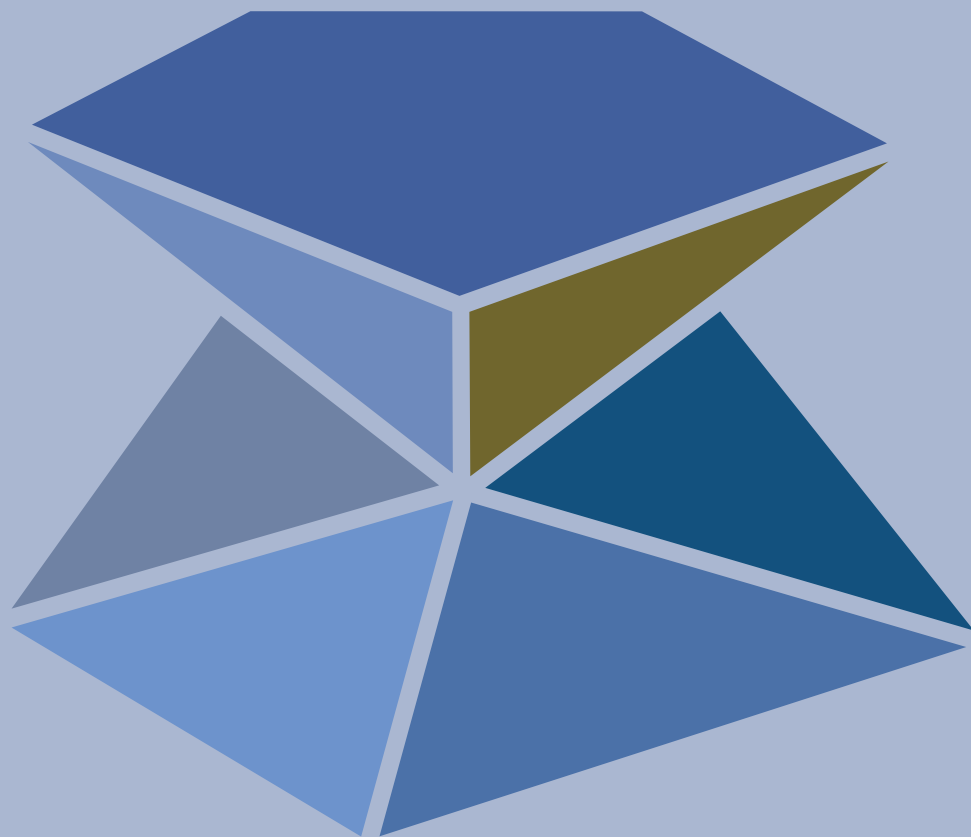# Ideology Being Governed

Strategy Formation in Civil Society

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To
My Family

Foreword

This volume is the 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 doctor's thesis at SSE. In keeping with the policies of SSE, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present his research in the manner of his choosing as an expression of his own ideas.

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation in Business Administration, which is the result of research conducted primarily at the Center for Management and Organization at the Stockholm School of Economics, would not have been possible without the most generous contributions from a large number of colleagues and friends. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to all that have helped me finishing this book.

First, I would like to thank my main supervisor Associate Professor Filip Wijkström for his continuous academic support, guidance and friendship. I would also want to thank the members of my supervision committee, Professor Göran Ahrne and Associate Professor Hans Kjellberg, your insightful comments, honest criticism and reading tips have been invaluable for me. I would also like to thank centre director Professor Sven-Erik Sjöstrand for his continuous academic support, invaluable criticism and for giving me a place at his research centre. Thank you all for involving yourself in my project!

This study would never have been completed without all those from IOGT-NTO who kindly have helped me by letting me interview them, making documents accessible, letting me participate in meetings and seminars and commenting on various texts and presentations. Thank you for being so generous with your time, without your participation and support, this research could not have been accomplished. I would like to give a special thanks to Per-Åke Lundin who has acted as my guide in the empirical world. This project would never have been possible without the time and support you have given me. Special thanks also go to Kerstin Kokk, former archivist of IOGT-NTO, who pointed me in the

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The importance of and support for different questions in society waxes and wanes over time. Many scholars have observed that social movements arrive and move in waves or in protest cycles as they seem to be created, carried and constrained by different sentiments in wider society (Tilly, 1993; Tarrow, 1994; Micheletti, 1995). These movement waves offer 'political opportunity structures' to the formal organisations that often emerge out of the social movements and also set the borders within which the organisation can manoeuvre and develop. At the same time, one of the often cited core functions of social movements in society is to stretch these borders to cover ever more territory and reach additional segments of the population through their very activities (Tarrow, 1989). Another way of describing this is by using the metaphor of Ahrne and Papakostas (2006) of social movements as torrents of water that sweep through the social landscape and deposit calmer pools of formal organisations where they pass. This metaphor implies a paradox as the movement in itself loses energy when it is institutionalised into an organisation at the same time as it is bound to perish if it is not converted into an organisation proper (Ahrne, 1994).

In the book *Diminished democracy: from membership to management in American civic life*, American political scientist Theda Skocpol outlines what she describes as a decline of the cross-class voluntary and membership-based

national federations and the parallel rise of the professionally managed associations in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s (Skocpol, 2003). The U.S. development, as depicted by Skocpol, focuses on the transformation of the large membership-based federations on the national level, many of which experienced a sharp decline in memberships during the 1970s. Those membership federations that have been able to maintain large membership cadres have had to narrow their goals, and their operations have at the same time also turned more toward recreational activities and away from advocacy and political activities.

This development has been coupled with what Berry (1989) has named the 'advocacy explosion' which consisted of several overlapping waves of a new breed of organisations beginning with the civil rights movement followed by organisations sprung out of many new public interest causes. The majority of these new associations do not claim to represent the interests of their members; in fact most of them do not even have any members, but rather claim to represent a general public interest. These organisations do not consist of networks or federations of local associations as in earlier social movement waves but are instead organised as small, professionally run organisations. The drivers for this change have mainly been new sources of financial support, innovative technologies for funding and advocacy, new organisational forms, and a broad constituency for professionally managed civil society organisations (CSOs) created by a newly emerging group of more highly educated experts. Furthermore, the traditional idea of membership is often understood to have converted from an earlier more collective form to today's more individual approaches.

In a parallel and related type of analysis, the classic Scandinavian or Nordic membership-based popular movements have traditionally had many different purposes and activities within one and the same organisational architecture; you might say that they incorporated large parts of civil society within each single organisation. Nevertheless, trends and elements of the developments described by Skocpol (2003) and Berry (1989) for the United States now appear to apply to the organisations

active in many of the core fields of civil society also in Sweden (Wijkström & Einarsson, 2006; Papakostas, 2011).

According to Skocpol, this transformation from broad membership-based federations to narrow and more management-driven professional organisations has led to a decline in democracy in two ways. On a macro level, there are today fewer organisations that aggregate and enhance the sentiments of their local grassroots, for example in national campaigns, and thus fewer voices are heard in the (national) political debate. On the organisational level, this switch "from trustees of community to specialised experts" also means that there is less democracy exercised within the existing organisations (Skocpol, 2003:212), a trend which has been described as a development from "elected to paid trust" (Wijkström & Einarsson, 2006:79).

If we believe that the organisations in civil society play a vital role in society as a whole, it could be argued that we need to be concerned about this development for two reasons. On the organisational level, it may lead to a loss of energy in the membership cadres and thus to a potential goal displacement from political or social goals to organisational maintenance and ultimately to the total subversion of the original meaning of the organisation (Zald & Ash, 1966; Piven & Cloward, 1977; Osterman, 2006). On the societal level, the decline of the large and membership-based federations could lead to a loss of both their traditional role as 'schools of democracy' and their function as aggregators of public sentiment.

This dissertation focuses in its empirical parts on one of the oldest cross-class, voluntary, membership-based national federations in Sweden, the IOGT-NTO, and analyses how it has escaped the fate that Skocpol (2003) and Berry (1989) claim has befallen many of the American national federations. This particular organisation has been able to retain and even develop much of its cross-class federative character as well as stay true to its original mission, even though the wider social movement of which it is part has been on the decline for a long time.

The iron law of oligarchy

In Sweden, as in other parts of Europe and in the U.S., there is an on-going debate on the decline of activity in the traditional membership-based organisations, where an active membership often is key in internal governance processes. It is often said that those organisations have become 'becalmed', i.e., that they have grown complacent and that the emotional fervour of the movement is subdued (Zald & Ash, 1966; Wijkström & Lundström, 2002; Skocpol, 2003; Papakostas, 2011; Wijkström, 2011). When the organisational goals become narrower and the organisations become more management-driven, they also become susceptible to what Michels ([1911], 1962) has called the 'iron law of oligarchy', which predicts goal displacement from the organisations' original goals, together with organisational decline, and ultimately the organisations' demise (Michels [1911], 1962; Zald & Ash 1966; Piven & Cloward 1977; Osterman 2006). This process captures the transformation of formerly democratic and participatory organisations into hierarchical authority structures with a self-supplementing leadership. Most studies of oligarchy and organisation tend to treat oligarchy and the resulting goal displacement as one-sided processes which lead towards a less radical direction, though there are exceptions[1]. This process of oligarchy is furthermore understood to be mutually reinforcing in an iterative way with the macro processes described above, whereby the development on the macro level triggers the development on the organisational level and vice versa.

    According to Michels ([1911], 1962) the first step in the development of oligarchic leadership is the result of processes of organisational growth and success. As the organisation grows, the distance between the members and the elected leaders becomes greater and it becomes harder for the members to maintain contact with their leaders, and vice versa. This is especially salient in multi-level federations since the time and cost in-

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[1] See for instance Jenkins's (1977) discussion of the radicalisation of the National Council of Churches in the United States.

volved in assembling members increase sharply with size. Secondly, as the organisation grows there is often a (perceived or real) need to employ professional staff to manage functions such as fundraising, personnel management, bookkeeping and other coordinating and integrative functions (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967b). Together these two processes, organisational growth and professionalisation, shift decision-making power from members to elected leaders and employed staff and might over time lead to a reduced membership participation in decision-making, which will reinforce the pattern even more (Rudwick & Meier, 1972; Osterman, 2006). According to Michels ([1911], 1962), the elected and employed leaders of the organisation will become attached to their positions for economic or identity reasons, and they will adjust their decisions in order to keep those positions. Furthermore Michels ([1911], 1962) assumes that the environment of a CSO is hostile towards it, which will lead the leadership to become responsive to the environment and adjust the organisation's goals in a less radical direction in order to secure external legitimacy and resources. This is what often is summarised as goal displacement (Simon, 1947; Selznick, 1948; Messinger, 1955; Zald & Ash, 1966).

One contemporary development is the decrease in numbers of, and activity among, members in CSOs. This development is often explained by the increasing individuality of post-modern society, which makes people less interested in investing time and resources in one specific organisation. This new line of members rather prefer to become involved in several different organisations, depending on what is considered the most pressing, or interesting, need at the moment. One effect of this transformation in thinking is that many of the individuals are transformed from long-term active members participating in a particular organisation's governance into episodic volunteers moving from organisation to organisation (Hustinx, 2001; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). These developments could potentially lead to a decline of activity within a specific organisation, but also, and more worrying from the perspective of this dissertation, to a reduced interest in the formal governance of the organisation. The diminished interest in the internal governance of the organi-

sation in turn creates a greater need for, as well as space for, employed professional staff, at the same time as it opens up for a self-supplementing leadership which eventually may lead to oligarchic processes.

Others have argued that the increased presence of episodic volunteers and simultaneous decrease in activity of traditional members are not leading to more oligarchic organisations. The reason for this is that the type of organisations that has emerged more recently, often dubbed 'new social movements', is a new type of network-based organisations which build on informal ties – rather than formal memberships – and the creation of meaning and shared identity – rather than constitutions and bylaws (Melucci, 1996). These organisations are seen as resembling primary groups such as families and close networks of intimate friends rather than formal organisations. Since primary groups build on members' concern for one another and shared activities and culture, they are not, according to this line of thinking, as susceptible to, for instance, oligarchic tendencies as was the earlier breed of social movement-based organisations.

A third argument is offered by Papakostas (2011) in his account of recent changes in Swedish civil society, where he observes an increase in the number of organisations but with fewer members and addressing fewer issues, a very similar development to that identified by Skocpol (2003) and Berry (1989) for the United States. In contrast to the two explanations offered above, Papakostas argues that the main driving force behind this development is the increased availability and new types of resources coming from other organisations, which make the CSOs of today less dependent on their individual members for such resources. In other words, it is not the individual members that have turned their back on CSOs, but the CSOs that have turned their backs on their members.

The interorganisational domain

Much of the traditional research on organisations has been focused on a single entity or on an entity that can be assumed to have a deciding influence over other organisations, for example, the parent company within a corporate group or the national organisation within a federation of voluntary or nonprofit organisations. Some studies[2], however, especially within social movement research, examine the relations among a large group of organisations, often referred to as social movements or as social movement industries (Zald & McCarthy, 1987).

The focus of such studies has often been on either the societal or the movement level, treating as black boxes the internal workings of the many different organisations that actually make up the backbone of the movement. These movement organisations are also, in other types of studies, frequently considered to be completely freestanding, either complementing or competing with the other organisations. Seldom are they, however, seen and analysed as an interconnected group of organisations. In the present study I have chosen to examine a group of organisations for which the legal ties between the organisations do not unambiguously identify a peak coordinator or an organisational hub. The group can rather be seen as a fairly stable and consistent interorganisational domain consisting of a set of organisations that have a shared meaning or value system and that interact more frequently with each other than with organisations outside of this particular domain. Such a domain is thus created when those organisations, and relevant other actors that populate the field, come to share a similar vision of what the important questions are and who the important players are (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). It then becomes crucial to explore both the coordination mechanisms and the

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[2] See for example an interesting study on the Swedish environmental movement by Boström (2001, 2004).

means for constructing and negotiating power among the members of the organisational domain.

Governance of membership-based CSOs

One of the primary purposes of governance within a federation is to ensure that the members are able to control the direction and the design of the federation's common activities and units. The governance structure is constituted by a number of different bodies and arenas, of which the general assembly, at least formally, is the most important. Most federations use a representative, democratic system by which each of the local associations is given a proportional number of votes, depending on the relative size of each association. The representatives at each level are then tasked with the duty to interpret the interests of their members and translate them into directives to the common unit(s). The interplay between the local associations and the common unit(s) could be described as a dialectic and interdependent process where the local member associations steer the common unit at the same time as the common unit influences the local associations (Hvenmark, 2008; Einarsson, T., 2012). This democratic governance function is captured in what I have chosen to describe as *the recursive, vertical process of governance*.

The recursive, vertical process of governance is partly regulated by the norms and rules within the federation. Two of the most important repositories of such norms and rules are the federation's constitution and its shared value system or ideology, which (among other things) contains the formal rules and procedures for the internal governance system of the organisation and, as such, affects the current and the future governance process. The process through which those norms and rules are changed is what I call *the sequential, temporal governance process*.

The aims and questions of the study

Much of the previous research on CSOs has largely ignored governance in multi-level, federative organisations and has mainly focused instead on governance in boards or the relation between boards and management in unitary organisations. This has in turn had the effect that we lack knowledge about the role and influence of the individual member in the governance processes of CSOs. Furthermore there is a lack of qualitative and longitudinal studies of the process of organisational change within CSOs more generally, which means that we lack knowledge on how change processes are influenced by contextual and historical factors in CSOs (Cornforth, 2011). Such longitudinal process studies are especially needed within the area of governance, since governance processes are not static but rather evolve over time. This study therefore seeks to fill these two gaps by examining the role of members in the governance process and by examining how governance processes take place across different levels over time.

The first challenge is to find out what enables an interorganisational domain to remain a whole. I argue that the larger group of organisations around the IOGT-NTO federation – which serves as the central pillar for this study – can be viewed as an organisational whole. The different parts of the group have taken on, or been given, different tasks, thus creating a differentiation within the particular domain. Why have the actors within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain chosen to operate their treatment centre in a freestanding foundation and its lottery in a corporation instead of keeping these activities within the federation? What are the driving forces behind this differentiation, and what are the elements that lead to coordination and integration within an interorganisational domain of this kind?

For one, the idea that permeates the interorganisational domain can be assumed to have a strong integrating effect (Melucci, 1996; Thörn, 1997). Other plausible integrating mechanisms are the legal or formal hierarchy and the functions for conflict resolution that are built into the

domain such as the formal elements of representative democracy or direct ownership (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967b). The fact that individuals within the interorganisational domain may fill several positions at the same time or have done so over time, coupled with the bonds of friendship that tend to exist between individuals, probably also has an integrative function (see for instance Sjöstrand, 1985). The double issues of integration and differentiation lead to the basic questions of where the interorganisational domain ends and who dominates it. In other words, from where do the boundaries for the domain emerge and how, and by whom, are they constructed?

The main purpose of this study is to explore the phenomenon of governance in interorganisational domains of civil society organisations. It thus becomes important to examine how governance processes interacts with the shared meaning system, or ideology, of the interorganisational domain recursively and over time and what space, if any, there is for (intended and unintended) governance for the incumbent members of the interorganisational domain.

The IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain consists of some very old, fairly large and highly diversified organisations related to one of the first social mass movements in Sweden. When I review the documents of the actors within the interorganisational domain right after the merger between the two independent organisations IOGT and NTO in the beginning of the 1970s, the domain and its major actors showed many signs of having succumbed to the iron law of oligarchy. However, by following the trail of documents after these early texts, I have detected a marked change over time.

Currently, this interorganisational domain represents one of the few traditional popular movements in Sweden that has a steadily increasing member base and also seems to have gained growing political influence. How has this domain been able to not only survive but also successfully adjust to and expand under the changing conditions of the Swedish civil society? How have the actors within this particular domain, to put it in a more theoretical way, been able to avoid and even reverse the iron law of oligarchy and gain new momentum? More generally formulated:

What are the mechanisms that enable a civil society organisation to mitigate the iron law of oligarchy and revitalise itself?

In order to understand these mechanisms and how the actors within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain were able to mitigate the iron law and revitalise the domain, I claim that it is important to understand the role of the members in the governance process as well as the role and content of the shared meaning system, or ideology, which ties the entity together and gives it stability. According to Michels ([1911], 1962), one of the major drivers behind oligarchic processes is the growth of the organisation in which the distance between leaders and members become greater, until the point that there is little contact between the two groups. The governance system, and more precisely the vertical democratic governance system, thus becomes an important structure to examine. Related questions are how the recursive democratic governance process shapes the interorganisational domain and the shared meaning system over time and, equally important, how the interorganisational domain and the shared meaning system influence the governance system, since the latter contains the conditions for future governance processes within the domain.

Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured into seven chapters, of which this introductory chapter is the first. I will in the next chapter explain and expand on the research method chosen for this project and I will also describe in more detail how the study was conducted. In the chapter that follows, I will present and discuss the different theories I draw on for this dissertation and how I will use and combine them in order to understand the questions at hand.

After these first three chapters, the two empirical chapters of the dissertation follow. Chapter four contains a brief historical outline of the IOGT-NTO as well as an overview of the different organisations within the interorganisational domain under study. Chapter five then contains the four concurrent case studies within the domain that are the main empirical material of the dissertation. The first case describes how social work has (re)emerged as an important strategic area among the actors within the interorganisational domain. The second case describes how the structural integration of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain has evolved since the merger between IOGT and NTO, whereas the third case depicts how culture has been converted from one of the domain's main goals to more of a tool for the recruitment and retention of members. In the last case it is described how peace and environmental work were for a short while at the very centre of attention within the domain before they slowly became phased out.

The penultimate chapter of the dissertation then contains the analysis of the four cases together and summarises the comprehensive findings of the study. The final chapter will then draw on this analysis with the aim to advance our more general understanding of governance processes in membership-based, multi-level, federative organisations, and in interorganisational domains of such organisations, and how these may mitigate the iron law of oligarchy.

Chapter 2

Research method

This dissertation presents a single longitudinal case study of the development of a Swedish CSO, and the interorganisational domain surrounding it, from its inception in 1970 to 2009 and traces the unfolding interplay of oligarchic and revitalising processes through detailed archive studies, qualitative interviews and participant observation. By being able to integrate new types of members while also relating to its original identity and ideological roots, the interorganisational domain has, it is argued, revitalised itself and been able to change as society has changed. This successful revitalisation was possible partly because the changes that were introduced were true to the domain's original ideological roots and partly because it maintained a functioning democratic governance system.

The case in question is the group of organisations around the Swedish temperance organisation IOGT-NTO, which is the result of a 1970 merger between two then-independent organisations: IOGT (Independent Order of Good Templars) and NTO (Nationaltemplarorden). It is today a federation of around 800 local associations or chapters spread across the country with around 32,000 individual members, as of 2012. Closely connected to this federation (but legally separate) are the IOGT-NTO Youth Federation (UNF), the IOGT-NTO Children's Federation

(JUNIS), and the Temperance Guide and Scout Association (NSF), which also are structured as federations.

IOGT-NTO's collective vision is: "a society, a world, where people can live their lives free from the obstacle of alcohol and other drugs." To achieve these goals IOGT-NTO engages in three main activities organised in three "pillars": (i) advocacy for a restrictive alcohol and drug policy, (ii) prevention of alcohol and drug problems, and (iii) social work. The IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain contains several organisations and institutions in order to enable it to work toward its goals. The interorganisational domain contains, among other things, two folk high schools, a treatment centre, a lottery, and an international institute and, together with other organisations within the field of temperance, run an educational and cultural development organisation (NBV). These activities are operated in different organisational as well as legal forms (associations, foundations and corporations), and they have different kinds of connections and strengths of these connections to the interorganisational domain. Some of them are fully owned by the IOGT-NTO federation, while others are formally completely freestanding organisations.

Research design

A longitudinal case study

Because I am pursuing an exploratory approach, I have chosen to conduct a single, abductive, qualitative, longitudinal case study (Yin, 1984; Eisenhardt, 1989b) with archival data, supported by interviews, as the main data source. The abductive approach means that I have intermittently switched between an inductively based description of events and theoretically drawn explanations (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994). This work has continued in an iterative way, which has led to a continuously more refined analysis. According to Yin's oft-cited definition: "A case

study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1984:23). Another advantage with case studies as a method is that it accepts the usage of multiple data sources and allows the researcher to return to the empirical world with new questions and angles of approach as the work is progressing.

I have chosen a qualitative case study as my primary method because, through my exploratory approach, I am trying to create new knowledge rather than test hypotheses from earlier studies (Pratt, 2009). Pettigrew (1990) suggests that longitudinal case studies are a good way of studying and analysing change in organisations, especially since organisational change is a multifaceted and emergent process which involves conflicting rationalities and where power and chance are both influential in shaping outcomes. According to this view change always has multiple causes, and causation is circular rather than linear. Mintzberg's view of strategy formation as a pattern in a stream of actions also follows this line (Mintzberg, 1978). Similarly, Brunsson (1982) argues that organisations which are undergoing ideological shifts have a hard time executing radical changes; it is when the ideological shifts are executed that the radical changes can begin. Pettigrew (1985, 1987, 1990) thus suggests a contextualist analysis of organisational change, where the researcher simultaneously analyses the vertical level of change in order to see how different parts of the organisation affect each other, as well as the sequential process of change in order to see how the change plays out over time (Pratt 2009). This has been done in this study by capturing both the interdependence and interconnectedness of the different hierarchical levels and how these levels interplay with the surrounding environment and, at the same time, analysing the temporal interconnection between the different phenomena under study.

Selection of the case and delimitations

IOGT-NTO and the wider temperance movement is one of the oldest of the Swedish popular movements, and it has had an immensely significant influence on Swedish society as a whole and on Swedish civil society in particular. It also has a rich history and, fortunately, excellent archival sources. This in combination with it being transformed from a conservative and inward-looking organisation in decline to a radical and growing organisation with energised members made it a good choice for the present study. The selection of this organisation was thus an informed theoretical choice "in order to exploit opportunities to explore a significant phenomenon under rare or extreme circumstances" (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007:27) or planned opportunism where the "selection of research sites is shaped by the choice of research topics and questions being posed" (Pettigrew, 1990:274).

In order to answer my research questions, I have chosen to conduct an abductive, in-depth examination of the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation. This has been done through a longitudinal case study, by which I have examined the domain and its development from 1970 to 2009. This research design has enabled me to follow the processes in the interorganisational domain and analyse how those processes have played out over time (Pratt, 2009).

In order to delimit the population under study I have decided, as a working definition, to restrict the interorganisational domain centred on the IOGT-NTO federation to those organisations that are present at the biannual IOGT-NTO congress, where also the general assembly[3] has its biannual session. The reason for this limitation is that it is mainly during congress that important plans and policies are presented and major decisions are made. This means that I define the interorganisational domain as the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF (the youth federation), the IOGT-NTO children's federation (JUNIS), the temperance movement's scout

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[3] The general assembly is the highest decision-making body of the IOGT-NTO federation and it holds its biannual meetings at the congress.

federation (NSF), Tollare folk high school, Wendelsberg folk high school and the treatment centre Dagöholm. Other related entities, such as NBV (Educational Association of the Sobriety Movement) would however be placed partly outside the domain since they do not participate in the congress.

This informed choice of study object was also influenced by the interest in studying what Pettigrew (1979) calls social dramas, which act as mini-cases within the larger case, provide a window through which the researcher can study an organisation's growth, evolution and change over time, and give a clear point of entry for data collection. The social dramas, or mini-cases, that will be presented here describe the struggle around the content of the ideology and thus the construction of the border around the organisation, a border that in effect determines who is able to enter into the organisation's governance structure. In order to follow how the governance processes within the interorganisational domain have played out, I have identified three major processes and two minor processes (the two minor processes are described and analysed together in the fourth and last case study of this dissertation) and followed them over time. One could say that I have created several mini-cases within my single longitudinal case study (how the narratives concerning these mini-cases were constructed will be described later in this chapter). In the analysis and concluding sections of this dissertation, I also examine how these processes interact with one another.

Data collection

The main empirical material in this study consists of documents from the biannual congress of the IOGT-NTO movement to which members, local associations and districts can send in bills which will be both responded to in writing before the general assembly by the federation's national board and sometimes by the national council of the

interorganisational domain, and then discussed by the general assembly. It is also at the congress that the board presents plans, strategies and inquiries to the general assembly which will be discussed and decided upon. These documents and the transcripts from these discussions and speeches are subsequently published in a book of about 500 pages in length. I have been provided access to the books from 1971 to 2009, which altogether constitutes about 10 500 pages of text. One of the primary benefits of using this material is that most of the texts (or transcriptions of speeches) are in the form of ideologically powerful speech by which individuals try to convince each other about the advantages of their point of view (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Even though I have relied on archival data as the main source of information, I have also conducted 27 interviews with the top leaders (both elected and employed) in order to enrich my understanding of the organisational events. I have also been able to observe and participate in several meetings and seminars. This has enabled me to triangulate archival data, interviews and observations in order to gain more understanding of the events (Jick, 1979).

This process has meant that I have been embedded in the field for a long time – I observed the first internal seminars in early 2007, and it was also then I made the first interviews. All in all I have had frequent interactions with individuals from the interorganisational domain for almost five years. These frequent interactions have given me plenty of opportunities to test ideas and hypotheses as well as to ask follow-up questions in order to test the robustness of my interpretations.

The interviews were conducted in two rounds. The first round gave me a basic understanding of the interorganisational domain in order to be able to interpret the material in the congress papers. Then, after having coded the congress material, I conducted a second round of interviews to discern how the representatives from the different organisations interpreted the events. The second round of interviews was mostly informal and held in conjunction with other meetings. This enabled me to achieve the overlap of data analysis with data collection that, among others, Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend. Since the minutes from the

discussions at general assembly are very detailed, I also checked with the interviewees about their observations at the general assembly in order to see whether their views have changed over time and, if so, why. This method can also be seen as what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call 'member checks' with the respondents in order to ensure that the researcher's emergent interpretations make sense to the actors themselves. When I presented the case to actors who were part of the processes described therein, they validated the events, something which gives me confidence that the data presented here are highly trustworthy. In order to give the reader as much understanding of the events as possible, I have also strived to make the description as 'thick' as possible (Geertz, 1973). The data were analysed using the naturalistic inquiry method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which has enabled me to examine the key events in the unfolding processes (Isabella, 1990). The analytical process was not linear but rather recursive: in other words, I have probed the material until I feel that I have a solid grasp of the relationships (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

Document studies

The main empirical material in this study is the documents from the biannual congress of the IOGT-NTO movement. The IOGT-NTO movement has a biannual congress to which, as noted above, members, local associations and districts can send in bills which will both be responded to in writing before the congress by the national council or the national federation's board and be discussed by the general assembly at the congress. It is also at the congress that the national council and the national board presents plans, strategies and inquiries to the general assembly, which also will be discussed and decided upon. As stated above I have used the books from 1971 to 2009 for the purposes of this study.

The benefits of using this material are threefold. In the first place, most of the texts and transcripts consist of ideologically powerful speech, in which the proponent of one position seeks to bring the others around

to his or her point of view. This means that the material is full of references to frames and discourses. The texts represent also, as Potter and Wetherell (1987:186) remark, discussions in which the participants try to poke holes in each other's arguments, which helps demonstrate the constructed nature of the arguments and highlights which arguments are seen as valuable in each discourse. Another important advantage of these documents is that, since they are printed by the organisation, they can be viewed as official documents from the organisation and thus as the 'official' view.

The set of documents from each congress consists, among other things, of annual reports from the IOGT-NTO federation, the International Institute of the IOGT-NTO movement, Sober Publishing House, IOGT-NTO Real Estate, the treatment centre Dagöholm, the two folk high schools Tollare and Wendelsberg, the IOGT-NTO lotteries as well as several connected foundations. The strategic reports and suggestions from the national council of the IOGT-NTO movement (Riksstyrelsen) and from the board of the IOGT-NTO federation (Förbundsstyrelsen) are also included. Furthermore, bills (also frequently referred to as motions) from individual members, local associations and districts to the congress are documented, as are the responses to these bills from the preparatory committee of the congress and from the national board. Lastly, there is a transcript of the discussions at the congress regarding these annual reports, strategic suggestions and bills, as well as transcripts from statements and speeches by, and at, the congress.

Historians divide historical sources into narratives and relics. Narratives are sources that tell about an event, whereas relics are material artefacts that are physical evidence that an event took place. Many historians give more credibility to relics than to narratives since they (usually) show less of a bias (the source's motivation for providing some kind of bias) (Thurén, 1997). One of the major benefits of using the documents from the biannual congresses is that this material might be considered to be in between these two sorts of sources. This is because the documents are created as a documentation of the events right after they occurred and they are used two years later as input in the next congress. In the period

between these events, all members of the domain are also able to read the documentation. Together these characteristics make me confident that the documentation gives an accurate description of what actually happened at the congress. Thus, I have a unique opportunity to analyse the decision-making process as it happened, so to speak, instead of having to rely only on retrospective interviews.

Interviews

I also conducted interviews with the top elected leaders and employed executives, i.e., board chair and secretary general, of the organisations within the interorganisational domain in order to enrich my understanding. I also interviewed managers of important functions within the IOGT-NTO federation such as recruitment, advocacy efforts, preventive work, and social work. As such, I could be sure that I got information from all parts of the interorganisational domain.

I engaged in two rounds of interviews. Those of the first round provided me a basic understanding of the interorganisational domain in order to be able to interpret the material in the congress papers. Then, after having coded the congress material, I conducted a second round of interviews in order to discern how the representatives from the different organisations interpreted the events. This second round of interviews was of a more informal character and thus was not tape-recorded. In this way, I was able to achieve the overlap of data analysis with data collection that, among others, Glaser & Strauss (1967) recommend. Furthermore, since the minutes of the congress discussions are very detailed, I was able to present the interviewees with their own statements and determine whether their views had changed over time and, if so, why.

The interviews were semi-structured in that I brought up the same themes at each interview, though the order of topics and specific questions within each theme varied from interview to interview. This enabled me to both tailor each interview to each respondent and ensure some measure of consistency between the interviews.

The interviews in the first round varied from 1.5 up to 2 hours in length. All were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim. All of the respondents were aware of the tape recorder and had the opportunity to turn it off at any time. No one did that. The interviews of the second round were of a more informal character and varied in length from five minutes up thirty minutes. These interviews were not tape-recorded but I did take field notes. One of the most oft-cited problems with tape recording interviews is that respondents might be less willing to talk openly and freely. This drawback is then often weighed against the advantage of not having to make extensive notes during the interview, thus enabling the interviewer to fully focus on the interview situation, since the interview can be transcribed verbatim.

I do not believe that my respondents were inhibited in any significant way by the fact that they were recorded. I base this belief on two facts. First, I never had the feeling that anyone was holding back information or moderated their views on the subject due to the tape recorder. Second, stating one's view and then standing behind it is an important value within the interorganisational domain. Democracy and the freedom to state one's mind are among the core values espoused within the IOGT-NTO movement. One reason that the IOGT-NTO federation has not experimented more with direct democracy models using internet technology is the view that democracy builds on face-to-face communications. As one of my respondents early on in my interviews said when I told him about the tape recorder and how I would keep what he said to me confidential: "If you cannot stand up in the presence of others and state your view, that view is not worth much."

Of course the real world is not as rosy as this and of course everyone will not tell me everything, especially not about very sensitive questions regarding ideology. This is especially so since my study covers a very long period of time and memory and interpretations of events will be distorted over time. Here I think the usage of written historical texts, both in the form of minutes from the congresses and in the form of the member magazine, helped both me and my respondents to crystallise a view of the events (Richardson, 1994).

Construction of the cases

The work with constructing the cases began with a reading of the 10 500 pages from the congresses. I then scanned the books and converted the scanned pages to Word format with an Optical Character Recognition (OCR) program in order to be able to use NVivo for the analysis of both the archival data and the interview transcripts. NVivo helped me with rigor in coding, consistency in analysis, and speed and flexibility of re-coding/resorting the data and was very important at the beginning of the analysis. Once the material is carefully coded, the software enables the researcher to search and find all instances of the different constructs, not only the ones that are most vividly remembered. This might lead to different conclusions or to stronger arguments, than those based only on memory. This is of course especially true for large data sets and when the collection of data is spread out over a longer period of time. When all of the data are in the computer, it is also very fast and easy to search, rearrange and do different types of analysis of the data, something that can be daunting and time consuming to do by hand. This gives the researcher the opportunity to test the data from several angles.

Once I had grasped which the most important processes in the material were, I started to construct the mini-cases describing them. This work was first done by merging the different text fragments, which were coded to belong to each process, thus creating a rough narrative for each case. I then re-read the congress material in order to make sure that all relevant information pertaining to each mini-case was present in the rough narrative. I also added information on how the mini-cases where interrelated, both by studying the congress material and through the interview transcripts.

Trustworthiness of the data

The use of the documentation from the biannual congresses has given me a unique opportunity to observe the decision-making process as it happened since these sources might be considered to be rather free from biases particularly because they are created in conjunction with the event they are describing and are available to all members of the interorganisational domain for review. These features make me fairly confident of the documents' accuracy.

One of the most important ways of ensuring the trustworthiness of the data is to make what Lincoln and Guba (1985) calls 'member checks' with the respondents in order to ensure that the emergent interpretations make sense to them. When I have presented the case to actors who were part of the processes described therein, they validated the events. Furthermore, I was able to observe several meetings and seminars. All of these techniques combined have allowed me to triangulate archival data, interviews and observations in order to gain more understanding of the events (Jick, 1979) and give me confidence that the data presented here are highly trustworthy.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

In this chapter I present the different theoretical models used in this work in order to understand the governance processes in multilevel, federative, membership-based organisations, of which my case – IOGT-NTO - is a salient example. I am in particular interested in how processes of strategy formation are influenced by historical and contextual processes. It is important to note that these governance processes are not static, but rather evolve and develop over time. My specific interest concerns the role of actors – members, volunteers, supporters, managers, etc. – and the role of ideology (both verbal and sedimented) – in these organisational processes. My aim is to provide a broader conceptualisation for the further analysis of governance in multilevel, federative, membership-based organisations.

This theory chapter consists of five sections. The first three provide an overview of governance in multilevel, federative, membership-based organisations and the often-discussed phenomenon of oligarchy. The last two sections offer the reader an understanding of how organisational processes – in particular related to governance – unfold within these structures. Of particular importance is that structure and process are mutually interdependent: structural components influence how processes

play out in the present, while internal processes might affect and change the structure in the future.

In the first section of the chapter, dealing with membership-based organisations and their governance, I elaborate further on the position that the ultimate organisational authority rests with the members that – often through a representative democratic governance process – are in control of the organisation. In addition, I provide a brief review of the literature on how different relations between the membership and the organisation result in different organisational outcomes. A second section on how governance plays out in multilevel, federative, membership-based organisations follows. Of particular interest is the division between the democratic governance structure and the executive management function and how the interdependent, dynamic relationship between these two structures is governed and structured by the ideology (or shared value system), the organisational constitution and the nature of the democratic governance process. The third section consists of a discussion on how the organisational borders around the individual organisations are (re)produced and what role the interorganisational domain in which the present case is situated has in this process. The inclusion or exclusion of individuals as well as organisational actors will change over time depending on, among other things, the dominant frames and power relations within the interorganisational domain. The fourth section develops a modified version of Kingdon's model of the decision-making process in order to capture the dynamics in the governance process. The last section of the theory chapter will then deal with power relations within organisations.

