can only service youngsters of 18 and above, and still have non-professionals, like students, facilitating the groups.

7.3 **Normative isomorphism through funds**

A crucial element of the volunteer organizations’ existence is the funds, from which the organizations receive money that pay for their expenses. These organizations do not have ‘customers’ who pay for their product or service, but they service ‘users’ free of charge. A major item on the expenditure side of the budget is the salary for employees, as it is observed in the annual report of Livslinien (Livslinien, 2012). Funding is received from several sources. As illustrated in Figure 10 there are the ministries, who manages several special allocations; ‘SATS-pulje-midler’, ‘PUF-midler’ and lottery funds. Also in the public sector, we find the European Union, and the municipality who funds local initiatives through ‘§ 18-funding’ for social volunteer work. Among the private funds we find the larger ones; Tryg Fonden, A.P. Møller Mærsk Fonden, Nordea Fonden, Velux Fonden, Den Obelske Familie Fond to name a few. They are large, in the sense that they fund large amounts of money, put also large, in the sense that they have a great amount of power, which creates some regulatory structures (Scott, 2003a) of the institutional environment, because they impose some rules and evaluation criteria, on which the funding is received. There are also several smaller funds, smaller in the sense that they fund smaller amounts of money, and have few or no evaluation criteria for receiving funds. Private sources of funding are also companies and private individuals who donate money, or become a paid member of the organization, these are in general the creators of more normative structures (Scott, 2003a). They cannot directly sanction the organizations, but their willingness to support the organization builds upon their anticipation that the organization spends the funds wisely, according to social norms.

I argue that the funds create coercive and normative isomorphism because they can set some criteria for receiving funds, e.g. they might want evidence on what the money is used for. In the project mentioned in Analysis part II, the National Health Board asses the project application according to how the organization wants to evaluate the project. On this matter BPU had revised
their initial application (Document Bf) and stated that they will improve the volunteers’ job satisfaction by making annual satisfaction surveys, further they will improve the development plans by conducting job appraisal interviews with project managers on an annual basis. Such evaluation criteria thus call for some formalization of the organizing practices. This is also identified by the Organizational Consultant at Sind, who wrote a proposal to the board of directors stating that Sind needs a volunteer policy because:

“As the public Denmark wish to formalize the cooperation with the civil society, it demands higher requirements for associations dealing with voluntary work. Associations like Ældresagen, Hjerteforeningen and Livslinien have for several years worked on developing a framework that supports their voluntary work, which both makes it attractive to be a volunteer in these associations while providing the cooperation partners and / or private foundations a guarantee of quality in the performance of volunteer efforts” (Document D:1).

This statement highlights several isomorphic tendencies. I argue that the ‘framework’, which was also identified by the consultant at Livslinien in Dimension 1 above, deals with creating structures and formalization – i.e. professionalization. These structures enable the volunteer work and are practices that relate to those of the bureaucracy (Chen, 2009). This structure is needed for cooperating with partners and foundations, because the formalization can guarantee the quality. According to DiMaggio & Powell (1983) this structuration may proceed rapidly in the voluntary sector, because collusion do not exist.

In this I identify the appearance of a normative mechanism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) where the organizations in the field gain legitimacy by becoming professional. This then turn to mimetic isomorphism (ibid.), because they tend to look at how other organizations become professional, in this case the organizational consultant identifies Ældresagen, Hjerteforeningen and Livslinien, as some who have developed a framework that they should be inspired by. This point I will follow in the next chapter.

