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Sampol 350: Master Thesis

The Norwegian Voluntary Sector in Change
The Impact of Changes in Organizational Type, Structure, and
Membership on Local Voluntary Associations' Political Involvement

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether the political involvement of local voluntary associations has changed between 1999 and 2009, and if so what caused this change. The Norwegian voluntary sector has been in continuous development since the first voluntary associations emerged in the mid-1800s. As the voluntary sector has been an inherent part of the development of the Norwegian state and contributor to different policy fields, it is interesting to study how changes in the voluntary sector affect the voluntary associations' political involvement.

In order to generate sound hypotheses a historical examination of the developments of the Norwegian voluntary sector will be conducted. Together with a variety of different theoretical perspectives the hypotheses will be developed. In order to test the hypotheses thoroughly a descriptive analysis of the Hordaland-survey from 1999 and 2009 will be conducted, thereafter a longitudinal logistic regression model will be applied to test the effect of organizational type, structure and membership on political involvement on the municipal, district-municipal and state level. These models will also include time-interaction variables to determine the effect changes in type, structure and membership has on changes in political involvement.

The analysis found very few significant results. However there were some variables with organizational type, structure and membership that did have an effect. Regarding the time-interaction variables an even lower number of significant results were found. The hypotheses generated with regards to the organizational type were strengthened by those findings that were significant. Similarly, the hypotheses generated for organizational structure were strengthened for those time-interactions that were significant. With regards to organizational membership however, the hypothesis regarding membership numbers was weakened. The other hypotheses for membership however were strengthened.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The overarching goal of this thesis is to examine how general changes in the local voluntary sector affect the political involvement of local voluntary associations in Norway. The Norwegian voluntary sector has historically played a central role in the country's national and state-building processes. The Norwegian welfare system, for instance, would not have been the same without the unrelenting efforts of the social and humanitarian organizations. By involving a great proportion of the Norwegian citizenry, the local organizational society has been named the backbone of the Norwegian voluntary sector, giving them legitimacy in Norwegian politics (Selle & Øymyr, 1995). Consequently, local voluntary associations have been an essential feature of the Norwegian political landscape. It is therefore, necessary to better understand how changes in the voluntary sector affect political involvement. The types of organizations the voluntary sector is composed of, the structures among organizations, and their internal structures, as well as the composition of the membership have been in continuous development since the voluntary associations began to emerge in the mid-1800s (Selle & Øymyr, 1995). These features will therefore be studied here. Wollebæk and Selle (2002) found that the proportion of local voluntary associations engaged in politics increased between 1980 and 1999. Has the proportion of associations engaged in politics kept increasing and if so, are there any changes in the local voluntary associations' type, structure or membership base that can explain this? The aim of this thesis is therefore to answer the following question:

In what ways have local voluntary associations' attempted influence on specific political issues changed between 1999 and 2009, and what has caused this change?

The research question is divided into two parts. The first is concerned about how the local voluntary sector has changed in terms of composition of organizational types, structure, and membership. The second part tried to uncover whether the changes within these groups have had an effect the local voluntary associations' on political participation on the municipal level, district-municipal level and state level.

The concept political involvement is here defined as a voluntary association's attempt to influence the political decision-making process. Whether the association actually influence politics however is not of relevance in this thesis. Because this, to a large extent, is a subjective matter measuring political influence is difficult.

However, because of the limited research on local voluntary associations' political participation, there are few challenges in generating viable hypotheses. In order to generate viable hypotheses the historical developments in the Norwegian voluntary sector will be traced. This run-through allows for an identification of the factors that has changed within the voluntary sector, and by applying different theoretical approaches its is possible to identify the impact they may have voluntary associations' political involvement. The hypotheses generated will thereafter be tested using a longitudinal logistic regression model. This will in turn contribute to generating new hypotheses.

As little research has been conducted on what effect different factors have on political participation and what causes change in political participation, the direction of the causality of the dependent and independent variables is uncertain. It should therefore be taken into account that the independent variables included in the analysis may not have an effect on political involvement or change in political involvement, but the other way around, that political involvement has an effect on some of the independent variables.

1.1 – Justification of Topic and Research Question

There are two criteria that a research topic and question should meet (Gary King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). First, the research question should be of importance to the real world. Meaning that “the topic should be consequential for political, social, or economic life, for understanding something that significantly affects many people's lives, or for understanding and predicting events that might be harmful or beneficial” (Gary King et al., 1994: 15). Second, the research should be of such a nature that it increases the collective competency to build verified scientific explanations within a specific scholarly field or topic.

The local voluntary sector has played an important role in building the Norwegian society, state and democracy. As the local voluntary associations have historically played an important role in political processes it is necessary to examine

the relationship between them and the government on the local, district-municipal, and national level, and what may cause the relationship to change.

Furthermore, changes occurring in the society in general are reflected in the voluntary sector (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002). If this is the case, then the proportion of associations that are involved in politics should have decreased, as the Norwegian citizens seemingly have become less politically devoted as illustrated by the decreasing voter turnout over the past twenty years. However, if the findings that Wollebæk and Selle (2002) made between 1980 and 1999 also extend from 1999 to 2009, then it becomes less likely that the Norwegian population is becoming less and less politically active. They may then rather have moved from using one political tool, the vote, to another influence through voluntary work. However, if the proportion of associations that participate in politics has decreased, then it would strengthen the notion that the Norwegian population is becoming more apolitical, which is normatively troublesome.

Though civil society has been a topic of discussion for many scholars throughout the times, the modern concept of the voluntary sector and civil society was born during the democratic transition in Eastern Europe. The role of the people, whether formally or informally organized, allegedly played an eminent role in this task (Karl Henrik Sivesind, 2007). Thus research on the Eastern European democratic transition, led to an increased interest in civil society as a research field, including extensive research on Norwegian civil and voluntary sector.

In terms of relevance to the real world, any research on civil society and the voluntary sector would qualify. This is because the dynamics in society is often mirrored in the voluntary sector. According to Selle and Øymyr (1995) there is a reciprocal relationship between state and civil society, meaning that developments in civil society affect the political institutions, and vice versa. Furthermore, because of the deterioration of the integrative organizational model¹ the Norwegian democratic model as we know it, is under transformation. It is therefore eminent to investigate these changes. By using *the Survey on Voluntary Contributions*² from 1998, Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen (2000) find that the participants regard local

¹ Civil society organizations that have a geographically hierarchical structure linking the local level to the national level, which is an integral part of the state giving the members indirect control over governmental affairs.

² Translated from the Norwegian title: *Undersøkelse om frivillig innsats*

communities as the most important arena for political influence, thereafter the municipal and district municipal level, and last the state level. It is therefore reasonable to assume that there are differences in the extent to which local voluntary associations participate on the different levels. As the municipal authority is the political arena for a local community, the municipal authorities would most likely be the main target for political influence among the local voluntary associations.

In order to study change in the voluntary associations' political involvement the Hordaland-surveys will be used. Though it has been conducted at three time periods, 1980, 1999, and 2009, the 1980-survey will be excluded from the analysis, as it is less compatible with the other two regarding the independent variables. The thesis will focus on three aspects of the organizational society that has experienced developments in the past: first, the type of associations in the local voluntary sector; second, the structure of the associations; and third, the composition of the organizations' membership base.

1.2 – The Concept of a Voluntary Sector

Voluntary associations are an important part of the voluntary sector, thus establishing a common set of criteria for which associational types to include is important. The *John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project* (CNP) has established a set of standards that define the associations in the voluntary sector. Norwegian civil society and voluntary sector researchers have adopted these. In the report *The Voluntary Sector in Norway-Composition, Changes, and Causes* Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle and Wollebæk (2002) develop a sound definition of Norwegian voluntary sector. They relate the Norwegian understanding of the term voluntary sector to the terminology used by the CNP. In order to further build a common understanding of the terminology within research on the voluntary sector, this thesis will continue using the same definition of the voluntary sector as CNP and Sivesind et al. (2002). They define voluntary associations on the following criteria, stating that the associations must: (1) to some extent be institutionally *organized*; (2) be *private* in sense that it is institutionally autonomous from the public authorities; (3) be *self-governing*; (4) be *non-profit* distributing; and (5) have a significant degree of *voluntary* participation or contribution.

Norwegian scholars researching the voluntary sector however have not always applied this definition. Traditionally the literature on the Norwegian voluntary sectors

has used the terms *frivillig organisasjon* (voluntary association), *forening* (stemming from the German concept *Vereinigung*), and *lag* (which is a collective term for the English concepts of ‘team’, ‘crew’, ‘party’ and others). These types of associations characterize both the local, regional, and national level of civil society, as these levels are not separate. However, Sivesind et al. (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002) maintain “that the term *forening* (association) most frequently refers to the local units, and *foreningsliv* (associational life) is used to characterize the total activities of associations within a local area”.

The idea of associations constituting a sector of their own is barely twenty years old. However, over these past twenty years many concepts claim to define it, such as voluntary sector, civil society, non-profit sector, ideal sector, third sector, and non-governmental sector (Wollebæk et al., 2000). According to Sivesind et al. (2002) the Norwegian conception of the term ‘voluntary’ has traditionally been more constricted than international concept ‘non-profit’. In a Norwegian context, political parties and closely related associations, foundations, economic cooperatives, labor unions, and employers’ federations have not been included in the voluntary sector. The core of the Norwegian voluntary sphere has traditionally been idealistic associations focusing on “humanity, voluntary efforts, interests in the common good, spirits of solidarity and community” (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 30). Hence interest, political, and economic associations have conventionally been regarded extraneous to this sector. The common perception is that these types of associations are primarily interested in promoting their own members’ interests and are thus seen as separate from the idealistic, voluntary sphere. Increasingly the concept of voluntary sector now also constitute these interest centered associations in the Norwegian apprehension of the term, possibly as result of British influence and the establishment of organizations such as the Red Cross.

Civil society is a part of the voluntary sector. This is partially what make the concept of civil society is often difficult to grasp. This is mirrored in much of the previous research. Cohen and Arato (1992) discuss three ideological debates related to civil society. They show that the concept is saturated with ideological innuendos that create potential issues when the concept travels to other contexts where such ideologies are not present. Sartori (1970) warns about using such concepts that are potently charged with ideologies. He argues that all concepts created and used in comparative politics should be based on empirical evidence, rather than ideological pretenses. The

concept of civil society used by American scholars is fundamentally different from the concept of civil society used in Scandinavia. Thus it is necessary to clarify what this thesis means by civil society as well as the voluntary sector.

Sartori (1970) uses the term conceptual stretching regarding concepts that have originally been used to describe one phenomenon in one context, but as similar phenomenon were studied in other contexts, the same concepts are applied. As the concept travels from the original context to another, its' meaning starts to expand. The concept encompasses more and more, thus becoming more and more abstract. This is what Sartori calls climbing the ladder of abstraction. Civil society has become such a concept. The concept now expands across a wide range of phenomenon and contexts, carrying with it different ideological impediments causing much disagreement between scholars with regards to theories on civil society.

Instead of relating civil society to the ideological aspects – i.e. civil society is good and the state is bad – this thesis will use the concept of civil society to distinguish between the part of the voluntary sector that is a part of the political sphere and the part that is not. Founding on Janoski's (1998) definition, the concept of civil society is here understood as the discourse between state, market, and public sphere – public sphere is what is here referred to as the voluntary sector. What Janoski illustrates is that civil society is more than merely voluntary associations and that the voluntary sector is more than civil society. Some voluntary associations thus act as alternative channels for political influence, critical voices in civil society, and as a protective actor against violations by state (Wollebæk et al., 2000). Defining civil society as the discourse between state, the market and the voluntary sector the previous ideological impediments disappear. Because civil society is the discourse between these sectors, its size and purpose is amiable to each distinct context across space and time. This it allows the concept to travel across contexts, thus not exposing it to conceptual stretching. The part of the voluntary sector that is a part of civil society is in other words a part of the political sphere. The associations that are politically active are together with those that are not politically active are studied here because it will give a more accurate picture of which factors and how these affect changes in voluntary associations' political involvement.