The association

There are numerous ways to understand organisations and organising. For the purpose of this study, I will be viewing organisations as open, complex polity systems. The world that the organisation inhabits is not a silent and stationary world, but a world inhabited by other actors with their own goals and agendas with which they continually try to influence and control each other. It is an ever-changing world where organisations have to adjust to changes in the environment, or alter the environment to suit their own goals in order to maintain the flow of resources that are necessary for their own survival at the same time as other actors strive to maintain (or increase) their organisations' autonomy in relation to others. This means that, for the purposes of this dissertation, organisations will be seen as coalitions of interest groups where the power balance between the interest groups is continuously shifting and where those organisations are open to influences from the surrounding environment (Barnard, 1938; Simon, 1947; Lipset, 1960). By viewing organisations as open polity systems, the notion of organisations as goal-directed entities, especially as entities with a single goal, becomes problematic. One solution to this is to regard organisations as having several concurrent, contradictory and competing goals (Selznick, 1949; March & Simon, 1958; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Organisational change and strategy formation is not always the outcome of rational planning but rather is shaped by the continuous interdependence of contention between interest groups, forces of bureaucratic momentum, and the impact of the structural contexts of decision-making. This reminds us that all social systems have a past, a present and a future and that the analyst needs to take this into account when trying to understand organisational action and change. Thus, strategy formation can be seen as a legitimising or delegitimising process where structure and context are mobilised by actors trying to achieve their various goals (Mintzberg, 1978; Pettigrew 1987; Hardy and Phillips 1998).

This view of organisational change and contentious polity systems is close to Mintzberg's (1978) perspective on strategy formation in organisations which can be seen as a reaction against the paradigm of strategy as intentionally planned. This means that the focus is on strategy formation -- not necessarily strategy formulation. Mintzberg proposes that a more fruitful way of researching strategy and strategy formulation is by looking at strategy as a pattern in a stream of decisions. The intent is to study how strategy is formed and performed in practise rather than examining the strategy planning process. This view of strategy and strategy formation is akin to Lindblom's (1959) aim for scholars to better understand the decision-making process as 'muddling through' in order to offer more contextualised solutions to enhance organisational decision-making.

According to Mintzberg (1978), strategy formation is dependent upon three interrelated forces: (a) the environment; (b) the internal organisational operating system; and (c) a leadership whose role is to mediate between the environment and the internal organisational operating system in order to let the organisation adapt to or change its environment. Strategy can then be viewed as the set of consistent behaviours by which the organisation establishes its place in its environment (for a time), and strategy formation is the result of the organisation's response to environmental change constrained (or enabled) by the internal organisational operating system and accelerated or dampened by the leadership. That the operating system tries to stabilise its actions can be well explained by the theory of cultural institutionalisation, which argues that the longer an organisation exists the more path-dependency evolves and the less the degree of critical evaluation and modification of behaviour.

Governance in membership-based organisations

The term governance is used in many different ways both in and between disciplines and sometimes even within one and the same discipline. One way to distinguish between the different usages of governance is in terms of level of analysis (Kooiman, 1999). Many researchers in po-

litical science talk about new patterns of government and governance in society. They mean that we are currently experiencing a shift away from a political system based on the unitary, hierarchical nation state towards a more fragmented and arms-length global governance system. This increasingly complex governance environment is characterised by new problem-solving mechanisms and the existence of a complex of formal and informal institutions as well as a wide range of non-state actors such as CSOs and NGOs that participate in articulation of collective interests, policy formation and service delivery both in the global and in the national arena (Rhodes, 1997; Boli & Thomas, 1999; Osborne, 2010). This external governance function of CSOs is often intertwined with their internal governance system, since it is the internal governance system that shapes the CSO's position and actions in the external (or societal) governance arena, and vice versa (Steen-Jonsen, Eynaud & Wijkström, 2011).

In this text I am concerned with what could be called internal governance, which deals with power and control of arenas within organisations. It also fulfils a steering function of the organisation, as opposed to the societal governance also often provided by civil society organisations (for a recent distinction, see Steen-Jonsen, Eynaud et al., 2011).

Most of the current literature on organisational governance has focused on for-profit organisations and the specific problems that owners face when trying to control corporations. It focuses on internal and external cultural and institutional structures and processes which, through different actors, directly or indirectly affect the control and steering of organisations. Included in this definition are laws, regulations and codes of conduct but also internal systems and processes which are concerned with ensuring the overall direction, control and accountability of the organisation (Sjöstrand & Hammarkvist, 2012). The organisation under study here is not an owner-based organisation but a membership-based organisation. This means, for instance, that principals and agents are the same individuals (at least more often than in the typical corporation) which of course has an effect on the governance system and may make it perilous to use the same models and theories without prior reflection.

Yet, there are also governance problems that are unique or especially severe in CSOs in contrast to for-profit organisations. The first problem is to decide who should be able to control the organisation. Is it the donors, the members, the managers or the beneficiaries, and is it previous generations, this generation or future generations (Brody, 1996; Miller, 2002; Anheier, 2005)? Second, since there is no uncontested goal in CSOs, it is very problematic to measure effectiveness and thus judge if the governance is good or bad. Third, there is a weak link to external governance systems such as the market or political elections, which can have a disciplinary effect on internal governance in other types of organisations. And last, many stipulate that CSOs are more prone to principal-agent problems than other types of organisations due to larger problems with information asymmetry (Anheier & Ben-Ner, 2003; Ostrower & Stone, 2006; Kumar & Roberts, 2010).

In this text I am concerned with what could be called organisational governance, which deals with power and control over arenas within organisations and that fulfils a steering role of the organisation and enables it to function. The definition of organisational governance that I will use here is: "the systems and processes concerned with ensuring the overall direction, control and accountability of an organisation" Cornforth, (2004, 2011).

Approaches to organisational governance

In this section I will outline the general characteristics of three general theoretical approaches to organisational governance: the principal-agent approach, the stakeholder approach and stewardship theory.

Jensen and Meckling (1976, 1979) define the relationship between the principal(s) and the agent as a contract where one or more persons (the principals) delegate a task to someone else (the agent). The focus is on determining the most efficient contract for handling this relationship. It is assumed that both the principal and the agent are fully rational (in

an economic sense) and that they will strive to maximise their own bene-fit. The theory sets out to handle two problems that arise out of this rela-tionship: first, that the goals of the principal and the agent may differ and that it is difficult or expensive for the principal to verify the efforts of the agent; and second, that the principal and the agent may have different attitudes towards risk (Eisenhardt, 1989a). The principal-agent relation-ship will therefore, according to theory, create the following costs for the principal: monitoring costs (in order to monitor that the agent acts in ac-cordance with the goals of the principal), bonding costs (in order to cre-ate and coordinate the relationship between principal and agent through for instance incentive systems) and residual costs (costs due to the fact that the agent still doesn't act in accordance with the goals of the princi-pal). The residual costs are mainly due to the information asymmetry that exists between the agent and the principal, where the agent has more and better information about the organisation and his or hers per-sonal efforts and which may lead to a moral hazard problem where the agent uses this information asymmetry to further its own (economic) gain by for instance shirking or empire building. The main focus of the prin-cipal-agent approach is to find ways to reduce the probability of agents not acting in accordance with the principal's goals.

The principal-agent model has been criticised for taking a rather nar-row perspective on organisational governance. Stakeholder theory can be seen as an attempt to correct this. In stakeholder theory the organisa-tion is seen as a relationship between internal and/or external actors who may interface with the organisation. This includes several parties such as owners, management, employees, customers and surrounding society. On the surface it might look like the different interest groups have an equal legitimacy and influence on the governance of the organisation, but in practice there is a hierarchical relation in which certain groups have their demands met more often while others have a harder time gaining influence (Sevenius, 2007). The original stakeholder model was built on an understanding of the contributions and rewards of the differ-ent stakeholders and the organisation's management team had the task of creating and maintaining a balance between the different stakeholders in

order for the organisation to survive. In more contemporary versions of this model, the management of the organisation is seen as one interest group among many (Rhenman, 1964; Ramström, 1967; Freeman, 1984; Sevenius, 2007).

Stewardship theory has a different view of human nature than the principal-agent model: instead of seeing humans as self-interested rational maximisers of their own benefit, it considers humans to be basically trustworthy and explains organisational behaviour through concepts like duty, high identification with the mission of the organisation, and intrinsic satisfaction with achievement (Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003). There are two general strands of stewardship theory. One acknowledges a goal conflict between principals and agents but assumes that the agent will be motivated to act in the interest of the principal. The second assumes that there is perfect goal alignment between principal and agent. Both strands come to the same conclusion that, in contrast to the principal-agent approach, it is rational to place the control of the organisation with the management team that has the required knowledge and expertise to ensure organisational effectiveness and success (Caers et al, 2006; Sevenius, 2007; Van Puyvelde et al, 2012).

There are also approaches that claim that organisational governance structures may reflect deeper organisational philosophies (Kumar & Roberts, 2010). For instance Rothschild-Witt (1979) describes the democratic decision-making process within collectivist organisations as an intrinsic value in their operations. Locke et al. (2003) claim that the democratic decision-making process within organisations serving the disabled is a fundamental part in their work to empower individuals with disabilities. Thus, the organisation's governance structure is part of its internal goal-fulfilment. To these two examples we can also add the idea of CSOs as aggregators of political views and the (Nordic) idea of CSOs as schools of democracy. Here the internal governance structure of the CSOs is given an external purpose – the contribution to a certain way of governing society. This is, of course, a two-way street: just as CSOs affect the surrounding society, society simultaneously affects CSOs' external governance systems such as state regulation, market functioning and

codes of conduct. Such external governance systems that impose themselves on the internal governance systems of CSOs are growing in importance.

Recent developments

There has been an increased interest in internal organisational governance, both within private companies and in CSOs, much of it fuelled by scandals in the United States and in the UK, predominantly during the 1980s and 1990s, but also more recently. This interest has also been compounded by the increased tendency by governments at all levels to contract out tasks to CSOs within the concept of 'New Public Management', something which has intensified the felt need of government to control and monitor the internal governance of these organisations. In the UK, there has also been a growing critique from grassroots organisations and social movements that the traditional (Anglo-Saxon) nonprofits and charities suffer from governance problems (Tricker, 2000). There are also attempts to integrate agency theory with stakeholder and stewardship theories in order to create a better understanding of the governance of CSOs (Van Puyvelde, 2012).

The discussion on CSO governance is often focused on the relationship between the organisation's board and management. The theories most often employed to examine this relationship are agency theory (Harris, 1989; Olson, 2000; Miller, 2002; Jegers, 2009) and stewardship theory (Wood, 1992; Jeavons, 1994; Alexander & Weiner, 1998). Although these discussions shed light on the relationship between the elected board and the management of the organisation, they often omit the role of the organisational members in the governance system. This dissertation focuses on the relationship between the board and the executives on one side and the membership on the other side, and thus takes a broader organisational view of governance.

Definitions of governance also often contain references to rules and procedures, and sometimes acknowledge the governing function of ex-

ternal regulations and accountability structures. In this text I will use the term governance to denote the "systems and processes concerned with ensuring the overall direction, control and accountability of an organisation" (Cornforth, 2004, 2011). External and internal regulations such as associational law and the organisation's constitution also play a large part in the governance of the organisation. Governance then involves multiple actors on several concurrent levels of action.

Despite a lively discussion regarding governance in nonprofit organisations, the majority of related research has focused on large service-based organisations and, as noted above, on the relationship between the organisations' board and management (Ostrower & Stone, 2006; Jegers, 2009). In particular, most of this research has covered what Salamon (1997) calls 'board-managed organisations' which are characterised by the self-perpetuation of their board members. By contrast, there has been little examination of governance in membership-based organisations, where the officials are elected by the members. Only slowly is it being recognised that governance processes may differ between the two organisational types and that research is needed on the more complex and multilevel governance structures that have evolved in, for instance, federations (Provan, 1983; Middleton, 1987; Friedman & Phillips, 2004; Tschirhart, 2006; Stone & Ostrower, 2007; Schnurbein, 2009; Cornforth, 2011).

Through this study, I have filled a part of this research gap by analysing the internal governance of a certain type of organisation – the federative, membership-based organisation. As elaborated on in section two of this chapter, the ideal-type federative, membership-based organisation has several key characteristics. All members have the right to visit the general assembly, which is the supreme decision-making body of the organisation (most often legally incorporated as an association). The general rule is that all members have one vote each. The general assembly elects the board of directors, approves (or denies) their plans for the future, and decides on any changes of the constitution. The board of the association cannot make decisions that violate the purpose(s) laid out in the constitution. The governance structure of a typical federative, mem-

bership-based organisation thus has its base at the grassroots, and be-coming a member of the organisation is the main gateway into the deci-sion-making processes.

As a result, it becomes paramount for this kind of organisation to control its borders and to distinguish between members and non-members in order to determine who is allowed to participate in its deci-sion-making process. If this boundary function is not handled correctly, the organisation could be vulnerable to outside threats. Thus, the ability to control and select who is able to become a member of the organisation is a very important aspect of organisational power, and the construction and control of the boundaries are critical (Ahrne, 1994; Hardy & Phillips, 1998). This suggests that organisational governance is not only about the organisation's internal governance system, but also about the management of the structures and processes that grant (or deny) individ-uals and groups access to said governance system.

The membership of the association

In a membership-based organisation, such as an association, the ultimate formal authority rests with the membership which, through the general assembly, appoints the organisation's board, which in turn appoints the executive (Salamon, 1997). This means that accountability in this type of organisation is administered through a democratic process.

Common for membership-based organisations is the need to attract and retain members and volunteers – for many organisations their most important resource. At the same time, it is important to remember, espe-cially in the Scandinavian context, that these 'resources' are also the formal 'owners' of the organisation (more on this later in the chapter). McCarthy and Zald (1977) have developed a number of concepts to de-scribe and analyse how members and volunteers support and influence the organisation. *Adherents* are the individuals and organisations that be-lieve in the goals of the organisation and could be seen as the pool of po-tential support in the surrounding society. However, this pool is

constantly changing depending on broader sentiments in this environment, what is often called political opportunity structures (Tarrow, 1994). Co*nstituents* are the individuals and organisations that support the organisation with resources. One important goal for the organisation, then, is to convert adherents to constituents and keep the level of activity of the constituents up in order to maximise its resources. Another important task as seen by many organisations is, of course, to convert non-adherents to adherents and then to constituents.

The adherents of the organisation that through their membership or other types of support for the organisation receive immediate support and/or benefits can be called potential *beneficiaries*. Those that support the organisation because of their beliefs or wish to help others can be called *conscience adherents* or *conscience constituents*. Conscience constituents are generally more likely to support more than one organisation because, according to McCarthy and Zald (1977), they often are relatively well off and thus able to engage in issues that not are directly tied to their own personal well-being. Thus, while such conscience constituents are an important resource base, they are also relatively unreliable from the point of view of the individual organisation.

Those groups of adherents and constituents that do not have direct contact with the organisation through, for example, formal membership can also be characterised as isolated. Since isolated supporters are not directly involved in the day-to-day operations of the CSO, the risk is that their support for the organisation will be more dependent on factors in the surrounding environment than would be the case if they were fully engaged with the organisation. As a result, the resource flows of organisations that depend on isolated supporters tend to be more unstable. Thus, if an organisation is highly dependent on resources from isolated supporters, it will need to spend significant resources on marketing and media management, and its communication will be more like that used by commercial corporations on the consumption market (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). If we, just for the moment, return to the empirical case at hand as an illustration, and look at the development of the IOGT and the NTO, we can see that their members were strongly dominated by

beneficiaries well before the merger. However, by the time the merger took place, the organisations had become dominated by conscience adherents, at the same time as the number of possible conscience constituents had diminished in the surrounding society (Lindgren, 2001).

With the help of the above-mentioned concepts, it is possible to distinguish several types of what McCarthy and Zald (1977) call 'social movement organisations' (SMOs). The first type is the 'classic SMO' which focuses on potential beneficiaries who support the organisation primarily because it offers them services or voices their interests. The bulk of the resources of these organisations come from membership fees and donations from potential beneficiaries. These donations can either be in monetary form or in the form of voluntary work. The classic SMO is usually led by its members, and most of the work is done by volunteers or employed members. This is the type of organisation that traditionally has dominated the Swedish civil society. They are frequently organised as federations. Furthermore, at least in the Swedish context, they often have some characteristics of the protest SMO (see below) since they often try to transform the public sector and the state into a constituent and in this way gain access to more resources.

The second type of organisation identified by McCarthy and Zald (1977) is the 'professional SMO', which primarily focuses on conscience adherents in order to acquire its resources. This means that the organisation focuses on getting resources from individuals who are not direct beneficiaries but that for different reasons believe that the organisation's work is worthwhile. Legitimacy and trust are very important for this kind of organisation since it will be harder to recruit conscience adherents with low levels of legitimacy and trust. These organisations are often led by professional management and employees, who themselves do not necessarily belong to the group that the organisation supports. As such, the organisation often suffers from a weak social infrastructure since it lacks a grassroots base, which McCarthy and Zald (1977) claim makes it harder to get a broad geographical coverage.

A third type of SMO can be called the 'protest SMO', an organisation with a large base of potential beneficiaries, all of which have only limited resources and who often are at a distance from the organisation. It uses a protest strategy to obtain resources from conscience adherents and tries to transform the state to an adherent, as noted above.

If we again look at the development of the IOGT and the NTO, we can see that at the time of their founding they were what McCarthy and Zald (1977) call classic SMO focusing on providing services for and voicing the interests of their members. Over time as their member stocks changed from beneficiaries to conscience adherents, the character of the organisations also changed towards what McCarthy and Zald (1977) call protest SMOs, not unlike what was occurring among other Swedish CSOs at the time (Micheletti, 1994; Micheletti, 1995; Ahrne, Roman et al., 1996; Ahrne, Roman et al., 2008. This also had a profound effect on both the resource base of the organisation after its merger but also on its governance, as we will see in the empirical accounts later on.

Oligarchy and goal displacement

One of the dominating analytical models to explain how membership-based organisations change is the goal displacement model, tracing what is often seen as one of the major governance problems in this type of organisation. Based on the work of Weber ([1922], 1968) and Michels ([1911] 1962), the model states that when a CSO acquires a social and economic base in society and the original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure arises to take its place. Those that are part of the organisation have incentives to sustain it even though it may no longer be able to reach its goals. Meanwhile, the organisation tends to adapt to the surrounding society and to replace the values that are the core of the shared value system with goals relating to maintaining organisational power and ensuring survival. Analytically this process consists of three interrelated parts: rise of oligarchy, organisational maintenance, and goal displacement. According to most studies (Lipset, Trow et al.,

1956; Zald & Ash, 1966; Clemens, 1993; Voss & Sherman, 2000), oligarchy and goal displacement are the most typical outcomes for membership-based organisations[4]. Oligarchy is traditionally defined as a self-supplementing leadership that controls decision-making within the organisation due to command of resources, information and communication. The rate of turnover within the leadership group is often seen as an indicator of how strong the oligarchic tendencies within the organisation are (Lipset, Trow et al., 1956; Schmidt, 1973; Edelstein & Warner, 1975). However, as Jenkins (1977) points out, this is a blunt measure since there is the possibility that the elected leaders indeed are re-elected because the membership appreciates their leadership. Jenkins instead suggests that a better measure of oligarchic tendencies might be the rate of goal displacement within the organisation. Such a study would of course require an idea of what a reasonable goal of the organisation and its membership should be as well as a longitudinal study of the organisation's development.

According to Michels, the first step toward oligarchic leadership occurs as the organisation grows and becomes successful. As it does so, the distance between the members and the elected leaders become greater, and it becomes harder for the members to keep contact with their leaders, and vice versa. This is especially salient in multi-level federations, since time and other costs relating to assembling members increase sharply with size. Secondly, as the organisation grows there is often a – perceived or real – need to employ professional staff to manage functions such as fundraising, personnel management, bookkeeping and other co-ordinating and integrative functions (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967b). Together the processes of organisational growth and professionalisation shift decision-making power from members to elected leaders and employed staff and might over time lead to lower membership participation in decision-making, which will further reinforce the pattern (Rudwick & Meier, 1972; Osterman, 2006). According to Michels, the elected and

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[4] This analytical model has also been used to analyse other kinds of organisations. See for instance Tolbert and Hiatt (2009) for an excellent overview of the usage of organisational oligarchy in investor-owned companies.

the employed leaders of the organisation will become attached to their positions for economic or identity-related reasons and will adjust their decisions in order to keep those positions. Furthermore, Michels assumes that the environment of a CSO is hostile towards it. This should prod the leadership into becoming more responsive to the environment and to adjusting the goals of the organisation in a less radical direction in order to secure external legitimacy and resources. This is what often is called goal displacement (Simon, 1947; Selznick, 1948; Messinger, 1955; Zald & Ash, 1966).

Over time those holding elected or employed positions within the organisation also accumulate skills and expertise, which makes them even more valuable to the organisation. Since these skills generally are not available to the lay members, it becomes even harder for the members to control and replace their leaders. The leaders and managers of the organisation may, as discussed above, and then take the organisation in a more conservative direction in order to secure legitimacy and resources. As the organisation's leadership becomes more oligarchic, it becomes easier for forces in the environment to co-opt the leadership and exploit the organisation for their own purposes (Selznick, 1949).

Research has been focused on oligarchic processes as contingent to different factors inside and outside of the organisation (Lipset, Trow et al., 1956; Zald & Ash, 1966; Edelstein & Warner, 1975; Gamson, 1975; Rothschild-Whitt, 1976; Gamson & Schmeidler, 1984; Minkoff, 1999; Osterman, 2006). One typical mitigating factor is the characteristics of the members of the organisation. According to Lipset, Trow and Coleman (1956), the high status and skill of the members of the organisation they studied, in combination with the fact that the organisation contained two rival factions, moderated the pressure of the iron law of oligarchy. Polletta (2002) claims that personal relationships and rituals of discussion and decision-making can mitigate oligarchic tendencies, though this becomes more and more difficult as the organisation grows. Clemens (1993) argues that the women's group she studied avoided the iron law because the social status of its members helped them resist co-

optation and made them less likely to use the organisation for personal power.

Another factor is organisational structure. Staggenborg (1988) suggests that internal decision-making structure and leadership have an impact on recruiting and training new members. Most of the studies in which contingent factors are discussed also mention that the source(s) and size(s) of organisational resources have a large impact on the development of oligarchic tendencies. Zald and Ash (1966), for example, suggest that if resources are available independently of the members then the organisation is more likely to become oligarchic. Along similar lines, Jenkins and Eckert (1986) found in their study of organisations in the field of civil rights that use of outside funding tends to co-opt CSOs.

Goal displacement or goal transformation?

According to the classic interpretation of the Weber-Michels model, goal transformation or goal displacement always takes place in a conservative direction, i.e. the organisation adapts more closely to the norms in the surrounding society in order to maintain the organisation and its resources. However, according to Zald and Ash (1966), organisational maintenance is a special form of goal transformation. Since there is competition for resources, this move toward the middle can also become a movement to the extremes depending on from where the resources come. The argument being that the source of the resources will (partly) decide the direction of the goal transformation. Ultimately, goal transformation depends significantly on 'the ebb and flow of sentiments' within a social movement and in the surrounding society. Thus, competition for resources determines how and why change occurs within CSOs. Zald and Ash (1966) conclude that the Weber-Michels model is not the only model for how a CSO can evolve. They propose instead at least three possible evolution scenarios: 1) that the CSO reaches its goals, 2) that it achieves a certain size and stability, becomes becalmed, and goal displacement sets in, and 3) that it fails.

Zald and Ash (1966) consider the problems that an organisation faces if it reaches its goal. Typically, organisational goals are attained by creating coalitions with others. The organisation is ultimately constrained by the coalitions that it has created, by the way the surrounding society is evolving, and by the functioning of the organisation's internal governance system. When its goals are achieved, the organisation has to find new goals or it will cease to exist. According to Zald and Ash (1966), it is more likely that the organisation finds new goals if: 1) it has its own member and economic base, and 2) there are material or solidarity-based incentives tying the members to the organisation. Organisations that are created by other organisations are more likely to cease to exist than organisations with their own member base of individuals. Furthermore, organisations with specific goals are more likely to close than organisations with broader goals. Finally, solidarity-based organisations that try to change individuals are less likely to cease operations than organisations that try to change society.

Another scenario that Zald and Ash (1966) put forth refers to an organisation that has built up a resource base, affected the evolution of society and reached a certain position of power; however, its members do not expect that the organisation will reach its goals in the near future. These are the organisations most susceptible to the processes that are described in the Weber-Michels model. First, the lack of current success leads to increased apathy among the members; the number of members is stable, but there are no new members coming in with energy and motivation. Second, the leadership relaxes and trusts that its control of the material incentives is enough, which increases the tendencies toward oligarchy. The leaders also become more conservative since radical goals may threaten the organisation's niche by provoking either the surrounding society or the members of the organisation, something which could threaten the position of the leaders.

The last scenario of Zald and Ash (1966) is the failed organisation. An organisation will fail when its members leave because they no longer believe that it can reach its goals. An organisation can also fail if it is discredited as a legitimate instrument to reach the sought-after goal or

change. Such a discrediting is usually due to the methods and tactics that the organisation has used.

To explain recent changes in Swedish civil society where the number of organisations with fewer members and fewer issues has increased - similar to what Skocpol (2003) saw in the United States, Papakostas (2011) points to the increased availability of resources from other organisations, which makes CSOs less dependent on their own members for resources. One of the main drivers behind the creation of the older Swedish CSOs (the so-called popular movements) was the need to coordinate many individuals with limited resources in order to reach a common goal. Papakostas states that this interdependence between organisation and members has been broken, since organisations now have (easier at least) access to concentrated resources from other organisations and thus have less need for member resources. This has increased the distance that Michels observed between the organisation's leaders and members and turned the members into sympathisers or, if we use McCarthy and Zald's terminology, from constituents into adherents and thereby weakened the governance mechanism of democratic voting in this type of organisation. In other words, according to this line of reasoning, it is not the members that have turned their back on the CSOs, but the CSOs that have turned their back on their members.

This process is especially visible in younger organisations, which have been created in a resource-rich environment and thus often take what Papakostas (2011) calls the 'encapsulated' form from the beginning. This form is characterised by reliance on resources from other organisations and on an organisational structure which allows for a high degree of member exchangeability, in other words, the professionalisation and managerialisation of CSOs. Older organisations are also affected by these processes albeit at a slower pace. The pace of change seems to be, according to Papakostas (2011), influenced by the availability of resources from other organisations and the strength of the social ties between the organisation and its members. This process also seems to slow down when the organisation's routine activities are close to the daily lives

and ideology of its members and when the ideology is high on the societal agenda.

Governance of the federation

Many membership-based associations are joined together into federations consisting of one (or more) coordinated organisational layers, giving such federations a more complex governance structure than the typical unitary organisation. Often federations consist of three interrelated levels – local, regional and national – and many federations are also members of international umbrella organisations. Typically, the members of the local associations elect the their own local boards as well as delegates who, together with the delegates from the other local associations in the region, form the regional general assembly. In the classical federation model, the regional assembly elects a regional board to handle issues common to the local associations in the area and chooses delegates to the national general assembly. Finally, the national general assembly elects a national board that deals with the federation's issues on the national level and appoints a secretary general who is responsible for day-to-day operations and for managing the central office. This governance model is thus based on representative democracy where each individual member is normally tied to a geographically based local association.

Analytically the federation could be seen as a contractual agreement between regionally divided autonomous units which are joined together in hierarchical cooperation through the federative form in order to create a balance between local autonomy and collective strength (Boschken, 1982; Provan, 1983; Sjöstrand, 1985; Jonnergård, 1988; Swartz, 1994). The federation could also be viewed as a horizontal division of labour where regionally divided local units create a common unit, which gives the possibility of vertical specialisation and creation of economies of scale for the benefit of the local units. Furthermore, federations are often characterised by heterogeneous goals and multiple rationalities and by

power that is not distributed within the organisation through a hierarchical principle but through contractual relations and agreements (Normark, 1994; Swartz, 1994).

Mobilisation of power in such a system is problematic since the power bases are intransparent and constantly in flux. The governance system thus consists of multiple formal and informal power bases, and the decision-making process is characterised by instability and shifting groups and coalitions. These unstable power relations are a breeding ground for conflicts, which can lead to fruitful strategic changes at the same time as they may consume a lot of resources. Research also suggests that the federation form is especially effective in a stable external environment characterised by a complex and changing mixture of stakeholders (Sjöstrand, 1985; Jonnergård, 1988; Svensson, 1992; Normark, 1994; Swartz, 1994; Bradshaw, 2009).

To make this cooperation work in practice, common resources and activities are created, often formalised under a common unit at the national level. This common unit is delegated certain tasks and given certain authority over the local associations in order to fulfil those tasks. These tasks and powers are usually laid out in the federation's constitution together with procedural rules regarding how the constitution might be changed. Still, the local associations are basically autonomous and have formally free decision-making power outside of the issues which are delegated to the common unit. In effect, the federative form could be seen as a constant negotiating arena where the value of local autonomy is evaluated against the advantages of being part of a larger whole, a balancing act sedimented in the federation's constitution which gives the federation (some) of its stability.

Governance and management

The federation could be characterised as a unit that has two parallel decision-making bodies, one called the governance structure, and the other called the management function. The two are functionally distinct yet interdependent components of the organisation. It is also important to note that the balance between the governance structure and the management function is not static - it evolves and changes over time as internal and external circumstances and power structures change (Middleton, 1987; Knoke, 1990).

Hvenmark (2008) recently used the metaphor of an 'hourglass organisation' to describe these two aspects of the federation's internal life. Imagining an hourglass, the democratic governance structure can be seen as a triangle turned upside down with the members at the top (the former base of the triangle) and the chair of the national board at the bottom (the former top of the triangle). This triangle then rests upon another triangle, representing the executive management function of the organisation, where the national board through the general secretary and the central office at the peak can be seen as delegating orders down to the local associations (see also Normark 1994).

It is important to note that the purpose of the federation's management function is to ensure the realisation and coordination of the cooperative activities for which the federation is created. As such, at least in principle, the management function cannot take decisions beyond what the general assembly has delegated to it. One important governance question thus becomes the decision-making mechanism that determines which issues are delegated to the management function, since this decision creates the balance of power between the local associations and the central executive office.

The purpose of the federation's governance structure is to make sure that the member associations are able to control the direction and design of the common activities and common units. This is achieved through a number of different bodies and arenas, of which the general assembly, at least formally, is the most important. Many federations use a representa-

tive democratic governance system by which each local association is given a number of votes depending on its relative size. The representatives selected at each level are then tasked with interpreting the interests of their members and translating it into directives to the common unit(s). The interplay between the local associations and the common unit is a dialectic, interdependent process, in which the associations guide the common unit(s) while the common unit(s) influences the local associations. It is important that sufficient time is allowed for the dialogue between local associations and the central unit(s) to develop (Pestoff, 1991; Svensson, 1992; Normark, 1994; Swartz, 1994).

Enjolras (2009) argues that voluntary organisations, especially membership-based organisations, are characterised by certain compliance mechanisms and incentives which serve to improve their governance. He argues that internal democracy may function as a compliance mechanism since, if the board members do not act in the organisation's best interest, the members will vote them off the board. This mechanism depends on a membership base that takes an active interest in the organisation's governance. Since power is divided between the board and executive levels, these two function as mutual checks and balances. One could also argue that the organisation's statutes work in this way as well. However, this balance might be disturbed by oligarchic tendencies or co-optation, which are especially detrimental in membership-based organisations, since the membership loses its controlling function at the same time as the board is co-opted by the management, or vice versa (Michels [1911] 1962; Selznick 1949). Recognising this, Enjolras (2009) argues that the aforementioned compliance mechanisms are supported by two types of incentives: reputational incentives mainly are represented by social capital which the leaders are not willing to waste, whereas intrinsic incentives, such as pleasure or personal satisfaction, are internal to the individual.

The two bodies – the governance structure and the management function - are in reality overlapping and interdependent within a federation. For example, even if it is the board's task to ensure strategic direction for the federation, it is often the management that has the time,

expertise and resources to draft suggestions and thus have an impact on the possible strategic alternatives. One could say that board and staff co-produce the governance functions of the federation (Cornforth, 2011).

According to Jonnergård (1993b) the coordination of federative organisations involves three interrelated roles: contracting, a shared value system and administrative arrangements. I will go into some of these functions in more detail below, but already now it is apparent that the shared value system will have a key function in my analysis.

The democratic process

The democratic system and process within the federation function together as a compliance mechanism, since if the elected officials do not act in the interest of their members they face the risk of not being re-elected. The democratic system often contains a separation between the elected board and the employed executive, and this separation of power further functions as checks and balances on the different officials of the organisation. However these mechanisms do require that the members of the organisation take active part in the organisation's governance and that there is no collusion between the elected and employed officials (Enjolras, 2009).

Mouffe (1993, 2000, 2005) develops a view of democracy which she calls an agonistic conception of politics, where conflicts are seen as a constitutive and necessary part. According to this perspective, it is paramount to have an arena, a conflictual space, where unequal power relations and differences in interest can be made visible. The key to such a democratic model is that all participants agree upon the same democratic process principles and that they regard each other as legitimate adversaries rather than enemies. Mouffe (1993) also presses the point that it is important that there exists clear ideological alternatives and visions and that the possibility for a real choice between alternatives exists. Crucially, in this model of democracy, the function of democracy is threatened not only when there is too little consensus, but perhaps also by too

much consensus. Too much consensus regarding an issue may signal the rise of hegemony and the crystallisation of power relations and thus lead to the becalming of the political discussion.

The common unit(s)

Within a federation, the local associations hand over control of some of their activities to the common unit, and in return the common unit coordinates the activities of the local units, thus reducing the inherent complexities of cooperation. According to Swartz (1994), the common unit(s) of the federation serves at least five different roles. The first role is to provide the members of the federation with information and competence within certain areas. The second is to function as a common voice addressing the external environment and thus fulfil a political role vis-à-vis the members. A third is to develop and distribute the common activities and best practises. The fourth role is as an owner of common assets, and the fifth is as leader and coordinator of common activities. All these roles are present in most federations to varying degrees. Furthermore, it seems that the larger in scale and/or scope the common activities are, the more are the leanings towards centralisation of functions.

The shared value system or ideology

Many nonprofit and voluntary associations are organised around certain values or an ideology which is believed to guide their operations and create a shared value system, providing stability to the organisation. According to Therborn (1980), ideology is what gives meaning to human life by defining what exists and what does not exist, by telling us what is good and what is bad, and lastly by telling us what is possible and what is impossible. In short, ideology tells us what the world looks like and what it should look like.

The shared value system of a federation comprises the values, norms and ideology which are shared by its members and enables the members to continue to cooperate so that the federation remains united. For a federation to be able to survive over time, it is important that this shared value system is continuously reproduced. This does not mean that there are no diverging views within the organisation; rather the opposite. It might be more appropriate to view federations as arenas where shifting factions struggle for control (Jonnergård, 1981; Sjöstrand, 1985; Stryjan, 1987; Jonnergård, 1988; Svensson, 1992; Sjöstrand, 1997). In addition to this Brunsson (1982, 1985) also says that ideology facilitates decision-making by making some alternatives more attractive than others. It also seems that there needs to be coherence between organisational ideology and the surrounding society in order for the organisation to secure legitimacy and resources. Some authors even state that one of the most important tasks of organisational leadership is to influence and steer organisational ideology in order to ensure a good fit between the ideology of the organisation and that of the surrounding society (Berg & Jonsson, 1991; Jonsson, 1995).

The key elements in such a shared value system are solidarity with other members of the federation, the belief in the importance of the autonomy of the local units, a conviction of the advantages of collaboration, a view of collaboration as a continuous activity over a long period of time, and set of relationships in the federation that are characterised by trust and a will to compromise (Sjöstrand, 1985; Jonnergård, 1993a; Swartz, 1994). Svensson (1992) adds that within a federation there should exist something which he calls 'social memory', which keeps count of who contributes to the federation and who benefits from it. It is important for the federation's cohesion that the account balances out over time.

This shared value system creates trust between the organisation's members and functions as both a charter and a constraint for action since it shows the direction at the same time as it limits the possible repertoire of actions available to the organisation (Oster, 1995; Minkoff & Powell, 2006). There are also observers who assert that one of the core

functions of CSOs is to afford individuals the opportunity to express their beliefs through work and donations (Frumkin, 2002). The shared value system often also stipulates the roles of the different actors within the federation as well as the different rules of the governance system and can be seen as part of the intrinsic incentives discussed earlier (Jonnergård, 1993b; Enjolras, 2009).

The constitution

The constitution of the federative organisation often lays down its goal(s), how it should be fulfilled, and which activities should be performed by the common unit(s). It also usually stipulates who can become a member of the federation and which rights and obligations members have. Here are also defined which positions of authority should exist, which powers they have, and how they are appointed. Finally, the constitution specifies the rules and procedures for how the constitution may be changed. Federations are often slow to change since there are many actors who have a voice in the decision-making process and detailed procedures regarding constitutional amendments (Svensson, 1992; Svensson, 1993). According to Swartz (1994), this is not unintentional; the procedures and rules in the constitution are often created in order to make the federation stable.

The legal context

The choice of form, the laws and regulations associated with the form, and the self-imposed regulations laid down in the entity's constitution establishes the federation's formal regulatory framework (Swartz, 1994). The moment in time when organisations and organisational fields are created constrains the reproduction of their structural characteristics (Stinchcombe, 1965). And since the two organisations that were merged into IOGT-NTO were founded at the inception of - some would even

say that they were co-creators of - what later became the Swedish popular movement marinade, that the resulting organisation would be a membership-based federation was rather a given (Hvenmark & Wijkström, 2004; Hvenmark, 2008).

Governance in an interorganisational domain

One complication in the present study is that the object of study is not a single organisation, but rather a group of organisations without any peak coordinator. It thus becomes important to define which organisations belong to the group and why. This dissertation's working definition is that this is an empirical question, the answer to which changes over time depending on, among other things, the shared value system and power relations among the organisations.

