

# Membership and Organizational Governance

Torbjörn Einarsson



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Torbjörn Einarsson

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**Torbjörn Einarsson**





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# Preface

This report is a result of a research project carried out at the department of Management and Organization at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE).

This volume is submitted as a doctoral dissertation at SSE. The author has been entirely free to conduct and present his research in his own ways as an expression of his own ideas.

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Finally, I would like to thank all representatives in the reference group from the eight organizations taking part in this study and other civil-society representatives who have followed, commented on and assisted this project. And of course all the respondents that have been kind enough to lend me their time when answering the survey!

Torbjörn Einarsson

Vallentuna, August 2012



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# Abbreviations

AVI	The Association of the Visually Impaired (Synskadades Riksförbund) <a href="http://www.srf.nu">www.srf.nu</a>
IOGT	IOGT-NTO <a href="http://www.iogt.se">www.iogt.se</a>
MCC	The Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden (Svenska Missionskyrkan) <a href="http://www.missionskyrkan.se">www.missionskyrkan.se</a>
SDP	The Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti) <a href="http://www.socialdemokraterna.se">www.socialdemokraterna.se</a>
SFA	The Swedish Football Association (Svenska Fotbollförbundet) <a href="http://www.svenskfotboll.se">www.svenskfotboll.se</a>
SRC	The Swedish Red Cross (Svenska Röda Korset) <a href="http://www.redcross.se">www.redcross.se</a>
STU	The Swedish Teachers' Union (Läraryrket) <a href="http://www.lararforbundet.se">www.lararforbundet.se</a>
UT	The Union of Tenants (Hyresgästföreningen) <a href="http://www.hyresgastforeningen.se">www.hyresgastforeningen.se</a>





# 1. The individual in the governance system

Every type of organization has some kind of owners or principals which in various ways are expected to direct and control its activities. The firm has its shareholders, the democratic state has its citizens and the association has its members. Maybe one of the most important similarities between most types of organizations is that the principals ultimately are individual human beings with various reasons or rationales for their “ownership”<sup>1</sup> or principalship.<sup>2</sup>

Another similarity is that the governance systems in most organizations are based on some form of equality among the principals or the relationships that turn individuals into principals. In democratic states and associations citizenship and membership usually entitle the individual one vote with the same power as every other vote. On analogy to this, the rule in firms is generally one share – one vote. This implies that an individual can gain more influence by acquiring more shares in the firm, but the basic similarity – one relationship - one vote still persists. Every share owned carries the same amount of power just as every citizenship or membership render the same amount of power.<sup>3</sup>

If we leave the formal and analytical picture of governance systems and look at the workings of empirical organizations, it is also easy to see similarities among different types of organizations. Some people are highly engaged in the control of their organizations in the role of principals, others seem to attend annual meetings or vote in general

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<sup>1</sup> A conventional way of conceptualizing ownership is that the owner has formal rights of (1) control over the organization and (2) a right to a part of the organization's residual economic profits (e.g. Hansmann 1996). I will in this dissertation only attend to the first of these two dimensions – the control over organizations.

<sup>2</sup> A special case is the foundation, which is supposed to be directed by charters formulated by its founders (see e.g. Wijkström and Einarsson 2004). I will however disregard this special organizational form and concentrate on organizations with principals which have possibilities to be actively involved in the governance system.

<sup>3</sup> In some legal systems shares can carry different degrees of voting power, but the basic rule is in most cases that all shares carry the same voting power.

elections merely because of social pressure while others do not seem to care or do anything at all. This range of involvement and commitment from principals seem to exist across all types of organizations.

This could be illustrated by some empirical examples from the membership-based, civil-society organizations studied in this dissertation. In these eight organizations the proportion of members that state that they attend annual meetings varies from about five percent to more than 50 percent. Another interesting example is that more young and middle-aged individuals than older people state that they would like to have possibilities to exercise influence. At the same time annual meetings are nevertheless dominated by the older age groups.

Present theories in economics, organizational theory and political science do not however seem to account for these kinds of differences in a satisfactory way. In this dissertation, I study the individual's involvement in the governance system of eight large membership-based, civil-society organizations. Compared to the vast literature concerning boards, politicians, officials and managers there is relatively little written about individual shareholders, citizens or members involvement in governance systems. When these types of principals are addressed in the literature, they are often either seen as nothing more than profit maximizing fully rational robots striving for personal benefits or as an irrational body of principals that does not understand what would be the best for the organization and consequently must be handled by management.

Lately a more thorough discussion about membership and its different meanings has however surfaced (e.g. Hvenmark 2008; 2010; Papakostas 2011; 2012; Skocpol 2003). Lundström and Wijkström (1997) have described a "new era" of fragmented memberships in which both organizations and individuals tries to pick the best dimensions out of the membership. Papakostas (2011) argue that changes in organization's resource mobilization from members to other organizations makes membership as a phenomena on the decline and Skocpol (2003) argues that society's and the organizations' elites turn their back on traditional membership-based organizations. Hvenmark (2010) have studied an organizational perspective on membership by interviewing top leaders in a number of member-

ship-based organizations. What are still missing are systematic, empirical investigations of members' own conception of membership.

### **About governance**

Hughes (2010) argues for simply using standard dictionary definitions of "governance". Accordingly governance is about steering, co-ordinating and controlling organizations, public and private, such as companies, states or non-profit organizations. Since the word has become to signal different things in different research contexts, Hughes further argue that it is important to discuss and clarify one's usage of the word.

In political science literature there is an abundance of definitions of governance. Torfing, Sørensen and Piel Christensen (2003) offer an overview of competing definitions. What seems to be relatively well agreed upon is that governance is about co-ordination, guiding, managing or controlling collective action in societies and that this is not only restricted to public actors such as the state and political parties. All kinds of actors are involved in governance ranging from trans-national organizations, states, interest groups, the media and corporations to individual citizens. In some definitions of governance the governing actions in focus are restricted to conscious and deliberative forms of guidance while other definitions emphasis that governance is about all things that affect the guidance of society.

In political science literature governance is consequently from this perspective a more inclusive term than government. Governance links the political system with its environment in the governing of society. Some (but not all) definitions also emphasis governance as a new phenomena. It is assumed that in the past the important parts of society were governed by the state and other "core" political actors such as public authorities or political parties. The root of the concept of governance suggests that the system is changing and more power is transferred to other societal actors.

Given this concept of governance many civil-society organizations have important roles in governing society. By extension this also signifies that the individual's involvement in organizations' internal governance systems is important for societal governance. It is com-

mon both in the public and the academic debate to hear concerns about citizens', and especially young people's, increasing passivity in civil-society organizations, which could in the long run harm the societal governance system (e.g. Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003; Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003).

However, in this dissertation I will mainly discuss internal governance in organizations. I will accordingly set aside the definitions from political science and instead use concepts of governance derived from organizational theory. It might nevertheless be wise to keep these perspectives in mind since the main purpose of some of the individuals' governance acts within the organizations studied might be more about societal governance than about governing of the specific organization while others' governance acts might be directed to the organization but also render societal consequences.

The concept of (corporate) governance is however not unambiguous in organizational theory either. At least two basic perspectives on governance can be distinguished – the stakeholder and the shareholder perspectives. Simplified the stakeholder perspective views the organization as a system in equilibrium where different groups of stakeholders such as employees, customers, creditors and owners receive just the right level of incentives to match their contributions to the organization. Consequently, management gets a leading role in balancing differing interests, and the owners or other types of legal constituents (e.g. members) are no more important than other stakeholders. These different constituents simply have different ways of participating in the organization. In the shareholder perspective however the owners are seen as sitting in the driver's seat pushing other types of stakeholders to the side and from this perspective the management gets a subordinated role. Management become agents and the owners are their principals.

There are however other ways of qualifying the concept of organizational governance. Östman (2009) outlines a general approach to control in all types of organizations, from private to public and non-profit sectors. Organizations in general have two separate but interconnected control systems. An operational rationale runs through the value chain from resource providers to the users of output. From this

perspective governance is conducted both from inside the organization by employees, managers and experts and from the outside by for example suppliers and customers. The operational rationale intersects a “financial” or “owner-centered” control structure which often proceeds from the owners through a board of directors to management and employees. It could be said that the financial or owner-centered rationale is about owners deciding which type of activities their resources should be involved in while the operational rationale is about managers trying to execute these decisions in an effective way.

Resting on the model above suggested by Östman this dissertation is primarily about intra-organizational governance of the owner-centered type. The principals, in this case the members, are in focus together with a limited number of especially interesting actions that may affect internal governance in important ways. The actions studied are participation in decision making and elections of representatives at formal general meetings, standing as a candidate for election as a members’ representative and finally simply voting with one’s feet by leaving the organization in protest (cf. Hirschman 1970)

### **A more complex model of man and society**

My focus on individual members’ actions in organizations’ internal governance systems indicates that I attribute to the individual the role as a conscious actor with a free will. However, this does not mean that I think the individual is completely free to act. Societal institutions such as laws and regulations as well as more “soft” institutions such as culture and common beliefs both enable and set restrictions upon the individual at the same time as individual action reproduces and affects the institutions (cf. Berger and Luckmann 1966/1991).

Theories from the realm of economics and political science have often tended to simplify both the individual and the individual’s relationship to the organization. The individual is regularly portrayed as a rational, profit-maximizing *economic man*, which suggests a purely economic relationship between the individual and the organization. An individual is assumed to join an organization in order to

get more of some kind of value than he or she feeds into the organization. If the organization ceases to deliver enough output, the individual is presumed to leave the organization and move on to a better alternative. The citizen however may not have the same possibilities to move to another country whenever he or she is dissatisfied with a political decision. Despite this obvious difference the citizen is assumed to follow the same kind of logic – he or she will only try to change the present policies if the effort is deemed to outweigh the potential benefits (cf. Hirschman 1970).

If we reflect upon ourselves or the people around us we will probably come to the conclusion that this model of a man driven only by an economic rationality is far too limited to explain all our actions. Sjöstrand (1985; 2000) differentiates between three basic types of rationales for interaction between individuals. A calculative rationality, which refers to the aim of promoting one's own utility, is closely related to the notion of *economic man*. A second type of rationality is built on genuine relationships based in family, kinship or friendship, which generally include an emotional tie that makes the individuals involved unique and irreplaceable to each other. The third rationality is based in shared ideals, values and ideas. Classic economic theory and much theorizing in political economy assume that it is a variant of the calculative rationality that is the main (or even only) driving force for individuals. Sjöstrand's model does however not order or value these types of rationales.

Further, Sjöstrand argues that these human rationales can be seen as the foundation of various ideal typical organizational forms. Calculative rationality provides the basis for the market and the for-profit firm, genuine rationality the basis for the family and the clan, and ideal-based rationality the foundation of movements and associations.

Taking these ideas one step further and reacting against a common conception in many models of society consisting only of the state and a commercial sector, Wijkström and Lundström (2002) employ the ideal typical organizational forms from Sjöstrand's model as the basis for a model of a society with four different spheres and sectors. A commercial sphere populated by firms where the primary purpose is

to create economic profits, a private sphere where we find our family and friends and cultivate close relationships, a civil-society sphere populated by various forms of idea-based, non-profit organizations in which common interests, ideas and ideals are developed and tested, and finally a governmental sphere that takes care of common interests for the citizens (see also Einarsson 2008; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006)<sup>4</sup>.

These rationales and organizational forms should however not only be seen as strictly confined to certain spheres in society. As the growing literature on corporate social responsibility (CSR) and ethical investments shows, an individual could for example decide not to invest in firms producing arms, tobacco, alcohol or other products that do not fit his or her moral standpoints even if those firms could be assumed to do well financially.

### **But also a more complex type of organization**

However it is not only the view of the individual and society that would benefit from some added complexity. Most organizational theories have been developed in order to describe the function of or address problems in formal organizations consisting of either one single legal entity or a group of companies where the parent company is formally responsible for all activities in its subsidiaries. In such groups of companies shareholders own a parent company which in turn owns subsidiaries, and by virtue of this ownership the shareholders and the parent company have formal authority regarding decision-making of the subsidiaries. In principle this also holds for the state and associations even if the principals in those organizational forms are called citizens and members instead of shareholders.

This chain of principalship is however sometimes turned upside down. The federative organizational form, which is common in large membership-based organizations both among co-operatives and civil-society organizations, does not have this centralized power that the mutual decision-making at the annual general meeting is supposed

---

<sup>4</sup> The observant reader might have noticed that three types of rationales suddenly led to four spheres of society. The reason is simply that there is a fourth rationality in Sjöstrand's framework that I will introduce in the next chapter.



to represent. The “central” organizational unit in a federation does not manage the rest of the organization in the same way that a parent company does with its subsidiaries. Instead, the local organizational units are together principals for the “central” unit. Sometimes there is also a regional level between the local units and the central unit (e.g. Grossman and Rangan 2001; Jonnergård 1993; Provan 1983; Swartz 1994).

A consequence of this is that possible problems with coordination and co-operation between individuals representing and expressing differing interests at the annual meeting will return at every level in the federation. In a commercial organization this may only be a problem at the parent company’s annual meeting. This also means that the shareholder has the same amount of power throughout an entire organization while the member’s relative power in a federation is strongest in the local organizational unit and then becomes more and more diluted at every extra organizational level up to the “central” organizational unit.

This is however only an ideal-typical picture of the federation. In Chapter 4 *Multi-level associations and the individual* I argue that these kinds of organizations in reality differ greatly internally even if the formal structures are similar. Some organizations have most of the formal authority at the national or “central” level while others have the decisive authority at the local level. From the perspective of the individual member, organizational structures could potentially have strong effects on how he or she conceives his or her possibilities for influence in important decisions and consequently whether he or she will participate in the governance system.

## **Purpose and research questions**

*The purpose of this dissertation is to generate new knowledge about and perspectives on the internal governance system of federative, membership-based organizations and factors of importance for the individual’s perceptions of and participation in this type of governance system.*

This purpose is pursued in four theoretical and empirical driven steps on (A) organizational and (B) individual levels:

A1: A theoretically generated framework is suggested for making explicit and more informed choices about whether a federative, membership-based organization should be treated rather as an integrated organization or as a set of connected but (semi) autonomous organizations. Further, the term *multi-level association* is introduced to describe these organizations.

A2: The formal governance system in a selection of multi-level associations is described.

B1: A theoretically generated analysis model, containing factors that might be of importance for the individual's perceptions of and participation in the internal governance system of multi-level associations, is elaborated.

B2: Individuals' perception of and participation in governing the same selection of organizations, are analyzed with the help of the proposed model.

I expect that the results and analyses in this dissertation will generate new and interesting knowledge about how large federative membership-based organizations are formally organized and about factors relevant for member's participation in an organization and its internal governance system. The study will also generate knowledge about how an individual member experiences membership and how that has relevance for the member's participation in the organization and by extension also for membership's more general importance for society. In addition to these explorative and descriptive contributions both the framework for thinking about multi-level associations and the analytical model are contributions in themselves and could be used to gain deeper insights into such diverse subjects as organizational questions and membership's potential importance for example in social capital studies.

## **My perspectives on man and knowledge production**

In this dissertation I view the human being as a (semi) autonomous and (semi) rational agent with shifting motives and rationales. I consequently think that the human being is free to choose its own actions in order to fulfill its own motives. I do not however think that this freedom is unconditional. Individual action is both restricted and facilitated by social norms and institutions in society. I will however in this dissertation focus more on the individual actor than the collective. This focus on the individual member as an agent also means that I assume that the individual uses the organization as a tool in order to further his or her own ends. Consequently, I will primarily use theory with the same point of departure. For example this eliminates those parts of organizational theory that primarily focus on the organization as a system. A perspective where the individual is a rational agent using the organization for its own purposes also implies that the individual ought to be active in governing the organization either by directly participating in the governance system or by being prepared to leave the organization in protest if the organization does not contribute to the individual's goal fulfillment.

My view of knowledge production both for the "everyday man on the street" and in research is that knowledge is always socially constructed as argued by Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991). Our knowledge about the objective world around us is produced in constant interplay with other human beings either face-to-face or through different types of communication channels such as newspapers or scientific journals. Once again, this does not mean that the individual is completely free in choosing actions or beliefs. Societal institutions and norms are hard to escape and will in practice constitute an objective reality that the individual must always take into consideration.

Some consequences of this are that I do not strive to find any everlasting objective truth about membership and organizational governance. On the contrary, I do not think there are any everlasting truths about those things. Both membership and organizational governance are socially constructed phenomenon which through the interaction of human beings will be under often slow but constant development.

The survey will consequently not reveal “the truth” about membership, but I will use it as an indication of how individuals today perceive membership in these organizations.

There is also the possibility that the respondents may give what they take to be socially acceptable or socially desirable answers. But I do not view that as something completely negative. Even if those answers do not reveal that particular individual’s “true” beliefs, they nevertheless say something about membership as a societal institution and a social construct.

Perhaps the most important implication of this perspective on knowledge as socially constructed is that I myself cannot escape it. This dissertation is a socially constructed artifact which has grown from my own conceptions about the world, feedback from other researchers and representatives of the organizations studied and from the empirical material. This means that the results in this dissertation are a product of my interpretations and some other researcher could possibly have reached other conclusions. The dissertation should consequently not be viewed as the ultimate answers on all questions about membership and organizational governance. Instead it should be viewed as a contribution to an ongoing conversation about the meaning of those concepts and the reader is fully free to draw her or his own conclusions from the material.

### **Theoretical points of departure and outline of the dissertation**

Most of the theoretical influences come from a central strand of thought found in economics and political science, both of which often share a basic view of the human being as a rational agent. A second stream of influence come from the field of civil-society studies with empirical phenomenon such as various types of organizations and activities within what is perceived as civil-society. A third influence is something that could be described as the field of membership studies where for example frequency and sometimes intensity of membership participation is studied, often with an assumption that high degrees of membership participation in a society bring about good consequences for democracy and economic development. Research into

volunteering and social movements also has some points of contact since the empirical material consists of civil-society organizations and (active) associational membership can be seen as a special form of involvement in volunteering and social movements. I will consequently also make use of some relevant findings from these two schools of thought. But as Ahrne (1994) argues it is important to distinguish between organizations and movements because the former have formal governance structures while the latter do not.

One way to see this is that in this dissertation I primarily engage three conversations that in various ways are related to governance at different societal levels:

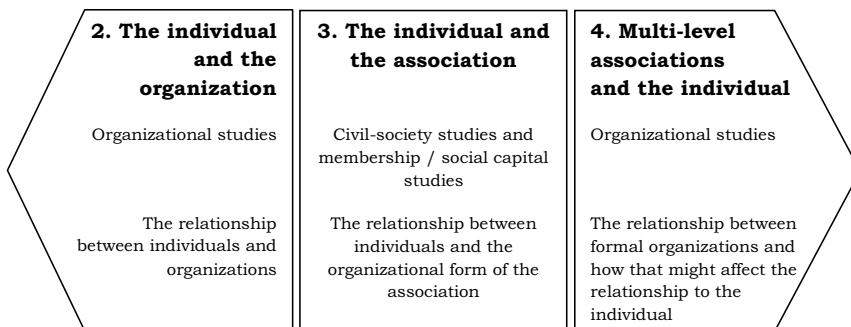
- Organizational studies, which I use to talk about the relationship between individuals and organizations and the relationship between formal organizations within larger organizational complexes such as federative organizations.
- Civil-society or non-profit studies, which helps in dealing with the special types of governance challenges found in civil-society organizations in general and membership-based organizations in particular.
- Membership and social-capital studies, which contribute to an understanding of factors affecting membership participation and the consequences that membership could have at the societal level.

It should be noted that these three conversations or fields of research do not have clear-cut borders in respect to each other. A discussion of associational governance could for example be situated both in organizational theory and in civil-society studies while a study of motives for membership is relevant both in the field of civil-society studies and in the study of social capital.

My theoretical discussions are consequently mainly derived from these three conversations and organized into three theoretical chapters as indicated in figure 1.

Since the dissertation is about the individual in organizations' governance system, the theoretical part of the dissertation both starts

and ends with the individual (the arrows' heads in the figure) but he<sup>5</sup> will more or less be present through all these three chapters.



**Figure 1. Three theoretical strands influencing this dissertation.**

Chapter 2 *The individual and the organization* is primary rooted in organizational theory. It starts with the conception of the *economic* or *rational* man, which has been a common point of departure both in classic economics and in political science. This quite narrow conception of man is developed through the chapter into a more versatile and realistic man while still keeping him relatively simple compared to you and me in order to make him manageable in the following analyses. The chapter continues with a discussion of why this type of man creates or joins organizations in general and ends with a discussion of a number of ideal typical organizational forms and spheres of society that can be derived from the different rationales this man could have for interactions with others.

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<sup>5</sup> Throughout the rest of the dissertation I have chosen to picture this abstract individual as a man for three simple reasons. Firstly because it is more comfortable both for me to write and for the reader to read about “him” instead of constructions like “him or her”, secondly because I start out from the theoretical conception of “economic man” and thirdly because the empirical material of this and previous studies show that men are over-represented both in participation in and governance of this kind of organizations. The reason for this over-representation would in itself be an important and interesting research question and some of the results in this dissertation would probably be interesting to analyze from a gender perspective. However I have to leave that discussion to researchers with the right competencies. The reader is however completely free to make her or his own analyses on the basis of the material presented.

The second theoretical chapter, 3 *The individual and the association*, returns to the individual and his participation in the governmental sphere and the sphere of civil-society. I argue that membership in associations can be interpreted as one form of public participation alongside direct involvement in the governmental sphere. Some characteristics of the particular organizational form of the association are discussed before a more thorough description of our current knowledge of associational memberships is provided. The chapter ends with a discussion of the governance system in associations.

The third and final theoretical chapter, 4 *Multi-level associations and the individual*, returns to organizational theory in a more specific form. The organization is no longer assumed to consist of a single entity. Relationships between formal organizations are discussed both in terms of federations and meta-organizations (i.e. organizations of organizations). I propose a way of thinking about identifying, delimiting and classifying multi-level associations. After that some implications of the multi-level structure are discussed. Finally I once again return to the individual and suggest a model of how we could think about the individual in a multi-level association's governance system.

Following the theoretical chapters, Chapter 5 *Analytical model* presents the framework for data collection and analysis. Individuals' governance actions are related to organizational characteristics, individual characteristics, membership characteristics and membership dimensions.

Methods and techniques used in the study are presented in Chapter 6 *Method: From pilot interviews to the exploratory analysis of a postal survey*. The empirical study is structured in two steps. First formal organizational structures are studied in the selected organizations. Next the individuals' conceptions of membership is explored. Some of the more technical details about response rates, representativity, imputation and statistical techniques are presented in Appendix A *Method – technical details*.

The empirical and analytical chapters start with Chapter 7 *Eight multi-level associations* where the formal organizational and governance structures are analyzed through the organizations' bye laws.

These bye laws are also used as a source for portraying the membership from a formal perspective.

In Chapter 8 *The personal membership* we start to look at the individual's relationship to the organization – the membership. The individual's attachment to the organization and the individual's conceptions of the membership are described. The membership is split into dimensions in order to get a more comprehensive image of membership and the individual's involvement in face-to-face interactions within the organization is analyzed.

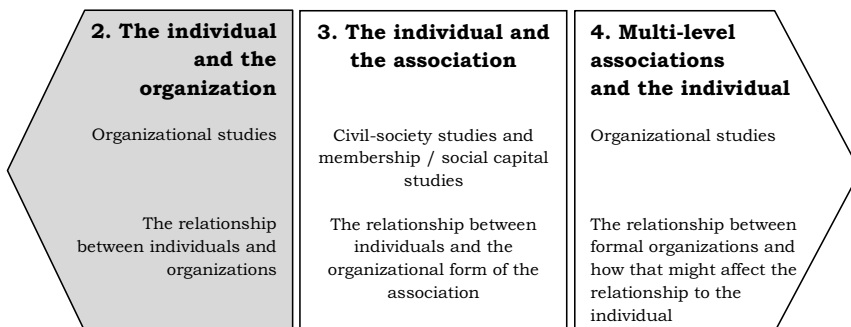
In Chapter 9 *Membership and organizational governance*, members' attitudes on and participation in the internal governance system are examined. Correlations between dimensions of and different rationales for membership on the one hand and different types of involvement in governance on the other hand are also studied.

The dissertation concludes with Chapter 10 *Organization, membership and governance in multi-level associations* where everything comes together and some of the more interesting findings are discussed in a wider perspective.





## 2. The individual and the organization



The first aim of this chapter is to chisel out a model of man that is not too simplistic, as is the classic notion of the economic man, but in the same time is not too complex to handle in the analysis. The chapter then continues with a discussion of why this type of man creates or joins organizations in general and ends with a discussion of a number of ideal typical organizational forms and spheres of society that could be derived from different rationales this man has for interactions with others.

### An economic perspective of man

Many theories dealing with organizations or economic and political problems are explicitly based on, or implicitly have their theoretical foundations in, assumptions of the human being as a rational *economic man*. Consequently, I will start with that model of man. I will however loosen up some of the most unrealistic assumptions of human cognitive capacity and portray my picture of the *bounded multi-rational man* in the next section.

John Stuart Mill<sup>6</sup> is generally identified as the creator of this special species of man even though that he himself never denominated the model as economic man. The term did however appear in the late

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<sup>6</sup> John Stuart Mill was an English philosopher and political economist in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who is perhaps best known through his books *Principles of Political Economy* and *On Liberty*.

nineteenth century in critiques of Mill's imaginary, selfish, money-making animal that merely seeks to accumulate personal wealth. Persky (1995) nevertheless argues that many of these and later caricatures of the economic man do not do justice to Mill's theoretical abstractions. Even if Mill's model of man was a simple creature, he was not completely trivial.

To begin with, it is important to understand that Mill did not see his model of man as a true representation of the human being. It is to be seen as a theoretical model of important aspects of human nature that is useful in theorizing political economy. Mill's model of man according to Persky (1995) has in addition to the desire to accumulate wealth two main interests: leisure and luxury. The reason for Mill to include a preference for leisure and luxury in the model is that they are directly antithetical to the desire for wealth. If a person chooses not to work or to spend his fortune on luxury consumption, this will not help him to accumulate more wealth. To these three motives Mill's also added man's drive for procreation. This four-dimensional man is still a rough simplification of human nature, but Mill thought it was enough for the purposes of theorizing political economy without losing too much of the complexity of real life.

The important thing about contemporary economic man however is not the set of preferable outcomes he chooses from since that could be decided with the help of utility functions or preference orderings. The essence is rather in his rational method for making choices. Mill maintained that economic man's choices should be limited to those regarding his four interests or motives. Fundamental to Mill's model of man was his limitation to a significant but manageable set of human motives. Mill argued that an expansion of man's motives beyond these four interests would risk indeterminacy while solely economic motive would render a picture of an unrealistic and uninteresting man who would not do anything other than work hard all day long (Persky 1995).

Perhaps the still most often used conceptualization of economic man is however a man who is rational in the course of being economic. He is assumed to have complete information of all relevant aspects of his environment. If he does not know with certainty what

will happen, he knows at least the probabilities attached to all possible events. He is also assumed to have a stable and conscious system of preferences on which he uses his unlimited cognitive capacity to calculate which action will be most advantageous for him. Furthermore there is no room for unanticipated consequences in the world of economic men (for a description of economic man that is more than 50 year old but still rather current see Simon 1955)<sup>7</sup>.

This model of man has received a great deal of criticism because of its simplification and trivialization of human nature. But I consider the idea of humans as rational, goal-oriented creatures to be important. If human beings, at the other extreme, were found to act completely irrationally and randomly we would not be able to make any kind of predictions. All attempts to understand human behavior would consequently be completely irrelevant. For that reason I think that economic man as a basic model of the human being is valuable in addressing certain types of analytical problems. But in order to get a deepened understanding of the questions I analyze in this dissertation I will however strive to present a rather more nuanced model of man.

### **Approaching you and me**

However compelling the model of economic man might be it has its problems. As soon as one compares the economic man with one's own conception of oneself he (probably) quickly becomes narrow minded, alien and quite limited. In this section I will therefore soften some of the assumptions of the economic man in order to portray a model of what I call the *bounded multi-rational man* (later called *multi-*

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<sup>7</sup> Economic man does consequently know the set of alternatives he may choose from, what consequences each alternative will have and his own preference among these consequences. But given this, economic man could nevertheless be of various types. We could think of a number of possible decision rules that could be labeled as rational. If total certainty of outcomes prevails, economic man should chose the action that lead to the best outcome. In a world of uncertainty where economic man has the ability to quantify all probabilities, there are even more types of decision rules to consider. One alternative is to chose the alternative that he gives the best result in the worst possible scenario. Another alternative is to chose the action that statistically maximizes the result in the long run (Simon 1955). I will however not discuss various forms of rational decision rules since the analyses will not be done at such detailed levels.

*rational man*). This type of man, precisely like its predecessor economic man, is not intended to be a true representation of the real human being. My goal is to present a model of human behavior that is manageable but nevertheless sufficiently rich to be usable in saying something new and hopefully interesting about how and when individuals get involved in the governance system of organizations. This is also the reason that I do not stray too far into the wealth of literature in behavioral sciences like psychology, sociology or social psychology and instead stick with the quite simple approximations of human motives and cognitive capacity often used in organization theory.

Simon (1955) makes two seemingly simple alterations of economic man's perception and cognitive abilities that in the end make the model of man a lot more plausible and appealing to common sense. The first adjustment is to allow for non-complete utility functions and preference orderings. This new type of economic man does not have to be able to set a value on or in some other way order every possible outcome. It is enough for him to be able to assess whether a given outcome is satisfactory or not according to his own aspiration level. The second alteration is in the assumptions of his initial knowledge. It is not realistic that he knows in advance every possible action and their accompanying consequences. He must consequently conduct some information gathering. But neither is he a *tabula rasa*. He usually has some ideas about which alternative has been proven to work in the past and which alternatives seem to be promising, and he consequently often begins by evaluating these options.

This bounded rational man would employ a decision-making model similar to the one outlined here. The bounded rational man starts with an aspiration level dependent upon his previous experiences. On that basis he can assess whether various outcomes are satisfactory or not. He will most likely start to look for possible actions in the set of actions that he knows have already proven to give satisfactory results under similar circumstances. If he cannot find a solution he will broaden his search and look for new possibilities. But it is not only the search field that changes according to how easy it is to find satisfactory solutions. If it seems to be hard to find satisfactory solutions, his aspiration level could be adjusted downwards, allowing

for more alternatives to be assessed as satisfactory. Inversely his aspiration level could also rise if it seems to be easy to find satisfactory solutions (cf. Hirschman 2002/1982; Simon 1955).

It is important to recognize, alongside the limits of rationality, that man can have several simultaneous and perhaps even conflicting motives for his actions. As discussed earlier John Stuart Mill considered four motives to be important in a model of man, and contemporary economic man can theoretically have any number of rationales as long as they can be described with utility functions or preference orderings.

Another important contribution to my conception of the multi-rational man is the work of Olson (1971) who fosters a contemporary model of economic man who always acts wholly rationally when he tries to reach his goals. But Olson also argued that individuals have a mix of collective and private interests. The individual could strive for benefits for himself or for the common good. Accordingly, his model of economic man can have several motives for involvement in an organization. Further March and Simon (1958) argue that an individual can have his or her own goals, which deviates from the goals of an organization. An employee may be more interested in the level on his own salary than in maximizing the company's profits, and a member of a non-profit organization may primarily be interested in the "side benefits" of the membership such as free magazines and lower insurances rates than the organization's main mission.

The most important feature of this discussion is consequently the possibility that individuals can have several simultaneous motives for their actions and interactions with organizations or fellow human beings and that these motives do not have to correspond to the goals of the organization. But I will also retain Sjöstrand's (2000) three basic rationales for human interaction, namely calculative rationality, which refers to the aim of promoting one's utility, the rationality built on genuine relationships with family and friends, where the individual can be truly himself, and the ideal-based rationales based in shared values and ideas and include them later in my analyses<sup>8</sup>. I

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<sup>8</sup> If someone would like to drive the calculative rationality to its extreme, it may be possible to claim that both the ideal-based and the genuine rationales in some

argue that it is suitable to proceed from a point where man can have many simultaneously rationales for his or her actions. But I also concur with Mill's way of thinking and will consequently mainly use a significant but manageable set of rationales, namely the three rationales of human interaction that Sjöstrand has presented.

In the end, our model of the bounded multi-rational man is a conscious actor that has personal wants and motives but the rationality of his actions are bounded by limitations in his knowledge and in his capacity to take in and process information. He is neither in the business of optimizing every decision even from the frame of reference possible with his own cognitive capacities. He is often pleased as soon as he has found a satisfactory solution to his problems.

### **The foundation of organizations**

Why does our rational man create organizations? There are many ways to explain this, but one answer derived from economic theory is simply that some activities call for pooling resources. One man may not be able to move a heavy log, but it is possible with the combined strength of ten men. The protest of one man might not affect the government but the joint voice of one million men is hard to ignore. Another answer is that the rational man creates organizations because organizations often provide an efficient use of scarce resources. One central way of achieving efficient use of resources is through the division of labor. Composite tasks are split into their components which are performed separately by different individuals. The specialization that is attained through the division of labor usually brings about higher productivity – more output from the same amount of input.

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way are calculative. A person who feels strongly about upholding certain values in society might very well be able to set a "price" in time and effort he or she is willing to sacrifice to the cause. It could also be argued that a strong incentive for spending time with family and friends could be the security that these kinds of communities could have in an unpredictable future. I will however reserve the calculative rationality for situations where it is easier to calculate costs and benefits. This does however not imply that I only will use the calculative rationality on purely economic transactions. In my use, paying a membership fee in order to relieve one's conscience could be interpreted as a manifestation of the calculative rationality.

While specialization lets an individual increase his efficiency in certain tasks, it also comes with the apparent disadvantage that he will not be able to perform all other necessary tasks in a sufficient manner anymore. This leads to the need for co-ordination. If individuals were self-supporting there would not be any need for co-ordination. But when different people are growing our food, building our houses and educating our children, some sort of mechanism is needed to ensure that all these tasks are carried out in the right quantity and quality to meet our collective needs.

Two basic ideal typical forms of co-ordination in economic theory are markets and organizations<sup>9</sup> (cf. Coase 1937). The ideal typical market is characterized by the fact that prices act as sufficient information for decision-making (cf. the calculative rationality). In a market the prices are consequently the main tool of co-ordination. When the information contained in prices does not suffice for decision-making or when transaction costs rise, various actors become dependent on each other and co-ordination is instead presumed to be performed within organizations through other co-ordination mechanisms such as direct supervision, mutual adjustments and standardization of work processes or norms.

One important form of specialization within organizations is the separation of ownership and control that prevails for many of the organizational forms in our society<sup>10</sup> (cf. Fama and Jensen 1983). Among the advantages of this kind of specializations is that the organization can be run by professional management while specialized owners have greater possibilities to diversify their risks by investing in several firms simultaneously.

Many organizations are consequently characterized of a separation of ownership and control or in Fama and Jensen's (1983) words a separation of *decision management* from *residual risk bearing*. These types of organizations generally solve their agency problems<sup>11</sup> between owners and managers through various strategies for separating

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<sup>9</sup> Note that the distinction between markets and organizations is not self-evident since markets also involve organized interaction between individuals.

<sup>10</sup> Exceptions can be seen for example in family controlled and managed firms.

<sup>11</sup> The literature about agency problems often addresses how owners can make sure that management cannot enrich themselves at their, the owners, expense.



*decision control* from *decision management*. In other words, they establish separate functions for day to day management and for the control of that day-to-day management. The strategy that we first think of is probably the common system with a board of directors that regulates decision control through their power to hire, to fire and to compensate top level decision managers. Fama and Jensen however also define as decision control actions such as senior management's control over junior management's decision management. I will however adopt a more narrow definition of decision control and only include activities of the organization's principals, their representatives and the boards of directors at different associational levels in the organization.

Consistent with the preceding discussions, our multi-rational man would create organizations in order to further his interest by harvesting the efficiency inherent in specialization. The separation of ownership and control also gives him opportunity to establish or participating in several organizations in different fields of activity since he does not have to deal with decision management in these organizations by himself and can limit his efforts in decision control to voting for suitable board members.

Multi-rational man does not however live in a vacuum. He is not born into a world without history and social context. Most of us consequently do not have to create our own organizations when we encounter a problem of some sort. The world around us is already full of organizations that we can join and it is usually more rational to join an existing organization than to make all the effort needed to found a new one that perhaps would have to compete with existing ones.

Given this rationale for creating organizations, what is the difference between an organization and some other kind of network or collaboration between individuals? Sjöstrand (2000:200-201) distinguishes three perspectives on organizations: organizations as theoretical constructs or ideal types, legal definitions of organizations and empirical expressions of organization. These three perspectives are at the same time both separate and interrelated because they affect one another. Legal rules affect how real organizations are structured

while empirical organizations are the basis for theoretical constructs that in turn affect theoretical constructs.

Both theoretical and legal definitions of organizations could be relatively clear but an empirical expression of an organization will still be more in the eye of the beholder. That does however not mean that all and everything can be called an organization. There are some characteristics that most of us would attribute to an organization. Ahrne and Brunsson (2008) argue that an entity must have its own identity, some kind of members (in a wider sense, than the one employed by me in this dissertation, denoting all types of formal participants), a hierarchy and a constitution in order for people to believe that it is an organization.

### **Human rationales, institutional forms and spheres of society**

Using his three basic rationales for human interaction Sjöstrand (1985; 2000) describes and explains a repertoire of institutionalized organizational forms that can be found in modern capitalistic societies (table 1). To these three rationales Sjöstrand adds a dimension of symmetry or asymmetry between the interacting individuals. Asymmetry should not be interpreted to be completely synonymous with hierarchy but in this short exposé we can talk about the asymmetries of, for example, information or authority between people that usually can be observed within hierarchical organizations. When the three rationality bases are combined with the dimension of symmetry and asymmetry it results in six theoretically derived ideal typical ways of organizing human interactions.

The ideal type of the market is characterized by a situation in which individuals interact with the goal of making exchanges of goods or services. The market is also characterized by anonymity and the assumption that the individuals are fully replaceable. There are many actors, buyers and sellers that do not know each other. It is assumed that the goods or services either are easy comprehensible or that the actors have perfect information and infinite cognitive capability for evaluating the offers. The hierarchical equivalent of the market is the firm, which represents the combination of calculative and asymmetri-

cal relationships. The for-profit firm is basically an accumulation of capital and the main objective is reproduction of this capital.

	<b>Calculative relationships</b>	<b>Ideal-based relationships</b>	<b>Genuine relationships</b>
<b>Hierarchy</b>	FIRM	ASSOCIATION	CLAN
<b>Network</b>	MARKET	MOVEMENT	CIRCLE

**Table 1: Six theoretical ideal typical forms for organizing human interactions (after Sjöstrand 2000).**

The movement typically organizes the (re)distribution of resources such as wealth, voting rights, health, etc. It is based on ideals that are upheld by its founders and members. Generally the movement is started as a result of dissatisfaction with existing conditions in society. The movement is characterized by a higher degree of durability than the interactions in the market since individuals tend to demonstrate some stability when it comes to values and ideals. But that does not mean that the specific individuals are irreplaceable. The association is the asymmetrical version of the movement. The association consists of a collection of individuals sharing the organization's values and ideals and its main objective is the reproduction of these ideals. Further, individual associations are often assembled in larger hierarchies as federations, confederations or multi-level associations as I denote them in this dissertation.