This thesis illustrates how civil society can expand and contract through examining the voluntary sector of the civil society concept. As well as exploring what causes the Norwegian civil society to expand or contract from the perspective of

voluntary associations and the changes that occur within them. The Norwegian civil society has traditionally been quite large. Voluntary organizations, the state, and market interests have had a close relationship in developing the Norwegian state and society.

1.3 – Outline of the thesis

The thesis starts with an outline of the evolution of Norwegian voluntary sector with a focus of the types of associations it is composed of, how they are structured, and the role the members play in the associations. Furthermore, this historical context also describes how civil society – the discourse between state, the market, and the voluntary sector – has evolved over time. The first part of the chapter, *The Development of a Diverse Organizational Society*, depicts how the Norwegian voluntary sector has evolved from a homogenous composition of associations to a highly heterogeneous voluntary sector. The second section, *The Development and Decline of the Hierarchical Organizational Structure*, illustrates how the hierarchical organizational structure developed and then later became less dominant in the organizational field. Furthermore, this section also describes how the infrastructure, meaning the associations' degree of professionalization and formalization, also developed. The third part of the chapter, *The Evolving Concept of Membership*, illustrates how important the associations' members were to the voluntary sector, and how their role has changed in latter part of the 20th Century and may have become obsolete. The last section in the chapter, *The Relationship Between the Voluntary Sector and Public Authorities*, depicts how civil society in itself has developed, showing how the state and voluntary sector in particular collaborated in building the Norwegian nation state.³ The purpose of this chapter is to show how the voluntary sector and civil society changes over time, as well as illustrating how these factors facilitate or legitimize associations' participation in civil society.

The third chapter is the theoretical framework. The chapter consists of three sections. The first part, *Organizational Typology*, discusses what types of associations are usually more prone to political participation than others. Hence if an association has changed typology it may affect its political participation. The second section,

³ The market did not become an imminent part of civil society until it became stronger after the turn to the 20th century.

Organizational Structure, debates how changes in associational structure may have an effect on whether the associations are engaged in politics. The third part, *Organizational Membership*, considers how changes in organizational membership affect whether associations try to influence public authorities. These three sections also generate hypotheses that will later be answered in the analysis chapter.

In chapter four elaborates the data and methodology used in this thesis, as well as operationalizes the hypothesis provided in chapter three. The first section of the chapter, *Research Design: A Longitudinal Quantitative Method*, discusses why a longitudinal quantitative method is suitable to answer the research question. The second part of the chapter, *Evaluation of Empirical Evidence*, evaluates the data used in the analysis. The third section, *Descriptive and Causal Research*, explains how both descriptive and causal research is used to answer the research question. The fourth part, *The Longitudinal Logistic Model*, explains the advantages of the longitudinal logistic regression model, presents the statistical program used, specifies the model applied, explains how the time-interaction effects are estimated, explains how to interpret the model estimations and the regression slope, and discusses the preconditions for the model. The last section of the chapter operationalizes the hypothesis in chapter three.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the descriptive analyses. It presents the changes that have occurred in the Norwegian voluntary sector. It is divided into four sections. It starts by presenting the dependent variable. Thereafter the independent variables in three different parts: the organizational typology, organizational structure, and organizational membership. Subsequently in chapter six the results from the longitudinal logistic regression model are presented. First the results from the voluntary associations' political involvement on the municipal level are presented. Second the results from their political involvement on the district-municipal level are put forward, and third the results on the state level. The seventh chapter discusses whether the hypotheses are strengthened or weakened by comparing the results across the governmental level. Thereafter the chapter summarizes the findings from the analyses, and discusses potential further research.

Chapter 2 – Historical Context: Continuous Change

This section will present an overview of the historical developments of the Norwegian society, with an emphasis on the organizational society. The purpose of this is to give a better understanding of how the Norwegian voluntary sector has changed since the mid-1800s associations' political involvement between 1999 and 2009 has changed. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first illustrates how the compositions of different forms of organizations in the Norwegian voluntary sector have changed from being homogenous to a highly diverse organizational society. The second section discusses how the hierarchical organizational structure evolved and how it became less dominant in the latter half of the 20th century. The third part of the chapter illustrates how the concept and role of membership has evolved over time. The fourth illustrates how the relationship between the voluntary sector and public authorities has evolved. This chapter is based on the work of Kuhnle and Selle (1990), Selle and Øymyr (1995), Selle and Strømsnes (1997), Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen (2000), Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle and Wollebæk (2002), Wollebæk and Selle (2002), Tranvik and Selle (2007b), Wollebæk, Selle and Strømsnes (2008), Wollebæk (2009), and Wollebæk and Sivesind (2010).

2.1 – The Development of a Diverse Organizational Society

The developments in the Norwegian voluntary sector can be traced to the emergence of four forms of organizations: social movement organizations; service organizations; interest organizations; and communitarian organizations. The social movement organizations emerged in the mid-1800s, whereas the service organizations emerged at the turn of the 20th century. The interest organizations began to emerge in the mid-1900s and the communitarian organizations began to emerge in the 1980s. Though new types of organizations emerged, the old types did not disappear.

Social movement organizations are characterized by their focus on altering the general values in society as a whole, in other words they have a conflicting and collective focus. Service organizations are not concerned with changing people's or the government's opinions, rather they try focus on social integration for the members in the organization. Interest organizations mainly represent their members by promoting their interests and further their rights. Communitarian organizations try to solve social problems and provide citizens with a sense of belonging. The emergence of these

organizational types is possibly related to the change from a collective-oriented society to an individual-oriented society, and from a conflict-oriented society to a consensus-oriented society.

2.1.1 – The Rise of Social Movement Organizations

The first broad national social movements began to emerge in the 1840s. Before the 1840s the Norwegian associational life can be said to be “bleak and paltry” (Seip 1981:49 in K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 12). The associations that arose in the wake of this mobilization were mainly tied to temperance, religion, mission, poverty, athletics, culture and public education. In the 1820s the temperance movement (‘teetotalists’) established local chapters, which gradually expanded to a national association with 350 local chapters and approximately 40,000 members in 1955. In 1850 the first labor associations were formed, and its ideological counterweight, the Association for Enlightenment of the People, in 1851. Though new organizational forms began to emerge at the turn of the 21st century, the social movement organizations remained dominant until the 1960s and still exist today. The dominance of the traditional social movements began to stagnate after the 1960s, as women who were a strong driving force in the movements entered into the workforce. After the 1960s new movements continued to emerge, such as the feminist and environmental movements, however they neither had as much political nor social influence as the traditional movements.

The traditional movements formed in the mid-18-hundreds. Broad popular participation was expressed through a wide range of activities, combined with political recognition and limited public financial support and control. They played an important role in building the Norwegian state. All of the political parties in Norway, with the exception of the Progressive Party, sprung out from a social movement. The traditional social movements have in particular been an important actor in the development of the welfare system. The new social movements formed after the 1960s were not based on the same popular mass mobilization, however they have mustered enough legitimacy through expertise and financial resources.

2.1.2 – The Emergence of Service Organizations

In the latter half of the 19th century, social movement organizations remained dominant, however the organizational society became larger and more differentiated. Many of the service organizations started out as a part of a social movement, i.e. the public health movement, athletics movement, cultural movement. The athletics and

music movement can be traced back to the 1850s. The gymnastics associations, choirs, and music bands spread throughout the country until the turn of the 20th century. These were all tied to the local society and workplace. Though many of the service organizations originated with the broad social movements, however they eventually dislodge. For instance, at the end of the 19th, many of the athletics divisions separated from social movement they were a part of. *The Workers' Athletics Federation*⁴ was established in 1924, and soon after other cultural and social activities followed the same pattern. Though these associations were at this point social movement organizations, they became service organizations during the beginning 20th century. These leisure associations continued to expand and mature during the 1960s and 1970s. Though the cultural, leisure, and athletics associations eventually became more widespread, they were predominantly limited to the larger municipalities before the 1940s. The voluntary sector in the 1940s was much smaller in volume than today's voluntary sphere. Between 1940 and 1980 however, the cultural, music, leisure, athletics, and youth and children' associations increased exponentially. Furthermore, the number of social and humanitarian associations increased between 1940 and 1980, from 237 to 656 associations. Many of the social and humanitarian associations evolved into welfare providers.

2.1.3 – The Appearance of Interest Organizations

In the mid-1900 interest organizations began to emerge. Many of these associations started as social movement organizations however as the government began to centralize, many of these established a main office at the national level to be closer to where the major political decisions were made. These types of associations were mainly present in urban districts before the 1970s, but afterwards the number of these associations expanded into the rural district, thus increasing the absolute number of interest organizations in the voluntary sector. When the associations *Norwegian Women's Public Health Association* and *National Association for Public Health*⁵ were established, it was an expression of a new generation of nation-wide civil society organizations, which were tied to issues of national and general public concern such, as

⁴ The name is the author's translation. The original Norwegian name is *Arbeidernes Idrettsforbund*.

⁵ The National Association for Public Health is the author's translated title for the association. The names of the associations in Norwegian are: *Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening* and *Nasjonalforeningen for offentlig helse*.

social and humanitarian work. These associations, as well as *Blue Cross*⁶ established in 1906, *The Norwegian Association of the Blind and Partially Sighted*⁷ established in 1910, and *The Norwegian Housewife Association*⁸ established in 1915, had a social foundation different from the previous philanthropic associations. These types of associations differ from other associations from the other social movement organizations. They are characterized by an interest in specific interests, than general objectives. In the 1960s an increasing number of these voluntary associations became interest mediators, with disregard for the long-term implications for their identity. “For most associations, the pressure-group role meant access to government financial resources, participation in national committees and better opportunities to bring their own philosophies into public planning” (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 16-17).

2.1.4 – The Entrance of Communitarian Organizations

The rise of the area associations and cultural heritage associations in the 1980s and 1990s marked the entrance of a new form of organization, the communitarian organizations. These organizations act as local interest organizations that have close ties with the local authorities, and which fulfill social and practical functions in the local society. Christensen, Strømsnes and Wollebæk (2011) found with the exception of international organizations, that local community associations increased the greatest between 1999 and 2009.

2.1.5 – From a Conflict-Oriented to a Consensus-Oriented Voluntary Sector

After the 1960s, the voluntary sector became more specialized and self-organized. The cultural and leisure oriented organizations, which sprung out of the popular movements, were increasingly replaced by independent and local initiatives within the same fields, meaning that the associations which previously had been related to the early mass movements were gradually disappearing. According to Sivesind et al. (2002) this was a manifestation of an increasingly individual and wealthy society.

2.1.6 – From a Collective-Oriented to a Individual-Oriented Voluntary Sector

The major transformations in the local voluntary sector became visible in the 1960s. The 1960s mark the beginning of the modernization of the organizational society, as

⁶ Norwegian name: *Blå Kors*

⁷ Norwegian name: *Norges Blindforbund*

⁸ The Norwegian name: *Norges Husmorsforbund*. The author translated the Norwegian name to English.

the majority of associations were now organized around individuality and leisure activities, as well as deideologiz. In contrast to earlier associations, the organizations formed in the 1960s and after have had a greater focus on their members instead of the public in general. There is a distinct difference between the associations that existed before and after the 1960s. The years after the war, the mission associations stagnated, and never reached the same formation rate they had before 1940. This trend also occurred among the associations dedicated to the linguistic and temperance counter-movements. Furthermore, the number of social and humanitarian associations increased drastically between 1945 and 1965. This explains why the women's associations increased slightly during this time, as the majority of the health and social associations were pure women's associations.

