

Contents

List of Tables

xii

1. A Multidimensional Framework on Civil Society's Contributions to Democracy	1
Civil Society's Contributions to Democracy: Between Potential and Reality	3
Disaggregating the 'Transmission Belt': Three Normative Yardsticks Demarcating CSOs' Potential Contributions to Democracy	8
Membership Organizations as Venues for Participation	11
Membership Organizations as Vehicles of Representation	16
The Ambiguity of Interest Representation Behaviour: Expression of Assumed, Consultative or Surrogate Representation?	18
Adding Societal Responsiveness of CSO Behaviour as Third Normative Yardstick	26
From Normative Yardstick to Comparative Analysis	27
Conclusion and Chapter Overview	31
2. The Distinct Internal Logics of Associations and Professionalized Voluntary Organizations	36
Why Study the Discrepancies between Democratic Potential and Organizational Realities in Membership-Based Voluntary Organizations?	38
The Diversity of Organizational Forms and Its Consequences for CSOs' Democratic Contributions	44
Intra-Organizational Trade-Offs and the Conflicting Priorities of Leaders, Members, and Managers	44
How CSOs Respond to Intra-Organizational Trade-Offs: The Different Logics of 'Voluntary Associations' and 'Professionalized Voluntary Organizations'	52
Conclusion	56
3. Methodological Choices and Data	59
Measures Used in the Quantitative Analyses	64
The Dependent Variables: How to Measure CSOs' Diverse Contributions to Democracy	64
Central Explanatory Variables: CSOs' Governance Characteristics	68
Control Variables Central to the Functioning of CSOs Generally	70
Control Variables Relevant to Specific Dimensions of CSOs' Democratic Contribution	71

CSO Diversity and Why the Voluntary Association and the Professionalized Voluntary Organization Are Not Treated As Counter-Images	73
The Advantages of a Mixed-Methods Design	77
The Selection of Three UK CSOs for In-Depth Study	78
Conclusion	81
4. The Distinct Roles of Members in Civil Society Organizations: Trading Member Control against Leader Autonomy	82
A Governance Perspective on Member Activism in Civil Society Organizations	84
Hypotheses on Member Activism in Professionalized Voluntary Organizations	85
Hypotheses on Member Involvement in Voluntary Associations	89
Expected Impacts of CSO Type on Patterns of Member Activism	92
A Quantitative Analysis of Member Activism in Civil Society Organizations	94
Conclusion	101
5. When Managers Take Over: Drivers of Staff Control in Civil Society Organizations	106
A Governance Perspective on Staff Control in Civil Society Organizations	109
Hypotheses on Staff Control in Professionalized Voluntary Organizations	109
Hypotheses on Staff Control in Voluntary Associations	112
A Quantitative Analysis of Staff Control in Civil Society Organizations	114
Conclusion	121
6. From Voluntary Association to Professionalized Voluntary Organization: The Evolution of Member Activism and Staff Control in Civil Society Organizations	124
Intra-Organizational Dynamics and Decision-Making Power in a Service-Oriented, a Political, and a Partisan Organization	128
The National Activity Providers Association (NAPA)	128
Surfers Against Sewage (SAS)	138
The Green Party of England and Wales (GPEW)	149
Conclusion	167
7. CSO Goal Reorientation in Individualizing Societies: Between Commitment and Change	171
A Governance Perspective on CSO Goal Commitment and Reorientation	175
Voluntary Associations and Professionalized Voluntary Organizations: Hypotheses on Responsive Goal Commitment versus Instrumental Goal Reorientation	175
Bringing in Market and Constituency Pressures: External Sources of Instrumental and Responsive Goal Reorientation	178
A Quantitative Analysis of CSO Goal Reorientation and Commitment	181
Conclusion	184

8. CSOs' Political Engagement: Between the Logic of Membership and the Logic of Influence	187
A Governance Perspective on CSO Political Engagement	192
Hypotheses on the Political Engagement of Voluntary Associations and Professionalized Voluntary Organizations	194
Expected Impacts of CSO Type on Political Engagement	198
A Quantitative Analysis of Political Engagement of Civil Society Organizations	199
Conclusion	204
9. From Voluntary Association to Professionalized Voluntary Organization: CSO Goal Reorientation and the Evolution of Political Engagement	207
Tracing Change in CSO Goals and Political Engagement Qualitatively	210
Intra-Organizational Dynamics, Goals, and Political Engagement of a Service-Oriented, a Political, and a Partisan Organization	213
The National Activity Providers Association (NAPA)	213
Surfers Against Sewage (SAS)	219
The Green Party of England and Wales (GPEW)	229
Conclusion	245
10. Disaggregating the Transmission Belt and the Study of CSOs' Democratic Contributions	248
The Democratic Contributions of Voluntary Associations and Professionalized Voluntary Organizations: An Overview	249
CSOs as Changing Configurations of Participation and Representation and the Growing Importance of Hybridization	254
The Professionalized Voluntary Organization: Better Than Its Reputation	259
The Three Faces of Membership Organization and Avenues for Future Research	268
Some Final Remarks	274
<i>Bibliography</i>	279
<i>Index</i>	304

An online appendix is available at www.oup.co.uk/companion/Bolleyer