THE INFLUENCE OF VOLUNTEER COMMUNICATION NETWORKS ON THEIR IDENTIFICATION AND ENGAGEMENT IN VOLUNTEERING

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

The Influence of Volunteer Communication Networks

on Identification and Engagement

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Many nonprofit organizations relying on a voluntary workforce encounter challenges as volunteering rates have been continually decreasing and the patterns of volunteering have been changing. For practitioners, it is critical to understand how to attract such volunteers to be more engaged, and for the communication scholar, we should pay more attention to nonprofit organizations and communicative properties of volunteer memberships (Lewis, 2005). Although previous literature committed to understanding this phenomenon by investigating predictors of volunteer behavior and causes for the turnover intentions, absent from the scholarship is a discussion of communicative approaches to identity and identification, and of how volunteers' communication networks could affect volunteerism.

This dissertation took a communicative approach to understanding this phenomenon by focusing on the processes of constructing and reconstructing identities and identification with multiple targets in social contexts. Further, this study examined how volunteer communication networks affect their communicative and general

engagement in volunteering. The findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data highlighted the active and communicative processes of identification with the collectives in situated contexts, and the targets of identification among volunteers not bounded by organizational boundaries, and its positive influence on general as well as communicative engagement in volunteering. The results on communication networks also suggested the positive impacts of volunteers' information provision networks, the size of volunteering affiliated networks, and having variation in age among interactants on volunteers' communicative and general engagement in volunteering. This dissertation also offered some practical as well as theoretical implications to the current literature.

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"Trust in the Lord with all your heart And do not lean on your own understanding.

In all your ways acknowledge Him, And He will make your paths straight."

(Proverb 3:5)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Approximately one in three adults, 77.3 million people in America, volunteered through an organization as of 2018 (the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS), 2018). They may not directly benefit the organizations where they volunteer, but they make significant contributions by taking supplementary roles, which in turn enables core employees to focus on central tasks (Handy & Srinvasan, 2004). However, many organizations, including nonprofits, heavily relying on a voluntary workforce have been facing special challenges due to a higher level of volunteer turnover rate (Netting et al., 2005). For example, 21.8% of residents in New Jersey volunteered, but the volunteer retention rate reported in the same year was only 58.8% (CNCS). Thus, answering key questions such as why some people choose to volunteer, why others do not think of doing so, and why some people continue to engage in volunteering for a longer period of time (or withdraw shortly after starting), might help researchers and organizations better understand the voluntary workforce.

On the one hand, previous literature suggested that we can reduce volunteers' turnover intentions through greater motivations, organizational identification, and satisfaction (Garner & Garner, 2011; Scott et al., 1999; Skoglund, 2006). On the other hand, recruiting new volunteers and training them becomes exceedingly difficult if volunteers are affiliated with an organization only for a short period, not committed to staying, and do not intend to come back (Gossett & Smith, 2013).

The overall volunteering rate has statistically declined (The Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016), but it is reported that people show a greater interest in short-term volunteering experiences (e.g., episodic volunteering) (Handy et al., 2006; Hustinx &

Lammertyn, 2003; McLennan et al., 2015); that is, the ways people volunteer have been changing. It may not be just a matter of reducing the turnover rate or retaining volunteers longer, but of attracting short-term, episodic volunteers to be more engaged in volunteering since long-term traditional volunteering has been decreasing. Therefore, scholars need to pay attention to the unique characteristics and different types of volunteers.

Although motivations to volunteer in an organization may vary, one thing all volunteers have in common is that volunteering is defined as proactive rather than reactive and involves a varying degree of commitment of time and effort (Lewis, 2005). The commitment of volunteers requires a strong sense of identification with the organization in which they choose to volunteer, acceptance of its goals or values, and willingness to put forth an effort for the benefit of the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1984).

Such sense of connectedness to the collectives lead individuals to engage in prosocial behaviors, which is defined as any behaviors performed for benefiting the collective regardless of formal requests or rewards from the collective (Organ, 1988; Tidwell, 2005). Mael and Ashforth (1992) found that college alumni who show a stronger organizational identification engaged in informal recruiting, made more financial contributions, and engaged in other prosocial behaviors to support their institution. O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) also testified that identification positively predicted prosocial behaviors and negatively predicted turnover intention among organizational members. In other words, developing a strong sense of identification with the collectives

should come as an antecedent of volunteers becoming more engaged in organizational activities.

Organizational identification is known to be one of the important factors affecting volunteer commitment and helping explain retention (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014; Steimel, 2013). Various targets of identification exist for volunteers, including the organization, a work group, occupation, and role (Scott, 1997); these factors are associated with different organizational outcomes, such as job satisfaction (Russo, 1998) and intention for future volunteering (Gossett & Smith, 2013).

Moreover, Gossett and her colleague asserted that identifying with an organization is critical, as volunteers may return to the organization for future opportunities, more so than those identifying only or primarily with their role. These results found that the stronger volunteers identified with an organization, the greater intentions they showed to contribute their time and money. Tidwell (2005) similarly found that volunteers who strongly identify with their organization were more frequently engaged in prosocial behaviors, including financial contribution to the organization as well as time contribution.

In addition, it may not be just an organization to which volunteers may feel connected. According to Kramer et al.'s study (2013), volunteers who felt higher levels of certainty regarding their tasks reported stronger identification. It has been known that individuals with clear understanding and certainty about their roles in organizations feel more satisfied and are less likely to quit (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986). Barker and Tompkins (1994) explicated that organizational members were more likely to develop strong identification with a more micro target (e.g., team) than a more macro target (e.g.,

organization). Scott (1997) found that organizational members tend to strongly identify with the local targets rather than geographically dispersed counterparts.

Furthermore, volunteers also interact and identify with more than just people within the organization for which they volunteer. They also interact with stakeholders who may be recipients of volunteer work, other volunteers, and those who may have direct and indirect impact on the work of both the volunteers and the focal organization. However, there is less knowledge about volunteers' interaction with other stakeholders, volunteer management, or what additional forces may impact the volunteers' behaviors themselves (Lewis et al., 2013).

Communication-focused research on volunteers, with whom they interact, and the influence these interactions have on volunteer engagement may shed light on the nature of volunteer work, what influences volunteers, and what drives them to be committed or not in the work they do. Therefore, it is important to examine the communication practices and patterns of volunteers with attention to their roles and relationships inside and outside of organizations. Examinations from within organizations might facilitate the construction of stronger communication practices, which ultimately could contribute to more consistent volunteer engagement. Studying volunteers' connections with stakeholders of a focal organization, as well as with others beyond that organization, could help reveal varying facets of volunteer identities that may complement or detract from their volunteer-related activities.

This dissertation aims to expand on current research to incorporate multiple targets of volunteer identification (e.g., volunteer role, volunteer groups/co-volunteers, and the organization) and analyze its effects on engagement in volunteering. Also, this

dissertation attempts to examine how the volunteers' communication networks may link to identification and engagement. The goals of this study are three-fold. First, this study seeks to find the association between volunteers' communication networks and their influence on multiple targets of identification processes. As identification is not a static concept but an active communication process (Scott, 2007), the current study can expand our knowledge about relational aspects of identification processes.

Second, this research will examine the volunteer experiences in situated contexts that may influence their identification processes as well as their engagement. Third, this research will assess direct and indirect impacts of volunteers' communication networks on their communicative as well as general engagement in volunteerism. Although previous studies have found positive associations between workplace relationship and positive organizational outcomes such as job satisfaction, commitment, and retention (McAllum, 2014; Morrison, 2004; Saks & Ashforth, 1997), a paucity of research on volunteer contexts exists. By examining communication networks of volunteers and their relation to identification and engagement, the current study can provide a better understanding on various factors that may affect and attract volunteerism.

The following section of the paper reviews the literature relevant to volunteers, engagement, networks, identities, and identifications. It draws on social identity, identification theory, and communication networks to propose research questions as well as develop hypotheses. Following this is a discussion regarding the mixed methods that were used to obtain and analyze the data. Then the findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses are reported, followed by discussion and conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter starts with conceptualizing what constitutes volunteerism and how researchers and practitioners define volunteers, as they are defined in many different ways. The nature of a voluntary workforce enables volunteers exposure to multiple targets of identification, which may be either compatible or conflicting. As they are not bound by employment contracts, exploration of volunteers' multiple targets of identification therefore requires the examination of their communication networks and how their communication networks influence identification processes and volunteering engagement. This chapter extends the arguments made in the introduction chapter and proposes research questions and hypotheses by more thoroughly examining the literature on identification, communication networks, and engagement.

Conceptualization of Volunteerism

Volunteering is a complex phenomenon including a wide variety of activities, organizations, and sectors (Hustinx et al., 2010). Given a wide range of definitions in the literature, clarifying what it means to volunteer as well as what types of individuals are classified as volunteers is important to defining the scope of this dissertation. Volunteers are defined in various ways, but the broadest definition includes all individuals who freely contribute their time and money benefiting a third party (e.g., another person, group, or organization) rather than themselves without any financial compensation (Cnaan et al., 1996; Snyder & Omoto, 1992; Wilson, 2000).

Volunteers may get some benefits from engaging in volunteering (e.g., a free event admission ticket to a cultural event), but they do not require monetary compensation (e.g., a paycheck) or the reward volunteers obtain is less than the costs in

time and effort (McAllum, 2018). Another attribute commonly describing volunteering is that volunteers freely choose volunteering activities, projects, or organizations. That is, their initial decisions are a rational and un-coercive choice regardless of various motivations. Volunteering contributes to the public good in a socially responsible way rather than satisfy basic obligations to family members. Scholars also make a distinction between informal volunteering (more spontaneous acts) and formal volunteering, which is often through organizational service (Lewis et al., 2013).

Informal volunteering includes any volunteering acts that are individually done, such as helping friends, family, or neighbors, while formal (or traditional) volunteering refers to contributions through specific types of organizations (e.g., serving at the community soup kitchen or volunteering as a 4-H club leader). As the current study aims to seek communicative processes of identification among volunteers within organizational contexts, I will focus more on formal volunteering (see Table 1). Similarly, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS, 2016) only includes volunteers who volunteered for or through an organization and did not include volunteers who volunteered informally. For example, if someone organized an activity for his or her children in neighborhood, it was excluded for its study purpose. Similarly, researchers also tend to limit volunteering to activities carried out in more organizationally structured settings (McAllum, 2018). This definition has been enhanced by explaining different forms of volunteerism.

Table 1

Categories of Volunteerism (Gossett & Smith, 2013; Lewis et al., 2013; Martinez, Crooks, Kim & Tanner; 2011)

		Formality of Volunteerism	
		Informal	Formal
Episodic Nature of Volunteerism	Episodic	Individually showing up to help at a disaster site or Helping a neighbor as needed basis	Helping one time at a Ronald McDonald House or Helping at a disaster site through the American Red Cross
	Routine	Helping a neighbor or friends on a regular basis	Mentoring youth group every Saturday through 4H

Lewis (2013) identified various forms of volunteerism. She suggests that different trends in modern volunteering include episodic volunteering, online/virtual volunteering, and voluntourism. Episodic volunteering refers to a one-time activity or short, periodic volunteering. For example, volunteers who engage in one voluntary activity, event, and project, or who serve on a regular basis but for a short period time are considered episodic volunteers. Importantly, some scholars consider online/virtual volunteering as a unique case of episodic volunteering, defined as the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) to let "some part of the volunteering process to be carried out at a distance from the organization" (Murray & Harrison, 2005, p. 31). These volunteers can overcome the barriers of distance, time, physical disabilities, or scheduling difficulties. Such online/virtual volunteers are tele-tutors, online mentors, or any other volunteers providing cyber service such as that found in groups like High-tech Women, Mentor Net, and Nursing Net. The United Nations also tries to promote online volunteering programs (https://www.onlinevolunteering.org/en) that connect NGOs,

government, or UN agencies with people who want to volunteer through ICTs, including mobile devices. Voluntourism is also another type of episodic volunteering and combines tourism with a voluntary service project for a short period of time, such as education, construction, or working with children.

Routine, traditional volunteering has been seen as separate from episodic efforts because episodic volunteering was performed occasionally rather than regularly (Erlinghagen & Hankmarcel, 2006). However, such short-term opportunities have become increasingly more popular and preferred over traditional volunteerism (Brudney & Gazley, 2006; Williams et al., 2010). More and more individuals tend to seek out short-term experiences and switch from long-term habitual to short-term episodic volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2008) and the traditional volunteering rate has been decreasing (Williams et al., 2010).

As episodic volunteers do not fit into the existing systems in which volunteer recruitment and training programs were traditionally designed (MacDuff, 2005), and show more selfish motivations than altruistic ones (Evans & Saxton, 2005; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003), episodic volunteers have not been considered seriously and are overlooked. Further, some organizations see this trend as a challenge and threat for their established volunteer programs as such volunteers may not want to commit to long-term agreements and are seemingly more interested in short-term opportunities when beginning to work with an organization (Gossett & Smith, 2013).

Like what organizations are concerned with, episodic volunteers may have different motivations to be affiliated with an organization or show different behavioral patterns than traditional (e.g. long-term committed) volunteers. However, we cannot just

assume and that they are not motivated or committed because the period of volunteering is discrete. They may engage in multiple organizations for various reasons, and sporadically volunteering because they identify more with an organizational mission of certain organizations or events, or know/connect to individuals who serve with them. Previous research reported that episodic volunteers are still committed even though it could be short-term (Gossett & Smith, 2013), and could often turn out to be longer-term volunteers (Esmond, 2009). Hustinx et al. (2008) found that episodic volunteers were actually more motivated by values than regular volunteers, and there was no statistically significant difference in self-oriented motivation between episodic and traditional volunteers contrary to what researchers predicted. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that once individuals begin volunteering, the majority of them tend to engage in volunteering further in future (Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998).

According to McAllum (2018), personal connections (e.g., volunteering with family members) show a positive association with participating in volunteering. Similarly, it was found that novice episodic volunteers who volunteered for the first time at events were asked by their friends, family members, or a colleague. They also reported that spending time with family and friends while volunteering was positively related to their future intention to volunteer again (Hyde et al., 2016).

As the ways people volunteer have been changing, it is unavoidable to encompass episodic volunteers. The current study concerns how to make volunteers more engaged, and it is necessary to examine not only traditional volunteers but episodic volunteers as well in order to expand our understanding of how to make their volunteering more engaged. To understand how to further engage such volunteers, it will be important to

examine how volunteers prioritize identities, how their communication networks affect their decision when they are motivated to volunteer, and how their experiences and networks impact their intention to still engage in volunteerism. Thus, identities and identifications will be discussed in the following section.

Identity and Identification

Identity is one of the fundamental concepts that can support an explanation of why and how people think or do things the way they do. Identity is defined as a sense of self or self-image that an individual develops through interacting with others (Ting-Toomey, 2005); that is, identities are not fixed but they are socially constructed as well as reconstructed (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Individuals have multiple roles they play and belong to various groups (e.g., culture, ethnicity, gender, religion, or occupation), which make identities multifaceted. For instance, the same individual can see oneself, and can be seen as a member of the organization where they work (e.g., Rutgers University), as a member of particular ethnic groups (e.g., Korean immigrant), or as a member of specialized professional group (e.g., biomedical engineer).

However, not every identity is salient all the time. Certain identities become more salient and closely aligned with the collectives when they incorporate certain attributes to their images of self (Dutton et al., 1994). Similarly, when individuals engage in particular behaviors or activities, their identities associated with those particular behaviors or activities may become more salient than other identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Thus, the fluidity of identity can help explain why an individual joins and leaves organizations, how an individual interacts with others, and how one makes sense of his/her roles and positions in organizations.

According to Haslam and Ellemers (2005), an individual should have an identity as a member of the organization or group in order to identify with an organization. By definition, identification is related to identity and is one of the key elements to explain organizational members' behaviors as well as organizational outcomes. Identification is defined as a sense of belonging to a target social group (e.g., an organization or team), which helps hold the members of the group together (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2001).

However, identification has been defined as more than a psychological belonging. As identities are negotiated and open to be renegotiated through social interactions, how individuals identify with certain targets should be also understood as a process of constructing and reconstructing identities by dynamic social processes instead of the mere perception of belonging to the collectives (Scott et al., 1998). In this vein, identities and identification have been considered some of the main constructs in organizational studies (Albert et al., 2000; Ashforth et al., 2008; Edwards, 2005), and the communicative manifestations of identifications is useful for expanding our understanding of volunteer contexts.

The Social Identity Theory and Identification

The concept of social identity was introduced by Tajfel (1972), which explicates how an individual conceptualizes one's identity in intergroup contexts. Social identity approach has widely been adopted to expand our understanding of organizational members' identity processes in relation to the collective (e.g., a group, team, or organization) (Hogg et al., 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), individuals tend to categorize themselves into various social groups to

which they feel they belong (e.g., nationality, work group, religious affiliation, or organizational membership) (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Tajfel (1972) proposed the concept of social identity, defined as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (p. 292). Essentially, when a specific social identity becomes salient in a particular context, an individual tends to establish and evaluate in-group favoring beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors in comparison to those of the out-group.

According to Hogg and Terry (2000), individuals who strongly differentiate the in-group from the out-group are more likely to identify with the collective in organizational contexts. In other words, when an individual develops organizational identification, an individual sees him or herself as integral to the organization, and in turn, a sense of connectedness will strengthen empathy and trust for the collective (Kramer, 1993). Kramer also noted that individuals who strongly identify with the organization tend to cooperate more with other organizational members.

According to SIT, there are two important underlying socio-cognitive processes: (1) categorization, which "sharpens intergroup boundaries by producing group-distinctive stereotypical and normative perceptions and actions, and assigns people, including self, to the contextually relevant category" (Hogg & Terry, 2001, p. 4) and (2) self-enhancement, which "guides the social categorization process such that in-group norms and stereotypes are largely ingroup-favoring" (Hogg & Terry, 2001, p. 4). An individual's organizational membership and connectedness create an important social identity for many organizational members. In this vein, organizational identification is considered a certain

form of social identification because it explains how individuals perceive themselves by organizational membership (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) and Identification

Self-categorization theory (SCT), advanced from Tajfel and Turner's (1979) ideas on social identity, articulates the process of categorization as well as underlies the process of identification (Hogg & Terry, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985). According to Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), when individuals categorize themselves into a group, they tend to accentuate the perceived similarities with in-group members as well as the perceived differences with out-group members. It occurs through a depersonalization process, referred to as a "contextual change in the level of identity […] not to a loss of identity" (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 261). In other words, through self-categorization of self, individuals position their self-concept, belief, attitude, or behaviors in line with their relevant in-group prototype in a given context.

As individuals belong to various collectives (e.g., nationality, work groups, or organizations), they may have discrete social categories. When individuals identify themselves as a member of the collectives, they tend to define and develop stereotypical attributes of the collectives. Along with such constructed attributes, each membership is represented in the individual's mind as a social identity that articulates how they should think, feel, and behave accordingly. In other words, when a particular social identity becomes salient in a particular context, an individual assimilates his or her behaviors by following in-group norms and prototypes.

Although such a process can enhance group cohesion and identification, it can also result in negative outcomes. For example, a higher level of identification with a

particular in-group could result in stereotyping or negatively evaluating out-group members or creating intergroup conflicts (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Hogg et al., 1995; Kramer 1993). Further, individuals may exaggerate an out-group member's behavior and perceptually polarize the in-group prototype from the out-group by minimizing intragroup differences and maximizing intergroup differences (Hogg & Hains, 1996; Hogg et al., 1990). Although the process of categorization may not always result in positive organizational outcomes, it is important to outline SIT and SCT because the dynamic perspective on identities or membership salience has important implications in organizational contexts, especially when examining volunteers.

Although SIT has been widely applied when examining identity formation and identification in organizational communication research, it has paid more attention to cognitive processes related to categorization and self-enhancement and thus less attention to active communicative processes on identification. Organizational identification is fundamentally communication based; that is, it is not a static concept, but rather, more of an interactive communication process (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Scott et al., 1998). When individuals develop connections with organization or other targets (e.g., group or team), communication is essential for the development of relationships and achieving organizational goals. For example, when people volunteer for an organization, they may identify with one target (e.g., mission statement of the organization), but it is through communicative interactions with others (e.g. co-volunteers, volunteer manager, or other stakeholders) that an individual negotiates his or her belongingness or membership in organizational contexts, which can strengthen or limit their identification with the collective.

Scott and colleagues (1998) assert that identification is "the process of emerging identity" (p. 304); therefore, it is not a status or a product but a communicative process (Cheney, 1983). It is through communication with others that an individual expresses and enhances his or her belongingness or membership in organizational contexts, especially when considering the interactive nature of the work groups or organizations. As this study will adopt a structuration model as a main theoretical framework to examine identity and identification processes of volunteer workforce from more communicative perspective, this is explained in the next section.

Communicative Approach to Identification(s)

Communication is integral to understanding identity formation and identification processes in organizational contexts and more scholarly effort is needed from a communicative perspective. Based on three important aspects of structuration theory, Scott and colleagues (1998) have developed a theory of identification, which advocates communication processes of multiple identities and identification with multiple targets. They highlighted three components: 1) the duality of structure to explain the interactive nature of identities and identifications; 2) regionalization of structure (i.e., identities); and 3) situated activities that underscore the significance of social contexts for identity formation and identifications.

Whereas previous scholars conceptualized identity as a core belief and assumption of defining who we are in relation to our membership to the collective, Scott and colleagues (1998) conceptualized *identity* as structure, which constitutes a set of rules and resources enacted by members in social situations. This is a type of knowledge to which individuals make reference when interacting with others in situational contexts,

which helps enable and/or constrain behaviors in those contexts. Identity is not just a cognitive construct, but is constantly shaped and reshaped by representing our identity through discourse.

In other words, identity can be negotiated through interactions. For example, some volunteers may not identify themselves as a volunteer when they just started volunteering, while others may have a volunteer identity even when they just join volunteering. As they talk more about their volunteering activities and experiences with others, and engage in other voluntary activities, this volunteer identity can be shaped and strengthened (or potentially weakened depending on the nature of those interactions).

Scott and colleagues (1998) defined *identification* as the "process of emerging identity" (p. 304). Identification is a process of constructing, reconstructing, and changing identities by dynamic social processes instead of the mere perception of belonging to a group categorization. In identification processes, language is the most significant indicator of how individuals identify with an organization and of how changes in their identification occur (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Williams & Connaughton, 2012). For example, Kaufman (1960) stated that making a compliment of an organization has been found to be associated with identification in communication. A member's usage of "we" can be also understood as an indicator of identification when communicating something that an organization accomplished or when identifying with an organization (Cheney, 1991; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999).

Similarly, Williams and Connaughton (2012) analyzed the interview data regarding how organizational members talk about their organization, and reported that their verbal communication provides an evidence of their identification with the

organization. As organizational members can reflect their relations to the collectives when sharing stories and experiences, identification processes can be also discovered in organizational members' narratives (Morgan et al., 2004). Thus, it can be said that identification is a process by which organizational members begin to realize an overlap between their personal identity and that of the organization. This perspective highlights a fluid and flexible nature of identity and identification in situated contexts of interactions. Identification in this sense indicates the type of socially recognized behavior produced by and producing identity.

Scott and colleagues (1998) further assert that these two concepts, identity and identification, are dialectically interrelated and they imply for each other, especially as seen from a structurational perspective. This duality of identity and identification explicates the dynamic social process and linkage between identity appropriation and manifestation of identifications. In a structurational viewpoint, identity as structure is both a resource for interaction and a product of interaction, composing a system (i.e., identification); that is, it is a resource from which an individual expresses him or herself, based on collectively generated identity types such as "I am a teacher", "mother", "intern", or "volunteer". These identities do not only exist in the cognitions of individuals but are also properties of social structures (Kuhn, & Nelson, 2002).

While participating in coordinated activities in social settings, their behaviors in line with expressions of such identities will show their connections to certain collectives, which in turn will shape, reshape, reinforce, or transform one's identities. Such behaviors performed by individuals as "teachers", "mothers", "interns" or "volunteers" do not only build individual identities, but also construct, reconstruct, and/or transform the identity

structures on which they are based. From this duality perspective, identities are both bases of and targets for identification.

There are many individual and organizational identity structures available so we should also consider several potentially relevant identities, which can be more or less salient for individuals by engaging in particular activities. Scott et al. (1999) especially highlight four targets of identification within organizations: individual, group, organizational, and occupational/professional. Although it does not mean that these four identities are always unchanging in organizations, they provide evidence for how various identities might relate to one another and how one identity is more or less salient than others in organizational life. In addition, there are more targets of identification than just these four listed above (e.g., profession, gender, work team, ethnicity, or organization). As an increased identification with one target does not necessarily result in a decreased identification with alternate target (Cheney, 1983; Scott et al., 1998), it is necessary to discuss the degree of compatibility and tension among those multiple identities and identification targets.

Organizational members can develop multiple identities that are partially compatible and/or partially competing, or their identifications with targets may be identical, partially overlapping, or completely independent from one another (Scott et al., 1998). For example, an employee may view one's team and organization as identical, partially overlapping, or completely separate from each other. If the employee's view on one's team and organization is completely separate and independent from each other and incompatible, it will be difficult for the employee to be engaged in his or her work, and further the employee may experience identity crisis (Christensen & Cheney, 1994). Thus,

it is plausible to say that there will be somewhat overlapping areas of one's multiple identities, and some of the identities are just "loosely coupled" (Mael & Ashforth, 1992) so that they share some common ground.