2.2 – The Changing Organizational Structure

Though the structures of the Norwegian voluntary sector that emerged with the mass movement has been dominant ever since, new structures have emerged. More and more associations, that previous were part of a hierarchical structure, are becoming independent, whereas a large proportion of the associations that are formed are not attached to organizations at a higher geographical level. Instead many of the associations form loose informal ties.

2.2.1 – The Rise of the Hierarchical Organizational Structure

When Wollebæk and Selle (2002) and Sivesind et al. (2002) uses the term hierarchical structure they do not refer to a power hierarchy, but rather a geographical hierarchy. Meaning that local associations are tied to institutions on a higher geographic level, namely a district municipal or regional and/or a national level. Most associations were tied to both. This is an integrative model in which one finds the same associations locally as nationally. This trait is specific for the Scandinavian voluntary sectors.

Other Western countries have developed a two-tire system, where the organizations on the local level and national level are different and have no or weak ties. Furthermore, the Norwegian structural model has tied individuals to the local community and the greater society simultaneously both institutionally and identity vice. The model implies that voluntary associations have been politically ingrained and have had a profound integrative function in the Norwegian society. The voluntary associations have therefore had a significant part in Norwegian nation-building and democratization process.

Early on, two organizational formation methods were adapted, one bottom-up and the other top-down. In the former, locally based associations expanded and eventually formed regional and national associations. In the latter, national associations tried to establish local associations. Both of these models were attempts to link the national and local levels. At the turn of the century the bottom-up model dominated the organizational landscape, and associations became increasingly independent of the traditional elites. The result of the dominance of the bottom-up model was widespread recruitment from practically all societal spheres, thus allowing for greater democratic legitimacy and political power. The top-down and bottom-up methods had a profound impact on the structure of the Norwegian voluntary sector, uniting the grassroots and elites. The hierarchical organizational structure can be traced back to the early popular movements at the beginning of the 18th century. This structure was later adapted by the political parties, and is one of the most important characteristic that makes the Scandinavian voluntary sector exceptional (Klausen & Selle, 1996). Though new associations began to form at the turn of the 20th century and onwards, the traditional organizational structure remained dominant until the end of the Second World War.

2.2.2 – The Decline of the Hierarchical Organizational Structure

According to Sivesind et al. (2002) the changes in organizational objectives illustrated above, also had repercussions for the structure of the Norwegian voluntary sector. Wollebæk and Selle (2002) illustrates the changes in voluntary associations structural composition. The hierarchical structure was the predominant organizational structure before the 1950s. Of the associations formed before 1940 ninety percent of the local associations in Hordaland were tied to district and/or national organizations. The associations in the 1940s and 1950s followed the same pattern. In the 1960s and 1970s however, the hierarchical structure became less dominant. Of the associations formed in the 1970s only sixty percent had a hierarchical structure.

Though the traditional organizational model was still strong in the 1980s, many associations had broken out of the model or been established with no ties to such a structure. In the 1980s many associations began to form cooperative organizations or umbrella organization. In other words the associations began to form loose network in order to reach their common goals. The changes in the voluntary associations' structure are particularly visible in the lower levels of the hierarchical structure. The local chapters in the municipalities have particularly become detached from the

municipal associations. When the local communities, the lowest level of society, lost many of their functions – such as schools, postal offices, and local stores as a result of migration to the municipal centers, centralization of local governments, and improving communication conditions – the associations in the local community diminished. With these developments Wollebæk and Selle (2002) found that the associations pertaining to one community decreased from 81 percent before 1940 to 63 percent in the 1970s. Furthermore, many of those associations remaining within the local community increasingly became solely preoccupied with their own local communities and members. These new trends now challenge the hierarchical model, possibly moving the Norwegian organizational society towards a two-tier system.

2.2.3 – From Amateur to Professional Organizations

According to Sivesind et al. (2002) the emergence of the interest group identity had two specific repercussions for the structure of the voluntary sector. First, there was an expansion of national headquarters. From the 1970s, welfare planning and other social reforms became a national political issue, and the different ministries became the most important grounds of contact between the public authorities and the voluntary sector. Hence most associations also increased the number of paid professionals as means to legitimize the organizations' participation within the national political field. Related to this, many organizations established on the national level around 1980 and after, had few or no ties to the lower levels in the organizational society. Second, the local voluntary associations and their members received a new role. The focus of the voluntary sector shifted from membership activities at the local level, to the number of members, as higher numbers of members meant greater political influence. This also had an influence on the degree of formalization the associations have. As the membership numbers dropped, the associations lost their primary financial resource, thus they began asking the government for funds. In order to receive funds the government set up formal demands. The associations thus had to comply, increasing their degree of formalization.

2.3 – The Evolving Concept of Membership

The membership has been the backbone of the voluntary associations since the associations emerged in the beginning of the 19th century. The people mobilized behind a common cause forming social movements. As the social movements began to disappear, membership became less important for the voluntary sector. The age

composition of membership has also changed since the 19th century, from including every age group to some age groups falling away. The concept of membership evolved from not only being active members, but also to consist of passive members.

2.3.1 – The Rise of the Masses and the Demobilization of the People

When the social movements rose in the mid-1800s it was as a result of the rise of the masses. The members provided the social movement organizations with both political and social legitimacy. The social movements and their membership numbers had their pinnacle in the 1960s. Afterwards the proportion of the population that was members in one or more associations decreased. Membership in religious associations decreased greatly in the 1960s, though these associations had begun to lose their members before the Second World War. The membership in the social and humanitarian associations peaked in 1960s. The membership growth in the social and humanitarian field in the 1980s can be explained by the increasing number of interest associations for the diseased and physically impaired. These associations had a greater focus on their own members, fighting for their rights. The proportion of members in local community, leisure and international associations reached its highest level in 1980s. Moreover, sports associations however continued to increase into the 21st century, but have begun to level out. The associations related to culture, nature and the environment had the most extensive increase of members in the 1990s. This insinuates a transition from the traditional social movements to leisure activities.

2.3.2 – Membership and Age

Members of all age groups originally saturated the voluntary sector. The social movements included people of all ages. The social movement organizations joined people of the same convictions often entire families. They even had their own youth sections. However, over the past thirty years the age composition has changed. The younger members are subsiding, while the middle-aged members remain and the older members are expanding. An increasing proportion of the membership is above retirement age. According to Wollebæk and Selle (2002) this is a result of the older people becoming more active, and the younger less active.

2.3.3 – From Active to Passive Membership

As mentioned the members have been an important part of the voluntary sector. The early associations of the social movements were loosely and informally organized and

members participate in the associations due to loyalty. During this time period values and charitable work were inextricable. Through elevating speeches and frequent social gatherings, a collective spirit was generated. The collective spirit was the unique characteristic of associations of the time. This has been the general norm in the voluntary sector for a long time and still is, but passive members have become more accepted. As the voluntary sector began to centralize alongside the government, the organizations became more focused on efficiency than internal democracy. A large active membership became an obstacle as it prevents the associations from achieving their goals by stealing away resources and time. Many organizations thus chose to remove the democratic structure, but maintained their members. These members became passive and joined often because they wanted material gain or political influence, however without having to be active.

2.4 – The Voluntary Sector and Public Authorities Relationship

As mentioned the voluntary sector has played an inherent part in the state-building process. The relationship became visible once the social movements began to merge. Since then, the social movements have pushed for change in society. As they demobilized two types of organizations emerged, the interest organizations and service organizations. The interest organizations acted as interest articulators, whereas the service organizations became welfare providers. As people became more focused on their own well-being communitarian organizations formed to address political issues relevant to the local community.

2.4.1 – The Voluntary Sector as State-Builders

The voluntary sector has played an important part in the development of political institutions that have emanated since the 1840s. The widespread mobilization played a crucial part in the nation-state building process. The social movements were organized along the social and economic cleavages in society (Rokkan, 1987: 245). Thus also paving the ground for the emergence of political parties.

The main divide in society was the “ideologies defending traditional language and culture in the rural districts in opposition to the central cities and the educated elites” (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 11). In 1814 the Danish, which had ruled Norway for over 400 years, lost Norway to Sweden after the defeat in the Napoleonic wars. During the subsequent upsurge of mass mobilization in Norway, the country was politically and culturally dependent. This caused a direct link between the pressure for

independence and the struggle to expand political rights to the lower strata in society (Rokkan, 1987: 245). The voluntary associations in other words, originated during this time as a combined effort to create a sovereign country and to further the populations' rights. Many of the current Norwegian national voluntary associations can trace their origins back to the first half of the 19th century, reflecting the state-building process.

Traditionally the public authorities and voluntary sector has had a close relationship. However most of the associations in the Norwegian voluntary sector have been virtually unaffected by the public authorities or attempted to influence the public authorities. There are however exceptions, most prominently among associations within the health and social field, and athletics. Organizations within these fields have had a profound influence on the development of the welfare policies. During the initial emergence of the social movement it was somewhat difficult to clearly distinguish the associations from the state, as the associations played an intricate part in the state-building process. "Often local governmental representatives, priests, teachers, or police were more or less automatically acting as leaders. This meant that many emerging associations expressed the continuation of what had been, rather than the new era" (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 13-14).

The degree of influence the associations have depended on different factors. The first is related to geography and the field the associations work within. For instance, many types of welfare associations enjoyed political power in the urban districts. Whereas associations related to the social, cultural, temperance and laymen's movements had high levels of influence socially in the rural areas. Though the temperance movement had a degree of influence regarding the formation of the Norwegian alcohol and social policy, and the laymen's associations was an important functionary in the regulation of the state-church relations; the associations related to welfare fields were more influential in practical and political terms. Despite having a weaker connection to social and cultural aspects of local communities, the welfare associations were heavily involved on the political field as "they had an influence on public opinion; and they had a watchdog function with respect to the government authorities" (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 18). Furthermore, the welfare associations could be found anywhere in the country, whereas the temperance and laymen's organizations were restricted to certain areas.

2.4.2 – Voluntary Associations as Welfare Providers

The organizational developments undergone in Norway between 1900 and 1945 diverge from those in the Anglo-American world. “While voluntary associations in Britain and the United States gradually developed a collective identity as a moral force outside, and partly in opposition to the state, associations in Norway did not share a common self-understanding as constituting a sector of its own” (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 15). Further, the notion of ‘state-friendliness’ is a defining trait of Norway, as the state played an important part in the industrial production and welfare services. Many of these associations were, as mentioned, a part of social movements, but disconnected from them and became independent in the wake of the social movements’ dissolution.

Voluntary associations were directly involved in running several welfare institutions. The first municipally driven retirement homes were built in 1938, and in 1947 only one third of the retirement home capacity was provided by the state, whereas the remaining by voluntary associations. Rifle clubs became the foundation of local sports activities in many communities. Many of these leisure related activities had military aspects, as the rifle clubs and athletics clubs was meant to make men ready for a potential war against the Swedes. The government’s instrumental approach to athletics still persists. The government’s objective however has changed throughout the different time periods, such as public health in the post-war period, and availability of recreational activities from the 1990s onwards.