7.4 Mimetic isomorphism through inspiration and vocabulary

The mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) appears as a standard response, when the organization faces uncertainty. The organization will then look at how another organization has dealt with a problem, and copy their solution. An example that illustrates this isomorphic trend is
how Livslinien was highlighted as a successful volunteer organization, by professionals in Headspace and Sind:

“Sind is really old. It is a patchwork and very anarchistic. I see an organization like Livslinien, as a new organization. They are really talented. They are born into a completely different way of thinking about professionalization” (Interview B: 1)

When looking for solutions to organizing issues, this example and the quote from the section above, shows that the volunteer organizations turn to ‘colleagues’ in their organizational field to gain inspiration. The mimetic trends that I can identify are the use of volunteer policies, handbooks and the development of an internal educational program. Organizing practices concerning these matters are done very well by Livslinien who adopts more bureaucratic practices which was also concluded in Part I of the analysis. Further Livslinien has managed to gain a stable source of funding from the government, and this can also be reason why similar volunteer organizations wish to copy their organizing practices. This supports the idea of DiMaggio and Powell: “Government recognition of key firms or organizations through the grant or contract process may give these organizations legitimacy and visibility and lead competing firms to copy aspects of their structure or operating procedures in hope of obtaining similar rewards” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 153).

Another example that proves the mechanism of mimetic isomorphism, but also links to that of the normative isomorphism or normative structures (Scott, 2003a), is the creation of a common vocabulary as noted by DiMaggio & Powell (1983). In recent times the term ‘psychologically vulnerable’ has replaced the term ‘mental ill’, coining the name for a diseased person. It is now widely used by the organizations and has become the norm to use, because the later has a negative sound which can be misunderstood as a disease that will never disappear.

### 7.5 Decoupling from normative isomorphism

DiMaggio & Powell (1983) argues that normative isomorphism can be identified in the professionalization of certain organizing practices e.g. recruitment processes. Turning back to the findings of Dimension 5 in the Analysis Part I, I confirmed that Livslinien, Sind CPH, Headspace are using very formalized recruitment processes, which is also initiated by BPU. However I also learned that Headspace Rødovre have used other recruitment practices where some volunteers
were not giving counseling, but occupying other tasks of maintaining the house and cook for the young users of the place (Interview G). In this way the management of Headspace Rødovre ‘ignores’ the formalized practice through ‘decoupling’ (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) which enables them take into account practical considerations of keeping the house. I will argue that this act also reflects the ability of balancing over- and underorganizing to discourage intensified overorganizing, where rules becomes too controlling and ruins the performance of the organization (Chen, 2009).

7.6 Influencing the institutional environment

Recalling the findings from Analysis Part I, Sind Skive draw on more collectivist practices, because the service of the house has a less professional attribute, and therefore they require less from the volunteers in terms of qualifications. Even though their colleagues in the organizational field turn to more bureaucratic practices, they stay in a different direction. This way of ‘overruling’ the institutional structures can be explained by one of Meyer & Rowan’s (1977) origin of rational institutional myths, where the leadership efforts of the local organization can be active in shaping the institutional context. The manager from Sind Skive explains:

“We have been fortunate to sit in some committees; the district council and psychiatric council. But to get recognized by the established system is very difficult. The other institutions think we do not belong there. But it is changing because it is a different spirit that has grown in the past 20 years, now volunteerism is of more value. But it is also because you must save money – it goes hand in hand - it's not only fine words about volunteerism. But it costs to save money saving too. It must be remembered. Therefore the municipality of Skive decided to close Ådalens Café (the municipality offer). We've got a lot of new people up here, but one could well imagine how the staff down there thinks about us. That we as a volunteer place have surpassed. Those who have always had the best and the biggest offer” (Interview E:6)

This incident confirms that Sind Skive has influenced the institutional environment by attempting to build their goals and procedures into the society as institutional rules (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). For 20 years, the manager has driven ‘The meeting Place’ in Skive, and through involvement in politics become recognized as a legitimate offer for the psychologically vulnerable, an offer based on openness, voluntariness, non-professional and non-governmental. Today the public offer in the municipality has closed and this must be the ultimate recognition of the voluntary
offer, and it legitimizes their approach to the psychologically vulnerable.