On the other hand, an individual might disagree with the organization's action on an issue so that he or she may negatively identify with the organization: *disidentification*. Scott et al. (1998) defined disidentification as a negative form of identification that involves the process of identifying oneself in opposition to the target. Such disidentification could happen in a volunteer context, which may influence a volunteer's engagement. For example, a volunteer might strongly identify with his or her immediate volunteer group and feel assured in his or her identity as related to the group. However, if he or she does not agree with how the organization handles things according to its policy, he or she may disidentify with the organization. If so, it may be difficult for one to fully engage in their volunteering due to their competing identifications, and in turn, this may impede their volunteer engagement.

In this vein, front and back regions that Scott and colleague (1998) described represent the region related to positive identifications and the region related to more negative disidentifications respectively. They stated that individuals draw on the front regions where they can find some other individuals sharing similar values or beliefs. Thus, the front regions are associated with positive identification, while back regions are associated more with disidentification or negative identification where members may engage in more regressive behavior. Such metaphorical description of the regions helps us understand dynamic processes of identification and disidentification.

Williams and Connaughton's study (2012) shows that organizational members certainly experienced and had to manage tensions between identification and disidentifications while they were going through organizational change, and argues that organizational identification does not just emerge by organizational encouragement or effects, but rather it is something that organizational members construct by actively participating in and negotiating with the identification processes. They examined changes in identification processes during organizational change. They found that the changes in identification were constructed through how members talked about the organization both with organizational members and nonmembers, such as family and friends.

Although organizational members try not to talk about negative things with other people in the organization, they tend to turn to others in their non-work-related networks, such as family, a fiancé, or a roommate, when they want to complain or talk about negative things about the organization. However, it was interesting that people who participated in their study reported that they still maintained their organizational membership and strong identification with the organization. As such, it is clear that organizational members go through negotiation processes among multiple targets of identification, and construct and reconstruct their identification with the collectives by communicating with people inside and outside their organizational boundary.

A major shortcoming of the current literature is that these back regions have been largely overlooked. Especially for volunteers, it is crucial to explore the front and back regions of relevant identities is to help explain other identities with which organizations needing volunteers have to compete. In this vein, the four targets highlighted in organization (e.g., individual, group, organizational, and occupational/professional) may

not be sufficient enough for volunteers due to the unique characteristics of the voluntary workforce. As volunteer turnover rate has largely been increasing because they put their work and family commitments as a priority (Kramer, 2011), it is often assumed that volunteer identity may not be a top priority. It may be difficult for volunteers to fully engage in their volunteering if one's volunteer identity has to compete with work, family, and other identities. If I only examine volunteers' organizational identity and identification targets within the organization, I may overlook other important aspects of multiple identity structures among volunteers. Thus, it is crucial to expand the boundary to examine multiple targets of identification among volunteers such as family and employing work, which may not be the targets existing within their voluntary organization. Thus, the following research question is proposed:

RQ$_1$: How do volunteers prioritize and negotiate their multiple identities and identifications?

According to Ashforth and Johnson (2001), different levels and types of identities are nested or embedded within one another in organizational settings, and identity salience is influenced by its situational relevance and its importance in organizational life. They explicated higher and lower order identities based on three criteria: inclusivity/exclusivity, abstractness/concreteness, and distance/proximity. Lower order identities, such as job or work groups, tend to be more proximal, concrete, and exclusive, whereas higher order identities like organizational identities, are described as distal, abstract, and inclusive. Higher order identities are less salient than lower order identities as they embrace all lower order identities.

Nonetheless, they emphasized the importance of understanding a higher order identity as organizational members will think and behave in ways consistent with their organizational identity if it is more salient. The more salient a higher order identity, the more likely that organizational members will pursue organizational goals instead of narrow lower order goals, recognize issues or events from a higher order perspective, and enact organizational values in ways consistent with organizational culture. In contrast, lower order identities tend to be more salient overall. For example, organizational members tend to more frequently interact with their work group members than other people in organizations (i.e., people in other departments) so that they have more in common by sharing common goals to achieve (e.g. performing one's duties or completing a project). Such localized lower order identities then become more salient, situationally more relevant, and subjectively more important than higher order identities.

Similarly, van Knippenberg and van Schie (2000) asserted that individuals will express stronger identification with their work-group than identification with the employing organization as they will find more things in common with their workgroup than the organization as a whole. Another study conducted by Barker and Tompkins (1994) also reported differences between identification with one's team and one's employing organization. They found that the employees participating in the research express the higher level of identification with one's team than organization, although it was marginally significant.

Another type of lower order identity is an organizational member's job or role in the organization. Role identity is defined as one of the dimensions of defining oneself in relation to one's position or activities in a situated context, which in turn influences one's

relation with others as well as one's behavior (Callero, 1985). Previous literature examining volunteers' behaviors reported that volunteers' role identities are positively associated with their prosocial behaviors (i.e., donating blood, donation of their money and time) (Callero et al., 1987; Lee et al., 1999). Volunteers' role identities were also found to positively predict volunteering hours as well as their intention to remain in the organization (Grube & Piliavin, 2000). Repeatedly, Scott et al. (1998) noted the important role of situated activity in order to fully grasp the dynamic process of how identification varies contextually and/or changes over time. As volunteers may work in multiple places and be less tied to specific locations, it can be assumed that what they do at the moment of volunteering can be a more localized order of identity, which can be more salient. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: A volunteer's role identification will be stronger than the volunteer's organization identification.

Another factor found to be positively correlated with identification with organizations is organizational tenure. For example, Mael and Ashforth (1992) found that the amount of time individuals spent in an organization was positively associated with their identification with the organization. Similarly, Barker and Tompkins (1994) reported a significant difference between long-term and short/midterm employees on identification with the targets. They indicated that employees who were with the employing organization for longer identified stronger with the organization than those who stayed with the company for short/midterm did. The long-term employees also showed stronger identification with their team than short/midterm employees did. These

studies examined employees in organizations, and it needs to be expanded to examine the voluntary workforce.

It may be easier for the voluntary workforce to switch the organization for which they volunteered than paid employees do as they are not getting paid to work and are not bounded by contracts. Also, there are so many other non-profit organizations sharing similar values or missions. If individuals voluntarily choose to volunteer for a certain organization and decide to stay with the organization for a longer period of time, it can be argued that their organizational tenure in the volunteer organization may contribute largely to particular identity salience. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H_2: The length of volunteering with a volunteer organization will be positively associated with identification with the volunteer organization.

In line with a constantly changing view of identity and identification, Scott et al. (1998) incorporated the notion of situated activity that emphasizes the importance of situational cues in identity formation and identification expression. This approach will help us expand our understandings for "when we identify with one or more identification targets," as identity and identification contextually vary (Scott et al., 1998, p. 319). Scott and Stephens (2009) asserted the importance of communication targets as well as communicative activities in conjunction with a volunteer's identification; although, the exact identifying targets will vary depending on the type of organizations. Furthermore, how members talk about their organization, members, and nonmembers reflect changes in identification (Pepper & Larson, 2006; Williams & Connaughton, 2012). Therefore, it can be argued that it is not only with whom they communicate, but also about what they

communicate that influences volunteers' identifications. All this suggests the value of a network-based perspective, to which we turn next.

Communication Networks and Identifications

A communication network shows the patterns of how messages flow among communicators. Communication scholars have differentiated the notion of emergent networks from formal networks. Formal networks show the legitimate authority of the organization representing the communication channels through which orders are transmitted downward and information is transmitted upward, while emergent networks are an informal structure of organizations, representing naturally occurring interactions not bounded by a formal organizational structure (Monge & Contractor, 2001). Communication scholars have emphasized the importance of examining emergent networks as such formal organizational structure, reflected by the organizational chart, failed to capture many of the important aspects of communication in organizations (Monge & Contractor, 2003). For example, Albrecht and Ropp (1984) examined communication patterns among organizational members, especially regarding how messages about new ideas were exchanged among organizational members. Organizational members had opportunities to form ties with various organizational members at different hierarchical levels (e.g., peers, superiors, and subordinates) but they did not seem to follow formal organizational structure to share ideas. They reported that organizational members were more likely to turn to the people with whom they also discussed personal and other work related matters, rather than following officially given channels based on hierarchical role relationships.

Previous literature on communication networks also highlights the impacts of an individual's close relationships on one's attitudes and behaviors (Monge & Contractor, 2001; Rice & Aydin, 1991). Communication patterns found in emergent communication networks affect various organizational outcomes such as employee's role commitment (Feeley, 2000) and turnover (Feeley & Barnett, 1997), which may not be found in formal networks.

As such, a social network perspective addresses the implications regarding influence, decision-making, and inclusion relative to how people interact with others. In terms of volunteers, their social networks involve other volunteers, agents attached to the focal voluntary organization or problem, in addition to other clubs, faith-based groups, and other organizations that represent aspects of their identities. As this study argues volunteers' relations can be one of the key elements that can influence volunteers' identification and engagement, a network perspective is crucial.

Volunteers may construct and reconstruct multiple identities as well as identifications while communicating with various targets. For volunteers, they are intrinsically motivated to join and work because they have an opportunity to express their altruistic values or humanitarian concerns for others, attain a new learning opportunity, advance their career related skills, enhance positive self-image, or satisfy a social purpose (Clary et al., 1998). Although their initial motivation like pro-social or service provision may fade away, one of the reasons they still engage in voluntary activity after a while tends to be for a social purpose (e.g., maintaining relationships with others) (Pearce, 1993). Previous research has also reported the positive influence of interaction with beneficiaries on an individual's motivation and performance (Grant, 2007; 2008). As

such, enhancing volunteers' relationships with other stakeholders, including service recipients, can be considered one way to prolong a volunteer's engagement.

However, volunteer relationships have received far less attention in organizational communication research (Lewis, 2005). Previous research has examined the importance of establishing close relationships with other organizational members, including supervisors as well as co-workers in an organization, and how it can lead to positive organizational outcomes (Morrison, 2004; Richmond & McCroskey, 2000; Sias & Cahill, 1998). For example, previous research reported that employees expect to have close relationships and frequent communication with supervisors because they tend to develop commitment to supervisors with whom they have meaningful relationships and closer relationships rather than the organization itself (Meyers & Sadaghiani, 2010; Society for Human Resource Management, 2009).

Jablin (1987) similarly states that the "superior-subordinate communication relationship is an important determinant of an employee's level of organizational commitment and likelihood of turnover" (p. 720). According to Sias and Cahill (1998), the communication dynamics in friendship development are critical, especially during the transition from working together to a close friendship. Moreover, previous research has asserted the importance of relationships not only between supervisors-subordinates but also between coworkers because their relationships are fundamentally communicative and influence whether or not individuals decide to leave the organization (Ferris, 1985; Sollitto et al., 2016).

Building such close relationships with other members in an organization is important as it may influence one's behavioral decision, such as sharing information, or

leaving or staying at a certain job. Feely and Barnet (1997) examined three different models (e.g., Structural Equivalence Model, Social Influence Model, and Erosion Model) to examine how individuals' social networks predict employee turnover. They found that those who are on the periphery of their social networks, and who have a greater percentage of direct connections to the people who left the organization, are more likely to leave the organization. They also reported that employees with similar structural positions tend to make a similar behavioral decision to leave or stay. Individuals having close workplace relationships more frequently communicate with one another and exchange more information (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 1998).

To whom do volunteers turn for informational needs or for voicing their thoughts and opinions inside and outside organizations? In what ways do other aspects of potential volunteers' lives complement or detract from their volunteer-related activities? People have numerous identities (e.g., parent, professional, church goer, or spouse) in addition to work-related ones, which means they are also members of different and overlapping networks in their lives. This may be especially true of volunteers who are not employed full-time at the organization where they are volunteering and thus may have an even broader range of relevant identities applicable to their volunteer work. So, volunteers' other identities and the associated networks are likely to have varying levels of "competition" for their attention. For example, many people, called "voluntourists," combine travel and volunteer service. This is an example that their volunteer identity complements their tourist identity.

However, their identities as employees or parents may result in less time to volunteer as their identities compete with one another (Gambles et al., 2006). When

individuals try to work full-time, take care of their children at home, and engage in volunteering, they may find themselves having a limited amount of time to devote to volunteering. It can be worse if people in their personal networks, like their family or friends, do not support their volunteering activities or make negative comments on them. However, with the support of family and friends, as well as support from their employing organization, their identities may complement rather than competing for one another.

Although identification is known to be one of the elements that can keep volunteers motivated so that they will continue to volunteer, volunteerism is just one aspect of a person's identity. Understanding the context of a person's life—the various aspects of their identities in addition to their volunteer affiliated social networks—can help point to understanding how volunteers negotiate their multiple identities that may complement or undermine their ability to remain active as a volunteer.

Although volunteers are different from paid-employees at work, the importance of having a close relationship with other stakeholders and their communication patterns inside and outside organizations should not be overlooked. As the importance of such relationships cannot be ignored, organizational communication scholars have underscored the significance of expanding our understanding of communicative phenomena that occur among volunteers (Kirby & Koschmann, 2012; Lewis, 2012). By answering this call for study, the current dissertation aims to examine volunteers' communication networks, their influence on identification with multiple targets, and on engagement in volunteering.

Individuals tend to behave in accordance with the relevant task role, and volunteers are no exception. For example, once they are designated as volunteers or

employees, such categorizations take on meanings that lead individuals to create new identities that impact how individuals interact with others (Rosenblum & Travis, 2000). However, if one's volunteer role and identity are not so much compensating but rather competing with other roles and identities, a volunteer must negotiate and reconstruct one's identity and behave accordingly. As a volunteer role demands additional time and efforts beyond one's life and work, managing one's volunteer identity may not be an easy process.

According to Wojno's study (2013), volunteers regularly encountered their friends' and family's concerns, as well as negative perceptions toward their volunteering activities, and they had to develop strategies for responding to such concerns. Similarly, Pratt (2000) found that Amway distributors who were more committed tended to focus on a stronger relationship with others who were supportive whereas those focused on their non-supportive family and friend relationships tended to exhibit disidentifications. It is plausible to argue that if volunteers create ties to others within volunteering affiliated organizations, they may assimilate their attitude or behaviors with other organizational members and exhibit stronger identifications; conversely, other identities become more salient if they have more ties to outsiders who are not affiliated with their volunteering. Thus, this study argues that volunteers will identify more with their volunteer role and organizations if they can get information or support from people within their volunteering affiliated networks.

Volunteers may not choose a random person when seeking advice or information but choose to ask for help or get information from their managers or other people whom they trust and feel close with. Rice and Aydin (1991) distinguished three different

proximities: relational proximity, positional proximity, and spatial proximity. Relational proximity is defined as strength of communication tie as individuals tend to compare and agree with others to whom they are more strongly tied. Positional proximity refers to the structural and organizational proximity with someone holding the same role and position, occupying the same sets of expectations or status. Spatial proximity refers to physical distance between individuals. For example, working close to one another can increase the likelihood of interaction and have a higher level of spatial proximity because they may physically experience common obstacles. Additionally, Rice and Aydin (1991) stated that relational proximity plays an important role in influencing other members' attitudes and behaviors. Wilson et al. (2008) suggested frequency, depth, and interactivity of communication can encourage perceived proximity, which in turn can enhance identification processes. As volunteers most frequently interact with volunteer mangers and co-volunteers, they may build perceived and relational proximity with them.

However, what if those from which volunteers generally turn to seek advice and information are not affiliated with their volunteering activities and organization, or were but no longer are affiliated with the activities or organizations? Previous research indicates that individuals are typically influenced by their friends' direct ties (Galaskiewicz & Wasserman, 1989), and rely on those having close ties to them for general information (Shah, 2000). Therefore, it is important to examine to whom volunteers feel close and with whom they most frequently interact in order for advice, information, and other supportive messages because this may impact their identification and their engagement in volunteering activities.

Network perspective further explicates different types of support people receive from various resources in their networks. For example, people tend to rely on weak ties (e.g., coworkers, supervisors, voluntary group members) more for instrumental support (i.e., informational resources), whereas they turn to strong ties (e.g., family, friends, relatives) to share a sense of intimate and special relationships and to exchange emotional support (Granovetter, 1983; Wellman, 1992). In other words, people will turn to different people based on the type of information or support they need to receive.

Other network literature differentiate *instrumental network ties*, from *expressive network ties* (Ibarra 1995; Yuan & Gay, 2006). Ibarra (1995) stated that *instrumental network ties* are to exchange information, resources, or advice to accomplish one's tasks, whereas *expressive network ties* are for positive or negative emotional exchanges that are not necessarily task oriented. It is plausible to assume that there will be positive relationships between volunteering affiliated networks and their identification with the collectives. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H3: The size of an individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.

H4: The size of an individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.

H5: The size of an individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.

H6: The size of an individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.

When examining communication networks, the principle of homophily has been widely studied, which posits that individuals are more likely to interact with other people similar to themselves (McPherson et al., 2001; Monge & Contractor, 2003). Previous literature has studied the principle of homophily especially in terms of age, gender, race, education, and occupation (Ibarra, 1992, 1995; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; Mollica et al., 2003). For example, Mollica and colleagues examined racial homophily among organizational new members and members' racial identity salience over time. People perceive that they receive greater social support from homophilous coworker relationships than heterophilous relationships (South et al., 1982).

Brass (1995) stated that "similarity is thought to ease communication, increase predictability of behavior, and foster trust and reciprocity" (p. 51). It is plausible to argue that homophily can facilitate interactions with other people similar to themselves within their communication networks, which in turn can enhance the process of assimilating their attitude or behaviors with others and constructing identification with the targets. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H7: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with the volunteer organization.

H8: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with the volunteer organization.

H9: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the

instrumental networks will positively predict identification with their volunteer role.

H10: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with their volunteer role.

Conceptualization of Engagement

Engagement has become a more widely applied construct not only for business practitioners but also in the management literature. It has shown up in *Harvard Business Review*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and on many other business sites relating to Human Resources. The term employee engagement has been studied for many years by the Gallup Organization, which results in the statistical item, Gallup Workplace Audit (GWA) (Little & Little, 2006). The term engagement has been also employed in scholarly writings to describe many other types of interactions such as job, work, employee, and organizational engagement (Johnston & Taylor, 2018; Saks, 2006; Vecina et al., 2013).

Although engagement is one of the constructs employed in previous research in conjunction with identification, commitment, retention, work performance, and other positive organizational outcomes (Barrick et al., 2015; Gruman & Saks, 2011; Kang & Sung, 2017; Saks, 2006; Selander, 2015), it is still somewhat unclear what scholars and practitioners mean by employees' "engagement." Due to its definitional ambiguity and disagreement, it calls into question its distinctiveness from other concepts, such as job satisfaction and commitment (Saks & Gruman, 2014). Likewise, engagement has been used in previous research without clear conceptualizations. Engagement has mainly

employed as a psychological concept; conversely, communicative representation of engagement has not been widely considered in the engagement literature. Therefore, this study aims to expand the scope of engagement research by adding communicative representation of engagement.

More than two decades ago, the concept of engagement emerged as a psychological construct, which has been defined as "simultaneous employment and expression of a person's preferred self in task behaviors that promote connections to work and to others, personal presence (physical, cognitive, and emotional), and active, full role performance" (Kahn, 1990, p. 700). Thus, when individuals are engaged, they tend to put themselves into the performance of their task or given role by "expressing themselves physically, cognitively, and emotionally" (Kahn, 1990, p. 694).

Kahn's conceptual framework describes three psychological conditions that influence people's psychological contracts to act upon: psychological meaningfulness, safety, and availability. He explained when organizational members experience and feel their role and works are worthwhile, valued, and useful, they are more engaged regardless of others' presence. They are also more engaged when they feel that they have emotional, psychological, or physical resources, and can show their preferred self-image without fear of negative consequences to their self-image, status, or profession. In this vein, he also defined the concept of disengagement as emotionally, cognitively, and physically withdrawing oneself from performing the role or given tasks. In other words, engagement implies psychological and physical presence in performing one's given role. Traeger and Alfes (2019) adopted Kahn's conceptual framework and also looked at engagement as cognitive, affective, and physical constructs.

Another approach to defining engagement is to look at it as the opposite of burnout (Maslach et al., 2001). In this approach, the opposite three dimensions of burnout – energy, involvement, and efficacy – characterize engagement. Along with this approach, Schaufeli et al. (2002) proposed a slightly different approach to defining engagement. Schaufeli and colleagues argued that engagement and burnout are independent constructs so that they developed different measurements, although they still view engagement as the opposite of burnout. They define engagement as a persistent, positive, and affective-motivational fulfilling state of mind in organizational members, characterized by vigor (e.g., feelings of strength and emotional energy), dedication (e.g., enthusiasm or pride), and absorption (e.g., concentration). For them, engagement is more likely to be a psychological motivational work-related state of mind.

However, there are a few things that these approaches to defining the concept of engagement fail to encompass: (1) Engagement is a communication-centered process, (2) engagement is not only an individual phenomenon but should be understood as a relational concept, and (3) engagement is a multidimensional construct. When Kahn (1990) describes the concept of personal engagement, he provides an example of a scuba-diving instructor at the summer camp who spent much time with students, worked, and shared his enthusiasm, personal idea about the ocean, and needs to take care of its resources. He was connected with the fear and excitement of the young divers and expressed himself by sharing his diving journey and talking about the wonders of the ocean.

According to Kahn, as this diving instructor was *physically* involved, *cognitively* attentive, and *emotionally* empathetic, the instructor was expressing a preferred self and

experiencing “moments of pure personal engagement” (p. 700). However, as can be seen from the example, the instructor was not only physically, emotionally, and cognitively immersed but also communicatively involved. The instructor was connected with other people in a given situation, involved in communicative interaction with them, and participated in playing his role. It was a social and communicative process in a situated context with other interactants.

Johnston (2018) describes engagement as a socially situated process where meaning is created or co-created through communication. This process is culturally and communicatively bounded within given contexts through interaction and connection with others. Johnston (2018) further proposes taxonomy of engagement as a state and a process at individual levels as well as social levels in order to synthesize a cohesive body of engagement theory. Engagement as a state embraces the dimensions of engagement proposed by Kahn’s (1990) conceptual framework (i.e., cognitive, affective, and behavioral engagement). In this vein, engagement is operationalized on a continuum from negative (Disengaged/non-engaged) to positive (Idealized engagement) levels. Similarly, MacLeod and Clarke (2009) noted that it is important to examine these levels of engagement as they are correlated with degrees of performance. What Johnston (2018) also proposes is that these three dimensions (cognitive, affective, and behavioral) of engagement at individual and social levels can be achieved through communication-based interventions.

By following the view of Johnston’s (2018) approach to engagement, the current study argues that engagement should not only be looked at as a mere psychological state of mind that brings out positive organizational outcomes, but also embrace a continuing

communicative orientation involving "regular dialogue and discussion among diverse actors" (Berardo et al., 2014, p. 698). That is, engagement should be a relational and communicative construct (Johnston, 2010; 2014, Taylor & Kent, 2014). This communicative approach to the construct of engagement can represent a collaboratively "deeper level of dyadic interaction between people, organizations, countries, or any of these entities with the other" (Doerfel, 2018, p. 5).

For example, when individuals attend a meeting, engagement is neither representing mere attendance at the meeting nor their enthusiasm or emotional energy to be there. Rather, it fosters conversation or discussion among attendees at the meeting so that it will more likely produce various collaborative outcomes (e.g., coming up with solutions to the meeting agenda). It is plausible to argue that communicative engagement of organizational members is important to predict positive organizational outcomes. It is critical to embrace such communicative construct of engagement when examining volunteer engagement. According to the BLS (2016), there are cases where a volunteer chooses a particular organization to volunteer with; however, many of the volunteers began volunteering because they were asked by friends, family, relatives, bosses, employing organizations, co-workers, or someone in the organizations.

As this study aims to explore the communicative engagement of volunteering, this study adopted a notion of Word-of-Mouth (WOM) as one way of looking at volunteers' communicative engagement. According to Anderson (1998), WOM is informal communication about certain entities between interactants. Brown et al. (2005) similarly defined it as "any information about a target object (e.g., organization, brand) transferred from one individual to another either in person or via some communication medium" (p.

125). In other words, WOM can be informal communicative behaviors disseminating information about a particular brand, service, product, or organization. Although Word-of-Mouth (WOM) has been more widely adopted in marketing research or public relations research to predict people's behaviors (Gremler et al., 2001; Hong & Yang, 2009; Kang, 2014), adopting this notion to understand volunteers' communicative engagement can be beneficial.

Volunteer Engagement and Communication Networks

Previous research has found significantly positive impacts of engagement on job satisfaction, organizational commitment (Saks, 2006), organizational effectiveness (Saks, 2008), organizational citizenship behavior, and job performance (Bakker & Bal, 2010; Kataria et al., 2012; Saks, 2006), and intention to remain (Saks, 2006; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). More engaged individuals tend to show more positive attitudes and proactive behaviors like helpful attitude toward their coworkers (Schaufeli et al., 2002). However, much less research has paid attention to volunteer engagement, as they are distinct from employees by nature.