During the inter-war period many associations, in particular within the field of health and social issues, became more attached to state and municipal authorities. This period was marked by a reciprocal relationship between associations and the municipal authorities, in particular in the bigger cities. This was possible as the associations and the state had good use of each other as they were in their formation period. On one side, the associations gained influence because of their wide popular support, labor supply, qualifications, and their abilities of public encouragement. On the other side, the state rarely saw the organizations as competitors and did not set comprehensive demands as to how the organizations ran welfare services. The gradual relationship between private welfare providing associations and public welfare providers can be seen as a partnership, which was established long before the modern welfare state was entrenched. Voluntary associations were the pioneers of the welfare field, “making problems visible and initiating institutional arrangements that in many cases later were

taken over by the public sector” (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 15). Many of the service organizations remain service providers today. Along side the market, the voluntary sector provide society with the welfare services that the state is not willing or not able to provide.

2.4.3 –An Alternative Channel for Interest Articulation

The interest organizations that partly emerged from the social movements maintained the role of pressuring the government for change. However they often focused on smaller issues than the grand societal ones. According to Wollebæk et al. (2000) associations that take on an external role do so in order to act as mediators between individuals and public authorities. These organizations are often said to be critical towards the state and market, an alternative channel for political participation, an arena for public debate, and watchdogs against encroachment on individual rights (K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002).

After the centralization of the welfare state in the 1960s and 1970s the influence voluntary associations had within the welfare field differed from sector to sector. This can be related to the associations targeting different governmental institutions and thus the creation of different policies occurred. Thus as in the case of sports associations, the creation favorable public finance support system established in 1946 on one end gave these associations a considerable degree of autonomy. On the other end, public welfare services in the fields elderly care, home-based care, and social insurance expanded, causing the influence of voluntary associations in these fields to be reduced. These are the extreme cases – where sports associations achieved a high level of influence, and the welfare-associations low levels – other and different policies were generated for culture, children and youth, environment, and international associations. To be more precise, associations receiving more support from governmental institutions became a more integral part of public policies.

2.4.4 – Voluntary Associations as Promoters of Local Interests

Though the communitarian associations are in contact with the authorities, they have different focus than the social movement organizations and interest organizations. The communitarian organizations focus on local interests. They often represent a local community. Rather than targeting the national government, the communitarian organizations usually deal with local authorities either the municipality or district-municipality.

2.5 – Summary

The Norwegian voluntary sector has undergone many transformations since the social movements emerged in the mid-1800. The voluntary sector was dominated by the social movement organizations up until the beginning of the 20th century when the first service organizations and interest organizations appear. By the 1970s the social movement organizations did no longer dominate the sector, as the proportion of social movement organizations began to stagnate, and the number of service organizations and interest organizations increased. In the 1980s communitarian organizations emerged.

The hierarchical structure has dominated the organizational society from the time the social movements appeared. In the last thirty years, it has become less dominant. Local associations have been detached from the municipal level, and municipal associations have been detached from the regional and national organizations. Furthermore, networks have risen, linking different organizations together. Furthermore, the voluntary associations used to be based on volunteers, however as the pressure for efficiency increased they became more professionalized and formalized. Furthermore, membership has been the cornerstone of the voluntary sector. However, as the voluntary sector became more professionalized, membership became less important in the traditional sense. Membership in many associations shifted from active to passive. Moreover, the age of the members has also transformed. Previously the voluntary sector consisted members of all ages, however over the past thirty years the youth has become more and more disconnected from it. The relationship between the voluntary sector and the state has been good. The social movements acted as an inducer of societal and political changed. When the service organizations rose, many of them became welfare providers often subsidized by the state. When the interest organizations emerged, they quickly became an important part of the Norwegian civil society. The communitarian organizations that appeared in the 1980s acted as specific local communities' representatives to the local authorities.

In order to shed light on why the changes discussed above may have had an effect on local voluntary associations' political participation different theoretical aspects will be discussed, and viable hypotheses will be presented based on the discussions.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework

In this chapter the theoretical foundation of the thesis will be presented. The foundation builds upon the empirical presentation in the previous section, but attempts to explain more in detail why these changes have occurred and what has caused the changes in the past ten years. The hypothesis below argue whether a specific component of the associations have a positive or negative effect on the associations' political involvement. There are two types of hypotheses here. Each explanatory factor has three hypotheses. The first hypothesis of each explanatory factor does not take time into consideration. It simply states the expected effect each variable will have on political involvement at any given point in time. The two other hypotheses however, take time into consideration. They assert how change in the independent variable affects change in political involvement, meaning how a decrease and increase in the independent variable will affect political involvement. These hypotheses thus regard how changes of these factors within the organizational population as a whole will either cause a more or less politically active voluntary sector.

3.1 – Organizational Type

The organizational type is divided into two sections. The first discusses how the four different types of orientations an association may have – consensus-, conflict-, individual-, and collective-orientation – can affect voluntary associations' political participation. The second part discusses how the four types of organizations – interest organizations, social movement organizations, communitarian organizations, and service organizations – may affect political involvement. Despite high rates of formation and dissolution of local voluntary associations, the entire organizational population does not change simultaneously. The old associations coexist with new organizations. Therefore, the current organizational society in Norway bears evidence of organizations from all of the above mentioned time periods (Wollebæk, 2009: 12).

3.1.1 – The Consensus-Conflict and Individual-Collective Dimensions

In their book *The New organizational society – Democracy in Change*⁹ Wollebæk and Selle (2002) introduced a two-dimensional division of types of civil societies. The two dimensions are: conflict- versus consensus-orientation; and individual- versus collective-orientation. Both dimensions build upon Toqueville's (1968 in Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 43-44) assumption that the role voluntary associations play with regards to democracy is twofold. On one hand, Toqueville argues that associations have an *external* role as infrastructures between citizens and public authorities – that is, associations' act as guardians of individuals' autonomy and against encroachment of their rights, as well as facilitators of interest articulation and aggregation. On the other hand, he also contends that associations have an *internal* role as 'schools of democracy', meaning that they act as socialization agents for democracy.

The first dimension emphasizes the external role of associations as interest articulators and guarantor of pluralism and diversity of values. This is a political interpretation of the voluntary sector, where different interests and values are in *conflict* with one another. Toqueville's interpretation of the voluntary sector's *internal* role in democracy has created another perspective. This is a social exposition of associations' elementary role in the voluntary sector through a consensus-oriented perspective, where associations contribute to societal belonging and social bonds between people. This perspective considers societal conflicts as a negative, and that it is socialization within associations, which create democratic values. The main distinction between the two is that associations that are conflict-oriented are ideally engaged with public authorities, whereas the consensus oriented ones are not.

H_{1.1}: Conflict-orientation increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

H_{1.1.a}: A more conflict-oriented voluntary sector would increase the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

H_{1.1.b}: A less conflict-oriented voluntary sector would decrease the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

⁹ The title is translated by the author. The original title in Norwegian is *Det nye organisasjonssamfunnet – Demokrati i omforming*.

Figure 3.1 – Orientation of Voluntary Associations

	<i>Individually oriented</i>	<i>Collectively oriented</i>
<i>Conflict oriented</i>	Interest organization	Social movements organizations
<i>Consensus oriented</i>	Service organizations	Communitarian organizations

The second dimension in Wollebæk and Selle’s (2000) model crosses the other dimension horizontally, and is based on Toqueville’s understanding of the external and internal role as well, however in a distinct way. This dimension focuses on whom the organizations should represent and/or influence. On one hand, associations may solely attempt to influence their own members and speak on their behalf – the *individual-orientation*. On the other, associations may be addressing issues affecting the general society or trying to influence society at large – the *collective-approach*. Organizations that are collectively oriented, usually cooperate with other associations, whereas the individually oriented ones do not (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002). Though it is the external role that will be emphasized here, it is fruitful to understand the internal role in relation to Wollebæk and Selle’s model. There is no speculation in the literature that the collective-oriented associations are more prone to being politically active than the individual oriented organizations. However, as seen in the chapter above the social movements organizations and collective organizations which both are collective-oriented are both prone to political participation. Interest organizations and service organizations are both individual-oriented. Though the interest organizations are prone to political participation, the service organizations are not. Therefore, being collective-oriented increases the chances for political participation.

H_{1.2}: Collective-orientation increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

H_{1.2.a}: A more collective-oriented voluntary sector would increase the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

H_{1.2.b}: A less collective-oriented voluntary sector would decrease the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels

3.1.2 – Four Types of Organizations

From these two dimensions four ideal types of voluntary sectors can be discerned, the voluntary sector as: conflict of interests; political sphere; social meeting place; and social integration. The voluntary sector as a sphere of conflicting interests is conflict oriented and focus on their members. The main type of organizations within this sphere is *interest organizations*, which do not cooperate with other associations, but are in contact with public authorities. When the voluntary sector is understood as a political sphere associations have conflicting interests and try to influence society at large through political participation. Organizations within this ideal type are both in contact with public authorities and cooperate with other associations. *Social movement organizations* are good examples of associations within this approach. Further, in a voluntary sector functioning as a social place for meeting people there is a focus on the association's members and on consensus among them. These associations neither cooperate with other associations, nor do they contact public authorities. *Service organizations* mainly compose this sphere. Last, when social integration is the main function of the voluntary sector, the associations target society at large, however through consensus. They do cooperate with associations, but are not in contact with public authorities. *Communitarian organizations* represent the main type of associations within this field.

Interest Organizations

Interest organizations are both conflict oriented and individual (members) oriented. The typical Norwegian local voluntary associations that fall under this category are associations for people with disabilities, and economic organizations. Interest organizations are often specialized, centralized, and professional. The associations that choose such a model, emphasizes the need for efficiency and ability to react rapidly, thus avoids heavy democratic procedures as common among the traditional

organizations. The interest organizations receive support and legitimacy through passive members that support the associations economically. Furthermore, because of their specialized competences these organizations often experience great political influence (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 96-97). Consequently, it is reasonable to hypothesize that interest organizations are more apt at reacting quickly to the ever-changing political agenda, thus being more successful in contacting the public authorities regarding different issues. This also means that an increasing proportion of interest organizations would have a positive effect on political participation, and negative if the proportion decreases.

H_{1.3}: Being interest organizations increases the probability of political involvement on all three governmental levels.

H_{1.3.a}: An increase in the proportion of interest organizations in the voluntary sector increases the probability of political involvement on all three governmental levels.

H_{1.3.b}: A decrease in the proportion of interest organizations in the voluntary sector decreases the probability of political involvement on all three governmental levels.

Social Movement Organizations

Similar to the interest organizations, the *social movement organizations* are also conflict-oriented, however they are collective-oriented instead of individual-oriented (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 172). The associational types most commonly associated with this social movement organizations in Norway are political, mission, language, and temperance associations (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 172). The social movement organizations are often identified as *traditional organizations*. The traditional organizations are characterized by their democratic principles, hierarchical structure – where local organizations are the lowest level – and with a solid basis in individual membership (Heitmann & Selle, 1999; K. H. Sivesind et al., 2002: 14; Wollebæk et al., 2000: 79).

Social movement organizations are a part of a social movement, i.e. the labor movement, women's movement, and temperance movement. Together with other actors within a social movement, the social movement organizations “are engaged in political and/or cultural conflicts meant to promote or oppose social change” (Della

Porta & Diani, 2006: 21). This gives cause to believe that being characterized as a social movement organization has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. This also means that a decreasing number of social movement organizations would have a negative impact on political involvement, and opposite.

Furthermore, because the social movement organizations usually value internal democracy over efficiency, it is reasonable to assume that interest organizations have a higher probability of being politically active than social movement organization. The hierarchical structure and the trade-off between internal democracy and efficiency are discussed in detail in section 3.2.