Another way to define the group is to consider the group of organisations around the IOGT-NTO federation as an organisational domain in which the organisations have a shared value system and interact more frequently with each other than with organisations outside the domain. An interorganisational domain is thus created when the incumbents in the field come to share a similar vision of what the important questions are and who the important players are (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). This shared view, or identity, is what decides where the borders of the organisational domain are placed. Those already in the domain have a stake in trying to construct it and its borders in order to gain as much advantage as possible. Of course, power is very important in this construction process. The borders of the organisational domain are thus created when dominant incumbents repeatedly use episodic power, thus stabilising the power relations within the field. These power relations are then stabilised over time as they are produced and reproduced and become taken-for-granted norms (Clegg, 1989; Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

If organisations have a stake in the domain, and the domain is socially constructed, then an assumption would be that it is in the interest of each stakeholder to do everything possible to ensure that the domain is constructed in the way that affords the particular stakeholder the most advantage. Powerful incumbents have two primary options to influence the domain: either through (re)defining the issue around which the domain is formed or by influencing the participation of other stakeholders. Hardy and Phillips (1998) identified three primary power bases within an organisational domain: formal authority (the recognised, legitimate right to make decisions), control of resources, and lastly management of legitimacy and meaning through discourse (Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

Not all activities are conducted within the organisation, or even within the organisational field proper. Some activities take place within what Ahrne (1994) calls 'semi-organised fields', which are set up to foster exchange between the organisation and its environment. Semi-organised fields are in principle open to everyone and are not subject to the same control as life within the organisation is. To be let in inside an organisation you have to become a member of it, but sometimes organisations organise activities that are not quite inside, but also not quite outside. Such activities can be the shopping area inside a store, a public meeting or a sports event, and the individuals that perform the activities are typically called, for example, customers or spectators.

Life in the semi-organised field is usually less controlled than life inside the organisation proper. "[…] your achievements are not recorded, and you are not rewarded for good performance or initiative. Nobody will ask for you if you do not come. You are not expected" (Ahrne, 1994:72). This lower amount of control is also mostly accompanied by a reduced right to participate in the decision-making process and to use the organisation's resources. A typical division of this type in the Scandinavian context would be the difference in rights and obligations between a member and a volunteer, where a member has a right to both control the organisation and (should) take part in its activities whereas a volunteer is allowed to take part in (some of) the organisation's activities, but

not in the control of the organisation, neither as a principal nor as an employee.

The boundaries of the interorganisational domain

What is it then that determines how permeable the borders around an interorganisational domain are and how willing individuals and organisations are to enter, to be let in or to leave the domain? One of the most important factors in this regard is the organisation's legal form, since it often stipulates who can become a member of the organisation and how one goes about becoming one.

Organisations can be seen as held together and torn apart by centripetal and centrifugal forces. The stronger the centripetal forces are, the stronger is the cohesion of the organisation, and the stronger the centrifugal forces are, the more likely it is that the organisation's members will drift apart. Those forces can both be internal and external and it is the tension between these forces that structures the organisation (Ahrne, 1994). One of the strongest centripetal forces is the resources of the organisation: the more bountiful and specific the resources are, the harder it is for a member to leave the organisation. This is especially true if the individual in one way or another is dependent upon those resources. Another important factor of organisational cohesion is, of course, the legal structure of the organisation, where ownership and membership play a large role.

Lawrence and Lorsch (1967b) found that the organisation's mode of conflict resolution was important in holding it together. Confrontation was the most effective conflict resolution mechanism in terms of organisational integration, and smoothing over was the less effective. Especially when the confrontational technique was backed-up with a small amount of coercion, there seemed to be a high degree of integration. One such conflict resolution system might be the system of representative democracy in federative organisations. Others talk of the influence of individu-

als on organisational integration. Jonnergård (1988) calls individuals that are active in several organisations within the interorganisational domain at the same time 'border-riders' and asserts that they fill a very important integrative role in federative organisations since they are able to disseminate problems, solutions and values - even if this also could theoretically have a disintegrative effect on the interorganisational domain. Swartz (1994) talks about the importance of top managers acting as conflict absorbers. Sjöstrand (1985) points out that ties of friendship and kinship among individuals within a particular interorganisational domain may also have an integrative function. Other important centripetal forces include the status and prestige of the organisation as well as satisfaction, loyalty and an ideological commitment to the goals of the organisation (Melucci, 1996; Thörn, 1997).

In an organisation with low task-interdependence, the countervailing centrifugal forces are strong since individuals do not have to cooperate. Lawrence and Lorsch (1967b) assert that high task-interdependence within an organisation makes its members less prone to leave, since they have to cooperate in order to fulfil their goals. For an organisational group, this might entail giving member's room and resources to develop their own projects together with others in the organisation. The more the members and the organisation need each other, the higher the centripetal forces will be within the organisation. Professionalisation is working in the other direction in the international and Scandinavian civil society currently; this combined with the pressure for organisations to focus on a specific issue instead of working with a broad agenda have a more disintegrating effect (Lundström & Wijkström, 1995; Lundström & Wijkström, 1997; Wijkström & Lundström, 2002; Skocpol, 2003; Wijkström, Einarsson et al., 2004; Wijkström & Einarsson, 2006).

Differentiation and integration

But why is there a differentiation of tasks within the interorganisational domain? The modern organisation faces a multitude of demands and

requirements that are so different that it might be better to characterise the situation differently: the organisation rather faces several different sub-environments. In order to manage these sub-environments organisations often try to separate into different jobs, departments and sometimes even into different legal entities. This differentiation enables the organisation to meet the varying demands of the different sub-environments, and each subsystem of the organisation will develop attributes that are adapted to the relevant sub-environment. According to Lawrence and Lorsch (1967b) the most important attributes that need to be matched between subsystem and sub-environment are goal orientation and time orientation, followed by formal structure and interpersonal attributes.

A particular subsystem of an organisation will develop a primary concern with coping with its surrounding sub-environment, and it will try to match its goals and the ways of measuring goal attainment to the sub-environment. A subsystem working for instance with foreign aid will, according to this line of thinking, start to set goals, use performance measures and relate to a set of stakeholders similar to those of other actors and organisations in its sub-environment. This evolution is of course also enhanced by isomorphic processes where organisations with a similar field become more alike, by choice or coercion (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The time orientation of the subsystem will also become aligned to the time orientation of the sub-environment. For example, if the subsystem interacts with a sub-environment where feedback is fast, such as in the finance industry, it will develop a fast time orientation in order to cope with the demands of its environment. It will be slower, however, if it interacts with a sub-environment consisting of research and development where feedback typically is much slower. Similarly, the formal structure of the subsystems will follow that of the relevant sub-environment, so that the more formalised the sub-environment is, the more formalised the subsystem will be.

In sum, the organisation can consist of a number of different subsystems that have (more or less) different attributes regarding goal orientation, time orientation, structure and interpersonal attributes in order to be able to function smoothly with the environment. The question then

becomes: how are these different subsystems integrated into the organisation itself? Lawrence and Lorsch (1967a) found that the more differentiated the subsystems were from each other, the harder it was to achieve integration. More generally, effective organisations need to achieve both differentiation and integration.

Organisational decision-making

We have now gone through an overview of relevant theory on governance in organisations, federations, and interorganisational domains. Many of the theories reviewed here provide rather static images of governance, which points towards the need to incorporate more dynamic and process-oriented elements. Several of the above theories also build upon notions of power and discourse. The last two sections of this chapter turn towards decision-making theory and theories on power in organisations in order to develop these concepts further since they are paramount in my coming analysis of the case at hand.

Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) developed what they called the 'garbage can model' for decision-making. They had studied decision-making in universities, which they called 'organised anarchies' and defined as having three properties: problematic preferences, unclear technology and fluid participation. Such organisations have semi-permeable borders, and participants tend to drift in and out of decision-making, much as participants in democratic decision-making processes do where the ballot (partly) will decide who participates or not at a given time. Cohen and colleagues identified four separate streams running through an organisation: problems, solutions, participants, and choice opportunities. In the model, problems and solutions may be carried by different participants. When the participants meet, a choice opportunity is created where a coupling between a problem and a solution may happen.

To help identify structures and patterns in decision-making processes, Kingdon (1995) developed a revised version of the garbage can mod-

el, narrowing it down to three processes: problems, policies and politics. The first two are akin to what Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) call problems and solutions, while the third, referring to the political process, includes public opinion, election results and pressure from interests groups. These three processes then (sometimes) meet in a policy window (choice opportunity) where the opportunity exists to couple a problem with a solution. These windows are only open for a short period of time, so it is important that the participants are ready when the opportunity presents itself. For the purpose of this study, I use a revised version of Kingdon's model of decision-making. The key components of my revised version are discussed below.

Actors

All parts of the organisation can be active in any one of the three streams, but in reality, some are more active in certain streams than in others. The most important agenda-setter is the top management, both the elected officials and the employed executives. This is partly due to their strong power bases, such as command of the organisation's resources and their ability to get the attention of the public (both internal and external). They are also able to act in both the governance structure and the management function of the organisation. However, being able to set the agenda and being able to get the decisions that one wishes are not always the same thing. What the top management can do is to set the tone of the agenda, but in order to get the decisions they wish, they need to sway the agendas of others.

Employees and managers of different programs and operational areas do not have the same agenda-setting power as the top management; they do not have the command of the same resources and are seldom able to sway public opinion in the same way. They do however have the ability to create solutions and implement programs through the management function, which gives them a large impact on the generation of alternatives and solutions. Since they often work for a long time within

the organisation, they also have a resource base in terms of their longevity, which gives them the stamina to see things through, but which also (over time) provides them access to a network of contacts. This is often combined with an expertise within their field of operations.

The representatives of the general assembly have the unique characteristic that they have some control of both the agenda and the policy process through their central position in the governance structure. The main resource of the general assembly is, of course, that it is the highest decision-making body in the organisation and that it is the only part of the organisation that can change the organisation's statutes. This is combined with its capacity to reach out to the public. Another advantage is that when other actors formulate problems and solutions, they often try to anticipate how the general assembly will react.

A fourth, and for our discussion very important actor group is what Kingdon (1995) calls the policy entrepreneurs. They are not confined to one part of the organisation but can be found anywhere. The name 'policy entrepreneur' depicts less a position and more of a characteristic of the individual. Their defining feature is that they are driven to invest their time and resources in order to accomplish some change in organisational policy. Policy entrepreneurs can try to solve a particular problem and thus promote a particular solution, but they may as well try to implement a certain solution and thus try to attach it to a problem which is receiving attention at the moment. One important task for policy entrepreneurs is to keep advocating their problem and/or their solution in order to soften up the relevant communities so that they are ready when a policy window opens. Another important action is to send up 'test balloons' in order to see if the time is ripe for action or not.

The three streams

At certain times the three different streams of decision-making meet and are coupled – an issue is recognised as a problem pertinent to the present decision-making body, an appropriate solution is present, and the politi-

cal environment is suitable. As a result, a policy window has opened. When the window opens, the different actors quickly dump their problems, solutions and political forces into the window. The chosen outcome will depend on the mix of elements and how they are coupled. I will first describe the three different streams of decision-making and then discuss how their coupling takes place.

Problems

There is a multitude of issues in organisations which could be objects for decision-making, but not all issues become such objects. In order for an issue to become an object for organisational decision-making, it first has to become visible to the decision-making body. Furthermore, it takes concerted effort to keep an issue on the agenda; if it seems that the issue will not reach the point of decision-making, participants may choose not to invest in it anymore and it will fade from the agenda. After the issue has become visible, it also has to be constructed as a problem that should be solved by the particular decision-making body – not just as a fact or a condition. This construction process is fraught with contention and conflict since some interests will be helped and others will be hurt, depending on how the problem is constructed. This process takes place predominantly within the organisation's governance structure.

One way for an issue to be constructed as a problem is when there is a mismatch between the values of the observer and the observed condition. This mismatch can arise either because the values of the observer have changed or because the observed conditions have changed. An issue can also be shaped as a problem due to a change in a widely respected indicator, which in the type of organisations in focus for this study would be the number of members, or due to a key event such as a disaster or a decision-maker's personal experience.

It is important to note that it is the interpretation of information that transforms it from a statement to an issue and thus to a potential problem. Many parts of the organisation are tasked with collecting data on

different indicators. Which indicators are monitored will of course have an influence on the decision-making process.

Another important way that conditions are turned into problems is through a change in categories since issues will be seen in a different light depending on which category it is placed under. If for instance the condition of being an alcoholic is placed in the category of individual morality, it will be approached and handled in a different way than if it is placed within the category of medical problems. The construction and deconstruction of categories are as much fraught with conflict as the construction of problems is, since this will also represent threats to (and opportunities for) somebody's interests.

Policies

Just as there are a multitude of issues within an organisation, there are a multitude of alternatives and solutions. These alternatives and solutions are most often created and suggested in the organisation's management function. Even though providing strategic direction is usually the responsibility of the board, research shows that, due to time and resource restrictions, the employed staff often works out a menu of suggestions for the board to consider (Cornforth & Edwards, 1999).

According to Kingdon (1995) the process through which alternatives and proposals are generated resembles a process of biological natural selection. Ideas float around in policy communities: some ideas survive and prosper, and some proposals are taken more seriously than others. Kingdon finds that proposals need to fulfil the following criteria in order to have a chance of surviving 'natural selection': technical feasibility, value acceptability within the policy community, tolerable cost, anticipated public acquiescence, and a reasonable chance for receptivity among elected decision-makers. A policy proposal will pick up more and more support until it reaches a tipping point where is becomes so widely supported that it becomes accepted as a genuine solution.

Political process

Alongside and independent of the problems and policy streams flows the political stream. This stream consists of such items as public opinion, election results and pressures from interest groups, which may function as impetus or constraints for change. As important as these are, how decision-makers within the organisation interpret them also has an impact.

Change of leadership and change of administration may push issues on or off the agenda, depending on the newcomers' program. Generally officials tend to show more activity at the beginning of their term, when they often have (or feel) a need to show initiative, than at the end of their term, when their powers also may be circumscribed since the organisation is waiting for the new decision-maker(s) to take over. Interest groups can work for a change or against a change. Moreover, it is often hard to offset an entrenched interest group that is defending its own resource base, which is one of the reasons for organisational inertia.

Policy windows and the coupling of streams

As noted above, at certain times the three different streams of decision-making meet and are coupled: an issue is recognised as a problem pertinent to the present decision-making body, an appropriate solution is present, and the political environment is suitable, thus opening a policy window. These policy windows are only open for a very short time, so the actors must act quickly or they have to wait until the next time such a window opens. When opportunity strikes, the various actors quickly dump their problems, solutions and political forces into the window, and the outcome will depend on the mix of elements and how they are coupled.

Policy windows generally open due to two reasons. The first is a change in the political stream caused by a change in top management, in the power distribution in the general assembly, or in the internal or external political mood. The second reason is that a problem catches the

interest of the top management or the actors closest to them, thereby creating a need to find a solution which is considered fitting to the problem. The key to understanding this process is that even though some actors have some influence over the opening of windows, no one has complete control over it. In addition, no actor has control over the process of the coupling of streams. Thus when an actor tries to set in motion the opening of the policy window, it must also contemplate the different possible results of the coupling.

There are two types of policy windows that might open –political windows and problem windows. If (some of) the actors become convinced that a problem needs a solution, a problem window opens and actors look into the policy stream in order to find a suitable solution. If top management officials decide that they want the future to be characterised by a certain strategic action, they dip into the policy stream to find solutions that fit their needs.

Since the opening of a policy window is such a rare event, solutions flock to it: there are typically more solutions than the policy window can handle. Some actors also use this as a strategy: in order to block an unwelcome solution, they try to overload the window with solutions in order to force it to close. Sometimes most of the problems and solutions that migrate to the window will be resolved; other times some of the problems and solutions will drift away and leave a manageable number of problems and solutions at the policy window. The processes that handle this are for instance bargaining, majority coalition building, and consensus building.

The opening of one policy window often makes the opening of a second policy window more probable. One reason for this is that a precedent is set, and it is now easier to argue that other problems and solutions should be handled in a similar way. New categories have been created, and old problems and solutions can be handled in a new way. Another reason is that the group(s) that hindered the opening of the policy window in order to preserve status quo is now defeated and further change is seen as possible. This will continue until new coalitions and precedents are seen as stable and natural, and inertia will set in again.

Policy windows generally close due to a multitude of reasons. They can close when actors feel like they have solved the problem, or when they perceive that they will not be able to solve the problem or implement the solution and thus are unwilling to spend more resources on it. If the policy window opened due to some specific event, it may close when the key event has passed from the public eye. If the window opened because of a change in top management, it may close when the top management changes again. Moreover, sometimes the window closes because there is no available problem for the solution at hand, or vice versa.

Power within organisations

According to Stuart Clegg (1989) discourse shapes power relations within an organisation at a given moment, while power relations shape discourse over time. In this perspective discourse and power stand in a dialectical relationship; a change in either the discourses or the power relations in the organisation will interactively change the other. The power distribution among actors and the forms of powers that can be used in a certain context are constituted by discourse and thus fixed in time. However, those discourses are shaped over time by those in positions of power to construct and disseminate texts. "In other words, discourse shapes relations of power while relations of power shape who influences discourse over time and in what way" (Hardy & Phillips, 2004:299). The evolutionary character of the relationship between discourse and power does not mean that it is in constant flux; rather the relationship is effectively fixed at any given point in time.

In this perspective, power is not something that individuals possess; it is rather something that individuals have because their positions bestow power on them. The individual possesses power by inhabiting a position which has power relative to certain other positions. This position is what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) call a 'nodal point' and Callon (1986) calls an

'obligatory passage point'. According to Clegg (1989) it is the fixing of these points within a certain discursive formation that leads to the reification of power. This reification often takes the form of being inscribed in rules and procedures, which at the same time both enable and constrain action (Clegg, 1975). Such rules can never regulate all action within an organisation and they are always open for interpretation; they will therefore never be wholly stable. This means that the organisation is the site of a never-ending discursive struggle between different actors where different individuals and groups use different resources in order to control and determine the organisation's actions.

Clegg (1989) divides power into three forms: episodic, dispositional, and facilitative. These forms are active in three different arenas or circuits of power: the agency circuit, the social integration circuit, and the system integration circuit.

The agency circuit, probably the most obvious, is distinguished by episodic power. It is mainly based on control over resources on which other actors are dependent and on different positional statuses and can commonly be described as 'power over' (Lukes, 1974; Pfeffer, 1981). It is through the fixation of nodal points that stable relations of episodic power are reproduced, and as long as power stays within the agency circuit, it reproduces the existing configuration of rules and hierarchies. Changes in the power system will only happen when the practices or the techniques are challenged, either through the social integration circuit or through the system integration circuit.

The social integration circuit is distinguished by dispositional power, which can be described as the power to change the rules that govern the agency circuit. The social integration circuit tends to reproduce the already existing relations of power within the agency circuit, but is at the same time open to external influences and is thus a source of change within the system of power.

The system integration circuit is distinguished by facilitative power which consists of different and partly overlapping structurally sedimented phenomena which themselves are imbued with power (Clegg, 1989). This circuit is the major source of change among the circuits of power

since changes in techniques of production and discipline may lead to new nodal points which already existing stabilisations of social integration cannot escape. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the probability of the disempowerment of a specific agency will greatly depend on the position that the agency already has in the agency circuit and in the social integration circuit.

As alluded to above, among the most important points in the circuits are the nodal points. They can be described as points through which all relations must pass, and power thus consists in part of fixating certain nodal points and detaching others. Nodal points are seldom fixated once and for all, but are rather contested elements since there are almost always a multiple of meanings attached to them. As such, discursive battles occur where different groups try to fix alternative nodal points in order to create different bases of legitimacy and resource-based capacities which will change the episodic circuit of power.

It is through the fixation of nodal points that actors exercise power within the social integration circuit and thus make a particular socially constructed structure look objective and inevitable. According to Clegg (1989) politics consists of positioning actors, subjects and discursive outcomes in such a way that traffic must pass through the nodal points. This requirement gives the party in question a privileged position.

Changes in the system can be either endogenous or exogenous. Endogenous changes typically result from episodic power outcomes, which cause changes in the rules that fixate relations of meaning and membership in the social integration circuit or in the techniques of production and discipline in the system integration circuit. Exogenous changes occur normally because of changes in the organisation's environment that disturb the social integration circuit or the system integration circuit. Whether the exogenous factors have an impact on the organisation is dependent in part on the receptivity of the system of social integration and on the resource dependency of the organisation as a whole. Institutional isomorphism is one factor that might influence which exogenous factors are able to influence the organisational system (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Organisational discourse

One way of examining the discursive battles surrounding important nodal points is organisational discourse analysis. For the purpose of this dissertation, I have used a variant of discourse studies where discourses are structured collections of texts and the production, transmission and consumption of said texts in a social context, and where discourse plays a vital role in the social construction of reality (Parker, 1992; Fairclough, 1995). In this perspective discourse is created socially at the same time as the discourse is creating social reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This does not suggest that reality only exists within people's imagination; rather, an objective and physical world is assumed. But as Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue, it suggests that the social world that individuals face is comprised of relations and identities that previously are discursively produced, reproduced and reified into institutions and practices. Discourse both facilitates and restricts which topics that can be discussed in a meaningful way and how we should relate to them. This view builds on the notion that the discursive formation consists of both the objects within it and the positions and qualifications that are necessary for certain utterances. The types and positions of actors that can exercise power and the distribution between them are decided and fixed in the particular moment within the discursive formation.

Multiple discourses may exist within a single organisation, discourses which in turn are partial and full of internal contradictions. This, in combination with the fact that most contexts and actors are embedded in multiple discourses, means that discourses are never able to totally determine social reality (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). Actors then have the possibility to make choices about which discourse they draw on, although these choices are constrained by the power relationships in the discursive formation.

How discourse shapes relations of power

Hardy, Palmer and Phillips (2000) develop a model for how discourse creates social reality through the production of concepts, objects, and subject positions. According to this model, concepts are categories, relationships and theories that carry with them a moral evaluation and state what is to be considered good, bad, beautiful and ugly within the discursive formation. These concepts are constantly produced and reproduced by actors in everyday life and are contested social constructions, which form culturally and historically situated meanings and practices (Hardy & Phillips, 1999; Hardy & Phillips, 2004) and frame our understanding of social reality. This allows the strategic use of discourses by which individuals change the content of a concept through discursive action and thus change social relations. Concepts are then used to fill social relations or physical objects with meaning.

Objects are material things but only make sense through the concepts attached to them. They do exist independently of our experience of them, but they can only be understood through discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). So the same object may be interpreted differently within different discursive formations, and individuals may try to attach certain concepts to certain objects to further their own agenda.

Subjects are created when individuals take or are given certain positions within the discursive formation. These positions are not all equal, but certain positions warrant more voice than other positions, and there exist only a limited number of subject positions within each discourse. Thus the struggle over discourses could be seen as a struggle to gain subject positions that bestow the ability to assign concepts to objects in order to change or fixate nodal points (Mumby & Stohl, 1991). Discourse structures social space and thus privileges certain actors, but discourse is also fluid so there are constant challenges and change.

As already stated, discourse evolves over time, and the main drivers for this change are the production, transmission and consumption of various texts. New texts or new interpretations of old texts may lead to ei-

ther reinforcement or change of the current discourse and the objects, concepts or subject positions that are associated with it.

The production of texts is an activity that mostly takes place in what Clegg (1989) calls the agency circuit and involves episodic power. In order for the text to be produced, there must be an exercise of power and the use of scarce resources. Actors often try to influence discourse by using texts as 'weapons' in order to create meanings compatible with their interests. Individuals with formal power often have an easier time of producing texts that endure and become adopted. Monetary or material resources may not be enough to make a text stick; access to such resources as control over rewards and sanctions, information and legitimacy might also be needed. An actor that neither possesses formal power nor controls critical resources may be able to make a text take hold in the discursive formation through contacts, networks and social relationships (Fairclough, 1992). Finally, when an actor is imbued with discursive legitimacy so that it is seen as the valid spokesperson of a group, organisation or even a problem, it might also be able to make a text stick (Parker, 1992; Phillips & Hardy, 1997). An actor occupying one or more of these positions may be seen as speaking legitimately within the discursive formation. It is also important to note, however, that these forms of power are distributed between many subject positions and consequently no single actor is able to define the content of the discursive formation (Phillips & Brown, 1993).

With regard to the connection of a text to other texts, it is mainly the intertextuality and the interdiscursivity that are of interest. With intertextuality, texts that use other texts which are deemed important within the discursive formation will be taken up more easily because they draw on familiar and accepted themes (Fairclough, 1992). Interdiscursivity is a similar strategy by which texts draw on other related discourses (Fairclough, 1992). Using the correct form and genre, for example, letters, memos, meetings, seminars and announcements, when producing a text is also important because a text that conforms to the expected form or genre will be more acceptable. The final, and maybe most important characteristic of a text is the way that it transcends the local situation of

its utterance and becomes reified and objectified (Taylor, Cooren et al., 1996).

For texts to have an impact in the discursive formation, they need to be consumed and interpreted. The meaning of a text is not given beforehand; it is created in an act of co-construction between the author of the text and the consumer of the text, where there are always opportunities for resistance and alternative readings.

Summary of the theory chapter

In contemporary academic debate on civil society, several researchers describe the decline of the nonprofit and voluntary membership-based national federations and the parallel rise of the professionally managed organisations and warn that this development may lead to a diminished democracy on both the national level and on the organisational level. This development is sometimes linked with what Michels ([1911], 1962) called the iron law of oligarchy which predicts goal displacement from the organisations' original goals, together with organisational decline, and ultimately the organisations' demise. In the first chapter I therefore stated that the main purpose of this study is to explore the phenomenon of governance in CSOs and explore which mechanisms enable a CSO to mitigate the iron law of oligarchy and revitalise itself.

In the first section of the chapter, dealing with membership-based organisations and their governance, we saw that previous research on CSOs has largely ignored governance in multi-level, federative organisations and has mainly focused instead on governance in boards or the relation between boards and management in unitary organisations. Furthermore it was observed that there is a lack of qualitative and longitudinal studies of the process of organisational change within CSOs more generally, which means that we lack knowledge on how change processes are influenced by contextual and historical factors. Such longitudinal process studies are especially needed within the area of governance, since

governance processes are not static but rather evolve over time. This study therefore seeks to fill these two gaps by examining the role of members in the governance process and by examining how governance processes take place across different levels over time.

The first section then proceeded by describing one of the dominant analytical models to explain how membership-based organisations change - the goal displacement model. Based on the work of Weber and Michels ([1922], 1968; Michels, ([1911], 1962), the model states that when a CSO acquires a social and economic base in society and the original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure arises to take its place. Those that are part of the organisation have incentives to sustain it even though it may no longer be able to reach its goals. Meanwhile, the organisation tends to adapt to the surrounding society and to replace the values that are the core of the shared value system with goals relating to maintaining organisational power and ensuring survival. Analytically this process consists of three interrelated parts: rise of oligarchy, organisational maintenance, and goal displacement.

The second section then elaborated on how governance plays out in multilevel, federative, membership-based organisations. The federation was characterised as a unit that has two parallel decision-making bodies, the governance structure and the management function. The two are functionally distinct yet interdependent components of the organisation. As such, a balance of power is imperative. Of particular interest was how the interdependent, dynamic relationship between these two bodies was governed and structured by the ideology (or shared value system), the organisational constitution and the democratic process.

The third section explored how organisational borders around individual organisations are (re)produced and what role an interorganisational domain can have in this process. An interorganisational domain is created when the incumbents in the domain come to share a similar vision of what the important questions are and who the important players are. This shared view, or identity, is what decides where the borders of the organisational domain are placed. The borders of the interorganisational domain are created when dominant incumbents repeatedly use

episodic power, thus stabilising the power relations within the field. These power relations are then stabilised over time as they are produced and reproduced and over time become taken-for-granted norms.

Many of the reviewed theories provide rather static images of governance, which points towards a need for incorporating more dynamic and process-oriented elements. So in the fourth section a revised version of Kingdon's model of the decision-making process was presented in order to capture the dynamics in the governance process. This model focused on three different streams of decision-making: problem, policy and political process. At certain times, the three different streams meet and are coupled – an issue is recognised as a problem pertinent to the present decision-making body, an appropriate solution is present, and the political environment is suitable. As a result, a policy window has opened. When the window opens, the different actors quickly dump their problems, solutions and political forces into the window. The outcome will depend on the mix of elements and how they are coupled.

Both the opening of policy windows and the events around an open policy window are imbued with power relations. The same applies to the production and reproduction of the borders around the interorganisational domain. Therefore the fifth and last section of the theory chapter discussed power relations within and between organisations in order to develop these concepts further since they are paramount for the purposes of this study.

Chapter 4

The interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation

History

The Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) was established 1851 in the city of Utica in USA with the motto of "Friendship, Hope and Charity" and demanded of its members total abstinence from alcohol. The association welcomed everyone irrespective of class, ethnicity, gender or religion, something that was not common at that time. IOGT was introduced to Sweden 1879 when the first association "Klippan" [The Rock] was founded by Olof Bergström and was a voluntary organisation that likewise demanded absolute abstinence from alcohol (Lindberg, 1991). This requirement separated IOGT from many of the other temperance organisations active in Sweden at that time, which mainly aimed for a decrease in the use of alcohol. They were also often dominated by persons from the upper classes in society, and subsequently were not structured as membership-based organisations.

Another large temperance organisation also established itself early on in Sweden, the Templarorden (TO), which was founded in the USA in

1883 and was introduced into Sweden in 1884 by Adolph Peterson. It was a temperance organisation that offered insurance in case of sickness or death to its members, and it grew quickly. It was not an 'order' society like IOGT and did not have the secrecy and rituals that distinguished IOGT at the time (Lindberg, 1991).

The early history of the Swedish IOGT is characterised by several rifts and splits. One of these was due to the struggle between the American Hickmanite faction and the English Malinite faction, which started in the 1860s. At the time, the USA was at the time a segregated country and a contested issue was if coloured were to be allowed to become members of the IOGT. The Hickmanites wanted to allow coloured people to become members and tried to solve this by creating special associations within the IOGT for them. This was something that the Malinites could not accept, arguing for a united association for all human beings. The Malinites also advocated that the association be free of all religious influence, something which divided the Swedish branch. The differences at the international level were quickly solved, however, and the two international branches were reunited. Nevertheless, religious differences remained between the two factions in Sweden, and the Swedish Hickmanites ultimately broke away from IOGT and founded Nationalgodtemplarorden (NGTO) in 1887. NGTO later merged with TO in 1922 and became NTO.

A second break occurred in 1896 when the association Verdandi was created as a totally agnostic temperance organisation. The religious question was under continuous debate until the requirement to have a Christian faith was dropped from the IOGT's membership pledge in 1908 (Lindberg, 1991).

At the time of IOGT's founding, Sweden was a very poor country and the people lived in great misery. A major reason behind IOGT's demand for total abstinence from alcohol was the hope that this would give people the power to better their living conditions. This is still apparent in IOGT-NTOs vision today of "a society, a world, where people can live their lives free from the obstacle of alcohol and other drugs."

IOGT used several different tools and methods to improve quality of life. One of the most visible ways was through education; Swedish IOGT started is educational activities for members as early as 1892. The local chapters often had study circles[5] where the members could learn how to read and write. The activity itself in the local chapters has been – and still are -- described as 'schools of democracy' where the members learned the techniques of holding meetings and a democratic way to work (one of the major arguments for their receipt of state funds). Many social movements built folk high schools at that time. It was the smallest of the temperance organisations, NGTO, that created the first such school, Wendelsberg folk high school, in 1908. IOGT founded Tollare folk high school only in 1952.

One story about the founder of NGTO's Wendelsberg folk high school says that the one-year course consisted of not only theoretical studies, but that they also learned how to craft. In the beginning of the year the student's task was to create a map stand which they could use to draw up their plans. In the middle of the year they were tasked with building their own writing desk so they had somewhere to keep their books and papers. And the final task was to create their own gavel. And so they were prepared to go out into the world and spread the word.

So from the beginning IOGT-NTO has been more than a temperance organisation. You could say that it was more of a political movement trying to empower people but that saw alcohol as the major obstacle to that goal. The early temperance movement realised that it could not reach its goal of an alcohol-free society without educating its members and the local population. Furthermore, if the people were not able to vote, they would not be able to change policies.

Many observers of Swedish civil society state that it is dominated by membership-based federations, which are clustered into what is commonly called popular movements. The key words describing these popular movements are open and active formal memberships, transparency in operations and administration, a high degree of formal internal democ-

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[5] Oscar Olsson introduced the learning method of study circles to Sweden in 1902.

racy, and generous access to public policy making and public funding (Lundström & Wijkström, 1997; Hvenmark & Wijkström, 2004). Four of the historically most important popular movements are the free churches, workers, temperance and women's movements. They are commonly seen as an important factor in the democratisation of Sweden in the late 1800s and early 1900s and have dominated the Swedish civil society for a long time (Micheletti, 1995). As a result of this dominance, the most common way in Sweden today to refer to civil society is through the use of the popular movement concept (Wijkström, 2011).

As time passed and the welfare state grew and took over responsibilities from the civil society organisations, many turned to advocacy. IOGT followed this trend and became more focused on advocacy and prevention and less on social work (Micheletti, 1995). This was also mirrored in the member base where fewer members had any personal relation to alcohol problems.

From the mid-1950s and onward IOGT suffered a decline in membership and was seen more as an advocacy instrument for special interest groups. Although the social work aspect was not abandoned, it was less prominent than before. In 1970 IOGT merged with NTO, and they became IOGT-NTO. It is at the first congress of the newly merged organisation that this study begins.

The interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation today

The IOGT-NTO movement consists of the federation IOGT-NTO, the IOGT-NTO youth federation (UNF), the Temperance Guide and Scout Association (NSF) and the IOGT-NTO children's federation (JUNIS). The four federations call themselves the IOGT-NTO movement, and they share the same ideological base and program. While they are legally independent from each other (and are built up by independent local as-

sociations), they also have several integrating mechanisms in common, as I show below.

The national council of the IOGT-NTO movement (Rikstyrelsen).

One of the most important coordinating mechanisms in the interorganisational domain around the IOGT-NTO federation is the national council of the IOGT-NTO movement (Rikstyrelsen). It consists of eight board members, with the IOGT-NTO, UNF, JUNIS and NSF electing two each[6]. The movement's national council is today only advisory; its main purpose is to enable integration and effective usage of common resources within the IOGT-NTO movement (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999a).

This structure is then mirrored on the regional level with regional councils and on the municipal level with IOGT-NTO circles where all the four federations can be represented. Because the regional councils and the local circles are voluntary, they do not exist in all regions or municipalities.

Membership

To be eligible to become a member of the IOGT-NTO federation, you need to be at least 12 years old and have taken the membership pledge. All members of UNF and JUNIS above the age of twelve and that have taken the membership pledge automatically become members of the IOGT-NTO federation. Members of NSF above the age of 25 automatically become members of the IOGT-NTO federation. A member of the

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[6] The number of delegates was changed to eight at the congress in 2009.

IOGT-NTO federation that is below the age of 25 is also automatically a member of UNF (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999a).

The membership pledge states:

> I promise to do my best to further the purposes of the IOGT-NTO movement as they are stated in the constitution and programs. I pledge to live totally sober, that is to abstain from alcoholic beverages with an alcoholic percentage above 2.25%, not to use narcotic substances or other poisons with an intoxicating effect (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999a).

A member that breaks this pledge may be expelled from the movement.

The organisations within the inter-organisational domain

The IOGT-NTO federation

IOGT-NTO is a federation consisting of around 800 local clubs or chapters spread throughout the country with around 32 000 members as of 2012. It is a part of the international organisation IOGT, Independent Order of Good Templars. To be a member of the organisation a personal pledge is given which promises abstinence from alcohol and other drugs (see above) and accepts the equal value of all people.

The organisation's legal structure has its base at the local level. Each member belongs to a local association. Those associations are connected to a region, of which there are 23. The highest authority of the organisation is the general assembly, which meets every second year at the biannual congress. Delegates to the general assembly are elected by the regions. The general assembly elects the national board and adopts a plan of action, policy programmes and financial plans and reports. Dur-

ing the period between the meetings of the general assembly, the national board is responsible for implementing the plan of action.

A regional board is elected by the local associations within each region and functions in the same way as the national board. The local associations also have annual meetings to elect a board and adopt a plan of action and financial plan and report. At these local meetings, all members are entitled to vote.

IOGT-NTO's activities are based around three 'pillars': (i) advocacy for a restrictive alcohol and drug policy, (ii) prevention of alcohol and drug problems, and (iii) social work. The goals of the alcohol and drug policy work of IOGT-NTO are: reducing alcohol consumption, increasing the average age of starting to use alcohol, reducing the use of narcotic drugs, and reducing the number of young people who try narcotic drugs. IOGT-NTO carries out its advocacy work through lobbying, campaigns and grass-roots actions aiming towards all levels of society. The goal of the advocacy for a better drug policy is to raise the awareness of politicians and policy makers on all levels. The aim of IOGT-NTO's preventive work is to influence people's values regarding alcohol and other drugs in order to reduce their consumption. This is mainly done through the provision of general information, but also with activities targeted to certain high-risk groups. IOGT-NTO deems the preventive work important in many different ways: in terms of reducing the human suffering that comes with drug abuse and in terms of the benefit to society of preventing people from addiction because the prevention of drug abuse is less expensive than rehabilitating addicts. IOGT-NTO's social work focuses on treatment and peer-support among former addicts and their relatives and is based on networking, education and seminars. The treatment centre Dagöholm and the folk high schools Tollare and Wendelsberg play important roles in this work. All over the country, IOGT-NTO has different kinds of peer-supporting, self-help associations for former addicts.

IOGT-NTO's Youth Federation (UNF)

UNF is IOGT-NTO's youth organisation, uniting over 7 000 members spread over 125 local associations as of 2012. UNF is, in other words, structured as a federation of local associations. To become a member of UNF, you need to be between 13 and 25 years of age and, like for IOGT-NTO, pledge to abstain from alcohol and other drugs. UNF's main activity is advocating to enact a restrictive alcohol and drug policy and to prevent children and young adults from even beginning to use alcohol and other drugs. UNF was founded when IOGT was merged with NTO, and the youth activities of the two organisations were placed in the newly founded UNF. While NTO had no freestanding youth organisation, IOGT had SGU which was founded in 1906 by younger members of the IOGT demanding more radical reforms and introduction of what they saw as more modern methods of work.