Volunteers are often viewed as people who are motivated by social needs rather than getting financial compensation for their work (Cnaan & Cascio, 1998) and who can leave anytime without further concern for their personal benefits (Farmer & Fedor, 2001). However, volunteers may engage in volunteer activities for a longer time due to their relationships with other stakeholders, including co-volunteers and those who were beneficiaries of volunteering service. For example, Gossett and Smith (2013) interviewed volunteers who devoted their time in 2005 hurricane relief contexts. There were two different sites where volunteers worked together in one location and where volunteers

were spread to different shelter locations throughout the city. When volunteers were asked whether they have intentions to work with the organization or donate in the future, more time spent in a centrally organized location than separated one was more positively related to their future volunteering and donation intentions. They stated that how it was organized might have affected volunteers' ability to socialize with co-volunteers and form a sense of community.

In addition, McAllum (2013) asserted that volunteers perceive they received rewards by interacting with volunteering service recipients (e.g., community members and refugee families), and it is meaningful for volunteers to be engaged. She reported the importance of volunteers to build close relationships with other stakeholders, including the service recipients, which may encourage volunteers' commitment. Volunteers will construct and reconstruct the meanings of the relationships and they tend to increase volunteers' sense of obligation, which contribute to guilty feelings about quitting a volunteering opportunity. Those volunteers who formed such an obligatory centered commitment to the people whom they have served and with whom they built relationships tend to stay. Further, they engage even when their initial motivation has faded away.

Although the type and depth of such relationships may vary depending on volunteering contexts, the development of such relationships has significant meanings for volunteers about why and how they engage in activities. Kramer (2005) also found that interactions with audiences in volunteer community theater groups are the most important factors explaining volunteers' satisfaction and commitment. Similarly, Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) reported that an actual conversation with recipients is very important

as it usually helps the volunteers feel more deeply involved. Such interactions transform a new volunteer into a confident and emotionally involved one.

Furthermore, as individuals are influenced by the network to change their attitudes and behaviors, it can be argued that volunteer's attitudes and behaviors encourage and are constructed by their interactions with others. Zagenczyk et al. (2008) argued that the "behavior of coworkers with whom an individual maintains strong relationships will have a great impact on that employee's own behaviors" (p. 761). Similarly, it was found that when a member in a work group tended to show a higher level of helping behavior, other members in the group generally helped others (Bommer et al., 2003). In other words, helping behaviors can be contagious. Similarly, Brass et al. (1998) examined organizational members' ethical behavior and asserted that they behave in a similar fashion with whom they mostly interact. For example, if an individual interacted with another who behaved in an (un) ethical manner, he/she exhibited a similar pattern of (un) ethical behaviors. Therefore, if volunteers interact with others who value volunteering, or volunteer themselves, they are more likely to engage. Thus, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ_2: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their communicative engagement in volunteering?

RQ_3: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their general engagement in volunteering?

Volunteer Engagement and Identifications

Understanding various targets of identifications among volunteers will help explain their levels of engagement. Through social interactions, individuals identify with

certain targets, including an individual, group, organization, and occupation/profession in organizational contexts (Scott et al., 1999). Identification has been found to be one of the crucial elements that help clarify organizational members' attitude, behaviors, and organizational outcomes (Albert et al., 2000; Ashforth et al., 2008). For example, when individuals identify themselves as a member of a certain group or organization, they tend to emphasize perceived similarities with other group members (Hogg & Terry, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

According to Mael and Ashforth (1992), strong organizational identification would result in continuous support for the organization, and organizational members who strongly identify with their organization would put more effort into their work (Bartel, 2001). Similarly, Kramer (1993) found that those who strongly identify with the organization tend to cooperate more with other organizational members. Previous research also reported that volunteers are more certain about their volunteer organizations, they tend to bring more people in (Kramer et al., 2013).

However, it is not so clear that how various targets of identification may influence volunteers' level of engagement differently. For example, when an organization recruits volunteers, the organization wants them to prolong and come back to volunteer with the organization. In other words, it is still great if volunteers keep engaging in volunteering anywhere, but it will be even better for an organization if they stay with the same organization and volunteer. If volunteers who only identify with their volunteer role or volunteering tasks, it may not matter to them for which organization they volunteer. Thus, it is plausible to argue that it is important to examine how various targets of identification

may differently affect volunteers' levels of engagement. Therefore, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ4: To what extent do identifications with multiple targets predict one's communicative engagement in volunteering?

RQ5: To what extent do identifications with multiple targets predict one's level of engagement in volunteering?

Previous research has reported positive association between identifications and organizational outcomes. For example, Janssen and Huang (2008) reported that individuals who strongly identify with their team tend to engage more in citizenship behaviors that benefit other members. Millward and Postmes (2010) stated that identification with organizational supervisory members was significantly related to work performance (e.g., increased sales volume). Some scholars argue that one of the strongest predictors of long-term engagement in volunteering is their identification with the volunteering role (Charng et al., 1988; Finkelstein, 2008), while Gossett and Smith (2013) indicated that volunteers may or may not behave consistently in a fashion that serves the organization's interests if they identify with something other than the organization. Although it seems that findings are not consistent, it is clear that identifying with one's role has positive impact on their future engagement in volunteering. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H11: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will be more communicatively engaged in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.

H12: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will show a greater general engagement in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.

The current study also aims to discover the indirect effect of volunteers' communication networks on the levels of volunteer engagement. Although the relationships volunteers have built may encourage volunteer engagement, it is not entirely clear that their communication networks stimulate their engagement in its own right. Rather, I propose that their communication networks can contribute to identifications, which subsequently increases communicative as well as general engagement as discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. To confirm these relationships, I propose the following hypotheses that examine the mediating role of identifications:

H13: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement in volunteering.

H14: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on the levels of volunteer engagement.

Before moving to the next chapter, Table 2 summarizes the proposed research questions and hypotheses.

Table 2

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Theme	Research Questions/Hypotheses
Identification with Multiple Targets	RQ_1: How do volunteers prioritize and negotiate their multiple identities and identifications?
	H_1: Volunteers' role identification will be stronger than volunteer organization identification.
	H_2: The length of volunteering with volunteer organization will be positively associated with identification with volunteer organization.
Communication Networks and Identification with Multiple Targets	H_3: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.
	H_4: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.
	H_5: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.
	H_6: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.
	H_7: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.
	H_8: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.
	H_9: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.
	H_{10}: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.
Communication Networks and Engagement	RQ_2: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their communicative engagement in volunteering?
	RQ_3: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their general engagement in volunteering?
Identification with Multiple Targets and Engagement	H_{11}: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will be more communicatively engaged in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.
	H_{12}: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will show a greater general engagement in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.

Theme	Research Questions/Hypotheses
	RQ_4: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's communicative engagement in volunteering?
	RQ_5: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's level of engagement?
Identification, Communication Networks, and Engagement	H_{13}: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement in volunteering.
	H_{14}: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on the levels of volunteer engagement.

Chapter 3: Methods

This study examined the ways volunteers identify with multiple targets, their informational and emotional support network, how communication network characteristics affect identification with multiple targets, and how all that relates to their engagement. To answer the proposed research questions and test hypotheses, this study employed an organizational member survey with questionnaires and follow-up interviews. To further understand volunteers, it was necessary to employ a social network analysis approach as it provides valuable information to understand an informal network (Cross et al., 2001); thus, the current study also examined ego-networks of the volunteers.

General Research Design

The current research design involved mixed methods (a survey questionnaire and interviews), which helps achieve a more comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon. As survey questionnaires are helpful to capture information from a large number of participants, they are useful when examining the impact of independent variables on outcomes (Creswell, 2014). The survey questionnaire also included the questions regarding their communication networks and network characteristics. For example, the participants were asked to list up to 6 people to whom they turn for informational support when volunteering, 6 people to whom they turn for emotional support, and up to 6 people who actually turn to the participants for information, which is also defined to as alters. Then, they were asked to mark the types of relationships they have with each of the people listed, whether they have volunteered together or not, types of communication tools they use to communicate with each alter, and gender, employment status, and age groups to which each alter belongs. A qualitative interview is useful for gathering in-

depth data on communication messages that volunteers exchange with others in their networks and understanding their first-hand experience. It also helps elaborate the initial understanding gained from the quantitative approach. A more detailed description of each method is discussed later in this chapter.

First, a printed copy of a quantitative survey questionnaire, along with the consent form, was distributed at the volunteering sites where the researcher recruited volunteers. The survey—which measured multiple targets of identification, communication networks, types of volunteering, perceived role, levels of engagement, years of volunteering, and other demographic information—took approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete. Established survey scales are described in following section (see Appendix A). At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview and to leave their email address.

Although the initial quantitative data provide evidence to address the research questions and hypotheses proposed, it was generally not sufficient to capture, interpret, and expand deeper understanding of volunteers. A more qualitative approach provided an additional layer of understanding, as interviews are considered an effective way to grasp individuals' perspectives and experiences, and to understand the language through their stories and explanations (Boeije, 2010; Lindlof, & Taylor, 2002). Interview participation was completely voluntary and the 27 interviews were conducted through one of several options based on the participant's preference: Skype, phone, Google-hangout, or face to face at the volunteer site. Interviewees were asked about their volunteering experiences and their communication networks, including how they began volunteering, any difficulties or conflicts they have experienced, with whom and how they had reconciled

any problems, their relationships with other volunteers and volunteer managers, and the levels of their current volunteering engagement (see Appendix B).

Research Context and Participants

Given a wide range of definitions of volunteerism in the literature, it is almost impossible and perhaps unadvisable to recruit every type of volunteer, because some types are very distinct from others by nature. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the main volunteer activities of people in the United States involved coaching, tutoring, ushering, mentoring, collecting and distributing goods, fundraising, engaging in performance, providing general office services, and participating in other labor involved activities (2016). As this study aims to understand and expand our understandings on volunteers and volunteer engagement, it is plausible to recruit community event volunteers representing the above range of activities.

However, those volunteering for civic engagement or activism (i.e., advocacy group volunteers protesting for the human rights or legislative changes), and performing community service under court order were excluded in the current study as their motivation to be involved is very distinct from other types of volunteering in the United States. The researcher went to various types of community events, such as state fairs, county fairs, theaters, racing events (e.g., 5K and 10K races), fall festivals, gift wrapping events, and a flower show, to approach and recruit various types of volunteers. By approaching volunteers at the site they were volunteering, the researcher could recruit both episodic volunteers and traditional volunteers.

The current study successfully recruited 166 individuals to complete the survey questionnaire across various community events. Of 166 completed, 29.5% of the

respondents were volunteering at racing events (e.g., 5K, 10K). I recruited 22.9% of the respondents from the annual flower show, 21.7% from three different gift-wrapping events, 15.7% from state and county fairs, and 10.2% from theater and Christmas concerts. Of the total respondents, 129 (78.2%) were female and 36 (21.8%) were male volunteers. One person did start filling out the survey but did not mark more than 90% of the questions, so it was excluded. Only volunteers who were over 18 years of age were included. By age, 55 to 64-year-olds were the highest portion of participants (30.3%), followed by 66 year-olds or older (15.8%), 45 to 54 year-olds (22.4%), 35 to 44 year-olds (13.9%), 25 to 34 year-olds (12.1%), and 18 to 24 year-olds (5.5%). About 73% of the respondents identified as White followed by Black (12.1%), Hispanic/Latino (7.9%), and Asian (6.7%). Out of all the respondents, 63.6% reported having at least a bachelor degree or higher, followed by attended some college (13.9%), associate's degree (11.5%), and high school graduate (10.9%).

In terms of their employment status, 70.9% of the total respondents were employed at least part-time, 4.2% of the total respondents were temporarily unemployed, 17.6% of the people were retired, and 7.3% of the total respondents were staying home. About half of the respondents (50.9%) reported that they were involved in one or two volunteer organizations, and 38.2% were involved in 3 to 4 volunteer organizations. About 11% of the total respondents were involved in more than 5 volunteer organizations. More than half of the participants (54.5%) said they typically spent one to five hours per week volunteering followed by less than one hour (23%), 6 to 10 hours (14.5%), and 11 or more hours (7.8%) per week. In terms of volunteers' organizational tenure, more than one third of the total respondents reported that it has been less than a year since they

volunteered for the main organization (37.2%). Another 18.9% of the respondents reported 1 to 3 years of volunteering for the main organization, followed by 4 to 6 years (18.3%), more than 10 years (14%), and 7 to 10 years (11.6%) (see Table 3). The sample demographic information is similar to what the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016) reported about the volunteering population in the United States. Among the U.S. population, the volunteer rate for women is higher than men, and across all age groups, 25 to 44 year-olds and 45 to 54 year-olds are more likely to volunteer than younger populations. The BLS also indicates that those with higher levels of education (i.e. a bachelor degree or higher) are more likely to volunteer than those with less education. The main types of organizations for which the volunteers worked were religious organizations, educational organizations, and social/community service organizations. Volunteers annually spent about 50 to 52 hours volunteering and were involved with one or two organizations on average. In terms of race and ethnicity, Whites volunteered the most, followed by Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics.

Table 3

Demographic Data of the Survey Participants

Variables	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	36	21.8
	Female	129	78.2
	Total	165	100
Employment Status	Employed Full Time	94	57.0
	Employed Part Time	23	13.9
	Stay at Home/Homemaker	12	7.3
	Temporarily Unemployed	7	4.2
	Retired	29	17.6
	Total	165	100
Age Group	18-24 years	9	5.5
	25 – 34 years	20	12.1
	35 – 44 years old	23	13.9
	45 – 54 years old	37	22.4
	55 – 64 years old	50	30.3
	66 years and older	26	15.8
	Total	165	100
Ethnicity	African American	20	12.1
	Asian/Asian-American or Pacific Islander	11	6.7
	Hispanic/Latino	13	7.9
	Caucasian	121	73.3
	Total	165	100
Education	High School Graduate	18	10.9
	Attended Some College	23	13.9
	Associates Degree	19	11.5
	Bachelor's Degree	61	37.0
	Master's Degree	39	23.6
	Doctoral Degree	5	3.0
	Total	165	100
Hours of Volunteering (per week)	Less than 1 hour	38	23
	1 – 5 hours	90	54.5
	6 – 10 hours	24	14.5
	11 – 15 hours	7	4.2
	More than 15 hours	6	3.6
	Total	165	100

Variables	Categories		Frequency	Percentage
Number of Other Volunteering Organizations	0 (Just this organization)		38	23.0
	1 other organization		46	27.9
	2 -3 other organizations		63	38.2
	4 – 5 other organizations		9	5.5
	6 or more organizations		9	5.5
		Total	165	100
Organizational Tenure	Less than a year		61	37.2
	1 – 3 years		31	18.9
	4 – 6 years		30	18.3
	7 – 10 years		19	11.6
	More than 10 years		23	14.0
		Total	164	100
Types of Events Volunteering	Fair (State, County)		26	15.7
	Flower Show		38	22.9
	Gift Wrapping		36	21.7
	Theater/Concert		17	10.2
	Racing Events (e.g., 5K, 10K)		49	29.5
		Total	166	100

Survey Questionnaire Measurement

Volunteer Organization Identification (VOI) and Employing Organization Identification (EOI)

Volunteers' target organizations of identification particularly relevant in the current study are volunteer organization and employing organization (job organization where they work for a living and get paid). Identification was measured by a 6-item Likert-type scale from Mael and Ashforth (1992). Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Items for VOI are the following: (1) "When I talk about the volunteer organization, I usually say "we" rather than "they"", (2) "When someone praises the volunteer organization, it feels like a personal compliment", (3) "my volunteer organization's successes are my successes", (4) "I am very interested in what others think about the volunteer organization", (5) "When someone criticizes the volunteer organization, it feels like a personal insult", and (6) "If a story in the media criticized the volunteer organization, I would feel embarrassed". This measure was reworded for EOI by substituting the word "employing" for "volunteer." Previous research has demonstrated this as a reliable scale, with alpha coefficients ranging from .81 to .89 (Saks & Ashforth, 1997), and the reliability in the current study was acceptable for VOI (α = .85; M = 3.92, SD =0.85) and EOI (α = .90; M = 3.98, SD =0.89).

Role Identification (RI) and Family Identification (FI)

Other targets of identification particularly relevant in the current study are volunteer role/tasks and family. To assess these, items were adapted from Cheney's (1983) measure of organizational identification. His scale was more easily adapted for

these targets than just trying to change a word in the Mael and Ashforth (1992) measure, which also avoids respondent fatigue and straight line responding due to similar, repeated questions. Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. RI items were (1) "I am proud to be a volunteer", (2) "I really care about my volunteering work", (3) "I am glad that I choose to volunteer", (4) "The image of my volunteering work in the community represents me well", (5) "I have warm feelings toward my volunteering work", and (6) "I find my values and the values of this volunteering work are very similar." This measure was reworded for family by substituting the word "family or a member of my family" for "volunteering work." For example, the items such as (1) "I am proud to be a member of my family", (2)"I really care about my family", (3) "I am glad that I am a member of my family", (4)"The image of my family in the community represents me well", (5) "I have warm feelings toward my family", and (6) "I find my values and the values of my family are very similar" were used to measure family identification (FI). These modified identification scales were used in the current study, with strong alpha coefficients for volunteering RI (α = .93, M = 4.65, SD = 0.61) and FI (α = .91, M = 4.64, SD = 0.67), respectively.

Communication Network Variables

Volunteers' communication network characteristics were derived from an ego-network questionnaire that included both a name generator and name interpreter (Burt, 1984; Wellman, 1979). First, a name generator was used to obtain alters (i.e., members of the respondent's network) in a respondent's ego-networks. Then, for each alter identified by the ego (i.e., respondent), name interpreter items were asked to draw the attributes of alters as well as ego-alter ties. In line with how previous research conceptualized

different types of network ties, two distinctive types of volunteer networks were examined: instrumental (e.g. information exchange) and expressive (e.g., emotional support) (Ibarra, 1995; Yuan & Gay 2006).

Instrumental and Expressive Networks. Research participants were asked "Please name (or provide initials) of at least three people with whom you have communicated when you (1) needed information to get your assigned volunteer task done, and (2) needed emotional support to encourage volunteering activities. They were also asked to name or provide initials of people who actually turned to the respondents for volunteering-related information. Although the question asked them to list at least three people, extra spaces were provided to list more people if wanted.

The questions were asked to measure the volunteers' *instrumental network ties*, for information, resource, and advice exchanges in order to accomplish the given tasks. Instrumental network ties also include one's *information network* from which they get resources, information and advice as well as one's *information provision network* to which they provide information, resources, and advice. Their *expressive ties*, for getting emotional support, are not necessarily linked with their task completion. The respondents, on average, listed 2.44 people for their *information network*, 1.66 people for their *information provision network*, and 1.99 people for their *expressive ties*. When analyzing the data, first, all three networks were combined and examined as *entire networks*. Then, each type of network was examined more in depth.

Homophily Variables. Homophily has been linked to the idea that individuals within organizations are more inclined to communicate with other individuals who are similar to them because they feel more comfortable of communicating with others who

are similar so that communication is more effective when source and receiver are homophilous. It also increases predictability of human behavior as well as fosters reciprocity among interactants (Brass, 1995). In particular, the most widely adopted homophily variables in previous research include age, gender, education, occupation, race/ethnicity, and tenure (Ibarra, 1995; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson et al., 2001).

Based on this, age homophily (AH), gender homophily (GH), and employment status homophily (ESH) were measured. For example, participants were asked about their alters' age group (e.g., 18 to 24 years, 25 to 34 years, 35 to 44 years, 45 to 54 years, 55 to 64 years, 65 years and over). Similarly, they were asked about alters' employment status (e.g., employed, unemployed, retired), and gender (e.g., male, female, do not want to identify). Then such information about alters including gender, age, and employment status was compared with that of ego, creating network homophily measures. For example, if ego's gender is the same as the alter's gender, the difference between the two variables was 0, so it was marked as "1" to indicate high homophily. If ego's gender is different from that of alter, it was marked as "0" to indicate low homophily.

In addition, homophily has been linked with attitude, beliefs, and behaviors (McPherson, et al., 2001). For example, behavioral influence within one's networks was found among teenagers (Cohen, 1977; Kandel, 1978) as well as people who shared political orientation, especially in the context of voluntary associations (Knoke, 1990). Thus, the current study also measured their volunteering relationship history with each alter (e.g., never volunteered together, currently volunteering, volunteered together in the past). For example, if they have never volunteered together, it was marked as "0". If they

volunteered together in the past or they are currently volunteering together, it was marked as “1”.

Types of Relationships. The respondents were also asked to mark their relationship with each alter listed (e.g., family member, friends, co-volunteers, volunteer manager, and coworker). When analyzing the data, volunteering affiliated networks consisted of the proportion of co-volunteers and volunteer managers listed. To calculate the proportion of co-volunteers listed, the number of alters listed as co-volunteers was divided by the total number of alters listed. For the proportion of volunteer managers, the number of alters listed as volunteer-managers was divided by the total number of alters listed.

Frequent Use of Communication Tools. People tend to share varied types of resources with different people via multiple computer-mediated communication (CMC) channels (Haythornthwaite, 2002), and use of CMC channels has been found to encourage volunteer engagement (Starbird & Palen, 2011). From the nonprofit organizational standpoint, leveraging CMC channels can also benefit them in various ways. For example, nonprofit organizations utilize different social media platforms to fulfill various goals, including encouraging community engagement and disseminating information (Hou & Lampe, 2015). Use of CMC channels have a great potential for public discourse and can help develop the organization-public relationship, and it can become a primary resource to communicate with people. Thus, the current study asked how frequently they have communicated with each alter through various communication channels including email, social media, phone, and face-to-face (from 0=Never to 5=Daily).

General Engagement

The Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES) is the most popular measure of engagement (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2003); however, this scale includes items that confound engagement with possible antecedent conditions (e.g., psychological meaningfulness, safety and availability) (Rich et al., 2010). Thus, the current research looked for an alternative measure. May et al. (2004) developed engagement items ($\alpha = .77$) based on Kahn's (1990) conceptualization of engagement: four items for cognitive engagement, four items for emotional engagement, and five items for physical engagement. Rich and colleagues (2010) also developed six items for each dimension of engagement based on Kahn's conceptualization of engagement, which were later adopted and modified for measuring volunteer engagement (α = .92) (Alfes et al., 2016; Shantz et al., 2014). These revised items measuring volunteer engagement were adopted and measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Items include when I volunteer, I focus a great deal of my attention on my volunteering tasks (Cognitive); when I volunteer, my mind is focused on my volunteering tasks (Cognitive); I feel enthusiastic about my volunteering tasks (Emotional); I get excited when I perform well while volunteering (Emotional); I exert my full effort to do my volunteering tasks (Physical); and I strive as hard as I can to complete my volunteering tasks (Physical). These items were used as a reliable single measure of engagement in the current study (α = .95, M = 4.54, SD = 0.61).

Word-of-Mouth (WOM) as Communicative Engagement

To measure communicative engagement, I drew from Brown et al. (2005) and their research on word of mouth (WOM) communication, defined as "any information

about a target object (e.g., organization, brand) transferred from one individual to another either in person or via some communication medium" (p. 125). However, I modified the items to promote greater conceptual correspondence with conceptualization of communicative engagement. For example, items in Brown et al.'s scale were to recommend business to others.

In this study, it was modified to measure their recommendation of and/or talking positively about "volunteering" to others. For example, questionnaire items include "I mentioned to others about my volunteering", "I made sure that others know that I volunteer", and "I encourage family members to volunteer." The alpha coefficients for this scale ranged from .89 to .95 in previous studies (Brown et al., 2005; Kang, 2014). The modified WOM scale used in the current study was reliable as well (α = .86, M = 4.40, SD = 0.82).

Demographic Data

Demographic data such as gender, age group, education, employment status, racial or ethnic background, volunteering hours, numbers of volunteering organization, and organizational tenure (years of volunteering in the organization) were collected at the end of the survey questionnaire.

Table 4 includes correlation analysis results of identification with multiple targets, communication network variables for the entire network, and the two types of engagement.