The local associational level is the core of the traditional organizational society, linking the grass-root to the municipal, regional, and national organization level through hierarchical structures (Heitmann & Selle, 1999: 76). The hierarchical structure and the associations' connections to broader social movements with manifested ideological or political purpose created horizontal and vertical integration. As the district/regional and national organizations maintain the social movement organizations' interests on the district municipal and national political level, the local voluntary social movements organizations are more likely to target the municipal authorities for political influence. Traditionally however, these types of associations "were more concerned with influencing the development of society at large than with promoting, local narrow or special-interest issues" (Tranvik & Selle, 2007b: 59), thus it is also probable that social movements organizations are more prone to try to influence district-municipal and state authorities than local authorities. The likelihood that interest organizations target district-municipal and state authorities, however seem more likely than that social movements do so, as the interest organizations have the flexibility and efficiency needed to make fast decisions, whereas social movement organizations need to confer with their members before making major decisions. Social movement organizations are nevertheless more likely to target district-municipal and state officials than the locally focused communitarian organizations. However this does not change the direction of the effect, meaning that being a social movement organization increases the probability of political participation on all governmental levels.

H_{1.4}: Being a social movement organization increases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal and state level and decreases the probability on the municipal level.

H_{1.4.a}: An increase in the proportion of social movement organizations in the voluntary sector increases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal and state level and decreases the probability on the municipal level.

H_{1.4.b}: A decrease in the proportion of social movement organizations in the voluntary sector decreases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal and state level and decreases the probability on the municipal level.

Communitarian Organizations

Communitarian organizations are consensus- and collective-oriented. The associations within this ideal type reaches outwards (similar to the social movements organizations) often to serve the common good. Communitarian organizations are commonly preoccupied with issues, often political, in their immediate surroundings. Many of them act as interest mediator for local communities in relation to the local government (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002).

Moreover, the communitarian organizations are neither in conflict with other associations and societal groups, nor are they based on ideology. Being a communitarian organization therefore increases the probability of political involvement, however they will have less contact with the public authorities on the district-municipal and state level, than the social movements organizations and interest organizations as they have a local focus (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 172). These types of associations see the national and to some extent the district-municipal level as superfluous as local issues is the focal point of association (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002:53). Communitarian organizations are thus more likely to contact local authorities – as opposed to regional and national authorities – as the local authorities usually deal with the issues they are preoccupied with (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 158). Therefore, an increase in communitarian organizations will increase the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, but it will decrease the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{1.5}: Being a communitarian organization increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, but decreases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{1.5.a}: An increase in the proportion of communitarian organizations in the voluntary sector increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, but decreases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{1.5.b}: A decrease in the proportion of communitarian organizations in the voluntary sector decreases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, but increases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

Service Organizations

Conversely to the other three ideal types, the service organizations do not make a habit of engaging the public authorities. The service organizations are consensus and individual orientated, which means that they primarily work for their members, by providing them with specific advantages or assistance in their individual needs. This sets the service organizations aside from the rest of the organizational types, as they are neither concerned with assisting their members to achieve certain political rights nor work for society in general (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002: 172). An increase in service organizations would therefore decrease the probability for political involvement.

H_{1.6}: Being a service organization decreases the likelihood of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{1.6.a}: An increase in the proportion of service organizations in the voluntary sector decreases the likelihood of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{1.6.a}: A decrease in the proportion of service organizations in the voluntary sector increases the likelihood of political involvement on all governmental levels.

3.2 – Organizational Structure

Organizational structure consists of two subcategories; the first is the characteristics of the associations' ties to other voluntary structures in the voluntary sector; and the second refers to the internal features of the associations, i.e. degree of professionalization and formalization.

3.2.1 – The Hierarchical Structure

As illustrated in the historical context chapter, Norwegian voluntary associations have traditionally and generally had a hierarchical organizational structure. This means that most local associations have been tied to both a regional and national organization. In other words, a national organization have several regional or district chapters, which in turn has chapters on the municipal and/or local community level. The hierarchical structure is an important aspect of associations that fall within the social movement organization ideal type discussed above. This type of organizations is usually politically active as they either promote or oppose social change. Though the hierarchical structure may also be found among associations within the other ideal types, it is expected that this type of structure is more dominant among the social movements organizations.

Moreover, Tranvik and Selle (2007b) argue that Norwegian (and Scandinavian) organizations are characterized by what they call the *integrative organizational model*. This model is only possible if organizations have a hierarchical structure in the geographical sense. The hierarchical structure allows for vertical integration and horizontal integration. Vertical integration refers to the geographical aspect of the integrative model. The local, regional and national organization structure links the citizens to the regional and national level. Horizontal integration concerns the contact the associations have with public authorities. In the integrative organizational model organization as a whole has contact with the authorities at all governmental levels. The local associations are integrated with the municipal authorities, the regional organizations with the district-municipal authorities, and the national organization with the national government (Tranvik & Selle, 2007b). Therefore it is expected that a hierarchical structure only increases the probability of local voluntary associations' political involvement on the municipal level and decreases the probability on the district-municipal and state level. This also indicates that an increase in the proportion of associations having a hierarchical structure would increase the probability for

political involvement on the municipal level, but decrease the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{2.1}: The hierarchical structure increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, and decreases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{2.1.a}: An increase in the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, and decreases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

H_{2.1.b}: A decrease in the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure decreases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, and increases the probability on the district-municipal and state level.

According to Selle and Øymyr (1995) there has been an increase of cooperative organizations and umbrella organizations on the local level. They assert that this implies a greater need for new types of coordinating institutions, which particularly are responsible for managing the voluntary associations' relationship to governmental institutions. These institutions have especially become important regarding the acquisition of public funds. From this it can be deduced that voluntary associations have an aim of acquiring an additional channel for political participation through these cooperative or umbrella organizations, making it more likely that they are political active.

According to Enjolras and Waldahl (2009) political networks have become more relevant in producing policies. Cooperative organizations and umbrella organizations may be an indicator of this, as these types of organizations usually consists of a network of voluntary associations. The reason why associations have adapted the usage of cooperative organizations and umbrella organizations can be related to the shift towards network mechanisms. As the government adapted the network mechanisms, the hierarchical organization structures may have begun to become obsolete. The neo-corporatist participatory channel – that mainly exists on the national level, though it can also be found on the district-municipal and municipal level – is the primary arena for dialogue between the state and the voluntary sector in the

hierarchical structure. However, one or a few associations, within each policy field, monopolize this channel. The introduction of network and governance into the state, and also thus the voluntary sector, may have contributed to a more pluralistic representation of voluntary associations on not only the state level, but also the district-municipal and municipal level. Furthermore, this has possible opened up for local voluntary associations to also engage in dialogue with district-municipal and state actors. Thus an increase in the proportion of associations that are members of an umbrella organization would increase the probability of political involvement on all governmental level.

H_{2.2}: Being a member of a cooperative or umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.2.a}: An increase in the proportion of associations that are a member of a cooperative or umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.2.a}: A decrease in the proportion of associations that are a member of a cooperative or umbrella organization decreases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

3.2.2 – Professionalization and Formalization

Another development that has occurred is increased *professionalization* and *formalization* in voluntary associations (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 83). Salaried employees are used to perform tasks in national voluntary associations, however the trend has also become more conventional at the regional and district level (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 82), making it likely that local voluntary associations also utilize salaried employees. Furthermore, there has also been a professionalization of the organizations, as people with specific attributes and knowledge are hired due to their professional backgrounds. This has in turn caused greater efficiency within associations (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 83). This development can be related to shortage of time. Wollebæk et al. (2000) argues that volunteer work has become more instrumental and goal orientated, and less expressive, meaning that people are less willing to use their spare time to conduct administrative, unpaid labor for an organization. They further argue that today's society is based on knowledge, thus the general demands for professional competencies have increased within the voluntary associations.

Centralization of civil society has, in comparison to the local voluntary associations, increased the national organizations' political influence and power, causing the professionalization and bureaucratization of national organizations (Thesen & Rommetvedt, 2009: 37). However, as local voluntary associations have become more detached from the national organizations there is reason to believe that these associations also have become more professional in order to become more suitable for political involvement (Selle & Strømsnes, 1997).

The expansion of the welfare state, pushed many welfare service oriented associations into becoming interest groups, thus increasing the proportion of interest groups drastically. This new identity in turn altered the basic structure of the voluntary sector in two ways. Firstly, the number of national headquarters expanded, as the decision-making process regarding welfare and other social reforms were a national task, thus making the ministries the interest groups' primary target for influence. The voluntary associations thus established national headquarters with an increasing proportion of paid, professional staff to work towards influencing public policy.

This indicates that organizations have turned focus away from internal democracy in favor of efficiency. Wollebæk et al. (2000) argue that certain associations show traits of reduced emphasis on active membership, this can in turn have an effect on organizations' internal democracy. This is particularly the case among interest organizations, which emphasize the need for efficiency. Because of the increased speed of politics today it is plausible to hypothesize that organizations that maintain internal democracy are less efficient and are consequently less likely to find a common stand before the window of opportunity to be involved in politics is closed.

H_{2.3}: A higher degree of professionalization increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.3.a}: An increase in the degree of professionalization increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.3.b}: A decrease in the degree of professionalization decreases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

Formalization, which is closely related to the hierarchical structure, is another aspect that may have an effect on political involvement. According to Wollebæk et al. (2000) that associations have become more formalized is indicated by the increasing

time spent on paper work, administration, and meetings at the expense of other activities. Though this may implicate that formalization may have a negative effect on political participation, there are other arguments that dispute this. Wollebæk and Selle (2002) illustrate that local associations that are tied both to a regional and/or national organization has a higher degree of formalization. Therefore it is likely that formalization also has a positive effect on their political participation. Furthermore, Wollebæk and Selle point to that the associations typical of social movements organizations and interest organizations have a higher degree of formalization than the others do, again strengthening the likelihood that formalization has a positive effect on political involvement.

H_{2.4}: Being formalized increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.4.a}: An increase in the degree of formalization increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

H_{2.4.b}: A decrease in the degree of formalization decreases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels.

3.3 – Organizational Membership

This section discusses three aspects of organizational membership: number of members, the members' age, and active and passive membership. Membership is here understood as voluntary, formalized attachment to an associations (Wollebæk et al., 2000).

3.3.1 – Number of Members

Membership has traditionally been the cornerstone of the Norwegian voluntary sector. However, over the past twenty years the number of members has decreased greatly. This has particularly been visible among the political parties (Listhaug & Grønflaten, 2007). There is an entire scholarly field dedicated to researching the reasons for the decline of party membership. This is no surprise as the members have been the primary factor, apart from elections, that give a political party democratic legitimacy. As Scarrow (2000: 84) argues “having a roster of party members (particularly a growing roster) conveys a message of popular legitimacy and enables a party to claim that it has strong ties to ‘ordinary citizens’”. The new role of associations as interest mediators

also changed the role of the local voluntary associations, and their members. During the pre-war era, the local level was the core of the organizational society, and the national organizations' coordination was limited. With the growth of the public welfare system, the number of members became more important than the local associational activities. Sivesind et al. (2002: 18) reasons "that legitimate influence upon planning and politics was connected to membership: the more members, the stronger the influence".