The theoretical construct the circle is, in Sjöstrand's account, characterized by genuine horizontal relationships which forms important parts of the individual's personal identity. Genuine relationships can be of kinship, via marriage or friendship. These relationships are not always voluntary since individuals for example do not have the power to decide who their parents are. The relationship is personal and typically involves the individual as he "really is". Individuals in genuine relationships are not interchangeable, and the durability of the relationship is in general longer than both in the market and the movement. The combination of genuine and asymmetrical relationships results in the theoretical construct the clan which represents a distinct set of individuals. In this case, hierarchy

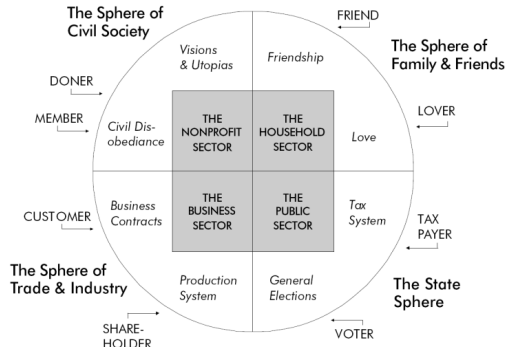
refers chiefly to biological bonds between parents and children as well as within kinship groups. The main objective for the clan is to reduce uncertainties through the reproduction of trust among included clan members.

Sjöstrand (2000) also supplements these six ideal types with the state, which can be understood in terms of interactions based on coercion. An individual can under normal circumstances not opt out from the state and a common way to distinguish between states and other organizational forms is that the state has a monopoly on violence. Citizens that do not follow the laws of the state can be punished and locked away. Another interesting feature of the state is that it through legislation and other measures it provides norms and regulations for how the other organizational forms are allowed to operate within the states' territory.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Wijkström and Lundström (2002) take the idea of rationales and organizational forms one step further and let the ideal typical organizational forms from Sjöstrand's model function as the basis for a model of a society with four different spheres and sectors (figure 2). A commercial sphere populated by firms, a private sphere where we find our family and friends, a civil-society sphere populated by various forms of idea-based non-profit organizations and a governmental sphere (see also Einarsson 2008; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006).

The organizational forms and societal spheres described above should be understood as the ideal types they are. In practice, none of these theoretical forms are found directly in the empirical world. To varying degrees, the entire repertoire of the ideal typical rationales for human interaction is present in all real organizations and societal spheres. As an example the Swedish Red Cross is organized as a federation of associations and it is probably sensible to expect a predominance of qualities from the ideal type the association. Nevertheless, qualities associated with the ideal typical forms of the movement, the clan, the firm and the other ideal types probably also exist in various parts of the organization. Simultaneously, just as multiple rationales can be found in a specific organization, individuals can

have multiple rationales in relation to an organization and various combinations of rationales towards different organizations.



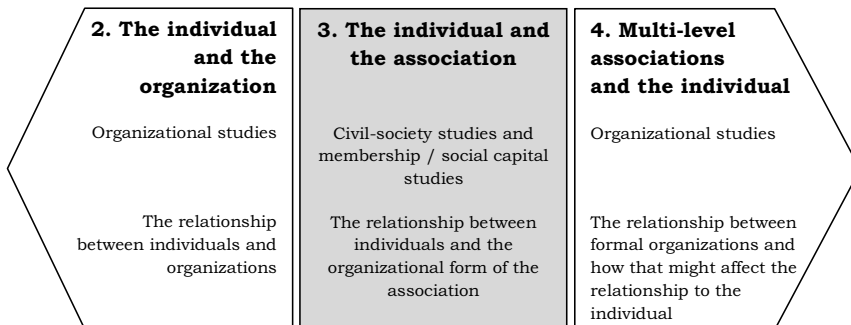
**Figure 2. Ideal typical model of spheres and sectors of society (after Wijkström and Lundström 2002).**

### Summary of the individual and the organization

The main conception to emerge in this first theoretical chapter is the (bounded) multi-rational man, which will follow us throughout the rest of this dissertation. He is a person like you and me driven by a number of different motives which often are hard to separate. Even if he wants to maximize the outcomes related to those motives, he is not able to do so because he is not omniscient and cannot instantly calculate results for all possible actions and scenarios. Instead, he is quite content if he is able to satisfy his wishes without making too much effort or other sacrifices.

Another element of this chapter that will be important later on in this dissertation is the set of three basic rationales for human interaction that also provided the foundation of three ideal typical organizational forms one of which, the association, will be studied empirically. In order to make analyses manageable, the multi-rationality of our man will be limited to the calculative rationality, the ideal-based rationality and the rationality based on genuine relationships. The multi-rational man is now simple enough to be used in analyses but also interesting enough for the results to say something new and valuable.

### 3. The individual and the association



We now have a model of a bounded multi-rational man. We have discussed why he thinks it is useful either to create new or to join already existing organizations. We also have an understanding of why his different rationales for human interaction could give rise to a number of different organizational forms and spheres in society.

In this chapter multi-rational man is placed in an association within the sphere of civil-society. Since participating in civil-society in general and associations in particular can be interpreted as a form of public participation, the chapter starts with a discussion of why multi-rational man would consider public participation when he could spend his time promoting private interests instead. The chapter then proceeds to discussions of the organizational form of associations. Further, meanings of and motives for associational membership are discussed. Finally the chapter ends with a description of the governance system of associations.

#### Public participation

A frequent dichotomy of human actions is found between pursuing private interests and public participation (e.g. Hirschman 2002/1982; Olson 1971). It could be argued that the pursuit of private interests is primarily confined to the family sphere and the commercial sphere while public participation generally but not

always is connected to the governmental sphere and the sphere of civil-society.

This is also often how the concept of public participation is used in political science and sociology since it is hard to separate acts within civil-society and the governmental sphere because they are closely intertwined, especially when talking in terms of governance. An individual might very well be involved in a civil-society advocacy organization in order to change something in the governmental sphere. I would also argue that much of the general knowledge about participation in the governmental sphere is applicable to participation in associations since they have the same kind of democratic governance structure as the democratic state. As an interesting observation it can be noted that many studies focusing on public participation find that it is people with high socio-economic status who are most involved in public affairs. A traditional economic explanation of that is that those people have more at stake and consequently get involved in public action in order to protect their own interests. Another explanation would be that those people have more resources in the form of education, social networks, time and money, so they have better conditions for participation. Hirschman's (2002/1982) argument however is that those people's material lifestyle might not have lived up to their expectation of pleasure, and in their disappointment they turn to public action instead.

### **Voting in general elections**

One basic form of public participation is by voting in general elections in the democratic state. Such elections could be seen as an important part of the societal governance system but interesting parallels could also be drawn to the associational governance system with votes in elections of boards of directors and other types of representatives.

Hirschman (2002/1982) argues that one sort of disappointment with public participation is that it often is more time consuming than the individual initially anticipated. He does however also argue that disappointment can stem from under-involvement. In practice an upper limit on participation is set with the vote. There is at least a very large step between voting and the next level of participation regarding effort and time consumption. This minimum share in

public participation consequently also easily becomes a maximum or ceiling for public participation.

In contemporary political science there have been long discussions about why people choose to participate in elections even when it does not seem to be rational. Brennan and Lomasky (2002) argue that individuals do something other than decide who will be in power when they vote. No matter what the individual himself think he is doing, the voting is not an intentional action in order to safeguard a desirable result. The result of the election is according to Brennan and Lomasky, rather a by product of a number of voters doing something else than creating political results.

Brennan and Lomasky (2002) build their reasoning on economic theory and on an assumption of the economic man. The time and effort devoted to voting could be used in better ways since the individual cannot anyway influence the result of an election with many participants. Brennan and Lomasky (2002) argue that voting is foremost about expressing one's opinion or identity, and this gives the individual enough satisfaction to go to the ballot box. It is in other words more important to get a chance to express one's opinion than to have a real chance of influencing the question at hand. In a similar way Amnå (2008) argues that voting makes the individual feel better about himself for taking a stand both for his political views and also for democracy in general. Hirschman (2002/1982) however is more pessimistic. He argues that the vote often does not allow the individual to express his or her full intensity of feelings. That disappointment could lead a person to decide that it is not worthwhile to participate at all.

There is however also scholars that argue that every single vote actually does count. Goldman (2002) argues that even a non-swing vote can help elect a winner. With that perspective the individual has done something more by voting than the abstainer even if that particular vote was not decisive. At the same time it is impossible for the abstainer to escape responsibility if a bad candidate is elected. Goldman uses the terms *partial moral* and *partial casual responsibility* for situations where the individual's action is not in itself



decisive but where the result would have been different if all individuals' with the same opinions would have refrained from the action.

Along with Brennan and Lomasky's (2002) line of argument it could be said that the economic man would not sacrifice his valuable time to go to the polls when his voice is unimportant (also cf. Amnå 2010). The multi-rational man does however go to the polls since that gives him an outlet for other needs, for example taking a stand even if doing so does not change anything. Goldman (2002) however asserts that all votes are equally valuable in deciding the winner and not just that last swing vote so even economic man would vote if there is enough at stake. I would however argue that both of these views are valuable. We must remember that our multi-rational man does not have complete information. I would argue that the important thing is how the individual experiences the situation. Some people would probably think that their vote does not count when there are so many other votes, so they either do not go to the polls or go there for some other reason, while others vote because they think that their vote really does matter.

### **The institutional form of the association**

Hirschman (2002/1982) argued that voting in general elections in many cases does not satisfy individuals' aspirations for participating in public affairs. He further argues that voting nevertheless often becomes the ceiling for public participation because the next level of involvement in politics calls for very much more time and energy.

Merely becoming a supportive member of a political or advocacy organization could however be interpreted as a further step on the public participation ladder. It is a way of showing more intensity than just by voting without consuming too much time. Membership in associations is also interesting in a discussion of public participation since there is plenty of evidence of correlations between membership and various measures of social capital (e.g. Brehm and Rahn 1997; Putnam 1993; Stolle 1998). Connections between membership and political competence and political participation have also been established in numerous studies (e.g. Almond and Verba 1963; Brehm and Rahn 1997; Teorell 2003; Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003).

Further, the connection between membership and political competence and participation is stronger in associations with higher levels of political orientations (e.g. Almond and Verba 1963; Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003).

Before we begin to discuss membership, it is necessary to start with a brief description of the formal organizational form of the association. Since this dissertation is based on an empirical data set generated in a Swedish context, this description will be based on the Swedish situation. However, on a general level the discussion should be applicable in other empirical settings as well.

According to Sjöstrand's (1985) the basis for the association is the movement and the ideal-based rationality for human interaction. There are in Sweden basically two legal forms of associations: economic associations and non-profit or voluntary associations.<sup>12</sup> There is in Sweden no central legislation directly regulating the latter form of associations. That does not however mean that they remain outside the legal system (Hemström 2002). Regulations can often be determined with the help of general principles applicable to other associational forms and from praxis in courts of law. There are also specialized laws that under certain conditions also become applicable to these associations. Depending on annual turnover and assets, associations can for example have different levels of obligation to keep accounts and publish annual reports (Hemström 2002). Depending on the association's field of activities other types of laws may also be applicable. A non-profit hospital would for example have to obey laws and regulations governing the health care sector.

The first challenge that arises due to the absence of laws directly regulating the Swedish non-profit or voluntary associations is to determine what a non-profit or voluntary association really is. A first step is to examine the law defining economic associations. An entity that does not fit the definition of economic associations is presumed to be the other kind of association (Hemström 2002). But this does presume that it has been established to be an association in the first place.

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<sup>12</sup> The Swedish term is *ideell förening*.

In order for an association to materialize a number of individuals must have an agreement to cooperate in an organized form towards a common goal. In order to fulfill the requirement of “organized form” the agreement must be formalized in bye laws. The bye laws should state the association’s name, mission and decision-making processes. There is also a requirement that an association have a board of directors that is entitled to represent the association in relation to third parties (Hemström 2002).

Even if the association theoretically emerges out of an agreement among a number of specific individuals, it soon becomes both legally and conceptually something other than this contract of cooperation. When the association is founded it acquires status as a legal person that can acquire rights and obligations for itself. When the association gathers capital such as economic funds and buildings and when it employs personnel, it will probably also change in the minds of the original members into something other than the members’ initial agreement. This independence from the founders is further accentuated by the fact that new members can be admitted and old members can leave the organization or even be expelled under certain circumstances. However in the absolute majority of cases the organization will nevertheless go on with its day-to-day activities even though members come and go.

### **Membership in associations**

The lack of legal regulations in the Swedish case makes it possible for non-profit associations to adopt very different organizational forms, for example when it comes to governance structures. One thing they all have in common however is that their existence ultimately depends on the membership. The membership is the core of the association and binds individuals to each other as well as to the organization. The association would not exist without membership. It could perhaps still be some kind of organization without membership but it would be something other than an association (see also Hvenmark 2008).

Some associations have rules that restrict membership. Those restrictions are often connected to the mission or activities of the

association. A trade union may for example only accept individuals with a certain occupation or education while a handicap organization might only accept people with a specific handicap. Youth and pensioner organizations may have requirements about the individual's age. Organizations within the temperance movement might require a pledge of sobriety from their members. These kinds of requirements could be regarded as having a kind of a gate-keeper function deciding who is entitled to be in or to be a part of the organization (Ahrne 1994). The rules around membership thus become an entry barrier that creates stability for the organization by ensuring some basic similarity among the members (Soegaard 1994).

A common way of portraying membership both in research and in practice is to compare the member with a consumer buying a product or service. Such a view is connected to the importance of the calculative rationality and to the idea that dissatisfied members exit the organization in order to join a better one (cf. Hirschman 1970). If one starts from such a view of membership, it is likely that only the calculative rationality will be visible.

Since the lack of regulation in the Swedish case makes it possible for associations to adopt a nearly unlimited variety of forms, the content of membership can be moulded in many different forms. Hvenmark (2008), as well as Trägårdh and Vamstad (2009), argues that membership is not a homogeneous phenomenon (see also Einarsson 2008; 2011). Membership is often presumed to imply some form of active involvement in the association. But this does not have to be the case. Often the least common denominator is that every membership implies taking a stand for the association's mission or activities by paying a membership fee.

### **Rationales for membership**

Our multi-rational man will probably only join an association if he thinks that he will get something more (or else) out of it than he is putting in. The multi-rationality of our man could however make it hard to identify this benefit relationship. The costs of membership may be in some "currency", perhaps money or voluntary work, while the revenues come in another "currency" perhaps friendship, identity formation or a better conscience.

It is often assumed that associations produce some kind of public good. If that was the full truth, the economic man would never join large organizations since his contributions would be negligible for the results. Economic man would instead free-ride at other members' expense since the organization would continue its activities irrespective of a particular individual joining the organization or not. This problem is less visible in small organizations since the individual member's contribution makes a noticeable impact on the organization's results. The solution in large organizations is, according to Olson (1971), the introduction of private economic or other incentives that only benefit members. Examples of such benefits could be free magazines and reduced insurance rates.

Olson's theories have however not gone undisputed. Several empirical tests of hypotheses drawn from Olson's theory of collective action have indicated that members join and stay in organization because of both private incentives and the public good produced by the organization. Moreover economic experiments on the free-rider phenomenon indicate problems with Olson's theory (see Knoke 1986 for a brief discussion).

Knoke (1988) found six distinct types of incentives for participating in associations. Employing the public and private good distinction, he found four types of primarily private incentives: *material incentives*, which consists of for example insurances and purchasing rebates; *information incentives* in the form of publications and access to research; *occupational incentives*, which could involve things like improving job security and working conditions or helping with job searches; and *social incentives*, involving social or recreational activities and friendship opportunities. His other two types of incentives focused on public goods whose benefits could be shared by everyone, even non-members: *lobbying incentives* like efforts to influence government policy decisions; *normative incentives* which emphasize the main principles and goals of the organization.

Three of Knoke's incentive types can be seen as directly related to Sjöstrand's basic rationales for human interaction. Material incentives relate to the calculative rationality, normative incentives to the ideal-based rationality and social incentives to the genuine relation-

ship-based rationality. Knoke's other three incentive types are on a less general level but can also be grouped according to Sjöstrand's rationales. Informational and occupational incentives could be seen as calculative while lobbying incentives fits in the ideal-based rationality.

Knoke (1988) also found that normative and social incentives correlate with the members' level of involvement in the organization's internal affairs, which among other things involve voting in organizational elections. Material incentives seem instead to attract members that are unwilling to participate in the organization.

### **Content of the membership**

Motives or rationales for membership are interesting and important in themselves. It is however also something that a number of researchers already have showed interest in. Consequently, I do not in this dissertation directly pose the question of why an individual chooses to become a member in an organization. One of the dissertation's primary questions is instead what membership means for the individual. That is, what is the content of membership and in which ways does that affect participation in the internal governance system?

I argue that membership can be seen as constituted by a bundle of dimensions (see also Lundström and Wijkström 1997). Different memberships can consequently consist of varying combinations of dimension<sup>13</sup>. Returning to Sjöstrand's (2000) discussion of rationales introduced earlier, I will present a hypothetical example to illustrate this.

If we have a social welfare association, our multi-rational man may join because he shares the organization's ideals and thinks that the organization has good ideas for improving the world. At the same time it is possible that another multi-rational man may have calculative, self-interested motives for joining and volunteering in the organiza-

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<sup>13</sup> The idea that the relationship between individual and organization can consist of different dimensions is however far from new even if it is seldom discussed in the literature. In most discussions we can unfortunately still find an attitude that one membership is more or less comparable to another membership. One counterexample however is Evan (1957), which proposed 60 years ago a way of dividing participation in voluntary organizations in the three dimensions: decision making, activity and value commitment.

tion in addition to shared ideals. These motives may include things like the possibility of enhancing one's network or learning new skills that could help in getting attractive future employment. While volunteering in the organization, an individual may meet new friends, and this social aspect of membership is what motivates the individual to continue volunteering for the organization. Even a coercive dimension could come into the picture if belonging to that particular organization can be seen as a social duty. In a recent study nine percent of Swedish volunteers stated one of the main reasons behind their volunteering is that they felt that they were forced to do so (Svedberg, von Essen, and Jegermalm 2010).

The existence of dimensions of membership has also received empirical support in pilot studies that preceded this dissertation. Hultén and Wist (2003) found that members place different meanings in their membership, that one and the same member can place multiple meanings in membership, that membership can be anchored at different organizational levels and that the individual membership changes over time. Hultén and Larsson (2005) further developed the ideas of different meanings or dimension by stating that there exist common, shared and specific dimensions of membership. That means that there seem to be dimensions that are shared among memberships in several types of organizations but also dimensions that seem to be exclusive to certain organizations or types of organizations. Shared ideals, friendship and self-interest are three examples of dimensions we would expect to find in almost every membership-based organization while the thrill of competing may be most pronounced in organizations dedicated to organized sports.

One reason for trying to capture dimensions of the membership is an assumption that this could have influence on the individual's involvement in the organization's internal governance system. One example of this can be derived from the emphasis on face-to-face interaction in social capital theory (see e.g. Putnam 1993; 1995; 2000). Face-to-face interaction is believed to foster trust which enables and facilitates collective action both among participants and in society. The importance of face-to-face interaction for trust has however been contested, as for example by Wollebaek and Selle (2002), but it seems plausible in any case that recurring involvement

in face-to-face interactions with other members could have an effect on governance-related actions as attendance on annual meetings.

### **The picture of the member**

Who becomes a member in associations and what characterizes members are two common questions. The extent of associational memberships seems to vary considerable across different countries. As early as in the nineteenth century Tocqueville (1835/2000) suggested that all types of Americans were constantly inclined to form associations. In surveys conducted 1959-1960 Almond and Verba (1963) confirmed that the USA had the highest frequency of associational memberships in a five-country comparison.

A follow up on Almond and Verba's study by Curtis, Grabb and Baer (1992) showed that Americans were still the top associational joiners with Swedes in second place. The large differences between countries indicated that country of residence is important for determining the probability that an individual is member in associations. Subsequent studies have tried to find factors that could explain these differences. Curtis, Baer and Grabb (2001) attributed it to four factors that promote associational membership: Christianity and especially Protestantism, a long history of democratic institutions, social democratic or liberal democratic political systems and high levels of economic development. Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) constructed a two-dimensional classification of countries and find that a centralized state apparatus discourages associational membership while high levels of corporatism in society encourage associational membership.

Country of residence and characteristics of countries cannot however explain all the variation of membership. Most of these studies have also taken individual characteristics into consideration. High social status measured by education and employment are positively correlated with associational membership and men are overrepresented. When age is used in linear models higher age correlates with associational membership but when this linearity is abandoned, it seems that middle-aged people join associations more than both younger and older people. One of the studies also indicated that membership is more common outside of metropolitan areas. (Almond



and Verba 1963; Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Curtis, Grabb, and Baer 1992; Horton Smith 1994; Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001)

The individual factors affecting associational membership have also been confirmed in Swedish data from 2000 (Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003). People aged 35-64 have most memberships, men are overrepresented and both high income and high education are positively correlated with associational membership and living in metropolitan areas decreases the frequency of membership. All these variables also seem to have the same effect on activity within the association as it has on membership itself. Similar patterns have also been found in studies of Swedish volunteers (e.g. Svedberg, von Essen, and Jegermalm 2010).

In addition to these kinds of structural variables some studies have also incorporated interesting situational variables. When included, one of the most important variables predicting associational membership and volunteering is simply whether the individual had been asked or encouraged to participate. Friends or family already involved in the organization have also been showed to have a positive correlation with participation (Horton Smith 1994; Svedberg, von Essen, and Jegermalm 2010).

One important lesson in all of this is that present knowledge about membership is still very much primarily based in quantitative studies mapping the demographics of members and volunteers. Implicitly these studies assume that a specific membership could be compared to any other membership as if they were identical. On the basis of these studies we know which demographic factors relate statistically to higher involvement in membership-based organizations. Knowledge about how membership is perceived by individual members is however limited. Consequently much of my effort will be devoted to mapping this area by searching for the content, or dimensions of membership in order to relate that content to the individuals' participation in the internal governance system.

## **The governance system in associations**

Membership is not only the foundation of the association, it is also the core of the association's governance system. Tschirhart (2006) for example argues that one characteristic shared by all association is that members hold rights to influence the affairs of the organization. As already mentioned the lack of legal regulation in Sweden leads to a situation where members themselves largely decide how they set up and organize the governance system. The basic presumption is that every member has equal say in important matters concerning the association. During the creation of an associations it is however fully possible for the members to agree on other terms and establish those terms in the statues. Certain control and governance functions can also be delegated, for example to employed staff.

Despite the large formal freedom the Swedish legal system allows, most associations seem to function internally in strikingly similar ways. They have an annual meeting as the highest decision-making body, all members have the same amount of influence – one member - one vote, and questions are settled with majority votes (Hemström 2002). This suggests that all members have equal opportunities to influence the questions that are raised in the annual meeting including elections of representatives to the board and other functions in the associations. All members also have the same opportunities to raise questions at the annual meeting and to run for different positions in the association.

The types of questions raised on annual general meetings vary between different types of associations. In small associations with limited activities and only a few members the annual meeting could attend to most of the association's activities while that would not be feasible in a larger association (cf. Einarsson 2008). Among issues that regularly are dealt with at annual meetings are granting the board of directors freedom of responsibility for last year, adopting the annual report and accounts, elections for the board of directors and other representatives (Hemström 2002). Beside those kinds of basic and more formal issues it is also common that both members and the board of directors can raise issues in advance that they think are important enough to be decided at the annual meeting.

In associations with large number of members it can be impractical or even impossible to hold annual meetings where every member has the right to attend. The bye laws may then prescribe rules for electing delegates that will represent the members at the annual general meeting (Hemström 2002). Instead of directly being a part of the decision-making process, the members elect delegates who are supposed to represent them at the annual meeting.

Since it is not possible, even in most small associations, for the annual meeting to take care of all decision making and the running of daily operations, a board of directors is chosen. Their duty is to organize and administer the association's activities in accordance with decisions at the annual meeting. Usually the board should report to the annual meeting what they have done during the past year through an annual report that is reviewed by the association's auditors, who are usually also appointed by the annual meeting (Hemström 2002).

This governance system implies that important decisions in principle are made on two levels within an association. One is at the annual meeting, where members or delegates make decisions about more long-term and strategically issues. The other is the elected board of directors, who manage daily activities or supervise employees who manage daily activities.

This inclusive governance structure based in majority decisions at member meetings also entails certain problems. If only a fraction of the members attend an annual meeting, the association becomes vulnerable to takeovers by minority member groups that could constitute a majority of members participating at the annual meeting (e.g. Tschirhart 2006).

### **Member organization and management organization**

In many large associations the board sometimes hires a secretary-general or another executive officer who is given responsibility for managing the association's daily activities while the board has the primary responsibility for the association's organization and strategy (Hemström 2002). Normark (1994) describes the formal governance system in membership-based cooperative organizations as composed of a *member or owner organization* and a *business organization* (for a

similar model of the governance system see Hvenmark 2008). Since the organizations studied in this dissertation are non-profit organizations, I will call the latter *management organization* instead. This division also resembles Fama and Jensen's (1983) distinction between decision control and decision management.

The member organization consists of the formal decision-making system previously described, where members gather at annual meetings in order to elect a board of directors which is then responsible for the management of the association until the next annual meeting. The board of directors may then employ an executive officer, who will be responsible for day-to-day operations and consequently be in charge of the management organization. In practice the boundary between the member organization and the management organization can be vague depending on how much responsibility the board of directors retains for daily operations

In much of the earlier research about the governance of membership-based organizations, the focus has mainly been either on the management organization or on the board of directors. In these studies membership and the members' right to influence decisions have often been construed mainly as problems. In other organizational forms decisions can be made quickly and effectively while the member organization is often described as slow and unresponsive since every member should have a chance to give his opinion. The closest those kinds of studies comes to treating the members as true principals is in their discussions about the importance that management ensures that a decision has support from the members (e.g. Jonsson 1995; Normark 1994; Swartz 1994)

Since this dissertation mainly addresses how and when individuals get involved in the governance system of organizations, I will primarily attend to what Normark (1994) calls the *member organization* and in Fama and Jensen's (1983) terms *decision control*. Consequently my questions mainly address the relationships between individual members, the annual meeting and the board of directors while I will largely disregard the management organization, which can be attributed to the relationships between the board, the executive officer and employees. It is however not possible to be completely rigid in

such a demarcation. A member doing volunteer work in the organizations can for instance be seen as an unpaid employee subordinated to decision management while the same individual later the very same day could be involved in decision control at the annual meeting.

### **Universal suffrage and associations**

I have already mentioned that all members usually have the same formal right to vote on different matters concerning the association. This is however not always completely true, even in associations that assert that they are guided by the basic principle one member – one vote. As a parallel, political scientists sometimes debate how universal the concept of universal suffrage is in different nation states or normatively should be. Most democratic countries have in the last century abandoned restrictions in political rights depending on gender, education, race or social class. But this does not mean that all members of society have the right to vote. Children are excluded everywhere from participation in the democratic process at the national level and many countries have other kinds of restrictions. Expatriates, resident aliens, convicted criminals and people with cognitive impairments are in some countries excluded from “universal” suffrage (Beckman 2008).

As an example Dahl (1989) normatively argue for inclusiveness and a symmetry between rulers and ruled. He argues that the set of individuals bound by the decision made by the voters should be equal to the set of people entitled to vote. Dahl does however think that it is safe to exclude children and persons proven to be mentally defective since they do not satisfy a requirement of personal autonomy. Transients could also be excluded but all other individuals that reside in the state or association should according to Dahl be entitled to participate in the democratic system in some way.

Transferring this into the situation of associations is however not unproblematic. Normally we may say that only the members themselves are bound by their decisions. But there are often situations where decisions in associations have implications for people outside the association as well. The activities of political parties or relief associations could in practice have extensive effects on many people that are not members or do not even have the possibility of becoming

members. These kinds of examples are comparable to expatriates or resident aliens that according to Dahl's view should nevertheless be entitled to vote in order to achieve the symmetry between rulers and ruled.

In associations every member is often presumed to be entitled to vote if the bye laws do not say otherwise. Other groups that could be affected by the association's decisions such as employees, volunteers, donors or the public are however not granted any right to take part in the decision-making processes. In cases where the bye laws set restrictions on which members are entitled to vote, this is often based on age or found in the mission of the organization. As an example, many Swedish sports associations have a minimum age of 12 to 15 years for the right to vote<sup>14</sup>. The bye laws of the Swedish Association of the Visually Impaired specify two types of members: *members with the right to vote* and *supporting members* without the right to vote. For a member to have right to vote he or she must themselves be visually impaired or have custody of a visually impaired child less than 18 years old.

### **Associations as democracies**

Because of the principle of one member – one vote the governance system within associations is often described as democratic. In Sweden it also seems to be very important for organizations in civil-society that they can describe themselves as democratic. It is not however always very clear just what that democracy means or is assumed to mean.

The term "democracy" is widely used in various contexts and often seems to denote different meanings or concepts. Since the term carries positive connotations for most people it might have been overused and is sometimes merely an empty cliché. Different people can agree that democracy is a good thing even as they have very different understandings of what democracy really means. Someone may view democracy simply as a form of decision-making process while another perceives it as a positive political value or vehicle for social justice among classes (e.g. Sartori 1987).

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Christer Pallin chief legal counsel of the Swedish Sports Confederation 2006-12-04.

Even among western or liberal types of democracies, the qualities and contents of democracy vary but they are built on a mix of governance by the people, individual liberty and equality. Different democracies can have varying amounts of these three properties, but none of them can go to an extreme. Total individual freedom is as for example incompatible with an unrestricted subjection to the power of the whole (Sartori 1987). One solution to this specific problem is to require obedience to laws or by laws rather than to leaders. With that approach one important purpose of rules and regulations is to restrain those in power (Sartori 1987). Even the leaders must obey the rules and always risk being removed from office by the people.

Formally one could maintain that democracy in a state or an association implies that the people or members govern themselves. But another perspective is that the rules of democracy do not give the members or citizens any actual power. The purpose of these rules is instead to slow down and restrain the processes of power (e.g. Sartori 1987). Dunn (2005) put it in a slightly different form when he says that democracy means that those in power draws their legitimacy from their subjects while rules and regulations give subjects a reasonable chance of being able to force them to continue to do so. Both Sartori and Dunn argue that in practice it is the leaders that are in power while democracy's rules of the game allow the citizen or member some possibilities to restrict the leaders' power.

Michels (Michels 1911/1959) argued in his classical work that representative democracy leads to oligarchy. Tendencies due to the nature of organization, the nature of political struggles and characteristics of human nature lead to a situation where the organization becomes divided into a minority of influential and knowledgeable directors and a majority of less informed subjects.

Because long tenure in office increase risks for oligarchy, many organizations have rules that state how long delegates can hold an office. Michels (1911/1959) maintains however that leadership in organizations is often very stable in respect to which individuals belong to the elite. Individuals that are seen as indispensable can sometimes stay in office despite the formal rules that may be easier to change than to find another delegate that seems to be suitable. An

individual can also stay in the top layer of the organization by occupying other posts. The elected chairman may get the post as the highest employed official when his tenure has come to an end. The stability of leadership is also furthered by a tendency for leaders to sometimes suggest or even appoint their successors (Michels 1911/1959). If there is this large knowledge gap between the leaders and the led, it can be hard for the members to resist the leaders' suggestions.

### **Summary of the individual and the association**

This chapter has discussed some aspects of private interests and public participation that are important for the pending analysis. Voting in general elections can be seen as a minimal form for individuals' participation in the public sphere. Membership in associations is another form of public participation, which can vary in intensity from paying a low yearly membership fee to daily voluntary work or various forms of participation in the organization's internal governance system.

Further we have seen that the three basic rationales for human interaction are important in associational membership. A consequence of multiple rationales in a membership is that the membership can have multiple meanings or contents. I have proposed a view of membership as a relationship between individual and organization consisting of a number of dimensions bundled together. Some of these dimensions can be understood as common for all types of membership-based organizations while other dimensions are shared between specific types of membership-based organizations and some others are specific for particular organizations.

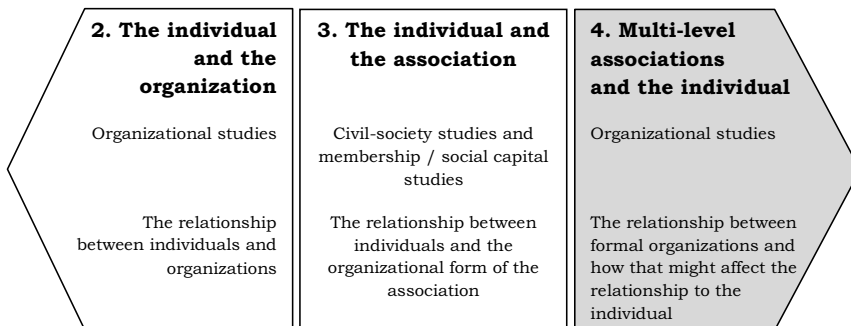
The governance system of associations has been portrayed as a democratic mode of governance where in principle all members are entitled to participate through voting at annual meetings and standing as a candidate for an elected representative position. One vulnerability with this system has however also been identified. The stability of an organization can be threatened if only a small proportion of the members go to the annual meeting since this would make it possible



for minority groups to seize power by being in majority on the annual meeting.

Membership and active participation in the organization seem partly to be determined by demographical variables. Middle aged, men with a high income and education are overrepresented both in number of memberships and activities such as voluntary work and participation in the internal governance system.

## 4. Multi-level associations and the individual



Previous chapters replaced the original economic man with a more multifaceted man and placed him in a civil-society association. What follows here will correspondingly increase the complexity of the organization. A conception of multi-level associations emerges from theories of federations and meta-organizations. Finally we once again return to the individual in order to create a model of how we could think about the individual in a multi-level association's governance system.

### Multi-level associations

It is common that the hierarchy in movements is organized in several levels and called federations. Associations create common associations in order to further their co-operation in the same way that the individuals found associations. Even if these multi-level associations look from the outside just like large associations, each organizational unit is a more or less autonomous association within the larger structure (Sjöstrand 1985).

Federative organizations have mainly been studied in two research traditions; one that studied co-operative or non-profit organizations and mainly perceived the federation almost as a coherent organization (e.g. Jonnergård 1993; Jonsson 1995; Normark 1994; Skocpol,

Ganz, and Munson 2000; Swartz 1994); and one that studied non-profit civil-society organizations and focused on the relationships between the organizations that make up the federation (e.g. Oliver 1990; Provan 1983).

Ahrne and Brunsson (2005; 2008), who share some similarities with the latter strand of federation research, consciously avoid using the term federation although they in many cases deal with the same empirical phenomena. Their work can however help to develop an understanding of multi-level associations. They distinguish between organizations with individuals as members and organizations whose members are other organizations. They call the latter type meta-organizations since they essentially are organizations of organizations.

Just as membership is the core of an association, the basic organizational building block of a multi-level association is the membership. An individual (among other individuals) holds a membership in a local association which in turn (among other associations) holds a membership in a common or joint association possibly with one or more layers of regional associations in between. Jonnergård (1993) describes the federative organization as consisting of a chain of principals and agents (see also Hvenmark 2010). The board of directors in local associations acts as agents for their members. At the same time they functions as principals for the common association's board of directors.

### **The origin of multi-level associations**

In order to understand multi-level associations we must know something about why they appear in the first place. It could be argued that it is essentially for the same kind of reasons that economic man founds or joins regular one-level associations. An individual or organization has some kind of goal and joins an (meta)-association in order to promote that goal more effectively through co-operation and the pooling of resources. Thus, the individual or organization in question remains in control while the (meta)-association only becomes a tool for reaching the goal.

The same kind of explanation is often promoted by the organizations themselves. A common conception advanced for example in

many civil-society organizations' own descriptions of their history is that the organization emerged locally among the grass-roots and that local associations later joined together in regional and national associations in order to further their co-operation <sup>15</sup>.

This type of creation story can however sometimes be challenged, as is done for example by Skocpol et al (2000), who argue that most large civil-society organizations in the US were built top-down rather than bottom up. This is also the standpoint of McCarthy and Zald (1977), who argues that federation occurs either through professional staff that develops local chapters or by recruiting already existing local groups.

Skocpol et al's (2000) argument is that organizations adopted a structure similar to the public sector or state structure system, with local, regional and national levels, since it made it easier to exert influence. This already legitimate and well understood model of organizing later spread to other non-political civil-society organizations (cf. DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977).

Other efficiency-related arguments for setting up a federated organization have been presented. Skocpol et al (2000) argue that the multi-level structure also proved to be effective in spreading the organizations nationally. Help offered by national and regional units made it easier for people to set up local units in new locations. Olson (1971) argues that multi-level associations might be more effective since the small local units can be used as an instrument for increasing people's involvement through social incentives that are not available in a larger non-federated organization. Similarly Jonnergård (1993) claims that the federative form is chosen while founding an organization in order to simultaneously gain the advantages of co-operation and of local independence and autonomy.

Both basic economic assumptions and the organizations' creation stories explain why local organizations choose to co-operate through a common unit but they do not clarify the conditions under which the

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<sup>15</sup> Not all of the organizations included in this study include a description of their history on their web page. However as three examples the Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden, the Swedish Teachers' Union and the Union of Tenants describes their coming into being in similar ways.

member organizations and the common unit form some kind of an organizational whole. Jonnergård (1993), McCarthy and Zald (1977), Olson (1971) and Skocpol et al (2000) do almost the opposite. They explain why under certain circumstances it is wise to structure a large organization in multiple layers of semi-autonomous units.

### **Identifying multi-level associations**

Since the formal structures are the same, a well justified question is when it is suitable to talk about autonomous associations joining a meta-association and when an associational complex can be characterized as a federation, or in my terminology a multi-level association. This is a problem that has seldom been handled in earlier research because the researcher had often adopted a particular perspective from the beginning. Some researchers were interested in the relationship among the associations that could be seen as constituting a federation, and others were interested in the federation as an organization in itself. In most cases where the federation as such is studied, its borders seem to be taken for granted and some kind of common conception of where the federation starts and ends is used often without too much effort behind the choices (see e.g. Jonnergård 1993; Jonsson 1995; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Normark 1994; Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson 2000; Swartz 1994; Zald and McCarthy 1979).

The question of delimiting multi-level associations might at first seem trivial. Most would for example probably at first glance say that the Swedish Red Cross (SRC) is composed of the national association along with all local associations. Another example could be the Swedish Football Association (SFA). It is clear that it has a close relationship to the local football associations, but would we consider the competing football clubs to be part of an integrated organization together with the SFA? Formally the SRC and the SFA complexes are organized in the same way with local associations tied to a national association through membership. It is however possible to have different opinions about how integrated these organizational complexes really are.

Since common sense does not seem to settle the question of how to delimit multi-level associations, I will introduce a more structured

way to think about this. This is not however an attempt to solve the problem once and for all. I think that a solution also depends on the situation and the observer's purposes. In a situation where several football associations compete for sponsor contracts with a large corporation it is hard to see them as part of an integrated larger organization, but when the football associations together with the SFA approach government in order to lobby for subsidies it may be reasonable to deal with them as one coherent organization.

I propose four variables that can be used as a framework for analyzing the question of identifying and delimiting multi-level associations. Starting from a formal perspective and then stepwise integrating more "softer" considerations these variables are (1) legal and contractual bonds, (2) financial dependencies, (3) operational dependencies and (4) organizational identity and culture.

First there are different kinds of legal or contractual bonds. If there are no legal or contractual ties between the organizational units, there is no integrated organization in the formal sense. There could however be organized activities among the organizations, but this is probably better analyzed in terms of a network or a movement. The most important contractual relationship, I would argue, is membership. The extent and type of rights and obligations accompanying membership can vary, but if the associational units do not have some kind of membership-relationship, we cannot talk about a multi-level association at all. If there are such membership ties, following them is however not enough to delimit multi-level associations in a meaningful way. In terms of the examples mentioned this becomes even more apparent as the SRC is a member of the Swedish Fundraising Council. Yet most of us probably do not feel that all members in the Swedish Fundraising Council, from environmental organizations to disability organizations and the Church of Sweden, together constitute one large fund-raising organization.