Table 4

Correlation Table for Main IV and DV (p < .05, ** p < .01, Two-tailed) (N = 166)*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	VOI	1																			
2	RI	.571**	1																		
3	FI	.447**	.551**	1																	
4	EOI	.501**	.566**	.278**	1																
5	WOM	.453**	.552**	.512**	.367**	1															
6	ENG	.502**	.835**	.528**	.493**	.644**	1														
7	RelST	.087	-.010	.040	.056	.047	-.006	1													
8	NetSZ	.084	.026	.079	-.104	.001	.018	-.021	1												
9	CoVol	.232**	-.015	.037	.004	.052	.000	.560**	.180*	1											
10	VMan	-.050	.069	.071	.167*	.051	.073	-.016	-.239**	-.405**	1										
11	FRS	.021	.030	.006	-.028	-.002	.030	.471**	-.022	.034	-.040	1									
12	FAM	-.044	-.092	-.031	-.094	-.069	-.134	.205**	.003	.061	-.356**	-.286**	1								
13	COWR	-.094	-.003	-.033	.066	.045	.030	.231**	-.002	-.052	-.107	-.101	-.142	1							
14	AH	-.087	-.125	.061	-.102	-.166*	-.162*	.111	.021	.144	-.036	.129	-.050	-.073	1						
15	GH	.084	.078	.087	.098	.263**	.138	.120	-.004	.026	-.036	.224**	-.145	.115	.058	1					
16	ESH	-.067	.003	-.019	.016	-.046	-.068	.173*	.018	.056	-.054	-.003	.017	.306**	-.187*	-.029	1				
17	VRH	.194*	-.010	.132	-.037	.193*	.050	.452**	.153	.556**	-.014	.049	.011	-.016	-.090	.065	.064	1			
18	FtoF	.182*	.015	.056	.120	-.026	-.027	.137	-.018	.172*	-.315**	-.113	.439**	-.016	-.057	-.068	.186*	.054	1		
19	SNS	.036	-.018	.108	.086	.107	.012	.178*	.079	-.008	-.028	.268**	.056	-.046	-.016	.087	.090	.083	.226**	1	
20	TXT	.165*	.038	.083	.030	.063	.005	.153	.023	.045	-.148	.099	.324**	-.142	-.092	.002	.121	.127	.570**	.490**	1

VOI = volunteer organizational identification

RI = volunteer role identification

FI = family identification

EOI = employing organizational identification

WOM = word of mouth as communicative engagement

ENG = general engagement

RelST = relationship strength between ego and alters

NetSZ = network size

CoVol = the proportion of co-volunteers listed

VMan = the proportion of volunteer managers listed

FRS = the proportion of friends listed

FAM = the proportion of family and relatives listed

COWR = the proportion of co-workers listed

AH = age gap homophily

GH = gender homophily

ESH = employment status homophily

VRH = volunteering relationship history homophily

FtoF = frequency of face to face communication between ego and alters

SNS = frequency of using emails and social media to communicate with alters

TXT = frequency of using mobile phones to call or text to communicate with alters.

In-depth Interviews

Although the quantitative survey questionnaire data is useful for testing hypotheses, it is crucial to further capture, interpret, and understand the actual volunteering experiences and types of messages volunteers share with others within and outside their volunteering affiliated networks. I chose in-depth interviews to understand what volunteers actually experienced not only at the volunteering site where we met but also in other volunteer events when applicable. Semi-structured interviews encouraged the participants to describe events, situations, and experiences in their own words. The interview data can provide rich and detailed information not limited to preconceived questions and categories (Boeije, 2010).

At the end of the survey questionnaire, the participants were asked to leave their contact information if they were willing to participate in an in-depth interview. An email invitation for the follow-up interviews was sent to forty-five survey participants who left their email address. Every interviewee also received an electronic copy of the consent form when arranging the interview. Of 45 participants, 27 individuals (60%) responded to the invitation email and agreed to participate in the interviews. As an incentive to participate, each interview participant who completed the full interview process received a $20 e-gift card.

All interviews were digitally recorded after obtaining an agreement from each interviewee. After the interview was complete, the interviewee's contact information and identifiable data were permanently deleted. Then, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, excluding small talk in the beginning and at the end of the interviews. Each interview lasted from 20 minutes to 50 minutes, and were conducted by Skype (n = 1),

phone (n = 19) or face-to-face (n = 7) based upon participants' requests. In total, about 660 minutes of interviews and 215 single-spaced pages of texts were generated for analysis.

After transcribing the interview data, I began the initial coding process. First, I read through the transcripts several times so that I could be more familiarized with the data before coding. Then, the transcripts were imported into NVivo to conduct line-by-line coding and to extract key quotes. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) recommend, I started with an open coding method for the initial coding process. It was to ensure that I categorized data into open codes without limiting them by themes (i.e., identification, engagement, or networks), research questions, or patterns throughout the line-by-line coding procedures. After the initial data analysis, I used constant comparative analysis in order to compare the initial codes found from one interview transcript with those from other interviews (Holton, 2007). The initial coding and constant comparison analysis led me to the formation of 33 first level codes that emerged from the data (see Table 5).

This initial data analysis helped broaden the understanding of volunteers' relationships, positive and rewarding experiences, situations they were in, and conflicts or challenges they experienced. Through a constant comparison among data and coding categories, I organized, linked, and combined first level codes to focus on the research questions proposed for the current study. Before discussing results, Table 6 shows the proposed research questions and hypothesis along with the statistical analyses used to answer research questions and to test each hypothesis.

Table 5

Qualitative Codebook, First Level Codes

First Level Codes	Frequency of Coding
Volunteer organizations	92
Reasons for volunteering	79
If I were the volunteer organizer or manager	67
Difficulties & challenges	65
Family involvement and understanding	63
Networking	61
Volunteer role & description	56
Communication with volunteer manager(s)	50
Sharing experience with	48
Volunteering with whom	44
Rewarding	40
How I got involved	34
Communication tools	32
Coping skills for challenges or difficulties	28
Reasons for turning away	27
Organizational change	25
We-org	25
Spreading words	23
Employing organization's encouragement	22
Length of volunteering	22
Volunteer's attitude	22
Memorable moments	21
Commitment	20
Frequency of volunteering	19
Importance of volunteering	19
PR for volunteer organization	19
Recipients/beneficiary of volunteering service	19
We-volunteers/volunteering	16
PR for self-skills or ability	15
Reasons why I couldn't	13
Recognition	13
Different events through volunteer organization	8
We-others	9

*The codes are listed by the frequency of each code.

Table 6

Analysis for Each Research Question and Hypothesis

Theme	Research Questions/Hypotheses	Analysis
Identification with Multiple Targets	RQ_1: How do volunteers prioritize and negotiate their multiple identities and identifications?	Paired-Samples T-tests Interview Data Coding
	H_1: Volunteers' role identification will be stronger than volunteer organization identification.	Paired-Samples T-test
	H_2: The length of volunteering with volunteer organization will be positively associated with identification with volunteer organization.	Correlation
Communication Networks and Identification with Multiple Targets	H_3: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict stronger identification with one's volunteer organization.	Regression
	H_4: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.	Regression
	H_5: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.	Regression
	H_6 : The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.	Regression
	H_7: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.	Regression
	H_8: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.	Regression

Theme	Research Questions/Hypotheses	Analysis
	H_9: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.	Regression
	H_{10}: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.	Regression
Communication Networks and Engagement	RQ_2: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their communicative engagement in volunteering?	Regression
	RQ_3: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their general engagement in volunteering?	Regression
Identification with Multiple Targets and Engagement	H_{11}: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will be more communicatively engaged in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.	ANOVA
	H_{12}: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will show a greater general engagement in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.	ANOVA
	RQ_4: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's communicative engagement in volunteering?	Regression
	RQ_5: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's level of engagement?	Regression
Identification, Communication Networks, and Engagement	H_{13}: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement in volunteering.	Mediation analysis
	H_{14}: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on the levels of volunteer engagement.	Mediation Analysis

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter will report findings from both the questionnaire and interview data to answer the research questions and hypotheses that examine volunteers' multiple targets of identification, networks, and communication. Before providing more detailed findings for each research question and hypothesis, a brief summary of descriptive findings will be discussed to understand characteristics of volunteers who participated in this study. Following that, the major findings for each research question and hypothesis will be discussed. When reporting the interview data, pseudonyms will be assigned to each interviewee.

Descriptive Findings

I recruited volunteers across various events including county fairs in New Jersey, state fairs in New York and Virginia, various racing events with different themes (e.g., Love Run, Turkey Trot, Jingle Bell Run, Hot Coco Run), gift wrapping at a Barnes and Noble and at two other shopping malls, a live theatre, a Christmas concert, and a large flower show in Philadelphia. Across these events, many volunteers were not just involved with one organization but rather recruited to volunteer through various volunteer organizations. For example, there was an organization that organized a Virginia State Fair and some volunteers signed up and were recruited through that organization. Other people volunteering at the state fair were representing an animal shelter, 4-H, a local school/university, and a senior community center.

Table 3 reports several characteristics of the volunteer respondents: length of their volunteering in the organization, amount of time spent volunteering in a typical week, the number of other organizations for which they also volunteer, and the event at which they

were volunteering during the current study. Crosstabs were run to see the association between event types and volunteer organization tenure, hours of volunteering, and the number of other organizations they volunteer with, and Chi-square indicated that there were no differences. This allows for combining all the data for statistical analysis.

One of the survey questionnaire items was an open-ended question asking about their three primary roles at the time they were recruited. For example, some of the volunteers recruited at 5K events stated their role as "volunteer," "being enthusiastic," "friendly," and "help." Other volunteers from different events also showed similar patterns by stating "serving others," "volunteering," "support," "be helpful," "dedication," "caring," and "be proud."

Multiple Targets of Identification

Quantitative Findings

In the survey questionnaire, four different targets of identification were assessed. To examine the first research question asking how volunteers prioritize and negotiate their identification with multiple targets, a series of paired samples t-tests were run and reported in Table 5. Results indicated that strength of identification with one's volunteer role (RI) was significantly higher than identification with one's volunteer organization (VOI), t (165) = 10.44, $p < .001$, statistically higher than identification with one's employing organization (EOI), t (144) = 9.22, $p < .001$, and significantly higher than family identification (FI), t (163) = 2.12, $p < .05$.

The results also showed that strength of identification with one's family (FI) was significantly higher than identification with one's volunteer organization (VOI), t (163) = 7.31, $p < .001$, and statistically higher than identification with employing organization

(EOI), t (143) = 5.85, $p < .001$. The difference between identification with one' employing organization and volunteer organization was not statistically significant, t (143) = -.014, $p = .852$. Hypothesis 1 predicted that volunteers would have stronger identification with their volunteer role than the volunteer organization. A paired samples t-test shows that volunteer' identification score for their volunteer role (M=4.70) is significantly higher than identification with volunteer organization (M=4.12), t (165) = 10.44, $p < .001$. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is supported (see Table 7).

Table 7

Paired Sample T-Tests for Identification with Multiple Targets

	Measure	Mean	SD	Mean Difference	SD	t-value
Pair 1	RI VOI	4.70 4.12	.61 .86	.58	.71	10.44 (165)**
Pair 2	RI EOI	4.70 4.12	.63 .90	.58	.75	9.22 (144)**
Pair 3	RI FI	4.70 4.60	.61 .71	.10	.63	2.12 (163)*
Pair 4	FI VOI	4.60 4.12	.71 .86	.48	.84	7.31 (163)**
Pair 5	FI EOI	4.59 4.11	.69 .90	.47	.97	5.85 (143)**
Pair 6	EOI VOI	4.12 4.13	.90 .88	-.014	.89	- .19 (144)

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive association between volunteer organization tenure and identification with volunteer organization. Because volunteer tenure in the organization was measured categorically, Spearman's rho was used as a measure of correlation. There was a significantly positive association between volunteering tenure in the organization and identification with the volunteer organization ($\rho = .19$, $p < .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 2 is supported.

Qualitative Findings

One of the survey questionnaire items measuring identification asked whether people use "we" language rather than "they" when they talk about their organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). In analyzing the interview data, similar patterns were found. Subjects were switching between "we" language to represent inclusiveness and "they" language to separate themselves from certain targets. It is important to understand the language volunteers use to identify with and to potentially distance (de-identify) themselves from the targets. However, it did not seem that volunteers completely disidentified with a target even when they used "they" language.

Identification with the Volunteer Organization. The interviewees mostly used "we" language when they felt proud of being part of the organizations, or when they explained the organization's events or schedule, whereas they used "they" language when they confided about things they would do differently from how and what the organizations did. Many volunteers were involved in multiple volunteer organizations and they used "we" language when they referred to the organization with which they more strongly identify. By simultaneously using both "we" and "they" language, interviewees expressed stronger and weaker identification with targets.

For example, Mike was a volunteer firefighter and also a member of the running club that organized one of the 5K races. He has been a volunteer firefighter for over 9 years and a member of the running club for closer to 12 years. When he talked about both volunteer organizations, it was obvious how he identified more strongly with the fire department than the running club. He explained that both organizations are in the same local community, so they usually help each other whenever they run the events and need help. He mostly used "we" language when he described his identification with the fire department and with being a firefighter, while he used "they" language when he indicates things associated with the running club.

> Since 2007. So what's that? That's wow. It's been already like 12 years since I knew them. Well, I liked the people and I have fun. I have fun with the club, so I tried to help out where they need help. And when they do put on an event, like a 5K run. So they need extra people to do in order to pitch in, to help out. So, you know, I do it because I liked the organization, and I liked the people. When we [fire department] run the events, they [running club] also come out and help...One coming up soon. I don't know how local you are but usually what we do on St. Patrick's Day is, we will be part of the parade and also do some fundraisings… [Mike from racing events]

Pam was also involved in a few volunteer organizations that organized the run, including the YMCA, her sorority alumni chapter, and a few others. She noted that her employing organization gives an extra pay day off to employees and encourages employees to volunteer. Volunteering does not have to be through her organization to use the extra pay day off, but employees can volunteer anywhere. Through her employing organization, she also participated in Toys for Tots during the Christmas season. Although she was involved with a few different volunteering organizations, she expressed her strong identification with the sorority alumni chapter throughout the interview and less identification with the YMCA and others.

> Well, I started volunteering with [this] run as a result of me being an advisor and because a [this] run is actually one of my sorority's national philanthropy's. We have the women who are members as undergrads, they set up cheering sections along the race route. Some of the girls are running buddies, are coaches and we actually in addition to finding out about this through the chapter at Westchester, we, sorority also has alumni chapters and alumni associations that are all over the country …I'm a part of that alumni chapter as well. And so I'm always, I'm on the email list from the YMCA now. So, when the races are planned there, they immediately ask for volunteers and … I get that information from especially with [this] run, I get that information directly from them. [Pam from racing events].

Pam was getting the information not only through her sorority alumni chapter but also directly from the organization that coordinated the run. Although she was asked to be on an organizing committee to coordinate the event and thus felt she was recognized as one of the insiders of the organization, she was more strongly identifying with the sorority alumni chapter than the organization planning the run. Even when interviewees used "they" language, it did not mean that they completely disconnected themselves from targets. They still showed some sort of identification but it was obvious that they used more inclusive language when they revealed stronger identification with targets.

Further, a closer examination of the interview data reveals the influence of situated contexts on identification. According to Scott et al. (1998), certain identities are more or less salient for the organizational member based on the situated activities, so examining situated activities can help us expand our understandings of the nature of forming identification with multiple targets in various situations. One of the interviewees from a fair, Kim, was a volunteer at a local animal shelter. As she loves animals, she started donating to the shelter and eventually volunteering there. As our conversation unfolded, she acknowledged that she could be more engaged in volunteering in the shelter because of her employing company matching volunteer hours and donating funds to the nonprofits where employees want to donate. For her, volunteering was all for the

animals she could help. The motives to volunteer through this shelter seemed to strongly influence identification with this shelter, especially when she had a dog adopted after taking the dog to the local event.

> I actually had a dog that day with me. We had three dogs from the shelter, so I'm always, we're not always allowed to bring dogs, but, when we are, that's where I'm certified that I can bring a dog. I love bringing one because I'm in love with the dog and then they want to come. I had a dog at the C farmer's market before that and he was adopted. And like after people met him and fell in love with him, he's an awesome dog, you know, like it's just education and awareness, you know. People fall in love with the animal and they come and they get to adopt the dog after they meet him at one of these events. Perfect. [Kim from County Fair]

If it was just to help the animals, she could have chosen other organizations. However, throughout the interview, what this organization does for animals and for the community, and the fact that she could be part of it, strongly affected her identification with the organization. She even became certified to take a dog. Further, once she saw how people fell in love with the dog, she took and eventually adopted the dog that made her feel so proud and satisfied, which strengthened her identification with the collective. She was so proud to volunteer through this particular organization and expressed such a strong identification with this organization.

> This shelter is so amazing. I know there's another shelter right down the road, but they're just, they're not, they don't have what [the name of the organization] has….I love my organization. You know, I don't know how local you are. But if you know anybody in the market for an animal, please send them to us because this is the best shelter ever. And we actually pull animals from other shelters. And we help other shelters with surgeries that need to happen as well. So we do so much. We actually have every two or three months, we have a day when we actually give out food and treats and toys to cat owners and dog owners who can't afford treats to their animals. Um, so it's like a community pantry. So we just do so much for the community. I mean, it's just incredible… I don't feel that way about other organizations. I just don't. [Kim from County Fair]

On the contrary, the interviewees tended to distance themselves from identifying with the organization if they felt what they were doing was not a huge contribution to the

organization or if they experienced lack of clear communication. For example, Laura, who was a first time volunteer at a racing event shortly after she moved to New Jersey, knew what the event was for but did not seem to closely identify with the organization.

> I honestly, I don't know a whole lot about what they do. So I don't know a lot about them, but in terms of like what I was doing there that day, it's fun to participate in an event like this…and it was for a good cause, which I like. But I'm not sure that I would come again because I felt this is one situation where I felt like things were not organized well and I was standing around a lot. And they just did minimal communication about like expectations, tasks that needed to be done. [Laura from racing events]

Where the event took place was not nearby, so she drove almost an hour to get to the event. When she referred to the organization that organized the event, she mostly used "they" language throughout the interview and expressed the frustration she experienced while volunteering and used "they" language to disconnect herself. She also felt that what she was doing that day did not contribute much to the event due to lack of clear communication, which in turn discouraged her to identify with the collective.

Identification with Organizational Mission. One of the ways that organizational members learn more about and identify with the organization is through the organization's mission. When selecting an organization to volunteer, volunteers may start volunteering in a certain organization because they know someone who has already volunteered there; however, that is not always the case. In this vein, volunteers actively made decisions to spend their time with or financially support certain organizations, and their identification with the organization's mission is crucial. Williams and Connaughton (2012) similarly stated that identification is a complex communicative process "through individuals' self-reports of feeling attached to the collective, the alignment of one's goals

or values with the organization's goals and values, and the display of strong emotions or attitudes towards the organization" (p. 460).

I met Mary at one of the giftwrapping events and she mentioned that she had also been volunteering for another organization in addition to the one organizing the giftwrapping event. She also episodically volunteers in various events through different organizations when she gets a chance, but she has been always volunteering for these two non-profit organizations. Both of the organizations for which she has been volunteering are mainly to help children in various ways.

> I volunteer with RN in Glassboro, it's a family services organization. I do all different things with them because it is to help children in need and because you see the joy on their face. We work with some of the youth doing crafts throughout the year. All different programs but my big project had been in the past working with their Santa's Workshop program which collected toys for children… And we distribute, but it was a different type of program because we distributed to the parents. We actually brought the foster parents or adoptive parents or the children's parents or grandparents in and helped them pick out gifts for their own kids. So it was a little different than a typical toy drive. So we worked on collecting the toys, we brought the volunteers in to help the clients to pick out the gifts…I did that for ten years and I was one of the co-chairs… everything changed last year and I was just a volunteer this year. I just went in and did my shift, you know, just did – I think I did two four hour shifts. And that was okay because I still can help children but it was a different level of involvement this year. [Mary from giftwrapping events]

As she stated, how the organization runs the program had changed; however, she was still engaged in volunteering for the same organization regardless of a complete change in her level of involvement. She mentioned that there was a coordinator mainly interacting with volunteers and it has been more volunteer driven events. Another volunteer and she mainly supervised and organized things for the events, but last year things changed and the organization took everything over and just told them what to do or what not to do. Many of her friends who used to volunteer together left and went to

volunteer for other organizations. She stated that she would still go because it is in her heart although the organization did not handle the change process smoothly. For her, it was so clear that what she has been doing for those who are in need was more important than who runs the program.

Similarly, Isabella, from a giftwrapping event, stated that she still volunteers for the same non-profit organization regardless of her role change. She was more involved and used to volunteer more, but due to her work schedule, she could not serve in the same role. However, she still values the organization's mission and spends the entire day when they have an annual event.

> I also have volunteered in the past. I was a social media coordinator. I was in charge of Instagram page and a Facebook page for an organization called AHO. What they do is they provide – it's community of doctors and nurses and medical students. Once a year in the Philadelphia area, they host a free medical screening for high school athletes. To play sports in the area, you have to have a doctor's clearance that you're physically able and healthy enough to play sports the following year at your school. What this organization does is they take it a little step further. They'll do EKG. They'll do heart screenings because sudden deaths for athletes is, unfortunately, a really scary, but real thing. They'll do the traditional, your height, your weight, making sure the regular things are all good, but then they also do extra screenings that a lot of doctors you would probably have to pay extra money for or your insurance may not cover because it's not a required test. It's great that, not that all the students are underprivileged, but there are a good amount of students who might not have the best medical coverage are getting these really potentially life-saving tests done for them. So, that organization, I still go to the event. They do it once a year. I still go to the event and help day of, but I don't do the social media anymore. I did that for two years, the social media, and this is the fourth year. They usually do it over the summer. I finished my third year and then this upcoming summer will be the fourth year with them. [Isabella from giftwrapping]

Linsey, from one of the giftwrapping events, actually searched for the same organization where she used to volunteer before. She mentioned she volunteered for this organization in Florida for three years. After moving to New Jersey, she was looking for volunteer opportunities and found the giftwrapping event that this organization organized.

She knew exactly what this organization's mission was, what they were doing, and what she was supposed to do, so it was easier for her to choose the similar volunteering opportunities for the same organization even after moving to New Jersey.

> I was kind of between jobs when I was in Florida where I lived before and I wanted to use my time to volunteer. And so I found Volunteer Match and it just kind of gave me a list of different opportunities near me, and then I found RMD and I looked further into it and it just seemed like a really great organization. And I volunteered with them probably about three years there… RMD specifically they are, you know, a place where families can go when they have a child in the hospital and it is such a great place for them and has made such an impact in their lives...and after I moved, I was also looking into volunteer match and saw this. I know exactly what this was for, you know. I've done it before so you know. Here I am. [Linsey from giftwrapping]

The interview with Beth, whom I met at another giftwrapping event, also revealed a strong identification with the organization's mission. As it was her first time volunteering for this organization, she only knows about the mission of this organization. When people were coming by, she explained why she was there to volunteer and what the organization does. Although Beth was skeptical about how people did not understand the purpose of what she was doing at a giftwrapping station, and what the organization was for, her experience and interaction with the other people coming by at the booth seemed to enhance her identification with the mission of the organization.

> And I feel like some people were skeptical, if we were actually doing it for a cause, if we were reputable or not, you know. They do not know why we were there…We even got who are you kinda look. We were not employees. We were just there to volunteer. …They don't know who we are, so they might think, you know, oh we don't know where our money's actually going to go so we don't want to give it to you. If there was like a banner or other flyers so if they want to read it they would take or read it. I mean, some people did not even bother to listen to us. It's tricky. People don't always want to listen unless they already kind of know what you're about to tell them… Maybe they should have one of those like tri-fold displays, like people have at like science fairs and stuff with big lettering to kind of explain…this is why we were founded, this is how long we've been around. This is what we do and like here are some success stories. And that can really show that we've been around for a while and we're not trying to scam

> anybody…And then other ways, I'm sure they could do more advertising about some success stories we have. [Beth from giftwrapping]

Throughout her interview, she also expressed her strong support and willingness to volunteer with the organization again in the future. She even had some ideas about how to make people be more aware about the mission and successful stories of the organization. In her case, it was also clear to see that the situated context seems to strengthen her identification with the mission of the organization.

Identification with the Co-Volunteers and Volunteering. A close examination of the data also demonstrated that the interviewees showed how closely they identified with other volunteers and expressed oneness. For example, Pam, whom I met at a race event, had a group of other co-volunteers who were also volunteering for the sorority alumni chapter as advisors. She reported how strongly she felt oneness with them. As they were serving the similar roles, other co-volunteer advisors understood why she was contemplating her reappointment as an advisor. Throughout her interview, she expressed her close identification with them because she felt they exactly understood what she was going through and how she felt.

> There are five of us that serve as advisors in many different capacities and we've actually had a good conversation. I want to say it was back in October, maybe early November, I think it was October when we were talking about future planning what's going to happen at the end of this academic year in May when classes are done and we don't have to worry about stuff. And I said, that's what I'm going to need to re-evaluate. I heard gasping over the phone, can't step back and I was like I can and I might, but it all depends on work. And then everybody was completely understanding…there are five of us at all different stages in our lives and we all understand we need to take that break and I'm doing my best not to feel guilty… When the group of us get together, the advisors and I was just like, yeah, … they just kinda sat there, shook their heads and like "We've all been there sis" you know. [Pam from a racing event]

Carmen, from a giftwrapping event, used "we" language when referring to co-

volunteers including herself. She did not have any prior relationships with other volunteers, it was her first time volunteering through this organization, and it was her first time meeting and volunteering with them. However, she explicated that they bonded really well as they shared similar values.

> I think having two or three people there at all times really kind of helped us bond. Cause the first day we only had a handful of people come and actually do wrapping. So it was kinda like a group therapy. We all hung out and talked and it was just a really nice time. It's like, I don't know but we just clicked. We already had that much in common. We wanted to help. We were all doing it for free and that started as a basis for a really nice discussion and getting to know each other you probably wouldn't normally talk to you. [Carmen from giftwrapping]

As Carmen assumed that volunteers including her were there for a good cause and shared similar values, their interaction at the volunteering site enhanced her identification with her being a volunteer and with co-volunteers. Another interviewee, Kate, was a nurse, and she came with two other coworkers to volunteer at a giftwrapping event in a shopping mall. She gets recruiting emails through her work and through other non-profit organizations where she previously volunteered. While interviewing her, I found that she has volunteered at many different events, including gift wrapping events, fundraising events, preparing meals for people in need, and running events. Throughout the interview, she also used "we" language to refer to the other two coworkers with whom she came to volunteer on that day. Even though I met her at a gift wrapping event, she also shared her experience of volunteering for a special run where she and other volunteers brought their family members to volunteer together.