According to Sivesind et al. (2002) changes in membership can be explained by two functions. First, the traditional ideologies binding people together and to the larger social movement organization became less interesting to people. The collective identities that were passed down through generations have lost ground in society, being replaced by narrower interests caused by a more diverse education, labor, and life-style. Despite the decline of loyalty to the causes of the social movements, many of the associations established by them prevailed. As a result of the changing priorities of the members the associations adapted creating organizations focused on specialized interests. Second, they also argue that changes in membership may be related to the increasing general wealth among the Norwegian citizens, this has in turn caused an increasing amount of people to prioritize leisure activities instead of activities within traditional organizations. As the Norwegian populace achieved more time and money, their behavior in relation to voluntary associations changed. Previously people worked to improve their own and others situation, however as that improved, the scope of activities broadened and the need for recreational activities increased.

All the political parties in Norway, with the exception of the Progressive Party, spring out from wider social movements, i.e. the Labor Party from the labor movement and the Christian People's Party from the temperance movement. In other words, most political parties were a part of a social movement. This is still reflected in the party organization. They have a hierarchical structure and relatively large numbers of members. A large numbers of members are in other words a characteristic of social movement organizations. In section 3.1.2. it was hypothesized that social movement organizations are more likely to be politically active than service and communitarian organizations, thus indicating that higher number of members may have a positive effect on political involvement.

Conversely, interest organization generally experience great political influence, despite having few members, thus it is also possible that the likelihood of political

involvement does not increase the more members an association has (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 96-97). The decreasing numbers of members have forced organizations to reevaluate the foundation of their legitimacy. Organizations have to great extent shifted away from membership-based legitimacy to legitimacy based on financial resources, expert resources of knowledge and competence, and professionalization to increase efficiency (Tarrow, 1998). Interest organizations often are more dominant on the national level than the social movement organizations and communitarian organizations. This is because the interest organizations are more flexible than the others thus making them more suitable to partake in the dynamic and rapidly changing political environment. This makes it more likely that a large membership is nonexistent for organizations that target national authorities.

However, within the social movement literature there is a theoretical school which emphasizes that organizations' ability to mobilize resources has a great impact on whether they are able to reach their goals or not. The resource mobilization theory consists amongst other of the theory of the logic of numbers that argues that the more members they have, the stronger the organizations (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Therefore if the purpose of the organization is to be involved in politics, the organization will have a greater chance of being heard if they have a larger number of members.

H_{3.1}: Higher numbers of members increases the probability of political involvement at the municipal and district-municipal levels, but decreases the probability on the national level.

H_{3.1.a}: An increase in the number of members increases the probability of political involvement at the municipal and district-municipal levels, but decreases the probability on the national level.

H_{3.1.a}: A decrease in the number of members decreases the probability of political involvement at the municipal and district-municipal levels, but increases creases the probability on the national level.

3.3.2 – Members' Age Range

Regarding the general age range of an association's members there are differences in how important it is for them to influence political decision-making processes. The members whom are between 25 and 49 years are more concerned with influencing the

municipal, district municipal, and state authorities, than those whom are younger or older (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 179-182). This indicates that associations that are constituted of members between the age of 25 and 49 are more likely to be involved in politics on all governmental levels, than those composed of younger or older members. This can be explained by the incentives for joining an organization. Because people whom are between middle-aged years are more interested in influencing political decision-making processes, they are more likely to choose associations that which are politically involved.

H_{3.2}: Having middle-aged members increases the probability of political involvement, whereas having young or elderly members decreases political involvement on all governmental level.

H_{3.2.a}: An increase in the proportion of associations having middle-aged members increases the probability of political involvement, whereas an increasing in having young or elderly members decreases political involvement on all governmental level.

H_{3.2.b}: A decrease in the proportion of associations having middle-aged members decreases the probability of political involvement, whereas a decreasing in having young or elderly members increases political involvement on all governmental level.

3.3.3 – Active and/or Passive Membership

Membership can either be regarded as active or passive. An active member is a person whom participates in the association's activities, whereas a passive member is a person who does not engage in the association's activities, but rather contribute through support and or financial contributions.

The increasing importance of passive members is closely correlated with the derivation of interest organizations, and the increasing professionalization that followed. According to Wollebæk et al. (2000) passive membership can contribute to economic freedom, continuity, and political leverage and legitimacy. The increasing acceptance of passive members is tied to the professionalization of the voluntary sector. As the voluntary associations needed to become more efficient, the active members and the internal democracy became a hindrance in the associations work, in particular in their attempts to influence the ever changing political sphere.

Through their survey of individuals' participation in voluntary associations Wollebæk et al. (2000) find that 11 percent of the active members state that political influence is their primary motive for becoming a member in the association, whereas 14 percent of the passive members do the same. To illustrate further, Wollebæk et al. (2000) discovers that 36 percent of the passive members in social and humanitarian associations become members for the same reasons above, as opposed to the 16 percent among the active members.¹⁰ This implies that associations with greater numbers of passive members are more prone to political involvement.

With regards to governmental level there are differences in how important the active and passive members find political involvement. Both active and passive members regard the municipal and district municipal level¹¹ as a more important arena for influence than the state level (49 percent of the active members, and 44 of the passive members). However, the passive members regard the state level as a more important arena for political influence than the active members, with a 36 percent to 25 percent (Wollebæk et al., 2000: 179). It could therefore, be argued that it is more likely that those associations that have passive members also target the national government and parliament as the passive members would choose to support associations that also target national political institutions.

H_{3.4}: Valuing both passive and active members increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels, but particularly with regards to the national level.

H_{3.4.a}: An increase the degree the voluntary sector values both passive and active members increases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels, but particularly with regards to the national level.

H_{3.4.a}: A decrease the degree the voluntary sector values both passive and active members decreases the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels, but particularly with regards to the national level.

¹⁰ Data from the *Survey on Voluntary Contributions* from 1998

¹¹ The *Survey on Voluntary Contributions* does not distinguish between the municipal and district municipal level.

3.4 - Summary

The theoretical framework generates a number of hypotheses related to the composition of organizational types in the voluntary sector, the structure of the voluntary associations and the composition of their membership.

Table 3.1 shows the full collection of hypotheses. On the voluntary sector's composition of organizational types, both a collective-oriented and conflict-oriented voluntary sector would increase the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels. Therefore an increase in the collective-orientation and/or conflict-orientation between 1999 and 2009 would increase the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels, and if it decreases it would have a negative effect. With regards to the types of organizations, the interest organizations have a positive impact on the political involvement on all governmental levels. Therefore an increase in the proportion of interest organizations between 1999 and 2009 would have a positive impact on political involvement and a negative one if it decreased. Being a social movement organization would have a positive impact on the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level and state level, whereas it has a negative effect on the municipal level. This also means that an increase in social movement organizations between 1999 and 2009 would have a positive impact on the district-municipal and state level, whereas a negative one on the municipal level, and reverse if it decreased. Being a communitarian organization has a negative impact on the probability of political participation on the district-municipal and state level, however it has a positive effect on the municipal level. This means that an increase in the proportion of communitarian organizations between 1999 and 2009 would have a positive effect on the municipal level and a negative impact on the district-municipal and state level. The effect would be converse if the proportion of communitarian organizations decreased. Being a service organization has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels. Therefore an increase in the proportion of service organizations between 1999 and 2009 would have a negative effect on the probability of political participation on all governmental levels, and positive if the proportion decreased.

Table 3.1 - Hypotheses

	Change in proportion	Municipal level	District-municipal level	State level
		Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Hypothesis
Collective-orientation		+	+	+
Conflict-orientation		+	+	+
Interest organization		+	+	+
Social movement organization		-	+	+
Communitarian organization		+	-	-
Service organization		-	-	-
Change: collective-orientation	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: conflict-orientation	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: interest organization	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: social movement organization	Increase	-	+	+
	Decrease	+	-	-
Change: communitarian organizations	Increase	+	-	-
	Decrease	-	+	+
Change: service organization	Increase	-	-	-
	Decrease	+	+	+
Hierarchical structure		+	-	-
Umbrella organization		+	+	+
Employees		+	+	+
Efficiency		+	+	+
Formalization		+	+	+
Change: Hierarchical structure	Increase	+	-	-
	Decrease	-	+	+
Change: Umbrella organization	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: Employees	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: Efficiency	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: Formalization	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Number of members		+	+	-
Young members		-	-	-
Middle-aged members		+	+	+
Older members		-	-	-
Passive members		+	+	+
Change: Number of members	Increase	+	+	-
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: Young members	Increase	-	-	-
	Decrease	+	+	+
Change: Middle-aged members	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-
Change: Older members	Increase	-	-	-
	Decrease	+	+	+
Change: Passive members	Increase	+	+	+
	Decrease	-	-	-

When it comes to structure, having a hierarchical structure increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, but decreases it on the district municipal and state level. Therefore an increase in the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure between 1999 and 2009 would increase the probability political involvement on the municipal level and decrease the probability on the district-municipal and state level. The situation would be reverse if the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure decreased between 1999 and 2009. Being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on all levels, thus if the proportion of associations with membership in an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement increases, and reverse if the proportion decreases. Similarly having employees, being professionalized, and being formalized all have a positive impact on the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels. Therefore an increase in either of these between 1999 and 2009 would have a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Conversely it would have a negative impact if it decreases.

Regarding membership, higher numbers of members increases the probability of political participation. Hence an increase in membership numbers between 1999 and 2009 would increase the probability of political involvement. Having younger or older members has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement, whereas having middle-aged members has a positive effect. Therefore an increase in the proportion of associations with young or older members would have a negative impact on political involvement, whereas an increase in the proportion of associations with middle-aged member would have a positive impact on the probability of political involvement. The effect would be reverse if the proportions decrease between 1999 and 2009. Valuing both passive and active members has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels. Hence if the acceptance of passive members increases between 1999 and 2009 it would have a positive impact on the probability of political involvement. Conversely if the acceptance of passive members decreases between 1999 and 2009 it would have a negative impact on political involvement.

In the next chapter the methods chosen to evaluate these hypotheses will be presented and discussed. In addition the hypotheses will be operationalized.

Chapter 4 – Methodology, Data, and Operationalization

King, Keohane and Verba (1994) claim that scientific research is not defined by its content, but rather by its methods and rules, as these remain constant across different research fields and research questions. The question is rather to find the most suitable method to answer said research question, whether it be based on qualitative or quantitative research methods. King, Keohane and Verba distinguish between two forms of inference, descriptive and causal inference. The former uses observed facts about the world in order to acquire knowledge about the unobserved facts. The latter uses observed data to learn of causal effects. The aim of this master thesis is to use both descriptive and causal inference to further enhance our understanding of changes in local voluntary associations' participation in local, regional, and national decision-making processes.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first, argues for the necessity of using a quantitative methodological approach. Second, the multilevel logistic random-intercept model and the time-interaction effects are discussed. Third, methodological considerations such as statistical preconditions and interaction effects are addressed. Fourth, the empirical evidence is evaluated. Fifth, the hypotheses presented in chapter three are operationalized. And lastly, the chapter will be summarized.

4.1 – Research Design: A Longitudinal Quantitative method

This thesis will use a longitudinal quantitative method, as this method is more appropriate in meeting the goals of the thesis. Though a qualitative study of one or a few organizations is superior in finding out why an association chooses to be politically active or not, quantitative studies are generally accepted as the more appropriate method for drawing generalized conclusions. As mentioned in the introduction this is both a hypothesis generative and testing thesis. The hypotheses that are generated from the historical context and theoretical framework are tested using the random-intercept model.

Moreover, it is necessary to consider which quantitative method to choose with regards to the possibility of studying change and for generalizing the results. On one hand, a cross-sectional statistical study, though apt at finding generalized explanations, cannot examine change, as it is limited to one time period (Wall & Williams, 1970). A time-series study of one association on the other hand, can study change over time, but

to produce generalized explanations, one or a few associations studied over time would not be adequate (Frees, 2004: 7). Therefore a combination of the two types of studies will be conducted, a pooled time-series study, in other words a longitudinal study.