In addition to the analysis of membership between associations, it is also of interest to analyze the contractual content of membership. The bye laws of a common association often contain paragraphs that help in assessing the limits of multi-level associations. A strong indication that different levels belong together is when the common

association's bye laws regulate the individual membership and thereby the common association obtains some kind of "ownership" of the individual members. Further, statutes often regulate the formal distribution of power between associational levels. If different associational levels have considerable formal and mutual authority over each other, it could be argued that it is in order to see them as some kind of whole.

A second way of trying to establish the borders of a multi-level association is to analyze financial dependencies. The membership is often accompanied with the demand to pay a membership fee. What is relevant is whether the common association collects fees from the individual members and in turn distributes those fees to the local. That would constitute a relatively strong financial bond between the national and the local associations. The same is also the case if the common association is responsible for distributing funds from other actors, for example state subsidies or their own income-generating activities such as national lotteries or fund-raising campaigns.

A third step is to analyze operational dependencies. How integrated are the activities in the organizations? Would it be possible for a common association and its member-associations to continue their activities without large modifications if any of the associational levels would disappear? If two associational levels are highly dependent on each other, they can probably be regarded as belonging to the same multi level-association. A football association would most likely be able to continue its practice sessions and other local activities, but it would probably lose some of its purpose if the possibilities to participate in leagues and the thrill of competing would disappear along with the SFA.

A fourth step in the process of delimiting multi-level associations is to incorporate more subjective aspects of integration between associational levels, aspects such as shared identities and organizational culture. Associational levels that share the same organizational identity can be seen as belonging to the same multi level-association. One strong indicator of shared identities between associational levels would be a shared name or other types of organizational symbols. Another indicator could be shared missions and joint activities

between associational levels. A third indicator is the intra-organizational understanding of the multi level-association's boundaries. How far do the individual members' identification with the multi-level association stretch, and in contrast how far in the associational chain do the associations acknowledge the individual members as a part of the organization? Does the individual member in a SRC local association identify with the Swedish Fundraising Council and does the Swedish Fundraising Council acknowledge this individual member or is only the SRC's national association its member?

Another way of assessing how it would be appropriate to delimit a multi level-association could be sought in analyzing the history of the associations. How and when have different parts of the multi level-association been created? Was it a number of local associations that together created a common or national association to further their co-operation or was the national association founded first and spread later through formation of local associations? As already argued, this can however be hazardous since it seems that this is how the history of this kind of organizations is supposed to be portrayed, and there are arguments that show that it sometimes may have happened in other ways (see e.g. Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson 2000).

#### **Variations of multi-level associations**

One distinction that sometimes is made between different multi-level associations is between federations and confederations. There does not seem to be a commonly accepted usage of the two terms, and their usage are attributable to political scientists rather than to organizational scientists. Most scholars seem to prefer one of the terms and let it denote all types of multi-level associations.

There are however some scholars that distinguish between federative and confederative organizations. Among them there seems to be an agreement that formal authority is located more in the common or central organizational level in federative organizations than in confederative organizations. Sjöstrand (1985) argues with help from the work of Erik Swartz that it is the mobilization and distribution of authority that is the fundamental dimension in federative and confederative organizational structures. In a confederation the local units have the decisive influence. They can choose to enter (if accepted) and



leave the confederation autonomously and they are collectively in control of the common unit. The federation on the other hand is characterized by a formal authority structure divided between the parts and the whole, for example by mutual vetoes.

Another scholar that makes a distinction between confederations and federations is Blankart (2007). He argues that a confederation is built on a two-level contract. The individuals hold memberships in and acknowledge the local association. The local association in turn, as an organization, holds a membership in the common association. A federation in contrast builds on a direct contract between the individual members and the common association. A confederation rests upon a treaty among more or less autonomous local associations while the federation rests upon a direct treaty among individual members (2007).

It is not however as simple as analyzing the nature of membership contracts in order to determine where the authority resides in a multi-level association. Crémer and Palfrey (1999) studied implications of different structures of federalism by separating the dimensions of centralization and representation. Centralization indicates on what associational level most or the most important decisions are made while the dimension of representation separates multi-level associations on the basis of whether it is the individuals or the local associations that are represented in the common association's governance system. If every local association has one vote, it is the local association that is represented, and if the votes are allocated according to varying numbers of members, it is the individual that is represented. The question of the structure of the governance system is often related to the question of on which associational level an individual's membership contract is anchored, but the question is not necessarily the same. There can also be many variants of these two ideal typical governance systems. It seems for example to be quite common to have governance systems where the votes are distributed primarily according to the number of members while small local associations are guaranteed to have at least one vote.

I argue that the same four features used to identify and delimit multi-level associations also can be used in classifying them. Con-

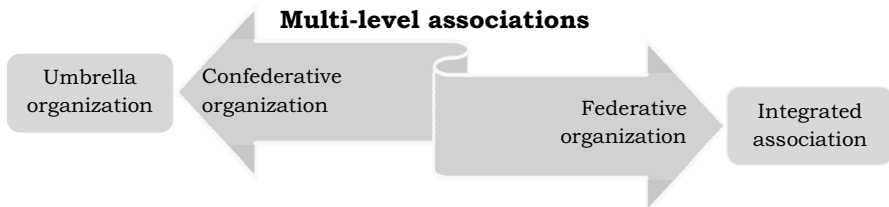
tracts regulate whether an individual member is primarily tied to the local association and only indirectly to the national association or whether the membership ties him directly to all associational levels. Contracts also regulate the formal distribution of authority among the associational levels. The distribution of authority that arises out of imbalances in financial and operational dependencies is also important as are how the organizational identity is experienced.

The ideal typical federation has formal authority located in the common or central organizational unit, an individual membership directly connected to the common association and the individual directly connected to the common association through membership. In the ideal typical confederation on the other hand the local associations are autonomous, most of the authority is retained at the local level and the individual primarily holds a membership in the local association.

The ideal typical federation as an organization with a direct relationship to the individual members is close to a fully integrated association. The ideal typical confederation with autonomous local associations is in turn close to an umbrella organization, or meta-organization in Ahrne and Brunsson's (2005) terms, where the member organizations are clearly separate from the organization they are members in. In reality it is however possible to find many organizations with characteristics mixed from both the ideal typical federation and the ideal typical confederation. As an empirical example from this dissertation, the Social Democratic Party's bye laws formally regulate structures and activities within their local associations but the "ownership" of individual members is primarily situated in local associations. Since organizations can be seen as more or less of a federation or a confederation, I propose to place them on a one-dimensional scale as in figure 3 (cf. Sjöstrand 1985).

An analysis of the four aspects that I have posed in order to delimit and classifying different types of multi-level association should make it possible to place an empirical organization somewhere on the scale. Allowing organizations to be placed on such a scale between confederations and federations makes it considerably easier to describe actual organizations. Such a description can however in some cases

be problematic since an organization can have characteristics that conflict<sup>16</sup>. In spite of such difficulties I construe such a scale with the eight organizations of this study in the last section of Chapter 7 *Eight multi-level organizations* with the aim of testing whether variations in federative or confederative characteristics may have any impact on individuals' involvement in the internal governance system.



**Figure 3: Umbrella organizations, confederations and federations placed on a one-dimensional scale.**

### **The governance system in multi-level associations**

In classic economic theory an individual's main channel for influencing an organization is *exit*. If a customer is dissatisfied with a firm's products or services he is presumed to exit and switch to another supplier. This practice is supposed to have governance implications by sending signals to management. It will however also change the composition of the membership body which in the long run can have large implications for the governance system (e.g. Einarsson 2010; 2012).

However the reality is as usual a little more complicated. Some organizations have various forms of monopolies on what can be understood as their "products and services", to continue the discussion within an economic or market frame, which makes it impossible to switch to another supplier. It might for example not be possible to withdraw from one's citizenship and leave a country. Such problems have in classic economic theory been handled through *voice*, which in

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<sup>16</sup> Grossman and Rangan (2001) for example argue for a two-dimensional model that separates the dimension of high or low autonomy from the dimension of strong or weak affiliation of what they describe as multi-site organizations.

that tradition is a residual of *exit*. If exit is impossible or too costly, the individual might try to change what is wrong or at least make his or her voice heard by complaining.

One of Hirschman's (1970) main points was to clarify that leaving an organization, as presumed in earlier economic theory is not always the main alternative when an individual is dissatisfied. Here I will adopt a perspective on governance as formal decision making and the reproduction of the membership body since that affects future decisions in the organization. As a consequence I am interested in formal decisions among members and representatives (voice) and processes shaping these bodies of individuals (entry, exit and taking office).

### **Joining the organization – Entry**

From a governance perspective entry has some interesting implications. By analogy with Hirschman's (1970) argument about the signaling value of exit, the influx of new members gives signals to management that the organization is doing well. This signal could however be misleading since we are dealing with multi-rational individuals. It is hard for management to know if it is the organization's work with its main mission that attracts new members or if it new members join in order to get other benefits like the reduced insurance rates that many Swedish membership-based organizations offer. Another effect of entry is that the demography of the membership body changes, which may alter the power balance between different groups in the organization (e.g. Einarsson 2010; 2012).

New members' expectations, ideas and values can however often be assumed to be similar to those of already existing members. This follows from the assumptions that most members know, what kind of organization they are about to enter and that many of the members comes to an organization on recommendations from family and friends. Basic similarity among new members is also assured by the requirements on members formulated in the bye laws. To be eligible to become a member you must share the organization's basic values. How well this is enforced is however an empirical question and might vary from organization to organization.

Entry decisions could consequently be quite an important part of an organization's governance system. I will however not further analyze entry in this dissertation since it would demand an entirely different empirical study.

#### **Leaving the organization – Exit**

The first choice, according to assumptions in traditional economic theory, is that the disappointed individual will leave the organization. It is however not always easy to switch to another organization. March and Simon (1958) argue that four variables are especially important for an individual's decision to leave an organization. These variables are the level of satisfaction with the organization, the propensity to search for alternatives, the visibility of alternatives and the availability of acceptable alternatives. In other words it is the perceived desirability of leaving the organization combined with the perceived ease of movement from the organization that determines if the individual ultimately will stay or not.

Exit affects the governance system in two ways. Representatives get a signal that something might be wrong in the organization, which may affect their future decisions. Potential practical problems with leaving an organization do however sometimes reduce the signaling value because dissatisfied members may stay since they do not have any alternatives. But the outflow of members will also directly change the demography of the organization. If it is a certain group of members that decide to leave, this may have effects on following decisions and elections.

#### **Trying to influence the organization – Voice**

The presumption is that an individual chooses voice when he estimates that the returns outweigh the efforts involved in exiting. The entry of a multi rationality of man does however complicate this. Even if an "investment" in voice would yield a "profit", an individual could have other interests where the same amount of effort would yield a higher profit. Olson (1971) argues that it always is rational to contribute to the collective interest of the organization if the individual only has one interest, and that interest coincides with the collective interest in the organization. Since the multi-rational man holds more than one interest, it is often not rational to make the effort of trying

to change the organization. The individual may like to do other things with his time and effort, or he may also value leisure time.

Raising one's voice can be achieved in different ways. The traditional way in economic theory is complaining to the leaders of the organization in order for them to change their minds on various questions. From the perspective of political science, voice can be perceived as involvement in formal decisions, votes and elections of representatives. Another alternative is to try and affect the opinions of other members so that they too will vote or argue for the "right" alternative.

A similar line of thought can be found in Michels (1911/1959), who argues that most of the people which have democratic rights to influence do not have enough interest to get involved themselves. The exception to this is when conditions become so bad that egoistic reasons become enough to spur people to action. Otherwise ordinary organizational members are occupied with managing their daily life with work, family and leisure and do not have very much time for attaining any profound knowledge about the workings of their organization. This could also be compared with Amnå's (2010) concept of stand-by citizens who are prepared to act when something is enough important and there are opportunities to actually make a difference.

When there are many participants in a meeting, Olson (1971) argues, the individual will know that he cannot make a noticeable difference. So there is no reason to make an effort to prepare for the meeting and to understand the questions at hand. The democratic governance system also only gives each member one vote, which means that the chances of an individual succeeding in an effort to influence the outcome of the meeting are small in most organizations.

It is nevertheless the case that some people actually do attend annual meetings in organizations. According to Olson (1971) the reason that some individuals nevertheless participate and contribute to organizations' activities is that participation provides some sort of private incentives. Examples of such incentives may be a private aspiration to become some kind of leader in the organization or the social life in the organization.

Hirschman's (1970; 1974) argument also goes in that direction. He asserts that members with considerable attachment to an organization will more likely try to make their voices heard than leave the organization. This also implies that the probability of choosing the voice alternative is higher for individuals that already are highly involved in the organization such as members who also work as volunteers or have become elected representatives.

Following Brennan and Lomasky's (2002) line of argument, one could say that economic man does not sacrifice his valuable time to go to the polls when his voice is unimportant. The multi-rational man may however go to the polls since that gives him outlet for other needs, such as the need to take a stand even if that does not change anything.

#### **Climbing the organizational ladder – Taking office**

It is neither feasible nor efficient in a large organization to let every member participate in every decision. For that reason organizations create different kinds of smaller groups for various purposes. They might be committees handling various questions, but perhaps the most important is the board of directors, which is outwardly responsible for the association as a whole.

Standing as a candidate for a representative position can be interpreted as a more intense form of expressing one's voice. The representative gain direct access to many of the important decisions and the weight of his voice increases. The meaning of his voice might however also change. A regular member expressing his voice only speaks for himself while a representative is supposed to speak for a collective of members or for the organization as a whole. The representative becomes in Ahrne's (1994) words an organizational centaur – half man and half organization.

The question is why someone would volunteer for a position that may demand much time and effort perhaps without economic rewards. The economic man would certainly only do this if he had very high stakes in the organization and at the same time thought that certain things needed to be changed or simply because he would get better compensation than obtainable elsewhere. Our multi-rational man could for his part have several interacting reasons for this. He

may think that it is important for him to further the organization's agenda himself from a position of power while also valuing the friendship among board members and enjoying to learn new things.

### **Summary of multi-level associations and the individual**

In this chapter I have discussed meta-organizations as well as federative and confederative organizations. The concept I choose to work with analytically for the purpose of this dissertation is multi-level associations since it is not tainted by expectations of certain types of authority structures. I have also problemized the boundaries of multi-level associations and reached the conclusion that boundaries are partly subjective and dependent upon the perspective and purpose of an observer.

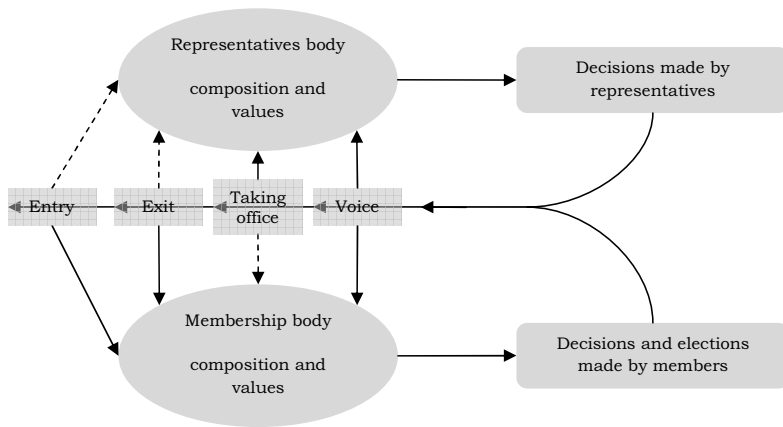
Further we have seen that the distribution of authority in different multi-level associations can vary from the ideal-typical confederation, where the member associations control a common association and are free to leave the co-operative body at any time, to the ideal-typical federation where member associations are bound by decisions made in the central or common association and cannot even leave the co-operative body without authorization.

The multi-level associational form also implies that the individual membership can be anchored at different levels. The membership contract links the individual to the common association through a two-level contract between the individual and the local association and between the local association and the common association. Beyond these differences in the formal connection between the individual and the organization, the individual's own perception of his or her connection with the organization might be important. Even if the membership formally consists of a two-level contract, the member might feel more connected to the common association than to the local association or vice versa.

Some aspects of the governance system were briefly discussed as a background to and foundation for understanding the individual's role in the governance system. A model of decision-making in the organization, consisting of members' decisions, members' election of representatives and representatives' decisions, is presented in figure 4.



Decisions are made by members at the annual meeting and by representatives in other forums such as board meetings. These decisions are affected by the values and demography of members and representatives. Further, these decisions may alter the organization's strategies and activities and consequently also affect members' future actions.



**Figure 4. Model of decision-making in associations.**

Entry and exit primarily affect the demography and values in the membership body. Increased or decreased entry or exit also sends signals to representatives that may affect their future decisions. Voice comes in several forms and may affect an organization in different ways. Voice can be directed at representatives, perhaps in the form of complaints, which may have an effect on representatives' values and future decisions. Voice can also be directed at other members in order for them either to approach representatives or get involved in decision making at the annual meeting. Finally voice can consist of participating in decisions at the annual meeting and in voting for representatives who may alter the composition of the representative body. When a member takes office, this affects the composition of the representative body but through his example he may also be able to alter opinions and values in the general membership body.

Consequently, the actions of members that become important with such a model of the governance system are entry and exit, which affects the composition of the membership body and sends positive or negative signals to the representatives, voice, which can take the form of direct decisions by members, or signals sent to representatives or the election of new representatives who alters the composition of the representative body or finally the taking of office, which also changes the composition of the representatives body.



## 5. Analytical model

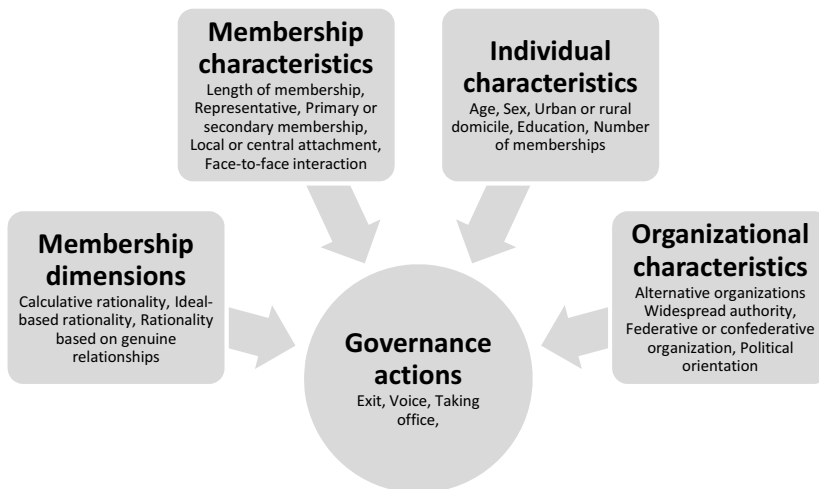
In the opening chapter of this dissertation the following purpose was formulated:

*The purpose of this dissertation is to generate new knowledge about and perspectives on the internal governance system of federative, membership-based organizations and factors of importance for the individual's perceptions of and participation in this type of governance system.*

I argued that this should be done by abandoning or relaxing assumptions of homogeneity in the relationship between individual and organization and relaxing the traditional assumptions of clear and simple authority structures. This means that I will study the individual's perception of membership and its relation to his or her participation in the organization's governance system in eight civil-society multi-level associations.

The theoretical chapters' discussions are summarized in the analytical model in figure 5, which guided my empirical and analytical work. The main focus is how the individual chooses to participate in governing the organization or not, and which factors, on both individual and organizational levels, might influence those decisions.

The main four actions that I have previously discussed and that might affect the organization's governance system are: *entry* into the organization, which changes the composition of the membership and also sends a signal that the organization is doing well (as explained earlier entry will not however be discussed in the empirical part of this dissertation), *exit*, which also changes the membership and sends the signal that something might be wrong in the organization, *voice*, which can be in the form of affecting representatives or other members or the form of direct participation in the formal governance systems through voting, and finally *taking office* which affects the composition of the representative body and gives the individual more possibilities for affecting the formal governance system.



**Figure 5. Analytical model for use in data collection and analysis.**

I proceed from a model of multi-rational man. This has some important implications for the study. He does not have complete information, and for him to gather additional information carries costs. At the same time this man does not aspire to achieve the best possible outcome every time he acts. Instead he chooses the first satisfactory solution available, which leads to a situation where already proven solutions will be preferred.

The multi-rationality of this model of man clarifies that he can have different types of rationales for his actions. Multi-rational man could in principle have an infinite number of rationales but allowing for that in the analyses would not be feasible. Consequently in the analyses I use the more manageable set of rationales derived from Sjöstrand (1985; 1993; 2000) namely the calculative, the ideal-based and the genuine rationales for human interaction. A small and distinct set of rationales makes analyses feasible without rendering the picture of man overly unrealistic or uninteresting.

The justification for using Sjöstrand's rationales is that they represent basic reasons that human beings could have for interacting with each other. In several ways they are also connected to other theories I have presented. For example the calculative and the ideal-based

rationales are comparable to Olson's (1971) private and collective incentives. Olson also discusses social incentives that should be most pronounced in small group settings. This can be compared with the rationality of genuine relationships, which is also in a way connected to the face-to-face and bonding discussions from the social-capital school of thought.

Other differences between memberships that potentially may be important for the analysis of an individual's participation in an organization's governance system are based in the attachment of the membership. The individual might have multiple memberships in several organizations, which makes it possible that the individual perceives these memberships as having different degrees of importance. This makes it reasonable to talk about primary and secondary memberships. We have also seen that a membership could be attached at different levels within the organization. If the individual construes the local association's or the common association's activities as most important, that may well affect his interest and involvement in the governance system. Since pilot studies have indicated that a membership often changes over time, how long an individual has been a member could also be important. Further it seems plausible that holding a representative's position could be of importance.

Results from earlier studies also suggest a number of additional variables that might affect involvement in governance. Face-to-face interaction has attracted much attention from social-capital theorists. Personal characteristics that may be important for the individual's conception of membership and participation in organizational governance are age, sex, social status (education is used as a proxy), the number of other memberships and urban or rural domicile.

Further, there are variables on the organizational level that might affect the individual's participation in the governance system. One of the more obvious ones is the availability of alternatives which both March and Simon (1958) and Hirschman (1970; 2002/1982) have discussed. If the individual is disappointed and has a possibility to switch to another organization, such a switch might be the first alternative. But if the organization's activities are important for the individual or there are no alternative organizations offering the same

or similar activities, the individual might even feel forced to try to influence the organization in some way.

While the individual may feel connected to various levels of the organization, the organization itself may be structured in various ways. Whether the organization is structured federatively or confederatively might be a variable that affects whether the individual thinks it is worthwhile to try and influence the organization. Earlier studies have also indicated that the proportion of members that are directly involved in governing functions might be of importance, here denominated widespread authority, and the degree to which the organization is politically oriented.

The empirical study is structured and presented in two steps. First formal organizational structures are studied in the selected organizations. Next the individuals' conceptions of membership is explored. Most of the weight is channeled towards investigating the latter, the individual's conceptions of membership, since the purpose of the dissertation addresses the individual's participation in the governance system. These two empirical parts are then brought together in the analysis of the factors affecting the individual's decision to participate or not in the internal governance system.

The rest of this dissertation follows the structure of the analytical model. The next chapter presents the empirical investigation and the different methods employed. Then three combined empirical and analytical chapters follow. The first of those investigates the formal governance structures and organizational characteristics of the eight selected organizations. The second empirical chapter examines the individual's conception of membership and what factors affect participation in the organization. The third empirical chapter specifically investigates the individual's participation in organizational governance and explores factors that might affect that. In the last chapter I try to synthesize the various parts and discuss what types of conclusions we can draw from the analyses and what I would like to see more thoroughly studied in the future.

## Contributions

The theoretical discussions that have been the foundation of the analytical model have mainly been borrowed from three separate but interrelated and partly overlapping academic discussions that in various ways are related to governance at different societal levels. (1) *organizational theory*, which I primarily have used to talk about the relationship between individuals and organizations and the relationship between formal organizations within larger organizational complexes, (2) *civil-society or non-profit studies*, which have been a help in dealing with the special types of governance challenges found in civil-society organizations in general and membership-based organizations in particular and (3) *membership and social capital studies*, which contributed to the understanding of factors affecting membership and participation.

I argue that my results and analyses contribute to all three of these discussions and to the understanding of governance at large. The study generates knowledge about (a) how multi-level associations formally are organized and the determinants for a member's participation in the organization and its internal governance system. This is of relevance for organizational theory and civil-society studies. The study also generates knowledge about (b) how the individual member experiences membership and how this most often neglected complexity has relevance for the member's participation in the organization and by extension a membership's benefits to society at large. This is of relevance for civil-society studies and membership and social-capital studies.





## 6. Method: From pilot interviews to the exploratory analysis of a postal survey

The aim with this chapter is to give an overview of the steps involved in the making of this dissertation. First the dissertation is put in the context of a larger research project. After that my choice of methodology is described while some of the more technical details about the statistical techniques can be found in appendix A.

### The membership project

As mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation is an integrated part of an ongoing extensive research project based at the SSE Institute for Research<sup>17</sup> called *The Membership and the Federation* or simply *the membership project*. In this research project conceptions of membership are studied in order to determine how they affect strategic management and the organization of membership-based federative organizations primarily located within the sphere of civil-society and in the co-operative sector. One of the primary assumptions guiding the project is that membership can be seen as a relationship between the individual and the organization consisting of a bundle of dimensions. Like most relationships a membership can be perceived differently by those involved. It is not certain that the individual and the (leaders of the) organization have the same expectations for the membership. As an example an organization might recruit members in order to gain legitimacy and resources to further its basic mission while some members join the organization in order to get selective incentives such as meaningful recreation, new friends or membership discounts. A consequence of this is that it becomes important to understand the membership both from the individual's and the organization's point of view.

The membership project started with three pilot studies covering both the individual's and the organization's perspectives. Leaders

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<sup>17</sup> Formerly the Economic Research Institute at Stockholm School of Economics (EFI)

from five different European Red Cross societies were interviewed (see Hvenmark 2008) along with members in the Swedish Red Cross, IOGT-NTO (temperance movement) and the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society (Hultén and Larsson 2005; Hultén and Wist 2003). These pilot studies confirmed the fruitfulness of the basic ideas behind the membership project. These early studies also showed that the dimensions making up a membership could be categorized as common to many organizational types, shared among some organizations or specific to individual organizations. These pilot studies has also been invaluable for my work in designing the postal survey that comprise the bulk of empirical data for this dissertation since I built the first rough draft of the questionnaire on the content of these reports.

The part of the project dealing with the organizations' or leaders' view of the membership has been published in a dissertation by Johan Hvenmark (2008). In the nine organizations: IOGT-NTO, the Association of the Visually Impaired, the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society, the Missionary Covenant Church in Sweden, the Social Democratic Workers' party, the Swedish Football Association, the Swedish Red Cross, the Swedish Teachers' Union and the Union of Tenants, interviews were conducted with the highest ranking elected representative, the highest ranking official and in some of the organizations, where suitable, a high-level "ideologists". This study produced a picture of membership as the basic building brick of federative organizations and also the foundation of popular mass movement organizations generally. The leaders did however at the same time demonstrate ambiguous views on the role of individual members and chose to either include or exclude them from the national organization depending on context. A leader of a national association could for example talk about their local associations as their only members when discussing organizational or governance issues and a few minutes later when discussing legitimacy speak of individuals as the organization's members. The leaders also clearly connected membership both with resources necessary for the organization and with a democratic governance model that was construed as good in theory but not working very well in practice.

The second pillar of the membership project deals with the individual members' ideas and perceptions of membership and it is the origin of this dissertation. Members' perception of their membership should be studied in order to identify important dimensions of membership and possibly membership types. This was supposed to be done through a large scale postal survey of members in the same nine organizations whose leaders Hvenmark had interviewed. Unfortunately one of the organizations, the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society, was not able to participate.

Partly in parallel with the survey study I had the opportunity to conduct a mirroring interview-study of members of the Swedish sports movement (Einarsson 2008). Among the observations from those interviews is that membership cannot be seen as something static. Instead a membership is sometimes in a state of "renegotiation" between the individual and the organization. The individual might join the organization merely because his or her children play in a soccer team. After some time the individual might become involved in volunteering, which evolves into a position on a board and a social life centered largely around the organization. The interviews also indicated that members "higher up" in the internal hierarchy often have a more elaborate view of membership. Regular members tend to talk and think about those dimensions of membership that are directly relevant for the individual, such as practices, meeting friends or doing voluntary work, while elected representatives, especially at regional and national levels, consider a more abstract concept of the membership as something important in itself.

This dissertation is consequently part of a greater whole that in various ways has affected my empirical, theoretical and methodological work. I will however in the next section describe the main stream of work that has led to the dissertation you now are reading.

## **This dissertation**

Early on in the membership project, it was decided that organizational leaders would be interviewed and members would be contacted through the large-scale postal survey, which would become the backbone of this dissertation. The initial preparation for the ques-

tionnaire came through pilot studies where members in the Swedish Red Cross, IOGT-NTO and the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society were interviewed. These interviews could be described as mostly unstructured conversations about the individual's membership in and relationship to their organization.

I became involved in the project some time after the pilot studies were completed and my first task was to prepare a first draft of a questionnaire. The questionnaire was to be presented to a reference group consisting of representatives from the nine organizations in the membership project. Because I became involved in an ongoing research project, the organizations had already been chosen. Nine organizations had been strategically sampled in order to represent the great variety of rationales or motives for membership that can be found in membership-based organizations. The organizations consequently represent a variety of activities or fields of interest and at the same time represent the Swedish popular mass-movement tradition. The criteria for the selection of organizations were that they were seen as popular movements with roots in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, that they represented a wide selection of activities and motives for membership, that they were among the largest organizations in their fields of activities and that there were possibilities for access both to leaders and members and active participation from a representative in a reference group

The nine organizations that were selected were the temperance movement IOGT-NTO, The Association of the Visually Impaired, The Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society, The Missionary Covenant Church in Sweden, The Social Democratic Workers' party, The Swedish Football Association, The Swedish Red Cross, The Swedish Teachers' Union and The Union of Tenants. All nine organizations participated in the study of leader's ideas and perception of membership. Unfortunately the Co-operative and Wholesale Society, which had initially funded the membership project through a research foundation, left the project at a late stage and their members are consequently not represented in the survey.

It could be argued that there are other fields of activities that would be interesting to include in a study like this. Examples of that

could be producer co-operatives, environmental organizations, or organizations with activities engaging culture or outdoor life. My assessment is however that this selection of organizations is sufficient in order to get a broad picture of how membership can be construed in different settings. In Chapter 8 *The personal* membership I present a stability check that indicates that membership is perceived in similar ways in all eight organizations despite their very different activities and fields of interest. Consequently, I argue that the results in this dissertation can be generalized to other large multi-level associations. I also think that most results might be applicable to smaller membership-based organizations too.

When I started working on the questionnaire the utopian ambition was to make an all-embracing questionnaire that essentially would capture all aspects of the individual's understanding of his or her membership. That however proved not be feasible since the questionnaire would be overwhelming for the respondent. However the goal to capture as many aspects as possible still remained. In that work, the material from the pilot interviews with members was invaluable. I used the interview material to identify relevant and recurrent themes, which became a skeleton for the questionnaire. To some degree this had already been done in reports from the pilot studies. However, instead of directly using the themes discussed in these reports I tried to get as fresh a start as possible on the reported interview material. Below I will present some quotations from the interviews in order to exemplify how the questionnaire was created.

Examples of two qualitatively different senses of social belonging can be seen in "It is those sewing circles that are around, where some of them keep in touch during the summer break, and that is also a sense of social belonging" (Hultén and Larsson 2005 my translation) and "My mother was member in the Red Cross, maybe that is how things go" (Hultén and Larsson 2005 my translation). The first statement can be interpreted as reflecting voluntarily selected friendships while the other refers to family ties that are harder for the individual to escape.

These two types of social belonging can be found primarily in the questionnaire theme about the individual's relationship to the organi-

zation beginning on page four (the questionnaire can be found in appendix C). The respondent is asked how much he or she agrees with statements like *my relationship to the organization can be described as: a recreational activity; a community; as the organization is a part of me; as I am born into or raised in the organization.*

Another important observation that can be derived from the interviews is that not all memberships are equally important for the individual. Answering a question about whether she would consider making the same type of contribution in another organization the respondent said “I think I could do that if there was an organization that I believed in, in what they do. But I would probably not leave the Red Cross entirely” (Hultén and Larsson 2005 my translation). Another respondent answered a question about her reason for choosing the Red Cross by saying: “It was the only organization I knew. If there had been another organization that I knew was equally good I could have gone there. This was the only thing I knew”. In order to have some measure of how important the membership is for the individual I ask the respondent in question 5 to assess how much he or she agrees with the statement “For me the membership in [organization name] is my most important membership”.

While working with the questionnaire I had four meetings with the reference group to get input from organizational representatives and to test various ideas. We discussed the idea of membership dimensions connected to the themes in the survey; the representatives answered a test survey as members; and we discussed whether and how we should incorporate organization-specific questions. All of this was very valuable in the creation of the questionnaire since it both gave me valuable input and further tested the quality of the questionnaire.

Perhaps the best example of changes made because of discussions with the reference group is the questionnaire theme of organizations basic mission on page 13. Early on in the process of formulating the questionnaire, we decided that we could not have a whole battery of questions specific to each organization, addressing for example divine service, football practice or negotiations with an employer or landlord. In the last meeting someone said that we covered many aspects of

membership but nothing about the supposed basic reasons for joining a specific organization. Formulated that way it became obvious that the desire to have one questionnaire for all organizations had led to a serious problem. Members' conceptions about the organizations' basic purpose, mission and values had been lost. I did not however want to sacrifice the comparability across the organizations. The solution to the problem was to ask about the organizations' mission as they were formulated in their bye laws, which can be seen in question 25.

During the work with the questionnaire an opportunity arose for me to enroll as a PhD student. Since I have a background in organizational questions in behavior sciences such as sociology and education and had written my master thesis in financial economy on corporate governance, I was interested in questions about organizational governance. I did however want to do something different than the traditional studies on boards of directors or management. One thing that seemed very interesting to me was the phenomena that members formally are the principals of civil-society organizations, yet many of them do not seem to participate in annual meetings and other governance activities.

Since I already had a half-completed questionnaire that would be sent to members in a number of large membership-based organizations, I thought that it would be a good tool for gathering data for my dissertation. Subsequently, I weighted up the questionnaire sections concerning governance-related questions and added ideas and concepts from theories presented earlier in this dissertation.

The first tangible result of these two years' of work preparing the survey was a preliminary and very extensive questionnaire of 210 questions. This was sent to a test group of members in six of the participating organizations. 120 surveys were posted in October and November 2006 with a reminder about one month afterwards. By the middle of December 60 persons had responded. 55 of these responses were usable for the analysis while the remaining five had not completed the survey because of old age or because they claimed they were not members of the organization any longer or had never been members.



With the information from this test I redesigned and shortened the questionnaire. In a first step I eliminated a number of questions that appeared to be hard to answer and at the same time not essential for the study. Next I used information from exploratory factor analyses in order to find questions that seemed to contain redundant information and to find underlying structures that could be used to summarize several questions in fewer new ones.

By doing this I managed to reduce the number of questions from 210 to about 120. The final number of questions varies a little between the organizations since they do not have the exact same organizational structure. The Swedish Teachers' Union for example does not have regional organizations and The Union of Tenants does not have a special youth organization. Questions about those things are consequently left out in the surveys for these organizations.

120 questions are nevertheless relatively extensive and an even shorter questionnaire would probably have been preferable in order to reduce the burden on respondents and perhaps get a higher response rate. But since one main goal with the survey was to identify dimensions of membership, it was important to have a broad enough selection of questions to catch as many aspects of membership as possible. The final scope of the questionnaire consequently represents a balance between respondent burden and questionnaire coverage.

Between January and November 2007 the final surveys were sent to 1,000 randomly selected members in the eight of the organizations (in total 8,000), with no incentives offered. The respondents were selected randomly from the national organizations' lists of members except in the cases of Swedish Football Association and the Missionary and Covenant Church of Sweden, where the national organization did not have lists of the individual members. In these two organizations 200 randomly selected local associations were contacted and asked to select ten random members for the study. This yielded more than 1,000 names, so the number of respondents per local association was reduced proportionally.

Two weeks after the initial survey a reminder letter was sent to respondents who had not returned the questionnaire. After an

additional four weeks another reminder letter accompanied by a new copy of the questionnaire were sent. The total response rate was 54 percent, and the effective response rate, after sorting out responses with too high item non-response, was 45 percent (3,472 answers), which I think is an acceptable response rate for a survey of this length<sup>18, 19</sup>.

The response rate in itself does however not say everything about the data quality. If there are significant differences between respondents and non-respondents even a small share of non-respondents could produce bias in the results. There is no feasible way to know with certainty whether the non-respondents differ from the respondents in respect to the variables of interest for the study. It is however possible to use background variables that have been supplied along with the sampling frame to get an indication of whether certain groups of individuals are over- or underrepresented among the non-respondents.

I have been able to use the variables home address, which distinguishes respondents in metropolitan areas and the countryside, age, and sex for some of the organizations. I have also been able to group the respondents who answered directly and those who required reminders, which can be a rough indication of which types of individuals might be in the non-respondent group.

The comparison of residence area, age and sex indicated that there are no noteworthy differences between the group of respondents and the group of non-respondents. However a pattern did emerge when comparing response times. Individuals that are or have been elected representatives in the organization and individuals that have been members for relatively long times were more prone to answer the survey promptly. This could indicate that “regular” members and new members could be somewhat underrepresented in the data material.

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<sup>18</sup> Calculations of the response rate are thoroughly presented in Appendix A.

<sup>19</sup> Studies have shown that both overall response rate and item non-response might be better, without affecting the representativeness measured with demographical variables, if some kind of incentives are used (e.g. James and Bolstein 1990; Robertson, Walkom, and McGettigan 2005). However, James and Bolstein further showed that respondents that received incentives gave comments more favorable to the survey sponsor which might introduce problematic biases in the data. In this study no incentives have been offered to respondents.

However I assess this potential bias as small enough to disregard in the analyses.

Full non-response is consequently simply handled by deleting those cases. Item non-response, when respondents did not answer all questions in the survey, is handled by deleting all cases where the item non-response exceeds 30 percent. Other item non-responses are handled through maximum likelihood imputation<sup>20</sup>.

All survey data have been registered manually. The bulk of the questions ask respondents to agree or disagree with a statement on a five-point scale. These questions have been coded as 0 for “do not agree at all” to 4 which stands for “agree entirely”. Data-entry errors have been handled by doing consecutive preliminary data analyses and searches for suspected erroneous data. Searches for outliers have revealed some data-entry errors, which have been corrected. After that I have also re-entered a random selection of 25 surveys in order to assess the number of potential remaining errors in the data. The result of that test was zero errors in a total of 3,300 entered survey items which indicate that the number of data-entry errors in the material should be so few that they would not affect the results in any significant way.

Another important question in survey research (as well as in other modes of inquiry, for example interviews) is what we expect to measure. The answers will depend on respondents’ motivation, honesty, memory, and ability to respond. Respondents may not be aware of their reasons for any given action or they may have forgotten their reasons. For a number of reasons respondents may not be motivated to give accurate answers. They may be more motivated to give answers that present themselves in a favorable light. I think that when questioning people, whether through a questionnaire or an interview, it is inevitable that such biases make their way into the material to some extent.