> We set up the water station and we handed out water when the runners were coming around. It's just so much fun and it's get us out on the bridge 'cause they close all the traffic down… (It's)...the big one where we do run the bridge. They actually close the Ben Franklin Bridge down for a couple of hours. How often can you run on the Ben Franklin, right? Without getting killed. … When we do the walks and the run the bridge, I think we probably had 15 people. Yeah. And we

> bring more people, bring our kids, you know, just to do something with them, make it like an outing. But no, there's not always just the three of us. It is always us plus more. There's a lot of things to do and we kind of just word of mouth or just say, you know, who wants to do this? And then we meet up and we all have each other's numbers so we meet up and do that together. [Kate from giftwrapping]

Another volunteer from a state fair was a teacher and volunteer advisor for a student club. It was the first time that she organized this volunteering at a state fair and brought a group of students on weekends. It had not been that long since she started closely working and volunteering together with another teacher. However, throughout the interview, it was so clear that she strongly identified with the other teacher as they shared similar values and volunteered together for that reason. Even when I asked about how she became involved with the club, and what her main role was, she kept using "we" language to include another co-volunteer/teacher. Even when she shared one of the most memorable experiences, she included the other co-volunteer/teacher. Also, they both mentioned, "We are a good team" and they have come this far because they had each other. "We're a lot alike but we're different in ways that balance each other well which is good…we encourage each other but at the same time we, you know, we can also listen to each other" (Kelly from State Fair).

Likewise, the interview data revealed that the interviewees expressed strong identification with their volunteer organization, organizational mission, co-volunteers, and volunteering itself. Interacting with the recipients of the volunteering services, and other people including co-volunteers at the volunteering sites, seems to make volunteer identity salient and remind them of organizational missions and motives, which in turn enhances their identification with collectives.

Multiple Targets of Identification and Communication Networks

To answer Hypothesis 3, Hypothesis 4, Hypothesis 7, and Hypothesis 8, predicting a positive influence of volunteers' communication networks on identification with volunteer organization, I conducted a series of regression analyses for the entire communication networks, and for each network (e.g., instrumental network ties [information network and information provision network] and expressive network ties) after controlling for gender, age, ethnicity, and employment status. The variables measuring the size of an individual's volunteering affiliated networks, and the variables measuring network homophily were entered as independent variables. The results of each hypothesis test are reported as follows.

Communication Networks and Identification with Volunteer Organizations

Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4 predicted the size of an individual's volunteering affiliated networks – including the instrumental networks and expressive networks - positively predicts identification with one's volunteer organization. Hypothesis 7 and Hypothesis 8 predicted that volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history of each network positively predict identification with the volunteer organization. To test these hypotheses, I conducted a multiple linear regression analysis for each network: instrumental network ties and expressive network ties, separately, after controlling for gender, age, ethnicity, and employment status. The analyses were conducted in the order of testing Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 7 predicting positive influence of the instrumental networks on identification with their volunteer organizations, and then testing Hypothesis 4 and

Hypothesis 8 predicting positive influence of expressive networks on identification with their volunteer organizations.

Firstly, the variables measuring the proportion of co-volunteers and of volunteer managers listed for instrumental networks, were entered as predictive of volunteer organizational identification (see Table 8). Table 8 shows the size of volunteering affiliated instrumental network ties itself was a marginally significant predictor of identification with volunteer organizations, accounting for 6% of variance, F (9, 150) = 1.85, p = .06. When examining an individual predictor, the size of co-volunteers listed for the information provision networks positively predict volunteers' identification with volunteer organizations (β = .29, p = .074), approaching a statistical significance. Of the control variables, the age group of 34 – 55 year-olds and older, compared to the reference group of 18 to 34 year-olds, showed a stronger identification with volunteer organizations (β = .43, p < .05). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was partially supported.

Table 8

The Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Organization Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.08 (.16)	.14 (.16)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.13 (.17)	-.13 (.16)
Gender (1= Female)	.02 (.17)	.09 (.16)
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.25 (.20)	.14 (.20)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.28 (.20)*	.43 (.20)*
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Co-volunteers		.32 (.20)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers		-.06 (.19)
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers		.29 (.16)†
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers		.09 (.38)
ΔR^2	.04	.06*
R^2	.04	.10
F	1.19	1.85†

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

To answer Hypothesis 7, predicting a positive influence of homophilous characteristics in the instrumental networks on identification with volunteer organizations, another regression was conducted (see Table 9). When demographics and the size of volunteering affiliated instrumental networks were controlled, homophilous characteristics in the instrumental networks positively predicted volunteers' identification with volunteer organizations, F (17, 139) = 1.88, $p < .05$, accounting for 9.4% of variance ($\Delta R^2 = .09$, $p = .05$). Volunteering history homophily in the information networks was a statistically significant predictive of volunteers' identification with volunteer organization ($\beta = .45$, $p < .05$). Age homophily and gender homophily in the information network also approached a statistical significance. Age homophily negatively predicted volunteers' organizational identification ($\beta = -.14$, $p = .053$), whereas gender homophily positively predicted volunteers' identification with volunteer organizations ($\beta = .34$, $p = .09$).

In other words, getting volunteering related information from people who share a volunteering history together, and those with the same gender, positively predict volunteers' identification with a volunteer organization. In terms of age differences, getting the information from more diverse age groups positively influences their identification with volunteer organizations. Thus, Hypothesis 7 was only partially supported.

Table 9

Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Organization Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.11 (.16)	.10 (.16)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.13 (.16)	-.17 (.19)
Gender (1= Female)	.11 (.17)	.11 (.19)
Age group 2[a] (1=36-54 year-olds)	.17 (.22)	.32 (.22)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.43 (.21)*	.46 (.21)*
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.32 (.20)	.00 (.23)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	-.20 (.19)	-.30 (.21)
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers	.27 (.17)	.66 (.25)**
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers	.07 (.38)	.37 (.41)
Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Age Homophily		-.14 (.07)†
Information Networks – Gender Homophily		.34 (.20)†
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.17 (.22)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.45 (.21)*
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily		-.01 (.06)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily		-.30 (.24)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.05 (.21)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		-.24 (.23)
ΔR^2	.093	.094†
R^2	.093	.187
F	1.67	1.88*

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

To answer Hypotheses 4 and 8, a series of multiple regressions were conducted. However, after controlling for demographics, the size of volunteering affiliated expressive networks did not significantly predict identification with volunteer organizations, F (7, 152) = .94, p = .48 (see Table 10). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. When controlling for demographics, and the size of volunteering affiliated expressive networks, none of the homophily variables significantly predicted identification with volunteer organizations, F (11, 122) = .44, p = .93 (see Table 11). Thus, Hypothesis 8 was not supported.

Table 10

The Size of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Organization Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.08 (.16)	.10 (.16)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.13 (.17)	-.13 (.17)
Gender (1= Female)	.02 (.17)	.02 (.17)
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.25 (.20)	.24 (.20)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.48 (.20)*	.47 (.21)*
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks		
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers		.06 (.17)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers		-.21 (.31)
ΔR^2	.037	.004
R^2	.037	.041
F	1.19	.95

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Table 11

Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Organization Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.10 (.19)	.08 (.20)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.03 (.19)	-.03 (.22)
Gender (1= Female)	-.02 (.18)	-.002 (.21)
Age group 2[a] (1=36-54 year-olds)	.26 (.22)	.27 (.23)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.37 (.23)	.37 (.24)
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers	.18 (.20)	.10 (.28)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers	-.11 (.33)	-.11 (.34)
Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Expressive Networks – Age Homophily		-.06 (.24)
Expressive Networks – Gender Homophily		-.04 (.23)
Expressive Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.02 (.09)
Expressive Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.09 (.21)
ΔR^2	.036	.003
R^2	.036	.038
F	.67	.44

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Communication Networks and Identification with Volunteer Roles

Hypothesis 5 and Hypothesis 9 predicted a positive influence of volunteers' instrumental networks on identification with volunteer roles, and Hypothesis 6 and Hypothesis 10 predicted a positive influence of volunteers' expressive networks on identification with their roles. The analyses were conducted to test Hypothesis 5 and Hypothesis 9 first, and followed by testing Hypothesis 6 and Hypothesis 10.

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to test Hypothesis 5. As shown in Table 12, when a multiple regression analysis for the size of the instrumental network was conducted, the size of volunteer manager listed for getting information network was marginally significant ($\beta = .24$, $p = .069$) after controlling for gender, age, ethnicity, and employment status. Thus, Hypothesis 5 was partially supported.

Table 12

The Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Role Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.09 (.11)	.11 (.11)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.15 (.12)	-.17 (.12)
Gender (1= Female)	.28 (.12)*	.28 (.12)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.06 (.14)	.01 (.15)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.22 (.14)	.20 (.14)
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Co-volunteers		.13 (.14)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers		.24 (.13)†
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers		.10 (.12)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers		-.15 (.27)
ΔR^2	.061	.088
R^2	.061	.027
F	2.01	1.61

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Hypothesis 9 predicted homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively influence volunteers' identification with their volunteer role after controlling the network size. When controlling for demographics, and the size of volunteering affiliated instrumental networks, age homophily in the information networks was the only statistically significant predictor (β = -.12, p < .05) (see Table 13). Having some variation in age groups in the information networks positively predict volunteer's role identification. Thus, Hypothesis 9 was only partially supported.

To test Hypothesis 6, predicting the positive influence of the size of volunteering affiliated expressive networks on volunteers' role identification, a regression analysis was conducted after controlling for demographics. However, the size of volunteering affiliated expressive networks did not significantly predict volunteers' identification with volunteer roles (see Table 14). Thus, Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

Table 13

Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Role Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.10 (.12)	.09 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.16 (.12)	-.23 (.14)
Gender (1= Female)	-.29 (.12)*	.39 (.14)
Age group 2[a] (1=36-54 year-olds)	-.003 (.15)	.18 (.16)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.19 (.14)	.32 (.15)*
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.16 (.15)	.07 (.17)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	.26 (.14)†	.16 (.15)
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers	.08 (.12)	.22 (.18)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers	-.13 (.27)	-.13 (.30)
Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Instrumental Networks		
Information Networks – Age Homophily		-.12 (.05)*
Information Networks – Gender Homophily		-.08 (.15)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.15 (.16)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.22 (.15)
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily		.05 (.04)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily		-.17 (.18)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.08 (.16)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		-.21 (.16)
ΔR^2	.09	.06
R^2	.09	.15
F	1.65	1.46

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Table 14

The Size of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Role Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.08 (.12)	.07 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.15 (.12)	-.14 (.12)
Gender (1= Female)	.28 (.12)*	.24 (.12)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.06 (.14)	.06 (.14)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.22 (.14)	.22 (.14)
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks		
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers		-.16 (.12)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers		-.24 (.21)
ΔR^2	.037	.004
R^2	.037	.041
F	1.19	.95

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

To test Hypothesis 10, a multiple regression analysis was conducted after controlling for demographics, and the size of volunteering affiliated expressive networks. The variables measuring volunteers' homophilous characteristics in terms of (a) gender, (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history for the expressive networks were entered as predictors of identification with volunteer roles, which is presented in Table 15. None of the predictors were statistically significant; thus, Hypothesis 10 was not supported.

Table 15

Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks as Predictor of Volunteer Role Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.08 (.14)	.13 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.18 (.14)	-.19 (.14)
Gender (1= Female)	-.19 (.13)	.18 (.14)
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.06 (.16)	.10 (.16)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.24 (.17)	.27 (.15)
Size of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks		
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers	-.17 (.14)	-.003 (.17)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers	-.25 (.24)	-.21 (.15)
Homophily of Volunteering Affiliated Expressive Networks		
Expressive Networks – Age Homophily		-.05 (.07)
Expressive Networks – Gender Homophily		.05 (.17)
Expressive Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.05 (.17)
Expressive Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		-.20 (.15)
ΔR^2	.06	.02
R^2	.06	.08
F	1.17	.99

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Communication Networks and Engagement

Research Question 2

Research Question 2 asked how volunteers' communication networks predict their communicative engagement. To answer this, a series of multiple regressions were used to find out which communication network variables from the instrumental and expressive networks were predictive of volunteers' communicative engagement. To understand how each network contributes to communicative engagement, I first entered the proportion of co-volunteers, volunteer managers, friends, family/relatives, and coworkers, and homophily variables in the information network after controlling for demographic variables including age, gender, ethnicity, and employment status. Then, after controlling for demographics and the information networks, the variables from the information provision networks were entered. Lastly, the variables from the expressive network ties were entered after controlling for demographics, the information networks, and the information provision networks.

Instrumental Networks and Communicative Engagement. As shown in Table 16, for the information networks, none of the network variables were found to be significant contributors, except one of the control variables, gender (β = -.53, p < .001).

Table 16

Information Networks as Predictors of Volunteer's Communicative Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.29 (.15)	.29 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.09 (.15)	-.14 (.14)
Gender (1= Female)	.57 (.15)***	.53 (.14)***
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.008 (.19)	.06 (.16)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.17 (.19)	.15 (.15)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers		.07 (.17)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers		.09 (.15)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives		-.28 (.24)
Information Networks – Friends		-.23 (.19)
Information Networks - Coworkers		-.02 (.27)
Information Networks – Age Homophily		-.06 (.07)
Information Networks – Gender Homophily		.14 (.18)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.15 (.20)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.28 (.18)
ΔR^2	.11	.05
R^2	.11	.16
F	3.80	2.03*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

After controlling for demographics, and the network variables from the information networks, I used the proportion of co-volunteers, volunteer managers, friends, family/relatives, and coworkers listed for the information provision networks, and homophily variables in terms of gender, age, employment status, and volunteering history from the information provision networks as the independent variables predicting volunteers' communicative engagement. Table 17 shows that volunteering history homophily in the information provision networks significantly and positively predict volunteers' communicative engagement (β = .39, p = .08) approaching a significance. The proportion of volunteer managers listed for the information provision networks negatively predicted their communicative engagement (β = -.85, p < .05).

When analyzing volunteers' expressive network ties, receiving emotional support and encouragement from family and relative positively predicted their communicative engagement (β = .85, p < .05) (see Table 18). Of the control variables, receiving information from people who share a volunteering history significantly and positively predicted volunteers' communicative engagement (β = .25, p < .05). However, the proportion of their family or relatives listed for the information networks, and the proportion of volunteer managers listed for the information provision networks were negatively predicted their communicative engagement (β = -.69, p < .05; β = -.93, p =.63 respectively).

Table 17

Information Provision Networks as Predictors of Volunteer's Communicative Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.28 (.15)	.32 (.16)*
Employment (1=Employed)	-.14 (.18)	-.13 (.18)
Gender (1= Female)	.52 (.16) **	.44 (.18)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.06 (.21)	-.05 (.22)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.15 (.20)	.10 (.21)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.07 (.22)	.08 (.23)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	.09 (.21)	.24 (.23)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives	-.28 (.24)	-.24 (.25)
Information Networks – Friends	-.23 (.19)	-.18 (.20)
Information Networks - Coworkers	-.02 (.27)	-.07 (.29)
Information Networks – Age Homophily	-.06 (.07)	-.07 (.07)
Information Networks – Gender Homophily	.14 (.18)	.09 (.20)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily	-.15 (.20)	-.09 (.21)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	.28 (.18)	.07 (.20)
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers		-.07 (.25)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers		-.85 (.42)*
Information Provision Networks – Family and Relatives		-.15 (.25)
Information Provision Networks – Friends		-.12 (.22)
Information Provision Networks - Coworkers		-.06 (.31)
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily		-.06 (.06)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily		.17 (.25)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.13 (.21)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.39 (.22)†
ΔR^2	.16	.02
R^2	.16	.22
F	2.03*	1.67*

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Table 18

Expressive Network Ties as Predictors of Volunteer's Communicative Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.28 (.19)	.29 (.19)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.05 (.21)	.03 (.23)
Gender (1= Female)	.43 (.21)*	.49 (.22)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	-.14 (.24)	-.29 (.26)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	-.001 (.34)	-.17 (.25)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.06 (.26)	-.18 (.27)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	.31 (.27)	.01 (.29)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives	-.23 (.29)	-.69 (.33)*
Information Networks – Friends	-.07 (.24)	-.04 (.26)
Information Networks - Coworkers	-.03 (.36)	-.11 (.40)
Information Networks – Age Homophily	-.04 (.08)	-.01 (.09)
Information Networks – Gender Homophily	-.05 (.24)	-.13 (.26)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily	-.14 (.26)	-.16 (.27)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	.09 (.23)	.25 (.25)*
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers	-.12 (.29)	-.04 (.31)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers	-.91 (.45)*	-.93 (.50)†
Information Provision Networks – Family and Relatives	-.17 (.29)	-.29 (.30)
Information Provision Networks – Friends	-.29 (.25)	-.30 (.27)
Information Provision Networks - Coworkers	-.23 (.40)	-.29 (.45)
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily	-.05 (.07)	-.07 (.07)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily	.30 (.29)	.24 (.29)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily	.23 (.24)	.32 (.27)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	.42 (.25)	.33 (.30)
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers		.11 (.32)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers		.63 (.44)
Expressive Networks – Family and Relatives		.85 (.31)**
Expressive Networks – Friends		.02 (.32)
Expressive Networks - Coworkers		.14 (.52)
Expressive Networks – Age Homophily		-.03 (.10)
Expressive Networks – Gender Homophily		.16 (.27)
Expressive Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.04 (.27)
Expressive Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.05 (.28)

ΔR^2	.23	.09
R^2	.23	.32
F	1.36	1.42†

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Research Question 3

To answer Research Question 3, asking about the prediction of volunteers' communication networks on general engagement, a series of stepwise regressions were conducted with each network (e.g., instrumental network ties including getting information network and information provision network, and expressive network ties). After controlling for demographic variables including age, gender, ethnicity, and employment status, the types of relationships within volunteer communication networks, such as the proportion of co-volunteers, volunteer managers, friends, family/relatives, and coworkers, were entered together along with homophily variables as independent variables.

The information networks predicted volunteers' general engagement in volunteering, F (17, 142) = 1.94, $p < .05$, accounting for 10.2% of variance ($\Delta R^2 = .10$, $p = .055$) at a marginal level (see Table 19). Volunteering history homophily in the information network positively predicted general engagement, approaching a statistical significance ($\beta = .23$, $p = .087$). Age homophily was also a marginally but negatively significant predictive of general engagement ($\beta = -.09$, $p = .067$). The proportion of family and relatives listed in the information network was marginally but negatively significant ($\beta = -.36$, $p < .05$).

In other words, getting information from people who share a volunteering history together positively influences their general engagement; however, family and relatives, when completing their volunteering tasks, negatively influence their general engagement in volunteering. Getting volunteering related information from people of the same or similar age group negatively predicted volunteers' general engagement in volunteering.

When analyzing their information provision networks after controlling for demographics and the information networks, none of the variables in the information provision networks were the significant predictive of general engagement ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p = .97$) (see Table 20).

Table 19
Information Networks as Predictors of Volunteer's General Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.13 (.11)	.13 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.02 (.12)	-.09 (.13)
Gender (1= Female)	.29 (.12)*	.26 (.12)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.01 (.14)	.10 (.16)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.16 (.14)	.15 (.15)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers		.07 (.16)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers		.09 (.16)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives		-.36 (.18)*
Information Networks – Friends		-.10 (.14)
Information Networks - Coworkers		-.05 (.20)
Information Networks – Age Homophily		-.09 (.05)†
Information Networks – Gender Homophily		.02 (.14)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily		-.15 (.15)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		.23 (.13)†
ΔR^2	.06	.10†
R^2	.06	.16
F	1.90†	1.94*

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Table 20

Information Provision Networks as Predictors of Volunteer's General Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.13 (.12)	.14 (.12)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.09 (.13)	-.08 (.14)
Gender (1= Female)	.26 (.12)*	.28 (.14)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.10 (.16)	.05 (.17)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.15 (.15)	.15 (.16)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.07 (.16)	.08 (.18)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	.09 (.16)	.11 (.18)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives	-.36 (.18)*	-.37 (.19)†
Information Networks – Friends	-.10 (.14)	-.04 (.16)
Information Networks - Coworkers	-.05 (.20)	-.08 (.22)
Information Networks – Age Homophily	-.09 (.05)†	-.10 (.05)†
Information Networks – Gender Homophily	.02 (.14)	.01 (.15)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily	-.15 (.15)	-.17 (.16)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	.23 (.13)†	.25 (.16)
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers		.06 (.19)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers		-.16 (.32)
Information Provision Networks – Family and Relatives		.04 (.19)
Information Provision Networks – Friends		-.19 (.17)
Information Provision Networks - Coworkers		.06 (.24)
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily		.02 (.05)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily		.04 (.20)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.08 (.16)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		-.08 (.17)
ΔR^2	.16	.02
R^2	.16	.18
F	1.94*	1.25

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

When analyzing the expressive networks as a predictor of general engagement in volunteering after controlling for demographics, information networks, and information provision networks, the proportion of family and relatives listed for the expressive network ties was a statistically significant predictive of volunteers' general engagement ($\beta = .52$, $p < .05$) (see Table 21). That is, getting emotional support and encouragement from family and relatives positively predicted volunteers' general engagement in volunteering.

Of the control variables, volunteering history homophily in the information network significantly and positively predicted general engagement in volunteering ($\beta = .43$, $p < .05$). The proportion of family listed in the information network negatively predicted volunteers' general engagement ($\beta = -.51$, $p = .051$) at a marginally significant level. Getting information from other people sharing a volunteering history together positively influence volunteers' general engagement in volunteering, whereas getting volunteering related information from family and relatives negatively predicted their general engagement in volunteering.

Table 21

Expressive Network Ties as Predictors of Volunteer's General Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Demographics		
Ethnicity	.12 (.15)	.15 (.15)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.03 (.17)	-.01 (.18)
Gender (1= Female)	.20 (.16)	.17 (.17)
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	.01 (.19)	-.10 (.20)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.05 (.19)	-.02 (.20)
Information Networks – Co-volunteers	.04 (.20)	-.13 (.22)
Information Networks – Volunteer managers	.13 (.21)	.03 (.22)
Information Networks – Family and Relatives	-.35 (.23)	-.51 (.26)[†]
Information Networks – Friends	-.004 (.19)	.07 (.21)
Information Networks - Coworkers	-.03 (.28)	-.10 (.32)
Information Networks – Age Homophily	-.08 (.06)	-.06 (.07)
Information Networks – Gender Homophily	-.05 (.19)	-.10 (.20)
Information Networks – Employment Status Homophily	-.32 (.20)	-.32 (.21)
Information Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	.26 (.18)	.43 (.19)[*]
Information Provision Networks – Co-volunteers	.06 (.22)	-.03 (.25)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteer managers	-.13 (.35)	-.22 (.39)
Information Provision Networks – Family and Relatives	-.01 (.22)	-.11 (.23)
Information Provision Networks – Friends	-.26 (.20)	-.30 (.22)
Information Provision Networks - Coworkers	-.04 (.31)	-.06 (.36)
Information Provision Networks – Age Homophily	.02 (.06)	.01 (.06)
Information Provision Networks – Gender Homophily	.08 (.22)	.11 (.23)
Information Provision Networks – Employment Status Homophily	.17 (.18)	.10 (.21)
Information Provision Networks – Volunteering History Homophily	-.08 (.20)	.10 (.24)
Expressive Networks – Co-volunteers		.15 (.25)
Expressive Networks – Volunteer managers		.24 (.34)
Expressive Networks – Family and Relatives		.52 (.24)[*]
Expressive Networks – Friends		.004 (.25)
Expressive Networks - Coworkers		.09 (.41)
Expressive Networks – Age Homophily		-.01 (.08)
Expressive Networks – Gender Homophily		.17 (.21)
Expressive Networks – Employment Status Homophily		.18 (.21)
Expressive Networks – Volunteering History Homophily		-.33 (.22)

ΔR^2	.16	.08
R^2	.16	.24
F	.89	.96

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Multiple Targets of Identification and Engagement

Quantitative Findings

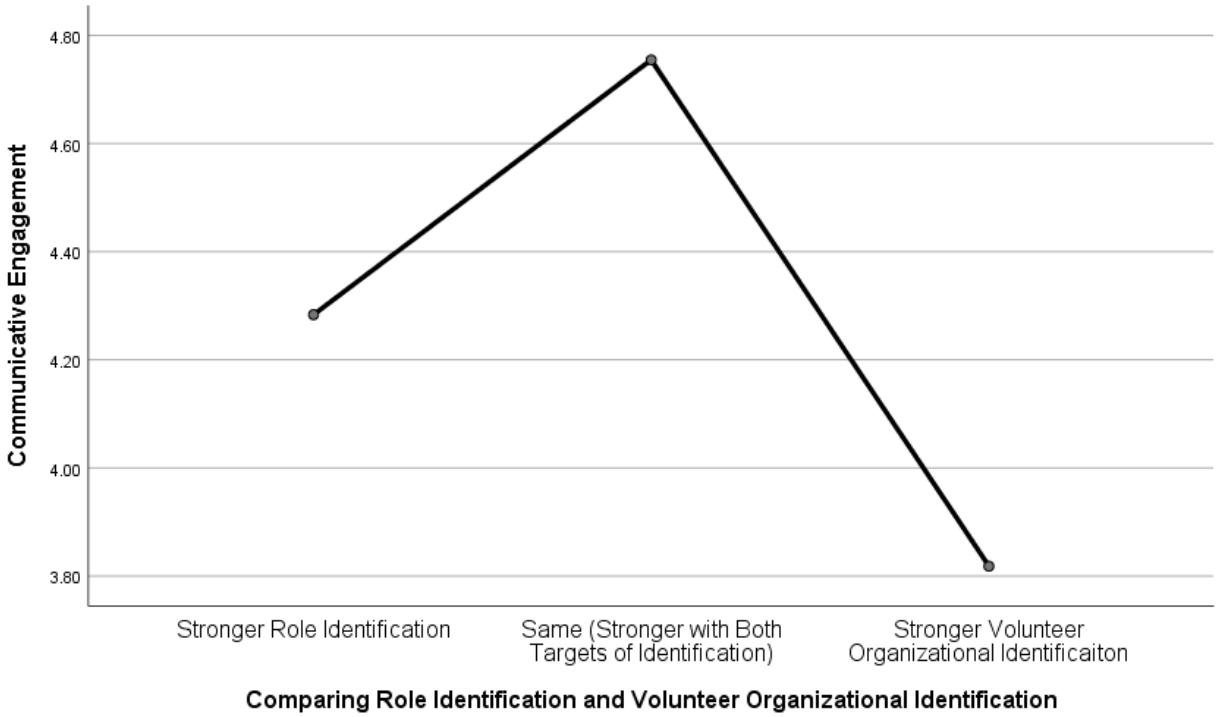
Hypothesis 11 and Hypothesis 12 predict that differences in communicative engagement and general engagement will exist between the volunteers who showed a stronger role identification and those with a stronger volunteer organization identification. To test Hypothesis 11 and Hypothesis 12, I created three groups based on comparison of the scores between role identification and volunteer organization identification: one group that showed a stronger role identification, another group that showed a stronger identification with their volunteer organization, and the other group that showed no difference between role and volunteer organization identification.