IOGT-NTO's Children's Federation (JUNIS)

JUNIS is the organisation for children between 7 and 14 years of age. Like its sister organisations, it is also structured as a federation with some 13 000 members spread over more than 200 local associations all over Sweden as of 2012. The leaders of the organisation need to be members in either UNF or IOGT-NTO. The organisation's goal is to provide an alcohol-free environment for children. This is pursued by both arranging activities for children and advocacy for a restrictive alcohol and drug policy. The main difference between UNF and JUNIS (except the obvious age difference) is that, where UNF is mainly focused on preventing young adults from drinking, JUNIS is mainly focused on preventing people in children's immediate surroundings from using alcohol and other drugs in order to promote a drug-free environment for children.

JUNIS has four main program areas: freedom from alcohol and drugs, democracy, international solidarity, and human environment.

The idea is to reach children through activities that they enjoy (e.g., theatre, dance, sports, and film) and then try to provide them with good role models. The organisation has also recently started to work more with advocacy and trying to address the question of alcohol and drug abuse from a children's perspective.

The Swedish Temperance Guide and Scout Association (NSF)

The Temperance Guide and Scout Association (NSF) was founded 1926 and is one of five guide and scout associations in Sweden. It has approximately 6 000 members in over 100 scout units, as of 2012. The majority of the scout units offer activities for several age groups from 8 to 18 years of age. Like the NSF, founded by the temperance movement, many of the guide and scout associations in Sweden were started by an already existing organisation, for example the YMCA, the YWCA, or the Salvation Army. The organisation aims to provide scouting in a drug-free environment where young people are given the strength and role models to say no to drugs. Members are obligated to have made the promise of total abstinence from alcohol and other drugs by the time they turn twelve.

Educational activity of the Sobriety movement (NBV)

NBV is the educational association of the temperance movement. Its purpose is to: "run a free and voluntary educational work on a sober basis in order to further studies of societal and philosophical subjects, especially around alcohol and other drugs, environment, democracy, traffic safety and international questions in order to - with respect for cultural traditions - develop new ways of creating and expressing art, music, theatre and literature and to inform the participants about the member or-

ganisation's goals and also to stimulate the members of the temperance movement for efforts in the service of the movement and of society."

NBV has 21 member organisations as of 2012 (four of which are the federations within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain) that work with sobriety and drug issues, the traffic environment and health issues. The NBV study circle activities offer knowledge about the most important problems in connection with the use of drugs and alcohol. They hold information activities and lectures and organise study circles (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005b).

Dagöholm

Dagöholm is an operating foundation, and had more than 13 000 care days divided among 115 patients and a turnover of about 18 million SEK, as of 2008. The board of the IOGT-NTO federation appoints six of the foundation's board members, and the Swedish Association of Health Professionals appoints the seventh board member (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009).

The Dagöholm centre treats men and women, young and old, from the whole of Sweden with alcohol and drug problems. The treatment is tailored to the individual but is at the same time based on collective work. The goal is to help the patients to take responsibility for their own lives and help them see the possibility of a positive life without drugs. The treatment time is individual, varying from 4 weeks to up to a year, with an average of three months. Some 40 patients live at the treatment centre, and approximately 20 people are employed there. Dagöholm cooperates closely with the folk high schools within the interorganisational domain and is even able to provide courses on their own premises. Dagöholm is also the main origin for the self-help clubs and peer communities that have developed within the interorganisational domain.

The IOGT-NTO movement's International Institute

Not surprising given that it emerged from an international movement, the IOGT-NTO has a long tradition of international solidarity work. The International Institute was founded as an independent foundation, governed by a board which consists of representatives from all four federations within the domain. The institute has a turnover of about 34 million SEK as of 2008. The Institute's vision is a world of democracy, tolerance, equality and equal recourses, a world where alcohol and other drugs are not a hindrance to human welfare and development. The Institute works with international projects in close to 10 countries in Eastern Europe, South and South-east Asia and East Africa. It engages in policy work and public awareness campaigns about alcohol and other drugs as well as organisational development, preventive health care, preschool activities, education, and poverty reduction (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009).

The folk high schools

The first folk high schools in Sweden were established in 1868. Today there are about 150 schools spread throughout the country. Despite being separate from the public education system, folk high schools are now an established part of the Swedish education system. Around 2/3 of the schools are run by various popular movements, organisations and associations, while the remaining 1/3 are run by county councils or regions. A characteristic feature of the Swedish folk high schools is their freedom to develop the content and direction of their own courses: each school makes its own decisions regarding teaching plans within the limits set by a special legislation. Folk high schools often try to make use of their student's prior knowledge and experiences. An important part in many of the folk high schools is the boarding element. Studying and living at school create a sense of community and enable possibilities of close com-

panionship and the chance to exchange views during free time. All tuition is free of charge.

There are two folk high schools within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, Wendelsberg and Tollare. They are run as associations, and their boards are elected at IOGT-NTO's biannual congress by the representatives there when the general assembly of the IOGT-NTO federation for a moment takes the role of the general assembly of the folk high schools. The folk high schools are in this respect very close to the IOGT-NTO federation.

Wendelsberg folk high school, outside of Gothenburg, was bought by NGTO (which later would be part of IOGT-NTO) in 1907, and in 1908 started offering courses in Sweden's first movement-owned folk high school. It is a boarding school which is completely free from alcohol and other drugs, and as such it fills an important role in IOGT-NTO's preventive work and as an important resource in the social work. The school has around 250 full-time students and employs 60 teachers. The school also provides distance studies, shorter courses and conferences. Wendelsberg has assets with a book value of around SEK 22 million and a turnover of about SEK 30 million (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009).

Tollare is also a boarding school and lies in Nacka outside of Stockholm, offering year-long courses for about 200 students each year and employing around 40 teachers. The first course at Tollare was held in 1952. The school has assets worth around SEK 20 million and a turnover of about SEK 26 million. Tollare also offers distance learning, shorter courses, and conferences (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009).

The companies within the interorganisational domain

The IOGT-NTO federation has several companies attached to it. An early and important example of this was the mutual insurance company ANSVAR. Another very important company group is the IOGT-NTO Lotteries, which have over the last 40 years supplied the IOGT-NTO movement with more than one billion SEK. A very large part of the

movement's costs are covered by the proceeds from the lotteries. They supplied the movement with SEK 61 million in 2008. The board of the lotteries are elected by the board of the IOGT-NTO federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009).

Chapter 5

Cases from the interorganisational domain

The (re)emergence of social work

The 1970s and the 1980s

As noted above, IOGT was founded in USA in 1851 as an organisation
for those with alcohol problems and for those with close relations with
people with alcohol problems. IOGT came to Sweden in 1879 and was
one of the major driving forces not only in the temperance movement
but also in the workers movement. The IOGT had from the start an idea
of equality and empowerment where sobriety was the first step along the
way. As time passed, the workers movement gained ground and the so-
cial democratic party rose to power, the work of IOGT became more
focused on advocacy and prevention and less on social work. This was
mirrored in the member base where fewer members had any relation to
alcohol problems. From the mid-1950s and onward IOGT suffered a
decline in membership at the same time as the member base aged since it
failed to attract younger people. It was seen more as an advocacy in-
strument for special interest groups, and, although the social work aspect
was not abandoned, it was less prominent than before.

At the congress in 1975 the national council presents the strategic plan for the period until the interorganisational domain's 100-year anniversary in 1979. The main goals were to have 200 000 members (the interorganisational domain had at the time around 140 000 members) and be a popular movement focused on fighting the abuse of drugs. The main target groups for recruitment are customers at the insurance company Ansvar (which only allowed teetotallers to become members), students at the popular adult education organisation NBV (the adult education organisation common to all temperance organisations in Sweden), visitors of the interorganisational domain's bingo parlours, parents of youth and children that were members of the IOGT-NTO's children's federation and the youth federation UNF, and individuals in the age group 25-40. The strategic areas in which the interorganisational domain was supposed to be active were mainly creating new local associations and strengthening the democratic work within them, influencing public opinion regarding drugs, making education once again a part of the work in the local associations, stimulating international activities, and preserving and acquiring more local associations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:117-128).

In the mid-1970s all of the potential groups for member recruitment were more or less already inside the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. At the time, the IOGT-NTO federation had two main areas of activities. The first was policy advocacy to reduce the total consumption of alcohol in Sweden, mainly through price increases and restricted access to alcohol. The second were recreational activities for members, such as sports and culture. Thus, in the official strategic plan of the interorganisational domain, there was no sign that alcoholics might be seen as targets for recruitment as members of the interorganisational domain, or that social work might be seen as a particularly important area. Basically the interorganisational domain might be described as for the already sober, and the strategy as an abstract influence on alcohol policy at the macro-political level.

At the same congress in 1975, two members from the newly created local association 100 Logen (100 the Lodge) ask the congress in bill

number 14 to increase the interorganisational domain's engagement in social work. According to them, the social work of the IOGT-NTO-interorganisational domain is very modest and dependent on the initiative of individual members. They also state that it would also be a good idea from a recruitment perspective to focus on social work since many alcoholics need a safe and sober environment, something that the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain can offer. The national board approves the bill and asks the general assembly to task it with creating recommendations for the design of the social work. The congress approves (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:158-159).

In 1977, there is a small passage on the treatment centre Dagöholm in the work plan the national board presented to the congress for the period 1978-1981:

> Our treatment centre Dagöholm must be more integrated into our movement and become a natural part of our work. We must work together with the management of the treatment centre and find ways to cooperate and develop the operations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:135).

At the same congress the national board issues a statement on the IOGT-NTO federation's view on the care and treatment of alcoholics. The statement asserts that it is the Swedish state and the local municipalities that are responsible for taking care of and treating those with alcohol problems, and that the state needs to increase its efforts in this area. In the statement there is no mention of any social work on the part of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977b:36-37).

At the congress in 1979 social work is also only intermittently mentioned. For example, the commission on the future of the IOGT-NTO federation comments on the national council's "Program for the 80s – roads to renewal":

> Preventive work must be the primary mission for the IOGT-NTO movement, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the care and treatment of alcoholics is an extremely urgent task. The individual members should be

encouraged to engage in supervisory work among other things (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979b:43).

The commission on the future also says, referring to the treatment centre Dagöholm:

> The operations at Dagöholm should be prioritised. The suggested after care of patients in the form of education at the movement's folk high schools should be put in place (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979b:43).

Social work, as in treating alcoholics, is thus year for year considered slightly more important, even though it still is a very peripheral activity and the alcoholics themselves are seen as passive objects that the interorganisational domain should help. There is still evidence that the discourse of abstract sobriety, which at this time consisted of the idea that the organisation was for the already sober and the strategy was an abstract influence on the macro-political level, is the most influential discourse within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain.

The care chain

In 1982 there was a change in the Swedish legislation when the Law on Temperance Administration (Nykterhetsvårdslagen) is revoked and replaced with the Law on Social Services (Socialtjänstlagen) and the Law on the Care of Adult Addicts (Lagen om vård av vuxna missbrukare). This change made it possible for the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain to have more control over the treatment centre Dagöholm and gave some freedom in deciding on how the centre should be run. The new laws were the point of departure for the national board's suggestion number 2 to the congress in 1983 that the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain should, once again, look at how it could use the treatment centre and how the treatment centre could use the interorganisational

domain for the after care and rehabilitation of alcoholics and drug addicts (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:138-146).

Two years later at the 1985 congress, Kjell E Johansson is elected chair of the board of the IOGT-NTO federation. In his speech at the end of the congress, he speaks about the importance of the recruitment of members:

> I, for my part, believe that it also is important to realise the importance of our children's federation, the scout federation and the youth federation within our movement. These three federations stand for the growth of the movement and guarantee that the IOGT-NTO movement does not have its future behind it. […] Our primary target groups for recruitment are the non-organised teetotallers and the 'almost-teetotallers'. Maybe also to some degree alcoholics who in their membership in the IOGT-NTO movement can have an active support in their struggle to keep sober (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985a:72-77).

Here alcoholics are mentioned for the first time as possible members, although they are still seen as objects that through their membership in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain will be treated for their drug abuse. They have not yet been given (or it has not even been considered that it might be possible to give them) a subject position and thus a right to speak within the discourse. However, the object 'alcoholic' has been given the concept 'possible member'.

The care chain is first mentioned in the national board's work plan for 1988-1999 where it states that:

> Starting in the policy on treatment we will carry out an attempt with a care chain within the IOGT-NTO movement which is based on the following: 1) from drug abuse to treatment at Dagöholm, 2) from Dagöholm to education and social training at our folk high schools, 3) from folk high school to local association, 4) from local association to active participation in the governance and activities of the local association (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:164).

This is also mentioned in the chair Kjell E Johansson's opening speech at the congress in 1987 where he says that:

> A third group that can be interesting to recruit as members are individuals that have or have had problems with alcohol, but not as such as we will become an organisation like Alcoholics Anonymous (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:312).

These two quotes above point towards a change in the object 'alcoholic' within the interorganisational domain where it is assigned the possibility of becoming a participant in the governance of the local associations as part of the treatment in the care chain. This modification, I argue, will change many things within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain through their participation in the governance structure of the IOGT-NTO federation.

The activities at Dagöholm continue on a small scale during the early 1990s. For instance, during 1991-92, 85 persons are treated at the centre and around 30 of them enter the care chain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:42). There are also some signs that the integration of the former patients from Dagöholm is not easy and that other members have begun to show some resistance. There are instances where local associations do not want to accept sober alcoholics as members since they are afraid of them or believe that they will in various ways disrupt the traditional associational life. This forces several of the former patients at Dagöholm, now new members, to create their own associations, often in the form of peer support groups. There are even instances where local associations do not want to cooperate with the peer support groups that are being established within the IOGT-NTO federation. In the working plan for 1992-1994 the national board writes: "For us to be successful with the rehabilitation, we also need to influence the attitude of our members regarding their views on alcohol addiction, the alcoholics, care and rehabilitation" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:279).

It also seems that the national board is aware that this influx, albeit small, of new members might have effects on the IOGT-NTO federation. The national board writes in the work plan for 1994-1996 that:

> IOGT-NTO is above all an organisation concentrating on preventive work, but we are operating the treatment centre Dagöholm as a chance for us to learn and take part in the development of the treatment of addicts. The most important part of this is the activities that take place after the stay at Dagöholm. In the care chain between the local associations and Dagöholm we have the opportunity to develop a well-functioning care and rehabilitation, make a difference and also recruit members with another background which can give new dimensions to our movement (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:309).

It seems like that in the mid-1990s the object 'alcoholic' is not only connected to the concept of 'member', but is also attached to the concept of 'development' of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain through the influx of new ideas based on their different backgrounds and even assigned the concept of 'possible participant in the governance of the local associations.' So it seems that over the decade the sober alcoholics have moved from being an object that should be treated to something that also is valuable for the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, even though this value mostly lies in the betterment of already established practices.

Here the story about the care chain and the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain could have ended if IOGT-NTO had not been an open, membership-based, democratic federation. However, these organisational characteristics will, as we will see, have a great impact of the strategy formation of the interorganisational domain.

The low-strength beer discussion

In 1995 there are at least eleven peer support associations within the IOGT-NTO federation spread around Sweden, and numerous peer support groups established within already existing local associations. There are also initiatives where close relatives of alcoholics are integrated in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain in various ways. Several of the members of the peer support groups have also risen to take places

in boards of local associations and are now also represented in the general assembly. In the pledge that all members have to take, and which is an unconditional term of membership in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, the individual promises to not drink any beverage that contains more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume. This definition of what alcohol is has been part of the interorganisational domain since the late 1800s and has never been challenged, as far as I can see. Until now.

In 1995 four bills (numbers 16-19) are sent to the congress stating that this limit was problematic. The local association, the Peer-Chain (Kamratkedjan), states in bill number 17 that:

> It is obvious that more and more former addicts are coming to our organisation and it is therefore important that we realise that low-strength beer is a barrier for them to become members.

> A sober alcoholic can very easily have a relapse via a glass of low-strength beer or cider. We cannot have this on our conscience and we cannot just dismiss this by saying just abstain from drinking. It does not work that way.

> I hope that the congress will consider this carefully and decide that no beverages containing alcohol can be served within our movement. This should pertain to all meetings within the movement, from the local associations to national activities and events (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:298-299).

This sentiment is more or less the same in all four bills. One possible interpretation of this is that the members of the peer support groups have over time been able to occupy subject positions within the larger discourse of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain and that they now try to change the constitution of the object 'alcohol' by challenging the limit of 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume with an argument of solidarity with sober alcoholics. Moreover, they do that through the democratic governance structure of the federation. The national board gives a collective reply to all four bills where they say that:

> For a very long time, the limit for what a member in the IOGT-NTO movement promises not to drink has been 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume.

This is above all based on medical grounds. No adult can become intoxicated by drinking low-strength beer. IOGT-NTO has recently recruited sober alcoholics as members. The writers of the bills are worried that the problems with low-strength beer have been compounded through this.

The national board is however of the opinion that there very seldom is any low-strength beer at our events. There is in most cases a high awareness of the problem that the bills point to, even though it could be increased. It is therefore natural that we should exercise caution and observe restrictiveness with serving low-strength beer and cider. […]

At external events that IOGT-NTO is hosting it should be natural for us to show consumers of alcohol alternative beverages such as low-strength beer and cider. […]

The national board suggests that the bills 16, 17 and 18 are answered and suggests that bill number 19 is rejected (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:301).

In its reply the national board expresses sympathy with the sober alcoholics and states that the serving of low-strength beer should always be accompanied by caution. Nevertheless, it also mobilises two other concepts to counter the bills' concept of 'solidarity' which could be described as 'time immemorial' and 'medical science.' the board concludes that these two concepts are more important than the concept of 'solidarity.'

The bills to the general assembly are all sent in advance to the national board, and the national board also gives its statement prior to the congress. All bills and all replies from the national board are then examined by a preparatory committee which gives its views for the members of the general assembly at the congress, who then decide whether the bills should be passed or not. The preparatory committee usually agrees with the national board, but not this time:

The preparatory committee does not share the national board's view that low-strength beer seldom is served at our events. It has happened that individuals from the children's and the youth federations have drunken their first beer at annual meetings at district level. It is also very important that we show solidarity with the sober alcoholics within our movement.

The preparatory committee suggests that the congress should decide:

To recommend that low-strength beer should not be served at events arranged by IOGT-NTO.

And that demonstrations of those kind of beverages should be restricted to the state-controlled company for the sale of alcoholic beverages [Systembolaget], work places, conferences and other external activities where the purpose is to show them as alternatives to other beverages (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:470)

This starts a heated discussion at the congress where members of the national board argue that it does not serve the movement to become more restrictive than it is today, and that it is more important to focus on the total consumption of alcohol on the national level. They also add that the national board had clear scientific support for its stance in the matter. The counter argument is that, even though it may be important to lower the total consumption of alcohol on the national level, it is at least as important to show solidarity with the sober alcoholics, both within and outside the interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:470-472). After a couple of hours of discussion without reaching consensus or decision, the congress decides on the recommendation of the chairman of IOGT-NTO federation, Kjell E Johansson, to send the bill back to the newly elected national board for further preparation until the next congress in two years (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:473). It seems that the members of the peer support groups now (at least at this congress) had a subject position that was strong enough to not only challenge the national board but also to force a stalemate in this question.

Between the congress in 1995 and 1997 the national board created a special commission on alcohol and drug policy and gave it the mandate to examine the question of low-strength beer. In the commission's report, which also became the national board's suggestion to the congress, it says:

The membership requirement in IOGT-NTO is that the individual pledges not to consume beverages with more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume. This is also the definition of what is defined as alcohol in Swedish law. It is also an accepted medical fact that this is safe to consume for an otherwise healthy adult person.

However, we know that low-strength beer might be problematic for individuals with alcohol problems. Since IOGT-NTO's activities should be open for everyone that shares our values we think that it is important that our activities are kept free even from low-strength beer and other comparable beverages. It is not probable that such a decision would cause any inconvenience for individual members.

Nevertheless, the commission on alcohol and drug policy does believe that it would be wrong if the congress would decide on which rules and regulations that would be imposed on local associations. It is of utmost importance that such decisions are preceded by local discussions. Operations and policies on the national level are on the other hand of course a matter for the congress.

The national board thus suggests that the congress decides that:

There will be no low-strength beer served at activities arranged by the national level and that the congress requests that districts and local associations develop similar policies (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:311).

First it is interesting to note that the national board's suggestion is more or less the same as what the bills from the last congress asked for. This can be seen as a partial victory for the peer support groups. The national board evokes several concepts in this statement and they drop the concept of 'time immemorial.' They argue that behind the decision of accepting beverages that contain less than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume lies the concepts of 'Swedish law' and 'medical science,' which both stipulate that a beverage needs to contain more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume to be classified as an alcoholic beverage. Nevertheless, they do recognise that the concept of 'solidarity' might indeed be seen as more important than the two previously mentioned. But, the national board argues, if they would impose on the local associations a ban on serving

alcoholic beverages, this would collide with the concept of 'democracy' which is seen as one of the most important concepts within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain and also within the Swedish popular movement marinade (Wijkström & Lundström, 2002; Hvenmark & Wijkström, 2004; Hvenmark, 2008). The solution to this dilemma is that the national board decides that there will be a prohibition of the usage of low-strength beer at the activities arranged by the national level, and that there will be a recommendation that the local associations do the same, but that they are free to choose themselves.

Once again the preparatory committee does not agree with the suggestion of the national board:

> The preparatory committee agrees with the national board's description of low-strength beer, but it would be too drastic to extend this discussion to a common policy for the national level. It says in §4 of the constitution of IOGT-NTO '…to not use alcoholic beverages containing more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume…' The paragraph both states the limit for which beverages are acceptable and also leaves it up to the individual member if he/she wants to consume those beverages or not.

> The preparatory committee view is that the serving of low-strength beer should be decided at each individual event.

> The preparatory committee thus suggests that the congress decide to decline the national board's suggestion on low-strength beer (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:509).

The preparatory committee agrees with the national board's view that it would be a violation of the concept of 'democracy' if the national board forces the local associations to not serve low-strength beer. However, they also state that if the national board (which admittedly has no democratic problem with prohibiting itself from doing anything) would prohibit the use of low-strength beer at activities at the national level, this would be an infringement on the membership pledge. That is something that is not acceptable to the preparatory committee.

After the preparatory committee requested that the general assembly decline the national board's suggestion, the spokesperson for the national board mentions that the origin of the national board's suggestion was the discussions at the previous congress. These discussions end with a proposition that the national board review its previous stance and return with it this year (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:509-510). This sparks a discussion among the delegates with many contributions to the discussions from all sides, most of them siding with the national board. Several representatives from peer group associations, as well as Muslim associations, support the national board's suggestion. The main arguments are based on the need for solidarity with the sober alcoholics both within and outside of the interorganisational domain and on the conviction that the IOGT-NTO federation, as a temperance organisation, should have zero tolerance to alcohol. Opponents of the national board's suggestion share the preparatory committee's view that such a change in policy would in fact be an amendment to the member pledge and a curtailing of the independence of the local associations. The view is that such decisions cannot be taken before an extensive discussion has been had within the interorganisational domain. In the end, the general assembly decides to agree on the national board's suggestion and decides that there would be no low-strength beer served at activities arranged by the national level and that the general assembly will request that districts and local associations develop similar policies (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:510). Once again the representatives of the peer support groups succeed in having their demands met at the congress.

At the congress two years later in 1999 three bills regarding low-strength beer appear. Instead of focusing on the usage of low-strength beer within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, which the bills had done in previous years, they directly target the member pledge (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen 1999b:333-335).

They argue that the limit of 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume should be removed and that there should be a zero tolerance of alcohol within the interorganisational domain. It could be that the members of the peer support groups now believe that their subject position within the dis-

course in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain is sufficiently strong that they can change the object of 'membership' by changing the definition of what an alcoholic beverage is.

The national board writes in its response to the bills:

> The bills number 6-8 are discussing questions that touch upon the membership pledge and the limit of 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume that has been accepted by the Swedish temperance movement since the turn of the century.

> These questions are not new. Even in the beginning of the century our predecessors were discussing semantic, ideological and practical consequences of sobriety. At that time the temperance movement chose to adopt a pragmatic limit that if the beverage was not taxed as an alcoholic beverage then it was accepted within the movement. […]

> The IOGT-NTO movement's stance on the issue as always been based upon the fact that we are and want to be a popular movement, that we want to have broad contacts with the rest of society and that the battle against alcohol is but one element in our struggle for a better society. Other issues such as democracy, peace and popular adult education have also been important parts of the movement's activities. For those without alcohol problems the limit poses no difficulty. No one has likely been able to become intoxicated by drinking low-strength beer and the probability to become addicted to alcohol by consuming beverages with 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume must be seen as close to zero. […]

> The very successful peer support groups cause these old standpoints to be reconsidered. However, most of these problems are probably better solved through local discussions than by decisions by the congress. [...]

> That the general assembly in Köping 1997 decided that there will be no low-strength beer served at events arranged by the national level should be seen as a norm-giver and does not need to be made more stringent. […] To suggest that the membership pledge should be changed would therefore be unnecessary according to the national board's view. The membership pledge should be left untouched and actions within the limits of this are not anything that an IOGT-NTO congress should meddle with.

> We believe that the suggestions in the bills to change the member pledge would not have any practical consequences, from a national sobriety perspective or from an internal organisational perspective. The limit of 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume has proven practical and is in all probability reinforcing the ambition of IOGT-NTO to be an open and networking organisation.

> The national board thus suggests that the congress declines the bills 6-8 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:335-336).

Here the national board mobilises all its former arguments such as 'time immemorial,' 'law,' 'medical,' and 'democracy' and clearly states that it does not want to see a change in the member pledge. The national board's suggestion is supported in full by the preparatory committee, which adds that although it is not a good idea to change the member pledge, it is indeed important to keep the events organised by the national level free from low-strength beer in solidarity with the members that are sober alcoholics (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:519).

However, there are some critical voices that react against the bills. For instance one delegate at the congress says that:

> […] for almost 50 years I have lived within the limits of the member pledge. This means that I have never consumed any beverage containing more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume. My choice of lifestyle has never caused me any problems. On the contrary it has given me joy and the opportunity to face challenges. I have also for most of my adult life been working in different organisations within the temperance movement. During the last years there has been a growing critique against the traditional life as a teetotaller. New members with personal experiences with the danger of alcohol are time after time arguing about the objectionable behaviour of the traditional teetotaller. This does not really bother me since it is coming from individuals that under severe duress are trying to free themselves from the shackles of alcohol. But what is irritating me is that the national board is arguing for suggestions that violate my choice of lifestyle […] (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:519)

There are also other representatives voicing the concern that the new member group has won undue influence within the interorganisational domain and that, even though it was important to show solidarity with sober alcoholics, it is also important to respect the lifestyle choices of other members within the interorganisational domain. The suggestion from the national board is passed on to the congress for voting. It passes, even though several representatives register opposition to the decision. One dissenting opinion that might be worth noting states that:

> The national board and a majority of the representatives at the congress in Köping do obviously not trust my judgment and issue policies that affect the member pledge in the same way as if we were to implement a zero tolerance on alcohol. Cynically enough, the national board says that such a change in the member pledge would drastically decrease the influx of new members. Instead they choose to violate a not insignificant group of members in their choice of lifestyle by enforcing policies regarding low-strength beer that are much more far-reaching than the member pledge (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:520).

The bills did not achieve a change in the membership pledge, but they succeeded in getting a confirmation on the policy of not serving low-strength beer at activities organised by the national level. However, they also met organised resistance from other member groups. It appears that there is now a struggle on the part of some of the older members against what they see as the undue influence of members from the peer support groups on the federation's governance. This influence, although gained through democratic means, is threatening their view of what the interorganisational domain should be about and, through this, their choice of lifestyle.

At the congress in 2001 the national board presents a report regarding the low-strength beer issue that is called "IOGT-NTO and low-strength beverages" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:299-301). This report summarises the views of the national board and aims at reaching consensus regarding the issue in order to close discussion on the matter. The main points in the report are that the limit of 2.25 per cent alcohol by

volume should be kept for three key reasons. The first is a legal argument that, since the statutory definition of alcohol is beverages with more than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume, it would be a wise decision of the IOGT-NTO movement to keep the same limit. The second argument is that, since it is medically impossible to become intoxicated by drinking beverages with less than 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume, it should not be a problem for the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain to accept this. Finally, the third reason is that, since the IOGT-NTO wants to be a popular movement, it needs to be where people are and this means that they must be able to accept beverages such as low-strength beer. The report does however acknowledge that there is the possibility that sober alcoholics may have a problem with low-strength beer and that it may even trigger a relapse to addiction. It also accepts that many of the new members had come to the IOGT-NTO precisely in order to find a place where they would not be exposed to temptation. Likewise, it recognises at the same time that the reasons for relapses are very individual and that such temptations exist everywhere in society. The report ends with the statement that:

> The national board has considered the appropriateness of the decisions that were made in Köping 1997 and in Gävle 1999. The conclusion of these considerations has been to replace the previous decisions with the following recommendations that cannot be seen as affecting the membership pledge at the same time as it gives room for manoeuvre in individual cases. The national board does not think that it is appropriate that the congress makes general decisions on policies or makes recommendations that by individual members can be seen as more far-reaching than what the constitution of the federation states regarding membership. Decisions or recommendations should not be constructed in such a way that they change the meaning of, or can be seen as amendments to, the constitution. It appears totally natural that decisions regarding beverages in activities arranged by the movement should be handled by the unit that is responsible for the activity and that the congress therefore with trust leaves these questions to the respective organiser (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:301).

And with this it seemed like the discussion regarding low-strength beer was closed within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. The influx of sober alcoholics into the interorganisational domain and their subsequent rise in positions in the democratic governance structure within the movement had over time given them a subject position which enabled them to challenge the usage of low-strength beer. It also for a short while opened up the discussion whether the IOGT-NTO federation should have zero tolerance on alcohol or if it should stay at 2.25 per cent alcohol by volume. In this case, other member groups mobilised against the change to zero alcohol tolerance and the status quo was maintained.

A strategy for social work

At the same time as the low-strength beer issue is discussed within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, the work to develop and expand the care chain is continued and the national board writes in its work plan for 1998-1999 that: "IOGT-NTO's involvement in the social area has gotten a lot of positive attention and there are peer support groups all over Sweden. Many former addicts have found a new role within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:287). In 1997 there are peer support groups in 11 of 23 districts and another four districts are planning to add such groups. In addition, there are several policies in place that support the creation of peer support groups from the national level such as grants for starting up local associations and systems for getting help with administration, etc. At the congress in 1999 the national board presents its proposition number 5 "A platform for the social work within IOGT-NTO." The goals and strategies in this document are explained as follows:

> [...] IOGT-NTO should influence solutions regarding societal and cultural issues by stimulating its members to learn about, and take part in, society and social developments.

> IOGT-NTO will through transfer of knowledge and influencing public opinion minimise the damages of alcohol, narcotics and other addictive substances.
>
> IOGT-NTO wants to take part in the development of rehabilitation and living conditions for individuals who are addicted to drugs.
>
> This will be done by influencing public opinion, centrally, regionally and locally, to support preventive measures to counteract drug addiction, criminality, segregation and other social problems.
>
> IOGT-NTO creates through networks social projects and activities that create a trusting working relation with other organisations and institutions in society.
>
> IOGT-NTO runs a substantial care and rehabilitation centre at Dagöholm. This activity is connected to the movement's folk high schools and already existing peer groups for rehabilitation [...] (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999:301-303).

This is an indication that there has been an upgrading of social work within the views of the national board, since it is given a much higher importance than it had before, even though the preventive side received much more emphasis than the social work side. This is also evident in the national board's proposition number 6 "IOGT-NTO's vision 2005 – A popular movement for the new millennium" which among other things states that:

> At the congress in 1999 in Gävle we decided upon visions and goals for our social work. Peer support groups and support to close relatives are becoming more and more important. It is a work that builds upon 150 years of experience in IOGT organisations worldwide and is also the historical root of the IOGT-NTO. It is here that we find the motivation for continuing our preventive work (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:312).

There are a lot of discussions regarding these two documents at the congress, but while there are discussions about minor revisions, most of the

representatives are positive about the suggestions. There are also some voices mentioning that it really was a case of synergies between the advocacy side and the social work side, since the social work especially at Dagöholm gave IOGT-NTO legitimacy in the eyes of public opinion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:563-564).

These goals and strategies are taken even further in the national board's plan for 2002-2003 that is presented at the congress in 2001. In this document it is clearly stated that*:* "More former drug addicts and their families should be engaged in IOGT-NTO" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:288). At the congress 2001 there is also a discussion regarding the negative trend in the number of members that had been a continual problem for several years. Anna Carlstedt from the national board says that:

> The recruitment of members has been an important activity during the time between congresses. Like all other popular movements we have a negative trend in the number of members, and if this trend continues IOGT-NTO will cease to exist in 2020. But there are some positive signs that new groups of members are coming to IOGT-NTO, such as immigrants and individuals from the peer support groups (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:480).

This is picked up by Kjell Edvinsson, who remarks that the annual report mentions that IOGT-NTO is of great importance for the drug addict. But he would like to add that it is a two-way street: the former drug addicts are also of great use for IOGT-NTO (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:483). I argue that during these two congresses there was a definitive change in how the national board (through its suggestions and reports) discusses the former alcoholics. As noted earlier in this chapter, during the 1970s and 1980s, former alcoholics were clearly viewed as individuals that need to be helped and with whom the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain should show solidarity. But they were not yet seen as potential members of the movement. However, during the 1990s and culminating at the beginning of the new millennium, they were seen as a valuable and important target for member recruitment. It was also dur-

ing this time a new full-time position was created at the national level, the position as national coordinator of the peer support groups.

Over the next few years, the peer support groups continued to expand. By 2003 there were 40 such groups and by 2005 there were 70 peer support groups and several regional and national networks coordinating them. A very large portion of the new members in the IOGT-NTO federation were coming from these groups. As a result the negative trend of losing members had reversed. The chair of the board Sven-Olov Carlsson comments on this in the annual report for 2003-2004:

> Our development work is showing results. That we can show a net increase of members is an important signal. I sometimes meet members of the Swedish parliament that ask if we are still losing members, and it feels really good to be able to say that we have a net increase. It is important when discussing alcohol politics. It means that our arguments are given more weight. Our legitimacy is strengthened […] (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:23)

This sentiment is also displayed by Kathy Gyhlesten (in charge of social work on the national level and a member of the national board) in the section about social work in the annual report for 2003-2004:

> The peer support groups have been growing for about ten years and have become an important part of IOGT-NTO. We work for and together with sober alcoholics. […]
>
> […] A clear trend is that the peer support groups are getting more involved in other parts of the movement. One example is a new children's association in Katrineholm where 20-30 young members get together every week in the peer support group's premises.
>
> […] We have certainly felt that it has become easier for the peer support groups to cooperate with the more traditional local associations. When new peer support groups are established they are nowadays more often accompanied by someone from the board of the local association. This has reduced the uncertainty for a lot of people (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:31).

Also the vice chair of the board, Anna Carlstedt, feels that something has changed in relation to social work:

> Social work really feels like a natural part of IOGT-NTO nowadays. It is no longer a foreign bird. […]

> There come a lot of positive things from these 'culture collisions.' The traditional activities of IOGT-NTO have received a lot of energy and new ideas. And the peer support groups have in return gotten part of the knowledge, experience and popular movement fellowship that exists in the local associations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:33).

At the congress in 2005 when Anna Carlstedt presents the work of the peer support groups, she mentions that their activities sometimes are characterised as some kind of pirate activity that hijacked the IOGT-NTO for their own purposes. But she comments that nowadays more than 90% of the peer support groups are integrated within local associations and that those that are not almost always have good working relations with the rest of the interorganisational domain. Furthermore about 100 individuals from the peer support groups are attending the congress, even though they mostly had their own program. Tage Kellander, a representative from a peer support group in Dalarna, comments on this by saying that it is true that they are pirates. Because the methods of the peer support groups are unconventional, it is necessary to be some kind of a pirate to be able to reach their goals (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:557-558).

The congress in 2007 was the first time when the representatives from the peer support groups did not have their own program at congress but were integrated in the main program on the same conditions as the other delegates (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:35). This development shows clearly that the peer support groups are now seen as a regular part of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. But this inclusion of the peer support groups in the decision-making bodies on local, regional and national levels also sparked new and old discussions on ideology within the interorganisational domain.

The question of needle exchange

At the congress in 2005 there are two bills regarding needle exchange projects and the use of methadone and other substitutive medicines in the treatment of drug addicts. A member of the local association Comeback writes in bill number 5 to the congress that he wishes that the general assembly clarify the IOGT-NTO federation's standpoint regarding substance abuse:

> Many individuals are trapped in substance abuse. There are a large number of addicts that use drugs, mainly amphetamine and heroin. Every year more people are recruited. There is no reason to believe that this will change in a foreseeable future. Clear signs are pointing in the opposite direction.
>
> Many organisations/groups have views on how this problem should be handled. Some organisations believe that needle exchange projects, methadone and other substitutive medicines are the best way. Other organisations believe the opposite, that those kinds of methods only make the problems worse.
>
> It has been difficult to see where IOGT-NTO stands on this question. It feels like it depends on with whom you are talking. There is nothing written down that could be seen as a joint statement on the drug question. Is IOGT-NTO for or against needle exchange programs, methadone and other substitutive medicines, or are these different questions? (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:329-330).

Once again, four years after the partial defeat in the low-strength beer question, the members of the peer support groups are once again challenging the old discourses regarding alcohol and other drugs within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. This challenge comes from the fact that many sober alcoholics that have become members in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain have a background as abusers of both alcohol and other drugs. This time they are challenging the idea that the treatment of drug abuse is more of a medical and legal issue than

an ideological issue. The national board writes in their answer to the two
bills that:

> The national board shares the worries about the development of drug abuse
> in Sweden.
>
> [...] IOGT-NTO states in our program on alcohol and drug policy that the
> demands for a more liberal drug policy with free needles and treatment with
> methadone and Subutex in many countries are a sign of defeat. The debate
> must therefore be held in an objective and impartial manner to make clear
> which measures are effective in regard to our goals in the area. Free needles
> and needle exchange programs as in the Swedish debate become a symbolic
> question often attached to a more liberal stance on drugs. The national
> board thinks that it is not possible to simplify the debate in this way.
>
> The standpoint of IOGT-NTO is clearly stated in the program on alcohol
> and drug policy that was accepted by the congress in Jönköping in 2003:
>
> 'IOGT-NTO does not see needle exchange projects as an issue of drug poli-
> cy. Such treatments can only be motivated from a medical standpoint and
> should never be allowed unless it is done under strict medical supervision,
> has a documented effect on the spread of HIV and hepatitis, and is conduct-
> ed in close cooperation with medical expertise and social services. The goal
> must be that the addict should become free from drugs and the activities
> must be structured with this goal in mind. [...]'
>
> The national board thus suggests that the congress declines the bill (IOGT-
> NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:331-332).