Some of the potential problems with socially desirable answers are handled through the anonymity of the survey. In the instructions to

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<sup>20</sup> My analysis of the non-response and the use of imputation techniques are elaborated further in Appendix A.

the survey it was stated that individual answers will not be published in any form and that I am the only one that will have access to the surveys and the raw data material.

Some problems with socially desirable answering might however still persist. It is consequently necessary to have that in mind for example for statements of the kind “75 percent of the respondents assert that it is good to be kind”. The suspicion that this share could be an overestimation does however not render the answers unusable. It will still give important information when comparing answers from different groups or when analyzing connections between variables. It would for example still be an interesting result if 80 percent of the women think that it is good to be kind while 70 percent of the men agree with the same statement even if that would be an overestimation for both groups.

As long as we do not suspect any systematic differences in the inclination to answer socially desirable among different groups in the material this should not pose any significant problems for the two main analysis techniques I employ, factor analysis and regression analysis. The important thing is the variance between individuals and questions and not the “absolute levels” of the answers.

Since it seems plausible that differences in organizational form regarding things like distribution of authority and decision-making processes could affect the individual’s participation in the governance system, the survey data is also supplemented with a study of the formal governance systems in the eight organizations. Exploring organizations’ governance system can be an overwhelming task. Since the purpose of this part of the dissertation is to picture variations in the formal governance system in these eight multi-level associations, it has however been adequate to study their bye laws. It could be argued that an investigation of only the formal rules in an organization will necessarily render a limited picture of the organization. Real power structures could be found to be quite different if other methods of inquiry would be used in parallel. Even though such information could be relevant for the purpose of analyzing individual’s participation in the governance system, I think that a study of formal bye laws

should be enough to demonstrate whether variations in the governance system potentially matter.

In five of the organizations it has been sufficient to study the common association's bye laws since all associational levels of the organizations are regulated by the same document. In three of the organizations, namely the Association of the Visually Impaired, the Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden and the Swedish Football Association, I have also examined bye laws of a selection local and regional associations in order to get a complete picture of the formal governance systems.

### **Putting the pieces together**

Survey data have mainly been analyzed through explorative methods in order to identify different qualities in the material (for instance membership dimensions) and to find connections between variables in the analysis model.

Membership dimensions have been identified with exploratory factor analysis, which seeks underlying causes for connections between different variables and thus offers a method for reducing data to more manageable proportions<sup>21</sup>. The items included in the factor analysis are all questions concerning the content or conceptions of membership<sup>22</sup>.

The relationship between variables have been explored through linear multiple regression models<sup>23</sup>. It should however be observed that this use of regression analysis should not be confused with hypothesis testing, for which the technique is frequently used. The objective is exploratory, and this technique makes it possible to control how multiple "independent" variables correlate with a "dependent variable", which makes it possible to reason about how the variables affects each other even though the method itself does not say anything about causality.

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<sup>21</sup> Technical details of the factor analyses can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>22</sup> The questions included are nr 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22 and 25 with exception of 10.1, 10.2, 10.6, 11.1 and 25.5 which concern the view of organizations in general or their organization rather than membership as such.

<sup>23</sup> Technical details about the regression analyses can be found in Appendix A.

The results from the postal survey and the study of the organizations' bye laws are reported in the following three empirical and analytical chapters. The bulk part of these chapters describes the empirical material with most of the analysis gathered in the last sections of each chapter. Some interesting observations are however presented directly in connection to the empirical descriptions.

The formal governance system and the portrayal of membership in the organizations' bye laws are presented in Chapter 7 *Eight multi-level associations*. Chapter 8 *The personal membership* deals with how the individual conceptualizes his or her relationship to the organization. This is then related to various governance actions in Chapter 9 *Membership and organizational governance*. The last Chapter, 10 *The individual and multi-level governance* is an attempt to put all this together by summarizing the results and by adopting a broader perspective. How variables used in analyses have been coded is reported in appendix B.



## 7. Eight multi-level associations

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a basic overview of the formal structures in eight multi-level associations and to describe how an individual membership formally is tied to the organization. I will not dwell on the question of the organizations' boundaries since I have discussed that matter in the theoretical chapter. I will however make brief explanations of why I include the organizational levels that I do in this dissertation. International levels are not considered at all since they seem to be too distant to be regarded as part of the immediate organization. Nor will I discuss other organizations these organizations are connected to through membership.

The following reports on the eight organizations are based on the organizations' bye laws at the time of the survey, but some information on history and membership numbers are from the organizations' web sites. The account of each organization starts with a brief description of the organization and continues with an account of what its bye laws say about membership and the chain of representation in the governance system. The chapter concludes with summaries of how membership and governance are formally portrayed in the bye laws of these eight organizations.

### **IOGT-NTO**

IOGT-NTO (IOGT) is a temperance-movement organization with roots in the Independent Order of Good Templars founded in the US in 1851 and in Sweden in 1879. IOGT has a three-layered structure with over 40,000 members, 1,000 local associations and 23 districts. The organizational levels seem to have a highly shared identity since they share a name and mission. The national association's bye laws acknowledge the individual member and it is also possible to have memberships tied directly to the national association or to a district.

#### **The individual membership**

It is possible to become a member in IOGT from the year one turns 12 years old. To become a member in IOGT the following membership pledge should be signed (§3, 4 my translation):



*As member I promise to do my best to further the mission of the IOGT-NTO movement as they are described in the principles and platform. With that I promise to live soberly, that is to not use alcoholic beverages with higher alcoholic content than 2.25 percentage by volume nor use narcotics or other poisons with intoxicating effect.*

It is possible to become a member either in a local association or to be tied directly to a district or the national association. A member can hold local memberships in several associations (§3).

Every member of IOGT has the right to participate in local associations' activities (§43) and members should pay membership fees stipulated by the congress, the district's annual meeting and the association meeting (§5).

A member can discontinue a membership by a written request (§6). A member that has broken the membership pledge or neglected to pay the membership fee in spite of reminders can be expelled by decision of a local board of directors or the national board of directors. A member that obviously contradicts IOGT's mission as it is described in the principles and platform can be expelled by decision of the national board of directors. Decisions on expulsion made by a local board of directors can be appealed to the national board of directors (§6).

### **The representative chain**

The local association is described in the bye laws as IOGT's primary organizational unit (§7). They also state that the association should carry out its part of the districts' stipulated activities (§43).

All memberships associated with democratic rights are tied to a local association (§3). The local association's highest decision-making organ is the association or annual meeting (§38). Among the duties of the association meeting is to stipulate local membership fees, elect a board of directors of at least five persons, who manage the association between the association meetings, an election committee and representatives to the district's annual meeting (§38, 41, 42).

Every association has at least two seats in the district's annual meeting. Associations with more than 50 paying national memberships get one extra representative for each extra 50 memberships. If this results in less than a total of 50 representatives in the district, the associations are assigned extra seats proportional to their number of members (§24).

The highest decision-making organ in the district is its annual meeting, which among other duties elects a board of directors of at least five persons, an election committee and representatives to the congress (§22, 26, 27). Between the district's annual meetings this function is performed by the district's board of directors (§22).

IOGT's highest decision-making organ is the congress, which is assembled every second year (§7, 8). The congress consists of 100 representatives. Every district has at least two seats. Remaining seats are distributed among the districts proportional to the number of paying national memberships (§9). Among the duties of the congress are to stipulate the national membership fee, appoint an election committee and a national board of directors consisting of at least seven persons (§11, 12). The national board of directors is IOGT's executive organ and between congresses is its highest decision-making organ (§13).

### **The Association of the Visually Impaired**

The Association of the Visually Impaired (AVI), founded in 1889, is an interest group for the visually impaired. AVI has about 16,000 members, of which 12,000 are full members with the right to vote, 180 local associations and 24 districts. AVI has a three-layered structure where all levels seem to have a highly shared identity expressed through a shared name and mission. The national association's by laws also acknowledge the individual as member.

### **The individual membership<sup>24</sup>**

Members in AVI are categorized either as *entitled to vote* or as *supporting members*. Members entitled to vote should have a visual impairment or have custody of a child less than 18 years of age who have a visual impairment. Members that are entitled to vote can choose which local association they belong to. Supporting members should sympathize with AVI's work. A member that violates the bye laws or in other ways obviously hurts the organization can be expelled by the national association's board of director by recommendation from local association or district (§4). Members should pay membership fees stipulated by the local association. The local associations in turn pay a membership fee stipulated by the district and the districts pay a membership fee stipulated by the national association.

### **The representative chain**

AVI is a three-level association with a national association, districts and local associations (§3). These associations are not accountable for each others' obligations (§5).

The local association's highest decision-making organ is the annual meeting. Among the duties of the annual meeting are to elect a board of directors of at least three representatives and representatives to the districts' representative assembly (LA §9,10). The obligatory paragraphs for local associations' bye laws do not mention an election committee, but it is likely that most local associations have an election committee elected by the annual meeting.

The representative assembly, which assembles every year and consist of at least 25 representatives from the local associations, is the district's highest decisive organ (DA §9). The representative assembly elects a board of directors of at least five representatives, which should handle the district's concerns (§10 DA). The obligatory paragraphs for district associations' bye laws do not mention an election committee, but it is likely that most districts have an election committee elected by the representative assembly.

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<sup>24</sup> The bye laws of the AVI only apply for the national association and not for its districts and local associations which are autonomous non-profit associations. Included in AVI's bye laws are compulsory paragraphs that districts and local associations must have in their bye laws. These paragraphs will be marked with "DA" and "LA" after the paragraph number.

The national association's highest decision-making organ is the congress, which assembles every second year. The congress consists of 75 representatives elected by the districts' representative assemblies. Every district sends at least two delegates and the rest of the seats are distributed among the districts proportionally to the number of members. Among the duties of the congress are the appointments of an election committee and a board of directors composed of 13 representatives, which handles the national association's concerns (§8,9).

### **The Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden**

The Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden (MCC) is the second largest Christian church in Sweden and has its roots in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. MCC has about 60,000 formal members and 130,000 people who attend church in 700 congregations in eight districts. MCC has a three-layered structure where the shared identity between the levels seems to be weaker than in most of the other seven organizations studied. MCC's superstructure consists of a national association and districts, which share a name. Many of the local congregations have "missionary church" in their name but not all of them. They do however share the same mission and Christian faith. The bye laws of the national association do not however acknowledge a direct relationship with the individual member.

#### **The organizational membership<sup>25</sup>**

A congregation that wants to belong to MCC applies to the church's board of directors and a decision is made by the church conference. A congregation can choose to leave MCC (§1). The congregation is a part of MCC and shares its ideals. The congregation accepts responsibility

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<sup>25</sup> The bye laws of the Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden (MCC) only apply to the national association and not to its member congregations, which are autonomous non-profit associations or a special judicial form, *registered religious community*, that in all important respects is fully comparable to non-profit associations. MCC has however compiled recommended bye laws for the congregations, which will be presented below. Paragraphs from these recommended bye laws are marked with "LC" after the paragraph number. As an example of district bye laws I use the bye laws for the *Mälardalen* district. Paragraphs from these bye laws are marked with "DA".

for the church conference's decisions in accordance with its own conditions (§1 LC).

### **The individual membership**

Membership in the congregation is based in the will to follow Christ in accordance with what is written in the congregation's ideals. Members are free to leave the congregation, and the congregation can expel a member that obviously hurts the community. Such expulsion can however only be executed after consultation with the district director (§2 LC).

### **The representative chain**

The congregation meeting and the annual meeting are the congregation's highest decision-making organs where every member present has one vote, which is non-transferable. Among the duties of the annual meeting is to elect the board of directors, an election committee and representatives to the church conference and the district's annual meeting (§3 LC). The congregation's board of directors manages the congregation's activities together with the congregation director (§4 LC). Furthermore the congregation should have a congregation director, who is the congregation's spiritual leader. The congregation director is an MCC pastor elected after consultation with the district director (§5 LC).

The congregations are divided into districts that are decided by the church conference (§5). The annual meeting is the district's highest decision-making body (§3 DA). Congregations with up to 100 members have two representatives, congregations with 101-200 members have three representatives and larger congregations get one extra representative for each 200 extra members (§4 DA). Among the duties of the district's annual meeting is to elect a board of directors and an election committee (§6 DA). The district's board of directors should, together with the district director, manage the activities in the district (§9 DA).

The church conference is MCC's highest decision-making organ, and it decides about MCC's common work and gives recommendations to the congregations. The church conference assembles every year. The church conference consists of representatives from the congregations. Congregations with up to 99 members have two

representatives. Larger congregations get one extra representative for each 100 members. Among the duties of the church conference is to elect the church board of directors and an election committee (§2). The church board of directors is the highest decision-making organ in MCC between the church conferences. The church board of directors consists of 16 representatives. The board, together with the mission director, should plan and manage MCC's activities in accordance with decisions made by the church conference. Among the duties of the church board of directors is to prepare elections of the missionary director and district directors (§3). The missionary director is MCC's spiritual leader and chief representative (§4).

### **The Social Democratic Workers' Party**

The Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDP) was founded 1889 and is a political party connected to the labor movement. SDP has about 100,000 members, 2,500 local associations, 300 sub-district organizations known as *arbetarekommun* and 26 districts. SDP has a four-layered structure where all levels seem to have a highly shared identity since they share a name and mission. The national association's bye laws further acknowledge the individual member.

#### **The individual membership**

Every individual that acknowledges SDP's bye laws and the basic principles in the party program is granted membership (Ch 5 §3, §4). By joining SDP the member becomes a member in a local association in the municipality where the member resides or in an *arbetarekommun* which is an organizational level covering a municipality. The membership can later be transferred to a local association in another municipality (Ch 4 §3).

The party board of directors is responsible for registration of all individual members in the party's primary organizations and for collecting membership fees. Every member pays a membership fee, which is calculated as the sum of fees to the local association, the *arbetarekommun*, the district and the SDP (Ch 2 §3). The local association's membership fee is stipulated by that association's annual meeting (Ch 5 §3), the *arbetarekommun*'s membership fee is stipulat-

ed by that organization's annual meeting (Ch 4 §4) and the district membership fee is stipulated by the districts' congress (Ch 3 §3).

Membership in SDP gives the member a right to participate in meetings and educational programs, to vote in elections and to stand as a candidate for elected representative (Ch 5 §4). A member that neglects to pay membership fees more than one year after the due date in spite of reminders is expelled from the organization (Ch 5 §4) and a member that behaves disloyally to SDP can be expelled by the party board of directors (Ch 2 §15).

### **The representative chain<sup>26</sup>**

The local associations are SDP's primary organizations. The associations join into *arbetarekommuns* which are SDP's main local organizations. The *arbetarekommuns* join in districts which are SDP's main regional organizations and constitute SDP (Ch 2 §2).

The annual meeting is the local association's highest decision-making organ. Among the duties of the annual meeting is to elect a board of directors and an election committee (Ch 5 §5). Between annual meetings the board of directors is the local association's highest decision-making organ. The board of directors should consist of at least five representatives (Ch 5 §6).

The *arbetarekommun's* highest decision-making organ is its annual meeting unless a representative assembly exists, as in the case of some large *arbetarekommuns*. Among the duties of the annual meeting is to elect a board of directors, an election committee and representatives to the district's congress (Ch 3 §4, Ch 4 §5). Between annual meetings the *arbetarekommun's* board of directors is its highest decision-making organ. The board of directors should follow SDP's bye laws and decisions of the party congress, district congress and *arbetarekommun's* annual meeting. The *arbetarekommun's* board of directors should consist of at least seven representatives (Ch 4 §6).

Every *arbetarekommun* has the right to elect representatives to the district's congress in accordance with rules set by that district congress. The district congress is held once a year and is the dis-

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<sup>26</sup> This description concerns only SDP's internal governance structure and not the selection of candidates for state and municipal elections.

trict's highest decision-making organ. The district congress elects a board of directors and an election committee (Ch 3 §4). The district's board of directors should consist of at least seven representatives and is the highest decision-making organ in the district when the district congress is not in session (Ch 3 §6). The districts and their boards of directors should follow SDP's bye laws and decisions made by the SDP congress (Ch 3 §7).

The districts are subdivided in constituencies for electing congress delegates. The election should last at least two days and the *arbetarekommun*'s board of directors can decide to authorize a postal ballot. All members that have paid their membership fee have the right to vote for congress delegates (Ch 2 §5).

The party congress is SDP's highest decision-making organ and is held the year before the national election<sup>27</sup>. The congress consists of 350 district representatives. The representatives are distributed among the districts in proportion to their number of members (Ch 2 §4). The party congress elects a party board of directors consisting of 33 representatives. Seven of the representatives comprise the executive committee of the party board of directors (Ch 2 §7). The party board of directors assembles at least once a year and is SDP's highest decision-making organ when the congress is not in session (Ch 2 §7). The executive committee of the party board of directors manages the daily activities of SDP (Ch 2 §8).

The council of trustees is the party board's consultation organ and assemble at least once a year. The council of trustees consists of 120 representatives drawn from the districts in proportion to their number of members. The representatives in the council of trustees are elected by the district congress. The council of trustees elects an election committee that nominates the party board of directors elected at the party congress (Ch 2 §6).

## **The Swedish Football Association**

According to its bye laws the mission of the Swedish Football Association (SFA) is to promote and administer soccer in Sweden and to

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<sup>27</sup> Every fourth year.



represent the sport internationally. The SFA was founded in 1904 and have 1,000,000 members in 3,300 associations in its 24 districts. The SFA has a three-layered structure, where the shared identity between the levels seems to be weaker than in most of the other seven organizations studied. SFA's superstructure consists of the national association and the districts, which share a name. The local associations do not share the same name since an important part of their activities is to compete with each other. Another reason is that Swedish sports associations commonly have more than one sport on their athletic program and consequently cannot have "football" in their name. Still all local associations do share the mission and activities of football. The national association's bye laws do not however acknowledge a direct relationship with the individual member. The dependency between local football associations and the SFA seems to be high. The tournaments and leagues in which the local associations compete are organized by the SFA and its district associations. At the same time the SFA would not have a sport to promote without local football associations.

### **The organizational membership<sup>28</sup>**

The SFA consists of the autonomous non-profit associations that have been admitted as members (§2). Associations that intend to become members of the SFA apply for membership to the board of directors. In order to be accepted the association should have football among its athletic activities, it must commit itself to following the principles in the Swedish Sport Confederation's normal bye laws for sports associations. The association should furthermore have a name that cannot be confused with the name of any other association in the Swedish Sports Confederation (§6).

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<sup>28</sup> The bye laws of SFA only apply for the national association and not for its member associations. This does however not suggest that local associations that are members of the SFA can organize in any way they want. The member associations must follow the principles in the Swedish Sport Confederation's normal bye laws for sports associations. These principles consequently function indirectly as part of the SFA's bye laws. Paragraphs from these normal bye laws are marked with "LA" after the paragraph number. The district associations must also follow the Swedish Sport Confederation's normal bye laws for special district associations. I will use the bye laws from Stockholm's Football Association as an example of district associations' bye laws. Those paragraphs are marked with "DA".

Member associations should pay annual membership fees, be politically and religiously independent, dissociate from racism and all other forms of discrimination and work against doping. The association should further follow decisions and bye laws from the SFA, the Swedish Sports Confederation, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) (§11).

Member-associations can leave the SFA by notifying the SFA's board of directors. An association that has neglected to pay its membership fee two consecutive years is considered to have left the SFA, and the SFA's board of directors can expel associations that in spite of reminders neglect to follow rules in SFA's or the Swedish Sport Confederation's bye laws (§7, 8).

### **The individual membership**

Local associations consist of the individuals that the board of directors has accepted as members. Application for membership may only be rejected if there are grounds to suppose that the individual in question will act against the association's mission or interests. Decision to reject a membership application can be appealed in accordance with rules in the Swedish Sports Confederation's bye laws (§2, 10 LA).

Members have the right to participate in the association's athletic activities under established forms and under the same conditions as other members. They also have the right to participate in other types of gatherings for members and a right to information about the association's concerns. Members should follow the association's bye laws and decisions. Members should also follow bye laws, rules and decisions from the SFA and the Swedish Sports Confederation. Members should pay a membership fee and other fees decided by the association (§13, 14 LA).

A member that wants to leave the association should notify the board of directors in writing. A member that neglects to pay the membership fee for two consecutive years is considered to have left the association. A member cannot be expelled on grounds other than neglecting to pay set fees, counteracting the association's mission or harming the association's interests. Decisions to expel a member are

made by the board of directors and can be appealed in accordance with rules in the Swedish Sports Confederation's bye laws (§11, 12 LA).

### **The representative chain**

The normal bye laws for football associations stipulate that members that have paid stipulated fees have the right to vote at the annual meeting, which is the association's highest decision-making organ, from the year he or she turns X<sup>29</sup> years old. The vote is personal and cannot be exercised by proxy (§15, 17 LA).

Among the duties of the annual meeting are to stipulate the membership fee, to elect a board of directors, which is the association's decision-making organ when the annual meeting is not in session, an election committee and representatives to the district's annual meeting and representative assembly (§21, 26 LA)

SFA's regional activities are handled by district associations, which include all associations within the district that are members of SFA. These district associations are autonomous, non-profit associations and should work in accordance to the mission of the SFA and follow decisions made by the SFA's decision-making organs (§5, 44, 46). The bye laws of the district associations should essentially follow the Swedish Sport Confederation's normal bye laws for special district associations and the SFA should approve the district associations' bye laws (§47).

At the special district association's annual meeting each member-association has one vote and an additional vote if the association has 51-100 licensed football players and two extra votes if the association has more than 100 licensed football players. Among the duties of the special district association's annual meeting is to elect the board of directors, which is the district's highest decisive organ when the annual meeting is not in session and an election committee. The annual meeting should also elect representatives to the SFA's representative assembly and national assembly. (§10, 15, 20 DA)

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<sup>29</sup> According to an interview with Christer Pallin head legal counsel of the Swedish Sports Confederation 2006-12-04, the associations can decide the age for voting rights. Normally this age is set to 12-15 years.

The special district's representative assembly consists of one representative from each association. The representatives should be members of the associational board of directors. The representative assembly gathers at least once a year. The duty of the representative assembly is to decide questions concerning athletic rules and the composition of leagues at times when the annual meeting is not in session (§19 DA)

The national assembly consists of representatives from the districts and from the associations that have teams in the two highest male and the highest female leagues. Every district has three votes in addition to 60 votes that are distributed in proportion to the number of licensed football players in each district. The associations in the highest male league have two votes each and the associations in the second highest male league and the highest female league have one vote each. Among the duties of the national assembly is to elect the SFA's board of directors, which is SFA's highest decision-making organ when the national assembly is not in session and an election committee. The national assembly also stipulates the membership fee the associations should pay to the SFA (§22, 24, 26, 39).

The SFA's representative assembly consists of one representative from each district, eight representatives from the two highest male leagues and six representatives from the highest female league and the next two highest male leagues and of the national board of directors. The representatives are elected at an ordinary meeting in the district and in special meetings among the associations from the highest leagues. The duty of the representative assembly is to decide questions concerning sports rules and the composition of leagues at times when the national assembly is not in session (§34, 35, 38).

It is further stated in the SFA's bye laws that the SFA is affiliated with the Swedish Sports Confederation, FIFA and UEFA. The SFA, its elected representatives, leaders and officials are obliged to follow those organizations' bye laws and other regulations, which should be considered as an integrated part of the SFA's bye laws (§3).

## **The Swedish Red Cross**

The mission of the Swedish Red Cross (SRC) is to prevent and relieve human suffering, protect life and health, build respect for human dignity, work for mutual understanding and friendship and work for cooperation and lasting peace between all people. SRC was founded in 1865, two years after the Red Cross was founded in Switzerland. SRC has over 250,000 members in 1,200 local associations. SRC has a two-layered structure where both levels seem to have a highly shared identity since they share a name and mission. The national association's bye laws recognize the individual as member.

### **The individual membership**

Membership implies taking a stand for the SRC's mission and fundamental principles, and individuals that want to be a member of SRC must pay the yearly membership fee stipulated by the national assembly. A member can then actively participate in activities within the whole SRC (§4, 5).

A decision to leave SRC should be announced to the member's local organization. A member that has not paid the membership fee by the end of the year is considered to have left the organization. Members can be expelled for any actions carried out in the context of SRC activities that violates the bye law paragraph on mission or for acting in any ways contrary to the Red Cross's fundamental principles. Decision on expulsion is taken by the board of directors in the member's local association. The member can appeal the decision to the central board of directors (§6).

### **The representative chain**

Its bye laws state that SRC is directed by the national assembly and the central board of directors (§7). SRC also has local organizations that are legal persons and, through Red Cross's fundamental principle of unity, formally subordinated to the central board of directors. The name, address, and field of activities of local organizations are stipulated by the central board of directors and the financial accounts of local organizations are sent to the national board of directors. A local organization can be dissolved either by the local organizations annual meeting, which should be acknowledged by the central board of directors, or by a direct decision of the central board

of directors. If a local organization is dissolved, the central board of directors decides what will be done with remaining resources and documents. (§8, 14)

Members belong to a local organization and a membership is a prerequisite for being elected as a representative in SRC. Employees cannot be elected to any representative position within the organization (§5).

The highest decision-making organ in the local organization is the annual meeting, which consists of all members present. All members present have one vote. The annual meeting elects the local board of directors, the elective committee, representatives to the collaboration counsel, and it can nominate delegates to the national assembly (§13). The local organizations' board of directors should consist of at least three members and meet at least four times every year. This board manages the local organization in accordance with decisions made by the national assembly, the central board of directors and the local annual meeting. The local board of directors jointly with other boards in the municipality, elect delegates to the national assembly. Collaboration counsels are subordinate to the local organizations and are not legal persons. The collaboration counsel facilitates collaboration between local organizations and co-ordinates contacts with the municipality (§14, 16).

The national assembly is the highest decision-making organ in the SRC and is held every third year. The national assembly consists of the central board of directors, up to ten delegates from the youth organization and delegates elected by the board in each municipality. Every municipality-level counsel has one seat. Municipalities with more than 3,000 members get one extra seat per every 3,000 extra members. The number of seats should not however be less than four from any region. The national assembly decides the membership fee and how it should be distributed among the levels of the organization, elects the central board of directors and an election committee. The election committee should consist of one delegate from each region and a chairman (§11).

The central board of directors should consist of twelve persons and is SRC's highest decision-making organ between the national assem-

blies. The central board of directors should assemble at least six times every year. It also chooses a secretary-general. The national board of directors further represents SRC in the international Red Cross and Red Crescent movement and in other external contexts. The central board of directors issues directions for interpreting the bye laws and has the right to allow exceptions from the bye laws. Such exceptions should be submitted to the national assembly for approval (§12, 22).

A regional council of six to eight delegates is elected among national assembly delegates in the region. The regional council does not have the status of a legal person. The purpose of the regional councils is to facilitate the information flow between local organizations and the central board of directors and to inspire the local organizations in their work. The regional council should assemble at least four times a year. The chairmen of the regional councils meet the central board of directors four times per year and all delegates of the regional councils meet the central board of directors once per year except in years when the national assembly is held (§15).

The bye laws also state that SRC is a part of the international movement of Red Cross and Red Crescent and that the Red Cross Youth Association is an autonomous youth organization within the SRC responsible for children and youth activities (§2, 9).

## **The Swedish Teachers' Union**

The bye laws of The Swedish Teachers' Union (STU) formulate the organization's mission as improving conditions for the individual and the collective and strengthening the influence over the teaching profession, developing and strengthening the teaching profession, furthering teachers' professional development, working to promote the field of education and influencing the development of society in questions that are important for students, teachers and school.

In its current form STU as was founded in 1991, but it has roots in teachers' associations that began to appear in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. STU has 225,000 members in about 300 local associations. STU has a two-layered structure where both levels seem to have a highly

shared identity since they share a name and mission. The national association's bye laws acknowledge the individual member.

### **The individual membership**

All teachers, principals and student teacher can be members in STU and it is formally the central board of directors that grants entry into the organization. Application for membership should be written and submitted to the central board of directors or to the local section of STU (§1). The individual is a member in the local section where the member works (§11).

The member has a right to receive free of charge help and information about matters of employment and other issues related to the individual's activities as teacher, principal or teacher student. The individual has also the right to strike pay (§3).

The member should work for STU's unity and development and to follow the organization's decisions. The member is also obliged to give STU information about his or her employment (§4). The member should pay a membership fee that is decided by the central general meeting (§5).

A member's request to leave STU should be submitted in writing to the central board of directors or to the local section. The withdrawal takes effect the month after the notification (§7). A member can be expelled from STU if stipulated membership fees are not paid. The central board of directors can also expel a member if he or she intentionally breaks STU's bye laws or intentionally harm STU or its mission seriously. The member and the local section have the right to express their written opinion before the central board of directors makes a decision on expulsion (§8).

### **The representative chain**

Decisions in STU should be made at the place of work, at member meetings, where all members have an opportunity to speak their mind, and through representatives who are democratically elected by a majority vote. STU should further be characterized by a large openness so that different views can be conveyed and are met with respect. Democracy is seen as a prerequisite for STU to be a strong



organization, and all STU activities should consequently be organized in a way that furthers the democratic process (§1).

STU is organized in local sections and a central organization. The local sections have their own annual meetings that elect boards of directors for the sections and write the bye laws for the section. The local sections should however follow decisions made by the central board of directors, the representative assembly and the congress (§11).

Every member has one vote at the local section's annual meeting, has the right to raise issues in advance and is eligible to be an elected representative (§3, 11). The votes are not transferable, which means that the member must be physically present at the annual meeting in order to vote (§11). The local sections' annual meetings are the sections highest decision-making body and they elect a board of directors and an election committee for the local section (§11). The local annual meeting also elects delegates to the constituency the section belongs to (§11).

The number of delegates at the meeting of the constituencies are 4.5 times the number of sections within a given constituency, with a minimum of 35 delegates (§12). Every section has at least two delegates and the rest of the seats are distributed among the sections within each constituency in proportion to its number of members, but no section can have half of the seats or more in the constituency (§12). The meeting of the constituencies appoints an election committee and delegates to the representative assembly and to the congress (§12). The bye laws state that the composition of the members should be considered but give no other directions for the work of election committees on the local level (§11, 12). It is further stated that the central election committee should consist of nine delegates (§15).

The representative assembly consists of 119 delegates with the addition of the central board of directors and meets at least twice a year (§13). The delegates in the representative assembly are elected in the constituencies. Every constituency has at least two delegates, and the remaining seats are distributed according to the number of members within each constituency (§13). The main function of the representative assembly is to be an advisory organ to the central

board of directors and to take decisions in questions regarding collective agreements and labor disputes (§13).

The congress is STU's highest decision-making body and is held every third year (§15). The delegates to congress are elected in the constituencies. Every constituency has at least two delegates and the remaining seats are distributed according to the number of members within each constituency (§15). Motions to the congress can be submitted both by sections and by individual members (§15).

The central board of directors consists of 17 representatives elected by the congress (§14, 15). The function of the board of directors are to manage the organization according to the bye laws and decisions by the congress and to employ the staff necessary for that purpose (§14).

## **The Union of Tenants**

The main mission of The Union of Tenants (UT) is to work for everyone's right to good housing at reasonable costs. A further mission is to work for all tenants' right to safe housing, influence and a sense community. The first tenants' associations were founded in early 20<sup>th</sup> century and a national organization was founded in 1923.

UT has over 500,000 households as members, 150 local level organizations and 10 regions. UT has a three-layered structure with an optional fourth level consisting of 1,400 local tenants associations in housing areas. All organizational levels seem to have a highly shared identity since they share a name and mission. The national association's bye laws acknowledge the individual member.

### **The individual membership**

Everyone that applies for membership can become member of UT. The application for membership is handled by the region's board of directors (§2.1).

Members have a right to assistance in negotiations and rent disputes. Members also receive UT's magazine *Vår bostad* (§3). Members are obliged to pay a membership fee that is decided by the region's representative body and a member that does not pay membership fees for six consecutive months loses his or her membership (§2.2).

A member can also be expelled from UT if he or she acts counter to UT's mission, violates UT's bye laws or policies or repeatedly neglects to pay the membership fee. The decision on expulsion is made by the regions' board of directors and can be appealed to the central board of directors (§2.3).

### **The representative chain**

Membership carries a right to vote, propose motions and nominate representatives and to stand as a candidate for an elected representative position. These rights apply for either a member or someone that permanently lives together with the member (§2.4). If special circumstances arise the central board of directors can decide that a member cannot serve as an elected representative in UT (§2.5).

The highest decision-making body of the tenants association is the annual meeting (§7.2). Members are summoned to the annual meeting of the local organization where they live (§7.2.1). Among the duties of the annual meeting is to elect the local organization's election committee, board of directors and delegates to the region's representative assembly (§7.2.2, 7.2.4). Each member has one vote and votes by proxy are not allowed (§7.2.3). The vote can however be used by someone that permanently lives together with a member (§2.4). The local organization's board of directors and annual meeting are obliged to support UT's mission, bye laws and decisions (§7.6).

The representative assembly is the region's highest decision-making organ and should convene at least twice a year (§6.2, 6.2.1). Among the representative assembly's duties is to elect a board of directors and an election committee for the region. The regions' representative assemblies also sets the membership fee (§6.2.2). The representative assembly consists of between 60 and 150 delegates. Every local organization receives one delegate for every 500 members up to 2,000 members and then one delegate for every 2,000 members. If this allocation results in more than 150 or less than 60 delegates, the rules for assigning delegates to the central representative assembly will be used instead (§6.2.3). Motions to the region's representative assembly can be made by local organizations and individual members (§6.2.6). The region's board of directors and

representative assembly are obliged to support UT's mission, bye laws and decisions (§6.5.1).

The national level's highest decision-making body is its representative assembly which, convenes every second year (§5.3, 5.3.1). Among the assembly's duties are to stipulate the fees regions should pay and elect the national board of directors and an election committee (§5.2, 5.3.2). The national association's representative assembly consists of 150 delegates. Every region sends three delegates and the remaining seats are distributed in proportion to the number of members in the regions (§5.3.3). Regions, local organizations and individual members can make motions to the national association's representative assembly (§5.3.6). Among the national board of directors' duties is to supervise the activities and finances of regions and local organizations and can therefore under special circumstances revoke the right to make decisions from boards of directors in regions and local organizations (§5.4.1).

There is also an optional organizational level outside of the main representative chain. Local tenants' associations can be formed if members in a neighborhood so decide. These local tenants' associations attend to matters concerning the housing area (§4).

Local tenant's associations have similar internal structures as UT's local organizational level with an annual meeting, an election committee and a board of directors (§8.2 - 8.2.3). Local tenants' association's board of directors and annual meeting are obliged to adhere to UT's mission, bye laws and decisions (§8.5).

### **Eight similar but different organizations**

The structures of all eight organizations share similarities even though some of them have varying number of organizational levels. There are also formal differences since the legal status of organizational units differ across organizations. In IOGT for example all three organizational levels, local, regional and national, are formally autonomous associations while UT formally consists of only one association. However, the governance systems still function in very similar ways in both these organizations.

I will return to the structures of these governance systems, but first there will follow two sections discussing who is eligible to become a member and which members are entitled to participate in the internal governance system.

### **Entry barriers**

All eight organizations are open for new members and everyone can in principle become a member. There are however in most of the organizations some demands on the prospective member. The stringency of these demands varies, and these degrees of stringency make it possible to order these eight organizations in three groups.

We find SFA and UT in the first group, where organizations make a minimum of demands on their members. The only stipulation in the bye laws is that members must not undermine the organization's mission.

The second group consists of IOGT, MCC, SDP and SRC. These organizations demand that members acknowledge and to varying extents support the organization's mission and ideals. Members in SDP should acknowledge the bye laws. Members in SRC should commit to the organization's mission and fundamental principles. The members in MCC should be willing to follow Christ in accordance to the organization's ideals and interpretations. Members in IOGT must take a pledge of temperance and should also be at least twelve years old.

STU and AVI have more substantial demands on their members. Members in STU must be a teacher, headmaster or student preparing for any of these professions. Full members in AVI must sympathize with AVI's work, have a visual impairment or have custody of a child with a visual impairment. Individuals that sympathize with AVI's work but do not have visual impairment are eligible to become supporting members without the right to vote.

As we can see the demands on members are relatively low and connected to the organizations' missions and ideals. As long an individual fits in the organization he or she can join the organization. The only organization that has additional demands on the members is IOGT, where members should be at least twelve years old. Prospec-

tive members who do not fulfill this age requirement can however join one of three children, youth and scout organizations that are closely connected to IOGT.

### **Eligibility to participate in the organization's governance system**

Formal rules governing the right to vote and stand for election in the organizations are sparse. The point of departure is that all members are both entitled to vote and to stand for election.

As mentioned above a member in AVI must have a visual impairment in order to have the voting rights. Voting rights can in SFA be restricted by age in the local association and common age limits seem to be around 12 to 15 years.

SRC states that membership is a prerequisite for being elected as a representative and in SDP's statutes it is stated that only members can be elected representatives. IOGT state that all members are eligible to be elected representatives. STU states that members have the right to be elected representative and AVI state that members entitled to vote are eligible to be elected as representatives.

In some of the organizations there are also other restrictions. An employee in SFA cannot for example be elected to the national board of directors. In AVI the national chairman of the board can only serve for eight consecutive years. The national board of directors in SRC is only allowed to serve for nine consecutive years.

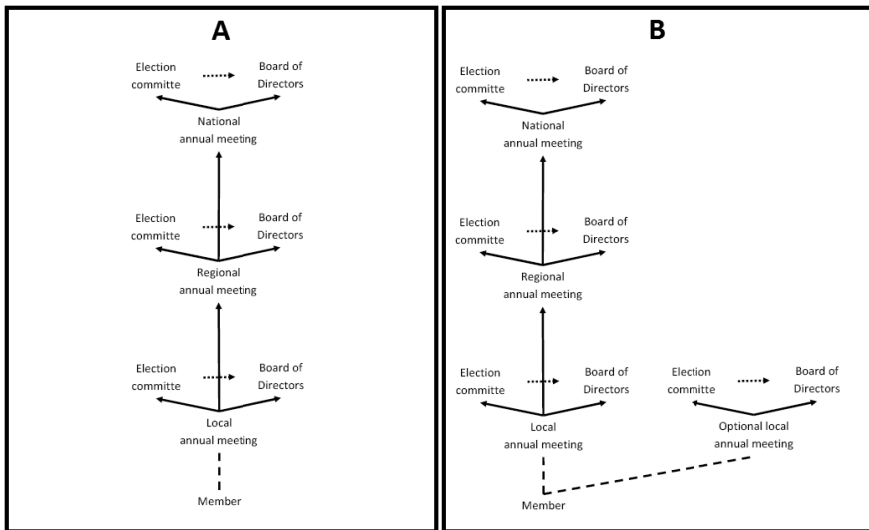
Only a few of the organizations explicitly state that only members can be elected representatives. This allows the interpretation that non-members could be elected representatives at least at some levels in the organizations. UT explicitly writes that other persons in the formal member's household can be elected as representative in the organization.