By running crosstabs, I found that those who showed no difference between role identification and volunteer organization identification rated strongly on identification with both targets. Figures 1 and 2 show the results of ANOVA analyses conducted with communicative engagement and general engagement. The results indicated that there were significant differences in communicative engagement, F [2, 161)] = 9.72, $p < .001$, (see Figure 1). As unequal variances were assumed based on the Levene's test ($p < .001$), Post hoc comparisons using the Dunnett C test indicated that the mean score for those who showed the same level of role identification and volunteer organization identification (M = 4.75, SD = .44) had a statistically higher score on communicative engagement than those with stronger role identification (M = 4.28, SD = .88), and also had a higher mean score than those with stronger volunteer organization identification (M = 3.82, SD = 1.07). The mean score difference between the groups either reporting the

stronger role identification or stronger volunteer organizational identification was not statistically significant ($p = .38$). Thus, Hypothesis 11 was not supported.

Figure 1

Differences in Communicative Engagement between Groups that Vary in Terms of Strength of Identification with Role and Volunteer Organization

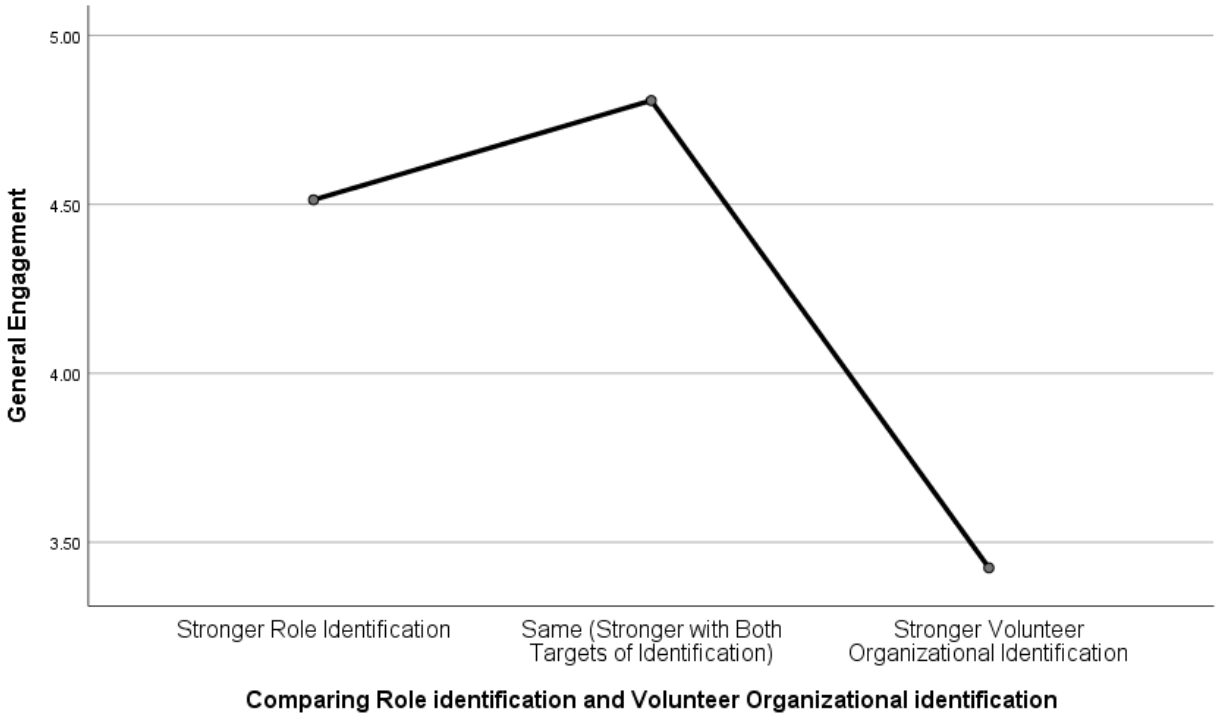


To test Hypothesis 12, another ANOVA test was run. ANOVA results indicated that there were significant differences in general engagement, F (2, 161] = 32.88, p < .001 across the three groups (see Figure 2). As unequal variances were assumed based on the Levene's test ($p < .001$), Post hoc comparisons using the Dunnett C test indicated that the mean score for the group reporting the stronger identification with both targets (M = 4.81, SD = .30) was statistically and significantly different from that of the stronger role identification group (M = 4.51, SD = .47), as well as that of the stronger volunteer organization group (M = 3.42, SD = 1.28). The mean score for the stronger role identification group (M = 4.51, SD = .47) was significantly different from that of the stronger volunteer organizational identification group (M = 3.42, SD = 1.28). Thus, Hypothesis 12 was supported.

In other words, volunteers who showed stronger identification with both volunteer organizations and volunteer roles engaged more in volunteering compared with other volunteers who identified more strongly only with their roles or only with their volunteer organizations. As they strongly identified with their roles as well as volunteer organizations, they also tend to share their volunteering experiences with others much more than the other two groups of people whose identification score is higher for one target than the other.

Figure 2

Differences in General Engagement between Groups that Vary in Terms of Strength of Identification with Role and Volunteer Organization



Research Question 4

To answer Research Question 4, asking about the prediction of communicative engagement by identification with multiple targets (e.g., family, employing organization, volunteer organization and volunteer role), a multiple regression analyses were conducted (see Table 22). Identification with multiple targets altogether explained 44% of variance, F (9, 134) = 11.60, $p < .001$. Each was a significant individual predictor with the exception of identification with one's employing organization.

Research Question 5

To answer Research Question 5, asking about the prediction of volunteers' general engagement by identification with multiple targets (including family, employing job organization, and volunteer organization on one's volunteer engagement), a multiple regression was conducted. As a correlation between role identification and general engagement was too high ($\alpha = .84$), identification with a volunteer role was eliminated for this analysis. The regression (see Table 23) showed that the volunteer organization identification ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$), family identification ($\beta = .31$, $p < .001$) and the employing organization identification ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$) altogether had a statistically significant and positive influence on general engagement after controlling for demographic variables, F (8, 135) = 12.76, $p < .001$, explaining about 43% of the variance in general engagement in volunteering.

Table 22

Identification with Multiple Targets as Predictors of Communicative Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Ethnicity (1 = White)	.31 (.14)*	.22 (.11)†
Employment (1=Employed)	.03 (.16)	.15 (.13)
Gender (1= Female)	.47 (.15)**	.32 (.13)*
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	-.01 (.17)	-.11 (.14)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.22 (.17)	-.02 (.14)
Volunteer Organization Identification		.15 (.08)†
Role Identification		.42 (.12)***
Family Identification		.21 (.09)*
Employing Organization Identification		-.01 (.07)
ΔR^2	.11**	.33***
R^2	.11	.44
F	3.52**	11.60***

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Table 23

Identification with Multiple Targets as Predictors of General Engagement

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Ethnicity (1 = White)	.14 (.12)	.05 (.09)
Employment (1=Employed)	-.02 (.14)	.05 (.11)
Gender (1= Female)	.21 (.13)†	.05 (.10)
Age group 2[a] (1=35-54 year-olds)	-.04 (.14)	-.11 (.12)
Age group 3[a] (1=55 year-olds and older)	.13 (.14)	-.10 (.12)
Volunteer Organization Identification		.15 (.06)*
Family Identification		.31 (.07)***
Employing Organization Identification		.20 (.06)***
ΔR^2	.04	.39
R^2	.04	.43
F	1.21	12.76

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$; †Approaching significant, $p < .10$

[a]: In the questionnaire survey, the age group was measured as a categorical variable. Thus, dummy variables were created by using Age group 1 (18 to 34 year-olds) as a reference category.

Qualitative Findings. Qualitative data also revealed additional findings for the association between volunteers' strong family identification and their volunteer engagement. About 25% of the interviewees came with their family members (e.g., fiancé, mother, wife, or children) to volunteer for the events. In addition, many interviewees brought up the values and the importance of volunteering, and explained that they have learned from their family members. It seems that family members reminded each other of the importance of volunteering, which then further motivated an ongoing commitment to volunteering.

Direct Engagement of Family. One of the interviewees I met at the gift wrapping event came to volunteer with her mom. Her mom was also somewhat involved in the interview process and revealed that she was not into volunteering at all until her daughter became a big advocate.

> I mean honestly I taught for 39 years, so that kept me busy and that was my day. Yeah. You know what I'm saying? Like just between teachings, tutoring and I got to make 6 o'clock dinner, and I wanted to scream. But you know like with all the paperwork you bring home as the teacher, you don't really, you don't have time. Off the work, but you're not really off. It's like a 24 seven job. So anyways… after Kristen [the daughter] got involved with a pageant system as an assistant director, and then I started to judge. I was judging the pageant. And then this director had asked me to be writing everything to advertise to do this. I was like, really? That took up a lot of time, so I know I didn't get paid. I didn't want money. So I guess that would be my extended volunteering. I forgot about that. Anyhow, that's how I got into all this because of her [Kristen]. [Sarah (pseudonym), from giftwrapping]

The mother – daughter team reported that whenever the daughter volunteers, her mom is there. The mom also helps her daughter find out the volunteering opportunities and organize their volunteering schedule.

> Oh yeah. She's always here. She's always said she's always right by my side and doing it with me minus supplies. She won't do the platelets with that. I don't blame her… But she's always there. She's like, especially any [name of the volunteer organization] thing we do. She's always right there with me. Um, and it brought us a lot closer together…We signed up for that. Yeah. And then we just started getting into them slightly… She [Volunteer manager] started to send us emails constantly. They need up this and that, you know, and she'd probably send emails to anybody that she has the address. So after that, then we did Phillies games and then we started and Saint Patty's Day. Yeah, we did at the [volunteer organization]. [Kristen from giftwrapping]

It seems to be clear that the volunteers who strongly identify with their family believe it is important to be there for family members, which brings them together to volunteer. Similarly, Pam, from one of the 5K events, volunteered with her husband and her children. Likewise, they wanted to volunteer with her. Volunteering was part of her life and she keeps her volunteering schedule on the family calendar. As a result, her influence could be also seen by how her children knew when she would not be around and wanted to join her. Her children were upset because they could not go with her due to age limits (i.e., the age limits to be a course marshal for 5K was to be at least 16 years old, and general volunteers for other roles needed to be 11 years or older). Such examples illustrate how volunteers establish positive attitudes toward volunteering in their families.

Indirect Engagement of Family. Some of interviewees' family members did not volunteer with them, even though the interviewees reported that their family shares the same values and knows the importance of volunteering. Volunteers also acknowledged that they got and would get their family's understanding and support for volunteering. One teacher-volunteer from a state fair demonstrated as much when she explained that even students or co-volunteer teachers in the club knew the support she gets from her husband:

> I know we [she and another teacher volunteering together] have a lot of commitments, but they [family] understand. They really do. Sometimes they'll travel with me on the long trips, sometimes they won't. But they're really supportive. They just, you know, hang right in there and off we go. So does her [another teacher] husband. Her husband is awesome. He drove us to and from the airport last week and when before I came along and [Name of the teacher] took the kids to Nashville, down in Florida, he drove one of the vans and…they[the students in the club] called him Uber. Yeah they didn't even know his name they just called her husband Uber. They said Mr. Uber's coming to pick us up. So I mean yeah her husband's real supportive. And mine is too. [Penny from State Fair]

Other interviewees' did not have family members who lived close by, but they knew that their family would be proud and encourage them to volunteer. Such family support was consistently evident in interviews. Ashley at a giftwrapping event stated "my boyfriend and my parents, I mean, my parents are especially proud of me for volunteering." Similarly, Natali from another giftwrapping event said she could not volunteer with her family because they are in a different state. However, they still support her and encourage her to be involved:

> No, my family never came with me and I'm from Vermont so most of my family and friends are out there. And then the few friends that I have in the area, one moved to California and that's a ways away. But I mean, they think it's really good for me to be getting out and out of the house, doing productive things, you know, especially in the winter when it's cold and kind of depressing to, you know, get out and do something productive. [Natali (pseudonym), from giftwrapping]

In addition to volunteering with her husband, Pam also brought up the support from him. When she had to travel to another state as an advisor, her husband helped her see her family's support despite being away multiple times:

> My husband is like, you're leaving on Friday morning so the boys are already going to be in school and you're going to be home on a Sunday night. He was like, you're going to be really effectively gone from their lives for 48 hours. They are at the age now that they can handle you being gone and being away for 48 hours. And I'm like, Okay, and my husband's like, and there isn't anything

> going that weekend that you need to be here for. So just go and have fun. [Pam (pseudonym) from 5K]

He continued such support for her when she took on more responsibilities during another volunteer's absence. When she was exhausted with all those meetings, her husband always listened to, comforted, and reminded her of what an amazing job she was doing.

Over the course of data collection, it became clear that one of the driving forces that brought in and retained volunteers was family support. On the other hand, lack of support was partly to blame for one volunteer's relationship. One of the interviewees reported that her ex-boyfriend could not understand what she did and why she volunteered, so they broke up:

> I actually had an ex-boyfriend like years and years ago and I would volunteer at [volunteer organization] on Thanksgiving and I told him that I was going to volunteer on Thanksgiving and he said a lot of negative things about the kind of area that it was in, that it was not safe, that it's dirty and disgusting and that's a big reason why he isn't my boyfriend anymore. We just were not on the same page when it comes to helping people and getting to people in areas where they need help the most are usually not at the cleanest areas. [Lucy (pseudonym), from 5K]

Encouragement of Employing Organization. There were varying degrees of encouragement from volunteers' employers. Some employers were very supportive and encouraging while others were less involved, if at all. Even in the latter case, however, interviewees perceived employers as helpful in some way. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they received emails from employers regarding volunteer opportunities or volunteering events that their company organizes. Others stated that employers are understanding and encouraging by matching volunteer hours, donating additional money like matching funds, or providing a paid-day off for volunteering. For example, Kim's

company (from county fair) donates $500 to whichever nonprofit the employee chooses if the employee volunteers at least 30 hours a year. The company also matches the amount of money employees donate. Pam's (5K volunteer) employer supports volunteerism as such:

> When we hired a new CEO, we're more like hired from within and we used to have like our first CEO when I started in 2003, he used to reward employees with an extra day of vacation if we had, if the company had a good year and this will be on top of the already, you know, anywhere from three to six weeks of vacation that people get based on their seniority. When the new CEO started, he likes the idea of giving the employees an extra day off, but he wanted employees to use that extra day to do something important….[it] would be one day a year that you take to do volunteer service back in your community. And so every employee is given one paid day of vacation to volunteer. [Pam (pseudonym), from 5k]

Regardless of the encouragement she receives from her employing organization, others like Kim, initially donated before becoming a volunteer:

> So honestly I think a lot of it is I started volunteering because of my company. Because of what they know. They're very into outreach to do stuff for the community. And I don't think I would have thought about volunteering, and I know that kind of sounds crazy as I'm saying it, but I think that I started volunteering because of my company where I work. [Kim (pseudonym), from 5K]

Four nurses at one of the gift wrapping events learned about volunteer opportunities through the hospital where they work. They receive monthly and/or bimonthly emails updating them about volunteer opportunities. For them, volunteer opportunities abound because so many non-profit organizations are affiliated with hospitals. They also received information about events directly from such event sponsors through email after volunteering for the first time. They volunteer when they are not scheduled to work and do not get paid-days off for volunteering. Their employer (the hospital) does match funds to hours they volunteer with donations to the nonprofit where

they volunteered. Laura (from 5K) also explained that her employing organization was supportive and she participated in one of the volunteering events that the company organized. She said, “My organization does that. They offered eight hours of paid volunteer time a year. And they also organize events. Like they organize volunteer opportunities, which is nice. I personally participated in one earlier this month.”

Unfortunately, a few interviewees mentioned that their employing organization was not a big advocate but letting them go on-time itself was helpful enough. Clara wishes her employing organization could be of help when it comes to volunteering, but she rationalized it by separating work from volunteering:

> They (employing organization) don't support volunteering much and I wish they did. With my specific group, they don't and they won’t allow me to sign off in the middle of the week or day. It's a volunteer so they wouldn't help me adjust my schedule really. But they are helpful in a way that my schedule is so set. I think my hours are so set and I rarely ever have to stay late. I can definitely commit to an opportunity after four o'clock every single day. [Clara (pseudonym), from 5K]

Joey’s (from flower show) former employer worked with youth and low income families where the organization itself needed help of volunteers. However, when Joey took the job, it was not easy to volunteer somewhere else in the beginning.

> When I was working it was definitely harder if I wanted to volunteer at a new place when I first took the job. I was pretty clear in terms of what my priorities are and the events that I want to do. And the director kind of knew about it. But it wasn’t easy. [Joey (pseudonym), from 5K]

Later on, she figured a way to volunteer somewhere else. She said she wanted to help the clients that the employing organization served, but it made her feel like she was working 24/7. She thus shifted to volunteer somewhere else that aligned with her personal interests. What is interesting though is she sometimes goes back to the former employer to volunteer. She cared about the clients she was helping, as she interacted with

them a lot, but both working and volunteering at the same place was overwhelming. She now feels she has more freedom and choices to make when looking for volunteer opportunities.

Mediating Role of Identification with Volunteer Organization on Communicative Engagement

Bootstrapping was conducted to answer Hypothesis 13, which predicted indirect effects of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement through their identification with volunteer organizations, controlled for demographic variables utilizing PROCESS macro Version 3.3 (Hayes, 2017).

Instrumental Networks and Communicative Engagement

As the instrumental network ties consist of information networks and information provision networks, each network was also separately analyzed after testing the instrumental network ties. Figure 3 shows that a mediating effect was found with respect to identification with one's volunteer organization between volunteering history homophily within the information networks and communicative engagement: indirect effect coefficient (β) =.226, bias-corrected 95% CI = (.042, .451). A mediating effect of identification with one's volunteer organization between the proportion of co-volunteers listed for the information provision network and communicative engagement was found: indirect effect coefficient (β) =.271, bias-corrected 95% CI = (.011, .566).

The positive association between the proportion of co-volunteer listed for the information provision networks and their identification with one's volunteer organization was observed ($\beta = .57$, $p < .05$) as well as between identification with one's volunteer organization and communicative engagement ($\beta = .475$, $p < .001$). Other types of

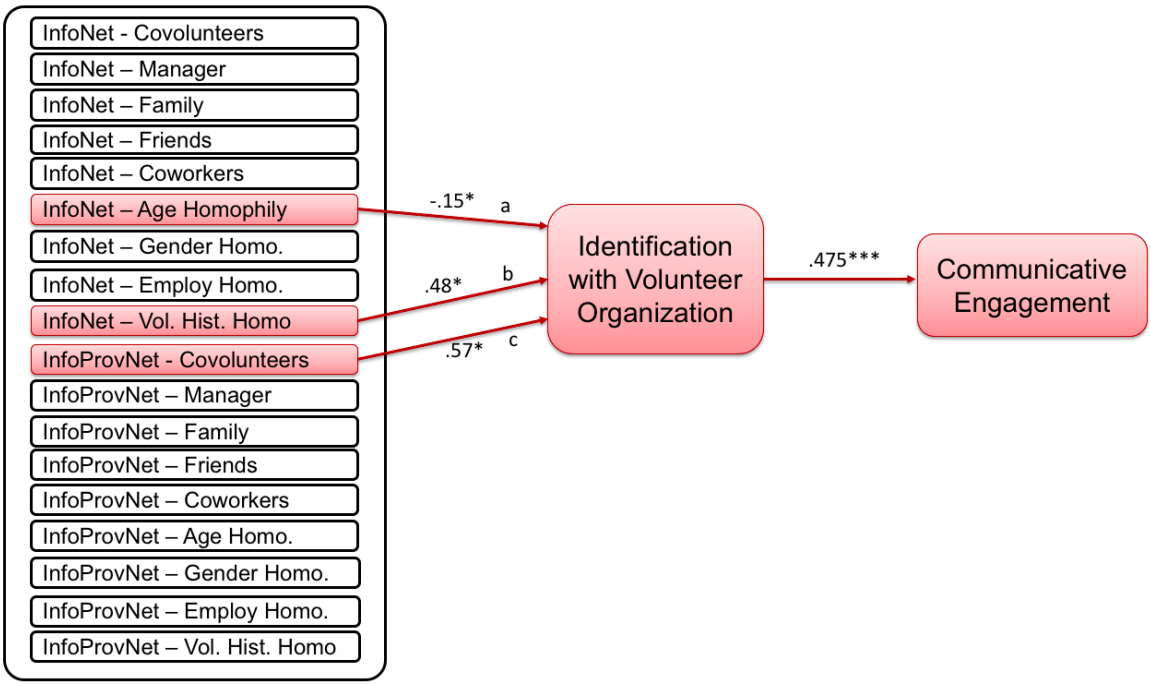
relationships within their instrumental networks were not found to be significant. The results also demonstrated that the negative effect of age homophily in the information networks on volunteer organization identification was statistically significant ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .05$) after controlling demographics. The effect of identification with one's volunteer organization on communicative engagement was also significant ($\beta = .475$, $p < .001$). The indirect effect of age homophily within the information networks on communicative engagement through identification with volunteer organizations was computed for each of 5,000 bootstrapped samples. The 95% bias corrected confidence interval (CI) ranged from -.140 to -.007; hence, the indirect effect was statistically significant ($\beta = -.073$). Complete mediation effects were also observed as there were no direct effects of volunteering relationship history with the information networks, the size of co-volunteers listed with the information provision networks, and age homophily with the information networks on communicative engagement reported ($\beta = -.16$ $p = .38$; $\beta = -.34$ $p = .13$; $\beta = .01$ $p = .91$ respectively).

As such, communicating with other co-volunteers in order to provide volunteering related information did not directly predict volunteers' communicative engagement in volunteering. However, the size of co-volunteers for providing information indirectly predicts volunteers' communicative engagement through their identification with the volunteer organization. The results also show that volunteers' homophily characteristics do not directly predict communicative engagement; however, through volunteer organizational identification, their volunteering relationship history between a participant and other people listed in their information networks and having some variation in age groups in the information networks can predict their

communicative engagement. When examining the expressive network ties, there were no significant indirect relationships within their expressive network ties. Thus, Hypothesis 13 was only partially supported.

Figure 3

The Indirect Effects of the Instrumental Networks on Communicative Engagement through Volunteer Organizational Identification



Note: * p < .05, ** p < .01, ** p < .001

[a]: Indirect path model (DV: Communicative Engagement) with age homophily of the information networks: β = -.073, (LLCI:ULCI =-.140, -.007); [b]: Indirect path model (DV: Communicative Engagement) with volunteering history homophily of the information networks: β = .226, (LLCI:ULCI =.042, .451); [c]: Indirect path model (DV: Communicative Engagement) with the size of co-volunteers listed for the information provision networks: β = .271, (LLCI:ULCI =.011, .566)

When further analyzing the information networks separately from the information provision networks, volunteering history homophily for the information network was the only variable that showed a significant mediating effect. The positive association between the volunteering history homophily for the information networks and their identification with one's volunteer organization was observed ($\beta = .38$, $p < .05$), as well as between identification with one's volunteer organization and communicative engagement ($\beta = .43$, $p < .001$). A mediating effect of identification with one's volunteer organization between volunteering history homophily within the information network and communicative engagement was found: indirect effect coefficient (β) =.163, bias-corrected 95% CI = (.032, .330).