This bill sparks a lot of debate among the general assembly where several
delegates argue that it is not possible to support needle exchange pro-
grams and treatment with substitutive medicines at the same time as be-
ing against drugs. This sentiment is shared by the preparatory committee
that said:

> The preparatory committee shares the view of the writers of the bills that it
> is troublesome that IOGT-NTO does not have a clear and simple answer to

the question of needle exchange programs. It is not self-evident that there should be simple answers to complex questions, even in an organisation like IOGT-NTO. The preparatory committee does not think that IOGT-NTO should refrain from answering the political part of the problem by viewing needle exchange programs as a medical problem and not as a drug policy issue.

The preparatory committee suggestion is that the cited text should be rewritten in such a way that IOGT-NTO specifies that the organisation in principle is against needle exchange projects from a policy perspective. Deviations can be accepted in individual cases from a medical or humanitarian standpoint (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:543).

The chair of the national board, Sven-Olov Carlsson, states that, in his view, the policy does not say that the IOGT-NTO federation is for needle exchange programs or treatment with methadone or Subutex. It only says that it could be used if medically proven effective and that he does not want the organisation to close the door fully on the question (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:545). After a long discussion (according to the minutes it lasted almost the whole afternoon) the question is sent back to the preparatory committee with the instruction to come back with a new suggestion the next day, something that is very unusual (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:547).

The next day the discussion resumes with a presentation of the preparatory committee's new suggestion by Kjell-Ove Oscarsson:

It is inspiring that so many people are engaged in the debate; it shows that the representatives are engaging in the important questions. I definitely think that these discussions will become even more common with the large influx of members that we are experiencing.

The preparatory committee suggests that the congress assigns the national board to rewrite the national policy on alcohol and drugs so that IOGT-NTO makes a clear stance against needle exchange programs (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:569-570).

Maj-Lis Lööw from the national board declares that the national board has listened to the debate and that it stands behind the suggestion from the preparatory committee. The general assembly sanctions the proposal from the preparatory committee and tasks the national board to amend the national policy on alcohol and drugs accordingly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:570). So it seems that the members of the peer support groups, once again, through the democratic governance structure were able to attain such a strong position that they could challenge and defeat the national board on the issue of whether needle exchange projects should be seen as a medical or an ideological question.

The problem with Subutex and methadone

At the congress in Uppsala in 2007 the drug issue is once again taken into consideration through bill number 10 "Substitution treatment for addicts as a preventive measure" that was sent from the district of Norrbotten (a district where the peer support groups are strong). The main points of the bill are:

> It is of utmost importance that IOGT-NTO takes a position against substitution treatment for all addicts, regardless of what kind of addiction it is, for the individual to be able to have a humane life instead of being burdened with another drug addiction. IOGT-NTO should not support a harm-reduction model that aims at hiding the problems so that we do not need to see them. […]Using drugs like methadone and Subutex and calling that a rehabilitation program is similar to legalising the abuse of drugs by changing the name on as dangerous or even more dangerous drugs and then calling it treatment. There is no evidence that the individuals that are treated with substitution drugs are ever going to be free from their addiction. The only thing that has happened is that the health care system has exchanged one drug with another that the addict will be addicted to the rest of his life.
>
> […] To give a substitutive drug to the addict will also remove all incitements for the addict to become free of the drug, since the state will pay for it. How

many alcoholics wouldn't want to have their alcohol paid for by the state? Something that we would never even discuss.

[...] We therefore suggest that the congress takes a position against all use of substitutive drugs as a treatment form (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:437-439).

So once again the members of the peer support groups, maybe strengthened by the success with the needle exchange bills at the congress in 2005, try to change the IOGT-NTO federation's policy on drugs. This time, perhaps as a lesson from the discussions around the low-strength beer issue, they do this by referring to the membership pledge and arguing that you are either for or against drugs. The national board writes in its reply to the bill that:

The bill points at an important question which has characterised the debate for some time. IOGT-NTO's national board has discussed the question during several meetings.

One starting point for the discussion of the national board is the member pledge, in which it is clearly stated that the member promises not only personal abstinence from alcohol also not to use other poisons with intoxicating effects. Such poisons have often been interpreted as for example substances and dope used in athletics.

The observance of this member pledge has always been a relation of trust between the individual and the organisation. The simplicity and clarity of the pledge has made this relatively simple. […]

Another starting point in our discussions has been that in our national policy on alcohol and drugs we have defined drug abuse as all non-medical use of drugs.

Individuals that are undergoing a treatment program with substitution drugs are per definition using these drugs for medical reasons. At the same time it is possible to establish that these drugs also can be seen as poisons with intoxicating effects.

The question regarding substitution treatment is not only an internal question but also a political question.

The political stance of IOGT-NTO is that we are against the use of all drugs and that our goal is that Sweden should be a society without the use of narcotics.

[…] The national board thus has some suggestions regarding substitution treatment, both regarding the conditions that should be applied regarding membership in IOGT-NTO and regarding the conditions that should be applied on substitution treatment.

The national board suggests that IOGT-NTO should allow individuals to become members who use drugs in rehabilitative treatment where the aim is that the usage will stop. The national board suggests that IOGT-NTO should work with the aim that substitution treatments should be used very restrictively and that this can only be done at special medical clinics (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:439-441).

This statement from the national board creates a huge discussion among the representatives, where several are very critical. One representative states that: "Saying yes to substitutive treatment is like saying no to alcohol while giving beer to alcoholics. […] Since IOGT-NTO is a temperance organisation we should propagate drug-free treatments" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:579). Anna Carlstedt from the national board says that: "[…] this is an important question that we have discussed a lot and that the national board chooses this suggestion, which the preparatory committee also has accepted, with a heavy heart. The reason for this suggestion is that there are many members within IOGT-NTO that are treated with these drugs, members that have straightened out their lives. Something that maybe hadn't been possible without the substitution drugs" (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:579). The discussion goes back and forth and ends with acceptance of the national board's suggestion with 68 votes for acceptance and 35 against (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:583).

Concluding discussion

The introduction of the care chain in the mid-1980s led to an influx of a new type of member in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, a member with personal experience of alcohol and other drugs. One of the main characteristics of the care chain was that the former patients from Dagöholm should be offered education in the folk high schools of the interorganisational domain as well as activities in the local associations in order to provide them with a sober environment to make it easier to avoid relapses into alcohol and drug abuse. Even though this led to strains and frictions in some of the local associations, there were also instances where the former patients were welcomed into the local associations. When they were not, they were forced to organise their own parallel associations. Due to the democratic construction of the federation and the strong discursive pressure from the Swedish popular movement marinade, the new members participated in the activities of the local associations and even sometimes won positions on their boards. In the areas where they were not welcomed to the local association and formed peer support groups, they of course took office on the boards of their own associations. Through the theoretical education in the interorganisational domain's folk high schools and the practical training in democratic governance in the local associations, the peer support groups soon became skilled in CSO governance. Many of the members of the peer support groups, with their close contact with alcohol and other drugs, were also very ideologically committed to the issue and often had a very high activity level within the associations.

Over time the members of the peer support groups climbed in the democratic governance structure, first in the local associations, then in the regional associations until they also had representation at the congress and even on the national board. This gave them a position within what Clegg (1989) calls the agency circuit, where they received (or took) positional power as well as power over resources (depending on where in the hierarchy within the interorganisational domain they took positions). This gave them an amount of episodic power that enabled them to chal-

lenge some of the assumptions taken for granted within the interorganisational domain. This was done by trying to change the content of some of the concepts that are supporting nodal points within the discursive formation of the interorganisational domain by, for instance, sending bills to the congress and arguing in the general assembly. This enabled the members of the peer support groups to partly change the discourse around the usage of low-strength beer and around the stance that IOGT-NTO should follow the medical profession's perspective on needle exchange projects and treatment with substitutive medicines such as Subutex and methadone. This case shows the impact of the introduction of a new activity can have on the strategy formation processes and also on ideology in an interorganisational domain within civil society.

Structural integration of the IOGT-NTO movement

The start: the merger between IOGT and NTO and the subsequent division into four federations

Directly after the fusion of IOGT and NTO the newly created federation IOGT-NTO acted as an umbrella organisation for the three other federations and functioned as the main hub of the interorganisational domain. At the first congress in 1971 the national board is tasked with creating a committee that would examine the organisation of the movement after the merger and suggest how to best structure it. In their report committee members suggested that the four federations within the interorganisational domain should be set on equal footing, that the IOGT-NTO federation no longer should be the main hub of the interorganisational domain, and that UNF, NSF and the IOGT-NTO children's federation no longer should have the right to appoint members of the IOGT-NTO board (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:156-173). There is also a suggestion regarding the memberships of the interorganisational domain, namely, that members of the IOGT-NTOs children's federation would automatically be transferred to UNF when they turn 14. Members above the age of 12 of all federations within the interorganisational domain should take the same membership pledge and thus promise to abstain from alcohol and other drugs.

The committee also suggests that in order to coordinate the four federations, there should be a joint board on the national level called the national council, which among other thing should handle issues that are common to all four federations such as advocacy work, financial administration, central administration, personnel questions, and common activities and actions. The members of the national council should be elected

from the national boards of the four federations. It is suggested that this structure be mirrored on the regional level with regional councils and on the local level with IOGT-NTO circles, which also should consist of delegates from all four federations. These three common structures should act as employers of the interorganisational domain's personnel on the appropriate levels. The national council should also have a central office with a general secretary and six counsellors who should serve all four federations and a central office with a secretariat for each of the four federations, a common field office and common administrative personnel. The committee also expresses concern that the NSF is outside of the common financial administration and educational activities and urges that it be brought more closely into the fold (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:156-173).

The committee also suggests that the congresses of the four federations should be held at the same time and place in order to promote the cooperation and integration of the movement. This is seen both as a practical issue since there were several individuals and functions serving on multiple boards in different organisations within the interorganisational domain and as an integrating device through bonds of loyalty and friendship.

One of the main arguments for the division into four different federations is that most of the children's and youth activities had been carried out previously within IOGT or NTO local associations, and it is felt that these activities should be given their own status in their own organisations. In this way the children's federation and the youth federation are free to organise their own activities, which would give their members an increased sense of responsibility, knowledge and leadership. By separating the organisations, the children and youths also get the necessary schooling in the administration and governance of associations so that they are better able to take the step into the IOGT-NTO federation. It is also important to note that, even though NTO had organised their youth activities within their local associations, often as sections, IOGT had a freestanding youth organisation called SGU. It is plausible to argue that SGU, and its members, would not freely give up their independence and

that this was an important factor in the decision to also have a freestanding youth organisation in the newly created interorganisational domain. Another important argument is in regards to the scouting federation, whose membership in the international scouting movement demanded that they be an independent federation. Lastly, there are also financial advantages since government grants stipulated separate organisations for children's, youth and scout activities. In sum, the committee thinks that this structure would create a good balance between cooperation and specialisation within the interorganisational domain and that this structure would enable it to act powerfully (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:156-173).

Not all of the IOGT-NTO regions are satisfied with the committee's suggestion, and some offer severe criticism. The regions of Norrland and Älvsborg suggest that the movement should not be divided into four different federations, but that it instead should be integrated into one. The major arguments are that the division would lead to a splintered movement and give too much power to the central administration. Other regions argue against the strict age division between the different federations in the interorganisational domain and that this would create transition problems between the IOGT-NTO federation and UNF. There are also discussions about how the delegates in the national and regional councils should be appointed and whether the IOGT-NTO federation should have more delegates in the joint councils or whether the four federations should have the same number of seats (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:174-176).

These deliberations continue during the congress, where several delegates state that the division into four federations would splinter the movement and that there would be a loss of members and momentum when individuals move from, for example, UNF to the IOGT-NTO federation. Some suggest that the division into four federations, which maybe was necessary in order to maximise state grants, could be done on paper only (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:200-201).

There is a long and heated debate at the congress that took almost one and a half days. Several of the speakers state that this decision is the most important one at the congress. On one side, there are those that

argue that a division into several federations would further increase the split between younger and older members and be detrimental to recruitment activities. If, instead, all members and all activities would be organised into the same federation, the movement's cohesion and solidarity would increase. There were also those that argued that it would be detrimental for the small associations to be divided into several even smaller associations. If the local associations became too small, it would be hard to reach the critical mass necessary for successful local activities and that this could escalate into a downward spiral. On the other side, there are those that argue that, if the movement is not divided into several federations, the grants to the youth activities would be put into jeopardy and that it was important to give the children and youth their own organisations in order to teach them to be responsible for their own activities. The national council's suggestion wins with 67 votes for and 23 votes against, and the national board is thus tasked with implementing the reorganisation of the interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:318-328).

Already at the next congress, bills criticising the division of the interorganisational domain into four federations are submitted. For instance, bill number 5 states that the division is of great detriment to the movement since the natural continuity of work between the age groups has been broken. The bill writer further states that the youth organisations needed the older members for support and guidance and that the older members need to have new and sometimes controversial viewpoints on their traditional activities from the younger members. The bill writer thus suggests that the four federations should be merged into one federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:146).

Bill number 6 also argues that the separation into four different federations has created problems with the integration of the activities, especially on the local level where, the bill writer states, there are large problems with keeping young members. It is further noted that there also are problems with the coordination of activities between the different federations. The bill writer ends with stating that it is of utmost importance that the interorganisational domain becomes a strong unified

whole and that the best way to reach that goal is through integrating the four federations into one (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:146-147).

The national board writes in its response to the bill that they think it is way too early to evaluate the current structure of the interorganisational domain and that what is needed at the moment is time for the new structure to settle. The IOGT-NTO federation has been working continuously since 1965[7] to explore different organisational forms and has made two major revisions of the constitution (one in 1970 and one in 1973). There is now an urgent need to focus on the actual activities of the interorganisational domain. With this, the national board suggests that the general assembly denies the bills arguing for an integrated federation. The preparatory committee agrees with the bill writers that the division of the interorganisational domain into four federations has had a negative impact. At the same time it also agrees with the national board that the organisational structure needs time to settle and that it will become stable over time, and therefore recommends that the general assembly deny the bills (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:147-149). Accordingly, the general assembly agrees with the national board and the preparatory committee and rejects the bills (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975a:40-41).

At the next general assembly in Nyköping in 1977 there are again two bills questioning the division of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain into four federations. According to bill number 10, the division into four federations has failed, and they should be integrated into one instead. This integrated pattern should hold on national, regional and local level. Both bills ask the congress to task the national council with planning the details for such an organisational change (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:170-172).

In its collective reply to both bills, the national council once again argues that the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain has been occupied with discussing organisational issues since 1965, that the movement has had two major revisions of the constitution (one in 1970 and one in

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[7] The merger between IOGT and NTO in 1970 had been thoroughly analysed and planned, and had been hotly debated within and between the two independent federations. But that is a story for another time.

1973), and that the national council feels that it is important to put focus on the activities instead. The national council thus suggests that the general assembly denies the bills (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:172-173).

There are discussions regarding these two bills in the general assembly. Several delegates say that the main problem with the new organisational form is that it segregated members into different organisations on the basis of age, which had a negative impact on the activities of the interorganisational domain. But there are also several delegates that agree with the national council that it is important that the organisational structure has the opportunity to settle down and concentrate on the activities. The general assembly decides to reject the bills but also to task the national council to carry out a survey measuring the strength of sentiments in favour of an integrated federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977b:46-47). The survey later showed that those sentiments were fairly week among the members.

The scouts keep their distance

The scouts federation did not approve of the constitution that was suggested for the whole IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain at the congress in 1973 and, until the 1977 congress, had been operating under an interim constitution, which was in effect up to the 31st of December 1977. The plan was that a new and more permanent solution would be found at the congress in Nyköping in 1977 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:150-153). In order to gauge the sentiments of NSF members toward a stronger affiliation with the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, a survey was conducted. The survey showed that a majority of NSF members did not favour permanent affiliation to the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. The national council thus suggested that the interim agreement should be somewhat amended and extended until the general assembly in 1979 where a permanent agreement would be sought.

One of the major problems was NSF's need to modify certain parts of the suggested constitution in order to continue to be a member of the international scout movement. The national boards of the other federations of the interorganisational domain felt that it was important that all federations should be affiliated on the same conditions and that this required that the constitution of all four federations be basically the same. The national boards of the other three federations also felt that it was too early for them to change their constitutions, since they only had been in effect for a very short time. The suggested amendments are however approved. At the congress in Gothenburg 1979, the general assemblies of the four federations approve the scout federation as an organisational part of the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981c:27-28).

The division is criticised again and a fifth federation is suggested

At the congress in Luleå in 1981 again two bills to the general assembly criticise the division into four federations. The main critique of the bill writers this time is the risk that the delegates in the national council and in the district councils would see themselves as representatives of their own organisations and not as representatives of the whole interorganisational domain. The national council would then lose its function as an integrating device of the interorganisational domain and instead be a dividing element. The bill writer also says that the division makes it hard for the four different general assemblies to demand responsibility from the different boards and councils within the interorganisational domain and, lastly, that the process of having those suggestions affecting all four federations be dealt with by four different general assemblies was very time consuming. The bill writers thus suggest that either the four federations merge into one or the interorganisational domain revert to the sys-

tem of 1970 when the IOGT-NTO federation was the umbrella of the domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:79-80).

The national council writes in its reply that it is important to remember that there already existed a free-standing youth organisation within the interorganisational domain when IOGT and NTO merged in the 1970s, and that SGU (IOGT's youth organisation) demanded that there be a free-standing youth federation if it was to join. The national council also reminds the general assembly that the scout federation joined the interorganisational domain as late as the last congress after 10 years of negotiations regarding how close the federations within the interorganisational domain should be. In regard to the children's federation, the idea from the beginning was that those activities were to be organised within the IOGT-NTO federation; however, new regulations regarding state grants made it necessary for those activities to be organised in a separate federation. The compromise was that it would be a separate federation but with the general assembly of the IOGT-NTO federation as its decision-making body. The national council states that the bill writers thus want to revert to a system that never has existed, and that such a change must furthermore be decided by all four federations together. The national council suggests that the general assembly rejects the bills (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:81-82). The general assembly agrees with the national council, but then commissions it to conduct an inquiry on how the different federations could be further integrated and to present the results of the inquiry at the next congress in Norrköping in 1983.

During the period leading up to the next congress there were several voices demanding that activities for older members should be organised in a separate federation, much as the activities for children and youth were. There were even plans among several associations around Lake Mälaren to create a separate federation for such activities. The IOGT-NTO federation's national board does not agree with these sentiments but does react to them by creating a special committee tasked with organising activities for older members (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981c:27). The preparatory committee strongly supports the national board's actions: while it is good to organise special activities for older members,

there is no need to create more entities within the interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:11).

National council suggests new regulations, but it is stopped by UNF

At the next general assembly in 1983 in Norrköping, the national council presents the results of its inquiry on how the different federations of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain could be further integrated on the national, regional and local level. The task force leading this inquiry, which consisted of the chairs of all four federations, worked on issues regarding membership, representation, organisational issues, and activities. In terms of membership, they had agreed that everyone who had taken the membership pledge should be considered a member of the IOGT-NTO, members between the ages of 12-25 would also be members of UNF, members of NSF (scouts) should after the age of 25 be considered members of IOGT-NTO, and the children's federation should welcome members between the ages of 7 and 15. Only those members of the age of 12-25 should be eligible to be elected for offices within UNF (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:130-137).

During the process of creating these regulations, the boards of all four federations were in agreement. However, when they were presented at the congress of UNF seven of nine board members changed their opinions, and the proposal was ultimately partly rejected by UNF. Since all suggestions on constitutional matters (in any of the four federations) need to be approved either by a two-thirds majority or at two separate congresses and since all constitutional changes that affect the relationship between several federations within the movement need to be approved by all four federations, the proposal failed. The general assembly decides to task the national council to continue the negotiations and to present a new proposition at the next congress in Malmö in 1985 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983a:57-59).

Also at the 1983 congress yet another bill criticises the domain's division into four federations, this time on the grounds that the division makes it hard for families to take part in the activities of the interorganisational domain since the rules on membership split the family into different federations. The bill also argues that it is problematic for UNF to build all its activities on the commitment of young people since they are prone to move to other parts of the country for work or for studies. The bill writer also restates earlier arguments that having four decision-making bodies on local, regional and national level both makes decision-making slower and adds a lot of administration. The bill writer thus suggests that three federations should be fused into one[8].

UNF writes in an answer that one of the traditional activities of the temperance movement is to educate its members in democracy and that one way of doing that is to let the young members take responsibility for their own organisation and their own activities. They also state that it is important for the interorganisational domain as a whole to have a youth federation which can act as a more radical pressure group, both against the mother federation IOGT-NTO but also against society at large. UNF ends their answer by asserting that problems with integration should be solved by cooperating in the activities at hand and not through organisational structure. The national council basically agrees with UNF and denies the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:179-180).

The discussions on the new regulations continue

At the next congress in Malmö in 1985 the national council lays out another suggestion for a new structure for the interorganisational domain, as tasked at the previous congress. The national council writes that it is important to encourage better cooperation between the four federations and especially important to ease the transition from UNF to IOGT-NTO, since the movement loses many members in the switch from the

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[8] The scout federation was for some reason left out of the bill.

youth organisation to the adult organisation. However, it also is neces-
sary for the local associations to work harder on having activities for all
age groups. Furthermore, only one or two of the four federations is rep-
resented in many parts of the country, something that the national coun-
cil feels is a waste of resources and that might have severe consequences
in the long run.

The national council concludes that it is in the interest of the interor-
ganisational domain as a whole that the individual has a life-long mem-
bership in the domain and that it is important that members join the
IOGT-NTO federation early on. The national council then restates the
1983 proposal regarding membership in the different federations, but
adds a change in the representation at the congress of the children's fed-
eration: that the regional assemblies of IOGT-NTO, UNF and the chil-
dren's federation are permitted to send a delegate each to the national
assembly of the children's federation. This, the national council argues,
would make the other two federations feel more responsible for support-
ing the children's federation.

The national council's intention at the 1985 congress was originally
to present a final proposal for revision of the constitution. Unfortunately,
the negotiations had taken longer than expected. Given this, the national
council suggests that the general assembly approve the changes on the
principles of membership and on the representation at the general as-
sembly of the children's federation, as described above, and then (re-)task
the national council to proceed with the work and present a final pro-
posal for constitutional reform to the general assembly in 1987 (IOGT-
NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:112-113). The general assembly agrees (IOGT-
NTO-rörelsen, 1985a:35-37).

At the 1985 congress there is another bill suggesting that the national
council be tasked with creating a plan for an integrated organisation for
the entire interorganisational domain and to present it at the next con-
gress. The bill's main argument is that an integrated organisation would
make the transition between the different age groups easier and that this
would add more stability in the interorganisational domain. The national
council recommends that the general assembly deny the bill on the

grounds that the council is already working on a new structure (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:135-136). The general assembly agrees with the national council and rejects the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985a:38).

The national council suggests new regulations again regarding the children's federation

At the general assembly in Nyköping in 1987 the national council finally presents its proposal on the future organisation of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, complete with a suggestion on a new constitution. The proposal is that all above 12 years of age that have taken the membership pledge should be members of the IOGT-NTO federation, and that members of the IOGT-NTO federation are until the year they turn 25 also members of the UNF. Members of UNF are automatically also members of the IOGT-NTO federation. A member of the IOGT-NTO children's federation who is above the age of 12 and has taken the membership pledge is a member of the IOGT-NTO federation and UNF. The main distinction from the existing constitution is that members of UNF will automatically be members of the IOGT-NTO federation. Another major change is that the IOGT-NTO children's federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTO federation appoint delegates to the general assembly of the IOGT-NTO children's federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:135-145).

At the 1987 congress some feel that the new constitution is problematic since it might force local associations to create UNF associations instead of organising the activities in sections within the local associations. The fear – similar to those a decade earlier – is that this would make already small local associations even smaller and make it hard to reach the necessary critical mass in order to have successful activities. Other delegates state that this re-organisation is merely a play with words since it could not be guaranteed that the UNF or the IOGT-NTO children's federation would be able to shoulder the financial and organisational re-

sponsibility entailed by having their own organisations. The critics instead suggest that the congress should deny the national council's proposal and task it to come up instead with a suggestion for an integrated organisation at the next congress (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:339-342). The general assembly of the IOGT-NTO federation is informed that the general assembly of UNF has approved the constitutional changes suggested by the national council. With this information in hand, the general assembly proceeds with voting. Though the national council's proposal receives a majority (63) of favourable votes, it does not amount to a 2/3 majority required for approval of constitutional amendments. As a result, the decision is pushed forward to the next congress in 1989 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:343-344), where it is finally approved and put into effect (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:412).

Four bills on an integrated organisation

At the congress in Umeå in 1989, there are another four bills focusing on the integration of the interorganisational domain. As before, the main argument is that the division into four federations based on age (and in the case of NSF, on activity) is detrimental for the cooperation between the different parts of the interorganisational domain and that it made it harder to retain members within the interorganisational domain. The bill writers also argue that the division into four federations created a lot of unnecessary administration and duplicate offices. Finally, it is pointed out that it often is the same individuals who sit on all these boards, which makes the various boards redundant. One suggestion is that all the local associations should be kept as they are, for the sake of democracy, but that the regional and national boards could be merged (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:244-246).

The national council writes in its answer that the general assembly has discussed the organisation of the interorganisational domain for the last three congresses (1983, 1985 and 1987) and that the approved changes are to take effect from 1989. The national council thus finds it

prudent to let the changes take effect before beginning discussions re-garding more changes. The national council asks the general assembly to reject the bills and to task it with evaluating the organisational changes in a couple of congress periods time (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:247). The general assembly agrees to both suggestions (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:415-416).

Good organisation is important, but what about the activities?

At the same congress in 1989 there are also two bills targeting the division of the interorganisational domain, but instead of focusing on organisational issues, they mainly focus on the activities. Bill 65 for instance points out that the reason UNF members choose to leave the interorganisational domain rather than move to the IOGT-NTO federation has less to do with organisational factors and more with a lack of interesting activities for members between 20-30 years of age (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:281). Bill 66 argues along similar lines and proposes that a solution might be activities that are of interest to both members of UNF and members of the IOGT-NTO federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:283). The national board agrees that there is some problems with the activities within the interorganisational domain, but states that the responsibility for organising such activities lies with the districts and local associations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:282-283).

The national board suggests the creation of occupational sections

At the congress in 1991 in Falun the national board presents the general assembly its proposal number four regarding occupational sections. The idea is to create occupational sections within the IOGT-NTO federation, which should bring together members of different professions that fulfil key functions in society. These occupational sections should, according to the proposal, be given rather free roles within the interorganisational domain. The national board states that they give priority to teachers, doctors, social workers, journalists and police since these professions have daily contact with the problems that alcohol and other drugs bring. The national board also points out that the IOGT-NTO federation has significant knowledge on these issues, which could be transferred to these occupational groups (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:298-299.

According to the proposal the creation of an occupational section must always be approved by the general assembly of the IOGT-NTO federation, and a member of such a section should automatically become a member of the IOGT-NTO federation. An occupational section should be led by a board that is appointed by the members of the occupational section, but there must always be a member of the IOGT-NTO federation's national board as a co-opted member of the section' board (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:298-299). The general assembly approves of the national board's suggestion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:517-518).

By 1993 several occupational sections for police and for teachers had been created within the IOGT-NTO federation, and the federation was actively wooing more professional groups to join (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:44). By 1995 there were 12 local occupational sections for police and seven for teachers, and negotiations for creating a professional section for journalists were under way (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:44). But in 1996 the growth had stagnated, and planned conferences for journalists and other individuals employed in the media business had to be cancelled (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:36).

At the beginning of the 1990s the IOGT-NTO federation started to develop activities tailored to certain groups, for example, families with children, members in the 20-40 age group, and members over the age of 60 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:46-47). This work is continued after the congress in 1997, at which a special committee is formed within the IOGT-NTO federation to collect and disseminate good ideas for activities for different target groups (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:33-34).

Another revision of the constitution

At the congress in Växjö in 1993 the national council presents a proposal for amending the constitution of the interorganisational domain. The suggestion had been created by a task force consisting of members of all four federations, the main purpose of which was to find and eliminate inconsistencies between the constitutions of the four different federations. UNF (the youth federation) and NSF (scouts) had also asked for more independence for their federations.

The main difference in the new constitution is that the federations would be even more independent from each other. Up until the mid-1980s the national council was seen as superior to the four federation's national boards, and it had the financial responsibility for the interorganisational domain. Another proposed change, demanded by UNF and NSF, is to remove the clause that states that no federation could single-handedly change its constitution in any way that affects any of the other federations of the interorganisational domain. Finally, it is proposed that the existing obligation to create in all places that there are local associations an IOGT-NTO circle where the local associations of the four federations could meet, plan and organise their common activities should in future be only recommended, since this was sometimes seen as a burden (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:269-293). After lengthy discussions in the general assembly, the proposal is accepted with minor revisions (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:500-522).

At the congress in Örnsköldsvik in 1995 the issue of the constitution was once again raised for discussion, and the general assembly tasked the national council to further examine the issue.

Power is transferred from the national council to the IOGT-NTO

At the congress in Köping in 1997 the national council presents its proposal number four regarding the constitution of the interorganisational domain. Up until now, the national council has been the body responsible for administrative functions, such as finances, personnel and information that are common between the four federations. The national council suggests that these functions should instead be transferred to the IOGT-NTO federation. Under the proposal, the administrative personnel of each federation should be employed by the individual federation instead of by the IOGT-NTO federation. The IOGT-NTO federation should however make services such as finance, personnel and other administrative services available for the other federations as requested at actual cost (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:276-283). Both the preparatory committee and the general assembly approve the proposal (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1997:492-494).

Discussions on a unitary federation start off again

At the next congress in Gävle in 1999, three bills discuss the need for merging the different organisational parts of the interorganisational domain into a whole. The main arguments – heard at previous congresses – are the difficulty in keeping members in the interorganisational domain when they transferred between the federations and in recruiting enough members in each local association to reach the critical mass needed for

successful activities. If the four federations were to be merged, each local association would grow significantly. There are also arguments regarding the cost of administrative duplication at local, regional and national level due to the division into four federations. The bill writers also state that the division also creates problems with external communications, since it is hard for an outsider to understand that the four federations are part of the same interorganisational domain. The bill writers thus suggest that the four federations should start a common inquiry with the goal of presenting a proposal for a single, integrated organisation at the congress in 2001 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:360-363).

In its reply, the national board writes that it is important that each age group is organised in their own federation since this enables them to focus on the activities that each age group feels is most important. It is also important that each age group is able to create its own governance structure that suits that particular group. The members of the children's federation are taught the basics of democracy and the members of UNF are taught how to practice it. Furthermore, for the IOGT-NTO federation, democracy is the most important governance tool and something which the interorganisational domain should spread into the surrounding society. The national board feels that it would be unfortunate if the members of the different age groups were not given the opportunity to govern themselves.

The national board, however, agrees that it is important to integrate the different parts of the interorganisational domain. Nevertheless, this is best done by organising joint activities. The current constitution of the interorganisational domain is no hindrance for this, since all members of any federation above the age of 12 are already members of the IOGT-NTO federation. The national board sees no reason to merge the four federations and thus has no motivation to launch an inquiry to examine the issue. The national board suggests that the general assembly dismiss the bills and tasks it with inviting the other federations to discuss practical cooperation across age groups. The general assembly agrees (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1999b:363).

The children's federation becomes more independent

At the congress in Stockholm in 2001 the national council delivers their proposal number four regarding the general assembly of the children's federation. Until then, it had consisted of 80 delegates of which each district within the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the children's federation appointed one delegate each and the rest of the delegates were appointed by the children's federation itself according to the number of members in each district. The new proposal is that each IOGT-NTO district appoint one delegate and each children's federation district appoints two and that the rest of the delegates would be appointed by the children's federation itself according to the number of members in each district (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:271). The general assemblies of IOGT-NTO and the children's federation accepted the proposal, but the UNF's general assembly rejected it. Since this kind of issues need to have the approval of all affected federations, it did not pass (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:306). When the same proposal was presented at the next congress in Jönköping, all three federations approved and it passed (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:519).

UNF makes the regions voluntary

At the congress in Stockholm in 2001 the national council presents a proposal to amend the constitution. The proposal comes to the IOGT-NTO federation because UNF will be suggesting that the regional councils become voluntary; since this is a decision that affects all four federations, the proposal must be approved by the general assemblies of all four federations, including IOGT-NTO. The grounds for UNF's suggestion are that UNF doesn't have enough interested members to fill all seats at the regional councils. This means that they need to 'force' members to serve on boards and attend meetings instead of supporting UNF's regular activities. Such a situation is good for neither the motivation of the

members nor the vitality of the organisation. While UNF still considers it important that the interorganisational domain is coordinated on the regional level, it believes it might be possible to find other ways of doing this than through the regional councils. Where the regional councils are functioning as intended, however, there is no need to change anything. Thus the proposal is to make them voluntary instead of mandatory (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:272-274). The preparatory committee agrees with the national council's suggestion, and the general assembly approved of the suggestion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:528).

The structure is up for discussion again

At the next congress in 2003 there is once again a bill concerning the structure of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain:

> We have had the same organisational structure since the merger in 1971. There were several factors at the time of the merger that made us choose the current structure. It was two active organisations with different structures that were merged, and this of course made certain demands.
>
> We have now been working with this structure for over 30 years. It has not been without friction, and the structure has been interpreted differently in different places. Districts, circles and local associations have interpreted the constitution in different ways and work methods have varied. It has also led to division between the federations where some regions seem to want to be totally independent, while other regions have implemented common administration between the federations. There seems to be several work methods in use at the same time […]
>
> We propose that the general assembly appoints an inquiry that examines the structure of the movement in an unbiased way (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:367.

The national board writes in its reply to the bill that the 2001 congress discussed the need for finding new forms of cooperation on the regional

level and that during the interim periods between congresses there have been several efforts to find forms of integration between the different parts of the interorganisational domain. The national board shares the view that the current structure is not optimal for level-neutral work in all regions and that the structure needs to be adjusted accordingly. Furthermore, several regions have taken their own initiatives in finding new ways of working which better suits the new direction of the interorganisational domain. The national board does not see any reason to disturb this development by examining the question of merging the federations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:367-368).

Several voices at the congress state that it would be hard to coordinate the regional activities if UNF were to abolish the regions within their federation, as proposed in 2001. Who would then be the IOGT-NTO federation's regional partner? Some delegates go so far to say that the movement now has come to a point where all different ways of integrating the interorganisational domain through cooperation and coordination have been tried and that it is time to move towards a fully integrated interorganisational domain. Some participants note that the IOGT-NTO federation still does not know what UNF decides at their congresses and that it is very seldom that any NSF representatives even visit the IOGT-NTO congress.

Sven-Olov Carlsson, the chair of the national board of the IOGT-NTO federation, replies that the structure is not the main problem for the cooperation between the federations, and that it is important to accept that there might be different structures in different parts of the interorganisational domain. This statement is further strengthened by Anna Carlstedt, from the national board of the IOGT-NTO federation, who asserts that those problems need to be solved locally. This is picked up by a delegate at the congress who asks whether the national board thinks it acceptable to not follow the constitution if it enables good activities and cooperation on the local level. Another delegate follows up on the last statement and says that one way forward is to allow organisational experiments and let a possible change of the constitution evolve from the actual needs of the interorganisational domain. To this, the critical

voices answer that this might be a good way forward, but ask: if UNF doesn't have any regional organisation, with whom should we discuss it? After some more discussion, the general assembly decides to reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:537-539).

At the same congress there is also a bill expressing great concern that, over the last ten years, the interorganisational domain had become more and more divided into four separate federations and felt less like an integrated whole. The bill writers say that the importance of the national council has declined, several regional councils have ceased to exist, and most of the employed personnel now only work for one of the four federations. All this makes cooperation and integration between the federations more complicated. They continue:

> [...] When we make contact with new groups, for instance, through our social work or our integrative work, they are surprised at our organisational structure which is divided by age and that when a whole family wants to become members of the movement they need to become members in at least three different organisations. We need each other; adults need to meet children and youths so that they do not stagnate, and children and youths need adults that give them freedom under responsibility. The main concern should be what we achieve, and if we are to become stronger we need an integrated movement (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:368-369).

The bill writers then continue to ask the general assembly to task the national council and the national boards of the four federations to develop a stronger integration between the different parts of the interorganisational domain and to charge the national council with appointing a task force to present a proposal for a more integrated structure at the next congress in 2005.

The national board of the IOGT-NTO federation writes in its reply to the bill that they agree with the bill writers' analysis that the federations have grown apart and that this sometimes is unfortunate. Nevertheless, there is also a positive side, since it means that the IOGT-NTO federation can develop its own questions more fully and can create its own alliances depending on the issue at hand. It also enables the different

regions to develop their activities in ways that suit them the best. Working in loose networks enables the organisation to be flexible and to develop different structures in different regions and thus tackle the issues locally. The national board of the IOGT-NTO federation thus does not see the value of forcing all parts of the interorganisational domain to work in the same way and instead wishes to focus on the development of the activities of the interorganisational domain. An inquiry into an integrated interorganisational domain would take necessary focus from this more important task. The task of integrating the interorganisational domain is furthermore not something that is the responsibility of the IOGT-NTO federation only; it should be shared by all the organisations in the interorganisational domain. The national board of the IOGT-NTO thus suggests that the general assembly reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:368-370).