7.7 Public policies on co-creation with the voluntary world

In the organizational field I also identify the ‘Volunteer Council’, established in 2012 and governed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The Volunteer Council develops policies and advises the government about the role of the volunteer sector’s effort in improving social challenges (Frivilligrådet, 2014a). In 2013 they renewed the ‘Charter for interaction between the volunteer world and the public sector’ in an effort to highlight that the volunteer world should be recognized on the political agenda. In this charter the aim of cooperation is defined as:

*The volunteer world and the public sector have a joint responsibility to define clear goals for cooperation and to ensure that efforts are of value to the individual and society. The volunteer world that receives public subsidies is entitled to and ought to set out the values, goals and framework of its work based on the democratic processes in the associations and among volunteers*” (Frivilligrådet, Volunteer Charter, 2013, p. 4)

In 2014 the Volunteer Council published an ‘Idea Catalog’ where the public sector and the volunteer world can find inspiration on how to incorporate the strategic policies into practical cooperation (Frivilligrådet, 2014b). In this matter I will analyze how such a policy is institutionalized and on which terms.

A policy is not law enforced and cannot be legally sanctioned, furthermore it does not take on a rule-like form, thus it cannot be identified as part of the *regulative structures* (Scott, 2003a). Through my case material, I cannot confirm any evidence on how the actual co-creation takes place in practice. I can confirm that the case organizations receive money from ministries and municipalities, but how they interact in defining clear goals is invisible in my data. All case organization of this study, except Headspace, receives ‘§18-funds’ from the municipality. In general this source of founding is appreciated by volunteer organization, because municipality does not need an exhaustive project description to receive the money and further they can be allocation for ‘general operations’ (Interview F). However the organization’s activities must be targeted to the citizens of the municipality, thus they cannot be allocated for national activities (ibid.). The manager from Sind CPH explains that his place is only financed through the funds from the municipality. He provides the municipality with some statistics on their users and
interacts with them when he is invited in as a professional mentor to discuss certain matters of the psychiatric field. However he has not experience that the municipality is in particular interest of cooperation. He gives the impression that ‘they just send the money’ because Sind has gain much legitimacy in the organizational field. This impression I identify in particular in the follow interview sequence:

I: What do you think about the future? Would the municipality keep on giving you this bag of money?
K: yes they would
I: without interacting too much?
K: yes. Are you asking why? (points to the Sind logo in the window)

Drawing on the results from Analysis Part I, Sind CPH was one of the ‘professional organized’ volunteer organization placed to the bureaucratic side of the continuum. This can explain why the organization has gain legitimacy and further, relating to the findings from the chapter above, the Sind organization has also managed to influence the institutional environment and created a strong brand throughout the years.

Because I cannot find evidence on how the public policies, like that of the ‘The Voluntary Charter’ shapes the institutional environment, I can only predict that it relates to the social structures of cultural-cognitive origin (Scott, 2003a), because as stated by the Voluntary Council, voluntariness is a pillar of our democracy and rooted in our culture:

“Denmark is founded on a long-standing tradition of a thriving civil society with citizens sharing responsibility, formation of associations and voluntary organizations flourishing in their own right as well as in interaction with the public sector. The volunteer world is a pillar of our democracy. We are rooted in a culture that has created a spirit of community and progress enabling us to face the challenges of tomorrow. The volunteer world contributes to an inclusive society and has in many contexts helped to create our welfare society” (Frivilligrådet, 2013, p. 13).

7.8 Conclusion on analysis part III

As demonstrated in this analysis the organizational field is composed by various actors within the areas of. Partners, Funding and Public Sector. The partners are constituted by other volunteer organizations within the social sector and sports clubs. The collaborative partners are also the public institutions within healthcare, psychiatry and education. I identify these partners as being
involved in the creation of normative and cognitive-cultural based on shared understanding and moral. The regulative structures of the institutional environment is created by the law enforcement, where a law concerning counseling for minors forces the organization of Headspace to employ professionals, and this explains their professional nature as indicated in the findings from Analysis Part I.

The public and private funds, which are the main resource of income for all the case organizations creates structures of regulatory origin, because they set criteria for receiving funds. According to this I also argue that there exist generators of isomorphic change within the coercive and normative area because the criteria call for formalization of the organizational practice, e.g. by having a volunteer policy that can guarantee the quality of the voluntary service. In relation to this formalization through policy making I also identify that there are processes of mimetic isomorphism present in the organizational field, because the case organization tend to find inspiration from each other when developing ‘the frames’ or structures. Here Livslinien is identified as professional volunteer organization, which the other organizations might ‘copy’, because Livslinien manages to receive stable funds from the government and is recognized as a highly legitimate organization.