### **The chain of representation**

The governance structures are quite similar in the eight organizations. A basic structure is illustrated in model A (figure 6). This is also the structure of IOGT, AVI and SFA. These organizations are structured in three levels that function in the same way. The member attends the local level's annual meeting where the local level's board

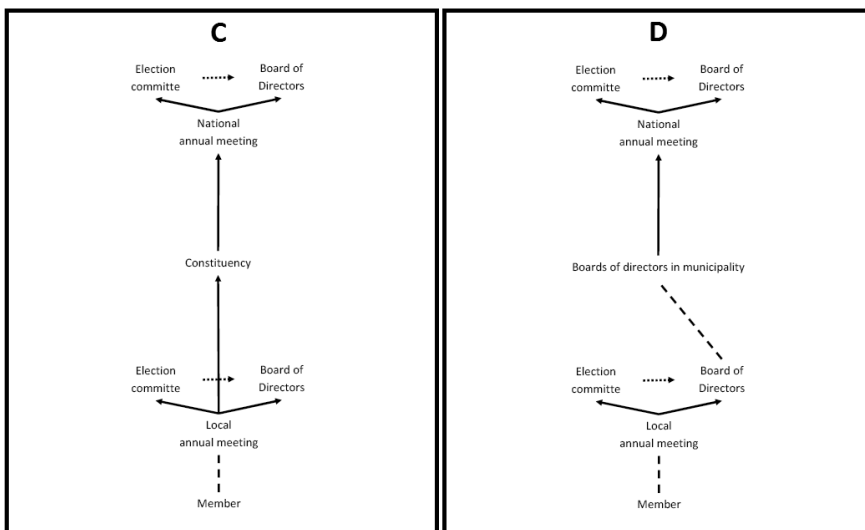
of directors is elected together with an election committee that is responsible for finding candidates for next year's election of the board of directors. In addition the local level's annual meeting elects representatives to the regional level's annual meeting. These representatives attend the regional level's annual meeting and elect a board of directors, an election committee and representatives to the national level's annual meeting. At the national level's annual meeting representatives elect the national board of directors and an election committee for the next annual meeting. This model probably also illustrates the common conception of how Swedish popular-movement organizations are structured with a straight chain of representation from the member to the national annual meeting and national board of directors.

Model B (figure 6) shows the structure in UT. It is the same structure as in the basic model with a straight three-level structure but with an optional local level that is placed outside of the main chain of representation. Members that live in residential areas where this optional local level exists can consequently attend both local annual meetings.



**Figure 6. Chain of representation in; (A) IOGT-NTO, the Association of the Visually Impaired and the Swedish Football Association; (B) the Union of Tenants.**

STU's structure is illustrated in model C (figure 7). It follows the basic model, but the regional organizational level is replaced by constituencies for the election of representatives on the national level. Model D (figure 7) illustrates SRC's structure, which is similar to STU's but the constituencies are replaced by the boards of directors from all local level organizations within each municipality.



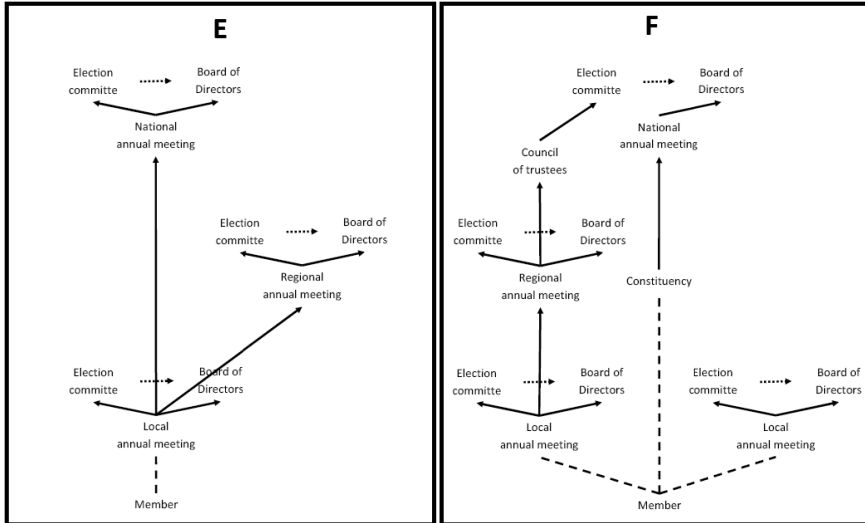
**Figure 7. Chain of representation in (C) the Swedish Teachers' Union and (D) the Swedish Red Cross.**

Model E (figure 8), illustrating the structure in MCC, also follows the basic structure from model A. The regional level is however placed outside of the main representative chain like the optional local level in UT. Members at the local level's annual meeting will consequently vote both for representatives to the regional level and to the national level.

The only organization that has a markedly different structure is SDP which is illustrated in model F (figure 8). SDP has three separate chains of representation. The main chain goes from the member through constituencies to the national annual meeting, where the member is directly involved in electing national representatives, as in MCC. The member can also attend an annual meeting in a local level



organization that is not part of any larger chain of representation. The third chain goes through municipal-level local organizations to regions, which elect a council of trustees that in turn elects the national-level election committee.



**Figure 8. Chain of representation in (E) the Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden and (F) the Social Democratic Workers' Party**

This has been somewhat simplified, and the organizational levels might be named differently in different organizations. The annual meeting especially, at the national level, might not be held annually but bi-annually or every third year depending on the organization's internal rules.

Another thing that is not visible in these structural diagrams is the distribution of votes at different levels in the organizations. In all eight organizations every individual that is entitled to vote has exactly one vote. But the number of votes at the regional and the national levels can be distributed in different ways. The most common starting point is that the number of votes is proportional to the number of members in regions and local associations. Normally there are also rules that guarantee a minimal number of votes even for districts with few members. But there are also more specific ways of distrib-

uting votes. In SFA every district starts with a minimum of three votes. After that 60 votes are distributed among the districts proportional to the number of licensed soccer players in each district. In addition to this the associations in the two top male leagues and the highest female league have their own votes.

### **Election committees**

One common characteristic of all eight organizations is the consistent use of election committees on all organizational levels. This phenomenon is highly interesting and worth a study of its own but this is unfortunately outside the scope of this dissertation. However since the model of multi-rational man gives election committees a great deal of power, I will nevertheless stay on the subject for a little while. The main purpose of the election committee is to prepare elections and nominate candidates. When presented with a prepared proposal, the multi-rational man we have come to know will most often accept the proposal at face value as long as it satisfies his needs or does not seem to be so bad that it is worth dedicating time and energy to the matter. This would imply that the election committees hold a strong position of power since their nominees will most often be elected.

Further it is also interesting that this powerful organizational function is nearly unregulated at all in the organizations' bye laws. The examples below are only from the regulations for the national-level election committees. But where the texts governing lower organizational levels mention election committees, the rules are mostly even less elaborated.

In the bye laws of AVI, SRC and STU it is only stated that an election committee should be elected. In IOGT it is stated that the election committee should prepare the elections. The bye laws of SDP and UT state that the election committee should gather nominations.

The most elaborated formulations can be found in the bye laws of SFA and MCC. SFA's election committee should gather nominations and account for all nominations together with their proposal of candidates. MCC's election committee should prepare elections by gathering nominations and if possible put forward two candidates more than the number to be elected to the board of directors.

### **Other characteristics for use in later analyses**

The governance structures of the organizations are thus quite similar, but there are other characteristics that differ across the organizations that can be important in assessing the individual's involvement in the internal governance system.

In the theoretical chapter I have discussed characteristics that could be viewed as more or less federative or confederative. This is something that cannot be read from structure diagrams as in the preceding section. Instead, from the theoretical discussions I have construed a simple scale from confederative to federative organizations. Three variables have been used in the scale.

The first variable indicating a federative disposition is the regulation of local-level affairs to some extent by the national level. This is done in all organizations except for MCC and SFA. Both of these organizations dissociate completely from the individual member in the bye laws. What is regulated is how a local association can become a member; individual membership is handled by the local associations.

The second variable is the placement of the "ownership" of members in the local or the national level of the organization. This assessment has been made on the basis of which level's annual meeting has the final word in stipulating membership fees. In SRC, UT and STU the membership fee is fully determined by the national level's annual meeting.

The third variable has been construed by aggregating answers from the respondents. For each organization the proportion of members that agreed more with the statement "for me, the national level of the organization is important" than with the statement "for me, the local level of the organization is important" have been calculated. According to this measure SRC, SDP and UT are more federative than the other five organizations.

If each of these criteria met is worth one point, the organizations fall into four groups as illustrated in table 2. The most confederative organizations according to this simple measure are MCC and SFA followed by IOGT and AVI. On the other side on the midpoint we find

SDP and STU while SRC and UT are the most federative organizations of these eight.

	Bye laws regulates local unit	National unit stipulate the membership fee	Members think the common unit is more important than the local	Federative score
Swedish Red Cross	X	X	X	3
Union of Tenants	X	X	X	3
Social Democratic Party	X		X	2
Teachers' Union	X	X		2
IOGT-NTO	X			1
Visually Impaired	X			1
Missionary Church				0
Football Association				0

**Table 2. Arranging the organizations on a federative - confederative scale.**

Knocke (1986) utilized a measure of the proportion of members engaged in setting policies for assessing how concentrated authority was in different associations. Here, *widespread authority* is measured by the proportion of members that currently are or have been elected representatives in the organization. This is shown in table 3. The variation is high between the organizations. In UT only eight percent of the members have been elected representatives while the proportion of members in SFA is 60 percent and in MCC 75 percent<sup>30</sup>.

March and Simon's (1958) and Hirschman's (1970) discussions of the exit alternative makes it relevant to try to assess which organizations face competing organizations to which dissatisfied members can turn and which organizations operate from a monopoly position. The proportion of members that have marked one of the two squares next to "agree fully" on the item "I think that there is some equivalent organization that I could join if I am dissatisfied with the organization" are shown in table 3. This measure varies from eleven and twelve percent in UT, SDP and AVI up to 44 percent in MCC.

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<sup>30</sup> For these two extreme cases a reservation must be made. These are the only organization where the random selections of members have been made on the local level without my direct control. Potential systematic selection biases should however be low since the instructions was to draw a random sample and as many as 200 local associations in each organization were contacted.

	Widespread authority (% of members that are or have been elected representatives)	Alternative organization (% of members that thinks there are alternative organiza- tions)	Political orientation (voice vs service)
Swedish Red Cross	20	28	6
Social Democratic Party	52	12	10
Union of Tenants	8	11	8
IOGT-NTO	37	20	8
Teachers' Union	35	36	8
Missionary Church	75	44	4
Visually Impaired	39	12	8
Football Association	60	30	2

**Table 3. Widespread authority, existence of alternative organizations and political orientation of the eight organizations.**

A fourth potentially relevant measure is how politically oriented the organization is since Vogel et al. (2003) demonstrated a positive correlation between higher levels of political orientations in associations and political capital among their members. It is reasonable to think that this political capital among members also might affect members' involvement in the organization's internal governance system. I have in table 3 ordered organizational types in accordance to the system Vogel et al. employed, but I have assigned individual weights to all groups in order to better separate them. The weights are as following with Vogel et al.'s weights in parentheses: political organizations 10 (8), interest groups 8 (4), solidarity organizations 6 (4), religious organizations 4 (4) and life-style organizations 2 (2). This measure is also shown in table 3. This ordering of the eight organizations also coincides with Hvenmark's (2008) scale between voice and service producing organizations in the sample.

So the four variables for use in later analyses on organizational level are: a measure of how federative or confederative the organization is, spread of authority as measured by the share of respondents that are or have been elected representatives, the existence of alternative organizations according to the members, and the degree of the organizations' political orientation. These four variables are in no way exhaustive but might at least give an indication of whether structural characteristics of the organization can have an impact on the indi-

vidual's choices regarding participation in the internal governance system.

### **Summary of eight multi-level associations**

One of the most important observations that can be made from the study of these eight organizations is perhaps that an organization can be viewed both as large, more or less coherent organizations and as a multitude of small connected but relatively autonomous organizations. This becomes obvious when both the organizational structure described in the bye laws and the individuals' conception of the organization point in both these directions. This is also something that Hvenmark (2008) found when interviewing leaders in the same sample of organizations. Depending on the context the leaders could define either the local organizations or the individuals as the primary members of the organization.

Moreover, this account of the formal governance systems of the eight organizations points largely to a relatively high degree of similarity among the organizations. But there are also interesting and potentially important differences. All eight organizations have a low threshold for new members. If there are any demands at all, they require that the potential member should in some way be committed to the organization's mission and values. In principle all members have the right to participate in the internal governance system both by voting and by standing as a candidate for an elected representative position. If restrictions are found they are based on age or the exclusion of salaried employees from elected representative positions.

There seems to be one basic model of internal governance structure. This is a three-level model where the annual meeting at each level elects a board of directors and an election committee together with representatives to the annual meeting on the next level. There are some variations on this. Some of the organizational levels fall outside of the main representative chain, making it shorter and more direct while preserving all levels within the organization. The regional level can also be abolished all together resulting in a shorter chain of representation. SDP has a considerably more complex structure than

the other seven organizations but it is nevertheless obvious that it is based on the same basic model.

There are also important differences that do not appear in the structure diagrams. The number of votes on regional and national level can be allocated in various ways. Most commonly, all local or regional associations are guaranteed a minimum number of votes that are increased if the association has large numbers of individual members. This is based in a democratic ideal where every individual's voice should have the same weight modified with a guarantee for small associations to have some amount of influence (on behalf of members in larger associations). However, there are variations of this as seen for example in the SFA where associations in the highest leagues are allotted more influence. Instead of allocating votes according to the number of people, the votes are allocated in accordance to a measure of success. Another example of important differences can be seen in the SRC, where the national board of directors under certain conditions can set aside the bye laws, which conflicts with Sartori's (1987) way of looking at laws and regulations as ways of restraining those in power.

Another interesting observation is that all eight organizations have election committees on all organizational levels. These committees fulfill the function of preparing elections and nominating candidates, which makes them very powerful in a world of (bounded) multi-rational men who do not protest as long as a suggestion seems to satisfy their goals. Even though the election committee has this potentially powerful role, it is nearly unregulated in the organizations' bye laws.

## 8. The personal membership

In order to understand more about why, when and how individuals get involved in the governance system of membership-based organizations it is crucial to understand how they perceive their membership. If we do not know why an individual chooses to become and stay a member we cannot understand why he will or will not get involved in governing the organization.

Membership can hold very different meanings for different individuals. One basic assumption in this dissertation is that membership can be seen as a relationship built of a bundle of dimensions. These dimensions can be common to many or most membership organizations, shared among a number of organizational types or specific for certain kinds of organizations (Hultén and Larsson 2005). The individual membership is assembled from the dimensions available in the organization in question.

Further, the membership can vary in other fundamental ways. Before I describe the dimensions that have been identified in the empirical data, I will discuss some other aspects of the individual's attachment to and relationship with the organization. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the individual's involvement in face-to-face activity since that might be an important determinant of how and when individuals choose to participate in the internal governance system.

I have chosen not to present data for individual organizations since that would risk focusing our attention on differences between the eight organizations. The purpose of this is instead to show the general patterns that exist in spite of the large variations in the organizations' missions and purposes.

### **Attachment to the organization**

In this section I present findings about some fundamental differences that exist between different memberships. An individual can be a totally new member or have a long-standing relationship to the



organization. Many individuals hold membership in more than one organization, which raises the possibility of more or less important memberships. Since the eight organizations studied are structured as multi-level associations, it is also possible that different individuals have primary attachments to various levels of their organizations.

**Length of membership**

One factor that could be seen as important for the organizations is how long they retain their members. A high membership turnover could make it necessary for an organization to initiate large scale recruitment campaigns in order not to lose the membership base. But the length of membership is also a potentially important aspect of the individual membership. It is not hard to imagine that there could be learning effects. The individual might discover new aspects of membership with time or increasingly identify with the organization. This might in turn affect if and how the individual participates in the internal governance system.

Table 4 presents the distribution of membership duration among the respondents. The table shows that 66 percent of the respondents have been members for more than ten years. If we look at the minimum value in the span row we can see that half of the members in every single organization have been members for at least five years.

	Length of membership			
	Less than 1 year	1-5 years	5-10 years	More than 10 years
Mean	2	15	17	66
Span	0.2 - 11	7 - 28	7 - 25	42 - 86

**Table 4. Share of members with various lengths of membership (percent)**

In the context of this particular table it might however be appropriate with a reminder that new members might be slightly underrepresented in the material. Another thing to keep in mind is that these figures are affected both by certain characteristics of the organizations and the methodology used. SFA can be used to illustrate this. Many of the members are in fact children playing soccer. The age restriction of 16 to 84 years does however exclude many of the newer members from taking the survey. At AVI the inverse applies. Higher

age correlates with visual impairment, which means that some members might not reach ten years' membership before they turn 85 and falls out of the survey.

### Multiple memberships

As discussed earlier, the separation of ownership and control frees time for the individual, which makes it possible for him to be involved in more than one organization concurrently. Previous studies have also demonstrated that it is common to have more than one membership. One fourth of the Swedish population have at least four memberships (Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003).

Table 5 shows that among the respondents of this survey a total of 64 percent have at least two memberships and eleven percent have at least five memberships, including the membership which brought them into the sample.<sup>31</sup> In total 36 percent of the respondents are members in only one organization and this vary from 27 to 53 percent in the eight organizations. This indicates that certain organizations attract individuals with higher propensity to join membership organizations – associational men.

	Number of memberships		
	No other memberships	1-3 other memberships	At least 4 other memberships
Mean	36	53	11
Span	27 - 53	42 - 60	5 - 21

**Table 5. Share of members with numbers of other memberships (percent)**

### Primary and secondary memberships

Since an individual can have more than one membership, it is possible that these memberships vary in importance to the individual. Often it is presumed that all memberships are of equal im-

<sup>31</sup> One important difference between my survey and the survey used by Vogel et. al. (2003) is that the latter survey gave examples of about 30 different types of associations while I only asked about the number of memberships the individual holds. This could lead to an under reporting of the number of memberships in my study since not all respondents can be assumed to remember all his or her memberships while answering the survey. Another difference is that all individuals in my survey have been sampled because they have at least one membership while Vogel et. al.'s survey had a sample of the full population of Sweden.

portance. This might be most visible in quantitative studies where memberships often are merely counted. In this study the question was whether if the membership for which the respondent was sampled was the individual’s most important membership. In other words the question tells us if the membership in question is a *primary membership*. But here the analysis changes perspective and addresses *secondary memberships*.<sup>32</sup>

Table 6 shows that 15 percent of the respondents hold a secondary membership in the organization surveyed. In other words they hold other memberships that are more important to them. The table also demonstrates relatively large differences among the eight organizations. The span is from three to 25 percent.

	Secondary membership
Mean	15
Span	3 - 25

**Table 6. Share of members with a secondary membership (percent)**

15 percent secondary memberships might be seen as a small amount, but then we have to remember that all 36 percent of respondents with only one membership are classified as having primary memberships even if they might not think that the membership is important to them.

**Length of membership and multiple membership’s effect on the importance of membership**

It does not seem to be a far-fetched idea that both the length of membership and the number of other memberships are linked to whether a membership is characterized as secondary or not.

The linear regression models presented in table 7 reveals that the time of membership is negatively correlated with the membership being secondary, while the number of other memberships is positively correlated. That is, the longer an individual has been a member the less likely it is that he considers the membership to be secondary and

---

<sup>32</sup> Respondents that have marked the first or the second square next to “Do not agree at all” for question 5 “For me the membership in the organization is my most important membership” are classified as having a secondary membership in the organization surveyed.

the more memberships an individual have the higher chance that the specific membership is secondary. These correlations are statistically significant but the effects are relatively small with  $R^2$  explaining seven percent of the variance in the dependent variable and small coefficients. The difference between model 1 and 2 is that all respondents with only one membership have been excluded in model 2. This is due to the used definition of secondary memberships which automatically makes the memberships of all 36 percent respondents with only one membership to primary memberships.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Dependent variable	Secondary membership	Secondary membership	Secondary membership
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>			
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.067	.036	.074
Used observations	3471	2225	2225
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>			
(constant)	.187***	.299***	.346***
<b>Independent variables</b>			
Length of membership	-.056***	-.086***	-.066***
Number of memberships	.130***	.102***	.086***
<b>Organization dummies</b>			
IOGT-NTO			-.009
Visually Impaired			-.128***
Missionary Church			-.209***
Social Democratic Party			-.137***
Football Association			-.096**
Red Cross			.011
Teachers' Union			Base
Union of Tenants			.029

**Table 7. Regression models demonstrating variables connected to secondary membership (importance of membership). Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**

In model 3 all respondents with only one membership have been excluded exactly as in model 2, but dummy variables for the organizations have also been included. This model shows that even after consideration of the length of membership and the individual's number of memberships, there are differences accounted for between the organizations.

One possible interpretation of the negative correlation between the length of membership and secondary membership could be that membership grows on the individual with time. The longer an individual has been a member the more important the membership

become. Another interpretation could be based in a selection process. Individuals who do not think the membership in question is important might leave the organization to a greater extent than individuals who think the membership is important.

The positive correlation between the number of memberships and secondary membership might simply be explained by the lower likelihood that this specific organization should be more important than the others when an individual has multiple memberships.

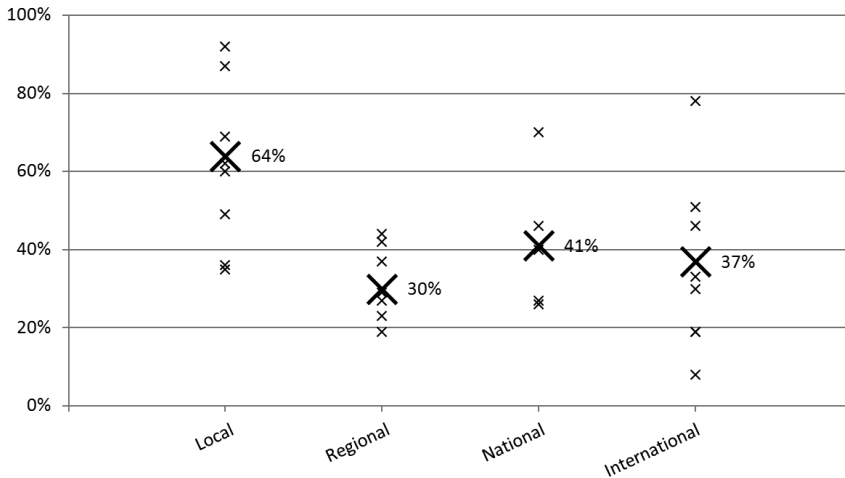
The unaccounted for differences between the organizations that in model 3 manifested itself through negative correlations between secondary membership and the dummy variables for AVI, MCC, SDP and SFA might be explained by those organizations having more impact on the individual's identity or life in general than the other organizations.

#### **Attachment to different organizational levels**

Since all these eight organizations are structured as multi-level associations it is also possible that an individual considers his or her attachment to be to different levels of the organization.

Figure 9 shows the share of respondents that considers different levels of the organizations to be important to them. The sum exceeds 100 percent because some individuals consider more than one level to be important. The general pattern is that the local level of the organizations is most important for the respondents, 64 percent, followed by the national and international levels with 41 and 37 percent while the regional level is the least important, 30 percent. Within this pattern there are however differences among the organizations.

The largest variation is at the international level which spans from eight to 78 percent among the eight organizations. There is also a relatively wide span at the local level, from 35 to 92 percent but it is however clear that the local level in general is important for many of the respondents in all these eight organizations.



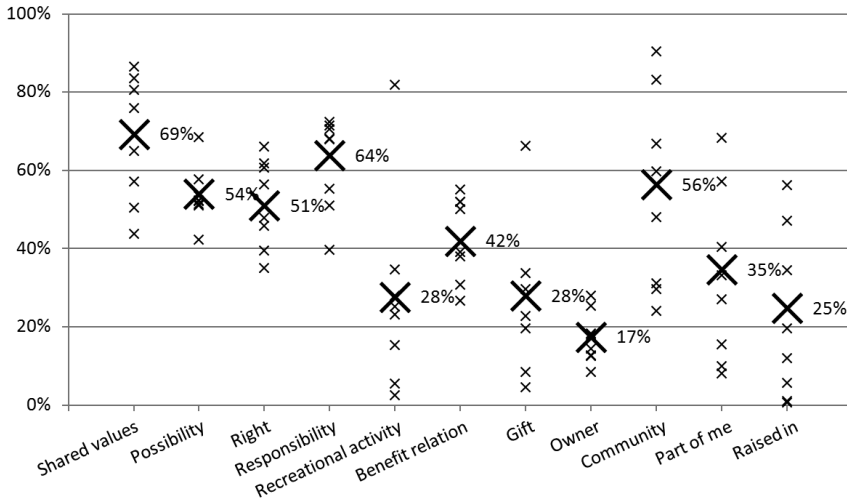
**Figure 9. Share of members with strong attachment to different levels of the organization. Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values for individual organizations.**

### Conceptualizing the relationship to the organization

One of the first sections of the questionnaire asked the respondent to describe their relationship to the organization (figure 10). The respondents were given eleven statements with which they could agree to varying degrees. This could be a good starting point for analyzing how individuals conceptualize the membership as a whole before we try to identify membership dimensions.

An individual’s relationship to an organization could in some cases be described as based on shared values. Since all eight organizations in the empirical material are situated primarily in civil-society, we can assume that this type of relationship between individual and organization is quite common (cf. the ideal-based rationality). That is also what data tells us. The item “my relationship to the organization can be described as based on shared values” has the highest rate of respondent agreement, nearly 70 percent. The mean variation across organizations is from 44 to 87 percent. A majority of the respondents can consequently be said to, in the membership, be driven partly by

common values, but in one of the organizations three out of five respondents do not fit in that description.



**Figure 10. Members that agree with various statements describing their relationship to the organization (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agree entirely"). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.**

The following three items in this section of the questionnaire are less concrete and consequently harder to analyze, but they are nevertheless important since they cover some concepts that are frequently used when discussing membership. About 60 percent of the respondents think that their relationship can be described as a responsibility while about 50 percent think that the relationship can be described as an opportunity or a right. The mean variation among the organizations is among the lowest items in this section but there are nevertheless some variations among different organizations.

The fifth item, "my relationship to the organization can be described as a recreational activity", has the widest mean variation of the items in this section. 28 percent of the respondents describe their relationship to the organization to a recreational activity. Most of the organizations lie around 20-30 percent, two of the organizations have

only three and six percent of respondents agreeing with this while one of the organizations stands out with 82 percent.

The sixth item, “my relationship to the organization can be described as a benefit relationship”, is closely related to the calculative rationality. 42 percent of the respondents describe their relationship to the organization as a benefit relationship. The mean variation among the organizations is relatively low compared to other items, with values between 27 and 55 percent.

An inverse perspective can be seen in the seventh item, “my relationship to the organization can be described as a gift to the organization”. Instead of receiving benefits through membership the individual contributes to the organization. 26 percent of the respondents agree with that statement and most of the organizations have shares between 20 to 35 percent. One organization deviates from this by having 66 percent of the respondents saying that their membership could be perceived as a gift to the organization while two organizations also differs by having low shares of four and nine percent.

The rarest type of relationship members have with their organizations is expressed in the item “my relationship to the organization can be described as I am (part) owner of the organization”. Only 16 percent of the respondents agree with this statement, and the organizational shares vary between eight and 28 percent.

The final three items relate in various degrees to the rationality based on genuine relationships, and these three items also demonstrate relatively high differences between the organizations. 56 percent of the respondents agree with the statement “my relationship to the organization can be described as a community” with a mean variation between 24 and 90 percent. The second of these three items can also be connected to the individual’s identity “my relationship to the organization can be described as the organization is a part of me”. 35 percent of the respondents agree with this statement, ranging across organizations between eight and 68 percent. 25 percent of the respondents agree with the last of these items, “my relationship can be described as I am born or raised in the organization”, and the mean variation across organizations ranges from one to 56 percent.



How an individual perceives membership might depend on the organization's mission and activities. A large share of members in a sports organization might see membership as a recreational activity while many members in international aid organizations could see membership as a gift to the organization. However figure 10 also indicates the existence of a general pattern in how respondents perceive the relationship to their organizations. Individual organizations' mean values are for many statements relatively close to the total mean value. This might be due to how we perceive membership in general in Swedish society (cf. Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004). But it is also important to bear in mind that the view of membership might be highly individual. Even if only one percent of the members in an organization would say that they were born in or raised in the organization this group does exist and might represent several thousand members.

### **Dimensions of the membership**

In this section I identify the dimensions or components of membership and thereby move from a questionnaire of about 120 items to something more manageable to further analysis. In order to identify these dimensions in the massive quantitative material I have carried out a factor analysis covering 3,472 observations and all 57 survey items that are connected to content of or conceptions of membership.

The aim of a factor analysis is to examine underlying patterns and relationships among large number of variables and to determine whether the information can be condensed into a smaller set of components (Hair 1998). The components identified consist of survey items which share a statistical connection. The factor analysis resulted in the following twelve components or dimensions explaining 63 percent of the variance in the material:

(1) *Participation in the governance system*: the member looks in or reads the annual report on both the local and national level and participates regularly in the local level's annual meeting.

(2) *Benefits for society*: it is important that the membership leads to benefits for the local community or for the wider world. The individu-

al also thinks that it is important that the membership will result in benefits for the organization.

(3) *Personal benefits*: it is important that the membership leads to benefits for the member himself or people close to the member as well as for other members.

(4) *The membership as a right*: the member considers the membership to be a right.

(5) *Connection to the (inter)national level*: the member feels connected to the national level of the organization. This also means that the member thinks that what takes place at the national level's annual meeting is important and that the member visits the national level's web site for informational or other purposes. The member is also often interested in the organization's international activities or organizational levels.

(6) *Exit if dissatisfied*: the member would switch to an alternative organization if he or she were dissatisfied with something in the organization.

(7) *Opportunities to influence*: the member experiences that through the membership he has opportunities to influence both the organization and society. The member also thinks that he has the knowledge necessary to exercise influence in the organization.

(8) *Commitment to the organization's mission*: the member is familiar with the organization's mission and feels great sympathy for it. The organization's mission was the most important reason for joining.

(9) *Meaningful recreational activities*: membership leads to recreational activities where the member has opportunities to meet new friends, learn new things and gain valuable experience.

(10) *Organizational openness*: the member feels that it is important both that the organization is open to everyone that want to become a member and open to current members.

(11) *Membership display*: it is important that there are opportunities to show affiliation with the organization both to other members and to non-members.

(12) *Born into or raised in the organization*: the member feels that he or she was born into or raised in the organization.

These components are presented in table 8 together with all survey items with factor loading higher than 0.6 The dimensions are arranged so that the first (nr 1) factor explains most of the variance and the last (nr 12) explains smallest amount of the variance.

	Eigenvalue	Factor loading
<b>Dimension 1: Participation in the governance system</b>	15.27	
I participate in the local annual meeting every year		.707
I read the local association's annual report every year		.702
<b>Dimension 2: Benefits for society</b>	4.03	
It is important to me that my membership leads to some benefit for the local society		.870
It is important to me that my membership leads to some benefit for the wider society or for the world at large		.809
It is important to me that my membership leads to some benefit for the organization		.726
<b>Dimension 3: Personal benefits</b>	3.24	
It is important to me that the membership leads to some benefit for me personally or for people close to me		.810
It is important to me that the membership leads to some benefit for other members		.717
<b>Dimension 4: The membership as a right</b>	2.30	
My relationship to the organization can be described as a right		.650
<b>Dimension 5: Connection to the (inter)national level</b>	2.04	
For me, the national organization is important		-.726
For me, the national organization's annual meeting is important		-.702
For me, the national organization's web site is important		-.674
For me, the international organization is important		-.601
<b>Dimension 6: Exit if dissatisfied</b>	1.56	
If I were dissatisfied with something in the organization, I would leave and join an alternative organization		.613
<b>Dimension 7: Opportunities to influence</b>	1.52	
My membership gives me good opportunities for exercising influence in the organization		.725
If I want to change something that is wrong in the organization I know how to do so		.721
My membership gives me opportunities to influence important societal questions		.656
<b>Dimension 8: Commitment to the organization's mission</b>	1.35	
I feel great sympathy for the organization's principles		.793
I already knew the approximate content in the organization's principles		.747
The most important reason for me to join the organization was that I sympathized with its principles		.658
<b>Dimension 9: Meaningful recreational activities</b>	1.26	
A benefit with my membership is that I get meaningful recreational activities		-.765
A benefit with my membership is that I get to meet new friends		-.726
My relationship to the organization can be described as a recreational activity		-.665
A benefit with my membership is that I am learning new things		-.662
A benefit with my membership is that I get valuable experiences for a career outside of the organization		-.639
<b>Dimension 10: Organizational openness</b>	1.22	
It's important that the organization is open towards everyone that wants to be a member		.810
It's important that the organization shows openness towards the members		.749
<b>Dimension 11: Membership display</b>	1.13	
It is important to me to be able to show other members that I too am a member		-.683
It is important to me to be able to show non-members that I am a member of the organization		-.670
<b>Dimension 12: Born into or raised in the organization</b>	1.02	
My relationship to the organization can be described as I was born into or raised in the organization		.704

**Table 8. Dimensions of the membership<sup>33</sup>**

<sup>33</sup> Factor loading measures the correlation between variable and factor and eigenvalue represents the amount of variance accounted for by the factor (Hair 1998).

This type of data does not allow me to claim that these twelve dimensions offer a complete picture of what membership is or could be for the individual. This should rather be seen as a number of membership dimensions that can be found in a wide range of organizations. Further, since this analysis was made on the complete material it is probably only the strongest common and shared dimensions that have been found.

Table 9 shows a stability check of the factor analysis. The same analysis was done on the respondents from each of the eight organizations. The table demonstrates that the twelve dimensions were found in nearly all of the organizations. The dimension *Personal benefits* could not be identified in the data for UT and IOGT; *Membership as a right was* not identified in IOGT; *Meaningful recreational activities* was not identified in SDP; and *Born or raised into the organization* was not identified in UT, MCC and AVI. As we will see in the next subsection, this does however not mean that respondents in for example UT are not interested in personal benefits or that none of the respondents in MCC feel they were born or raised in the organization. But the patterns of correlations among variables within these organizations do not reveal these dimensions.

There were also five additional dimensions identified in these factor analyses: *gift to the organization*, *informal influence*, *influencing society*, *(partial) ownership of the organization* and *connection to the local level*. The caveat mentioned above also applies here. These dimensions might also be present in other organizations, but the patterns of correlations in the material might hide them from a factor analysis.

The twelve dimensions identified in the factor analysis of the full material are the dimensions or basic building bricks of the individual membership that I will use in the continued analyses. My idea is that the individual membership is assembled from these dimensions, in various combinations, degrees and amounts. So instead of just talking about memberships in general, we can now talk of a membership predominantly focused for example on meaningful recreational activities flavored with a small touch of opportunities to influence and benefits for society.

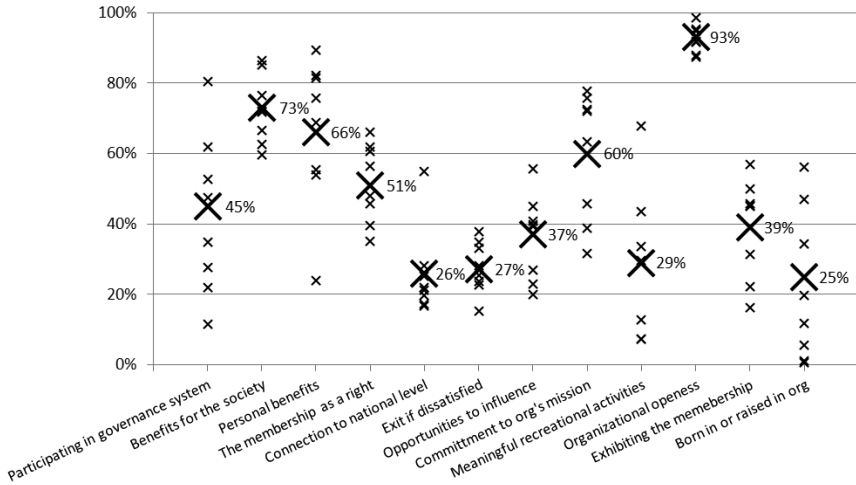
	UT	IOGT	STU	SDP	MCC	AVI	SRC	SFA
<b>Common dimensions</b>								
Participation in the governance system	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Benefits for society	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Personal benefits			X	X	X	X	X	X
The membership as a right	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Connection to the (inter)national level	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Exit if dissatisfied	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Opportunities to influence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Commitment to organization's mission	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Meaningful recreational activities	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Organizational openness	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Exhibiting the membership	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Born in or raised in the organization		X	X	X			X	X
<b>Shared and specific dimensions</b>								
Gift to the organization	X	X				X	X	
Informal influence		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Influencing society				X			X	
(Partial) ownership of the organization	X							
Connection to the local level	X							

**Table 9. Dimensions of the membership. Stability check performed on all eight organizations.**

### Distribution of dimensions

Figure 11 illustrates a measure of how frequently the previously identified dimensions occur in the data. In this and following analyses a value of the strength of each dimension has been calculated as the arithmetic mean value of each item with a factor score of at least .6. All the items are statements that the respondent was expected to state how much he or she agreed with. A five-point scale has been used where “do not agree at all” is given zero and “agree entirely” is given the value of four.

The strength of the dimensions has then been transformed to a dichotomous variable. A mean value of three or four has been interpreted as indicating that the individual in question thinks that the dimension at hand is important for him. In practice this means that if we had a dimension consisting of only one survey item, it would be interpreted as an important dimension if the respondent had marked one of the two squares next to “agree entirely”.



**Figure 11. Share of members that score high on the twelve identified membership dimensions (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agree entirely"). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.**

However the dimension *exit if dissatisfied* is treated somewhat differently than the other dimensions. According to the factor analysis the only item included in this dimension is "if I was dissatisfied with something in the organization I would leave and join an alternative organization". Since some of the respondents might think that there are no comparable alternative organizations, the strength of the dimension is calculated as the max value of the former item and the item "if I was dissatisfied with something in the organization I would leave without joining an alternative organization".

The first dimension, *participation in the governance system*, is important in 45 percent of the memberships with a mean variation from 12 percent to 80 percent.

The second and third dimensions, *benefits for society* and *personal benefits*, have quite similar distributions. *Benefits for society* are important in 60 to 86 percent of memberships with a mean value of 73 percent. *Personal benefits* have a mean value of 66 percent and a mean variation between 54 to 89 in seven of the organizations while

the eighth organization only have 24 percent respondents that value *personal benefits*.

The fourth dimension, *the membership as a right*, has a relatively small mean variation from 35 percent to 66 percent with a mean value of 51 percent.

Regarding the fifth dimension, *connection to the (inter)national level*, all organizations with the exception of one lie in a narrow interval of 17 to 28 percent while 55 percent of the members in one of the organizations feel connected to the national or international levels.

The sixth dimension, *exit if dissatisfied*, also gathers the organizations in a relatively narrow interval between 15 to 38 percent with 27 percent as mean value.

The seventh dimension is *opportunities to influence*, which should not be mistaken for the first dimension, which is about actually participating while this seventh dimension is about the members' conceptions of the opportunities to influence the organization and society. 37 percent of the respondents feel that the membership gives them good *opportunities to influence* with a mean variation from 20 to 56 percent.

60 percent of the respondent thinks that the eighth dimension, *commitment to the organization's mission*, is an important part of membership. The variation between the organizations is however quite large, ranging from 32 percent to 78 percent. This is interesting since one could assume that an individual would join an organization's with a sympathetic mission. One interpretation could be that those other members are motivated by private incentives (cf. Olson 1971). Another interpretation could be that these individuals are in fact motivated by the organization's basic mission, but they do not phrase it in the same grandiose language as the organizations tend to use in official texts.

The ninth dimension, membership as *meaningful recreational activities*, also has a relatively large variation between the organizations. 29 percent of all respondent hold this dimension with a variation between seven and 68 percent in the eight organizations.



A quite small mean variation is seen in the tenth dimension, *organizational openness*. Among all respondents 93 percent think it is important with an open membership and an open organization. The variation around this mean value is only from 88 percent to 99 percent in the different organizations.

39 percent of the respondents have the eleventh dimension, *membership display* as an important dimension. Mean values in the eight organizations span from 16 to 57 percent.