Several delegates at the congress point out that many members of the IOGT-NTO federation feel that the children's federation and the UNF are distancing themselves from the IOGT-NTO federation and that there is a great danger in this since the IOGT-NTO federation needs its children's federation and its youth federation. This is especially clear when it comes to newly employed counsellors within the interorganisational domain who will be employed by a specific federation and not by the national council as before. After more discussion, the general assembly decides to approve the bill's first demand that the national board should work more on integrating the different parts of the interorganisational domain but to reject the demand for an inquiry into a more integrated interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:540-542).

Another revision of the constitution

At the congress in Uppsala in 2007 the national council presents a suggestion for amending the constitution of the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTO children's federation. The suggestion tries to accomplish three things: 1) update the language of the constitution; 2) remove unnecessarily detailed regulations, and; 3) make it easier for members to be active in several of the federations within the interorganisational domain and/or be at several levels within the same federation at the same time. There is also a suggestion to dismantle the occupational sections within the IOGT-NTO federation, since it is felt that it is possible to have a close cooperation with other organisations outside the interorganisational domain without having them organised as occupational sections (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:318-385).

Another change regards the national council itself. Until now, the IOGT-NTO federation had one more delegate than the other federations in the national council, and the IOGT-NTO federation also had the right to appoint the chair of the national council. The amendment would stipulate that all federations have the same number of delegates on the national council and that the chair is elected within the national council. There is also a change regarding what kind of issues the national and regional councils are able to decide on. In the existing constitution, the national and regional councils are tasked with handling issues common to the four federations. The amended constitution calls for the national and regional councils to handle the issues that all or some of the federations delegate to them.

The preparatory committee welcomes the proposed constitutional amendments, especially the attempt to make the constitution more uniform between the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTO children's federation. But the preparatory committee also feels that it is problematic that the NSF becomes further removed from the rest of the interorganisational domain with each revision of the constitution. After lengthy discussions, the changes to the constitution are made (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:590-612). However, these changes are not put into

effect because NSF did not agree to the new constitution and instead decided on its own version with minor differences (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:324-328). At the next congress in 2009, the minor changes that NSF had made are incorporated into the constitution suggested by the national council and put into effect (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:660-662).

A suggested division between congress and activities

At the congress in Gothenburg in 2009 the national council suggests that the congress be decoupled from the traditional summer activities of the interorganisational domain. The constitution of the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTO children's federation stipulate that there should be a biannual congress, which has traditionally been combined with other surrounding interorganisational domain-related activities. Over the previous ten years, the practice of organising similar interorganisational domain-related activities on non-congress years had developed.

The national council proposes that, instead of coupling the congress with other activities, it should be held either in the spring on odd years or on the autumn odd years (which would make the congress of the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTOs children's federation coincide with the congress of NSF). By decoupling the congresses from the other interorganisational domain-related activities, the congress could be made shorter. This would save both financial and personnel resources since only the elected representatives would have to attend. Those federations that wanted to arrange related activities at the same time as the congress are free to do so.

The proposal goes on to suggests that the interorganisational domain should arrange a summer activity each even year where as many activities of the four federations as possible should be offered in order to engage as many members as possible and to attract non-members. This would also enable those that normally are delegates at the congresses to

participate in the activities. The individual federations should be responsible through the national council for the event (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:329-334).

In the discussions regarding the proposal, some delegates are worried that this change would make it harder for ordinary members to attend the congresses. Sven-Olov Carlsson from the national board says that the national board felt it necessary to separate the decision-making process from the more activity-oriented tasks. As it is now, it is impossible for the elected delegates to the general assembly to take part in the activities around the congress.

The preparatory committee notes that the three committees from the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTOs children's federation who had discussed the matter had agreed that the suggestion from the national council was not good enough. The preparatory committee agrees with those committees and states that it thinks that the idea to narrow down the congress to be a matter of only the elected delegates is the wrong way to go. The preparatory committee also states that it might be possible to shorten the congress by putting time limits on speeches and contributions and by addressing more bills as packets. That, however, would also have a severe impact on the democratic process within the interorganisational domain, which is something that the preparatory committee thinks should be safeguarded. In conclusion, the preparatory committee feels that the arguments for changing the most important gathering of the interorganisational domain are not sufficient, especially since the current order is both successful and popular among the members. It is a strength that so many members have the possibility to listen to the discussions at the congress, and the interorganisational domain needs to preserve this. While the national board's argument that the congress is a question of resources and finances should be taken seriously, the preparatory committee thinks that the national council rather should have had the vitalisation of the democratic process as a starting point. The congress should be a meeting point for all members of the interorganisational domain where there is time for debate and fellowship. The preparatory committee thus suggests that the general assembly reject the

national council's suggestion and task the national council to continue to examine the issue of future congresses, which should continue to take place in summer and have time allocated both for work and for play.

Several voices at the congress state that they agree with the preparatory committee's suggestion and that it is important that the congresses keep the current form. In order for the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain to remain a popular movement it is important that the congresses involve more than the elected delegates. The congresses are one of the important devices that keep the whole interorganisational domain together, and it is the activities that makes this happen (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:612-616). It is important to keep the soul of the congress intact, and an important part of this is the mixture of work and play. It is also important that the congress is rooted in the member corps of the interorganisational domain and the current form enables this. By rotating the responsibility for the congress between different regions we also enable the different regions to showcase their activities for the rest of the interorganisational domain, as well as for the region to show the importance of the interorganisational domain to local politicians. Other delegates state that it is important that the congress is held at the same time and place for all the federations.

The general assembly approves the preparatory committee's suggestion and rejects the national council's suggestion. It also does as the preparatory committee suggested and tasks the national council to continue to examine the issue of future congresses (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:618-623).

Concluding remarks

My theoretical understanding of which organisations are part of the interorganisational domain is based on the shared understanding of the powerful incumbents of the interorganisational domain and their definition of what the issue(s) are and who the important stakeholders are. This has led me to develop the working definition of who is inside the interor-

ganisational domain and who is not. That definition has been based on which organisations are present at the domain's common congress and on those organisations which are under the decisive control of one of those organisations. When studying the development of the interorganisational domain over time, it is obvious that the strongest actor within the domain is the IOGT-NTO federation. At the same time it is also obvious that the UNF is not far behind when it comes to influence within the interorganisational domain, partly due to UNF's placement within the interorganisational domain. Influence is also strong due to the fact that many of those that become elected leaders within the IOGT-NTO federation were elected leaders in UNF, something which of course is common in the relation between the adult federation and the youth federation within a social movement.

But it is also obvious that the four federations of the interorganisational domain have drifted further and further apart since the time of the merger. Directly after the merger between IOGT and NTO, the domain was integrated under the umbrella of the IOGT-NTO federation, which had the responsibility for all resources and all employees within the interorganisational domain and functioned as the highest governing body within the domain. This changed at the congress in 1973 when the national council, regional council and circles were created and most of the responsibility vested in the IOGT-NTO federation was transferred to them.

The decision at the congress in 1973 made UNF into a formally independent youth federation, which the IOGT had before the merger through SGU but NTO did not because it had organised its youth activities inside the adult federation. This independence is further enhanced when the power of the national council is reduced, and the regional councils are made optional.

The IOGT-NTO's children federation was given some independence through the decision at the congress in 1973, but it was a part of the governance structure of the IOGT-NTO federation and all leaders within the children's federation had to be members of the IOGT-NTO. In the mid- to late 1980s, the IOGT-NTOs children's federation's constitu-

tion is amended so that the districts of the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and IOGT-NTO's children's federation appoint one delegate each to the general assembly of the IOGT-NTO's children's federation. This is then followed by another change in the constitution in 2003 where the representation is changed so that the IOGT-NTO districts appoint two delegates each, the IOGT-NTO's children's federation districts appoint one delegate each, and the rest of the seats are then appointed by the IOGT-NTO's children's federation itself. This constitutional development has gradually made the IOGT-NTO's children's federation more and more independent from the IOGT-NTO and, since 2003, formally totally independent from the UNF (except for the fact that many of the younger leaders within the IOGT-NTO's children's federation are members of UNF).

The NSF has more or less been at the outskirts of the interorganisational domain since the merger in 1970, partly due to the fact that NSF is part of two movements: the temperance movement through its affiliation with the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain and the international scout movement. This dual allegiance means that NSF needs to adjust to two different sets of demands and that it has a hard time to adjust fully to both sets at the same time. For instance, it took six years before NSF was able to ratify the constitutional amendment that led to the creation of the national council, regional council and circles. And even though NSF operated on an interim constitution for most of this time, it still meant that it was not formally an integral part of the interorganisational domain.

As noted above, the federations have continuously been drifting apart since the merger between IOGT and NTO in 1970. Over time, the youth and children's federations have become more and more independent, and the different integrating devices have been toned down. The main argument for this division has been that it is important to give each federation the opportunity to decide their own activities in order to make sure that the activities are suitable for the intended age groups. But there has also been an argument that the division and the resulting opportunity for self-governance are important from a democracy perspective: both to ensure that the organisations themselves are governed in a

democratic way and, more importantly, to foster future generations in the workings of democracy by letting them practise it. This separation has also led to (or has been fuelled by) the higher degree of specialisation among the federations – a trend became obvious with the IOGT-NTO's reorganisation into three operational areas and three support functions.

There have been counterarguments against this division since it was undertaken in 1973. The most common contention is that it splinters the interorganisational domain and therefore weakens the domain's impact on society. Voices have also pointed out that the division, especially into separate youth and adult federations, has hindered members from moving seamlessly from one federation to another, which has led to retention problems. Arguments revolving around the administrative costs of having to have four of everything instead of taking advantage of economies of scale that would emerge in a merger have also emerged. More seriously, there have been accusations that the division between the federations has centralised power and influence.

How culture was transformed from an organisational goal to an organisational tool

At the beginning of the 1970s, the IOGT-NTO federation was an organisation that functioned as an interest organisation aiming to lower the total consumption of alcohol and offered many cultural and recreational activities for its members. In short, it was an organisation for sober people that did things together. Starting in the mid-1990s, the treatment of alcoholics was given more emphasis within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, with part of the treatment being that they become members of the IOGT-NTO federation in order to give them a sober environment. As the number of peer support groups grew, they slowly twisted the ideological core of the interorganisational domain toward a more radical standpoint. But this also pushed aside other activities and disturbed traditional patterns within the interorganisational domain. This mini-case study explores the mechanisms and the results of this process from the viewpoint the groups that are pushed aside by the influx of peer support groups (for more on this particular case, see also Einarsson, S., 2010).

A merger with cultural complications

Cultural activities have always been important in the Swedish temperance movement, both as a tool for member recruitment and retention but also as an important goal on its own. This was perhaps even more important in NTO, and Hilding Friman (the last chair of NTO, in office 1957-1970) said in the opening speech at the IOGT-NTO congress in 1973 that the importance of culture within the temperance movement could not be understated:

> No one could imagine that the lowest common denominator, that we all are
> teetotallers, would be converted into a factor in a surprisingly remarkable
> multiplication – the experience of fellowship and brotherhood – becomes a
> multiplication where the product was study circles and folk high schools, lec-
> tures and libraries, folk dance teams and song books, folk musicians and or-
> chestras, Nordic collaboration and world cooperation, democratic processes
> and a 'no thank you' to alcohol and drugs, which is summarised in the larg-
> est Swedish encyclopaedia as: the temperance movement is one of the
> strongest cultural movements of our time (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:196-
> 199).

As already noted, IOGT and NTO merged in 1970 into the IOGT-NTO federation. The new organisation holds its first general assembly in Trollhättan in 1971. The program and theatre committee within the newly merged federation writes that it has been hard for the cultural activities to find their natural place in the interorganisational domain after the merger. The committee speculates that one reason for this might be that the cultural activities were common in just one organisation, NTO, and not in the other. The program and theatre committee also reports that the theatre activities are not functioning effectively at the moment due to lack of stable support in the organisation and that it does not have the central support that it needs in order to expand and develop. The program and theatre committee finishes by stating that the interest in these activities is very strong in some parts of the interorganisational domain and that it is important for the domain as a whole to keep them. It is therefore the committee's hope that the general assembly will support the program and theatre activities and make sure that resources are committed to this end (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:91-93).

This sentiment is also mirrored in a bill sent to the congress. It states in the bill that although political activities related to alcohol are of the utmost importance to the interorganisational domain, it is also very important to commit resources to the program and theatre activities in order to motivate the members and develop their critical thinking. The bill writers therefore suggest that the IOGT-NTO federation employ a person responsible for these activities and establish a program and theatre committee at the central level (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:158-159).

The preparatory committee agrees with the bill writers and laments that such an important activity as culture has not functioned better during the period (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:213-214). However, the national council recommends that the proposal be rejected by the general assembly on principle (although no one states what the principle is) and on economic grounds and notes that this kind of activities could be administrated by NBV[9] instead (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:159). Subsequently, the preparatory committee agrees with the national council and proposes that the general assembly should decide to appoint a program and theatre committee with members from all four federations and to explore the possibility of joining with NBV to employ a person responsible for the theatre activities. The general assembly agreed (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:254-255).

From this exchange at the 1971 congress, it seems that cultural activities have not found its natural place after the merger. As the program and theatre committee point out in their report, one explanation might be that cultural activities were more important in NTO, which was the smaller of the two merging organisations. Three different ways of viewing cultural activities within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain already seem to have crystallised: one view held by the program and theatre committee that culture is a goal in itself; one expressed by the bill writers that culture is an important tool in developing critical thinking among the members; and lastly the view of the national council that culture is not an important activity and should be outsourced to NBV.

At the next general assembly in Östersund in 1973 the program and theatre committee once again states that the cultural activities should be seen as a 'instead of' in relation to alcohol. According to the IOGT-NTO's constitution, one of the movement's goals is "personal development and happiness". The program and theatre committee interprets

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[9] NBV is a popular education association consisting of 21 organisations (four of which are the four federations within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain) that work with alcohol and drug issues, traffic environment and health issues. The NBV activities offer knowledge about the most important problems in connection with the use of drugs and alcohol. They have information activities and lectures and organise study circles.

this to be the role of culture within the interorganisational domain. The program and theatre committee also contends once again that it had been provided with too few resources to fulfil its tasks (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:44-46). The preparation committee approve the program and theatre committee's report and request that the national board increase the resources allocated to the program and theatre activities (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:329). At the same congress, important structural changes in the cultural activities of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain are enacted: the program and theatre committee is divided into a program and a theatre part, and the theatre activities are outsourced to the close, but freestanding, organisation NBV (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:44-46). At the congress in 1975 the national council mentions in their activity plan for the period 1976-1979 that most of the cultural and educational activities now are performed through NBV and that IOGT-NTO have lagged behind due to lack of resources. The national council expresses its wish that IOGT-NTO should increase cultural and educational activities on all hierarchical levels (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:117-128).

Theatre activities are seldom mentioned in the reports from the congresses between 1977 and 1983 and when they are mentioned, it is mainly stated that they should be performed in cooperation with NBV. There are also often complaints about lack of commitment and resources from the IOGT-NTO federation. The theatre committee, for instance, writes in the report from the congress in 1977 that, although the interorganisational domain has a well-developed education for theatre leaders together with NBV, the theatre committee lacks resources for the informational and follow up activities necessary in order to give the activities support within the four federations and to make them fill a more external advocacy role (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:24-25). This theme is repeated in 1979 and 1981, and it becomes more and more clear that theatre and educational activities have been outsourced to NBV, while other cultural activities are seen to fill a role within the interorganisational domain as a tool for recruiting and retaining members.

The quiz show begins

In 1974 a new cultural activity was created by the district of Uppsala. It was called Länsdansen (the county dance) and was a combination of a quiz competition and dance activity, which was very popular and had increased the activity in the local associations considerably. Bill number nine to the congress regarding a nationwide quiz show writes that:

> The activity Länsdansen has been carried out in Uppsala since 1974 and there are similar activities in other counties. It has proven to be an effective way of gathering members and non-members to a meaningful activity in a pleasant environment. This activity has markedly increased the activity within the local associations [...]
>
> Länsdansen consists of folk dancing, dance games and a quiz. The activity is carried out every second Saturday and the responsibility to arrange the activity is circulated among the local associations in the district [...]
>
> We believe that this activity would get reoccurring coverage in national press, radio and TV if the IOGT-NTO movement were to arrange this activity on a national basis [...] (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:150-152)

The national board writes in its reply to the bill that it will consider this suggestion in the detail planning of the activities in 1976 and that it should fit nicely in the program activities of the interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1975b:152). And in 1976 the first DansANT[10] meetings were arranged by the national level of the IOGT-NTO federation in the same way that Länsdansen was arranged in the district of Uppsala: as a competition in three stages with a national final in Stockholm (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:28).

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[10] This is a play on words where Dans means Dance, ANT is the abbreviation of Alcohol, Narcotic and Tobacco, which together spell 'dansant', which in Swedish means someone who is good at dancing.

Dance and cultural activities seem to have an upswing and play a more important role within the interorganisational domain. In its annual report in 1977, the national board writes that:

> The need for meaningful leisure activities has changed during the latest decades. One of the activities that have grown the most is folk dancing which has become attractive for more and more people. There is hardly any other leisure activity where old and young are united in a spirit of togetherness. IOGT-NTO has through the folk dance the possibility to influence society in a positive way, not the least by offering a drug-free environment. The folk dance committee, which is common for all of our four federations, must have the objective to train leaders that through the increasing interest in folk dancing are able to introduce more to our idea – a sober lifestyle (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1977a:25).

But it is clear, at least in the minds of the national board members, that the importance of cultural activities lies in its function as a tool for member recruitment and retention and not as a goal in itself. DansANT becomes a tremendous success, and the national board writes in 1979 that it has been a positive addition in several districts and has led to an increased activity in the local associations – around 700 local associations and more than 5 000 participants have been involved in the activity during the last year (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979a:32). But not all are happy with the development and bill number 24 to the congress says:

> We would like to remind the general assembly that the IOGT-NTO movement today runs several different activities within the areas of sport, theatre and folk dancing, where the majority of the participants are not members of the movement but nonetheless seemingly represent the movement at external events.
>
> Several of these activities have been important for the movement in regards to the recruitment of new members. These activities have on many occasions been given an independent status without requiring the participants to become members of the movement. In light of the importance of recruiting new members to the movement we would like the propose that these and similar activities be brought back into the control of the movement. One

could of course also argue that it is important for the movement that only members of the IOGT-NTO movement are representing and competing for the movement. We therefore propose that the general assembly decides that:

All participants in activities run by the IOGT-NTO movement shall be members of the movement and that all non-members are given three months to decide whether they want to become members or not (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979a:165-166).

The national board responds that it shares the main standpoint that all participants of the activities of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain should be members of the domain, but that one must not spoil the value of having open activities. The national board considers it impossible to set a time limit before a participant in an open activity has to become a member of the interorganisational domain. What is needed is that the local associations realise that the open activities are recruitment instruments. This means that the local association after due time has passed should tell the participants of the open activity that they need to become members or leave the activity altogether. With this the national board suggests that the general assembly see the bill as answered (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979a:166). And the general assembly agreed (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979b:71-72).

At the next congress in 1981 the national council delivers its proposal number 8 regarding conditions for representing the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain as a response to the discussions at the last congress. The council says:

At the congress in 1979 in Gothenburg several bills regarding the conditions for representing the IOGT-NTO movement were discussed. The main issue was whether non-members participating in the activities were to be allowed to participate in the external events such as theatre, folk dance, choir and sport events. The writers of the bills felt that everyone that is seen as representing the movement in an external event must be a member of the movement. One example was that athletes, who often are seen as role models especially by young people, should not be able to represent the movement if they do not live by the ideology of the movement. […]

> The national council thinks that the movement should have open activities and that the open activities always should aim to recruit people into the movement. The national council thus does not believe that it is possible to decide beforehand how long an individual can participate in open activities before he or she needs to become a member of the movement. It must be assumed that all organisers of open activities plan and aim for the activity to lead to membership. If this aim is not reached for some reason, it must be up to the organiser to call this to attention and explain that the movement cannot supply activities for those that do not choose to become members.

> The national council suggests that the general assembly decide that:

> Participants in open activities only can participate in internal events. Only members can represent the IOGT-NTO movement in external events.

> That the districts and local associations produce plans in order to achieve the objectives of the national council's suggestion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:29-30).

The general assembly accepts the national council's suggestion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:23).

It seems that the open activities within the interorganisational domain have been successful in attracting non-members to the activities, but that there is a problem in turning them into full members. This then creates friction in the semi-organised field around the interorganisational domain.

The IOGT-NTO's national choir travels to the USA

The IOGT-NTO national choir was a formally freestanding association within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. At the beginning of the 1980s, it went on a three-week tour of the USA during which 130 singers performed before appreciative audiences (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981c:44). Not all of the members of the choir were members of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. There was a heated debate in

the interorganisational domain's magazine Accent, especially around the fact that alcohol was served during the trip. At the congress in Luleå in 1981 the preparatory committee writes that it takes note of the choir's trip to USA and that it is aware of the debate in the magazine Accent. The preparatory committee also confirms that all participants should accept the temperance pledge when taking part in activities organised by the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:11).

The debate around the IOGT-NTO national choir's trip to the USA led the national council to present its proposal number 6 regarding conditions for representing the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain at the congress in Norrköping in 1983. In it, the council states:

> There have been discussions at several congresses, the latest time was at the congress in Luleå in 1981, regarding the broad activities that sport teams, choirs, theatre groups, folk dance groups and orchestras manage. Discussions have mainly been held around questions on association with and representation of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. There have been bills demanding that membership should be required in contexts where non-members can be mistaken for being members of the movement.

> The national council's stance is the same as at the congress in 1981 – that the movement should have open activities and that these activities should have as their main aim to recruit new members into the movement [...]

> The general assembly in 1981 decided that participants in open activities only can participate in internal activities. In order to represent the IOGT-NTO movement you need to be a member of the movement. [...]

> Several districts have been in contact with the national council to discuss problems that have come up due to this decision [...]

> The national council has found it necessary to examine this issue in detail and have for this reason commissioned an inquiry and a survey. [...] The survey was mainly aimed at the choirs. The results show that half of the choir members are members of the IOGT-NTO movement. If we add membership in other organisations in the temperance movement we find

that 60% are members of the broader temperance movement. Very few of the members, between 5-10% are under the age of 25. The choirs had an average of 15 concerts per year; whereof about 1/3 were internal events. […] Several of the answers show that the activities have continuously recruited more members to the movement […]

The national council suggests the following guidelines for representation of the IOGT-NTO movement at external events:

All participants in open activities that are representing, appearing or in other ways can be perceived as members of the IOGT-NTO are bound by the same duties and obligations as a full member of the IOGT-NTO movement.

The management of the different choirs, sports teams, theatre groups, folk dance groups, orchestras or similar, are tasked with promoting recruitment activities.

The board of any association connected to the IOGT-NTO movement shall consist of members of the IOGT-NTO movement. Non-members can be called in as co-opted to the board.

The local associations, districts and federations of the IOGT-NTO movement should undertake educational activities aimed at the participants of the open activities. (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:120-121)

The national council's suggestion is accepted by the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983a:45). It seems that the IOGT-NTO national choir's trip to the USA put the issue of the organisation of the semi-organised field to its point. The national board was thus forced to take a stance on who should be allowed to participate in the field and on which terms. Another effect of the discussion regarding the trip to USA was that the IOGT-NTO national choir a few years later was absorbed into the IOGT-NTO federation and came to be administered by the national board with the same status as a regular committee appointed by the national board within the federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:27).

DansANT replaced

In 1985 there are two bills sent to the congress that criticised DansANT, mainly on grounds that the administration of the competition needed to be improved (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:160-161). The national council's response is to ask the general assembly to commission the newly elected national board to develop a new activity to replace DansANT and to keep DansANT until the new activity was in place (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:160-161). The new activity that was developed was KonstANT[11] which later would replace DansANT. KonstANT was quite different competition from DansANT: it did not have the dance element; instead of focusing on general quiz questions, it focused on the content of a specific study circle; and an implicit aim was to increase the ideological element of the competition. The switch from DansANT to KonstANT was not as smooth as the national board had hoped.

At the congress in 1989 there are two bills asking that DansANT be reinstated and that KonstANT be scrapped. Bill number 43 to the congress for instance states that:

> One of the goals of the IOGT-NTO movement is to spread the message regarding the drug-free alternative. [...] This should be done by the districts creating activities in which all parts of the movement can take part in order to interest as many age groups as possible.

> For some years, the activity KonstANT has replaced the activity DansANT. The activities have similar purposes, but do not have the same effect as external activities. KonstANT is a study circle complemented by a competition: it does give the participants a pleasant time together but it is limited to those that are interested in the study circle at hand. DansANT with its competitive form gave much larger opportunities for attracting non-members to the activity.

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[11] This name is also a play on words where Konst means Art in Swedish; ANT is the abbreviation of Alcohol, Narcotic and Tobacco, which together spell konstant which in Swedish means constant.

> We thus propose that the movement develop an activity that aims at gather-
> ing both young and old people and that attracts non-members (IOGT-
> NTO-rörelsen, 1989:256).

The national council writes in its statement regarding the two bills that it
believes that it is possible to get non-members to participate in Kon-
stANT, and that there are several examples of recruitment from the
competition. The national council also maintain that its responsibility is
to show the possibilities but that the responsibility for carrying out activi-
ties lies with the districts and the local associations. This means that the
districts have the freedom to carry out activities like DansANT if they so
wish (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:256-257).

As the years go by, the activity level of the competition declines. In
1993 bill number 46 is sent to the congress stating that:

> The competition KonstANT and lately Tillsammans have engaged our
> members in study activities and in activities in the local association […]

> We have seen a decline in activity during the last two years, probably be-
> cause the competition is too difficult and because many of the questions are
> on topics outside of the study material. […]

> We, in our local association, have been watching this development with a
> certain anxiety as well as a wish for the subjects to be more closely linked to
> the temperance movement. […]

> We would therefore like to propose that KonstANT focus on topics that are
> linked to the temperance movement and that the difficulty should not be too
> high (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:406).

The national board responds that it is not easy to cater to all tastes when
choosing a topic for a competition, but that it agrees that the questions
should be from the study material and that the level of difficulty must be
right (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:407). At the congress a suggestion was
raised that the national final should be held on a weekend so that more
members could participate and so that the event could create more PR

for the movement. The general assembly amended the national board's proposal to include this suggestion and approved it (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:563-564).

This theme is taken up again at the congress in 1995 where bill number 52 regarding the design of a national competition says that:

> There used to be a combined social and competitive event within the IOGT-NTO movement that was called DansANT. Many local associations miss this activity which was abolished when today's study circle-based activities were implemented.
>
> We understand that the purpose of this change of activities was to promote the study circles within the movement. We believe that this goal has not been met; the only thing that has happened is that the topics of the study circles have become more controlled. It has also become apparent that it is hard to engage younger members to participate together with the older members in this kind of competition – mainly due to the choices of topics.
>
> Our association would therefore like to propose a new activity called Tillsammans to replace KonstANT.
>
> Tillsammans - a general knowledge quiz that is arranged under cosy circumstances where the quiz is one part of the program of the evening. There can also be entertainment, food and dance which together make the evening fun for everyone […]
>
> The first activity can be arranged by the local associations in the middle of November. Each association can have more than one team in the competition. Each association that has at least one on-going study circle at the time will get three bonus points. The association that wins in each IOGT-NTO circle will represent its circle in the district competition which is held in March. Later that evening the national final will be held over telephone (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:353).

In its reply, the national board writes that KonstANT was renamed Tillsammans in 1990, just for the reason that the national board wanted all age groups to participate. The subjects were adjusted to fit all age

groups, and there were suggestions for other activities that were possible to arrange around the competition. Tillsammans was then an activity that was operated in cooperation between the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and the IOGT-NTO's children's federation. The competition was carried out two years in a row with very little response from the federations. The four federation's national boards then decided to stop arranging the activity as a joint initiative and instead encourage local initiatives. The national board thinks that it is not possible to resurrect former national successes and suggests that the general assembly reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:354). In the debate, a suggestion is raised that Tillsammans topics should mainly focus on alcohol and drug issues. The general assembly approves of this suggestion and rejects the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:519). The national board is then tasked with making sure that the topics in the competition Tillsammans should mainly be about alcohol and drug issues.

KonstANT then continues without leaving much trace in the reports from the general assembly. The last time that I can find any information on it is in the congress material from 1999 where it is mentioned that the competition continues with its commitment to literature. It seems that, when the competition began to be used as an ideological training tool, it lost its use as a recruitment and retention tool and slowly drifted into silence. So it seems that, even though an organisation needs to manage its semi-organised field in order to not have its borders permeated by unwanted elements, the organisation can also not set up very strict rules in the semi-organised field in order to attract non-members to its activities.

Musical theatre with meaning starts...

In 1985 the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain started a three-year trial activity called 'musical theatre with meaning', or M1. The purpose of the activity, conducted jointly by the local association in Bjärnum, the IOGT-NTO federation, UNF and Tollare folk high school, was to find new ways of recruiting youth to the interorganisational domain. The M1

is a one-year, full-time practical and theoretical training program for future leaders. During the trial period, it is administered by Tollare folk high school.

In spring 1985 twelve students were recruited, and another eleven were recruited in autumn of that year. After the trial period ended in the summer of 1987, the responsibility for the educational program was transferred from Tollare folk high school to Wendelsbergs folk high school (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:40-41). It seems that the M1 had some success with increasing the activity of the local associations, and the students had practical training in local associations, something which resulted in several new dance and song groups.

But the M1 was also the object of lively discussions and several inquiries. UNF's national board decided for instance in May 1988 not to continue working with the program (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:36-37). When UNF, which initiated the program in the first place, decided to pull out of the project, the IOGT-NTO federation agreed to guarantee the program for a time due to the massive support the program had in several of the districts. In order to able to do this, the Wendelsbergs folk high school had stated that it would be necessary to move the program from its current location in Bjärnum to the school in Mölnlycke due to lack of resources (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:372).

… and is moved

The national board writes in its report for 1989-1990 that, during the period, the program had been administered by Wendelsbergs folk high school, and the activities had been taking place in Bjärnum. Due to lack of financial support, the IOGT-NTO federation had decided to phase out the program in its current shape and that Wendelsbergs folk high school instead would start up a similar program in autumn 1990. The original program would however still be operated in Bjärnum but with a new principal, Markaryds folk high school (which is not part of the temperance movement) (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:40).

Bill number 57 to the congress the same year says regarding the development of M1 says:

> Up until the 30th of June 1990 the IOGT-NTO federation operated an education for leaders of musical theatre groups in Bjärnum. it was called M1 and was operated as a branch of Wendelsbergs folk high school [...]

> We, the local association in Vetlanda, who have experiences of the M1, are hit hard by the closing of the program and we can already see the effects on our youth activities. [...]

> We need diversity of activities for young people. Since M1 had a profile that attracted youth to our movement, it should be allowed to continue. It should also be noted that membership in our movement is not required at the folk high schools, but it was required of those that participated in the M1. We therefore demand that the IOGT-NTO federation as soon as possible starts up a program like the M1 again (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:386-387).

The national board writes in its answer to bill number 57 that it unfortunately is not financially possible to continue to operate the M1 in the same way in Bjärnum. It is confident, however, that the course at Wendelsberg will be as successful (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:387). At the congress four years later there is another bill (number 49) regarding the re-instating of M1 in Bjärnum:

> For several years the IOGT-NTO federation together with our folk high schools operated the M1 in Bjärnum. It educated youth in musical theatre, dance, etc., and all students of the M1 in Bjärnum where members of the movement. The students travelled around to schools, IOGT-NTO and UNF associations and showed what they had learnt. The students also functioned as instructors in local associations. Many associations had such a large influx of youths that they had problems catering to all of them. Many of those that were educated in the M1 have continued to serve as leaders in our children and youth associations [...]

> The arguments behind closing the M1 are ridiculous, and we know that those that still are working with the M1 – but within another popular

movement – still are interested in coming back into the IOGT-NTO movement. We therefore demand that the M1 is re-instated in Bjärnum (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:347).

In its response to this bill, the national board writes that the M1 has been operated by another folk high school for the last five years and that it has been a recurring subject for discussions within the interorganisational domain. The M1 was evaluated in the spring of 1995, and it was found that it functioned well together with Markaryds folk high school. There remains, of course, the option of cooperating more within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain.

Furthermore the national board says that the IOGT-NTO children's federation has been developing the activity Showkids, through which about 100 leaders have been trained, 40 new local associations have been established, and the movement has gained more than 500 new members. Since 1985, UNF has been working with UngShow, a song, music, theatre and dance activity which is organised according to UNF's principle that the young should lead the young. In addition to this, Wendelsberg folk high school has launched a school concentrating on these activities, together with IOGT-NTO federation's study and cultural committee. This means that re-instating the M1 is not a pressing issue. The national board thus suggests that the general assembly reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:347-348).

The preparatory committee agrees with the national board and adds that, if the M1 were to be reinstated, it should be so by UNF. The preparatory committee also suggests that the possibilities for cooperation with Markaryds folk high school should be explored. After some discussion, the general assembly decides to approve of the national board's suggestion and reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1995:514-515). Thus another important activity in the semi-organised field of IOGT-NTO, an activity which also trained members to act as recruiters in the semi-organised field, is moved outside of the organisation's semi-organised field and inside the borders of another organisation. And once again the main argument is limited resources.

A cultural policy for the movement

It seems that cultural activities are slowly moving out to the periphery of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, at least according to the reports from the congresses. The activities are either outsourced to one of the other organisations in the interorganisational domain, for example, theatre is moved to NBV and the M1 is moved to Wendelsberg, or are transformed into recruitment and retention activities, like DansANT and KonstANT. But as the ideological content of the activity increases, the interest in it decreases and it slowly disappears. This course of events is, of course, linked with the expansion of other activities, such as the return of social work within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain (see for instance Einarsson, S., 2010, 2111a). But there are also counter reactions to this development.

At the general assembly in 1989, bill number 58 regarding a program for cultural policy for IOGT-NTO asks:

> Is IOGT-NTO a cultural organisation or not? We never talk about cultural policy in our district. But the goal of the movement is according to an old wording: 'temperance, popular education, brotherhood.'

> We are seen as a one-question movement in the political debate – with alcohol and other drugs as our only question. We have a program for alcohol and other drugs. Shouldn't we also have a program for cultural policy? It could include our popular education with focus on literature, theatre, music and democracy. And also environmental issues and peace work – all which are part of the IOGT-NTO movement's cultural policy (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:273).

The national board writes in its response to the bill that a task force has been developing a program for cultural policy to be presented at the next congress in 1991 and suggests that the general assembly thus should consider the bill answered (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:273).

At the congress in Falun in 1991 the national board lays out its suggestion number 5 with guidelines for IOGT-NTO's cultural activities that:

> The temperance movement created great cultural values during the early 19th century through voluntary work, creative boldness and a societal zeal. The result was popular movements and new forms of activities. This can be illustrated by the temperance lodge that at the same time was a gathering place, a place for education, a dance hall and the local library [...]

> The temperance movement has played a very important role in Swedish popular education, study circles, association libraries, choirs, amateur theatre groups, folk dance and recreation; these activities often had their origin within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. When society didn't provide meeting halls for these activities, the temperance movement built their own houses which still function as gathering points for many people […]

> It is therefore important that the temperance movement takes back its role as a bearer of culture (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:300-308).

The national board continues that culture is the most important activity for recruiting and retaining members since it has an activity for everyone, regardless of age, education, sex or talent. Culture also should be seen as a tool for spreading the ideas of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. Cultural activities can promote ideas regarding drugs, culture, democracy and peace in many ways. Using culture for these purposes should be natural, and different cultural activities should be a natural part in the work of our local associations (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:300-308). After some discussions and amendments from the preparatory committee, the suggestion was approved by the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:528-531).

At the next congress in Växjö in 1993 the national board writes in its work plan for 1994-1996 that the IOGT-NTO should take a more active role within culture and cultural policy during the upcoming congress period. One of the important tasks of the interorganisational domain is to

reactivate its work within the library system and to increase its effort within literature. The national board furthermore writes that dance should be used more to recruit new members into the interorganisational domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:307-308). Its seems that the national board has listened to some of the criticism at the congresses since it says that cultural activities do indeed have a role in spreading the idea of the interorganisational domain. However, it remains clear that the main role of cultural activities is recruitment and retention of members.

A new millennium and new organisational structure(s)

In its suggestion number 1 regarding goals and alignment for the period 2002-2003, the national board proposes restructuring the activities of the IOGT-NTO federation into three operational areas: work with drug policy, preventive work and social work. Those three operational areas are to be supported by three support functions: individual development, communication and administration. The three operational areas are 'level neutral' which means that they are to be implemented on the national, regional and local level, something which in turn means that the reorganisation affects the whole IOGT-NTO federation (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:278-290). As far as I can read, the reorganisation signifies that cultural and educational activities definitely were transformed to a tool to be used to achieve the goals within the operational areas and that cultural activities fall under the support function individual development.

The national board furthermore writes that the overarching goal of individual development is that all members of the IOGT-NTO federation should feel that their work within the interorganisational domain is part of their personal development. The goals for the period of 2002-2003 are that the proportion of members which are active in the operational areas should increase; that the time spent by active members should increase; and that members should be offered individual development through an expanded personal network.

In the debate at the general assembly on the suggestion, a representative of the national board states that:

> The activities of IOGT-NTO have traditionally been very broad. But the environment for popular movements has become tougher; almost all popular movements lose members; and it is therefore important that the IOGT-NTO finds its own niche. We cannot afford to do the things that others are also doing, and maybe even do better. We need to do what no one else is doing; we need to do what we are best at.

> We should not review our ideology; it stays. Our mission is to enable individuals to live a life free from drugs. Society hasn't given us this mission; it is a mission that we have taken upon ourselves. We need to become better in using our resources. We need to change the view of our activities. Popular education should not be seen as an operational area but as a tool, and we therefore need to become better at using NBV than we have been in the past. Democracy, equality and integration should be ideological pillars and permeate all of our activities instead of being their own operational areas (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:494-495).