Furthermore, when examining change there are two types of effects that exists, time-varying and time-constant effects. A qualitative study may have difficulties in finding time-constant factors having an effect on political involvement, as they rarely focus on more than a few associations at a time. With regards to different quantitative studies, a cross-sectional study cannot examine change other than comparing two cross-sections at two time periods and finding out how the effects change between the two points in time. This however, does not per se study change in itself and thus can neither be used to examine time-varying nor time-constant variables. A time-series on the other hand would be very suitable to examine both time-varying and time-constant effects, as they would be easy to determine in one association. However, the trade-off comes at the expense of the ability to draw generalized conclusions to a larger population of associations as a cross-sectional study might. Hence, a longitudinal statistical study will be applied as it allows for both generalization and examination of time-varying and time-constant effects. The downside is that distinguishing between the time-varying and time-constant effects becomes more difficult (**section 4.3 provides a solution to this problem**).

4.2 – Evaluation of Empirical Evidence

The data used for this thesis is longitudinal as it spans over two time periods. The dataset consists of data from the Hordaland-surveys form 1999 and 2009. The Hordaland-survey from 1980 is excluded due to inconsistencies in the questions posed in 1980 and 1999 and 2009. The data in the Hordaland-survey was collected in a two-step process. The first step was to send out the questionnaire to the associations in collaboration with the municipalities in Hordaland. The municipalities assisted in identifying all the voluntary associations in their area, as well as encourage the associations to respond. The second step was to call all of the associations to urge them to answer. The second step increased the response rate drastically.

22 of the 33 municipalities in Hordaland have been included in the surveys. However, of the 22 municipalities that participated in 1999 five municipalities withdrew from cooperating in the collection of data leaving seventeen core

municipalities.¹² Furthermore, some types of organizations have been excluded either because the records of the type are inconsistent, or because the type does not qualify with regards to the definition of a voluntary association.¹³

The dataset has a total response rate of 50.5 percent. In total 10,336 questionnaires were sent out in 1999 and 2009, whereof 5113 associations responded. 4735 associations received the Hordaland-survey questionnaire in 1999, of which 2695 associations responded, giving a response rate of 56.9 percent. In 2009 5386 associations received the questionnaire, whereof 2418 responded, making the response rate 44.9 percent. This survey is in other words a population study.

Because the data is based on survey questions there are a number of issues regarding reliability and validity of the data. The reliability and validity of the specific variables will be discussed later. An overall evaluation of the general issues of the data will be conducted here. There are a number of issues that have to be assessed when utilizing survey-data. Survey-data usually implies responses from individuals. This is the case here as well, however the individuals that do respond act as mouthpieces for the associations, thus the units of analysis are associations. King et al. (1994: 23-27) distinguish between three different criterion for improving data quality. First, there have to be as many observed implications as possible. Second, the validity of the measures needs to be maximized. Third, the data-collection methods must be reliable, meaning that both the data collection and analysis should be replicable.

The numbers of observations in each of the datasets (the descriptive and causal analysis) could have been higher if all the collected data was included. However, there are two issues for using the entire scope of data. The first is related to the incompatibility of the questions posed during the 1980s survey and the 1999 and 2009 surveys. There are a number of questions that were asked in 1999 and 2009 that were not posed in 1980 and some of the questions that were ask at all three times were not compatible due to different answer alternatives. Furthermore, the exclusion of the five non-cooperating municipalities improves the data quality, as it maximizes the response

¹² The municipalities included are: Bergen (did not partake in the project); Granvin; Fedje; Tysnes; Ullensvang; Vaksdal; Stord; Sund; Osterøy; Modalen; Eidfjord; Askøy; Etne; Masfjorden; Ulvik; Kvinnherad; and Os.

¹³ The organizational types excluded are: housing cooperatives; youth enterprises; parent-teacher associations; music schools; parish magazines; parish councils; mountain councils; municipal and district-municipal councils for elders; deer management units; and athletic schools.

ratio, giving a better indication of how the organizational societies are constructed in each municipality.

The second issue is regarding how the data was collected. As mentioned the units selected for the surveys were not random, it is instead based on collecting information from as close to possible every association in a given municipality. Seeing that this a population-study, excluding the five municipalities with low response rates improves the data quality. However, it should also be noted that the response rate still remains relatively low, at 50.5 percent. This could be coincidental, however there is also a chance that it is systematic. Systematic drop out potentially causes bias results, potentially reducing the accuracy and generalizability of the results (Grønmo, 2004: 182).

The second criterion posed by King et al. is regarding the survey questions themselves. The validity, both external and internal, may be questioned. The internal validity is concerned with the individual variables and will thus be evaluated below. The external validity of a research project concerns the generalizability of the data (Gary King et al., 1994; Ragin, 2004). There are two aspects to the generalizability of the Hordaland-survey. The first concerns the respondents. Those associations that did respond to the survey may deviate from the associations in Hordaland-data, as there is a possibility of systematic non-response from one or several types of voluntary associations, due to reasons such as lack of capacity and non-willingness. Hence creating an imbalanced dataset and thus also results.

The second aspect is related to what the results are generalizable to. Because of the large selection of voluntary associations over time, the results will be generalizable to Hordaland. Whether the data is generalizable to the whole population of voluntary associations in Norway, is more questionable. Selle and Øymyr (1995) compare voluntary associations Hordaland, Buskerud, and Finmark. They find that there are slight differences between the areas, in particular regarding types of associations. Furthermore, there are possibly differences between associations' political involvement in Hordaland, and Oslo and the regions around Oslo, as the latter are closer to the national government. This possibly increases the number of associations that target the state. Despite the minor reasonable doubts as to how generalizable the Hordaland-surveys are to the rest of the voluntary associations in Norway, the thesis considers the results to be generalizable to the whole country. The reason for this is that though there are differences between different areas in Norway, the underlying

changes that have occurred in the voluntary sector seem to encompass the country's voluntary sector in its entirety.

The last condition induced by King et al. is that the data are reliable, meaning that it has to be possible to replicate both the data and the analysis. Replication of the data is difficult when specific people within a voluntary association answer them, as the individual responding may change over time. Furthermore, reproduction of the data also denotes a retrospective form of data collection, which could give different results as people may remember things differently ten years later. In addition, this becomes even more difficult as the person responding to the survey may differ from time to time. The analysis however would be easier to replicate as the methods for doing so are stated below.

The biggest problem with panel data is attrition – that is, that observations usually lack for a number of units. In the data used here it may be a result of a number of issues. The biggest issue being that some associations disappear, while others are created. Another issue is that some associations may not be willing to answer or have the resources to do so. Many of the associations targeted are small and loosely formalized associations which may not see the benefits of participation in such a survey.

4.3 – Descriptive and Causal Research

The analysis will be divided into two parts, a descriptive analysis and a causal analysis. The descriptive research consists for two steps. The first step will describe the variables included for the whole population of associations. The purpose of the first step is to determine to what extent there has been change in different factors concerning the associations. The second step will only focus on those associations that have answered both the 1999- and 2009-survey. The purpose of this second step is to determine which variables are time-varying and time-constant, as well as determining whether the random intercept model explained below is suitable or if the fixed effects-model has to be applied. This is not possible to do with the whole population of associations as the changes indicated by these may be caused by the disappearance of some associations and the appearance of new associations. Both the time-varying and time-constant variables will be included in the causal analysis, however only the time-varying variables will have an effect on the change. It should however be noted that determine whether a variable is time-constant or time-varying variables is not very

straight forward (Allison, 2009). Though the descriptive analysis may indicate that there is a change in the variable, meaning that the stability of the variable is lower than 100 percent, it does not necessarily mean that it is time-varying. It is difficult to determine whether a variable that is ninety percent stable is time-constant or time-varying. This thesis will however treat every variable that have a stability of less than 100 percent as time-varying in order to gain further insight into what causes change. If the time interactions of an independent variable that has a stability close to 100 percent is not statistically significant then it is reasonable to assume that that variable is time-consistent. The time-constant variables will be included as control measures in order to create a more reliable model.¹⁴

The causal analysis of the effects on associations changing political involvement will also be divided into two parts. The first is a pre-analysis that only runs the model with the independent variables pertaining to the hypotheses. The second step also includes the control variables. Both the descriptive and causal analysis will be conducted on three dependent variables representing the extent to which associations involved in politics on the municipal-level, district municipal-level, and the state-level.

4.4 – The Longitudinal Logistic Model

Furthermore, King (1990) argues that it is the nature of the research question and available data that determines which quantitative methods are applicable. The aim of this thesis is to examine what causes change in voluntary associations' political involvement, thus the most appropriate quantitative model is a longitudinal model. The dependent variables are dichotomous variable where 1 indicates that the voluntary association is politically active, and 0 that it is not. Therefore a longitudinal logistic models and estimates will be used in this thesis, more specifically the random-intercept logistic model. This section is divided into six parts: (1) the advantages of the longitudinal logistic model; (2) STATA, the model estimation program; (3) the specification of the model; (4) the time-interaction effects used to measure change; (5) the estimates used in the analysis; and (6) the preconditions for this particular model.

¹⁴ None of the independent variables had a stability of 100 percent and will therefore be considered time-consistent.

4.4.1 – Advantages of the Longitudinal Logistic Model

Longitudinal studies with binary responses as dependent variable is rarely used in studies in comparative politics. However the methodology has been widely used not only on the sociological field but also within psychology and medical studies. This type of model consists of two aspects, as it applies logistic regression on panel data. Thus this section is divided into a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of logistic regression¹⁵, and another section on the advantages and disadvantages of panel data.

Pampel (2000) conducts an extensive discussion of why the logistic regression model is more apt at dealing with binary response than an ordinary least square (OLS) regression model. Pampel points to a functional and a statistical problem in using OLS-regression models when the dependent variable is dichotomous. The functional problem is related to the regression line. An OLS-regression assumes that the regression line is infinite. As the dependent variable is either 0 or 1, it does not sufficiently describe the effects the independent variables have on the dependent variable. However, when a logistic regression is applied the regression line becomes S-shaped and infinite as the line neither touches 0 nor 1 at any point, thus resolving the functional issue.

The statistical problem that rises when using OLS-regression on a binary response variable is related to the efficiency of the estimates. As the dichotomous variables only have two values, it violates the assumptions of normality of the error terms and homoscedasticity, thus reducing the accuracy of the estimates in the model. This is not a problem with a logistic regression model. An OLS-regression should thus not be used when the dependent variable is dichotomous (Pampel, 2000).

A longitudinal study has many advantages, however there are two aspects that are particularly important for this thesis. The first is that longitudinal studies allow for a study of change. It is possible to estimate the effects changes in the independent variables have on the dependent variable(s) (Frees, 2004; Ruspini, 1999). The aim of this thesis is just that – studying the effect different factors have on changes in associations' political participation. The second advantage of longitudinal data is that it allows distinguishing between time-varying and time-constant factors. This is one of

¹⁵ Though a probit regression model may also be applied, it is not very different from the logistic regression and is usually used when the dependent variable is ordinal.

the goals of the thesis. This however requires a specific longitudinal method, (Allison, 2009), in this case the random-intercept model. The descriptive research will as mentioned above identify which variables are time-varying, and this will be incorporated into the model. This can only be done using longitudinal or time-series analysis. A time-series analysis is, as mentioned above, not sufficient for generalization, thus it will not be used here.