The last dimension, the feeling of being *born into or raised in the organization* has one of the highest variations between the organizations. 25 percent of all respondents see this as a dimension of their membership. In two of the organizations however only one percent of the members feel that way while in another one of the organizations 56 percent of the members feel that way about the membership.

All twelve dimensions identified seem to be present in all eight organizations maybe with the exception of the dimension *born into or raised in the organization*, for which two of the organizations only had very few members who thought that it was an important dimension. All dimensions identified can consequently be labeled as common dimensions with a little question mark on the last dimension, which should perhaps be labeled as shared among six of the organizations.

The presence of the dimensions varies so that some dimensions are rare while some dimensions are more frequent. The distribution of the dimensions among organizations also varies. Some dimensions vary only little among the organizations, for example dimensions 6 and 10, while dimension 1 and 12 have high variations among the organizations. Further, some dimensions only have small variations among most of the organizations while a particular organization distinguishes itself. Dimension 5 provides a good example of this where six of the organizations are centered around the mean value of 26 percent while one organization stands out with 55 percent of the members feeling a connection to the (inter)national level.

## **Back to the three basic rationales**

Six of the dimensions identified fit well with the three basic rationales for human interaction. The calculative rationality is recognizable in the dimension *personal benefits* and the dimension *exit if dissatisfied*. In a membership built primarily on the calculative rationality we would assume that the individual is interested in acquiring personal benefits and would sooner leave the organization than make an effort to try to change something that is wrong in the organization.

The ideal-based rationality can be seen in the dimension *benefits for society* and the dimension *commitment to the organization's mission*. The latter of these two dimensions need not be discussed much since an individual's commitment to the organization's mission is hard to interpret in any other light than an ideal-based rationality. The dimension *benefits for society* is however not as clear. It is easy to see an individual's striving for societal benefits as an expression of an ideal-based rationality. But it may also be possible that an individual works for society's best because it benefits himself which would point in the direction of the calculative rationality. This kind of argument would however stretch the ideal type of calculative rationality too far.

The rationality based on genuine relationships is rooted in friendship and family. I will use the dimension *meaningful recreational activities*, in which the item with the second highest factor loading is "a benefit with my membership is that I get to meet new friends", as an indicator of friendship as an important dimension of membership. Two of the other items in this dimension are also directly related to recreational activities, which often implies doing things with others. Ties to family are often stronger and less voluntary, and that can be seen in the dimension *born into or raised in the organization*.

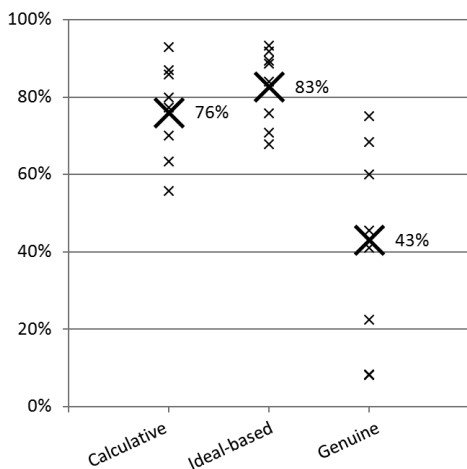
It may be possible to use other combinations of dimensions when constructing the measures of the rationales. I have however made the judgment that these six chosen dimensions are those that correspond most closely to the basic rationales for human interaction.

## **Distribution of rationales**

The three rationales can be expected to be found in various proportions in every type of organization. In the civil-society organizations in

this data material it would however be expected that the ideal-based rationality is the most widespread (Sjöstrand 1985; 2000).

As expected, figure 12 shows that the ideal-based rationality is predominant among the respondents in the eight organizations. 83 percent of respondents have one or two of the dimensions associated with this rationality in their membership. At the same time there are some variations among the organizations. The span is from 68 to 93 percent. 76 percent of respondents hold a calculative rationality with a span from 56 to 93 percent.



**Figure 12.** Share of members that score high on the three basic rationales for human interaction (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agree entirely"). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.

The least widespread rationality, but with the largest variation across the organizations, is the one that builds on genuine relationships. 43 percent of the respondents show this type of relationship to their organization. The variation across organizations is from eight to 75 percent.

#### **Multiple rationales and change over time**

Following Sjöstrand's (1985; 2000) arguments, our multi-rational man can simultaneously be driven by multiple rationales. Table 10

shows how the number of rationales is distributed among the respondents in different organizations. The table also shows that the typical respondent embraces two of the three rationales.

Organization	Number of rationales
Mean	2.0
Span	1.7 – 2.4

**Table 10. Respondents' numbers of rationales.**

It is also interesting to look at groups of respondents who have been members for various lengths of time. Table 11 shows that members who have been connected to the organization for longer periods also hold more rationales in their membership. Respondents that have been members for less than one year embraces 1.7 rationales on average while respondents that have been members for more than ten years have 2.1 rationales in their membership.

Length of membership	Number of rationales
Less than 1 year	1.7
1 to 5 years	1.9
5 to 10 years	1.9
More than 10 years	2.1

**Table 11. Number of rationales compared with length of membership.**

These results confirm that individuals are often simultaneously driven by multiple rationales. The increase of rationales with time of membership could also indicate a learning effect. An individual enters an organization for some reason, perhaps the ideal-based rationality or the genuine rationality if family and friends are active in the organization. With time this member discovers new things about the organization and more things become important in the membership. But to be fair however this can also be interpreted as a selection process where members with stronger ties to the organization and more rationales in their membership stay longer while individuals who hold fewer rationales are more prone to leave the organization.

## Face-to-face activity and its determinants

A common notion of membership is that the individual should be actively involved in the organization. In this section I discuss some aspects of individuals' activities and their determinants. Discussions of members' activity are often rooted in a resource perspective. The individual does unpaid voluntary work for the organization. Most questions about activity in the survey also share that perspective, but I have also tried to catch other forms of face-to-face activity. One type of activity is participation in the organization's activities, for example practices and tournaments in SFA, services in MCC or information meetings in STU. A third type of activity is based in a perspective of the member as principal for the organization. This includes activities such as annual meetings and board meetings. This third perspective will be more thoroughly scrutinized in the next chapter.

### Definition and distribution of face-to-face activity

The variable *face-to-face interaction* that is introduced in this section and used in many of the following analyses is a composite measure of questions about how often the respondents does anything of these: serving on the board, participating in meetings where formal decisions are made, participate in other types of meetings or gatherings, train others or accept leadership roles, participate in courses or training arranged by the organization, working with recruiting members, collecting money or seeking funds, working with information or influencing public opinion, telling others that he or she is a member and talking about what the organization does, showing membership cards or other proof of membership or participating in the organization's public meetings and arrangements<sup>34</sup>. These are all survey items that can be assumed to be connected to face-to-face interaction with others in the role of being member in the organization.

The answers "never", "once a year", "every month", "once a week" and "almost every day" have been assigned values between zero and four. The max value of all the items included is used as the value of the measure. That is, an individual that helps with collecting money every month but never does anything of the other types of activities is

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<sup>34</sup> The measure is composed of survey items 9.1-9.5, 9.8-9.10, 23.1, 23.2 and 23.3.

assigned a value of two on face-to-face interaction, which implies that he have some kind of face-to-face interaction every month.

How often the respondent engages in face-to-face activity can be seen in table 12. 15 percent of the respondents do something almost every day, more than 40 percent do something once a week or every month. About 30 percent does something once a year while only 10 percent state that they never engage in face-to-face contacts with others in their role as members.

	Never	Once a year	Every month	Once a week	Almost every day
Mean	10	33	20	22	15
Span	0 - 31	6 - 55	8 - 30	7 - 54	4 - 35

**Table 12. Share of members who have face-to-face contact in the organizations (percent)**

The table shows that most respondents have some kind of face-to-face contact in the role of being members. Again, only one tenth of the respondents state that they never have face-to-face contact as members. The large span between different organizations seen in the table can probably be explained to some extent by the nature of the organizations' activities. As an example many of SFA's members attend practices and matches, which means that they have face-to-face contact. These types of meetings or gatherings are maybe less common for most members in other organizations such as UT or SRC.

### **Determinants for face-to-face activity**

The nature of an organization's activities consequently seems to be important for the extent of face-to-face activity. But that is not sufficient in order to explain the individual's choice to participate or not. Next, I will use regression analysis to explore variables that correlate with face-to-face interaction in order to facilitate a discussion of possible determinants for face-to-face interaction (see table 13). This will be done, as in most of the following analyses, both on an individual and on an organizational level.

Starting with personal characteristics respondents in the highest age group are more involved in face-to-face activities than others.

Men and respondents with higher education are also over-represented among those involved in face-to-face activities.

Dependent variable	Face-to-face activity
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.466
Used observations	3461
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>	
(constant)	.585***
<b>Personal characteristics</b>	
Age 16-34	-.020
Age 35-64	Base
Age 65-84	.107**
Sex	.086*
Metropolitan area	.029
Education	.048*
Number of memberships	.034
<b>Membership characteristics</b>	
Length of membership	-.041
Representative	.500***
Secondary members.	-.102*
Local level > National level	.044***
Face-to-face interaction	Not in model
Alternative organization	.028*
<b>Membership dimensions</b>	
Calc - Personal benefits	.006
Calc - Exit if dissatisfied	-.051***
Ideal - Org's mission	.158***
Ideal - Societal benefits	.026
Genuine - Meaningful recr.	.310***
Genuine - Born or raised	-.014
<b>Organization dummies</b>	
IOGT-NTO	-.075
Visually Impaired	Base
Missionary Church	.534***
Social Democratic Party	.076
Football Association	.741***
Red Cross	-.389***
Teachers' Union	.027
Union of Tenants	-.258**

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 13. Regression model demonstrating variables connected to face-to-face activity. Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**

The next group of variables is membership characteristics. Here we can see that elected representatives are overrepresented in face-to-face activities. This should however not be surprising since being a representative normally involves face-to-face activities at least with other representatives. Individuals with secondary memberships are

not surprisingly less involved in face to face activities. People that think the local level of the organization is more important than the national level are more involved in face-to-face activities possibly because most of these activities take place on the local level. Another correlation which seems harder to explain is that people who think that there are alternative organizations to turn to are more involved in activities.

The calculative rationality does not present any large effects on face-to-face activity. The dimension *personal benefits* has no correlations with the dependent variables. The dimension *exit if dissatisfied* has negative correlations with activity. The effect is however relatively small and a weaker tie to the organization probably offers a better explanation than does calculative behavior. The ideal-based rationality has however a more clear connection to face-to-face activity through the dimension *commitment to the organization's mission*.

The rationality based on genuine relationships has another pattern. The dimension *meaningful recreation activities*, which are based in part on friendship correlates positively with face-to-face interaction. This is however only to be expected since this dimension is largely about meeting friends in the organization. The other dimension, *born into or raised in the organization* which is more connected to family-like relationships has no significant connection to face-to-face activities.

This analysis suggests a member most inclined to engage in face-to-face interaction is 65 to 84 year, male with a higher education, serving as elected representative, not holding a secondary membership, prioritizing the local organizational level over the national, who has identified alternative organizations but is not inclined to exit the organization if dissatisfied, is committed to the organization's mission and thinks that membership provides meaningful recreation.

Additionally, secondary memberships have a negative correlation with face-to-face activity, which is not a surprise. It is important to bear in mind that these individuals are not necessarily less active in general than other members but their activities might be manifested in other organizations or other ways. The positive correlation between face-to-face activity and "alternative organization" might also seem a



little strange. But perhaps it is simply that more involved members know more about the organization's environment and consequently are more aware of alternative organizations. The positive correlation with meaningful recreation could partly be a two-way causal relationship. A person that thinks it is important to meet new friends in an organization would probably engage in face-to-face activities and a person involved in activities will probably meet new friends.

As expected, coefficients and significance levels for the organization dummy variables demonstrate that there are differences among the organizations unaccounted for by the individual level variables. SFA and MCC have strong positive correlations while SRC and UT have negative correlations. For that reason I will in next subsection and in later analyses also present some simple models based on organizational-level data to determine whether structural characteristics of the organization can explain part of these unaccounted for variations.

#### **Determinants for face-to-face activity on organizational level**

The variables used in this and later analyses on the organizational level are the measure of how federative or confederative an organization is, how widespread authority is in the organization, as measured by the share of respondents that are or have been elected representatives, whether the members identify alternative organizations and how politically oriented the organization is. As argued earlier, these four variables in no way cover all interesting aspects of the organizations but might at least give an indication of whether structural characteristics of the organization can have an impact on the individual's choices to participate in face-to-face activities and internal governance.

The regression model in table 14 shows that organizations with widespread authority have more face-to-face activity. The last variable in the model shows that the more politically oriented an organization is the less face-to-face interaction occurs in the organization.

The positive correlation between widespread authority and face-to-face activity can probably largely be accounted for by the face-to-face activity required of all elected representatives participates. The negative correlation between face-to-face activity in organizations and the political orientation indicates that voice oriented organizations,

like interest groups, have less face-to-face activity than service oriented organizations. Providing service to members would in many cases involve face-to-face activity for the members, as in SFA and MCC in this sample.

Dependent variable	Face-to-face activity
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.991
Used observations	8
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>	
(constant)	2.284**
<b>Org. characteristics</b>	
Federative	-.130
Widespread authority	2.261**
Alternative orgs.	-.342
Political orientation	-.093*

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 14. Regression model demonstrating organizational level variables connected to face-to-face activity.**

### Summary of the personal membership

The analyses in this chapter have mainly showed that membership is a complex phenomenon compared to how it have been handled in the majority of earlier quantitative analyses. An individual can perceive the membership and its dimensions in many different ways. The idea of a membership consisting of dimensions common to all types of organizations, dimensions shared by some organizations and organization specific dimensions have also been substantiated.

Different individuals' attachment to the organization varies in some fundamental ways. An individual can have been a member for a longer or shorter time. An individual can have multiple memberships in different organizations. Some organizations also seem to attract "association men" with multiple memberships to a greater extent than other organizations. The possibility of multiple memberships also leads to a differentiation of primary and secondary memberships. Secondary memberships are more frequent in organizations with many members with multiple memberships. This is however not the whole explanation. Some organizations have low shares of secondary memberships even though they have many members with multiple

memberships. These are perhaps organizations where membership is more important for the member's identity and life in general. Finally a member can feel attached to different levels in the organization, which to some extent seems to be connected to how activities are organized within the organization.

Furthermore the individual construes a relationship to the organization and places different levels of importance on different dimensions of the membership. This depends on individual factors as well as structural factors on the organizational level together with the type of activities the organization carries out. But there are also some general characteristics that are similar across the organizations that probably are best explained by the common view of membership and popular movement organizations we have in Sweden (cf. Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004).

Analyzing membership dimensions from the perspective of Sjöstrand's rationales, we saw that the ideal-based rationality is the most common. This is also what we can expect since all the organizations sampled are idea or ideal-based. Interestingly enough the calculative rationality is almost as common and in some of the organizations even more common among the respondents than the ideal-based rationality. The genuine relationship-based rationality is also clearly present in all the organizations sampled, but not with the same high frequency as the other two rationales. The variation between the organizations is however also much higher for the genuine-relationship rationality than for the ideal-based and the calculative rationality. The two former rationales are thus common in all organizations while the frequency of the genuine rationality varies greatly between different organizations.

The extent of face-to-face interaction differs among the organizations. The results indicate that there is more face-to-face interaction in less politically oriented organizations and in organizations with widespread authority. The ideal-based and the genuine rationales increase the individual level of face-to-face interaction, as does an individual's stronger attachment to the local level. We have also seen that basic demographic variables affect the individual's participation

in face-to-face activities, where well educated men in the highest age group are most likely to participate.



## 9. Membership and organizational governance

The previous chapter dealt with how the individual perceives membership and ended with a discussion of face-to-face activities and its determinants. In this chapter I will turn to a more specific perspective on activities in organizations – the individual as a principal for the organization

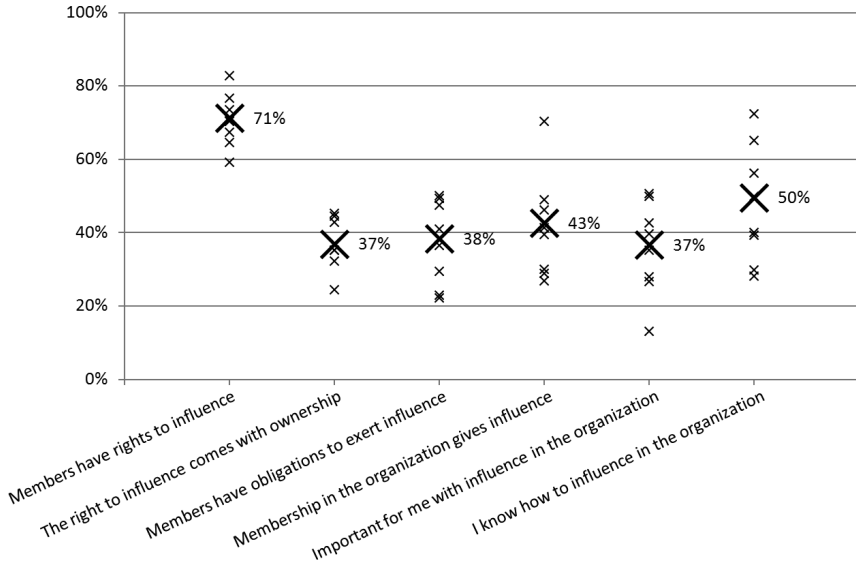
### **The individual's conceptions of the governance system**

As we already have seen by laws normally give every member the right to participate in the internal governance system, often by attending annual meetings at the local level and by participating in some kind of election of representatives. Figure 13 show that 71 percent of the respondents agree with the statement “as member of an organization, one has a right to exert influence”. The mean variation between the organizations is in a relatively narrow span from 59 to 83 percent. It is therefore fair to say that respondents in different organizations agree that members should by right have possibilities to influence their organizations.

There is also a quite small mean variation among the organizations on the statement “mine and other members' right to influence is due to that we as members also are owners of the organization”. The overall share of respondents that agrees with this statement is however lower than for the previous statement. 37 percent of the respondents think that their right to influence arises from their being owners of the organization with a mean variation from 24 to 45 percent.

Another perspective is that the member has an obligation to try to influence the organization by participating in the governance system. The share of respondents that agree with this idea of participation as an obligation is considerably lower than the share that thinks that members have a right to be able to influence. There are however about two fifths of the respondents, or 38 percent, that maintain that

members, according to one's ability, have an obligation to try to influence the organization. The mean variation between the respondents in the eight organizations is somewhat larger than for the previous two items and ranges from 22 to 50 percent.



**Figure 13.** Share of members that agree with various statements about influence and membership (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agree entirely"). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.

This is how members think it should be, but how do the respondents experience the actual possibilities for influence in their organizations? Two fifths, or 43 percent of the respondents state that their membership give them good opportunities to have an influence in the organization. The mean variation between seven of the organizations is relatively low and ranges from 27 to 49 with the eighth organization at 70 percent.

In connection to this it is also interesting to analyze the degree to which members actually are interested in influencing their organizations. The survey item "it is important to me that I can exert influence in the organization" received support from 37 percent of the respondents.

ents. The mean variation between the eight organizations is from 13 to 51 percent.

However a formal possibility for members to influence the organization is not in itself a sufficient condition for actual participation. An individual that want to influence the organization must also have the necessary knowledge to know how to act. The item “I know what to do if I want to change something that is wrong in the organization” has the largest mean variation of these six survey items about the respondents’ conceptions of the governance system. The share of respondents agreeing ranges from 28 percent over the mean value of 50 percent to 72 percent.

To summarize these six statements, it is “members have rights to influence” that earn the highest level of agreement in all eight organizations. That is, members in Swedish membership-based civil-society organizations think that as members they should have the right to influence. It does not however seem as important for the respondents themselves to actually *have* influence, which could be seen as a contradiction. This can however be interpreted in two ways. The perceived right to influence could come from the conception of how these kinds of organizations should work, which includes that they should be democratically governed. In that light it is not strange that the respondents assert that they as members should have the right to influence even though some of them do not think that influence is important personally. The other explanation is that the respondents think that influence is an important right, but as they are content with how the organization functions at present, they do not feel any urge to try and influence things.

#### **Determinants for different conceptions of governance**

After this overview of how respondents in different organizations experience organizational governance, we will again turn to regression analysis in order to identify factors that contribute to or correlate with the above expressed views. The first regression model in table 15 analyzes the survey item “as a member of an organization, one has a right to exert influence”. As shown previously this item recieved support from 71 percent of the respondents.



	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent variable	Members have rights to influence	The membership gives possibilities to influence the organization	Important to me with influence in the organization	I know how to influence the organization
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>				
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.154	.445	.394	.295
Used observations	3461	3461	3461	3461
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>				
(constant)	1.552***	.389***	.191	.488***
<b>Personal characteristics</b>				
Age 16-34	.062	-.033	-.010	-.240***
Age 35-64	Base	Base	Base	Base
Age 65-84	-.160***	-.184***	-.096*	-.085
Sex	.172***	.004	.081*	.167***
Metropolitan area	.039	-.022	.080	-.055
Education	.144***	-.012	.058*	.156***
Number of memberships	.086**	.039	.054	.080*
Know how to influence	Not in model	433***	Not in model	Not in model
<b>Membership characteristics</b>				
Length of membership	.018	-.088***	-.047	.061*
Representative	.089*	.113**	.369***	.323***
Secondary membership	.038	-.103*	-.187***	-.075
Local level > National level	-.008	-.014	-.004	.010
Face-to-face interaction	.016	.026	.195***	.119***
Alternative organization	.017	-.050***	.024	.033*
<b>Membership dimensions</b>				
Calc - Personal benefits	.037	-.007	.091***	-.008
Calc - Exit if dissatisfied	-.025	-.027*	-.031*	-.040**
Ideal - Org's mission	.261***	.101***	.190***	.285***
Ideal - Societal benefits	.111***	.088***	.114***	.058*
Genuine - Meaningful recr.	.040	.189***	.338***	.151***
Genuine - Born or raised	.013	.017	.029*	.024
<b>Organization dummies</b>				
IOGT-NTO	-.118	.455***	-.696***	-.334***
Visually Impaired	.024	.119	-.436***	Base
Missionary Church	.047	.582***	-.552***	.062
Social Democratic Party	-.034	Base	-.192*	-.027
Football Association	Base	.148*	-.718***	.173
Red Cross	-.289***	.333***	-.698***	-.470***
Teachers' Union	-.039	.349***	Base	-.053
Union of Tenants	-.062	.550***	.006	-.062

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 15. Regression models demonstrating variables connected with different views on governance related issues. Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**

Personal characteristic that seem to be important for this issue are age, sex, education and the number of membership a person holds. The respondents in the oldest age interval 65-84 year are less inclined to think that the membership should automatically grant some kind of right to influence in the organization. Men, respondents with

higher education and individuals that hold multiple memberships believe to a greater extent than do other groups that the membership should come with a right to exert influence in the organization. Among the membership characteristics it is only being an elected representative that shows a positive correlation with this item and among the membership dimensions both ideal-based dimensions show positive correlations with the item.

In model 2 I have included an extra independent variable “I know how what to do if I want to change something that is wrong in the organization”. The regression analysis shows that this item has a large effect on, or at least a strong positive correlation with, the dependent variable “my membership gives me good opportunities for influence in the organization”. The feeling of membership giving influence consequently co-varies with the feeling of knowing what to do to influence the organization. Among the other personal characteristics only age seems to affect the feeling that it is possible to influence the organization. Respondents over 64 year express that particular feeling to a lesser extent than other members.

Among the membership-characteristic variables we can also note that respondents who have been members longer have the opinion that they have fewer possibilities to influence the organization. Elected representatives have a more positive opinion on this matter while respondents holding secondary memberships have a more negative opinion. There is also a negative correlation between the feeling that membership offers possibilities to influence and the feeling that there are alternative organizations.

The calculative rationality manifested through the dimension exit if dissatisfied demonstrates a negative correlation with the dependent variable. I would however rather interpret this as an effect of a more distant relationship to the organization than a negative connection between the calculative rationality per se and the feeling of having possibilities to influence. Both ideal-based dimensions as well as the genuine-rationality-based dimension, meaningful recreation, positively correlate with the feeling of having possibilities to influence.

Since model three and four exhibit quite similar patterns of correlations I will discuss them together. Younger respondents, less than

35 years old report to lesser extent than others that they know what to do if they want to change something in the organization, which probably can be attributed to a learning effect. Procedures in the internal governance system may be something one learns with time and experience in the organization but also in other societal arenas. However respondents over 64, to a lesser extent than younger respondents, think that it is important for them to be able personally to influence the organization.

Both male respondents and respondents with higher education state to a greater extent that it is important for them to be able to influence and that they know what to do if they want to change something that is wrong in the organization. The number of other memberships is positively correlated to the statement that the respondent knows how to do if he or she want to influence the organization. This also supports the assumption that knowledge of how to influence an organization can be learned in the context of another organization. Consequently, this can be taken as support for the hypothesis that membership-based organizations function as schools of democracy. It may however also simply depend on personal characteristics. An individual with many memberships might be more interested in membership organizations and their inner workings.

Among the membership characteristics we can also find support for the assumption that members learn what to do if they want to influence the organization. The length of membership correlates positively with the dependent variable, I know what to do if I want to change something that is wrong in the organization. Representatives and respondents that have face-to-face interaction to a greater extent think that influence and knowing how to exercise it are important. Respondents with weaker ties to the organization, in the form of holding a secondary membership, think to a lesser degree that it is important for them to be able to influence the organization. Respondents that think there are alternative organizations state more often that they know what to do if they want to influence the organization.

The calculative rationality-based dimension, *exit if dissatisfied*, correlates negatively with both respondents' assessment of knowing how to exercise influence and with the importance they assign

influence. Once again I interpret this in light of the weaker tie to the organization that this dimension implies. The other calculative rationality-based dimension, *personal benefits*, correlates positively with the respondents' feeling of being able to influence the organization. Members with stakes in the organization consequently think that it is more important to be able to exercise influence than do other members. Both of the two ideal rationality-based dimensions demonstrate positive correlations with both the feeling that exercising influence is important as well as with the statement that the member knows how to exercise influence. Among the genuine rationality-based dimensions *meaningful recreational activities* correlates positively with both dependent variables while the dimension *born into or raised in the organization* only correlates positively with the importance of being able to influence the organization.

#### **Determinants on the organizational level**

Again, coefficients and significance levels for the organization dummy variables demonstrate that there are differences among the organizations unaccounted for by the individual level variables. Table 16 shows regression models on the organizational level. The only organizational variable that exhibits any statistically significant connection to any of the items in question is the measure of spread of authority. Since this is a measure of the share of members that is or have been elected representatives in the organization it is not surprising that it has a positive correlation with the number of members that say that they know what to do if they want to change something that is wrong in the organization. An increased personal experience of the inner workings of the organization would probable give the member a better knowledge about how to exercise his influence.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent variable	Members have rights to influence	Membership gives possibilities to influence the organization	Important to me with influence in the organization	I know how to influence the organization
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>				
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.756	.456	.373	.963
Used observations	8	8	8	8
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>				
(constant)	2.595**	2.132	1.320	1.929**
<b>Org. characteristics</b>				
Federative	-.003	-.117	.016	.059
Widespread authority	.879	.695	1.968	2.404**
Alternative org.	-.012	.045	-.234	-.277
Political Orientation	.022	-.003	.024	.045

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 16. Regression models demonstrating organizational level variables connected with different views on governance related issues.**

## The individual's involvement in organizational governance

This section starts by showing how the respondents have answered questions addressing whether they would leave the organization or try to exert influence in the organization if they felt that something was wrong. After that respondents' inclination to choose different levels or intensities of voice is discussed. The section closes with three subsections where regression models are used to find possible determinants for the three modes of influence – exit, voice and taking office.

The two principal ways in which an individual can react if he thinks that something is wrong in the organization is either to exit the organization or to raise his voice. Both Hirschman (1970) and March and Simon (1958) have discussed the importance of perceived alternatives in relation to these decisions. March and Simon have further argued that an individual's entry decision is separate from a decision to actively participating in the organization. In the same way, I think that it is important to see that a decision about exiting an organization is (partly) separate from the decision to raise voice<sup>35</sup>.

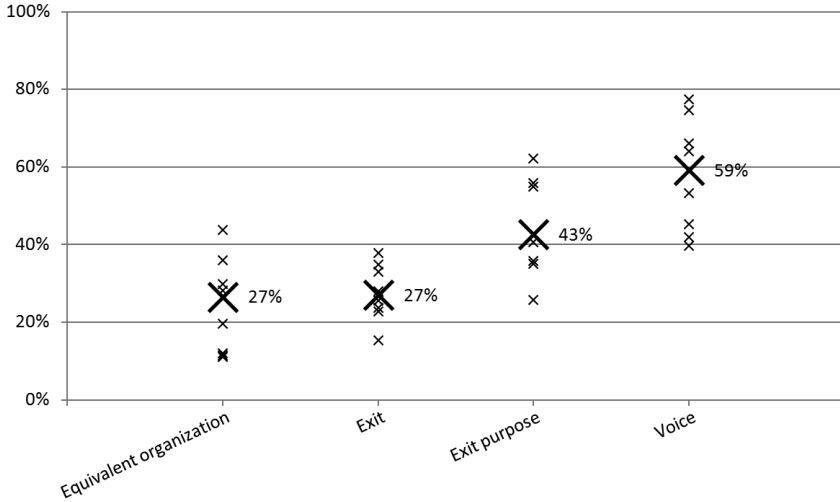
<sup>35</sup> One alternative to this would be to see these two decisions as a continuum where the individual could choose to do nothing, exit the organization or raise voice. Such a theoretical approach would however create problems in situations

Figure 14 shows that 27 percent of the respondents think that there are equivalent organizations they could join. The span across organizations is from 11 to 44 percent. These are interesting figures since they emphasize that it is the respondents own interpretation of the situation that is important. As an outside observer in Sweden it would for example be easy to say that there is at least one equivalent union for teachers (Lärarnas Riksförbund) beside The Swedish Teachers' Union. Most would probably also say that there is no alternative to the Union of Tenants. A non-religious Swede could also name two or three alternatives to the Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden. Further, we could find similar examples among the other organizations both with and without any obvious alternatives. In spite of this there are at least eleven percent of the members in each organization that thinks that there are alternative organizations but not more than 44 percent in any of the organizations.

The share of respondents that state that they would leave the organization if something was wrong is also 27 percent but the mean variation between the organizations is smaller than for the previous question. Organizational mean values for this item ranges from 15 to 38 percent. Another item in the survey tackles this question from a slightly different angle. 43 percent of the respondents agree with the statement "I would leave the organization if I did not feel that the organization worked sufficiently towards realizing the objectives in the principles". It is consequently more probable that a member would leave the organization if the perceived problem is related to how the organization handles its mission than if there is some other kind of problem. The mean variation among the eight organizations is however also larger for this item and spans from 26 to 62 percent. The importance of the organization's mission does consequently seem to differ a lot in different organizations.

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where it is more difficult for the individual to exit the organization than to raise voice, for example in a case with a monopoly position for the organization.



**Figure 14. Proportion of members that agree with various statements about exit and voice (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = “do not agree at all” to 4 = “agree entirely”). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.**

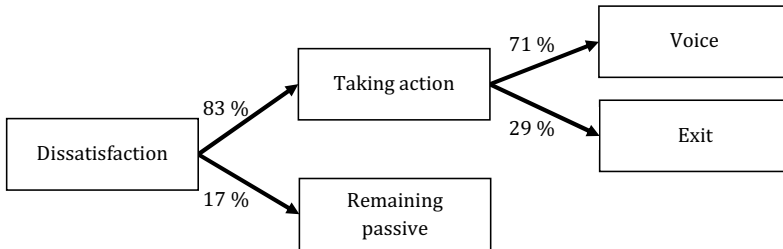
59 percent of the respondents state that they would try to influence something that is wrong in the organization. The variation between the organizations is relatively high and span from 40 to 77 percent.

### **Involvement or not?**

It is not however certain that a dissatisfied member will take any visible action. Figure 15 shows a decision diagram that indicates shares of respondents in this study and the alternatives they would choose.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> In the first step of the decision diagram max value of 11.2, 11.3 and 11.4 has been used. 73 % of the respondents answered 3 or 4 on the 0-4 scale, 20 % stated 2 and 7 % stated 0 or 1 as max value. The middle group has been distributed equally between the categories “taking action” and “remaining passive”. The second step has been calculated on the basis of respondents that takes action in the first step (max value 3-4) and has been calculated by subtracting the max value of 11.3 and 11.4 from 11.2. Respondents with -1 to -4 have been assigned to “exit”, respondents with 1 to 4 to “voice” and respondents with 0 have been equally distributed between the two categories.

Facing a situation where the member is dissatisfied with something in the organization 83 percent of the respondents state that they would take some sort of action while 17 percent would remain passive. It is however important to note that the level of dissatisfaction is a matter of interpretation. Members that interpret the question as being about situations where the member is extremely dissatisfied would probably chose one of the action-related alternatives more often than a member who interprets the question to be about some minor dissatisfaction.



**Figure 15. Decision diagram demonstrating what members state that they will do if they think there is something wrong in the organization.**

Among the respondents that would take action 71 percent would in some way try to change what is wrong while 29 percent would leave the organization, perhaps to join an alternative organization. The absolute numbers are not very important here. The choice between exit and voice is probably affected by factors like the level of dissatisfaction and the type of question that triggers the dissatisfaction. The diagram in the previous subsection showed for example that the share of respondents that would leave the organization if the organization did not work adequately in fulfilling its mission was higher than the share who would leave when something in general was wrong in the organization. It is also possible that the quantitative results are affected by social desirability biases since it might seem to be more “correct” to influence than to leave the organization when something is wrong. Furthermore, in the questionnaire the questions regarding exit and voice alternatives were placed right after a long section dealing with the democratic system, which also might lead to



overrepresentation of answers leaning towards the alternative of expressing voice.

The most interesting feature, in my opinion, captured by the diagram above is the fact that some members will remain passive, that is neither express voice nor exit, even if they are dissatisfied. It is not however certain that passivity as measured here implies total passivity. An individual who is dissatisfied might adapt preferences in such a way that he becomes satisfied with the situation. On the other hand this passivity may well be more genuine. Multi-rational man might determine that the costs involved in doing something like raising his voice or exiting the organization is too high in relationship to the level of dissatisfaction to justify any action.

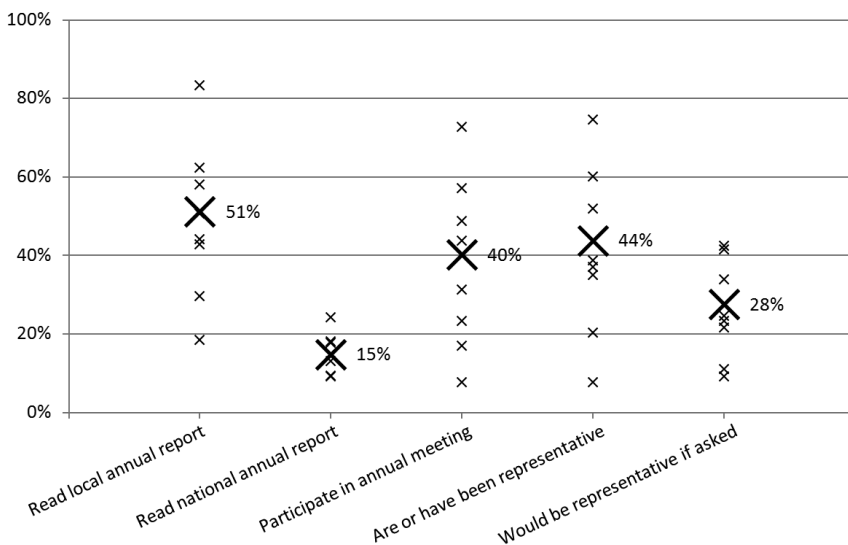
#### **Intensity of participation in the governance system**

As already mentioned, involvement in the internal formal governance system can be at different intensity levels. Some members are not involved at all, some members are invisible because they may be satisfied by reading annual reports to check the organizations performance, some members show up on annual meetings where they may or may not raise their voice and some members become representatives for the organization.

The first two items in figure 16 show what proportions of the respondents state that they read the organization's annual reports every year. These two items exhibit very different patterns. 15 percent of the respondents state that they read the national organization's annual report with a relatively narrow mean variation of nine to 24 percent between the eight organizations. The local annual reports are on the other hand read by more than half of the respondents, 51 percent, but with a wide mean variation from 19 to 83 percent.

The next two items show the share of members that participate in the annual meeting and the share of respondents that currently are or have been elected as representatives in the organizations. The way the answers are distributed for these two items exhibit similarities. The mean values and the span between lowest and highest share are for example quite similar. 40 percent of the respondents state that they participate in the annual meeting every year with a variation from eight to 73 percent. 44 percent of the respondents state that

they are or have been elected representatives in the organization with a variation from eight to 75 percent.



**Figure 16.** Share of members that state that they participate in various ways in the internal governance system (3 or 4 on a scale from 0 = “do not agree at all” to 4 = “agree entirely”). Big X represents the mean value of all respondents and small Xs represent mean values of individual organizations.

The last item shows that 28 percent of the respondents would run for a representative’s position if they were asked to do so. The mean variation across the eight organizations is larger than for the item on whether the respondents read the national annual report, but considerably smaller than for the last two items. The share of respondents in the eight organizations that say they would be representatives if asked span from nine to 43 percent.

Maybe the most striking thing in the diagram is that the share of members that read the national level’s annual report is low in all eight studied organizations and that the variation between the organizations is very low compared to the other items. The items “read local annual report”, “participate in annual meeting” and “is or

have been representative” show much larger mean variation between the organizations.

### **Three modes of influence - Exit**

The basic assumption from economic theory, as already discussed in previous chapters, is that individuals will exit an organization if they are dissatisfied with something (table 17). In this subsection two regression models on that theme are analyzed. The first one tells us which variables are connected to the answer that the individual would leave the organization if he would be dissatisfied with something in general and the other model analyzes whether the individual would leave the organization if he or she were dissatisfied with the organization’s work towards realizing its basic mission and principles.

Starting with the more general model concerning the decision to leave the organization if something in general is wrong, we can see that individuals older than 64 years state less often that they would leave the organization. Higher education increases the willingness to exit the organization while individuals with multiple memberships in other organizations are less inclined to leave when something is experienced as wrong in the organization. Individuals that feel they know what to do if they want to influence the organization are also less inclined to exit the organization, perhaps because they will instead use their knowledge to make things right again.

Among the membership characteristics we see that longer term membership make it less probable that the individual will leave whenever something is wrong. This might indicate that some kind of loyalty or identification with the organization comes with time. Respondents involved in face-to-face activities are also less inclined to leave the organization. The argument would then be that this group of members would be leaving not just a faceless organization; they also have to leave people that may have become friends. Respondents holding secondary memberships and respondents that think there are alternative organizations out there are more prone to state that they would leave the organization. Connection to the organization through the ideal-based dimension *benefits for society* and the genuine-based dimension *meaningful recreational activities*

both seem reduce the probability that an individual would leave the organization if something were wrong.