The preparatory committee says in its statement that the plan is well formulated and that it covers many important areas, even if it has more the character of stating what the interorganisational domain already does than being a statement for the future. The preparatory committee also criticises the plan on the grounds that it diminishes the work of the IOGT-NTO federation too much. The preparatory committee thinks that there should be text covering culture, democracy, environment, and fellowship, but it basically agrees with the national board's plan (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:497-500). Some delegates in the general assembly agree that the work plan is to narrow and fear that this would decrease the possibilities to cooperate with other organisations, especially on the local level.

Several voices state concerns that the new strategy has been created by consultants from the business world and that not all models from the business world would be applicable in a popular movement. One delegate states that:

> I am worried that the popular movement IOGT-NTO is becoming profes-
> sionalised. A very small group is very skilled in strategy, but the rest of us are
> left hopelessly behind. In order for the rest of us to be able to understand the
> reasoning, we need to have materials that we understand sent to us in ad-
> vance. It is a matter of power and of who has the right of deciding in which
> direction the movement should go. Up until now this right has resided with
> the delegates of the general assembly, but this right will be severely limited if
> we accept this document. […]
>
> I fear that I and other members will be relegated to legitimising the work
> that is done by a few (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:503).

Another representative from the national board explains that the con-
sultants that had been used in the strategy work all had extensive experi-
ence in working with popular movements, and that there are knowledge
and insights to be gained from business models. Most importantly, how-
ever, the IOGT-NTO federation bases its vision on its own ideas. He
then continues:

> Popular education is not an operational area in itself, but it is a tool for all
> the operational areas to use; this doesn't make IOGT-NTO into a one-
> question movement. We still stand firm on the ideological foundation that
> we created in the 80s; the strategy presented today is just putting forward
> the activities that we want to prioritise now. A discussion at the congress
> should not be about details. The general assembly decides the direction and
> the national board, the district boards, the employees and the local associa-
> tions are then tasked with realising the decision with the resources that they
> have at their disposal (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:504).

This statement is followed by a third representative from the national
board who asserts that the suggested strategy does indeed involve a
change of direction, but that it does not turn the IOGT-NTO federation
into a one-question movement. It is important to work with the right
thing at the right moment.

A delegate to the general assembly then suggested that the congress
take a pause in the work on the strategy and that it is sent back to the
national board for referral and should be discussed at regional and na-

tional conferences. He also proposes that an extra congress be held where a final decision could be taken regarding the strategy. The chair of the national board Sven-Olov Carlsson interjects that it would be unfortunate if there had to be an extra congress in order to reach a decision on the strategy for 2002-2003, since there is a strong need for the interorganisational domain to reach a decision at this general assembly regarding the goals and direction of the interorganisational domain. The general assembly rejects the suggestion that the strategy be referred back to the national board, but tasks the national board to continue to develop the strategy document and present it for discussion at the different district meetings. With these and some other changes, the national board's suggestion is accepted by the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2001:502-512).

At the next congress in Jönköping in 2003, the national board writes in its annual report that the cultural and educational activities have been channelled in accordance with the vision agreed upon in 2001 through the three operational areas (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2003:35-40). This is, according to my analysis, the start of a more conscious effort to focus (or narrow) the activities of the IOGT-NTO federation. The main arguments are that this is needed in order to have an impact in the more fragmented media landscape and in order to cope with the organisation's limited resources. But there is also criticism from the delegates at the general assembly that this creates a more professionalised organisation and that there is a risk that the organisation turns into a one-issue organisation.

A suggestion for a fourth operational area

During the discussions at the congress in 2005 on the national board's suggestion number 1 regarding goals for 2006-2007, a delegate at the general assembly reads a written proposal regarding a fourth operational area. He believes that many members miss the old motto: 'Temperance,

Peace and Popular Education,' and that there is no room anymore for culture, popular education and international work in the strategy of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. He says:

> IOGT-NTO has a long history and a proud tradition as a popular education and culture organisation. These have been important methods in the movement's work toward societal change. Literature, music, theatre, folk dance, and art have given us ways of understanding and formulating solutions. It is not possible to change attitudes and develop and deepen the understanding of the individual without the power that resides in the artistic and cultural expressions. Culture also enables us to better understand the possibilities we as individuals have in participating in societal change from the viewpoint of our organisation.

> The goal of IOGT-NTO's cultural work is to strengthen the local associations and increase the understanding of the individual member for the ideology of IOGT-NTO.

> Goals for 2006-2007: the local associations should be inspired to start a conscious popular education and cultural program that both targets members and the general public. IOGT-NTO should emphasise its role as a cultural movement and increased cooperation between local associations and NBV that should be planned on the national level.

> In order to realise this vision, a central work group with members from IOGT-NTO, NBV and the folk high schools should be created. The work group should be tasked with creating a plan for long-term popular education and cultural programs in the local associations.

> The national board's suggestion for goals for 2006-2007 should be revised with an operational area for culture and popular education in accordance with this suggestion (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:575-576).

Sven-Olov Carlsson chair of the national board states that it is important that the IOGT-NTO federation is focused in its work and that the focus on alcohol and drug policy, preventive work and social work has led to results. He also reminds delegates that the IOGT-NTO federation is the

largest organisation within NBV and that these resources should be used in the cultural work within the interorganisational domain. But he also recognises that the question surfaces from time to time of whether culture and popular education is forgotten within the interorganisational domain. In order to eliminate all doubts, it could be added to the goals of the support area individual development (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:579).

Many voices agree with Sven-Olov Carlsson that culture should not be a separate operational area, but they also worry that culture and popular education are not as highly prioritised as they should be. Culture has a value in itself; thus, the IOGT-NTO federation needs to strengthen the role of culture and popular education (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:580).

Anna Carlstedt from the national board of the IOGT-NTO says that when she was elected into UNF's national board in 1997, the organisation engaged in everything: education, culture, peace, environment, international work… The question that the IOGT-NTO general assembly in Gävle asked was: Can an organisation prioritise everything? The general assembly then decided that prioritising also means choosing what not to do. The general assemblies in Gävle, Stockholm and Jönköping found few other organisations are involved in advocating against alcohol and other drugs. This, she asserts, is why the IOGT-NTO federation needs to prioritise the important work with alcohol and drug policy, preventive work and social work and that this should be done by using education and culture as tools (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:582). The general assembly decides to approve the national board's suggestion with some amendments (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2005a:585).

In the discussions at the next congress in Uppsala in 2007 focusing on the national board's suggestion number 1 setting goals for the 2008-2009 period, a delegate to the general assembly recollects that there was a long debate regarding culture and popular education at the last general assembly. At that general assembly, the chair of the IOGT-NTO federation had stated that culture and popular education should be integrated into the activities of the interorganisational domain, a suggestion ap-

proved by the general assembly. The delegate wonders what has happened with that decision. Anders A Aronsson from the national board responds that the IOGT-NTO federation agreed with NBV that NBV should contact all 130 local associations that had recruited more than 15 new members last year and ask how they could provide assistance. This is one way to engage in cultural activities where we cooperate closely with NBV (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:567-573).

The preparatory committee states in their comments on suggestion number 1 that they believe that the work with the three operative areas had been successful and that it has made the work of the interorganisational domain more effective. The preparatory committee thus suggests that the general assembly approve the work plan for the period with minor changes that were approved by the national board (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2007b:612-615).

Has the song been silenced?

In bill number 21 regarding singing and choir activities in the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, it is stated that "the song has been silenced" within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. The bill writer asks if the IOGT-NTO federation has lost interest in supporting this activity that has accompanied the temperance movement in fellowship for over 100 years. The national board writes in its answer to the bill that it believes that it is important to protect singing within the movement and that this can be done through regional and local cooperation with NBV (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 2009:427-429). So it seems that culture has been outsourced to NBV and that the IOGT-NTO no longer sees itself as a cultural organisation. But at the same time there seems to be members that believe that this still is an important area for the organisation, and it seems that this issue will come up again.

Peace and environmental work – ideas that were pushed out

Peace and international work

Peace and solidarity have always been part of the ideology of the temperance movement. Both IOGT and NTO had peace and international work in their programs prior to their merger. At the very first congress of the newly merged IOGT-NTO federation, the national council proposes in their suggestion number 13 that the IOGT-NTO federation should apply for membership in the Swedish committee for Vietnam (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:149-150). After discussions in the general assembly, where the main argument against the national council's suggestion was that this would mean that all members of the IOGT-NTO would be forced to become members of the Swedish committee for Vietnam, the general assembly voted no (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1971:252-254).

Eight years later at the congress in Gothenburg in 1979 there are two bills discussing the peace work of the interorganisational domain. The bills suggest that the peace work should receive higher priority since this might make the interorganisational domain more visible and also more popular among the general public (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979a:183-185). The national board agrees with the bill writers and states that peace and international work will become an integral part of the strategy over the coming years (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979a:185).

Two years later at the congress in Luleå in 1981, the national council presents their revised proposal for a new long-term strategy called "a program for the 1980s[12]" International humanitarian work is given a prominent place in this strategy. It even suggests that the IOGT-NTO

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[12] The program was first presented and discussed at the congress in 1979 where it was decided upon in principle with some editions to be done before the next congress.

federation should try to become one of the organisations in which those drafted into compulsory military service but not willing to bear arms could perform non-combatant service (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:45-46). The national council also recommends in the proposal that the educational organisations within the interorganisational domain create courses to heighten awareness and knowledge about international justice and peace questions among the members of the domain (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:53). The new long-term strategy was approved with minor changes by the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:52-53).

At the same congress in 1981, a bill discussing peace work demands that these questions be pushed forward on the interorganisational domain's agenda and that more resources be committed (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981c:160). The national board of the IOGT-NTO federation agrees with the bill writers in general and asks the general assembly to task it with creating informational materials on the peace issue (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981c:161). The general assembly agrees (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:57-58).

Another bill requests that the interorganisational domain take a stance against the sale of weapons (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:83). The national council agrees with the bill writer, suggests that the general assembly approve the bill, and urges the districts and the local associations to support the bill's intention (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981b:84). With the general assembly's approval, the IOGT-NTO federation issues a public statement in which it, among other things, argues that the ban on Swedish weapon exports should be upheld and that the Swedish government should strive to create a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Nordic countries (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1981a:55-56).

At the congress in Norrköping in 1983 the IOGT-NTO federation issues another public statement arguing for disarmament, world peace and the creation of nuclear weapon-free zones (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983a:53-54). During the congress, significant time and space are devoted to the peace question, and the general assembly confirms that the guidelines for peace work that were taken up in the strategy for the 1980s

should be maintained (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:143). An interesting side note is that on the cover of the materials of this and the next congress is drawings promoting world peace.

There is also a bill urging the general assembly to accept the peace program of the international IOGT as IOGT-NTO's own program. The national council responds that the peace program agreed upon at the previous congress was already based on that of the international IOGT, and thus that the bill was answered (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:167-169). The general assembly agrees with the national council (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983a:47).

Another bill at the same congress in 1983 questions IOGT-NTO's stance on weapons exports. The bill writers argue that Sweden needed to be able to export weapons in order to have a defence industry and maintain its neutrality. Furthermore, Sweden's exports help support those nations that have chosen to stand outside the superpowers defence pacts. The bill thus recommends that the interorganisational domain support the Swedish defence industry and instead demand that the superpowers disarm. The national council do not agree with the bill writers and ask the general assembly to reject the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983b:165-167). The general assembly agrees with the national council (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1983a:47).

In a bill at the congress in Malmoe in 1985, it is pointed out that nowhere in the constitution does it say that IOGT-NTO is a peace organisation. The bill writer thus urges that the constitution is rewritten so that it states that IOGT-NTO is a peace organisation. The national board answers that it is correct that neither the word peace nor peace organisation appears in the constitution, but reminds the bill writer that this is not the purpose of that document. Neither temperance movement nor cultural movement is mentioned in the constitution either. The national board considers the bill to have been answered with this statement (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985b:161-162). The preparatory committee agrees with the national board, but still wants the phrase "strive towards lasting peace between all people of the world" to be added to the constitution (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1985a:61-62).

The next time peace work is prominently mentioned is four years later when, at the congress in Umeå in 1989, the national council presents the platform for international work, of which peace work is one of the parts (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:187-191). The platform is approved by the general assembly after some minor revisions (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:442-448). After this, peace work is mentioned less and less in the congress materials. One probable reason for this is that the IOGT-NTO movement's International Institute is created in 1991 in order to handle the interorganisational domain's international work (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:122). The International Institute started as a mutual committee between the IOGT-NTO federation, the UNF federation and the IOGT-NTO Children's federation and was turned into a foundation in 1994 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen 1995: 57).

It is also interesting to note that the peak of the peace question seems to be in the mid-1980s and that the year 1986 was designated as the International Year of Peace by the United Nations. It thus seems that the heightened interest for peace work was a consequence of a heightened interest in the surrounding environment of the interorganisational domain.

Environmental work

Environmental work is formally added to the program of the IOGT-NTO federation at the congress in 1973, although environmental work at this time mainly connotes health issues relating to the human living environment. The main issues are how alcohol, tobacco and drugs pollute the human environment, not how humanity pollutes nature and destroys wildlife (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1973:123, 203). This notion is reinforced at the congress in 1979 (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979b:42, 132) where environmental issues once again are defined in this way. There is one bill, number 206 (which is missing from the book from congress), which discusses the interorganisational domain's commitment to questions regarding resource, energy and environmental issues and which is

dismissed by both the national council and the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1979b:144).

In 1987, a bill sent to the congress in Karlstad urges that the interorganisational domain stop using disposable utensils at its meetings on all levels in order to preserve the environment. While the national council agrees with the bill writer, it cannot enforce a ban on the use of disposable utensils by the local associations. It does, however, urge that everyone on all levels minimise their usage (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1987:205).

At the congress in Umeå 1989 two bills recommend that the organisational domain start working on natural environment issues, as well as on alcohol and drug problems. The bill writer of one laments that the natural environment is becoming more and more polluted and asserts that something needs to be done before it is too late. The general assembly is urged to task the regional and local associations to start advocating garbage sorting and to encourage all members to only buy environmentally friendly products. Both the national council (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:228-230) and the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:403-404) approve. Preserving the natural environment and conserving natural resources are also written into the platform for international work at this congress, since conflicts over natural resources are expected to increase (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1989:442-448).

At the congress in Falun in 1991 a bill recommends that the interorganisational domain engage more forcefully in environmental work and that there should be a platform for environmental work within the interorganisational domain. The national board agrees and urges the general assembly to approve it (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:388). The preparatory committee, however, disagrees: while environmental issues are important, the organisational domain needs to focus on alcohol and drug issues. The preparatory committee thus asks the general assembly to reject the bill. Despite this, the general assembly sides with the bill writers and the national board, and approves of the bill (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1991:556-557).

The platform for environmental work is launched at the congress in Växjö in 1993. It is mainly based on the model propagated by the Natural Step foundation and considered very popular among the Swedish business sector during the 1990s (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:312-325). The preparatory committee approves, as does the general assembly (IOGT-NTO-rörelsen, 1993:556-557). After this very quick rise to prominence, however, environmental work quickly fades from the interorganisational domain's agenda.

Chapter 6

Analysis: Factors mitigating and reversing the iron law of oligarchy

In the first chapter I stated that the aim of this dissertation was to explore which mechanisms enable a CSO to mitigate and reverse the iron law of oligarchy and to examine the phenomenon of governance in interorganisational domains of CSOs. In this chapter I will therefore first analyse the oligarchic tendencies within the IOGT-NTO federation at the start of the time period studied, then move on to probe the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation, and finally determine which factors and mechanisms enabled the mitigation and reversal of the iron law of oligarchy.

This dissertation presents a single, longitudinal case study of the development of a Swedish CSO and the interorganisational domain surrounding it from 1970 to 2009 and traces the unfolding interplay of oligarchic and revitalising processes through detailed archival studies, qualitative interviews and participant observation. As the reader may recall, the main empirical material in this study consists of documents, including transcripts from discussions and speeches, from the biannual congress of the IOGT-NTO movement. It is there that the national council and the national board present plans, strategies and inquiries to the general assembly and which will be discussed and decided upon. I have been provided access to the books in which these documents and

transcripts are collected from 1971 to 2009. Even though I have relied on archival data as the main source of information, I have also conducted 27 interviews with the top leaders and managers (both elected and employed) within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain and observed and participated in several meetings and seminars in order to enrich my understanding of the events.

This study starts empirically with the merger of IOGT and NTO in 1970. At the beginning of the 1970s, the newly merged IOGT-NTO federation appeared to be an identity organisation for sober people that also functioned as an interest group aiming at lowering the total consumption of alcohol in Sweden by lobbying politicians for higher prices and more restrictions on the availability of alcohol. There were some discussions within the interorganisational domain about social work and care of alcoholics, but this was sporadic and neither of these was seen as a core activity. The organisations within the domain were also experiencing recruitment problems and a decline of memberships. In addition, they were showing several signs of having succumbed to the iron law of oligarchy.

The domain still had many conscience adherents in the surrounding society who supported its goals, but also this category of adherents had been decreasing steadily, and the domain no longer had the strong power base in Swedish society that it once had. The domain had also taken a rather hard stance on the issue of converting conscience adherents to conscience constituents since it did not want to have a secondary supportive membership that subscribed to the general ideas, paid membership fees, but did not take a personal vow of total abstinence. This was because it was felt that the example of personal abstinence was one of the core features of the interorganisational domain.

In the 1970s the newly merged IOGT-NTO federation exhibited most of the characteristics of what McCarty and Zald (1977) call a classic SMO which focused on both the already sober, who should undertake recreational activities together with other sober individuals, and more abstract potential beneficiaries, who should be diverted away from addiction by the organisation's advocacy for higher prices and restricted sup-

ply of alcohol and other drugs. The federations within the interorganisational domain were governed by its members, even though there were signs that elected officials stayed in office for a relatively long time and that those officials often occupied multiple positions within the domain. The domain also had several characteristics of what McCarthy and Zald call a protest SMO, especially when it came to trying to (and in this case succeeding) transform the state into a constituent of its cause. Over time the domain lost its foothold in the Swedish parliament, but was still able to procure resources from the state through, for instance, grants, tax reductions and permission to run lotteries.

Rise of oligarchy

An oligarchic organisation is most commonly defined as one that has a self-supplementing leadership which controls the organisation's decision-making through its command of resources, information and communication. This is often coupled with goal displacement.

Organisational growth and professionalisation

According to Michels ([1911], 1962) one of the main drivers behind oligarchic development is organisational growth and success. As the organisation grows, the physical distance between leaders and members expands because the organisation covers increasingly larger geographical areas combined and has ever more hierarchical layers. This is often combined with the knowledge-based distance between leaders and members that widens through forces of experience and professionalisation.

    The larger temperance movement and the organisations within the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation had been suffering from shrinking membership numbers and from loss of po-

litical influence for a long time. The decline of the temperance move-
ment was even stated as one of the main reasons for the merger between
IOGT and NTO in 1970 so that growth and organisational success
could not be considered the main drivers behind this development.
However, IOGT and NTO had previously been very successful and had
built up large multi-level organisational structures covering the whole of
Sweden and, along with it, a rather professionalised staff. There was also
dissatisfaction among some of the members regarding these develop-
ments and a fear of a growing distance within the organisation, as several
bills over the years regarding the geographical placement and the size of
the staff at the national office show. One could therefore argue that both
the physical and the knowledge based distance between members and
leaders that Michels see as part of oligarchy is present in the newly
merged IOGT-NTO federation.

The IOGT-NTO domain was and still is resource rich, partly due to
its rather large, albeit shrinking, member base paying membership dues
and partly due to support from the Swedish state. The state support
came in the form of general support based on the number of members
and the number of meetings and activities that the members have at-
tended, similar to the support that most Swedish CSOs had at the time
and still have (even if this is partially changing). The domain also had
permission to operate a very profitable lottery, which made the interor-
ganisational domain relatively financially independent both from its own
members and from the Swedish state. This independence from its mem-
bership might, according to Michels, insulate the leaders from the mem-
bers and thus increase the oligarchic distance.

This implies that the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain could
be susceptible to a shift of decision-making power from the members to
elected officials and employed staff. Such a power shift, according to the-
ory, might lead to lower member participation in the decision-making
process since members think their chances of influencing decisions are
low. This lower member participation in the decision-making process
will then increase the influence of the elected officials and employed staff,

thus leading to a reinforcing circle or spiral which shifts decision-making power even further away from the members.

Goal displacement

In light of how long incumbents of different positions stay in office within different organisations in the interorganisational domain and the fact that it was not uncommon for elected officials and employed staff to move from organisation to organisation within the interorganisational domain, it is hardly surprising that the number of different individuals in charge within the domain declined. It was, for instance, very common that elected leaders within the IOGT-NTO federation previously had been elected leaders within the UNF, the youth federation, although it must be stated that this pattern is not uncommon in wider civil society. There are also signs in my interviews that sometimes several generations within the same family had held high positions within the interorganisational domain. According to Michels, this development could lead to incentives for the incumbent elected leaders and employed managers to turn the organisation in a less radical direction in order to secure legitimacy and resources from the external environment and in order to hold on to their positions and privileges.

I cannot see signs of this kind of goal displacement - at least not from the point where this study starts – when the IOGT federation and the NTO federation are merged. One could of course argue that the process which turned the radical temperance organisations IOGT and NTO at the end of 18th and the beginning of the 19th century into the advocacy and identity organisation IOGT-NTO in the 1970s was a process of goal displacement, a process that was already finished when this study starts. But something that I can see is that the organisational domain had become more closed off when it came to which categories of people they try to recruit as members.

Becoming closed off and becalmed

At the time of the merger, it is possible to describe the members of the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation as beneficiaries of the possibility to freely enjoy an identity as 'sober' as well as activities undertaken together with other individuals with a similar identity. Very few of the members of the newly merged federation or in the surrounding interorganisational domain had any personal experience with alcohol or drug addiction or knew anyone that had (or at least talked about it openly). This is for instance explicit in one of my interviews in which the respondent says that his family had been sober over five generations and in another interview in which the respondent states that having personal experience with alcohol problems was not seen as a ground for legitimacy within the domain – rather the opposite.

The interorganisational domain had (and still has) a very strong social infrastructure on the grassroots level, which enabled it to mobilise its members in a number of different activities. This strong social infrastructure was also a hindrance for new members (at least some categories) to join the interorganisational domain. One indication of this is when former patients of the care centre Dagöholm began to form peer support groups, they were often seen as a problem since they 'disturbed' the traditional activities and ways of doing things. The later activism coming from national level to create peer support groups, networks and regional gatherings for them can also be seen as an attempt to build up new social infrastructures for this new group of members.

The interorganisational domain followed the trajectory that Zald and Ash (1966) describe as a becalmed organisation, where the members start to feel over time that the organisation cannot and will not reach its goals. According to theory, this may lead to apathy in the membership corps, especially if the development also involves a low influx of new members. Ultimately, if the organisation loses enough members and energy, it risks becoming a failed organisation.

Fewer organisations with fewer issues and less members, or?

According to Papakostas (2011) the access to external resources, in this case the access to the profits from the lotteries, threatens to transform the distance between leaders and members into an insurmountable barrier that in turn transforms the members into passive consumers without a voice in the governance of the organisation and finally results in their silent departure from it. According to this model, it is the opportunities for resource mobilisation that determine when and if the process starts, and it is the social ties between the members and the organisation that influence the speed of the transformation.

There is some evidence for this transformation in the material that I have studied. For instance, income from the lotteries insulates the elected leaders and employed officials from the members. In addition, the leadership over time tries to narrow the activities and goals of the interorganisational domain in order to focus on what they define as the core objectives. But what is even more evident is that this process solidified the border between those who are inside the interorganisational domain and those who are outside of it, a process which was partially reversed when the peer support groups started forming within the domain. The process that Papakostas (2011) describes can, according to him, partly be mitigated by the strength of social ties within the organisation and the type of activities that are performed. From what I can gather, the social ties within the interorganisational domain are rather strong, as are the internal recreational activities in which many of the members take part. These social ties probably helped to mitigate the construction of a barrier between elected leaders and members. But it might also have helped to solidify the border between insiders and outsiders of the interorganisational domain.

The interorganisational domain

The interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation consists of four multilevel, membership-based federations, a foundation focusing on international work, a treatment centre, two folk high schools, and an educational association. It is obvious that the interorganisational domain is differentiated and that different organisations fulfil different tasks within the domain. It is also evident that certain organisations outside of the domain have partial influence in some of the organisations within the domain. The Swedish state has, for instance, partial influence over the form and content of care in the treatment centre, as well as over the educational activities in the folk high schools. At the same time it is clear that the domain is integrated and seen as a (more or less) coherent unit, by both internal and external actors. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the case descriptions above, the incumbent organisations within the interorganisational domain have drifted further and further apart since the merger of IOGT and NTO in 1970. The questions thus become how and why is the domain differentiated and how and why is it kept together and integrated.

An interorganisational domain has a shared understanding of the issue at hand and of who the incumbents are

According to theory, an interorganisational domain is created when the incumbents of the domain come to share a common vision of what the important questions are and who the important actors are. This shared understanding is what shapes the borders around the domain and determines how thick they are and how hard it is to penetrate them. Examining the IOGT-NTO case, it seems that one of the major reasons that the interorganisational domain holds together is the shared understand-

ing regarding the fight against alcohol and other drugs. Other ideas either have been pressed to the outskirts of the interorganisational domain or have entered the domain for a brief period of time before they were pushed out again. An example of the former is culture; an example of the latter is environmental work. When it comes to peace and environmental work, the increased interest in those areas was due partly to a heightened interest in the external environment which spilled over into the interorganisational domain. As interest waned in the external environment, so it did within the domain. When it comes to culture and its transformation from a goal to a tool within the interorganisational domain, it seems that, although the interest was there from the beginning, interest slowly declined when large parts of the cultural activities were delegated to the folk high schools and to NBV, organisations which exist partly outside of the interorganisational domain. The transfer of activities to an organisation on the periphery of the interorganisational domain was also, according to my analysis, part of the reason why international and peace work lost its prominence within the movement after the International Institute was set up in the 1990s.

In terms of the attitude towards low-strength beer and treatment with substitutive drugs, the change began in the mid-1980s with the influx of a new type of member with personal experience of alcohol and other drugs through Dagöholm and the care chain into the interorganisational domain. As seen in the description above, this led to strains and frictions since many of the new members, with their close contact with alcohol and drug abuse, were also very ideologically committed to the issue and were mostly very active.

Over time the members of the peer support groups climbed up in the democratic governance structure, first in the local associations, then in the regional associations, until they also had representation at the congress and even on the national board. This gave them a position within what Clegg (1989) calls the agency circuit, where they received (or took) positional power as well as power over resources (depending on where in the hierarchy within the interorganisational domain they held positions). This gave them an amount of episodic power that enabled them to chal-

lenge some of the assumptions that were taken for granted within the interorganisational domain. This was done by trying to change the content of some of the concepts that are supporting nodal points within the discursive formation of the interorganisational domain by, for instance, sending bills to the congress and arguing in the general assembly. This enabled them to change to some degree the discourse around the usage of low-strength beer and IOGT-NTO's stance regarding needle exchange projects and treatment with substitutive medicines such as Subutex and methadone. These discussions in turn (partly) reshaped the construction of the shared understanding of what the interorganisational domain was all about, and social work became one of the three strategic goals of the IOGT-NTO federation.

The shared understanding of who the incumbents of the interorganisational domain were also altered during this process. First, there was a change in the understanding of who the potential members of the incumbent organisations were, to the point where former addicts and family members of former addicts were added. Second, there was a change in the relationship between the organisations within the interorganisational domain: the treatment centre Dagöholm was moved towards the centre of the domain, while the folk high schools and the NBV were moved further away along with the culture and educational activities.

The semi-organised field around the domain

According to Ahrne (1994), organisations are surrounded by semi-organised fields which foster exchange between the organisation and its environment. The semi-organised field is more open than the organisation proper for outsiders to enter, and the activities in it are not as controlled as they are inside the organisation. But this lower level of control also comes with a reduced right to participate in the organisation's governance system and to use the organisation's resources. Within the Swedish civil society context, those that are inside the organisation proper are often called members, and those that work within the semi-organised field are often referred to as volunteers or donors. Looking at the IOGT-

NTO case, it seems that the semi-organised field also functions as a kind of membrane, which lets some impulses from the environment into the interorganisational field and stops others from entering the domain. The current Swedish trend of falling membership numbers and rising numbers of volunteers could be described in these terms, as the semi-organised fields around the organisations are growing at the expense of the organisations proper. In my understanding, this is partly what Papakostas (2011) warns against when he discusses the tendency towards encapsulated CSOs that he has detected in Sweden's civil society.

If we look at the IOGT-NTO case, we can see that the semi-organised field seems to have an important function in letting change-inducing impulses into the interorganisational domain. The care chain was established at the periphery of the interorganisational domain, and individuals entered the semi-organised field around Dagöholm as patients of the treatment centre. Some of them were transformed into members of the IOGT-NTO federation as part of their treatment. They were thus converted from visitors at one of the more peripheral organisations of the domain into fully-fledged members of the domain's most central organisation. The semi-organised field surrounding Dagöholm functioned in this way as a recruitment arena for the IOGT-NTO federation.

But even then the new members were sometimes not accepted into local associations, so they set up their own local associations in the form of peer support groups. Many of the important activities in the peer support groups were carried out in the semi-organised field surrounding them since they did not demand a temperance vow from the beginning. They also had a more lenient view on individuals with relapses – at the same time as they had a more hard-line view on the usage of low-strength beer and methadone and on the content of the membership pledge. In this way it was easier for those with drug problems to take part in the activities and (hopefully) eventually be helped.

The above is an example of an unintended influx of ideas from the semi-organised field into the interorganisational domain proper, which had a profound effect on the strategy formation of the interorganisational

domain. But I can also see examples of intended but failed efforts to have new individuals and ideas enter the organisational domain proper. Some of these are discussed below.

Cultural activities in the semi-organised field

When the cultural activities were re-defined as recruitment and retention tools, they were also visibly moved into the semi-organised field of the interorganisational domain and opened up for non-member participation. The open activities were successful in attracting non-members to the activities, but since it is not so easy to turn them into full members, friction is created in the organisation. This is clearly shown in the discussions around the IOGT-NTO national choir's trip. That event put the issue of the organisation of the semi-organised field to its point, forcing the national council to take a stance on the issue and set up rules on who should be allowed to participate in the field and on which terms.

Another effect of this discussion was the transformation of DansANT into KonstANT, which then proceeds without leaving much of a trace in the reports from the general assembly. When the competition was used as an ideological training tool, it lost its use as a recruitment and retention tool and slowly drifted into silence. Thus, while an organisation needs to manage its semi-organised field so that its borders are not permeated by unwanted elements, it cannot establish overly strict rules in the semi-organised field if its wants to attract non-members to its activities. The occupational sections were another attempt to create an institutionalised semi-organised field between the IOGT-NTO and other organisations.

The semi-organised field is, as we can see, a source of energy and resources, but also a source of friction – and potentially a danger to co-optation if the borders are not policed well enough. As noted above, it is important to control the borders of the interorganisational domain to not let unwanted elements in; at the same time, setting too many rules makes the semi-organised field unattractive for visitors and its function as a source of energy and resources fails.

Differentiation

According to theory, the main reason for differentiation within an organisation is that different parts of the organisation face such different demands from the environment that it becomes more relevant to say that they face different sub environments.

Activities moving to the outskirts of the interorganisational domain

After the merger between IOGT and NTO, the cultural activities of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain were split into two parts, theatre and program activities, and the theatre activities were outsourced to the close, but freestanding, organisation NBV. This outsourcing of the theatre activities had a profound effect on the cultural activities within the interorganisational domain, since it both reduced the resources available for these activities and removed the part of the foothold that culture had within the IOGT-NTO federation. Another change was that the cultural activities that were still within the IOGT-NTO federation were defined as recruitment and retention tools and not as primary activities of the organisation, a transformation which the discussions regarding DansANT and KonstANT clearly show. When the activity no longer is in the centre of the interorganisational domain, interest in it slowly wanes. The same process is discernible in the development and outsourcing of the education program M1. In this instance, another important activity in the semi-organised field of the interorganisational domain, an activity which also trained members to act as recruiters, is partly moved outside of the domain and partly within the borders of organisations outside of the domain.

The folk high schools are governed by an association whose general assembly consists of the general assembly at the congress of IOGT-NTO. As such, the schools have always been closely tied to the interorganisational domain through the legal structure. However, the folk high schools have also had very close relations with the Swedish state due to regulations on educational activities and on rules governing state grants for

popular education. One of my respondents likened the situation to having two principals: the temperance movement through the IOGT-NTO federation and the popular education movement through the Swedish state. Furthermore, the teaching profession has its own strong identity and influence over the schools. Added to this, the folk high schools cooperate closely with NBV, an association that has several other members in addition to the four federations of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain (which of course also has an impact on NBVs integration in the interorganisational domain). As the case on culture and education shows, the national council of the interorganisational domain and the national board of the IOGT-NTO federation have made a conscious effort to outsource activities from the interorganisational domain to the folk high schools and NBV.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the IOGT-NTO federation implemented a major reorganisation into three operational areas. This meant that culture and education were transformed from openly stated goals of the interorganisational domain to tools to be used for reaching the goals within the operational areas and to serve as support functions. This marked the start of a more conscious effort to focus (or narrow) the activities of the IOGT-NTO federation, though it according to my point of view was the logical continuation of the focusing process that had begun much earlier. The national board argued that this focus was needed in order to have an impact in the more fragmented media landscape and in order to cope with the organisation's limited resources. But many delegates at the general assembly criticised the move, asserting that it would create a more professionalised organisation and increase the risk that the organisation turns into a one-issue organisation.

Activities coming into the interorganisational domain for a short time

As shown in the case descriptions above, peace and solidarity have always been part of the ideology of the temperance movement. Peace and international work received ever-higher priority over the years until its peak when the platform for international work was presented at the con-

gress in Umeå in 1989. After this, peace-related activities were mentioned less and less in the congress materials. One probable reason for this was the establishment of the IOGT-NTO International Institute in 1991 in order to handle the interorganisational domain's international activities. Again, once the activities were moved to another organisation, albeit this time clearly within the interorganisational domain, the interest in them declined and they faded from attention.

Activities slowly drifting away

One can interpret the history of cultural activities within the IOGT-NTO movement as a gradual outsourcing process, where more and more activities were no longer defined as core activities and were thus outsourced to other organisations, such as NBV, leaving the main federations with a narrower scope of activities. This development was the result in part of the desire of the IOGT-NTO federation's leadership to become more specialised and focused on what were considered core activities and of a wish that the incumbent organisations within the domain should be given the opportunity to govern themselves.

Interestingly, most of the outsourcing has been to non-member-based organisations. The lotteries were placed in a company; the cultural and educational work in foundations and in an association with other member organisations; and the international and peace work in a foundation. This structure means that the general membership's direct influence and transparency are further restricted.

Together, these organisational changes lessened the influence of the members and thus strengthened oligarchic tendencies. The main effect of the differentiation process seems to be that when an activity is placed in one of the more peripheral organisations, that activity loses prominence within the interorganisational domain. This development is most clear in the cases of culture and peace work.

Integration

Structural integration mechanisms

One of the most important integrating devices in the interorganisational domain is the national council[13] which was created after the congress in 1973. From the beginning, the national council consisted of representatives from all four federations; the IOGT-NTO federation had one more representative than the other federations and had the chair of the board. The tasks of the national council then were to manage and divide the resources of the interorganisational domain, to function as employer of the staff of the domain, and to handle issues common to the whole domain. It also had a right to develop its own strategic plans for the interorganisational domain and to make its own suggestions to the general assemblies of the four federations, not only react to bills and suggestions from the national boards or members of the federations. As such, the national council functioned as one of the major integrating devices in the early years of the interorganisational domain, and many of the important strategic initiatives came from it. All these factors together meant that the national council's importance could not be understated.

This changed at the congress in Köping in 1997 when the administrative functions common to all four federations were transferred from the national council to the IOGT-NTO federation and it was decided that the administrative personnel of each federation should be employed by the respective federations. The IOGT-NTO federation should, however, provide services such as finance, personnel and other administrative services to the other federations as requested at actual cost. Another change occurred when the allocation of delegates in the national council was altered so that the four federations had two delegates each and the

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[13] And on the regional level the regional council and on the local level the IOGT-NTO circle. All three devices have more or less the same tasks and function in the same way although on different hierarchical levels.

council itself would choose its chair. Moreover, there was a change in what kind of issues the national and regional councils were able to decide over. Before the constitution was amended, the councils were tasked with handling issues common to the four federations, but the amended constitution stipulated that the councils would be assigned to deal with only those issues that all or some of the federations delegates to them. These changes were first suggested to the congress in 2007, but put into effect only in 2009.

When UNF decided to make the regional organisations within its federation voluntary in 2001, it also meant that the regional councils lost part of their integrating function since not all regional councils would have representation from the UNF. It thus seems that the main structural integrative device was losing more and more power.

The membership(s) in the different organisations within the interorganisational domain were also used as an integrating device within the domain. At the congress in 1983 the national council suggested a change in the domain's membership(s). The main difference was that the members of UNF and IOGT-NTO's children federation which had taken the member vow and were at least 12 years of age should be considered as members of the IOGT-NTO federation as well. When it came to the NSF, it was suggested that their members would automatically be seen as members of the IOGT-NTO federation if they were above the age of 25 and had taken the member vow. The suggestion did not mobilise enough support from all four federations at the congress in 1983 in order to make the needed constitutional change, but it was fully ratified at the congress in 1987.

The congress in itself and the book that is printed after each congress also functions as powerful integrating devices for the interorganisational domain. Biannually all (or at least almost all since the NSF holds its congress at another time of the year) elected leaders, many of the employees, and a huge number of members meet and discuss issues of importance for the individual federations as well as for the interorganisational domain as a whole. All local associations, regional boards, as well as individual members have the opportunity to send bills to the congress, which

then will be commented on by the national council or the national board and then discussed by the general assembly. There are also a huge number of seminars, panels and other activities around the congress where members have the opportunity to meet each other, discuss important questions and create and uphold interpersonal bonds. These interpersonal ties of friendship and loyalty will, of course, work as centrifugal forces that help keep the interorganisational domain together. This might help to explain the strong reaction to the national council's suggestion at the congress in 2009 to split the congress into a general assembly in the autumn and a general event in the summer.