The normative isomorphic is also recognized in the recruitment practices of the case organizations, where findings from Dimension 5 in the Analysis Part I shows that this practice is tending to the bureaucratic side for most of the case organization. However Headspace Rødovre verifies the act of ‘decoupling’ from the formal structures, because they also recruit volunteers that are not used for counseling purposes, as imposed by the formal procedure.

The act of influences the institutional field and becoming a legitimate volunteer offer in the professional psychiatric field has been achieve by Sind who has recognized actor. I demonstrate that this confirms Meyer & Rowan’s (1977) theory about leadership efforts and goal setting can affect the institutional context.

Summerizing Analysis part III, my main argument is that the analysis of the institutional environment confirms that organizations in the organizational field obtain the same structures through isomorphic change (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), and it also verifies the claim that
volunteer organizations will conform to the structures of the foundations. As mentioned by DiMaggio & Powell (1983): “Such central organizations serve as both active and passive models; their policies and structures will be copied throughout their fields” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 153). Moreover I highlight that the relational network will create a rational institutional myth, stating that ‘frames’, ‘structures’ and ‘formalization’ is needed, and this validates that: “[…] a particularly effective practice, occupational specialty, or principle of coordination can be codified into mythlike form” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 347 and this explains why certain practices from the findings in Analysis Part I are to the more bureaucratic side of the continuum.

7.8.1 Reflections on use of theory

Reflecting on the usage of organizational fields I have also included individuals, namely the ambassador and private donator. According to my definition from chapter 1.3 organizations are nets of collective action (Eriksson-Zetterquist, Kalling, & Styhre, 2014), and therefore DiMaggio & Powell might argue that I cannot include individuals as an ‘organization’. To overcome this problem I could have used stakeholder theory (Nygaard, 2000), which includes the individual stakeholders like customers, which in this case would be users. However I find DiMaggio & Powell’s (1983) theory most relevant according to this chapter on institutionalization and the following theory within this field.

A theory that I initially considered for this part of the analysis, but rejected, is the Oliver’s (1991) theory about Organization’s strategic responses to institutionalized pressures. He claims that the earlier theories of institutionalization which I have used above, is too concerned about the pressures that are constraining the organization, and neglects an inside-out perspective that gives attention to the strategic behavior that the organization employ (Oliver, 1991). By combining both the inside-out- with the outside-in, or namely the resource dependence theories with institutional theories, he argues that the organizations are more active in influencing their environment. His theory clearly builds upon thus of the more ‘original’ institutional theories, and when examining these in dept I found that Meyer & Rowan (1977) also argues that the organization is able to influence the environment.
At last I have found difficulties in determining the institutional pressure of policies which are not law enforced, and neither have I had evidence on the matter that it is institutionalized yet through normative or cultural-cognitive structures. I argue that Scott’s (2003a) theory in some ways falls short when a policy might develop institutional structures, in this case I identify that the Volunteer Charter could create normative structures and drivers of normative change because it becomes the norm to cooperate with the public sector. However I cannot conclude on this from my empirical evidence.

8 Discussion

Professionalization of the volunteer organizations in this study seems to relate to a tendency of mimetic isomorphism where the organization in a way ‘compete’ for funds, thus they find inspiration in the organization that is recognized by the sources of funding as a legitimate organization. This process explains why Sind secretariat are turning to more bureaucratic practices in an effort to professionalize. However, as an organization driven by anarchists (Interview A), I predict that this formalization will create some disturbance. I find it important that the volunteer organizations hold on to their founding values when cooperating with the public sector.