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Exit if dissapoin- ted	Exit if disappoint- ed with the org's work on the mission
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.167	.192
Used observations	3461	3461
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>		
(constant)	1.885***	.905***
<b>Personal characteristics</b>		
Age 16-34	.103	-.243***
Age 35-64	Base	Base
Age 65-84	-.124*	-.070
Sex	.090	.044
Metropolitan area	.017	.049
Education	.101**	-.072*
Number of memberships	-.090*	.007
Know how to influence	-.054**	-.025
<b>Membership characteristics</b>		
Length of membership	-.070*	-.109***
Representative	-.059	.022
Secondary membership	.153*	.110
Local level > National level	.023	-.019
Face-to-face interaction	-.095***	-.054*
Alternative organization	.279***	.126***
<b>Membership dimensions</b>		
Calc - Personal benefits	.043	.009
Calc - Exit if dissatisfied	Not in model	Not in model
Ideal - Org's mission	.031	.441***
Ideal - Societal benefits	-.056*	.142***
Genuine - Meaningful recr.	-.131***	.016
Genuine - Born or raised	.001	-.034*
<b>Organization dummies</b>		
IOGT-NTO	Base	.102
Visually Impaired	.067	Base
Missionary Church	-.519***	-.198*
Social Democratic Party	-.133	-.233*
Football Association	-.084	-.084
Red Cross	.171	.295**
Teachers' Union	-.169	.095
Union of Tenants	.099	.545***

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 17. Regression models demonstrating variables connected with exiting the organization when disappointed. Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**

In the more specific model of the decision to exit the organization when dissatisfied with how the organization strive to accomplish their mission, we see that respondents under the age of 35 and respond-

ents with higher education tend to stay in the organization to a higher degree than other respondents. For these younger individuals something other than the organization's mission seems to be most important. The variables length of membership and face-to-face interaction both have a negative correlation with exiting when disappointed with the organization's work towards its mission while the feeling of having alternative organizations makes it more probable that the individual will leave the organization. Connection to the organization through the two ideal-based dimensions makes it more probable that an individual dissatisfied with the organization's work towards its mission will leave the organization while the probability that an individual connected through the genuine-based dimension *born into or raised in the organization* is lower than for other groups of respondents.

There seem to be some interesting differences between the decision to leave an organization when something in general is wrong and the decision to leave when dissatisfied with the way the organization strives towards fulfilling its mission. Respondents with higher education are more prone to leave the organization when something in general is wrong. But the opposite holds when something directly related to the organization's mission are perceived to be wrong. In that case it is respondents with lower education that will leave first.

Respondents with multiple memberships and knowledge about how to influence an organization is more inclined to stay if something is wrong in general but the same characteristics do not affect the probability that he or she will leave when something connected to the organization's mission is wrong. Conversely respondents with secondary memberships will leave the organization more frequently than respondents with primary memberships when something in general is wrong while the status of the membership does not affect the decision to leave if something is wrong in connection to the organization's mission.

A large difference can be seen between the two models in the variables connected to the ideal-based rationality. Respondents that experience that societal benefits are important in the membership tend to stay in the organization even if something is wrong. But if

that problem is directly connected to the organization’s mission, respondents who think either societal benefits or the organization’s mission are important will be more inclined to leave than other respondents.

**Exit – organizational level**

The two questions about exiting the organization when disappointed are also analyzed on the organizational level in table 18. Model one demonstrates that exit is more probable in organizations where many of the individuals experience that there are alternative organizations to turn to. Further, it is shown that in organizations with widespread authority the probability that dissatisfied members will exit are less than in other organizations. Model two, where the dependent variable consists of the variable exit if disappointed with the organization’s work towards its mission, does not show any statistical significant correlations.

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Exit if dissapointed	Exit if disappointed with the organization’s work on the mission
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.938	.112
Used observations	8	8
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>		
(constant)	1.993**	2.385
<b>Org. characteristics</b>		
Federative	-.029	-.002
Widespread authority	-1.788**	-1.261
Alternative org.	.291*	.147
Political Orientation	-.001	.029

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 18. Regression models demonstrating organizational level variables connected with exiting the organization when disappointed.**

A more widespread authority structure in the organization seems to reduce the probability for members to exit when they are dissatisfied, which probably could be explained by the stronger connection to the organization that representatives have. But this is not apparent in the individual-based analysis. Representatives are not more prone to stay when they are dissatisfied than other members. Perhaps this

can be explained by a stronger general cohesion in organizations where a large share of the members has been involved as representatives.

### **Three modes of influence - Voice**

In this sub-section I will first analyze determinants and correlations with the dependent variable “if I were dissatisfied with something in the organization, I would try to influence what I think is wrong” or in Hirschman’s terms the propensity to express voice. Then I will analyze what contributes to or correlates with the respondents’ propensity of reading annual reports from the local and the national levels respectively. In closing this sub-section I will analyze the respondents’ habits of participating in the annual meeting on the local level.

Regression model 1 in table 19 shows that respondents that are older than 64 years are less inclined than others to state that they would try to influence something they experience as wrong in the organization. Male respondents and respondents that think that they know what to do if they want to influence things state to a greater extent that they would try to influence. Representatives and individuals involved in face-to-face interaction more often state that they would try to influence. The feeling of having alternative organizations is also positively correlated to the decision to take the voice alternative. Respondents that consider this particular membership to be secondary and respondents who have been members for longer periods are less inclined to try to exercise influence. The calculative rationality-based dimension, exit if dissatisfied, is negatively correlated with the voice decision while both ideal rationality-based dimensions and the genuine rationality-based dimension, meaningful recreation, are positively correlated with the voice decision.

Models two and three about the respondents’ habits of reading the local and national annual reports demonstrate both similarities and some differences. Age seems to be an important variable. Respondents in the youngest age span are less inclined to read annual reports while respondents in the highest age group are more prone to read annual reports. Education and the number of other memberships that the respondent holds are positively correlated with reading local

annual reports but these variables do not seem to have any effect on whether a respondent reads the national annual report. Male respondents in comparison to females to a higher degree read the national annual report while sex does not have any correlation with reading local annual reports.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent variable	Voice if disappointed	Read local unit's annual report	Read common unit's annual report	Participate in local annual meeting
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>				
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.395	.419	.218	.546
Used observations	3461	3461	3461	3461
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>				
(constant)	.890***	-.257	-.744***	-.117
<b>Personal characteristics</b>				
Age 16-34	-.063	-.450***	-.241***	-.219***
Age 35-64	Base	Base	Base	Base
Age 65-84	-.106**	.229***	.203***	.242***
Sex	.072*	.054	.094*	.016
Metropolitan area	.023	.002	.002	-.060
Education	.012	.070*	.030	-.115***
Number of memberships	.041	.120***	.025	.097**
Know how to influence	.318***	Not in model	Not in model	Not in model
<b>Membership characteristics</b>				
Length of membership	-.082***	.079**	-.041	.000
Representative	.140***	.691***	.264***	1.105***
Secondary membership	-.123*	-.228***	-.124*	-.209***
Local level > National level	.005	.089***	-.101***	.141***
Face-to-face interaction	.078***	.209***	.156***	.341***
Alternative organization	.028*	-.006	.016	-.005
<b>Membership dimensions</b>				
Calc - Personal benefits	.012	-.038	-.020	-.015
Calc - Exit if dissatisfied	-.053***	-.038*	-.048***	-.009
Ideal - Org's mission	.123***	.190***	.169***	.117***
Ideal - Societal benefits	.144***	.142***	.072**	-.004
Genuine - Meaningful recr.	.198***	.234***	.280***	.262***
Genuine - Born or raised	-.005	.023	.026	.006
<b>Organization dummies</b>				
IOGT-NTO	-.237**	-.077	.323***	-.236**
Visually Impaired	Base	.342***	.538***	.175
Missionary Church	-.104	.561***	Base	.297***
Social Democratic Party	-.063	Base	.218**	Base
Football Association	-.080	.143	-.143	-.066
Red Cross	-.130***	.372***	.560***	-.191*
Teachers' Union	-.041	.100	.818***	.188
Union of Tenants	-.006	.016	.554***	-.044

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 19. Regression models demonstrating variables connected with different governance acts. Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**



Among the membership characteristics representatives and respondents with high levels of face-to-face interaction read both local and national annual reports more frequently than other respondents. The table also demonstrates that this effect is stronger for the propensity to read the local annual report than the national level report. Length of membership has a positive correlation with reading the local annual report but no correlation with reading national annual reports. Members holding this membership as a secondary membership read annual reports to a lesser extent than other members. This effect is weaker for the national level's annual report than for the local level's, which would indicate that those respondents with secondary memberships who in any case choose to read annual reports more frequently choose to read the national level report. The variable that measures whether respondents think that the local level of the organization is more important for them than the national level shows some interesting correlations. Stronger attachment to the local level is positively correlated with reading the local level's annual report, but is also negatively correlated to reading the national level's annual report.

The membership dimensions show the same pattern of correlations as they did with the item voice if dissatisfied. Both ideal rationality-based dimensions and the genuine rationality-based dimension, meaningful recreation, exhibit positive correlations to reading both kinds of annual reports while the calculative rationality-based dimension, exit if dissatisfied, has a negative correlation with reading either annual report.

When we turn to model four we see that younger respondents are less likely to attend the local annual meeting while older respondents are more likely to attend it. Respondents with stronger connections to associational life through multiple memberships are more likely to attend the local level's annual meeting while better educated respondents are less likely to attend the local level's annual meeting.

Among the membership characteristics we see that being a representative is strongly associated with attending the annual meeting but also that respondents involved in face-to-face activities and respondents with stronger attachment to the local level attend the

local level's annual meeting to a greater extent. The probability that respondents holding secondary memberships also attend annual meetings are lower than for other groups of respondents.

The ideal rationality-based dimension, *commitment to the organization's mission*, and the genuine rationality-based dimension, *meaningful recreational activities*, both show positive correlations with attending the local level's annual meeting while the other membership dimensions are not correlated with this question.

One interesting finding is that the inclination of expressing voice is lower in the high age group while attending annual meetings grows more common with age. That could be an indication that the annual meeting fulfills other purposes for these respondents beyond the formal governance functions.

#### **Voice – organizational level**

Table 20 shows the same analyses on the organizational level. Model one shows how the share of respondents that would raise their voice if they are disappointed correlates with the organizational variables. Organizations with widespread authority where many of the members are or have been representatives tends to have high shares of members who would try to change things they think are wrong. If many members think that there are alternative organizations, the members are less inclined to raise voice. Members in more politically oriented organizations are also less inclined to raise voice.

On the aggregated level the variable alternative organization shows a negative correlation to voice, which is consistent with Hirschman. On the individual level we did however see a positive correlation between the variable alternative organization and the propensity to express voice. As argued earlier this might be explained by the greater knowledge about alternative organizations held by more involved respondents.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent variable	Voice if disappointed	Read local unit's annual report	Read common unit's annual report	Participate in local annual meeting
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>				
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.972	.614	-.048	.934
Used observations	8	8	8	8
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>				
(constant)	2.750***	1.683	.454	1.425
<b>Org. characteristics</b>				
Federative	.027	.096	-.066	-.135
Widespread authority	1.779**	3.191	.376	3.293*
Alternative org.	-.365*	-.267	.012	-.371
Political Orientation	-.053*	-.084	.077	-.053

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 20. Regression models demonstrating organizational level variables connected with different governance acts.**

### Three modes of influence – Taking office

This sub-section is dedicated to the two questions on whether respondents are holding or seeking office: if the respondent currently is or previously has had an elected representative's position in the organization and if the respondent would run for representative if asked (table 21).

Respondents from the younger and the older age groups state less often than middle aged that they are or have been representatives. Respondents under 35 do however state that they are more willing to be representatives than other groups. The oldest age group is at the same time less inclined than the middle aged to be representatives.

Men answer these two questions affirmatively more often than women, and this effect is greater for the question concerning their willingness to be representatives. Both the level of education and the number of other memberships a respondent hold correlate positively with these two questions. Respondents living in a metropolitan area serve or have served as an elected representatives to a lesser extent than other groups, but this variable does not seem to have any effect on willingness to being a representative.

Among the membership characteristics we find the variable with the strongest correlation. Respondents who already are or have been representatives agree to a large extent with the statement that they would be willing to be representatives if asked. The length of mem-

bership has a positive correlation with being or having been a representative, but it has a negative correlation with the willingness to be an elected representative in the future. Holding a secondary membership are negatively correlated with both questions while involvement in face-to-face interaction and stronger attachment to the local level than the national level are both correlated with both questions on serving as a representative.

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Is or have been elected representative	Would be representative if asked
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.351	.406
Used observations	3461	3461
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>		
(constant)	-.222***	-.071
<b>Personal characteristics</b>		
Age 16-34	-.100***	.230***
Age 35-64	Base	Base
Age 65-84	-.041*	-.334**
Sex	.078***	.305***
Metropolitan area	-.036*	.059
Education	.046***	.084**
Number of memberships	.060***	.074*
<b>Membership characteristics</b>		
Length of membership	.119***	-.138***
Representative	Not in model	.979***
Secondary membership	-.080***	-.199**
Local level > National level	.030***	.038**
Face-to-face interaction	.097***	.326***
Alternative organization	-.002	.005
<b>Membership dimensions</b>		
Calc - Personal benefits	-.027***	-.004
Calc - Exit if dissatisfied	-.007	-.045**
Ideal - Org's mission	.041***	.145***
Ideal - Societal benefits	-.014	.029
Genuine - Meaningful recr.	.050***	.212***
Genuine - Born or raised	.011*	.031
<b>Organization dummies</b>		
IOGT-NTO	-.005	-.378***
Visually Impaired	Base	-.348***
Missionary Church	.094**	-.377***
Social Democratic Party	.010	-.217*
Football Association	-.042	-.440***
Red Cross	-.140***	-.118
Teachers' Union	.024	Base
Union of Tenants	-.090*	-.199*

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 21. Regression models demonstrating variables connected with holding representative's positions. Base organization chosen as the organization with arithmetic mean on dependent variable closest to mean for total sample.**

The calculative rationality-based dimension *personal benefits* are negatively correlated with being or having been a representative, but this dimension does not correlate with stated willingness to be representative. The other calculative rationality-based dimension *exit if dissatisfied* is negatively correlated with the willingness to be a representative, but it is not correlated with the dependent variable is or has been elected representative. The ideal rationality-based dimension *commitment to the organization's mission* is positively correlated both with being or having been a representative and with willingness to be a representative. The genuine rationality-based dimension *born into or raised in the organization* shows a relatively weak connection to being or having been elected representative.

**Taking office – organizational level**

When we move the analysis to the organizational level as seen in table 22 we notice that organizations with more federative characteristics have smaller shares of members that currently are or earlier have been elected representatives. Organizations with widespread authority also have larger shares of members that would be representatives if asked.

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Is or have been elected representative	Would be representative if asked
<b>MODEL SUMMARY</b>		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.631	.935
Used observations	8	8
<b>COEFFICIENTS</b>		
(constant)	.335	.781
<b>Org. characteristics</b>		
Federative	-.165*	.025
Widespread authority	Not in model	2.424*
Alternative org.	.121	-.113
Political Orientation	.023	-.041

\*\*\* = sig .001, \*\* = sig .01, \* = sig .05

**Table 22. Regression models demonstrating organizational level variables connected with holding representative's positions.**

**Summary of membership and organizational governance**

The statement that the highest share, more than 70 percent, of members in all organizations agree with is that members in membership-based organizations should have the possibility to influence the

organization. This is something that seems to be an important part of the current Swedish discourse about civil-society organizations, a core element of this particular civil-society regime, if you want. These organizations are expected to be democratically governed with a possibility for the members to have an influence in the way the organization is operated (cf. Hvenmark 2008; Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004). A smaller share of members thinks it is important that they themselves can influence the organization, which also indicates an important difference between the position that members in general should have the right to influence and the position that that the respondent himself thinks it is important to be able to exert influence.

Further the analysis in this chapter has covered different types and intensity of involvement in the governance system. A member could choose not to participate at all but could also be involved without it being noticed. A member could for example be satisfied with the possibility of monitoring the organization's performance by reading the organization's annual report. This type of control could certainly be exerted in a number of other ways, such as following the organization in the media. As long as the member is satisfied with what he sees or experiences, the multi-rational man will not waste any energy on intervening. But when something is perceived to be wrong, the member can choose between going to the local annual meeting or to run for an elected representative's position or using other, maybe less visible, ways of exerting influence, such as exiting the organization.

If we force such a discussion too far, it however seems strange that members show up at annual meetings at all. I do not think that every member at every annual meeting is there because they are deeply dissatisfied. The results indicate that the annual meeting can fulfill some other kind of function for the members beyond merely a way of controlling and directing the organization. One function that the annual meeting could fulfill is a social function. The annual meeting is an arena where members can meet and talk to other members. That members visit annual meetings with other purposes than governing the organization may also be explicable in terms of Sjöstrand's (2000) fourth rationality for human interaction – coercion. Some members may attend the annual meeting because they feel a

social pressure to do so. There could also be some other governance related reasons to attend the annual meeting even if the member is not dissatisfied. The annual meeting could be seen as an informational meeting that just like the annual report can provide the member with information about the organization's performance. And as long as only a minority of the members attends the annual meetings, some members may consider that the risk of coups makes it worth the energy needed to attend the meeting.

The analyses I have run on organizational level variables only generated a few correlations. In organizations with widespread authority, where a large share of members are or have been elected representatives, there are smaller proportions of members who would exit the organization when disappointed and higher proportions that state that they would raise their voice. In organizations with widespread authority there are also more members that attend annual meetings and are willing to become elected representatives. The variable, alternative organization, influences exit and voice decisions as expected. Exit is more common and voice is less common in organizations where the members feel that they can switch to an alternative organization. Vogel et al. (2003) demonstrated that members in more political organizations exhibit higher levels of political capital. However, in this sample of organizations, political competence measured by the variable "I know how to influence the organization" was not higher in more politically oriented organizations than in other organizations. There is neither any signs of members in politically oriented organizations being more involved in internal governance.

The measure of how federative or confederative organizations are, only displays one correlation in all of the regression models applied on the material. Organizations with more confederative characteristics have higher shares of members that are or have been elected representatives. Maybe the most interesting finding in the organizational level analyses is consequently that the fundamental differences in authority distribution in federations and confederations do not seem to have effect on how the individuals as a collective think about or act in the internal governance system, at least not in this sample of organizations.

## **10. Organization, membership and governance in multi-level associations**

In the previous three empirical chapters I have described and analyzed data from a study of the formal governance systems in eight membership-based civil-society organizations accompanied by a large postal survey sent to 8,000 members in those organizations. One of my main assumptions in this dissertation is that the human being in general cannot be reduced to a one-dimensional profit maximizing creature with unlimited cognitive capacities – an economic man. Consequently, I should not treat my readers in that way. I think that most of you better fit the model of a bounded multi-rational man. You have different goals and interests in reading this dissertation and you probably do not remember everything written in the last 180 pages. Your attention has maybe been on things that interest you the most rather than on what I have intended with a particular chapter or part of the text. For that reason, I will begin this last chapter of the dissertation with a short recapitulation my intentions. After that, the five following sections are dedicated for analyzing and discussing my primary results in relation to the four interrelated steps in the study. This chapter, and the dissertation, concludes with a section about possible consequences for the individual, the organization and society in which I also try to pinpoint some topics for further investigation.

### **Purpose and research questions**

The main idea of this dissertation has been to further the understanding of why and in which ways individuals choose to get involved in the governance system of organizations. The empirical setting of membership-based civil-society organizations was chosen because I think complexities, both in terms of organizational form and in the individual's relationship to the organization, might be more visible in such a setting than in the traditional commercial firm that so often are the main focus for business administration research. My research purpose was thus formulated:



*The purpose of this dissertation is to generate new knowledge about and perspectives on the internal governance system of federative, membership-based organizations and factors of importance for the individual's perceptions of and participation in this type of governance system.*

Throughout this work this purpose has been pursued in four theoretically and empirically driven steps on (A) organizational and (B) individual levels:

A1: A theoretically generated framework was proposed for making explicit and more informed choices about whether a federative, membership-based organization should be treated as an integrated organization or as connected but (semi) autonomous organizations. Further the term *multi-level association* was proposed for these organizations.

A2: The formal governance system in a selection of multi-level associations was described.

B1: A theoretically generated analysis model, containing factors that might be of importance for the individual's perceptions of and participation in the internal governance system, was presented.

B2: Individuals' perception of and participation in governance in the same selection of organizations was analyzed with the help of the proposed model.

### **A framework for identifying and classifying multi-level associations**

I have argued that it often is possible to adopt different perspectives on federatively organized membership-based organizations at one and the same time. Sometimes it may be suitable to view the federative organization as one large integrated organization while at other times it may be more suitable to look at the federation as a number of more or less autonomous but connected individual organizations.

I have further argued that it is not obvious how to delimit a federative organization. This seems trivial in many studies where the choice of perspective often appears to have been made more or less implicitly. In my discussion of this particular topic I used the Swedish Red

Cross as an example (SRC). It is fairly easy to maintain that the SRC is composed of the national association along with all the smaller local associations. But on closer examination it is revealed that this might not be as self-evident as it appears at first sight. The local level of SRC consists of associations linked to the national “mother” association by membership. But the national association is in a similar way linked to the Swedish Fundraising Council by membership. The question is why the membership in the Swedish Fundraising Council is to be understood as something other than the memberships of the local SRC associations’ in the national SRC association.

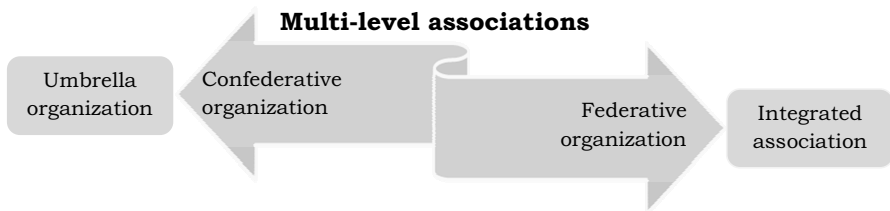
I have in the previous pages suggested four variables which can be used as a framework for analyzing the question of identifying and delimiting multi-level associations. Starting from a formal perspective and then stepwise adding more complexity by integrating increasingly “softer” considerations these four variables are (1) legal and contractual bonds, (2) financial dependencies, (3) operational dependencies and (4) organizational identity and culture.

In this framework the membership is a first necessary, but not sufficient, condition for a multi-level association. Without the bond of membership there is no multi-level association but all associations connected by membership cannot be seen as multi-level associations. The level of integration between different organizational levels can then be analyzed through the four variables in the framework in order to determine whether in a given situation it is more suitable to talk about a single multi-level association or about a group of autonomous associations with weaker ties.

Legal and contractual bonds can come in many forms. Regular business agreements would in this discussion be relatively weak ties compared for example to rules in a national association’s bye laws stating what a member association can and cannot do. Financial arrangements where for example the collection of membership-fees is centralized could also be part of a relatively tight bond between local and national associations. The third variable operational dependencies could refer to the degree to which different organizational levels are dependent on each other’s activities. A soccer club could certainly

continue with most of its daily activities without a meta-organization arranging leagues but the aspect of competing against other clubs would be gone. In the fourth step more subjective aspects are incorporated in the analysis, such as the degree of shared identities and organizational culture among and between the different units and levels.

This framework can further be used for describing important aspects of the structure in multi-level associations. The same four variables are valuable in classifying multi-level associations as more or less federatively or confederatively organized (figure 17, see also the discussion in Chapter 4 *Multi-level associations and the individual*). The ideal typical federation, close to a fully integrated association, has most authority located at the common or central organizational unit, an individual membership directly connected to this unit and an individual membership that rests directly with the common association. In the ideal typical confederation, close to an umbrella organization, the local associations are autonomous, most of the authority is retained at the local level and the individual member primarily holds a membership in the local association.



**Figure 17: Umbrella organizations, confederations and federations placed on a one-dimensional scale.**

### **Organizing the multi-level association**

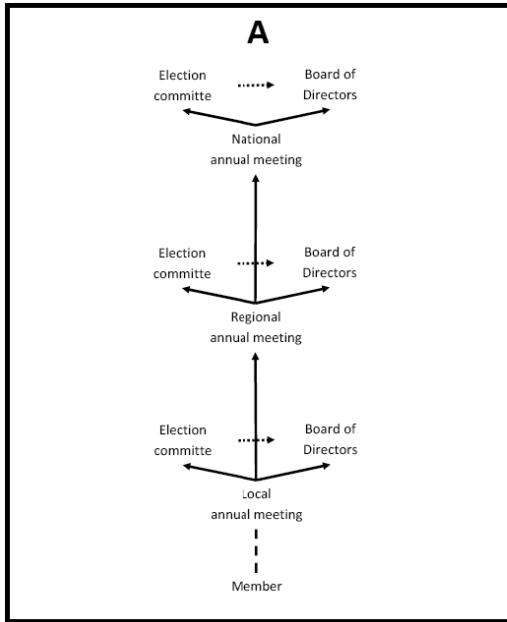
The empirical study of the eight multi-level associations' bye laws further strengthens the thesis that this kind of organization can be viewed simultaneously both as large coherent organizations and as consisting of a multitude of relatively autonomous small organizations. This also corresponds to what Hvenmark (2008) found when

interviewing leaders in the same sample of organizations. Depending on the context these leaders defined either the local organizations or the individuals as the primary members of the “main” organization, which results in rather different views on the scope of the organization. In my study this was further confirmed by the individual members’ conceptualization of their organizations.

Moreover, legally non-profit or voluntary associations and the phenomenon of multi-level associations are unregulated in the Swedish context. Despite this, the bye laws of the organizations reveal a basic similarity in the structure of the organizations. All eight organizations have a low threshold for accepting new members. If there are any demands at all, it is that the potential member in some way should be committed to the organization’s mission and values. The main function of these requirements can be understood as ensuring a basic stability in the organizations. When accepted, in principle all members have the right to participate in the internal governance system both by voting and by standing as a candidate in the various elections to boards and other functions. If people with too diverging opinions were allowed to become members, this could result in conflicts or even takeovers when only a minority of the “regular” members attends annual meetings. If there are further restrictions on participation in the governance system, they are based on age or the organization’s judgment that salaried employees of the organization should not be elected representatives.

There also seems to be one basic model of how the internal governance system should be structured (figure 18). This is a three-level model where the annual meeting at each level elects a board of directors and an election committee together with representatives to the annual meeting on the next level. There are however some variations to this model. The regional level could for example be placed outside of the main representative chain making it shorter and more direct while nevertheless retaining all levels within the organization. The regional level can be abolished all together also with the result of a shorter chain of representation. The Social Democratic Workers’ Party, however, has a considerably more complex structure than the other seven organizations, but the basic model is nevertheless visible.

Aside from these similarities there are important differences in the distribution of formal authority. Some of the organizations can be characterized as confederations where the local organizations are nearly fully autonomous and free to leave the national organization at any time. At the other extreme some of the organizations are more like federations or fully integrated associations where the local level must obey rules and decisions made by the national organization and cannot unilaterally decide to leave the federation.



**Figure 18: The chain of representatives in multi-level associations.**

Another interesting observation is that all eight organizations have election committees on all organizational levels. These committees fulfill the function of preparing elections and nominating candidates, which make them potentially very powerful in a world of (bounded) multi-rational men who readily agree with a pre-prepared proposal as long as it seems to satisfy their goals. Despite the fact that these election committees have this potentially powerful role in the organization, they are nearly not regulated at all in the organizations' bye laws.

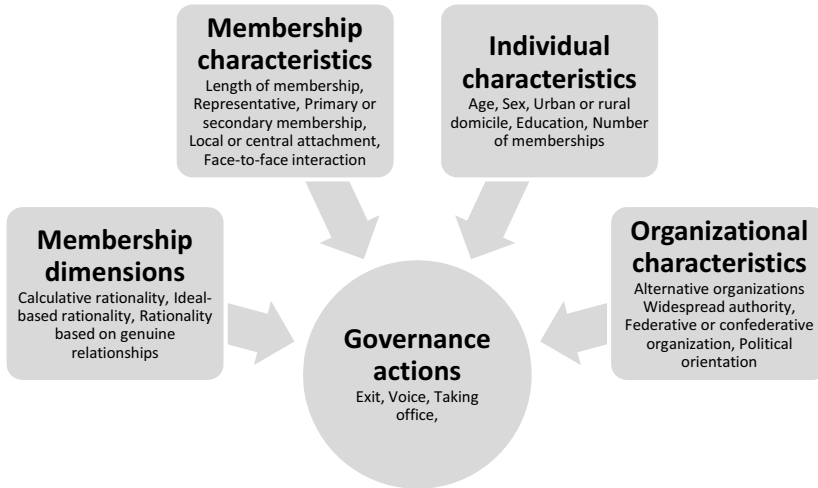
## **A model for studying individuals' participation in the governance system**

In order to structure the study of individuals' perception of and participation in internal governance, the analytical model in figure 19 was developed using content from the three theoretical chapters. Firstly a simplified model of the formal governance system was presented on page 66. In that model governance consists of (1) decisions made directly by members at formal decision-making forums like the annual meeting, (2) the members' elections of representatives and (3) decisions made by these representatives. These three levels of governance acts are, in the model, influenced by who the members and representatives are and what attitudes and values they have. This is in turn affected by governance actions such as *exit*, *voice* and *taking office*.

The *exit* alternative changes the volume and composition of the membership and sends signals to leaders that something might be wrong in the organization. The *voice* alternative can be executed in the form of affecting representatives or other members or in the form of direct participation in the formal governance systems through voting. *Taking office*, which could be understood as a more intense form of voice, affects the composition of the representative body and gives the individual more direct possibilities affecting the organization.

In the analytical model four types of variables are identified that, according to theory and previous research, might affect the three governance actions (figure 19). These are organizational characteristics, individual characteristics, membership characteristics and membership dimensions. By considering variables on all the three levels, the organization, the membership relationship and the individual, a more comprehensive picture of the individual's participation in the governance system can be painted. Most earlier empirical research concerning the individual member's participation in civil-society organizations has either grouped individuals according to basic characteristics such as age, sex, education and social status in order to analyze differences between groups or have made use of organizational-level variables such as how widespread authority is in

order to see in which types of organizations people participate the most.



**Figure 19. Analytical model for use in data collection and analysis.**

### **A multi-rational man in a multi-dimensional relationship**

A first step in analyzing members' perceptions of internal governance is to describe their conceptions of the membership. In particular, I consider it of importance to identify different dimensions of the membership. The analyses of the individual's conception of membership have demonstrated that a membership is a multifaceted phenomenon. The individual can perceive the membership and its dimensions in many ways, but basic similarities seem to exist. Consequently, the idea of a membership consisting of some dimensions that are common to all types of organizations, a number of dimensions that are shared by some organizations as well as certain dimensions that are unique for a specific organization has been substantiated in this study.

I have been able to demonstrate that individuals' attachment to an organization varies in some fundamental ways. An individual can have been member for a longer or shorter time. The individual can have multiple memberships in different organizations. The possibility

of multiple memberships also leads to a differentiation between primary and secondary memberships. Finally the member can feel attached to different levels in the organization, which to some extent seems to be connected to both where and how activities are organized in the organization.

Further, the individual places different levels of importance on different dimensions of the membership. This depends on individual factors as well as structural factors at the organizational level taken together with the type of activities the organization performs. Regardless of the wide variety of the organizations' missions and activities, individuals' views of the membership share basic similarities, which probably can be explained by the common view on membership and popular movement organizations that exists on a more general or cultural level in Sweden (cf. Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004). However, for more tangible manifestations of the membership, like participation in face-to-face activities and in the governance system, the differences among the organizations increase, largely because of differences in the type of organizations and their activities.

An analysis of the content of the membership dimensions further provides empirical support for the validity of the three basic rationalities for human interaction that have been used in the analysis model. A simple quantification of the rationales based on the empirical material from the questionnaire also showed that, as expected, the ideal-based rationality was most widespread in these value or idea-based civil-society organization. However, the calculative rationality proved to be almost as common and the genuine relationship-based rationality is also clearly present in the organizations sampled. This part of the analysis demonstrates that both members and organizations could be described as multi-rational. It also shows that these particular organizations operate with a mix of collective and private incentives for their members.

### **Membership and governance in multi-level associations**

Among the most obvious results of the present study is that a majority of the respondents in these large Swedish popular mass movement organizations believes that members should have opportunities to



influence the organization. The question of whether the individual thinks it is important to be able to exercise influence themselves, however, yielded about half as many affirmative answers. This strong idea of a right to influence is thus probably something that is firmly rooted in the Swedish mind as an item that should be inherent in membership while it is less important to actually exercise this right oneself.

Formally, the main forum for members to exercise influence is the local annual meeting at which questions about the organization's future direction are handled and decided. The annual meeting is also the forum where elections of representatives are held. These representatives are then responsible either for the organization's daily activities or for hiring and controlling a manager responsible for running the organization and its daily activities.

Despite these important functions less than half of the members state that they attend such meetings. There is however a somewhat higher share of members that claim to read the local level's annual report, which could be seen as maintaining some form of control over the organization's performance. And if that performance already is satisfactory the multi-rational member might very well decide to do something else with his time than to go to an annual meeting, which also is well in line with Amnå's (2010) idea of "standby citizens".

Alongside the formal democracy exercised at annual meetings there are additional possibilities for action if the member is dissatisfied with the organization. Different kinds of informal channels of influence might be available, but one of the most powerful alternative actions might be to leave the organization, the exit option. Counting both the exit and the voice responses, more than 80 percent of the respondents stated that they actually would take action if they were dissatisfied and less than one fifth would remain passive. These passive members might however do things that might be of relevance for the function of the governance system in later stages. They might adapt their preferences so that they in the future are satisfied with the same level of organizational performance, or they might accumulate dissatisfaction so that they take action – voice or exit – later on

when they experience additional problems or believe that this bad performance has continued for too long.

Starting with the classic demographic variables, the results have confirmed much previous research. This broad material however also creates new possibilities for analyzing and speculating about the reasons for these familiar phenomena.

Members with a higher level of formal education in general think it is more important to be able to influence their organizations and, to a higher degree than other members, state that they know what to do if they want to exercise influence. They read the local association's annual report more often and are or have been elected representatives to greater extent than their less educated peers. They are in general also more willing to serve as elected representatives, which possibly can be explained by higher political confidence. One interesting result is however that more educated members are less prone to attend annual meetings. They think influence is important and they know how to exercise it but they do not, in the same extent as other members, participate in the arena that is the formal foundation of the internal governance system.

As demonstrated in other studies it is more common that men are elected as representatives in the organizations (e.g. Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003). However, this particular data set also has additional information that can be of interest in the context. Men, to a greater extent than women, state that they know what to do if they want to influence the organization, which might explain some of the difference between the share of men and women that are elected representatives. It seems plausible that a person that knows (or believes he knows) how to exercise influence also have better prospects for being elected, and this higher confidence also might lead to a higher share of men running for office. In relation to women, men also think that it is more important to have influence in the organization, which also could result in a larger number of men trying to get elected. The largest difference between men and women in this respect is however that men in general also are more willing to serve as elected representatives than women.

Further there are also some interesting results that might contradict common conceptions. Younger generations are often accused of being more passive, of not participating or not taking on enough responsibility. However, in this material the youngest age group, 16-to-34-year olds, seems to be the age cohort most willing to serve as elected representatives in their organizations. However, this desire to be more involved is accompanied by less participation of other kinds, such as reading annual reports and attending annual meetings. The members in this age group also state more often than others that they do not know how to exercise influence in the organization. Taken together these results may suggest that younger members need to have some kind of guidance and that present leaders also should open up the organization in order to let in new forces.

The length of membership has some interesting effects on the individual's involvement in the governance system. With time the member seems to learn what to do if he or she wants to have a say in the organization. Individuals that have been members for longer times also tend to serve as elected representative to a greater extent, and it is more likely that the long-term member will read annual reports. However, the longer an individual has been a member the less he thinks that membership offers possibilities to have an influence in the organization. This is also combined with a slightly weaker inclination to take action in the governance system.

Higher amounts of face-to-face interaction seem to be connected with a sense of better knowledge of how to influence the organization and with a feeling that it is important to be able to influence the organization. Face-to-face interaction is also positively related to different ways of trying to influence the organization. A member that is involved in face-to-face interaction is more inclined to state that he or she would try to influence something that is wrong in the organization. These members also to a greater extent than others read annual reports, attend annual meetings, have been or are willing to be elected representatives. They are also less inclined to leave the organization if something is perceived to be wrong. Face-to-face interaction consequently seems to either foster or grow out of a stronger loyalty and commitment to the organization.

The calculative rationale, which according to the traditional economist's basic assumption should be among the most influential rationales, has little correlation with an individual's participation in the governance system of these value-based membership organizations. The ideal-based rationale instead seems to be more important. Individuals fostering an ideal-based rationality both have more positive attitudes to the internal governance system and participate to a greater extent than other individuals. However, it is the rationality based on genuine relationships that has the strongest correlation to most questions in the survey that are related to the internal governance. Individuals with a social network in the organization are among the individuals that have the strongest positive attitudes toward the governance system and also the ones that participate most frequently.

The set of independent organizational-level variables rendered only a few correlations. One hypothesis could be that the individual's own perception of how the organization is structured and works, which is affected by the general view of how these organizations should work, is more important than the actual structures in the organization. Another hypothesis however, is that it might not be enough to study the formal authority structure. More important power structures might exist in the organization. We should however take in consideration that as sample of eight organizations might not be sufficient to say something certain about correlations on the organizational level.

### **Governance Implications for organizations and society**

Throughout this dissertation, albeit not as the primary focus, I have pictured a society in which individuals govern through organizations. I have first and foremost discussed individuals' relationship with the multi-level civil-society association. They join an organization in which they can attend a local annual meeting. There, they elect representatives that attend a regional annual meeting, where representatives are elected for a national annual meeting. At this annual meeting a national board of directors is elected and strategies for the organization are often also formulated. Through that chain of representation the individual has a formal opportunity to influence important courses of events in society. In this bigger picture, a well

functioning governance of individual organizations might be essential for a well functioning governance of society. In this concluding section I will allow myself to speculate a little more freely about possible consequences of the results in this dissertation in a wider context.

A number of, in my opinion, particularly interesting topics concerning the internal governance in large multi-level associations have emerged in this study. I will conclude the dissertation by discussing topics such as: organizational openness towards new members; the role of the largely unregulated election committees; and finally the potential wider effects of many members being absent from annual meetings.

### **Openness and organizational change**

The organizations are in principle open to all potential new members as long as they at least on a more general level agree with the organizations' basic ideals and missions. This makes it possible for all individuals who have some kind of interest or stake in the issues dealt with by the organization to join and influence the organization. This openness is also nearly an essential prerequisite for the societal benefits predicted by social capital theories. According to such theories it is important that people from different background meet in the social arenas that the organizations constitute, which would not be possible if the organizations were more closed.

Accepting anybody as member and admitting them to the governance system could however in the long run result in an altered organization. New groups of members sometimes introduce new values and other ideas that in time could change the whole organization (e.g. Einarsson 2010; 2012). This should not however only be seen as a potential problem. Input of new ideas and values might be a necessary prerequisite for development and progress of both organizations and wider society.

### **The invisible election committee**

Even if the members formally have the power to elect and dismiss the leaders of the organization, it seems that they seldom oppose suggestions from the election committees. The reason for this could be that the election committees are good at representing the values of the

members, which is probably at least partly true. Even if the members are bounded rational and consequently do not act if they can use their time better somewhere else, they should oppose a suggestion when it is bad enough to motivate the cost of a search for alternatives. However, it is obvious that within these limits the election committee wields a great deal of power. It is therefore striking that the work of election committees in principle is unregulated and that we have so little academic knowledge about how they function, work and are composed. This should be prioritized in future research of governance in this type of organizations.

A hypothesis worth further investigation is the possibility that the existence of election committees might even decrease members' motivation to attend the annual meeting and participate in the election of new representatives. In most organizations the proposals of the election committee are presented at the annual meeting without any competing alternatives. Since the multi-rational man is content with a good-enough solution at the same time as he knows that the other multi-rational men think likewise, he will know that this proposal will be accepted. Consequently, there is no need to attend the annual meeting in order to make sure the right candidates are elected. These candidates will take up office anyway. Moreover if we abandon the thought that voting is about deciding who should be elected, it is a fair assumption that the lack of alternatives will lower members' motivation to attend the annual meeting even further since showing one's stand is pointless if there is only one candidate presented. Ultimately, members might only show up at annual meetings in order to have some coffee and meet up with friends and other acquaintances.