Processual integration mechanisms

The democratic decision-making system functions as an important processual integration mechanism since it allows actors from different parts of the interorganisational domain to take part in the decision-making. It also functions as an important conflict resolution system which further enhances the integration of the interorganisational domain.

Interpersonal integration mechanisms

There are several career paths within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. Many of the elected and employed officials within the IOGT-NTO federation have come from the youth federation UNF, and many of them have also had positions on local and/or regional level before taking office at the national level. It also seems that many of the board members in the companies and foundations within the interorganisational domain either are or have been elected officials in the IOGT-NTO federation. Furthermore several of the higher elected and employed officials also have family members (sometimes stretching several generations back) within the interorganisational domain.

Altogether this means that individuals are socialised into the culture within the domain and reproduce the current behaviours. This functions

as an important interpersonal integration mechanism, but it might also strengthen the oligarchic tendencies.

Three power bases within the interorganisational domain

Formal power which comes from the legal structure

The dominance of the IOGT-NTO federation within the interorganisational domain becomes even more obvious upon examination of the power bases within the domain, where the IOGT-NTO federation has formal legal authority in several of its organisations. It is the general assembly at the congress of the IOGT-NTO federation that for half a day at the congress transforms into the folk high school association which governs the folk high schools (even though there is also significant influence from the state and from the teachers in their operations). Dagöholm, the treatment centre, is a self-governing operational foundation, which means that it is formally a self-governing entity. However, it is the IOGT-NTO federation that elects the foundation's board, thus restricting its autonomy. Other influences on Dagöholm include the state through regulations that apply to the state grants and through laws regarding the treatment of addicts, as well as the medical and social care professions. All in all, it is clear in my analysis that the IOGT-NTO federation has a strong formal authority within the interorganisational domain.

Control over resources

When it comes to control over resources, it is again the IOGT-NTO federation that is the strongest incumbent of the interorganisational domain, since it acts as the employer of the majority of the centrally placed administrative staff. Furthermore, up until the congress in 2009 the IOGT-NTO federation had more delegates in the national council than the other federations, and the IOGT-NTO federation appointed the national council chair. It was also the national council that made most of the decisions regarding the allocation of resources up until the congress in 1997, when even more of these decisions were transferred to IOGT-NTO. Finally, the IOGT-NTO federation mobilises the most members - which form an important resource base in itself.

Discursively manage legitimacy and meaning

The discursive management of legitimacy and meaning has both a centrifugal and a centripetal effect on the interorganisational domain. An illustration is the transformation of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain from being a domain focusing on activities for those that already are sober to also being active in social work. At the same time as it pushed cultural activities from the centre of the interorganisational domain out to the folk high schools and NBV, it pulled social work and Dagöholm into a more central position in the interorganisational domain. When the content of the ideology changes, the content of the interorganisational domain is repositioned and vice versa.

Conclusions on the interorganisational domain

Activities that were once core activities within the interorganisational domain lost their central status when they were moved into organisations at the periphery of the domain. At the same time, other activities entered the interorganisational domain through the semi-organised field and be-

came prominent. There seems to be an iterative connection between the ideology, activities and the organisations' positions within the interorganisational domain.

It is interesting to note that changes in external political opportunity structures had an effect on the activities of the interorganisational domain. The increased interest in peace around the UN peace year and later around environmental questions might be described as exogenous changes in the social and system circuits which had strong, albeit short-lived, endogenous effects on the interorganisational domain. It seems that the content of the ideology within the domain was partially determined by the external environment. Still, when the external interest wanes, the ideas lose their power inside the interorganisational domain as well. At the same time, the exogenous changes in society's view on alcoholics have led to a more permanent endogenous change. Thus, it seems that there needs to be receptivity within the ideology of the interorganisational domain in order for ideas from the external environment to stick and stay within the domain.

The IOGT-NTO federation is the strongest actor within the interorganisational domain. All that the other actors can do is to strive to be as centrally placed as possible within the domain. Thus, in order to understand the governance processes within the interorganisational domain, we need to understand the governance processes within the IOGT-NTO federation, at the same time as we take the surrounding organisations into account.

Mitigating and reversing the iron law of oligarchy

Looking back at the case that is the focus of this dissertation, it seems that the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation has, at least partially, been able to revitalise itself and is recruiting new member groups. At the same time, it is now seen as more relevant to society than it was in the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. So what happened?

Characteristics of members and motivation of elected leaders

It seems that there were several factors that helped mitigate the oligarchic structures within the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain. The influx of the new type of members within the IOGT-NTO federation created a rival faction within the organisation, even though their ideas also struck a deep chord with many of the long-term members and they had strong support in the ideological core of the interorganisational domain. It should also be noted that there also had been (and still were) rival factions within the domain before. This was most plainly manifested in the differences regarding whether cultural activities should be seen as a goal or a tool of the interorganisational domain, differences that probably had part of their origin in the two different organisations that merged.

The IOGT-NTO also has a deeply rooted democratic culture where discussions and differing opinions were seen as a hallmark. Its educational culture helped the low status and poorly educated members of the peer support groups transform their self-perceptions and develop political skills and knowledge in democratic principles and techniques. The culture of the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain thus helped to edu-

cate and prepare the new faction for taking part in the democratic deci-sion-making system within the interorganisational domain.

It should also be noted that the peer support group members brought tremendous energy to the interorganisational domain. For many of them, being sober was not only an ideological choice but a matter of life and death. This heightened sense of agency in a culture that encourages the usage of this agency led to a revitalisation of the interorganisational domain. The closeness to the ideological core also helped social work becoming a strategic goal of the organisation, whereas other activities such as peace and environmental work came into the interorganisational domain for a short while but later drifted out again.

Organisational structure and resources

The IOGT-NTO lotteries are a major source of income available to the elected leaders and the employed managers of the interorganisational domain irrespective of the dues-paying members and, as such, a pressure towards oligarchy. This pressure was partly reduced by the fact that the majority of the organisational growth occurred in the peer support groups which, at least at the beginning, were organised separately from the rest of the organisation, and their activities were mostly supported through voluntary work. This put the added resources from the peer support groups outside of the control of the incumbent leadership and thus shielded them from oligarchic pressures. One could thus say that the fact that the peer support groups initially were not admitted into the in-terorganisational domain proper contributed to their success, since this gave them control over their own resources.

External environment

As time passed the political infrastructures in the surrounding society changed, transforming for instance, the discourse on alcoholism from a moral deficiency in a weak individual to a sickness out of the control of the individual. That made it easier for the members of the peer support groups to gain a foothold in the interorganisational domain. This change in political infrastructures is of course not something that is purely external to the organisation. The IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain as a CSO active in the field of alcohol and drug policy is also part of the construction of the concepts of alcoholism and alcoholics.

Summary

An analysis of the IOGT-NTO case does not show whether the radicalisation of the organisation was conscious or not, but it does show that the introduction of the care chain into the organisation led to a change in member composition which created a space for ideological change. The open membership made the boundaries surrounding the governance structure permeable enough to enable the organisation to (at least partly) change with society. This permeability took place in two steps: first, the borders were open for individuals to enter the organisation as members, and second, the borders of the internal governance system were also open for members to take part in the decision-making process. Whether this is seen as a strategic advantage or not depends on whether the observer sees the change as positive or negative. This view of organisational change perceives unintended consequences and temporal factors to be very important in the understanding change. Also key are compliance mechanisms, such as checks and balances in the constitution, and intrinsic incentives, such as personal connection to the ideological core.

The ideal-type democratic, membership-based organisation has open borders, which function as a membrane towards the surrounding society.

These permeable borders help the organisation to keep up with changes in its surrounding environment since they let new groups enter into the democratic governance structure. But this can also be a double-edged sword by which newcomers to the organisation might take control over it, turn it away from its ideological core, and thus cause goal displacement.

The present case shows the rationale for CSOs to stay close to their ideological core. By doing this, and by using democratic governance as a system of checks and balances as well as a source for change, it is possible for CSOs to both stay true to their original goal and at the same time keep up with society. The IOGT-NTO case also suggests that the closer the ideological core is to the individual member, such as a personal pledge, goal displacement becomes less likely and the individual member is more likely to take responsibility in the governance process. A unitary organisation might be the result of oligarchic processes which have vested the central administration with so much control that it has been able to displace the original goal of the organisation with the orderly goal of survival, whereas the disorderly political processes of an actively democratic organisation might be the antidote that revitalises the organisation. The conclusion is that a functioning democratic governance system which is able to both match the ideological core of the organisation at the same time as modify it to keep up changes in society seems imperative.

In order for us to understand how the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation succeeded in mitigating the iron law of oligarchy and revitalising itself, we need to have a better understanding of the recursive, vertical process of governance and the sequential, temporal process of governance.

Chapter 7

Conclusions: Staying close to the core

The previous chapter discussed the processes of integration and differentiation within the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation and how it was able to mitigate and reverse the iron law of oligarchy.

In this last chapter we will instead turn to explore how the recursive, vertical process of governance inside of the organisation interacts with the sequential, temporal process of governance. The reader may recall that the recursive, vertical process of governance was the dialectic and interdependent process where the local associations steer the common unit(s) of the federation at the same time as the common unit(s) influences the local associations. The sequential, temporal process of governance then is the process through which the norms and rules that regulate the sequential, temporal process are changed. In order to fully understand these processes I claim that we first need to examine the role of formal membership as one of the key governance mechanisms in this type of organisations.

Formal membership and the pledge as governance mechanisms

In the ideal-typical democratic, membership-based organisation, formal membership can be described as the gateway to organisational power. Such an ideal-typical membership-based organisation exhibits more or less open borders, which function as a membrane towards the surrounding society. These permeable borders help the organisation to (at least partly) change and keep current with society since they let new groups and factions (and their issues) enter the organisation and also to take a role in the governance structure. This permeability is found at two levels: first, the borders are open for individuals to enter the organisation as formal members, and second, the borders of the internal governance system are open for members to take part in the decision-making process. This openness can also function as a double-edged sword, such that newcomers into the organisation might take control over its original mission and purpose and turn it away from its fundamental ideological core and towards other topics, thus making it vulnerable to processes that might turn into goal displacement. This view of organisational change means that unintended consequences and temporal factors are important for the understanding of change. Furthermore, those compliance mechanisms such as constitutional checks and balances and intrinsic incentives such as personal connection to the ideological core become important.

The most important intrinsic incentive in this case might be the individual's attachment to the organisation's ideology (see also Einarsson, T., 2012), for a similar discussion on this). Many nonprofit and voluntary associations are built around an idea or ideology which, by keeping a shared value system together, is believed to give stability to the organisation. This shared value system, which can also be seen as part of the intrinsic incentives, often also stipulates the roles of the different actors within the organisation, as well as the different rules of the governance system. The shared values partly determine which environmental and intra-organisational signals are able to penetrate into the organisation's

decision-making system. This does not mean that there are no diverging views within the organisation, rather the opposite. It might be more appropriate to view organisations as arenas where shifting factions struggle for control, and organisational actions should be viewed as reflecting the temporary preferences of the currently dominating faction. One could indeed argue that this struggle for influence over the shared value system could be seen as one of the core characteristics of this kind of organisation. This struggle over the shared meaning system and the ideological core of the organisation, played out through the democratic governance system, seems to be one of the most important factors for understanding how governance processes play out in an organisation such as the IOGT-NTO federation, and it is this struggle that the present case is examining.

According to Kanter (1972) social groups face three problems which they need to solve in order to survive. The first problem is how to motivate the incumbent members to continue their participation in the group. The second problem is maintaining social cohesion, the collective feeling of belonging together. Finally, the third is how to control the social conduct of the members. In her study Kanter found that groups that employ commitment mechanisms, such as conducting activities together and making sacrifices in the name of the ideology, targeting these problems were more successful in recruiting and retaining members.

In a later study Hall (1988) found that the two of these problems that such groups and organisations face, namely, social cohesion and social control of conduct, were more important than others. Social cohesion can in turn be divided into two sub factors. The first of these sub factors could be called the associative commitment process, which establishes the grounds (within the social group) for deriving status, identity and rewards from participation. These processes create diversity and individualism within the social group. Examples from the IOGT-NTO case of commitment mechanisms alleviating the problems associated with the associative commitment process in the organisation dealt with in this thesis include the different badges and honours bestowed on those that have been teetotallers for a certain number of years. The second sub factor could be called the dissociative commitment process, which reduces indi-

vidualism and creates uniformity within the social group and especially towards the surrounding environment. An example of these latter processes could, within the IOGT-NTO organisational domain, be the promise not to use alcohol or other drugs, which is part of the member pledge.

Iannanccone (1992, 1994) shows that organisational strictness – exercised for instance through a shared value system or ideology – makes organisations stronger by reducing free-riding, since it screens out those organisational members who lack commitment to the organisation's cause. The reduction of free riding decreases the problems that usually are connected to this kind of behaviour such as low commitment and participation. Strictness raises the costs for, and thereby limits, non-group activities, through, for instance, unusual dress codes or dietary requirements such as teetotalism. Such stringency both includes pleasures that are sacrificed and makes participation in alternative groups costly for the individual when the norms of the social group and of the surrounding society differ. In the present case, this means that by vowing to not use alcohol, the members of the IOGT-NTO domain cannot participate in some activities and makes other activities more problematic and/or costly. This in turn has, according to theory, the effect of raising the level of participation in and commitment to the interorganisational domain.

In theory it is also highlighted that when an organisation tries to increase participation by raising the cost of alternative activities, it must ensure that it is able to provide a close substitute of the desired activity. Since organisations within the temperance movement have historically provided many cultural and recreational activities for their members, the status reduction of cultural and recreational activities within the interorganisational domain might become a challenge. If the interorganisational domain is not providing substitutes for the activities which its members sacrifice, it may become more difficult to retain old members as well as recruit new ones.

Turning back to Iannanccone (1992, 1994), it is argued that an optimal level of strictness exists for each organisation. While an organisation

needs to maintain a certain distance between itself and society in order to be able to keep its distinctiveness as an organisation, it cannot be so strict that it too heavily discourages recruitment and retention of members. The need to keep a certain (but not too great) distance from the rest of society means that the organisation needs to go with many of the changes in society, or risk being at odds with its surroundings; by the same token, too much accommodation will make it lose its distinctiveness and thus its appeal.

I would argue that the strictness of the membership pledge in IOGT-NTO thus functions as a commitment mechanism: it raises the level of activity among its members at the same time as it puts up barriers in their membership towards the low-threshold donors or the episodic volunteers (Hustinx, 2001), who, rather than investing time and resources in one organisation, instead prefer to engage in various organisations depending on what is felt to be the most pressing, or interesting need at the time. Strictness thus might serve to deter passive members and raise the activity level of current members, but might also hinder the recruitment of people willing to contribute in other ways.

These points further highlight the importance of the individual member's proximity to the ideological core, in other words, the strength of the shared meaning system within the membership cadre. Individuals who perceive themselves standing close to the organisation's ideological core are more likely to take an active role in the organisation's governance (Einarsson, T., 2012). Membership pledges and similar mechanisms function as a constant reminder of the individual's organisational allegiance and might in reality work as an inoculation against goal displacement. This type of mechanism is especially powerful when the membership pledge implies activities on behalf of the individual such as prayer or abstinence from alcohol. If the activities or the abstinence is seen as unusual by significant actors in the surrounding society, this mechanism is even more powerful. One could say that the membership pledge both keeps the ideology current and alive in the minds of the members and sets them apart from the surrounding society, at the same time as it strengthens the ties of loyalty within the organisation.

The membership pledge might actually been seen as a source of organisational dynamics in itself. By constantly being reminded of the ideological core, the content and goal of the organisation are kept alive in the minds of both members and leaders. One might even go so far as to claim that the on-going discussion and debate around the membership pledge keeps the ideology clearly in mind within the organisation and helps to mitigate the iron law of oligarchy.

The interorganisational domain

According to theory, an interorganisational domain is created when the incumbents of the domain are agreeing on what the important questions for the domain are and who the incumbents of the domain are. This means that the borders of the domain are never fully set and that they are subject to a contestation process. The definition furthermore implies that the degree of centrality enjoyed by the different incumbents and activities within the domain is also in flux.

The case at hand has shown several instances of changes within the IOGT-NO interorganisational domain. When the members from the peer support groups climbed in the democratic governance structure and gained episodic power within the agency circuit they were able to challenge taken for granted assumptions within the domain which resulted in that social activities increased in importance within the domain and the treatment centre was seen as more important.

A movement in the opposite direction happened when the educational activities were moved from the centrally placed IOGT-NTO federation to the more periphery placed folk high schools. The same pattern is distinguishable for the cultural activities that were moved to NBV, which also is partly outside of the interorganisational domain since the educational association consists of other organisations within the wider temperance movement as well. It seems that when an activity becomes

more important within the interorganisational domain, the organisa-
tion(s) that provides these becomes more important within the domain.
And when an activity is moved to an organisation in the periphery of the
domain, the interest of the activity decreases within the domain.

If we then look at peace and environmental work which show a dif-
ferent pattern than those above we can see that sentiments in the sur-
rounding society spills over into the interorganisational domain and
increases the importance of these two activities. But when the interest
wanes, in combination with the creation of an organisation for interna-
tional work within the domain and the rapid growth of organisations
within the environmental movement, the interest in peace and environ-
mental activities wanes within the domain. Exogenous changes in the
external environment have endogenous effects on the contents and activ-
ities of the interorganisational domain. This also highlights the im-
portance that there is a receptiveness in the ideological core of the
interorganisational domain for an activity in order for the activity to be
able to stay and have an effect within the domain.

The above shows the importance of the role of the semi-organised
field in letting change-inducing impulses, such as the care-chain and the
peer support groups, into the interorganisational domain at the same
time as it needs to preserve the distinctiveness of the domain. It therefore
becomes important to balance the strictness of the rules within the inter-
organisational domain in order to keep the semi-organised field as a
source of energy and not a source of friction.

In order to integrate the interorganisational domain it is also im-
portant to have integrating devices. The national council has long func-
tioned as an integrating device by providing a discussion and decision-
making arena for the leaders of the four federations within the domain.
Such an arena where common issues can be discussed is probably very
valuable. The biannual congress is another important integrating device.
Not only does it give the elected leaders of the different organisations
within the domain a chance of meeting and discussing, but also since it is
open to visit for any member of the interorganisational domain it also

provides an opportunity for members to meet and discuss with their elected leaders.

In conclusion, the present case shows that when the content of the ideology within the interorganisational domain changes the organisations and activities within the domain are repositioned. In the present case one such change is due to the creation of a new activity, the care-chain, an activity which in turn led to a change in the ideology and a subsequent iterative increase of the activity. It also seems that when activities are moved from organisations in the centre of the interorganisational domain to organisations in the periphery of the domain, those activities decrease in importance within the domain and given time may fade from the ideological core of the domain as well. There seem to be an iterative connection between ideology, activities and the position of the organisations within the interorganisational domain.

The recursive, vertical process of governance

I have earlier characterised the interorganisational domain surrounding the IOGT-NTO federation as an open polity system with concurrent, (sometimes) contradictory and competing goals and that this results in a continuous contention process within the organisation's governance system. It is also necessary to acknowledge that streams and processes within the interorganisational domain, especially over time, have the possibility to penetrate into the governance system and have a major influence in the domain's strategy formation as well. This external influence means that the strategy formation process is constantly in flux and that it is susceptible to changes in norms and powers outside of the organisation proper.

This contention process is handled through the representative, democratic governance structure within and between the different organisa-

tions of the interorganisational domain. At the same time, this structure is also influenced by processes within the executive management function. A further examination of what I call the recursive, vertical process of governance is thus in order.

The federation – the democratic governance structure and the executive management function

The ideal-typical federation can be seen as consisting of two parallel and interdependent bodies – the democratic governance structure and the executive management function. The democratic governance structure consists of the democratic decision-making system with the general assembly as the highest authority with control over most of the formal power bases, among which the right to make changes in the constitution is one of the most important. The democratic governance structure, ideal-typically at least, is thus powerful, but, due to the nature of the decision-making process, it is often slow to react to new circumstances and to change with (or against) them.

The executive management function consists of the executive decision-making and implementation function of the federation. This gives the executive management function several resources which enables it to act fast and decisively. At the same time, it is circumscribed by the fact that it can only act within the mandate it is given by the democratic governance structure. From a governance perspective, the decision-making mechanism which structures and divides power between the democratic governance structure and the executive management function becomes paramount.

The democratic process

According to theory, the democratic process within a federation works as a compliance mechanism to ensure that elected and employed officials act in the interest of the members of the federation or face the risk of not being re-elected.

The IOGT-NTO case highlights that the democratic process also acts as a membrane towards the external environment which enables impulses, including members, to enter the organisation and affect its policies and activities through the democratic governance structure. Thus individuals can both enter the organisation as members and, as members, take part in the decision-making processes as stated earlier. It was by gaining the necessary numbers and skills and then climbing up through the democratic governance structure that the representatives of the peer support groups were able to influence the direction of the inter-organisational domain and (re)introduce social work as an important activity within the domain.

This example also highlights the importance of active members within the democratic governance system. If the representatives of the peer support groups had not been as active and taken part – and been allowed to take part – in the democratic governance structure, these changes might not have come about and the revitalisation process might not have started at all.

Furthermore the democratic processes in the IOGT-NTO case also show a likeness to what Mouffe (1993, 1999) calls an agonistic conception of politics, where conflict is a constitutive and necessary part of the democratic process. According to this perspective, it is paramount to have an arena, a conflictual space, where unequal power relations such as differences in interest, power and resources can be made visible and that all participants agree upon the same democratic process principles. In this model of democracy, the function of democracy is threatened not only when there is too little consensus, but perhaps also by too much consensus.

The organisations and individuals within IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain seem to have a view of the democratic decision-making arena as an open space where differences should be brought into the open and discussed, once you are inside of the domain, for example as a member. By not designating others with differing opinions as enemies but as legitimate adversaries, the actors within the domain were able to integrate the new groups of members, and these new members in turn were able to partly change the strategy within the interorganisational domain. If the actors within the domain (the traditional or the new member groups) instead had pursued an antagonistic agenda, the result might have been that the new member groups did not enter the domain and the becalming process might have continued. Alternatively, the new groups might have succeeded in turning the domain into an encapsulated organisation totally devoted to social work and drug prevention. However, since the domain maintained a functioning democratic process and a culture supporting it, I would argue there were channels available for the conflicts to take agonistic form instead of emerging in antagonistic mode, which might have led to open conflict between the different factions.

Shared value system

One of the focal points of the contestation processes within the interorganisational domain has been the shared value system. The interorganisational domain is organised around the shared value system which gives meaning, stability and direction to the domain by (among other things) creating trust between its incumbents. The shared value system is only partly sedimented in rules and procedures within the constitution and partly in the praxis and lives of the incumbent individuals; as such it needs to be constantly produced and reproduced. This contention and reproduction process within the wider IOGT-NTO domain keeps the shared value system in flux and relevant, for both internal and external actors. As the IOGT-NTO study indicates, the struggle for influence

over the shared value system, or ideology, is one of the most important characteristics of the strategy formation process in this kind of organisation.

One such significant discussion in the IOGT-NTO case surrounded the definition of alcohol in the member pledge and another one was related to the question of whether treatment with substitutive drugs should be understood primarily as medical treatment or as drug abuse. Over time some of the members of the peer support groups were able to climb up the democratic governance structure, which gave them the opportunity to challenge some of the assumptions and strongly held beliefs taken for granted within the interorganisational domain. It further provided this group of members with the opportunity and the tools to subsequently reintroduce social work and make it one of the domain's most important strategic goals.

Other examples during the period of analysis have dealt with whether culture, education and peace work should be seen as part of the core ideology. In these processes, it seems as if external influences such as changing political opportunity structures as well as internal structural changes within the interorganisational domain itself led to their diminishing importance within the core of the domain. Evidently, the process of strategy formation takes time and requires constant negotiation between the incumbents of the interorganisational domain.

The constitution

An organisation's formal constitution is very important for understanding the governance processes because, as mentioned above, the constitution contains parts of the organisation's ideology, spells out the process rules of the democratic governance structure and defines the boundaries of the executive management function.

The central role of the constitution can easily be seen if we, for instance, return to the earlier analyses of the discussions regarding low-strength beer and the use of substitutive drugs in chapter five. Two of the

main arguments against banning low-strength beer within the domain were found in the constitution. The first argument was that the membership pledge allows members to consume low-strength beer; even though the peer support groups tried to amend the pledge, they did not succeed. The second argument was that, since members were allowed to consume low-strength beer, the national council and the national board did not have the powers to forbid it throughout the organisation, since neither had the mandate to go beyond the content of the constitution. This is why the role of the constitution in contestation processes like these is critical in order to understand the development of the interorganisational domain.

The receptivity of ideas

If we look at the five social dramas or mini-cases presented in this dissertation, it becomes apparent that some ideas have had an easier time than others to reach into the interorganisational domain and also stick. Both peace and environmental work had their peaks within the domain at the same time as there was heightened interest and favourable political opportunity structures for these topics in the surrounding environment. When the broader societal interest in the environment later waned, the same happened within the organisation. Social work as an issue within the domain, on the other hand, slowly rose to prominence over the years until it became so strong that it was included as a strategic area of the interorganisational domain. One of the main riddles that appeared during my work was why this happened. My analysis is that one of the most important characteristics of those new ideas and activities that actually will stick with the organisations dealt with in the case is that it remains close to the core of the shared value system held within the interorganisational domain.

The sedimentation process

The sedimentation process can be described as a temporal, reiterative contestation process by which different member groups within the inter-organisational domain strive to (re)construct the shared meaning system in their favour. Through the earlier discussed recursive, vertical processes of governance, new ideas are (sometimes) brought into the interorganisational domain from the outside world. When these ideas are in accord with the current shared value system, they are more easily received and integrated into the vertical process of governance. One could describe this particular process as if ideas percolate up and down through the recursive, vertical governance process, and some of them are sedimented into norms and activities within the domain. One of the most important places where ideas can sediment is within the formal constitution, since it contains the rules and procedures for the organisation's internal governance system and as such affects both the current and the future governance process.

This sedimentation process is thus a slow process which unfolds and develops over time. In order to understand it, we need to turn to what I would call the sequential, temporal governance process.

The sequential, temporal process of governance

From an issue to a problem

In order for a new issue to become the object of decision-making within the organisation, it first needs to be transformed from a natural state into a problem that is seen as being both important and within the jurisdic-

tion of the pertinent decision-making body. This process mainly takes place in the organisation's democratic governance structure.

If we, for instance, look again at the discussion regarding low-strength beer in the particular case analysed in this thesis, the serving of such beverages was not seen as a problem within the interorganisational domain until the peer support groups had become strong enough to question and challenge it. By sending bills to the general assembly, they challenged this norm step-by-step through the democratic governance structure.

But there are also examples in the IOGT-NTO case where earlier problems over time are devalued from core activities to non-core activities, and thus are transferred from the list of issues relevant for the domain to deal with. Among these are culture and educational work, which are transferred or outsourced from the centre of the interorganisational domain to other organisations such as the folk high schools and NBV, having slightly weaker positions within the system of shared values of the domain. Once those activities were moved further away from the domain's centre, they were simultaneously also transformed from goals to tools for member recruitment and retention. Another example is peace work, which, although historically very strong within the Swedish temperance movement, slowly drifted away from the centre of the interorganisational domain once the domain's International Institute was created and related issues are referred to and delegated to this new entity.

Policy entrepreneurs

This study demonstrates the importance of organisational policy entrepreneurs who are driven to accomplish a change and also willing to invest their time and resources to do so. One of the roles of policy entrepreneurs is to keep pushing at an issue in order to soften up resistance and prepare the ground for their solution(s) when the right policy windows open. One could say that for this specific case the constant

flow of bills to the congress -- first regarding low-strength beer, then regarding substitutive drugs, and later regarding the membership pledge -- can be seen as preparing the ground for the (re)introduction of social work within the interorganisational domain. The bills could also be seen as sending test balloons to see whether the time was ripe for a more focused campaign, even if this might be to stretch the intentional and strategic dimension in the process a little too far.

Connecting the sequential, temporal and the recursive, vertical governance processes is (among other questions) the question of who is considered and allowed to become a policy entrepreneur. The answer varies over time depending on, among other things, the content of the shared meaning system within the interorganisational domain. One can see, for instance, in the case of the re-emergence of social work within the interorganisational domain that there is a consistent upgrading of the representatives of the peer support groups over time where their arguments are gradually given more weight within the discussions and debates. So, the first step towards turning an issue into a problem might actually be constructing the role of the policy entrepreneur within the interorganisational domain.

The recursive, vertical process of governance combined with the sequential, temporal process of governance

The analysis so far shows that the recursive, vertical process of governance and the sequential, temporal process of governance are intimately intertwined and that we need to take both processes into account in order to understand how they unfold and interact. It is those two processes combined that shape which activities should be performed, and by whom, within an interorganisational domain, activities which over time

influence the domain's strategy formation process. The temporal dimension thus becomes very important, and the governance challenge of this kind of organisation is to balance these two mutually interdependent processes.

The strategy formation process within a multi-level, federative, membership-based organisation might be described as the route by which ideas percolate up from the members through the internal democratic decision-making system to the top of the organisation. Certain positions in the democratic governance structure gives members or member groups positional power and power over resources which can be used to challenge concepts that are supporting nodal points within the organisation's discursive formation. Some ideas are translated into strategies and policies, which then trickle down to the members again through the executive management function and its various operative levels. These strategies and policies may then, if they are implemented in practise, have an impact on whom and what are taken into consideration in the next iteration of the strategy formation process. Other ideas are sedimented into statutes and become part of the rules for future governance processes, constraining some actions while enabling others.

This process then continues in a circular fashion, since the current constitution and policies (partly) create the limits and the opportunities for which (and in what way) ideas are able to percolate up through the democratic governance function. Such translation is part of the governance system's checks and balances to maintain the proper relations between members, board and executive. The on-going translation constrains (as well as creates) the opportunities for actions in different parts of the organisation, at the same time as it renders the organisation both stability and flexibility.

This circular process is characterised by periods of more incremental organisational change leading to bursts of radical changes of the ideology, which in turn open up or constrain the possible space for further incremental change until the next tipping point is reached. In order for the percolation process to function, the organisation needs to have a functioning democratic governance system in place, a strong membership

base that is ready to assume an active role in the organisation's governance, an organisational culture which values participation and contestation, as well as at least semi-permeable borders to receive influences from the surrounding society. The present study also demonstrates that in order for an issue to reach into the shared meaning system of the organisation, this particular issue also needs to find resonance with the ideological core in order to "stick" so to speak within the domain; otherwise chances are great that the issue will bounce outwards again.

Mitigating and reversing the iron law

Literature on oligarchy implies that the oligarchic processes begin as the result of opportunities for resource mobilisation found outside of the organisation and independent of the membership base. This development is often further strengthened by an increasing professionalisation and distance between members and leaders. Social ties between members and between members and leaders may dampen the speed of the process, but ultimately the organisation will succumb to the iron law of oligarchy, or at least this is the way the argument goes. The present study shows that, such oligarchic processes were indeed present, but several mitigating factors and sources of revitalisation were also at play.

A unitary organisation might be the result of oligarchic processes which have vested the central administration with so much control that this part of the organisation has been able to displace the organisation's original goal with the orderly goal of survival. The more disorderly political processes of an actively democratic organisation might be the antidote that revitalises the organisation. This study has shown that a functioning democratic governance structure and a culture that supports the usage of said governance structure, which is able to both stay true to the organisation's ideological core and, at the same time, modify it to keep up with changes in society, is imperative. The case also points to-

ward the need of having rival factions containing active members striving for change. But that the rival factions at the same time respect the processual rules of democratic governance.

The IOGT-NTO case also points towards the necessity of keeping the ideological discussion alive within the organisation to avoid the risks associated with the iron law. It might actually be the case that what is most important is that the content of the shared meaning system is allowed to be constantly challenged in order to keep that discussion alive and vital. If one of the contenting factions gains enough support to win the discussion for good, the awareness of the content of the shared meaning system might fade away as the discussions die down, and oligarchic processes might commence.

The strictness of the membership pledge furthermore increases the cost of activities outside of the interorganisational domain and raises the activity level and commitment of the members. This in combination with abstaining being an activity in itself it constantly reminds the members of the content of the ideological core and thus functions as an antidote for goal displacement.

The IOGT-NTO case exemplifies the rationale for CSOs to stay close to their ideological core, if they want to avoid falling into the trap of the iron law or succumb to mission drift. By doing this, and using the democratic governance system as the necessary checks and balances as well as a source for organisational dynamics and change, it is possible for CSOs to both stay true to their original goal and, at the same time, change and keep current with society. In this way, it could further be argued that these organisations are not just staying true to their own original missions, but also actively contributing to democracy in society by including new groups in the decision-making process. In order for this to happen the organisation must have at least semi-permeable borders to the surrounding society, while guarding those borders to maintain the shared value system intact and vital.

Epilogue

In the present analysis I have studied the workings of an interorganisational domain that has oscillated between being an identity milieu for its members and that of an interest umbrella. IOGT and NTO, the forerunners to the core organisation of the interorganisational domain under study, were both created as rather militant interest organisations, but at the time the two organisations merged into IOGT-NTO, they could have been described more as becalmed identity organisations. The changing political opportunity structures in the surrounding society in combination with the influx of a new type of members then turned the IOGT-NTO interorganisational domain, at least partly, back towards its more radical roots.

These two organisational types (the identity milieu and the interest umbrella) need, ideal-typically at least, different speeds in their governance processes. Whereas the identity milieu does not require quick decisions, and even might be better off with a slower governance process, the interest umbrella needs to be able to make decisions fast when an opportunity or a threat appears. This means that organisations within an interest milieu are more likely to succumb to the iron law of oligarchy, since their organisational structure is more prone to give more power to the executive management function in order to be able to make quick decisions.

The slow speed of the identity milieu's governance processes protected and preserved the ideological core of the interorganisational domain from changes. This enabled the sober alcoholics and the peer support groups to enter the organisation as a new group of members when the political opportunity structures were favourable. The slowness of the governance process is also highlighted by the frustration of new members who often want to implement changes and launch new activities and policies right away. Several of the structural changes within the interorganisational domain, such as outsourcing activities to other organisations and

narrowing the goals of the domain, can be seen as ways of increasing the speed of the governance process.

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Appendix

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Interviews

Eva Blomqvist, head of organisational development IOGT-NTO, 2007-11-22

Sven-Olov Carlsson, chair of IOGT-NTO, 2007-11-08 and 2009-05-18

Anna Carlstedt, vice chair of IOGT-NTO, 2007-07-26

Robert Damberg, chair of UNF, 2007-11-07

Stefan Degerlund, head of membership department IOGT-NTO, 2007-10-30

Carina Eriksson, chair of JUNIS, 2007-04-26

Karin Friberg, head of Sober Förlag AB, 2007-05-07

Torsten Friberg, secretary general of IOGT-NTO, 2007-06-04 and 2009-07-0

Kathy Gyhlesten, head of social work IOGT-NTO, 2007-11-21 and 2009-07-08

Olle Häggström, managing director of Våra Gårdar, 2007-05-11

Carin Häregård, head of preventive work IOGT-NTO, 2007-12-17

Esbjörn Hörnberg, secretary general of the International Institute, 2007-05-09

Per-Åke Lundin, head of strategic development IOGT-NTO, 2007-05-07 and 2007-10-04

Maj-Lis Lööw, chair of the International Institute, 2007-05-11

Göran Magnusson, chair of Våra Gårdar, 2007-12-05

Sofia Modigh, principal of NBV, 2007-05-23

Peter Moilanen, head of advocacy IOGT-NTO. 2007-11-27

Leif Persson, managing director of Dagöholm, 2007-05-22

Mikael Premberg, secretary general of NSF, 2007-05-14

Lisa Skiöld, secretary general of UNF, 2007-11-20

Curt Thapper, peer-support groups IOGT-NTO, 2007-10-31

Eva Önnesjö, principal of Tollare folkhögskola, 2007-05-03

Sven Östberg, principal of Wendelsbergs folkhögskola, 2007-05-09

Participant observation at meetings, seminars and congress

IOGT-NTOs organisational development seminar at Ersta 2007-01-10 (four hours)

IOGT-NTO peer support groups seminar at Dagöholm, 2010-10-03 (three hours)

IOGT-NTOs organisational development seminar at Klara 2010-12-03 (two hours)

UNFs board development seminar at Stora Essingen 2011-09-24 (two hours)

IOGT-NTOs organisational development seminar at Tollare 2011-11-12 (one day)

IOGT-NTOs congress in Åre 2011-06-29 – 2011-07-03 (five days)

Ideology Being Governed: Strategy Formation in Civil Society

Many civil society organisations (CSOs) worldwide today face declining memberships, mission-drift or that they no longer are seen as relevant in society today. Several researchers warn that this development may lead to diminished democracy on both the national level and on the organisational level.

This dissertation presents a longitudinal case study of the evolving strategy formation processes as they play out within a group of organisations surrounding one of the oldest nonprofits in Sweden, the IOGT-NTO. This membership-based federation and its sister organisations are treated in the analysis as a non-profit group, or interorganisational domain, held together by a shared system of values. The group has been able to retain and even develop much of its character as well as remain true to its original mission.

This study demonstrates the importance of a membership-based governance system, which is able to stay true to the organisation's ideological core. It also points at the importance of having processes that enable the organisation to change along with society, while also preserving a certain distance from its surrounding environment so that it can maintain its distinctiveness. By doing this, the organisation is not just staying true to its original mission, but also actively contributing to democracy by including new groups of members in the decision-making process. Finally, the IOGT-NTO case highlights how crucial it is to keep the ideological discussion alive within the governance system. In combination, these structures and mechanisms might enable a CSO to mitigate the iron law of oligarchy and revitalize itself.

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