According to La Cour (2014), the public sector has invited the volunteer organizations into the public welfare production, but on the premises of the public sector and ‘the bureaucracy’, who demands them to be independent and different as the same time. Such independence arises when the organizations can decouple from the formalized structures. Headspace Rødovre confirms their independence when they recruit other kinds of volunteers who can help with practical tasks in the house. They can create, what I would call ‘a holistic service’, that provides not only counseling, but a home like feeling, fresh baked cake, fireplace etc. – something which their users might not have at home. I argue that this is exactly what the voluntariness can provide, which the public offer might not, because voluntariness is flexible, responsive and gives meaning (Chen, 2009). In order to have this holistic service, they must balance their organizing practice, and influence the institutional environment, something which Sind Skive has also been able to by sticking to their values.
Referring back to the quote from the introduction; “ [...] we should not perceive volunteering as extra icing on the "cake" or cream in your coffee, but rather as a part of the bread in the welfare state” (Dinesen, 2014). Summarizing my argument with in relation to this metaphor, I argue that: 
If the voluntariness is the yeast of the bread the public sector must be careful the fermentation process or else the baked the bread might not prove. By this mean the the public sector should be careful in preserving the founding values of the volunteer organizations. If they not, they might ruin their engagement.

9 Conclusion

The case organizations of this study are adopting a mix of bureaucratic and collectivist practices in an effort to enable the best service to the psychologically vulnerable users and their relatives. While this is the specific goal of the organizations, some of the case organizations are more structured than others because they tend to adopt more bureaucratic practices than those of the collectivist origin. I identify the organizations; Livslinien, Sind CPH and Headspace, as ‘professional volunteer organizations’ because the employed management provides clearly defined frames in which the volunteers can navigate in. These frames are formalized through written volunteer policies and volunteer handbooks, and serve the purpose of avoiding misdirected activities, a consequence of underorganizing, which can result in ineffective organizational performance.

These professional volunteer organizations are especially based on the more bureaucratic organizing principles when it comes to formalization through written handbooks and procedures. I identify these written procedures as a knowledge sharing tool, which in particular is important for the organization Headspace, who has expanded geographically and wish to preserve the ‘Headspace concept’ in the local centers. Moreover, the professional volunteer organizations also practices recruitment procedures where they hire volunteers based on their qualifications and provide them with specialized training to secure the quality of the counseling service that they provide. This also demonstrates a procedure based on bureaucratic principles. However the volunteer organization are also based on the collectivist principles in accordance to social control
based on personalistic and moral appeals, informal social relations and non-monetary solidarity incentives. And these principles are what characterizes them as volunteer organizations, thus it is demonstrated that they balance their organizing efforts.

I argue that Sind Skive is using organizing efforts that relates more to the collectivist principles. This is based on the findings that Sind Skive does not provide professional counseling, but wish to remain a non-professional offer where users can feel free in their spare time, thus their organizational goals separates them clearly from the public and professional offer. In accordance to this, Sind Skive demands less specific qualifications of the volunteer workforce which is also hired on an informal recruitment procedure. When selecting volunteers through personality attributes rather than certified qualifications, the organization can also include the psychologically vulnerable users into their volunteer workforce, which is a specific aim of the Sind organization. I argue that this practice has become legitimate in the institutional environment because Sind has influenced the institutional rules by building their goals into the society.

The case of BPU illustrates a volunteer organization that is based on mostly collectivist practices. This is especially visible because authority resides in the collective, which I argue is based on the fact that this organization does not have paid employees who manage the daily activities, thus they are purely based on voluntary work. A consequence of this practice is demonstrated in the analysis part II, where I pay attention to the process of a specific project that suffered from underorganizing and resulted in the volunteers terminating their engagement in the organization. This has created a learning process where the organizational members have reflected on the experiences from the past and realized that they are in need of more formalization in the effort of accomplishing the organizational goals.

I argue that the analysis of the institutional environment confirms that organizations in the organizational field obtain the same structures through isomorphic change. They conform to the formalized structures of the foundations, upon who they are dependent on for financials aids. Moreover I highlight that the relational network will create a rational institutional myth, stating that ‘frames’, ‘structures’ and ‘formalization’ is needed in order to receive funding and to secure the quality of the service, and this explains why certain practices from the findings on the
organizing practices are based on bureaucratic principles.