Mediating Role of Identification with Volunteer Organization on General Engagement

Instrumental Network Ties and General Engagement

To test Hypothesis 14, predicting the indirect effects of volunteer communication networks on general engagement through their identification with volunteer organizations, another series of bootstrapping was conducted, controlled for demographic variables, utilizing PROCESS macro Version 3.3 (Hayes, 2017). As the instrumental network ties consist of information networks and information provision networks, each network was also separately analyzed after testing the instrumental network ties. As can be seen in Figure 4, there is a mediating effect of identification with one's volunteer organization between the proportion of co-volunteers listed within the information provision networks and general engagement index: indirect effect coefficient (β) =.218, bias-corrected 95% CI = (.009, .531). Age homophily for the information

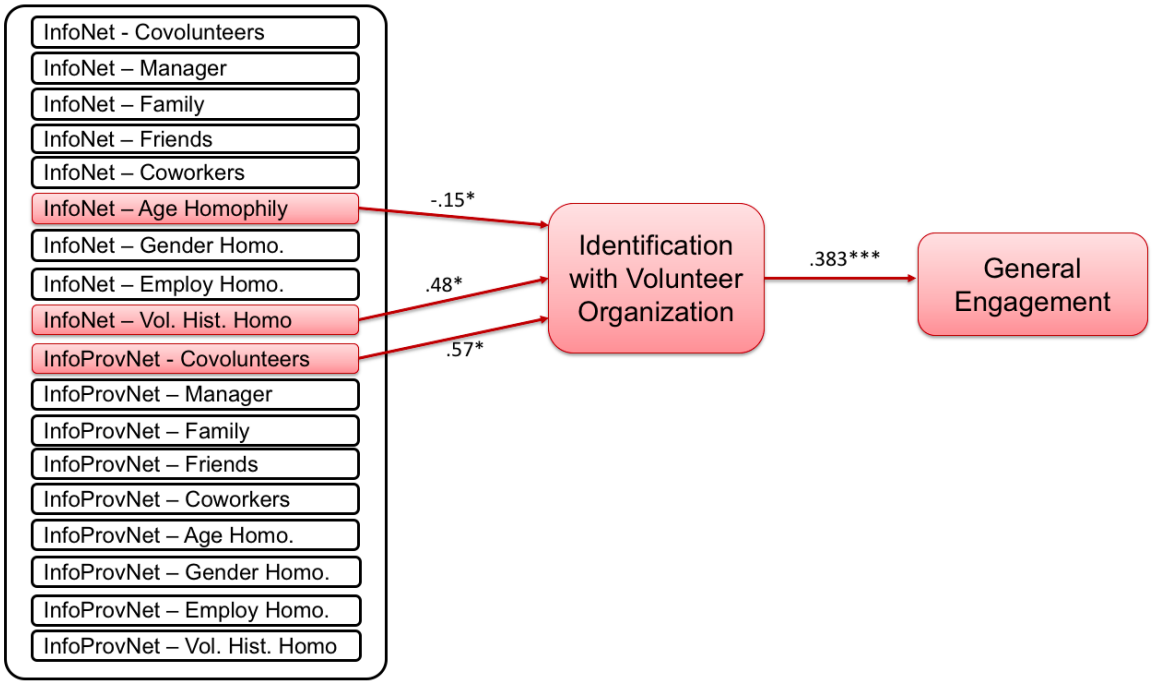
networks supports significantly but negatively predicted one's identification with volunteer organization ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .05$), and in turn, positively predicted their general engagement ($\beta = .383$, $p < .001$). The indirect effect was also computed for each of 5,000 bootstrapped samples. The 95% bias corrected confidence interval (CI) ranged from -.123 to -.004; hence the indirect effect was statistically significant ($\beta = -.059$).

In terms of volunteers' homophily within their information networks, the effect of people's volunteering relationship history on volunteer organization identification was statistically significant ($\beta = .48$, $p < .05$) after controlling demographics, and in turn, the effect of identification with one's volunteer organization on general engagement was also significant ($\beta = .335$, $p < .001$). The indirect effect of people's volunteering relationship history within the information networks on general engagement through identification with volunteer organization was computed for each of the 5,000 bootstrapped samples. The 95% bias corrected confidence interval (CI) ranged from .029 to .408; hence, the indirect effect was statistically significant ($\beta = .182$).

There were no statistically significant findings in the expressive networks. Thus, Hypothesis 14 was only partially supported. When analyzing the information networks separately from the information provision networks, the indirect effect of the volunteering relationship history within the information networks on general engagement through identification with volunteer organization was computed for each of the 5,000 bootstrapped samples. The 95% bias corrected confidence interval (CI) ranged from .024 to .277; hence, the indirect effect was statistically significant ($\beta = .133$). However, none of the information provision networks showed statistically significant indirect effects.

Figure 4

The Indirect Effects of Instrumental Networks on General Engagement through Volunteer Organizational Identification



Note: * p < .05, ** p < .01, ** p < .001

[a]: Indirect path model (DV: General Engagement) with age homophily of the information networks: β = -.059, (LLCI:ULCI =-.123, -.004); [b]: Indirect path model (DV: General Engagement) with volunteering history homophily of the information networks: β = .182, (LLCI:ULCI =.029, .408); [c]: Indirect path model (DV: General Engagement) with the size of co-volunteers listed for the information provision networks: β = .218, (LLCI:ULCI =.009, .531)

Chapter 5: Discussion

This research was to examine the relationship between volunteers' multiple targets of identification and engagement in volunteering by focusing on their communication networks. I began with the argument that examining volunteers' communication networks is essential in order to understand how they negotiate their multiple targets of identification and how identification processes influence their engagement in volunteering. Volunteers tend to position themselves slightly differently from paid employees as they are not bound by any financial contracts with the organizations where they volunteer. In other words, they may have other obligations and priorities in their life, so they are freer to move from one organization to another, and are not committed to one particular organization for a long term period. Therefore, this study explored how volunteers prioritized and negotiated their multiple targets of identification, which requires the examination of their communication networks.

As organizations, especially nonprofit organizations, heavily rely on a voluntary workforce, they need to know whether volunteers will stay engaged in volunteering, will they come with extra hands, or should the organizations recruit and train more volunteers every time. The findings from investigating how their communication networks influence identification processes and volunteering engagement will yield theoretical as well as practical advancements in the studies of volunteerism.

This chapter of the dissertation will present the summary of research findings (see Table 24) and elaborate the findings in light of their theoretical, methodological, and practical implications. Then, it will describe a few limitations of the current study along with some suggested directions for future research.

Table 24

Results of Research Questions/ Hypotheses

Research Questions/Hypotheses and Level of Support for Each	
H1: Volunteers' role identification will be stronger than volunteer organization identification.	S
H2: The length of volunteering with volunteer organization will be positively associated with identification with volunteer organization.	S
H3: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.	PS
H4: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer organization.	NS
H5: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated instrumental networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.	PS
H6: The size of individual's volunteering affiliated expressive networks will positively predict identification with one's volunteer role.	NS
H7: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.	PS
H8: Volunteers' homophily in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer organization.	NS
H9: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the instrumental networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.	PS
H10: Volunteers' homophily characteristics in terms of (a) gender (b) age (c) employment status, and (d) volunteering relationship history in the expressive networks will positively predict identification with volunteer role.	NS
H11: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will be more communicatively engaged in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.	NS
H12: Volunteers with stronger identification with their role will show a greater general engagement in volunteering than those with stronger identification with volunteer organization.	S
H13: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement in volunteering.	PS
H14: Identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on the levels of volunteer engagement.	PS

Research Questions/Hypotheses and Level of Support for Each
RQ1: How do volunteers prioritize and negotiate their multiple identities and identifications?
RQ2: To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their communicative engagement in volunteering?
RQ3 To what extent do volunteers' communication networks predict their general engagement in volunteering?
RQ4: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's communicative engagement in volunteering?
RQ5: To what extent do identification with multiple targets predict one's level of engagement?

S = Supported
PS: Partially Supported
NS = Not Supported

Summary of Research Findings

I proposed fourteen hypotheses and five research questions based on the review of literature regarding identities, identification, communication networks, and engagement (including communicative engagement and general engagement). I will start with the findings for the hypotheses, and then discuss the research questions. The survey data revealed that volunteers' role identification was stronger than volunteer organization identification, which supports the first hypothesis (H1). The second hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between the length of volunteering with volunteer organization and identification with volunteer organization, and it was also supported (H2). The longer volunteers stayed with the volunteer organization, the stronger volunteer organization identification was. With further analysis, volunteers who worked with the same organization for over 7 years reported the strongest identification with volunteer organizations, whereas those volunteering for about 4-6 years showed the weakest identification with the volunteer organizations. It was neither predicted nor statistically significant, but their role identification score also showed a similar pattern when examining the mean score of each group (e.g., groups based on the number of years they have been with the volunteer organization: less than a year, 1-3 years, 4-6 years, 7-10 years, and more than 10 years).

As the size of an individual's organizational affiliated networks is positively associated with one's organizational identification (Jones & Volpe, 2011), I examined whether the size of a volunteers' volunteering affiliated networks will positively predict identification with the volunteer organization (H3 and H4) and with their volunteer role (H5 and H6). The size of the volunteering affiliated networks were composed of the

proportion of co-volunteers and volunteer managers listed. The proportion of co-volunteers listed for giving out volunteering related information positively predicted volunteers' identification with volunteer organizations, whereas obtaining emotional support from the volunteering affiliated networks did not matter. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported, and Hypothesis 4 was not supported. In terms of its influence on their role identification, the proportion of volunteer managers listed as getting information positively predicted the strength of volunteers' role identification at a marginal level. However, getting emotional support within the volunteering affiliated networks did not predict the strength of volunteers' role identification. Thus, Hypotheses 5 was only partially supported and Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

This study also examined the influence of homophily of volunteer networks in terms of age, gender, employment status, and volunteering relationship history shared between ego and alters. The next hypotheses predicted that volunteers' homophily in terms of age, gender, employment status, and shared volunteering relationship history will positively predict their identification with volunteer organizations (H7 and H8) and volunteer roles (H9 and H10). Homophily in the instrumental networks was separately analyzed from that of expressive networks. After controlling for demographics and the size of instrumental network ties, shared volunteering history and gender homophily positively predicted volunteers' organizational identification, whereas age homophily negatively predicted their identification with volunteer organizations. In other words, having some variation in age groups when volunteers seek information positively predict volunteer's organizational identification. When it comes to expressive network ties, none of the homophilous variables significantly predicted volunteers' organizational

identification. Thus, Hypothesis 7 was partially supported (see Table 9), whereas Hypothesis 8 (see Table 11) was not supported. In terms of its influence on volunteers' role identification, Table 13 shows that age homophily in the information network significantly but negatively predicted role identification. However, Table 1 says none of the homophilous variables in the expressive network ties significantly predicted volunteers' role identification. Thus, Hypothesis 9 was only partially supported, whereas Hypothesis 10 was not supported.

Hypothesis 11 and Hypothesis 12 examined the difference in communicative engagement and general engagement in volunteering between volunteers who showed stronger identification with their volunteer role versus those with stronger identification with volunteer organizations. There was no significant difference in communicative engagement between those groups, so Hypothesis 11 was not supported. However, the results showed that the group of volunteers having stronger volunteer role identification reported a higher level of general engagement in volunteering than those with stronger volunteer organizational identification. Thus, Hypothesis 12 was supported.

Hypothesis 13 and Hypothesis 14 predicted identification with one's volunteer organization will mediate the effect of volunteers' communication networks on communicative engagement and general engagement in volunteering. Complete mediation effects were detected for both Hypothesis13 and Hypothesis 14. That is, there were no direct effects of providing informational support to co-volunteers, no differentiation in age homophily when getting the volunteering related information, and no shared volunteering history in the information networks on communicative engagement. However, through their identification with volunteer organizations, the size

of co-volunteer networks for giving informational support positively predicted communicative engagement.

Homophily in terms of volunteering relationship history with the information networks also showed a complete indirect effect on communicative engagement through identification with volunteer organizations. Getting information from various age groups showed a complete indirect effect on communicative engagement through volunteers' organizational identification. In terms of indirectly predicting engagement (H14), the findings showed a similar pattern. The size of co-volunteer networks for providing informational support, age homophily, and their shared volunteering relationship history when getting the volunteering related information were mediated by identification with volunteer organizations. There were no statistically significant findings in their emotional support networks.

This dissertation also proposed five research questions. The first research question was to explore the ways volunteers prioritize and negotiate their multiple identities and identifications (RQ_1). A series of paired samples t-tests showed that volunteers' role identification was stronger than identification with any other targets. Their family identification was stronger than identification with their employing organization or volunteer organization. Interview data revealed other valued targets of identification along with volunteer role, such as organizational mission, co-volunteers, and volunteering. In addition, qualitative data revealed that the interviewees were switching between "we" language to represent inclusiveness and "they" language to separate themselves from certain targets simultaneously, although it did not seem that volunteers completely disidentified with a target even when they used "they" language. The

interviewees mostly used “we” language when they felt proud of being part of the volunteer organizations, whereas they used “they” language when they confided about things they would do differently from how and what the organizations did.

Many interviewees were involved in multiple volunteer organizations and they used “we” language when they referred to the organization with which they more strongly identified. By simultaneously using both “we” and “they” language, interviewees expressed stronger and weaker identification with targets. In addition to the volunteer organizations, the interviewees identified with the organization’s mission, volunteer roles, volunteering itself, and co-volunteers. Volunteers expressed their close identification with co-volunteers because they perceived that the co-volunteers exactly understood what they were going through and how they felt in certain situations. Further, interacting with the patrons at the volunteering sites, or the clients receiving the volunteering services, seem to make volunteer identity salient and reminded them of organizational missions and motives, which in turn enhances their identification with targets.

The second research question asked about how volunteers’ communication networks predict their communicative engagement (RQ_2). When volunteers seek information, none of the variables in their communication networks significantly predicted communicative engagement in volunteering; however, providing information to their volunteer manager negatively predicted communicative engagement in volunteering. Getting emotional support from family and relatives was a significant predictor of their communicative engagement.

The third research question this study explored was to ask how volunteers' communication networks predict general engagement in volunteering (RQ_3). Getting information to complete their volunteering tasks from family and relatives were a negative predictor of their general engagement in volunteering. Other types of volunteer relationships were not significantly predictive of their engagement in volunteering. Volunteers' heterophilous ties in terms of age when getting information within their communication networks, marginally and positively predicted their general engagement in volunteering.

The fourth and fifth research questions examined how identification with multiple targets predicted volunteers' communicative engagement (RQ_4) and general engagement in volunteering (RQ_5). Volunteers' role identification, family identification, employing organizational identification, and volunteer organizational identification altogether positively predicted volunteers' communicative engagement. Also, identification with the volunteer organization, family, and employing organization altogether, positively predicted their general engagement in volunteering.

In addition, qualitative data revealed the importance of direct and indirect family engagement in volunteering, which in turn results in more committed volunteer engagement among the interviewed volunteers. The interviewees mentioned how they learned the values and the importance of volunteering from their family members, which then further motivated an ongoing commitment to volunteer. It was also found that one of the driving forces that brought the volunteers in and retained their service was family support. Some interviewees mentioned their engagement in volunteering started because of their employing organization. Their employing organizations were supportive by

sharing volunteer opportunities with employees, matching the amount of donation/hours, providing a paid day off for volunteering, or organizing a community event for their employees to volunteer.

Discussion of Findings

A fair amount of communication research has emphasized connections between identity formation and volunteering (Ganesh & McAllum, 2012; Lewis, 2005) as it helps us understand what an individual should think and feel as well as how the individual should behave. Previous research has elucidated how various types and levels of identities might embed or nest within one another in organizational settings (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). As individuals wear multiple hats, which hats become more or less salient is influenced by the subjective importance and situational relevance of each identity. As Ashforth and Johnson (2001) explain, the more subjectively important the identity is, the more likely individuals will look for opportunities to enact the identity, which in turn also influences the way they define a situation as identity-relevant. They described that lower order identities are generally more salient than higher order identities although higher order identities are still extremely important. This is because individuals more frequently interact with other organizational members as they accomplish their duties, and tend to perceive they have more in common and share similar identities.

In line with what previous literature posits, the results of this study found that volunteers tend to identify more strongly with lower order identities (e.g., identifying more strongly with their volunteer role than volunteer organization). This can be explained in part by the way this study was conducted. Scott et al. (1998) explicated that

individuals enact identification with various targets depending on situated organizational activities. As the survey data were collected right after volunteers had performed their duties or while they were carrying out their tasks on site, that identity was more situationally relevant and the subjective importance of volunteer identity could have been enhanced. The interview data similarly revealed salience of the lower order identities. The interviewees tend to identify more with co-volunteers as well as volunteering itself. The interviewed volunteers explained how critical the co-volunteers are to draw them to volunteering and keep them volunteering. As volunteers share memorable experiences together, they tend to find a lot of things in common with co-volunteers, and perceive that the co-volunteers will understand how they feel in situations.

The dynamic nature of identity has been highlighted by many communication scholars; that is, it is not static but rather continuous and communicative social interactions are the key (Gossett, 2002; Scott, 2007; Scott et al., 1998). Similarly, Ashforth and colleagues (2000) have theorized how different levels of identities (e.g., individual, dyad, group, and organization) simultaneously enable and constrain other levels of identities. Silva and Sias (2010) explained how interactions with other organizational group members could create a sense of connection between members and the organization. Such interactions allowed organizational members to restructure individual as well as organizational identities that may even conflict with one another, which in turn expand our understandings of the dynamic nature of forming, transforming, and reproducing identities.

In addition, a network perspective highlights the social relations surrounding an individual so that it helps expand our understandings of one's relations and interactions

with others as we exchange information and get emotional support from those individuals. Previous research on tie strength explains how individuals share various types of information and support based on the types of relations people may have in life. For example, strong ties (e.g., family, friends, and relatives) are a great resource to exchange emotional and personal information, whereas individuals tend to exchange task-related information with weak ties (e.g., coworkers) in organizational contexts (Granovetter, 1983; Haythornthwaite, 2002; Krackhardt et al., 2003). Other literature similarly describes how individuals' network connections and size of their networks' influence organizational outcomes (Feeley & Barnett, 1997; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; McPherson et al., 1992).

For example, McPherson and colleagues reported that organizational members who interact with other members are more likely to remain in the organization compared to the counterparts who interact more with non-members. In addition, Andrews et al. (1999) reported that individuals who are connected to many others tend to identify more strongly with organizations. This explains the findings of the current study regarding the influence of volunteering affiliated networks on their identification with volunteer role and volunteer organization.

In line with previous research on how organizationally affiliated network size positively influenced individuals' organizational identification (Jones & Volpe, 2011), the current project revealed that the size of volunteering affiliated networks positively predicted identification with the volunteer role and volunteer organization. Of volunteering affiliated networks, the size of co-volunteer networks to give information mattered, whereas the size of volunteer manager networks predicted their volunteer role

identification. Organizational members prefer to exchange certain types of information from their co-workers and other types of information from supervisors, although both are important resources for information. The lack of information can make organizational members' jobs more difficult, which in turn influence their intent to leave the organization (Scott et al., 1999). Having a supervisor in their informational network has been related to job and role learning, which is different from more general organizational learning (Morrison, 2004).

Similarly, it seems that volunteers can have a greater understanding about the organization and construct their identification with their volunteer organization as they exchange information with other co-volunteers whom they perceive to be similar in organizational status and with whom they share similar volunteering experience. However, as volunteers probably aim to do well on their volunteering tasks, seeking out information regarding a clear role description or guided instruction about tasks in details from volunteer managers will often be more helpful and make them feel connected to their role.

In addition to the types of relationships within volunteers' communication network, the current study also examined the influence of homophily characteristics on identification with multiple targets. The notion of homophily, meaning individuals tend to interact and socialize with others who are similar to them, is not new. Of various possible categories, demographics including age, ethnicity, and gender were found to be prominent in recent studies (McPherson et al., 2001). However, such ascribed sociodemographic homophily was not found to be statistically significant within their expressive network ties. In this study, having some variations in terms of age and gender

when seeking information positively predicted identification with volunteer organization. Accessing various age groups as their information resources positively predicted their role identification.

In addition to socioeconomic homophily, previous literature also talked about homophily in terms of behavior; that is, individuals tend to associate with others sharing their behavior patterns. For example, behavioral homophily has been found not only among adolescents with school achievement or smoking marijuana (Cohen, 1977), but also adults who showed homophily of political behavior (Knoke, 1990). In the current study, the behavioral homophily in terms of shared volunteering relationship history between ego and alters within the information provision networks positively predicted their communicative engagement in volunteering. In other words, providing information to others who have shared a volunteering relationship history positively influences volunteers' communicative engagement.

Further, shared volunteering history within the information networks also positively influences volunteers' general engagement. The interviewees also indicated that they tend to exchange new volunteering opportunities or benefits of the new opportunities with the people who volunteered together in the past. Some interviewees mentioned that they post new volunteering opportunities on their social media, but often personally contacted those people with whom they had volunteered. Previous research found that Amway distributors tend to communicate with people whom they perceive will understand and support them (Pratt, 2000). It is plausible to assert that volunteers exchange information with others who have volunteered with them so that they would

understand the needs of volunteers, which in turn enhances their engagement in volunteering and results in sharing the information and experience about volunteering.

However, providing information to their volunteer manager rather than getting the information from them negatively influences a traditional way of disseminating information to others about volunteering. Further, getting the information from family and relatives negatively influences their general engagement in volunteering, whereas getting emotional support from family and relatives positively influences volunteers' general engagement in volunteering. These findings are in line with previous research suggesting how a lack of communication, especially between supervisor and subordinate, could increase people's voluntary turnover intention (Scott et al., 1999; Jablin, 1987). Scott and colleagues (1999) reported that lack of information and knowledge could make their tasks more difficult, make them feel more disappointed and frustrated, and make them feel wanting to leave the organization.

Such findings are also supported by the interview data. When volunteer managers clearly communicated with volunteers about their roles, expectations, or other necessary instructions when performing their tasks, they felt more satisfied and accomplished. However, when they just received an order of what to do or what not to do, received an unclear role description, and got mixed instructions from different people or no specific information about what they were supposed to do in situations, they felt confused and gave a second thought about coming back to volunteering with the organization.

The results further revealed that providing information to co-volunteers was not directly associated with engagement in volunteering. However, I verified an indirect relationship between the size of co-volunteers listed in information provision networks

and volunteers' communicative engagement, through identification with the volunteer organization. Another indirect relationship between the size of co-volunteers listed in information provision networks and communicative engagement was also found, through identification with the volunteer organization. In line with previous organizational communication literature reporting a positive association between organizational identification and positive organizational outcomes, the findings show that it is important to strengthen volunteers' organizational identification to encourage their overall volunteer engagement in volunteering and disseminating volunteering experiences and information. Although communicating with co-volunteers to share information did not show a direct association with both types of engagement in volunteering, it is plausible to say that as identification is not a static concept, communicating more with other volunteers and with those who shared a history of volunteering experience can strengthen their volunteer organizational identification, which in turn increase their overall communicative engagement and general engagement in volunteering.

In sum, previous research shows that people generally socialize and build social networks with others in an effort to get tangible benefits, such as access to scarce resources or information (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). However, it is not enough to just increase the size of networks that may bring such benefits, but one must communicate with the "right" people (Burt, 1997). The current study findings correspond to previous literature. There were various types of relationships in the information seeking networks in the current study, and some of them can be categorized as strong ties (e.g., family, relatives, and friends), while other relationships such as co-workers, co-volunteers, and volunteer managers can be identified as weak ties. However, when analyzing the data,

there was no significant association found between the total number of people listed in communication networks and identification with multiple targets. Also, the total network size was associated with neither their general engagement in volunteering nor communicative engagement. It was mainly the number of co-volunteers listed in their information provision networks, various age groups to get information, and behavioral homophily (e.g., shared history of volunteering experience) that predicted identification with volunteer organization, and indirectly associated with general engagement in volunteering and communicative engagement through volunteer organizational identification. By choosing their weak ties, especially co-volunteers, volunteers encapsulated their identification with the volunteer organization, which in turn increased their communicative engagement and general engagement in volunteering.

Theoretical Implications

This dissertation makes several contributions to organizational communication research, identity research, and volunteer research. The current study expands the scope of volunteer and identity research. One of the key contributions is to understand volunteer identity and identification as a predictor of their engagement in volunteering, whose organizational status and relationship with organizational members are different from those of previous studies. The multiple targets of identification for volunteers are not limited to those within the organizations. Unlike traditional for-profit organizational research that mostly includes professional, department/team, division, or organizational identifications (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Scott, 1997), this research considered the influence of non-organizational identification processes when examining individual's

identities and identification with multiple targets in nonprofit organizations (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014).

Morgan and colleagues (2004) also stated that the communicative interactions affecting the identification processes with the collectives are not limited to the internal sources of the organization (e.g., coworkers, departments/division, professions, and organizational teams) but also include external resources (e.g., family and relatives, organizational reputation or image, or larger community culture). I examined identities and identification with multiple targets including volunteer role, volunteer organization, family, and employing organization. The study also revealed other types of identification targets such as organizational mission, volunteering itself, and co-volunteers. As volunteers may experience one type of identity competing with other embedded identities, it is important to understand how their identification with targets beyond the organization influenced their volunteer engagement.