#### **The importance of "active passive" members**

The present study has further demonstrated that a majority of members in most of the studied organizations are absent from annual meetings despite the fact that they claim that it is important to have the opportunity to influence the organization. It is however conceivable that they exert influence in other ways or that they are on "stand-by" waiting for something enough important to get involved in and meanwhile use their time and effort for other things (cf. Amnå 2010). Even if the internal governance in the organization might suffer in the

mean time, governance at industry or sector level might work adequately since 80 percent of the respondent said that they would either try to change a failing organization or leave it for another better functioning organization.

This “active passivity” is however not unproblematic for the organization since a low member turnout at the annual meeting makes it relatively easy for minorities in the organization to “kidnap” important functions which might make the governance system unstable. An interesting topic for further empirical investigation would be if and when members would go from just saying that they would act, which was presented in this study, to actually taking action. That is how much must the situation deteriorate before these stand-by members step in?

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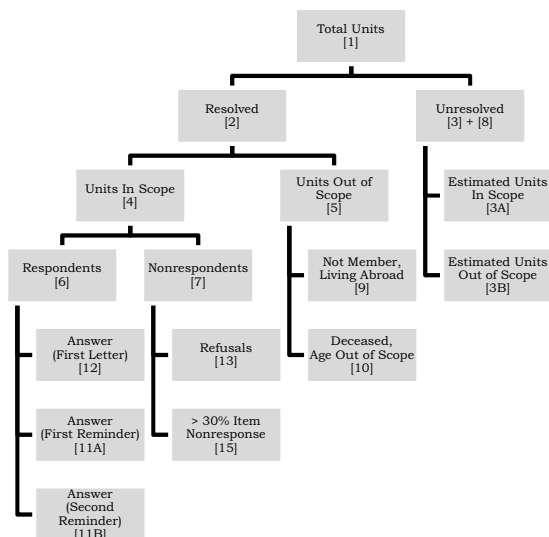
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# Appendix A: Method – Technical Details

## Response rate and non-respondents

A first step towards a discussion of non-response and how to handle it is to measure its extent. There is however no universally accepted definition of response rate (Biemer and Lyberg 2003). This is partly due to the fact that non-response makes it impossible to determine how many units from the initial sample really are parts of the target population if the frame does not match the target population perfectly.

In order to make my calculation of response rate as transparent as possible, I have adapted a model from Biemer and Lyberg (2003) in order to show how the sample is distributed among various kinds of respondents and non-respondents (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1. Distribution of the sample. Model adapted from Biemer and Lyberg (2003).**

The first box in the figure represents the total selected sample. In the second level the sample is divided in *resolved* and *unresolved*

units. Unresolved units are those for which on current information it cannot be determined whether they are in scope for the target population or not, that is whether they should be in the survey or not. The resolved units are then divided in *units in scope* and *units out of scope*. The resolved units in scope are first made up by *respondents* who fall into three groups, those who responded directly after they received the survey, those who answered after one reminder and those who answered after two.

The resolved units also consist of *refusals* which are made up of individuals who either could not answer for example because of a disability or individuals who for some reason did not want to answer the questionnaire. In the non-respondents category have I also place individuals who have answered and returned the questionnaire, but have answered fewer than 70 percent of the questions. The resolved units out of scope consists of surveys returned by the Post Office because of inaccurate addresses, individuals that are out scope for the age span of 16 to 84 years, deceased individuals, persons that live abroad and individuals that claim they are not members of the organization in question. The unresolved units are categorized in *estimated units in scope* and *estimated units out of scope* at the same proportions as the resolved units in and out of scope. One could argue that it might be a higher proportion of units out of scope among the unresolved than among the resolved units, but since there is no better way to estimate this difference, I have used the same proportions as among the resolved units. The effect of this could accordingly be a slight underestimation of the effective response rate.

Using the model from Figure 1, I have compiled table 1 which shows how the sample is distributed in all eight organizations in the study. The total sample size is 8,000 and among them are 4,577 resolved. When subtracting units out of scope and estimated unresolved units out of scope the effective sample is 7,720. Counting all 4,194 responses the response rate is 54 percent. 722 of these respondents have however answered fewer than 70 percent of the questions in the survey. Since I assess that these contain too little information to be used in the analysis these responses are left out. Consequently the number of used responses is 3,472 and the effective response rate is 45 %.

	MCC	UT	STU	AVI	SDP	IOGT	SRC	SFA	TOTAL
<b>Total Units [1]</b>	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	<b>8000</b>
<b>Resolved [2]</b>	724	361	594	545	574	494	709	576	<b>4577</b>
<b>Unresolved [3]</b>	257	631	404	446	422	496	291	395	<b>3342</b>
<b>Estimated Units In Scope [3A]</b>	260	637	405	435	402	480	291	397	<b>3307</b>
<b>Estimated Units Out of Scope [3B]</b>	16	2	1	20	24	26	0	27	<b>116</b>
<b>Units In Scope [4]</b>	681	360	593	521	542	469	708	539	<b>4413</b>
<b>Units Out of Scope [5]</b>	43	1	1	24	32	25	1	37	<b>164</b>
<b>Respondents [6]</b>	589	269	536	317	452	310	503	496	<b>3472</b>
<b>Non-respondents [7]</b>	92	91	57	204	90	159	205	43	<b>941</b>
<b>Erroneous adress [8]</b>	19	8	2	9	4	10	0	29	<b>81</b>
<b>Not Member, Living Abroad [9]</b>	8	1	1	8	30	24	1	13	<b>86</b>
<b>Deceased, Age Out of Scope [10]</b>	35	0	0	16	2	1	0	24	<b>78</b>
<b>Answer (First Reminder) [11A]</b>	112	89	101	41	122	88	90	176	<b>819</b>
<b>Answer (Second Reminder) [11B]</b>	43	34	53	51	59	29	78	62	<b>409</b>
<b>Answer (First Letter) [12]</b>	434	146	382	225	271	193	335	258	<b>2244</b>
<b>Refusals [13]</b>	23	19	8	79	23	34	22	11	<b>219</b>
<b>&gt; 30 % Item Non-response [15]</b>	69	72	49	125	67	125	183	32	<b>722</b>
<b>Effective sample [4] + [3A]</b>	941	997	998	956	944	949	999	936	<b>7720</b>
<b>Responses [6] + [15]</b>	658	341	585	442	519	435	686	528	<b>4194</b>
<b>Response rate <math>([6]+[15]) / ([4]+[3A])</math></b>	70 %	34 %	59 %	46 %	55 %	46 %	69 %	56 %	<b>54 %</b>
<b>Used responses [6]</b>	589	269	536	317	452	310	503	496	<b>3472</b>
<b>Effective response rate <math>[6] / ([4]+[3A])</math></b>	63 %	27 %	54 %	33 %	48 %	33 %	50 %	53 %	<b>45 %</b>

**Table 1. Distribution of the sample in all eight organizations.**

## Respondents' representativity for the population

In order to provide an indication of the representativeness of the respondents, table 2 shows the distributions for residence in metropolitan areas<sup>37</sup>, age and sex in the sample and among the respondents. I have unfortunately no data on age and sex for the full samples from all eight organizations. I can however compare age in the samples from the Union of Tenants, Swedish Red Cross and the Social

<sup>37</sup> I have coded postal codes from the sample into municipalities according to lists in *Postnummmerguiden 2008*, a computer program available from the Swedish Postal Office ([www.posten.se](http://www.posten.se), 2009-03-07). The municipalities were then matched against Statistics Sweden's list of municipalities belonging to one of the three major metropolitan areas Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö ([www.scb.se](http://www.scb.se) 2009-03-07).



Democratic Party. In addition to age I can also compare the sex distribution in Swedish Red Cross and the Social Democratic Party.

	<b>Total sample</b>				<b>Used Responses</b>			
	Metro-politan area	Age (Mean)	Age (std dev)	Women (share)	Metro-politan area	Age (Mean)	Age (std dev)	Women (share)
SRC	22.0 %	59.8	11.4	84.0 %	24.3 %	58.6	11.2	84.1 %
SDP	24.4 %	60.0	14.6	42.3 %	23.5 %	60.4	12.8	40.9 %
UT	47.5 %	45.6	15.2		48.7 %	47.3	14.8	
IOGT	18.5 %				18.7 %			
STU	32.3 %				29.7 %			
MCC	18.3 %				18.2 %			
AVI	28.7 %				27.1 %			
SFA	26.8 %				25.8 %			

**Table 2. Distribution of residence, age and sex in the original sample and among the used responses.**

Table 2 shows that both the mean value and the standard distribution of the age variable are similar among the used responses and in the total samples in the three organizations. The fact that not only the mean value but also the standard deviation is similar suggests that the distribution of age among the respondents matches the distribution in the total sample quite well. The distribution of residence in metropolitan or rural areas as well as the proportions of women and men that are comparable in two of the organizations also indicates a high correspondence between the sample and the responses used for the analysis. The fact that the organization with the lowest effective response rate, the Union of Tenants, is one of these organizations that I can test for age, further strengthens the dissertation that no special groups are overrepresented among the non-respondents.

Age, residence and sex are not key variables in this study. Previous research has however shown that both age and sex influence the ways and the extent to which people tend to be actively involved in membership-based organizations (see e.g. Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003). This is also the case for the variable respondent living in an urban or rural setting. This means that these variables can at

least provide a proxy indication of any mis-match between the representativeness of the respondents and that of the total sample.

Another way of assessing the representativeness of respondents is by using information about when the completed questionnaires were received from the respondent. This makes it possible to group the respondents according to how much effort was required to remind them. If there is a pattern among these groups it might also be possible that the non-respondents share similarities with most unwilling respondents.

Table 3 shows how respondents that replied on first notice answered the questions on length of membership and on whether they have been representing the organization compared to respondents that replied after one or two reminders respectively.

	Length of membership	Is / been elected representative
First letter	3,50	46 %
First reminder	3,46	43 %
Second reminder	3,28	35 %

**Table 3. Length of membership and elected representation in the organization grouped according to respondent's time to reply. Length of membership is the arithmetic mean of 1 = less than one year, 2 = one to five years, 3 = five to ten years and 4 = more than ten years**

Table 3 demonstrates clear patterns in both these variables. The respondents that answered first have been members for a longer period of time and are or have been elected representatives in the organization to a greater extent. The difference in the length of membership is small while the share of the respondents that have been elected representative vary from 46 percent of the respondents that replied right away down to 35 percent among the respondents that answered after the second reminder. Given this pattern it is reasonable to assume that the non-respondents may score even lower on the question about representation.

That 35 percent of the members in the last group to respond are or have been elected representatives may sound high. But it is probable that the true value is not so much lower than that. In a 2000 census 27 percent of the Swedish population was found to be elected repre-

sentatives in some association (Vogel, Amnå, Munck, and Häll 2003). There are however differences between the questions that make them hard to compare. First of all the census asks if the respondent is an elected representative in *any* association while my question is about *one* particular organization. But two other differences work in the other direction. In the census the whole population is the target population while my survey only target individuals that are members in associations. The population survey also asks if the respondent is an elected representative at the time of the survey while my question asks whether the respondent had ever been an elected representative in the organization.

To sum up the discussion of representativeness of the non-respondents, I would say that the comparison of age and sex indicate that there do not seem to be any noteworthy differences between the group of respondents and the group of non-respondents. However when comparing respondents' response times, a pattern was found. Individuals that are or have been elected representatives in the organization answered the survey more quickly. This could indicate that elected representatives are somewhat overrepresented in the data material. But I do not think that this bias is so critical that I have to take any additional measures to adapt the data.

### **Handling missing data – imputation**

The data is consequently not altered as a result of unit non-response. Another problem is that all respondents do not answer all questions in the questionnaire. This item non-response introduces problems for the methods of analysis, which must be handled in some way. As indicated earlier I have chosen 30 percent item non-response as a cut-off limit. If fewer than 70 percent of the questions were answered, I consider the unit to be a non-response since the information value is too low. This limit is arbitrarily chosen, but I consider it to be reasonable.

The rest of the item non-response must be dealt with. The easiest is simply to discard all replies that have item non-response. This is often called *case deletion*. But that can only be done, without introducing bias into the result, if there are no differences between the full

and partial respondents. Moreover and more seriously, there would be very few responses left in a large survey like this. Another way to deal with item non-response is to impute replacement values to the missing items, which can be done in many different ways with various side effects.

According to Schafer and Graham (2002) imputation has some desirable features. If the data contain information that is useable for predicting the missing items, imputation can be more efficient than case deletion. Because no units are sacrificed, there is no loss of power through diminished sample size, and standard methods can be used in the analysis since the imputation produces a complete data set.

Two widely used imputation methods are *mean substitution* and *regression imputation*. When using mean substitution, the unconditional mean for the variable is imputed. In other words, the average of the variable among all the respondents is used. This will preserve the average of the variable but the distribution of the variable will be more narrow and thus the variance will be reduced. Mean substitution will also distort correlations between variables since all missing values are filled with the same value. Regression imputation implies that a conditional mean given a number of independent variables will be imputed in the missing value. Regression imputation also entails the problem of reduced variance and is furthermore not recommended for analyses of correlations since the method will strengthen the relationship between the variables used to predict the missing value.

Both mean substitution and regression imputation are deterministic methods, which imply that the unconditional or conditional mean is preserved but the distribution become narrower. Smaller variances will in turn lead to understating confidence intervals and overstating significance levels in statistical tests. In order to both retain the mean and the distribution, stochastic versions of the unconditional or the conditional mean substitution methods can be used. This implies that instead of deterministically picking the (unconditional or conditional) mean, a random draw from the distribution is made.

However even the stochastic imputation methods have problems, and several authors recommend using Maximum Likelihood (ML) or

Multiple Imputation instead (e.g. Allison 2001; Schafer and Graham 2002). I use Expectation-Maximization (EM) imputation method which is an algorithm for ML that can be found in and are easily implemented with SPSS Statistics. The principle behind ML is to choose values that would maximize the probability of observing what has in fact been observed. In simplified terms, the EM algorithm can be explained as an iterative model of regression imputation with all other variables as independent variables. In the first step all non-missing variables for each case will be used as independent variables for computing the missing values of the case. In the next step both the non-missing data and the imputed data are used for recalculating the imputed values. This process will then go on until the estimates converge and stop changing between iterations (Allison 2001).

### **Identifying and quantifying membership dimensions – factor analysis**

For this dissertation the most important part of the analysis of the survey data is exploratory. Different dimensions or aspects of the membership are identified through factor analysis. This is a statistical technique which seeks underlying causes for connections between different variables and thus offers a method for reducing data to more manageable proportions.

The first prerequisite for factor analysis is to have a sufficiently large sample. Hair (1998) recommends a sample of at least 50 but preferably larger than 100. Another rule of thumb is to have at least five times as many observations as there are variables to be analysed and preferably a ten-to-one ratio. With 3,472 observations and about 100 items suitable for inclusion in a factor analysis the data material fulfils these requirements with large margins.

There are, according to Hair (1998) no statistical demands on the individual variables in a factor analysis. One exception to this is that normality is necessary if the significance of the factors is to be tested statistically. This is however rarely done. There is however some tests that can be used to assess the appropriateness of factor analysis on a dataset.

The first is an inspection of the correlation matrix. This is because variables must be correlated in order for the factor analysis to produce a meaningful result. Hair (1998) recommends that a substantial number of the correlations should exceed .30. A table with 5,000 correlations does not do well in print but approximately one fifth of the correlations exceed 0.30 or -0.30.

Another way to analyze the correlations among variables is by inspecting the partial correlations among variables, where partial correlations are the correlations between variables when the effects of other variables are taken into account. These partial correlations should be small if there really are underlying factors. In SPSS the anti-image correlations matrix is used to calculate the negative value of a partial correlation. The anti-image correlations matrix did not indicate any serious problems with my dataset. Less than 200 of the 5,000 values were in the range of -.10 to .10.

Two other measures used to quantify the degree of intercorrelations among the variables are the Bartlett test of sphericity and the measure of sampling adequacy (MSA). The Bartlett test of sphericity shows with a significance of .000 that there are correlations among the variables. The MSA was .952. According to Hair (1998) measures above 0.8 should be interpreted as good so these scores shows that factor analysis probably could give promising results on the dataset.

Another assumption necessary for factor analysis is that the sample is homogeneous with respect of the factor structure. This is an appropriate question since respondents are different in various ways and are members of different organizations. As stated earlier my assumption is that there are some common dimensions of the membership that can be found in all types of organizations, but that there also are shared dimensions existing in only some types of organizations and some organization-specific dimensions. This means that some factors should be present in the whole material while some might appear only in one or some of the organizations.

A certain amount of caution is also necessary since the use of factor analysis on the whole sample will create common dimensions. One way of controlling for that is, as a test, to carry out the analysis for each of the organizations and then comparing the results. Doing

separate factor analyses on data for each organization would however pose some problems. The requirement of at least 50 to 100 observations is fulfilled for all eight organizations, but the observations-to-variables ratio is between 2.5 to 5.9, which is rather low. I have however primarily done such separate analyses in order to test the stability of the full factor analysis. The result of this is presented in pages 134-135. The stability test showed that all dimensions from the factor analysis can also be found in the analyses of separate organizations. This confirms both the stability and the plausibility of common membership dimensions. These analyses also uncovered some new dimensions, which further confirm the general idea of shared and specific membership dimensions.

The items included in the factor analysis are all questions addressing the content or conceptions of the membership<sup>38</sup>. For the analysis I have used component analysis (principal component in SPSS) in order for the factor analysis to summarize most of the original information in the fewest number of factors. To simplify the factor structure and to make human interpretations possible, the factors are rotated. I used a an oblique rotation<sup>39</sup> because the underlying dimension cannot be assumed to be uncorrelated with each other (cf. Hair 1998).

The practical outcome of the computations is a list of all entered variables and their factor loadings for each extracted factor. Hair (1998) presents a rule of thumb that says that loadings of  $\pm 0.50$  are practically significant. In my computations I have used .60 as a “cut-off-limit” for the factor loadings. By using the eigenvalues, the appropriate numbers of factor to extract is 12 which accounts for 63 percent of the variance in the data.

In order to compare the dimensions among organizations or groups of individual is some kind of quantification is needed. I have simply used the mean value of the survey items that had at least 0.6 in factor score.

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<sup>38</sup> The questions included are nr 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22 and 25 but excluding 10.1, 10.2, 10.6, 11.1 and 25.5 which are questions that rather deal with the respondent's view on organizations in general or the organization in particular than about the membership as such.

<sup>39</sup> Direct Oblimin in SPSS

## **Exploring factors related to activity and governance – regression analysis**

The main analysis technique used for exploring factors related to the member's involvement in governance is linear multiple regression models. This is a statistical technique generally used to analyze the relationship between a single dependent variable and several independent variables (Hair 1998). It should however be observed that this use of the regression technique should not be confused with hypothesis testing, for which the technique is frequently also used. My objective in using the technique is still exploratory and makes it possible to control how multiple "independent" variables correlate with a "dependent variable", which in turn makes it easier to reason about which variables affect each other.

As a way to increase the transparency of the conducted analysis, I have in the main text chosen to show the full regression models with all variables included in order for the reader to have the chance to individually assess the results. I have also tested a number of techniques for simplifying the models by removing non-significant variables. I have used the stepwise function in SPSS with parameters to enter new variables if they are significant on the .05 level and to exclude variables that are less significant than .10. I have also tried manually to start with all variables and repeatedly remove the least significant variable or all non-significant variables until all variables except age and organization dummies were significant. Since all these techniques gave approximately the same results I will in the results and analysis chapters present the full regression models.

The applicability of multiple regression analysis have been tested through residual plots and partial regression plots (cf. Hair 1998) without finding any signs of problems.





# Appendix B: Variable coding

Coding of the four organizational level variables is explained at pages 116-119.

	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Range</b>	<b>Coding</b>
<b>Survey questions</b>			
Survey question 1	Length of membership	0 to 3	0 = "less than 1 year" to 3 = "more than 10 years"
Survey question 2	Are or have been elected representative	0 or 1	0 = have never been elected representative in the organization or 1 = are or have been elected representative in the organization
Survey question 4	Number of memberships	0 to 2	0 = "0 other memberships" to 2 = "4 or more other memberships"
Survey question 5	Secondary membership	0 or 1	1 = "do not agree at all" and the adjacent box, 0 = all other answers including respondents who have stated in survey question 4 that they have no other memberships
Survey question 11.2	Alternative organization	0 to 4	0 = do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Survey question 28	Sex	0 or 1	0 = female, 1 = male
Survey question 29	Education	0 to 2	0 = no schooling or elementary school, 1 = secondary school, 2 = university or university college
<b>Membership dimensions</b>			
Membership dimension 1	Participating in the governance system	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 10.11 and 10.13 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 2	Benefits for society	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 13.3, 13.4 and 13.5 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 3	Personal benefits	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 13.1 and 13.2 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 4	The membership as a right	0 to 4	Survey question 7.3 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 5	Connection to the (inter)national level	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 8.3, 8.5, 8.7 and 8.9 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 6	Exit if dissatisfied	0 to 4	Max value of survey questions 11.3 and 11.4 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 7	Opportunities to influence	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 10.3, 10.5 and 10.9 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 8	Commitment to the organization's mission	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 25.1, 25.2 and 25.4 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 9	Meaningful recreational activities	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 7.5, 14.4, 14.5, 14.6 and 14.9 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"

Membership dimension 10	Organizational openness	0 to 4	Mean value of survey questions 16.1 and 16.2 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 11	Exhibiting the membership	0 to 4	Mean value of survey question 22.1 and 22.2 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
Membership dimension 12	Born or raised in the organization	0 to 4	Survey question 7.11 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
<b>Rationalities</b>			
Rationality 1	Calculative rationality	0 to 4	Max value of membership dimension 3 and 6
Rationality 2	Ideal-based rationality	0 to 4	Max value of membership dimension 2 and 8
Rationality 3	Rationality based on genuine relationships	0 to 4	Max value of membership dimension 9 and 12
<b>Other variables</b>			
	Face-to-face activity	0 to 4	Max value of survey questions 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.5, 9.8, 9.9, 9.10, 23.1, 23.2 and 23.3 coded 0 = "never", 1 = "some time a year", 2 = "every month", 3 = "some time a week", 4 = "almost every day"
	Metropolitan area	0 or 1	1 = according to postal code living in a municipality in or around one of the three largest cities in Sweden, 0 living in all other areas
	Local level more important than national level	-4 to 4	Survey question 8.1 minus 8.3 coded 0 = "do not agree at all" to 4 = "agrees entirely"
	Number of rationales	0 to 3	Number of rationalities 1 to 3 with values of 3 or higher

## **Appendix C: The Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was developed in Swedish and some of the questions were adapted to the organizations in order for the respondents to recognize various levels in the organization, the name of the organization's magazine and the organization's mission. The questionnaire presented at the following pages is a translated version of the survey that was distributed to the IOGT-NTO's members.



HANDELSHÖGSKOLAN  
I STOCKHOLM  
STOCKHOLM SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

EFI, Ekonomiska Forskningsinstitutet



IOGT-NTO

Hello!

You have as member in **IOGT-NTO** been chosen in order to contribute to this scientific study. The survey is about membership's importance in membership-based and popular-movement organizations. **If you are not member we kindly ask you to indicate this in question 1 and send the questionnaire back to us since this is important information for us.**

This study is integrated in a research program at the Economic Research Institute at the Stockholm School of Economics. In this research program questions about the economy, management and strategy in non-profit organizations are studied. Responsible for the program is Assistant Professor Filip Wijkström. The questionnaire is an important part in our work since it is crucial to understanding membership's importance and its role both for organizations and their members.

**N.B.!**

If you are a member in other organizations than IOGT-NTO we kindly ask you to try and answer the questions from the perspective of your membership in IOGT-NTO if the questions do not call for anything else.

If you feel that you cannot respond to a specific question we ask you to continue through the questionnaire and respond to the rest of the questions. All replies are valuable so even if you cannot respond to all questions you will help our research by returning the questionnaire.

If some of the questions seem unfamiliar to you, this may be due to the fact that the survey is carried out in the nine different organizations that is shown further down on this page. The random selection process can furthermore cover in all categories of members from the entirely newly enlisted to the chairman of the board.

**Thank you for your time and participation!**

**Participating organizations:**

The Union of Tenants	IOGT-NTO	The Swedish Cooperative Union
The Swedish Teachers' Union	The Swedish Football Association	The Missionary and Covenant Church in Sweden
The Swedish Red Cross	The Social Democratic Workers' Party	The Association of the Visually Impaired

**Protection of personal information**

The researchers follow ethical principles about confidentiality and anonymity that have been established at the Stockholm School of Economics. This implies that information collected with this questionnaire cannot without the permission of the informant be disclosed in any way so that individual informants can be identified. This means that no other than the researchers will have access to your answers and they will not be shared with representatives of IOGT-NTO.

## About the questionnaire and practical instructions

Several of the organizations in this study have local, regional and central levels or sections. What we want to understand is the member's relationship to the organization as a whole as well as to the different levels.

The questionnaire has a number of sections which address various aspects of the membership. These sections are:

- **Background about your affiliation to the organization**
- **Your relationship to IOGT-NTO**
- **Commitments and activity**
- **Possibilities for influence**
- **Questions about benefits of membership**
- **Openness in IOGT-NTO**
- **Questions about active and passive members**
- **Questions about showing or demonstrating membership**
- **IOGT-NTO's basic values and ideals**

Many questions are in the form of assertions with a scale from "do not agree at all" to "agrees entirely". Indicate your reply with a X in the square that best corresponds your opinion. Please note that we want to know what you personally think and not the opinions of other. If you miss an alternative on some question or want to add something else there is additional space for this on the last page in the questionnaire.

If you happen to mark the wrong square you can simply cross that out and mark the correct answer.

**The completed questionnaire should be folded and taped or stapled shut according to the instructions on the back. After that you can leave the pre-stamped questionnaire in the nearest mailbox. If you prefer to send your reply in a closed envelope, you can state the following address on the envelope:**

Frisvar  
The Economic Research Institute  
Filip Wijkström  
110 06 Stockholm

The survey is carried out in cooperation with the organizations studied. The study is initiated and is carried out on a scientific basis developed by the researchers, but could not have been done without the aid of the organizations. As a part in this cooperation has we have carried out random selections of members. We have also for this purpose been given access to the members' addresses under the condition that the addresses will be treated confidentially and used only for this research project.

**We thank again for your most valuable help!**

**If you have any questions about the survey can you to contact:**

Torbjörn Einarsson  
The economic research institute  
Box 6501  
113 83 Stockholm  
torbjorn.einarsson@hhs.se  
08-736 9457

Per Åke Lundin  
IOGT-NTO  
Box 12825  
112 97 Stockholm  
per-ake.lundin@iogt.se  
08-672 6021

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We begin with some background questions about your affiliation with the organization

	less than 1 year	1 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	more than 10 years	am not member	Do not know
1. How long have you been member in IOGT-NTO? (total time if you have been member during several periods)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Are you or have you been an elected representative in IOGT-NTO (for example as member of the board)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Do not know					
3. Are you or have you been employed (at least half-time) within IOGT-NTO?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Do not know					
4. How many other membership-based or popular-movement organizations, in addition to IOGT-NTO, are you member of?	0	1-3	4 or more	Do not know		

**You should only respond to the following two questions if in the previous question you stated that you are member in more organizations than IOGT-NTO.**

5. We would like to know how important your membership in IOGT-NTO is for you personally compared to your memberships in other organizations.				
	Do not agree at all	Agree entirely		Do not know
For me the membership in IOGT-NTO is my most important membership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Are you or have you been an elected representative in any of these other member organizations?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Do not know				

**Now, some questions about your relationship to IOGT-NTO**

7. The relationship between a member and an organization can take different forms. Below, we want you to state how much you agree with different assertions about your relationship to IOGT-NTO.

	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely	Do not know
<b>My relationship to IOGT-NTO can be described as:</b>							
based on shared values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a possibility	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a right	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a responsibility	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a recreational activity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a benefit relationship	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a gift to IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am (part) owner of IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IOGT-NTO is a part of me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was born into or raised in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. The member can in its membership relate to different parts of the organization with different intensity. Here, we want to know how important different parts of IOGT-NTO are for you in your membership.

	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely	Do not know
For me, the local association is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, the district is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, national organization is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, the local association's annual meeting is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



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	Do not agree at all			Agree entirely		Do not know
For me, the congress is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, IOGT-NTO's newspaper is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, IOGT-NTO's homepage is important (www.iogt.se)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, UNF, NSF or Junis are important (IOGT-NTO's youth associations)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me, the international IOGT-movement is important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Membership can mean that one participates in the organization's different activities**

9. How **often** do you do any of the following in connection with your membership in IOGT-NTO?

	never	once a year	every month	once a week	almost every day	Do not know
Working with the board	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participate in meetings where formal decisions are made (other than board meetings, for example annual meetings)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participate in other types of meetings or gatherings (for example training, information meetings or worship)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work with education or leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participate in education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Read information on IOGT-NTO's homepage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participate in other forms of activity via Internet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work with recruiting members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work with collecting money or writing funding applications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work with information or public opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Some questions about your perception of possibilities to exercise influence in and through IOGT-NTO

10. The formal membership in an organization often includes possibilities for exercising influence.  
 Below, we ask you to state how much you agree with a number of assertions about that.

	Do not agree at all		Agree entirely		Do not know
As member of an organization, one has a right to exert influence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
As member of an organization, one has an obligation to in accordance with one's abilities exert influence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My membership gives me good opportunities for exercising influence in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important for me that I can exert influence in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I want to change something that is wrong in IOGT-NTO I know how to do so	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My right, and other members' right to influence stems from members' role as owners of IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would chiefly use formal democratic channels if I wanted to influence IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would chiefly use informal channels if I wanted to influence IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My membership gives me opportunities to influence important societal questions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important to me that I can influence society through IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I read the local association's annual report every year	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I read the national organization's annual report every year	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I participate in the local annual meeting every year	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I were asked I would run for an elected representative's position in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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11. If one as a member is dissatisfied with something in an organization one can act in different ways. One alternative is to try to exercise influence and change what is wrong and another alternative is to leave the organization. Here, follows a number of assertions on this theme.

	Do not agree at all	Agree entirely	Do not know
I think that there is some equivalent organization that I could join if I were dissatisfied with IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I were dissatisfied with something in IOGT-NTO, I would try to influence what I think is wrong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I were dissatisfied with something, I would leave IOGT-NTO and join an alternative organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I were dissatisfied with something I would leave IOGT-NTO, without joining an alternative organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. An organization where the members are given opportunities to exercise influence could function in various ways. We would like to know what you think is important in order for you as a member to experience that you can influence IOGT-NTO.

	Do not agree at all	Agree entirely	Do not know
<b>In order for the members to have good possibilities for influence in IOGT-NTO it is necessary that:</b>			
the principle "one member – one vote" is applied	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
there are different candidates to choose from in board elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the election committees are independent from the board of directors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the board members hold office for a limited time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
democratically made decisions are implemented	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the board of director's work is examined thoroughly by auditors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the members get access to the local association's annual report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the members get access to the national association's annual report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely					Do not know	
<b>In order for the members to have good possibilities to exercise influence in IOGT-NTO it is required that:</b>												
everyone who wants to have the possibility to stand as candidate in board elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the local associations can influence the national association's work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the national association can influence the local associations' work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Some questions about your benefits from membership in IOGT-NTO

13. The membership can give various types of benefits. We want to ask how much you agree with a number of assertions about benefits for different groups of people.

	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely					Do not know	
<b>It is important for me that my membership leads to:</b>												
some benefit for me personally or for people close to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
some benefit for other members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
some benefit for IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
some benefit for the local society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some benefit for the wider society or for the world at large	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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14. Here, we want to know which different parts of your membership you see as "benefits" for yourself.

	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely	Do not know
<b>A benefit from my membership in IOGT-NTO is that:</b>							
I feel needed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I or people close to me get help when needed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get access to insurance policies, an interesting newspaper, discounts or other types of material benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get meaningful recreational activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get new friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I learn new things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IOGT-NTO influences society in accordance with my values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get a better conscience	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get valuable experiences for a career outside of IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
society gets better	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### Openness and participation in IOGT-NTO

15. Openness and participation are two concepts that are frequently used in many member organizations. It is however not always easy to know which meaning people assign to these words. Therefore, we ask you state how much you agree with a number of assertions about openness and participation.

	Do not agree at all					Agree entirely	Do not know
<b>In an organization characterized by openness and participation:</b>							
anyone can become member	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
there are possibilities to take an active part	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
it is possible to criticize leaders and activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
there is equality between the sexes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
can one participate on their own conditions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the debate is open for everyone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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16. Here, we want to know how much you agree with a number of assertions about openness and participation in IOGT-NTO.

	Do not agree at all				Agree entirely	Do not know
For me it is important that IOGT-NTO shows openness towards the members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me it is important that IOGT-NTO is open for everyone that wants to become members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me it is important that I as a member feel like I am participating in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For me it is important that IOGT-NTO is a part of the wider society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Sometimes, it is said that membership-based and popular-movement organizations in various way promote peoples' participation in the wider society. Here, we ask you to indicate how much you agree with a number of assertions on this theme.

	Do not agree at all				Agree entirely	Do not know
<b>The membership in IOGT-NTO leads to members:</b>						
getting better possibilities to participate in the general debate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
becoming more politically aware	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learning to co-operate with others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learning democratic ways of working	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
gaining more political self-confidence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
developing more trust in other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
feeling solidarity with other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Many organizations use different ways to categorize their members. A common way is categorization into active and passive members.

18. Are the categories of active and passive members in common use in IOGT-NTO?

Yes  No  Do not know

19. How would you describe your own membership in IOGT-NTO?

Active  Passive  Neither

20. Irrespective of whether the categories active and passive are used in IOGT-NTO we want to know if you think in terms of active and passive concerning members in membership-based or popular-movement organizations in general.

	Do not agree at all			Agree entirely	Do not know
When I think about members in different organizations I categorize them as active and passive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**You only need to respond to the following question if you yourself use the categorization of active and passive when you think on members in popular-movement and membership-based organizations.**

21. We would like to know what meanings you assign to the concepts active and passive. Therefore, we ask you to write **at most** three short statements or keywords that characterize an active and a passive member.

Active member	Passive member

Showing or demonstrating your membership

22. Members can choose to show their membership publicly or only within the organization. Here two assertions follow, and we want to know how strongly you agree with that.

	Do not agree at all			Agree entirely	Do not know
It is important for me to be able to show other members that I also is member in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important for me to be able to show non members that I am member in IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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23. Membership can be demonstrated or showed in various ways. We would like you to state in which ways and how often you show your membership in IOGT-NTO.

	never	once a year	every month	once a week	almost every day	Know ej
<b>I show my membership in IOGT-NTO by:</b>						
telling others that I am member and by speaking about what IOGT-NTO does	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
showing a membership card or some other proof of membership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
wearing IOGT-NTO's pin, club sweater or similar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
participating in IOGT-NTO's public meetings or arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If in the previous question you have stated that you show your membership in some way we would like to know why you do this.

**You only need to respond to the following question if in the previous question you stated that you sometimes show your membership in IOGT-NTO.**

24. Why do you show your membership in IOGT-NTO?						
	Do not agree at all			Agree entirely		Do not know
<b>I show my membership in IOGT-NTO in order to:</b>						
show that I support IOGT-NTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
be able to participate in IOGT-NTO's meetings or arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
get access to insurance policies, discounts or other types of benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
recruit new members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
encourage interests in the questions and values IOGT-NTO stands for	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



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Common values and ideals are fundamental in many organizations and are consequently often stated in the organization's bye laws or principles. IOGT-NTO's principles:

- Principles**
- *The activities of the IOGT-NTO movement are built on the principle that all people have equal rights to freedom, personal development and happiness. The work is based on the will to contribute to better life conditions for everyone.*
  - *The IOGT-NTO movement asserts that understanding and cooperation among earth's people constitute the best conditions for human progress. The IOGT-NTO movement wants to promote an international democratically based community through your activity.*
  - *The IOGT-NTO movement believes that the social environment must be shaped and society planned with a starting point in the people's needs community and safety.*
  - *The IOGT-NTO movement asserts that social and cultural development is promoted through a distribution of material resources so that all people have a share of the general welfare and safety.*
  - *The IOGT-NTO movement asserts that solidarity and feelings of common brotherly responsibilities with the individual only can be developed to the fullest in a free society, built on a principle of all people's equal rights and value.*
  - *Alcohol, narcotics and other poisons with intoxicating effects are a burden for the individual human being and for the society. The IOGT-NTO movement therefore through its activities works to drive back the use of these poisons and consequently insist on absolute temperance and total abstinence from narcotics from its members.*

25. Here we want to know to what degree you agree with a number assertions concerning IOGT-NTO's principles.

	Do not agree at all			Agree entirely	Do not know
I already knew the approximate content in IOGT-NTO's principles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel great sympathy for the organization's principles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I could do voluntary and unpaid work in order to further what is said in IOGT-NTO's principles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The most important reason for me to join IOGT-NTO was that I sympathized with its principles (in order to agree in this assertion you do not have to have read the principles before you became a member)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The principles are clearly expressed in IOGT-NTO's activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would leave IOGT-NTO if I did not feel that the organization worked sufficiently towards realizing the objectives in the principles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

You have so far responded to questions about different dimensions in your membership. Now, we want to know something about their relative importance.

26. In the table below we want you to indicate with crosses the **three** dimensions that you think are most important for you in your membership in IOGT-NTO.

<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities for influence in IOGT-NTO
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities for influence in society through IOGT-NTO
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities to receive some personal benefits or benefits for people close to me
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities for benefits for someone other than myself and people close to me
<input type="checkbox"/>	IOGT-NTO's openness and scope for participation
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities to show my membership
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opportunities for activities and something to do
<input type="checkbox"/>	IOGT-NTO's aims and values as they are expressed in the principles

Finally, we want you to reply to some questions about yourself and your view on your fellow citizens and the society at large

27. What year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Are you female or male?

Female  Male

29. What is that highest level of education you have completed? Mark the reply that best fits you.

- Elementary school
- Secondary school
- University college
- Do not know

30. Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with others? Indicate the answer that best fits your opinion.

- One can trust most people
- One cannot be enough careful
- Do not know



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## Membership and Organizational Governance

Membership-based organizations perform many functions in society. Federatively organized trade unions, sports organizations, religious congregations and other voluntary or nonprofit organizations are often large, multi-level associations. In addition to performing important services these organizations are ascribed a central role in society's governance. They are expected to enhance the voice of the citizens and to function as schools of democracy.

Based on a sample of membership organizations in Sweden – among them the Red Cross, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and the Swedish Football Federation – this study sets out to analyze the internal governance system in this type of organizations. Basic theoretical models of human behavior – including how and why individuals choose to get involved – and of governance of organizations are elaborated in order to adapt them to a reality which is more complex than has been previously understood.

A model of factors which affect involvement in governance is presented and the analysis shows that a model of membership consisting of a bundle of dimensions is useful for creating new insight into members' participation. The results suggest that participation is complex and depends on many factors. One interesting result is that a majority of the members place an emphasis on the formal possibilities for influence in the organization. Yet, only a minority of the members actually takes part in the formal governance system, although most members seem prepared to act if they would be disappointed enough.



### Torbjörn Einarsson

has conducted his PhD work at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE) and is today a researcher at Stockholm Center for Civil Society Studies at the SSE Institute for Research.

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