In relation to this formalization through policy making I also identify that there are processes of mimetic isomorphism present in the organizational field, because the case organizations tend to search for ideas from each other when developing ‘the frames’. Here Livslinien is identified as successful organization that the other case organizations find inspiration in.

The normative isomorphic is also recognized in the recruitment practices of the case organizations, where findings show that this practice is tending to the bureaucratic side for most of the case organizations. However Headspace Rødovre verifies the act of ‘decoupling’ from the formal structures, because they also recruit volunteers that are not used for counseling purposes, as imposed by the formal procedure. This enables them to balance under- and overorganizing in order to provide the best service for their users of the house. I argue that they manage to create a holistic service which provides the user with a homelike feeling, and this is what separates the voluntary offer from that of the public and professional offer.

10 Perspective

At last I will make a few comments on ideas for further studies in this field. As identified in Analysis III, I have not gained much understanding in how policies like that of the Volunteer Charter in praxis are adopted by the volunteer organizations and the municipalities. The practice that I can identify is that the municipalities are forming their own groups of volunteers. Thus the volunteers are managed by a coordinator employed by the municipality, and not an independent volunteer organization. I would find it interesting to analyze how they adopt to the organizing practices in Rothschild-Whitt’s 8 dimensions. And furthermore, as organized by the ‘bureaucracy’ how are they in regards to responsiveness and flexibility?
11 References


## 12 Appendix I – Interviews

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case organisation</th>
<th>Informant</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Headspace Maria Norup, Volunteer consultant at secretariat</td>
<td>18.03.2014</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Sind Helene Kemp, Organizational consultant at secretariat</td>
<td>10.04.2014</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Headspace Tina Skov, Center manager Horsens</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Livslinien Simon Witting, Project manager and consultancy professional</td>
<td>22.05.2014</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Sind Hanne Madsen, Manager at Sind Skive</td>
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<td>Sind Kim Bonnesen, Manager at Sind Copenhagen</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>Headspace Nina, Psychologist at Rødovre</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>BPU Camilla Vous Haney, volunteer in HR team</td>
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## Appendix II – Observations

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<td>B</td>
<td>Notes from strategy meeting</td>
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<td>Notes from visit at Horsens, approx. 2 hours</td>
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<td>Notes from visit, approx. 1.5 hours</td>
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<td>Notes from common meeting</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>Notes from visit at Skive, approx. 3 hours</td>
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<td>J</td>
<td>Notes from visit at Rødovre, approx. 1.5 hours</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>Notes from meeting with coordinator</td>
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## 14 Appendix III – Documents

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<td>Headspace Frivillig aftale (Volunteer agreement)</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Headspace Rekruttering og Samarbejde med frivillige (recruitment and cooperation with volunteers)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Headspace Status Horsens</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Sind Frivillig politik – udkast (volunteer policy – draft)</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Sind Uddannelses program – udkast (educational programme – draft)</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Sind Skive Nyhedsbrev, april, maj, juni (newsletter, April, May, June)</td>
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<td>Sind Skive Velkomstfolder til Mødestedet Skrive (Welcoming folder)</td>
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<td>Sind Skive Personalehåndbog (Volunteer handbook)</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>Sind Copenhagen Personalehåndbog 2013 (volunteer handbook)</td>
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<td>J</td>
<td>Sind Copenhagen Udviklingsplan 2012 (developmentplan)</td>
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<td>Sind Copenhagen Organisationsdiagram (organizational diagram)</td>
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<td>Livslinien Personalehåndbog efterår 2013 (volunteer handbook)</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Livslinien Frivillig kontrakt (volunteer agreement)</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>BPU Application for project ’Andre ligesom mig’ for the national health board 2012</td>
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<td>BPU Foreningshåndbog 2013</td>
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<td>BPU Sekretariat handbook 2013</td>
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<td>BPU Organizational change spring 2014</td>
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All documents are available on the attached flash drive.