Another key contribution to the literature is to highlight the importance of situated activities on identification with the collectives. Scott and colleagues (1998) introduced the notion of situated activities to explain how certain identities can become more or less salient in different situations, which highlights the importance of the social interaction in the identification process. In this study, the survey was conducted at volunteering sites right after or in the midst of performing their volunteering tasks, which might have strengthened their response on certain identification targets (e.g., volunteer role). When analyzing the interview data, the interviewees did not specifically indicate the strong identification with volunteer role itself; however, they reflected their volunteering experiences including other community events, and identified more strongly with co-

volunteers, the mission of the volunteer organization, or volunteering itself rather than the volunteer role. For example, I met one of the interviewees at a racing event and he filled out the survey after finishing his role as a course marshal. Later, when I conducted an interview with him, he talked about his other volunteering experiences such as volunteering with other firefighters, meaningfulness of volunteering, and his commitment to the community more rather than what he did at the racing event. That is, role identification may not have emerged as strongly if the survey was collected at different times.

In addition, the current study contributes to the literature by expanding our understandings of volunteers' communication networks in relation to their volunteer engagement. Previous research has examined the social networks of organizational members in profit organizations, and how they were associated with organizational outcomes such as commitment to the roles, job satisfaction, and identification with the organizations (Bullis & Bach, 1991; Feeley, 2000; Monge et al., 1983). The Erosion Model predicted how organizational members position in their communication networks and how they are connected themselves with others can significantly influence their decision to stay or leave the organizations (Feeley, 2000; Feeley & Barnett, 1997; Feeley et al., 2010). For example, organizational members who are more centrally positioned in their communication networks are less likely to leave the organization (Mossholder et al., 2005).

Feeley and colleagues (2010) reported that those centralized in their communication networks are less likely to leave the organization because they are more likely to receive social support from more people. Although the current study did not

measure the exact centrality, it is plausible to argue that their information networks from which they receive volunteering related information and the information provision networks to which they provide volunteering related information can be considered volunteers' perceived in- and out-degree centralities in their communication networks. The findings of the current study also support the importance of how volunteers perceive positioned in their communication networks when predicting volunteer engagement.

Moreover, previous literature stated that strong-tie and weak-tie networks have been found to have different impact on individual's behavior. For example, weak ties tend to be more heterophilous and instrumental than strong ties so that people tend to provide informational resources rather than emotional support (Granovetter, 1983; Wellman, 1992), whereas strong ties tend to be more homophilous and share a sense of intimate and special relationships as well as provide emotional support (Granovetter, 1983). Although homophily can facilitate more effective communication, homophily in terms of gender, ethnicity, and employment status in volunteer communication networks did not predict their engagement. Rather, having variation in age groups in the instrumental networks positively predicted their engagement in volunteering. This finding is in line with the argument of Uzzie and Dunlap (2005), who asserted that individuals should go beyond their homophily networks. Indeed, any individuals can benefit from forging diverse networks by engaging in shared activities (e.g., community service, voluntary associations), which in turn facilitate flow of various information.

As others have argued, individuals tend to categorize themselves as part of a particular "in-group" who shares similar belief, or attitudes, and engage in similar behavior (Albert et al., 2000; Ashforth & Mael 1989). By identifying themselves as "in-

group" they also tend to compare themselves with other "out-group" members. However, individuals can have multiple layers of identities in organizational settings, and some identities can be more salient than others (Hogg & Terry, 2000). When an individual develops organizational identification, for example, it will strengthen empathy and trust for the collective, and lead to engagement in more positive organizational behavior (Kramer, 1993). The results of this study clearly show that identification is an active process and communicatively constructed (Lammers et al., 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009; Scott et al., 1998).

Practical Implications

For practical implications, the findings offer the importance of training volunteer managers on how to clearly communicate with volunteers about the roles, expectations, and other necessary volunteering related information when the volunteers perform their tasks. For example, if volunteers know more about the information and happen to provide the information to a volunteer manager, or if they have to ask their family or relatives questions to accomplish the volunteering tasks, they become less favorable of the volunteer organization, which can result in a decreasing volunteer retention rate. This practical advice can be also supported by previous literature. Previous research examined that new employees reported that it is important to get communicative support from coworkers and supervisors since it is associated with job satisfaction and turnover rates (Clampitt, 2005).

According to Kedrowicz (2013), it is important to meet volunteers' needs through social support, which may increase the likelihood of longevity in the organization. She also reasoned that although there are full-time or long-term committed volunteers,

volunteer work is generally part-time based and such nature of volunteer work may increase uncertainty of volunteer roles and difficulty of positioning them in organizations. Effective supervisory support is helpful to promote commitment through recognizing volunteers' value, encouraging positive interpersonal relations, or providing volunteers an opportunity to voice their opinions (Shin & Kleiner, 2003).

In addition to providing a clear guidance for the tasks, the organizations should encourage the volunteer managers to communicate about organizational missions, potential beneficiaries of the organizational services, the importance of their contributions as volunteers, and appreciation for volunteers. When volunteers just join the organization or start volunteering, they go through sensemaking processes like any other organizational members as they want to make sense of their relationships with others, assigned tasks, and the organizational cultures (McComb, 1995). Sensemaking involves an intersubjective process of coming up with agreeable meaning of situations so that it should be more plausible than accurate (Weick, 1995; 2001). Thus, volunteer managers and other organizational members should pay attention to the organizational sense giving processes as they will help especially new volunteers make sense of the organization as well as their experiences before deciding to be more engaged. Also, the findings in line with previous literature suggest that as communicating with patrons or interacting potential beneficiaries of the organizational services can enhance particular identification for some volunteers, providing such opportunities is also recommended (Scott & Stephens, 2009; Tornes, & Kramer, 2015).

Another practical implication of these research findings could suggest the organizations should encourage volunteers to build co-volunteer networks to share

volunteering related information. Previous literature reported that people having a greater number of external ties (i.e., having more ties with people outside their group or organization) are more likely to leave (Feeley et al., 2008; McPherson et al., 1992). The results revealed that the majority of volunteers in this study were affiliated with more than one organization. That is, volunteers are involved in multiple volunteer organizations, which may lead the volunteers to experience tensions of identifying among volunteer organizations and various roles. If volunteers have more information to share with other volunteers, or other people sharing a volunteering history, they tend to develop a stronger identification with the collective.

As volunteers tend to draw more volunteers in, encouraging volunteers to be more communicatively engaged can be one of the beneficial ways to recruit a voluntary workforce. Previous research also reported that volunteers who are more certain about their volunteer organization tend to bring more people in (Kramer et al., 2013). Also, people engaged in volunteering because they were asked by others, share the same organizational membership or having other active volunteers in their communication networks (Merino, 2013). Therefore, in order to make volunteers more engaged in volunteering and communicative engagement, it is critical to enhance volunteers' identification with the organization by allowing volunteers to communicate and share information with other co-volunteers. This can link one's sense of connection to the target organization, which in turn increases their engagement in volunteering as well as volunteer recruitment.

Furthermore, organizations heavily relying on a voluntary workforce should pay more attention to episodic, or short-term volunteers, and keep them updated about

volunteering opportunities. Volunteering becomes heterogeneous activity and it is not surprising that short-term or episodic volunteering becomes increasingly prevalent (Lewis, 2013). Short-term or episodic volunteers are drawn to volunteering mainly through their networks (Hustinx et al., 2008). For example, someone asked them to volunteer, or they came to volunteer with or after their family and friends. That is, such episodic volunteers are recruited via already existing social relationships. However, such relationships are not necessarily volunteers' strong ties. Strong ties can be beneficial when dealing with more complicated tasks (Hansen, 1999). However, the tasks in community volunteering events do not require highly trained skills to perform. The findings of this research also indicated that people came to volunteer for the same events every year, and they keep getting the email to sign up once they volunteered. Getting the information before recruiting other new volunteers makes them feel recognized, and they feel that they could do it without taking too much time away from other responsibilities after which they have to look because the opportunities are somewhat intermittent.

Limitations

Like any research, this study has several limitations. One possible limitation of the study is the survey sample. More diverse participants, especially in terms of ethnicity, could add to our understanding. Although the ethnicity of the current sample is fairly representative of the US volunteering population, understanding more diverse ethnic groups of volunteers would enhance our understandings of volunteerism in the United States. As we have a very limited understanding of volunteerism among various ethnic groups, especially immigrant populations, future research needs to expand the scope of volunteering research to study various ethnic groups.

Another possible limitation of this dissertation is the multicollinearity between the general engagement index and role identification in the survey data. Although I have adopted existing scales to operationalize these measures, participants may have read the wordings of these items similarly. Due to the multicollinearity, the direct relationships between general engagement and role identification could not be analyzed further.

Lastly, volunteering is a continuous process, which may involve communicative process of developing identity (Scott et al., 1998). For example, one nonprofit organization may hold several volunteering events and not every volunteer will show up to every event. When collecting the data, most volunteering events occurred during weekends, so participants' level of commitment to their role or organization could have been stronger than other volunteers at different events. Further, it seems volunteer networks matter in a different way, and volunteers are the ones drawing other volunteers in, so it would be beneficial to look at their network organizing longitudinally. The longitudinal studies may provide richer findings on how their identification with different targets and composition of their communication networks change over time.

Directions for Future Research

The ethnicity of the current sample is fairly representative of the US volunteering population; however, it means the majority of people who participated in the study were Whites, followed up with some Black, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian participants. Thus, understanding more diverse ethnic groups of volunteers, especially examining various immigrant populations, would enhance our understandings of volunteerism in the United States. The immigrant populations may show different patterns or characteristics of

volunteering or volunteer in different circumstances for various reasons (Lee & Moon, 2011).

For example, if the immigrant populations experience language or cultural barriers, it may hinder them to fully integrate into the mainstream communities or volunteer through mainstream nonprofit organizations. However, they may more informally contribute to the communities to which they perceive they belong, or volunteer more with religious organizations within their ethnic communities as they do not experience any language barriers (Handy & Greenspan, 2009). Handy and Greenspan (2009) also indicated that immigrants' participation in volunteering activities can help them facilitate the process of acculturation, as well as expanding their human and social capital. The growing immigrant population residing in the United States is clearly a potential voluntary workforce for many nonprofit organizations, and expanding our understanding beyond the mainstream organizations and volunteers affiliated with the organizations can be beneficial for scholarly and practical purposes. Thus, future research should be conducted considering immigrant populations.

Another direction for future research would be to consider reconceptualizing volunteer role identities. First, the way volunteers perceive their roles can be different from how scholars construct and measure what their role identity and identification are. Based on what some participants reported, their perception of the volunteer roles seems to be volunteering as contributing their time and labor to help others rather than what their specific tasks were while volunteering. For example, some volunteers explained what they were actually assigned to do (e.g., usher, kiosk assistant, course marshal), while others reported their primary roles were to help the organizations. Also, as the

findings suggest, volunteers could be involved in multiple nonprofit organizations; that is, it is not so clear how volunteers would construct their volunteer role identities in relation to their multiple connections. They can serve as, for example, a nonprofit organizational board member, sports coach, community choir member, or many other volunteer roles via more than just one organization; that is, even before considering other targets of identification, there are multiple targets of role identification themselves.

Second, depending on the types of volunteering they were engaged in, the salience of their volunteer identities can vary. The ways people volunteer have been changing, such as voluntourism and virtual/online volunteering. Also, more and more people follow the modern trends of volunteering episodically. Even among episodic volunteers, some might engage in only one time volunteering activity (i.e., temporary episodic volunteering), whereas other volunteers might come in for one activity but at a regular intervals (i.e., occasional episodic volunteering) (Macduff, 2005). Therefore, future research is encouraged to interrogate the notion of volunteer role identities in relation to one's various connections and the types of volunteering.

The current study took by its nature of data collection an ego-network approach, and could not delve into the whole networks; that is, various network measures could not be adopted. Examining other network measures such as the impact of structural positions that volunteers occupy in their communication networks can provide better insights for how they enhance or limit their identification with the collective as well as their engagement in volunteering. The findings of this study reported that volunteers are more likely to engage in communicative and general volunteer engagement when they could exchange more information with co-volunteers.

Although this study did not directly measure the centrality of the volunteers' communication networks, it is plausible to argue that co-volunteers may feel more recognized and central when they were able to give out information to other people than receive information from others within their communication networks. Thus, in order to better understand how volunteers' communication networks affect their identification processes and engagement in volunteering, examining volunteers' whole networks is recommended.

Conclusion

Regardless of a continuing decrease of volunteer rate (BLS, 2016), the importance and necessity of volunteering in our society cannot be neglected. As communication scholars were called to pay more attention to nonprofit organizations and communicative properties of volunteer memberships (Lewis, 2005), this dissertation has contributed some interesting findings from analyzing volunteers' communication networks, identification processes, and volunteer engagement; offered practical implications to nonprofit organizations; and provided venues for future investigation. This dissertation explored volunteers' communication networks and their experiences at various community events, and the impact of the communication networks on identification processes and volunteer engagement. The results suggest the active and communicative processes of identification with the collective in situated contexts and the targets of identification are not limited within the organizational boundaries. The results on communication networks also suggest that volunteers may not need to rely on their strong ties to get information, but can benefit from their weak ties (i.e., co-volunteers) that are also useful for different kinds of information; that is, having more co-volunteers within

volunteers' instrumental networks and communicating with them can enhance volunteers' organizational identification, which in turn increases volunteers' communicative and general engagement in volunteering. This dissertation contributes to the current literature by exploring volunteers' communication networks, and for the practitioners (i.e., nonprofit organizations, volunteer managers), this study highlights the importance of clear communication with volunteers, showing appreciation, and keeping them in the loop.

Appendix A

Survey Questionnaire

Q1. The following questions ask about how you feel about the organization in which you volunteer.

How do you feel about the volunteer organization?	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
(1) When I talk about this volunteer organization, I usually say "we" rather than "they".	1	2	3	4	5
(2) When someone praises this volunteer organization, it feels like a personal compliment	1	2	3	4	5
(3) My volunteer organization's successes are my successes.	1	2	3	4	5
(4) I am very interested in what others think about this volunteer organization.	1	2	3	4	5
(5) When someone criticizes this volunteer organization, it feels like a personal insult.	1	2	3	4	5
(6) If a story in the media criticized this volunteer organization, I would feel embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5

Q2. The following questions ask about how you feel about your volunteer role.

How do you feel about the volunteering role you play?	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
(1) I am proud to be a volunteer.	1	2	3	4	5
(2) I really care about my volunteering work.	1	2	3	4	5
(3) I am glad that I choose to volunteer.	1	2	3	4	5
(4) The image of my volunteering work in the community represents me well.	1	2	3	4	5
(5) I have warm feelings toward my volunteering work.	1	2	3	4	5
(6) I find my values and the values of this volunteering work are very similar.	1	2	3	4	5

Q3. The following questions ask about how you feel about the employing organization at which you work.

How do you feel about the employing organization (job) where you work?	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
(1) When I talk about the employing organization, I usually say "we" rather than "they".	1	2	3	4	5
(2) When someone praises the employing organization, it feels like a personal compliment	1	2	3	4	5
(3) My employing organization's successes are my successes.	1	2	3	4	5
(4) I am very interested in what others think about the employing organization.	1	2	3	4	5
(5) When someone criticizes the employing organization, it feels like a personal insult.	1	2	3	4	5
(6) If a story in the media criticized the employing organization, I would feel embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5

Q4. The following questions ask about how you feel about your family

How do you feel about your family?	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
(1) I am proud to be a member of my family.	1	2	3	4	5
(2) I really care about my family.	1	2	3	4	5
(3) I am glad that I am a member of my family	1	2	3	4	5
(4) The image of my family in the community represents me well.	1	2	3	4	5
(5) I have warm feelings toward my family.	1	2	3	4	5
(6) I find my values and the values of family are very similar.	1	2	3	4	5

Q5. The following questions ask about your engagement in volunteering.

Engagement in volunteering tasks	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
(1) When I volunteer, I focus a great deal of my attention on my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(2) When I volunteer, I am absorbed by my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(3) When I volunteer, my mind is focused on my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(4) I feel enthusiastic about my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(5) I get excited when I perform well on volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(6) I feel energetic when performing my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(7) I strive as hard as I can to complete my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(8) I exert my full effort to do my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(9) I try my hardest to perform well on my volunteering tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
(10) I say positive things about the volunteering to other people.	1	2	3	4	5
(11) I encourage my friends to engage in volunteering.	1	2	3	4	5
(12) I encourage my family members to engage in volunteering.	1	2	3	4	5
(13) I recommend volunteering to someone who asks for my advice	1	2	3	4	5

Q6. How long have you volunteered in this organization?

(1) Less than a year
(2) 1-3 years
(3) 4-6 years
(4) 7 – 10 years
(5) More than 10 years

Q7. What are your main role/task(s) in this organization? (Please list the three most important tasks)

_____

What is your volunteer affiliated network? Think about other volunteers, volunteer managers or volunteer groups you interact with. These people or groups may have a direct impact on your volunteering. They can be family and friends, volunteer manager or someone with whom you volunteer. If you interact with more than 3, please write their names or initials on the space provided:

Q8. In the past year, think about the last time you needed some **important information** to accomplish your tasks as a volunteer. Who did you ask? Write the initials (or first names if they have the same initials) of them. [You don't need to fill in all 3 people, but if you have more than 3 people, use the space provided]

Individual 1: _____ Individual 4: _____
Individual 2: _____ Individual 5: _____
Individual 3: _____ Individual 6: _____

Q9. Please re-list the above listed people's initials in the space provided. Circle the number(s) applicable.

Categories	**Relationship** (List all that apply)	**Co-volunteering Status** (List all that apply)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Employment**	**Frequency of Use to Stay in Touch**		
						Texting & Calling	Social media & Emails	Face to Face
	1. Co-volunteer 2. Volunteer Manager 3. Friends 4. Family/Relatives 5. Coworkers (Job)	1. Currently volunteering together 2. Volunteered together in the past 3. Never volunteered together	1. Male 2. Female 3. Do Not want to identify	1.18-24 2. 25-34 3. 35-44 4. 45-54 5. 55-64 6. 65 & older	1-Employed 2-Unemployed 3- Retired	1. Never 2. Almost never 3. Occasionally/ Sometimes 4. Almost daily 5. Daily		
(Ex) Kim. H	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3 4 5 6**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3 4 5**
Individual 1 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 2 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 3 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 4 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 5 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 6 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

Q10. Now, think about **social support** as a volunteer. Who do you talk to while volunteering about **emotional aspects of the volunteering**? . [Including your family members and/or friends, you don't need to fill in all 3 people, but if you have more than 3 people, use the space provided]

Individual 1: _____ Individual 4: _____

Individual 2: _____ Individual 5: _____

Individual 3: _____ Individual 6: _____

Q11. Please provide brief demographic information for each of the individual you mentioned above following the order you put their names.

Categories	**Relationship** (List all that apply)	**Co-volunteering Status** (List all that apply)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Employment**	**Frequency of Use to Stay in Touch**		
						Texting & Calling	Social media & Emails	Face to Face
	1. Co-volunteer 2. Volunteer Manager 3. Friends 4. Family/Relatives 5. Coworkers (Job)	1. Currently volunteering together 2. Volunteered together in the past 3. Never volunteered together	1. Male 2. Female 3. Do Not want to identify	1.18-24 2. 25-34 3. 35-44 4. 45-54 5. 55-64 6. 65 & older	1-Employed 2-Unemployed 3 - Retired	1. Never 2. Almost never 3. Occasionally/ Sometimes 4. Almost daily 5. Daily		
(Ex) JA. H	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3 4 5 6**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3 4 5**
Individual 1 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 2 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 3 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 4 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 5 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 6 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

Q12. Please indicate **3 individuals who have turned to you for information** that has helped them to accomplish their volunteering tasks. Write the initials (or first names if they have the same initials) of them. [you don't need to fill in all 3 people, but if you have more than 3 people, use the space provided]

Individual 1: _____ Individual 4: _____

Individual 2: _____ Individual 5: _____

Individual 3: _____ Individual 6: _____

Q13. Please provide brief demographic information for each of the individual you mentioned above following the order you put their names.

Categories	**Relationship** (List all that apply)	**Co-volunteering Status** (List all that apply)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Employment**	**Frequency of Use to Stay in Touch**		
						Texting & Calling	Social media & Emails	Face to Face
	1. Co-volunteer 2. Volunteer Manager 3. Friends 4. Family/Relatives 5. Coworkers (Job)	1. Currently volunteering together 2. Volunteered together in the past 3. Never volunteered together	1. Male 2. Female 3. Do Not want to identify	1.18-24 2. 25-34 3. 35-44 4. 45-54 5. 55-64 6. 65 & older	1-Employed 2-Unemployed 3-Retired	1. Never 2. Almost never 3. Occasionally/ Sometimes 4. Almost daily 5. Daily		
(Ex) M.K.	**1 2 (3) 4 (5)**	**(1) 2 3**	**1 (2) 3**	**(1) 2 3 4 5 6**	**(1) 2 3**	**1 2 3 4 (5)**	**1 2 (3) 4 5**	**1 2 (3) 4 5**
Individual 1 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 2 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 3 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 4 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 5 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Individual 6 _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

Q14. How much time do you spend volunteering in a typical week?
(1) Less than 1 hour
(2) 1 – 5 hours
(3) 6 – 10 hours
(4) 11 – 15 hours
(5) More than 15 hours

Q15. How many other organizations do you volunteer for?
(1) 0 (just this organization)
(2) 1 other organization
(3) 2-3 other organizations
(4) 4-5 other organizations
(5) 6 or more organizations

Q16. How old are you?
(1). 18 to 24 years
(2). 25 to 34 years
(3). 35 to 44 years
(4). 45 to 54 years
(5). 55 to 64 years
(6). 65 years and over

Q17. What is your gender? Please select one
(1) Female
(2) Male
(3) Other or Do not want to identify

Q18. Which of the following best represents the highest level of education that you have completed?
(1). High school graduate
(2). Attended some college
(3). Associates degree
(4). Bachelor's degree
(5). Master's degree
(6). Doctoral degree

Q19. With which of the following groups do you most identify?
(1). African-American
(2). Asian/ Asian-American or Pacific Islander
(3). Hispanic/Latino
(4). Native American
(5). Caucasian
(6). Other_____

Q20. Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?
1. Employed full time (35 hrs+/week)
2. Employed part time (less than 35 hrs / week)
3. Stay at home/ homemaker
4. Temporarily unemployed
5. Out of work/ retired

Q21. Please leave your email address if you would like to participate in more in-depth interviews about your volunteer experience.

_____

Thank you so much for your participation! ☺

Appendix B

Interview Protocols

Hello. Thank you very much for agreeing to meet with me today. My name is Hyunsook Youn. I am a Doctoral student at Rutgers in the Department of Communication. I am conducting these interviews as a part of my dissertation. The focus of my dissertation is on a study of volunteers, the way they identify as volunteers, and relationships volunteers have with each other. So today I just want to ask you some questions about what your experiences have been as a volunteer. Do you have any questions about the informed consent form I shared with you? [wait for answer; ask if they have any questions about it]. Ok, so I just want to remind you that your participation is completely voluntary and you can choose not to answer any question I ask or you can stop the interview at any time. May I record this interview to help with note-taking? [If not, I'll take notes]. Ok, great, thank you! Let's begin!

1. What are your primary role(s) and responsibilities when volunteering in this organization?
   A) With who/how do you regularly communicate when completing the volunteering tasks?

2. How did you come to know about this organization? Did you know anyone here before you joined? [Do you have your family members or friends who also volunteer in this organization?]
   A) What are the reasons for wanting to work with this organization?
   B) What keeps you volunteering in this organization/tasks?

3. What do you like most about [your volunteering tasks in] this organization? When do you feel rewarded by volunteering in this organization? [What do you find most rewarding about volunteering here? Or can you describe a specific incident, experience or moment of your voluntary activity when you felt rewarding?]
   A. With whom did you talk about the positive/rewarding volunteering experience and how did they react to it?
   B. As a volunteer, could you tell me about how connected you feel to this organization? [if they don't understand the first question, then probe with: in what ways do you feel like you're an insider (or not), or part of the organization?]
   C. How does the organization recognize your work?

4. What do you find most challenging about volunteering? What aspects about volunteering make you wonder if you should take a break? [or can you describe a specific moment, which was challenging or difficult?]
   A) How did you handle this? With whom did you talk about it and how did they react to it?

B) Have you ever taken break from volunteering? (Is it from the organization you currently volunteer?) Have you thought about leaving this organization? If not, what aspects about volunteering make you stay volunteering?

5. Can you recall any situations where work or family issues came up when you were volunteering? Please tell me a little more about these situations. [How did you handle the situations?]
   A. Can you recall situations where other than family or work related issues influence your volunteering? How did you handle the situations?

6. Whom do you confide in when complaining about volunteering? [Would you turn to your family and friends, other volunteers, or volunteer coordinator?]
   A) What are the reasons that you choose the targets to talk to? Do they also currently volunteer in the same organization?

7. How important is it to you to volunteer? Why?
   A) Is it important to be a part of this organization/accomplish your volunteering tasks?

8. What do you think organizations should do to attract more people?

9. Any thoughts or comments? Anything else you would like to add? Did I miss any important topics?

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