There are two main methods for estimation on longitudinal data – the fixed effects and random effects regression model. The fixed effects model only studies the time-varying variables, whereas the random-effect model can incorporate the time-constant variables as well (Allison, 2009: 21).

Furthermore, the random-effects model is based on estimates on the population of clusters, instead of particular clusters in the dataset as in the fixed-effects model (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 61). As this thesis focuses on general change trends in the voluntary sector the random-effects model is more suitable. The dataset also takes part in determining which models are more suitable. The fixed-effects model demands the clusters, in this case the specific voluntary associations, to be large. This however is not the case here, as each cluster consists at the most of two observations (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 62). This would yield inconclusive results, as the variance in time is likely to be smaller than if there were i.e. ten or twenty time-junctions. This is because the fixed-effects model only includes the units that vary over time. Using the fixed-effects model drastically reduces the sample size causing large problems for both the generalizability and accuracy of the results. The numbers of observation reduces to such a large extent as it only includes the observations that have changed between 1999 and 2009.¹⁶ If an observation has no change on one variable, then it is excluded from the model (Allison, 2009). The random-effects model would therefore be the more suitable option of the two

4.4.2 – STATA

The statistical program used for this thesis is STATA. This statistical program is well apt at modeling the random-intercept model as it allows for numerous approaches to

¹⁶ The models were all run using the fixed-effects model. This generated very low number of observations around twenty per governmental level, with the random intercept model the number of observations is above a thousand for each of the models.

estimating the model and interpreting the model and the regression coefficients, as well as testing the preconditions of the model (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2010).

4.4.3 – Model Specification

The model used here is a random-intercept logistic regression model, a type of generalized linear mode. In order to study how changes in the independent variables affect the dichotomous dependent variables four components make up the model, the covariates, the random-intercept parameters, the logit-linking function, and time-interaction variables.

The random-intercept model combines both fixed-effects and random-effects in one model. The fixed-effects are represented by the covariates in the model, whereas the random-effects is the combined effect of the omitted association-specific (time-constant) covariates that cause some voluntary associations to be more prone to being politically active than others. By including the random intercept in the linear predictor, unobserved heterogeneity may be observed in the same manner as the observed heterogeneity (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 247). The unobserved heterogeneity is included through the estimation of subject-specific probabilities. Instead of using a population average estimation that is only conditioned on the covariates, the random intercept model used here estimates subject-specific probabilities for the individual voluntary associations, which includes both the subject-specific random intercept and the covariates (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 61-62). The subject-specific parameter thus represents the heterogeneity among the different voluntary associations, allowing the analysis to draw conclusions regarding voluntary associations that are not included in the sample (Frees, 2004: 72-73).

As discussed above in section 4.4.1., a standard ordinary least square model is insufficient to accurately estimate the results when the dependent variable is dichotomous. Consequently, in order to provide more accurate estimates of the effect the independent variables may have on the binary dependent variables, a linking function has to be accommodated. As there is little difference between the logit- and probit-linking functions, the logit-function will be applied here. The probit-function is mainly used when then the dependent variable is an ordinal or categorical variable. The logit-linking function converts the dependent variable from a nonlinear variable to a linear variable. As the results have to be interpreted as probabilities, instead of effects.

4.4.4 – Time-Interaction Effects

Time-interaction variables are constructed in order to estimate how changes in the independent variables over time affect the probability of a voluntary association being or becoming politically active.

The survey year variable is transformed into a dummy variable. Where 1999 is coded into zero and 2009 to one. The independent variables are multiplied with the dichotomous variable for the year of the survey, thus allowing for the treatment of the time-interaction as a covariate (Allison, 2009:19-20 & 28-31; Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 245-247). By coding the survey year variable into a dummy it allows for the effect to be measured in ten years instead of one year. These time-interactions are in other words the estimated probability of each individual independent variable on the dependent variable as a function of time. This allows for an examination of the change in the effect an independent variable have on the dependent variable in ten years. Section 4.4.5. elaborates how these interaction variables are interpreted. When interactions are used in a model it is crucial that both of the variables it is constructed of is included in the model. Thus the models will consist of both the time-interactions and the independent variables (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 26). The descriptive research will establish the independent variables that vary on both a population level, and within the organizations themselves. Those that do are time-varying variables.

4.4.5 – The Estimates of the Random-Intercept Logistic Regression Model

Model Estimation

There are a number of estimates that allows for assessment of the longitudinal logistic regression model's goodness-of-fit. The purpose of the model estimates is in this context to compare the models that exclude and include control variables, as well as estimating how much the models explain of the total variation in the data. The ones that will be used here are: the log likelihood ratio and its significance test; the log likelihood and the Pseudo R^2 ; Akaike information criterion (AIC); and Bayesian information criterion (BIC).

The likelihood ratio test tells us if the null hypothesis is correct or not, meaning that all coefficients except the intercepts are zero. This is simply shown by the significance test of the likelihood ratio. If the likelihood ratio is significant at a 0.1 percent level, the null hypothesis can be discarded (Long & Freese, 2006: 144). The log likelihood is the natural log of the likelihood of the observed data given the

parameter estimates, which gives an indication of how well the model fits the observed data. The range of this measure is between 0 and negative infinite. The closer the log likelihood is to zero the better the model (Pampel, 2000: 45). The Pseudo R^2 is based on the log likelihood value, with a range between zero and one. The closer it is to one the better the model is.¹⁷ Though the log likelihood increases with the effectiveness of the parameters, it is rather ambiguous as it is also dependent on the size of the sample and the number of parameters (Pampel, 2000: 45). Therefore two other measures of model fit will also be included, the AIC and BIC values. The closer these are to zero the better the model is (Long & Freese, 2006: 112).

Predicting the Regression Slope

Three types of measures of the regression slope will be included in the analysis: the regression coefficients; the odds ratio; and the percentage change. In addition, a significance test is included. The unstandardized regression coefficient in logistic regression is similar to the linear regression. The regression coefficient can be interpreted as the change in the odds of the dependent variable for each value change in the independent variable (Menard, 2002: 50). However, the regression coefficient does not say much about the magnitude of the probability, but it does indicate whether it increases or decreases. A positive coefficient increases the predicted probability, whereas a negative one decreases the probability (Hair, 2006: 364).

However, it is important to note that “the estimated regression coefficients for the random-intercept logistic regression model are more extreme (different from 0) than those for the ordinary logistic regression model” (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2010: 254), thus the estimated odds ratios are also more extreme. This is because the multilevel logistic random-intercept model is fitted to the subject-specific probabilities of the individual units, whereas population-average probabilities are used for the ordinary logistic regression model (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2010: 254).

The odds ratio and the change in odds ratio however both give an indication of the direction of the effect and the magnitude of one value change in the independent variable on the odds of the dependent variable. The interpretation of metric and

¹⁷ The Pseudo R^2 is not given in xtlogit and must thus be calculated using the log likelihood of the full model, as well as the restrictive model. Each of the log likelihoods are multiplied with -2 giving $-2LL_{\text{model}}$ and $-2LL_{\text{null}}$. The equation for finding the Pseudo R^2 is: $R^2 = [-2LL_{\text{null}} - (-2LL_{\text{model}})] / (-2LL_{\text{null}})$ (Hair, 2006: 361-362; Menard, 2002: 20-24; Pampel, 2000: 49)

dichotomous independent variables differs. The odds ratio, also known as the exponential coefficient, is the logarithm of the unstandardized regression coefficient. Because the exponential coefficients are expressed in odds they will not have negative values. If the exponential regression coefficient exceeds 1 it has a positive impact on the odds, whereas if it cedes 1 it has a negative effect. The odds ratio has to be interpreted in terms of multiplication rather than additivity, meaning that the coefficient's effect is multiplied for each value change in the independent variable (Hair, 2006: 364-365). The percentage change in odds indicates the percentage change of the dependent variable's odds¹⁸ when the independent variable changes by one value. The percentage change in odds is either positive or negative. When the percentage change is positive it has a positive effect on the odds, whereas when it is negative it has a negative effect. The only exception is when the odds ratio is 1 then the percentage change will be zero (Hair, 2006: 365).

In terms of dichotomous variables the odds ratio and percentage change in odds have to be interpreted differently. When the independent variable is dichotomous, the odds ratio and percentage change in odds have to be interpreted in relation to both the represented and omitted group. The odds ratio "represents the relative level of the dependent variable for the represented group versus the omitted group" (Hair, 2006: 367). Consequently, the dichotomous variables must be interpreted in the following way: assuming that 1 indicates that a voluntary association is an interest organization and 0 indicates that it is not, the odds ratio represent the percentage of the odds of interest organizations compared to non-interest organizations. Therefore, if the odds ratio is 1.30, interest organizations have 30 percent¹⁹ higher odds of being politically active than voluntary associations that are not interest organizations (Hair, 2006: 367).

Due to the complexity of interpreting interactions with time, they will be interpreted solely as having either a positive or negative effect on the probability of political participation. However, these effects have to be viewed in light of the changes that have occurred in each variable (Ai & Norton, 2003; Norton, Wang, & Ai, 2004). For instance, if the proportion of interest organizations has decreased between 1999

¹⁸ The percentage change in odds is calculated in the following way: percentage change in odds = $100(\text{odds ratio}_i - 1.0)$ (Hair, 2006: 365).

¹⁹ This percentage difference is calculated the same way as the percentage change in odds. The percentage odds that interest organizations are politically active as opposed to non-interest organizations = $100(1.30 - 1) = 30$ percent (Hair, 2006: 367).

and 2009, and the time-interaction effect for interest organizations is negative, then the decrease in interest organizations have had a negative effect on the probability of political participation.

4.4.6 – Preconditions

A number of preconditions have been tested for in the analysis. The ones that had to be dealt with in the data are multicollinearity, and outliers, and potentially non-linearity. In addition there may be a specification error of the models, in which some independent variables may have been wrongfully included or excluded, however considering that this is as much an exploratory analysis as a hypothesis testing analysis, the problem of including the wrong variables is not as pressing. Exclusion of variables however, may pose a greater issue when considering that the data is based surveys over time, attrition is a large issue that limits the number of variables that can be included.

The multicollinearity in the models is mainly caused by the inclusion of the time-interactions. However, considering that the independent variables of the time-interaction must be included in the models (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008: 26), all the variables and time-interactions²⁰ that have multicollinearity will be centered in order to reduce the correlation between them. The variables are recoded through subtracting the mean value from all the variables' values thus creating centered variables. A centered variable is the mean of each unit subtracted from the overall mean of the variable (Eikemo & Clausen, 2007: 128). This reduces the correlation between the highly correlated variables and thus solves the issue of multicollinearity for all of the models used in this thesis.

Both model 1 and 3 have some very influential units. These are excluded from the models.²¹ The influential observations have been identified using Pearsons residuals, deviance residuals and the Pregibon leverage (Chen, Ender, Mitchell, & Wells, 2011; Menard, 2002).

Furthermore, in order for the model to be correct the relationship between the dependent and independent variables have to be linear. Theory is the major indicator of

²⁰ All the variables in the models with the exception of the control variables.

²¹ In model 1 the associations with the registration number 23074 and 5065 are excluded. In model 2 none of the associations are excluded. In model 3 the associations with the registration number 3985, 7718, and 22788 are excluded.

whether the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables (Berry & Feldman, 1994: 53), as no research has been done on this relationship it will be assumed that the relationship is linear.

4.5 – Operationalizing Hypothesis

Before analyzing the survey-data the hypothesis in chapter 3 must be operationalized. Five variable groups are distinguished here: the dependent variables on political participation; and the independent variable groups, organizational type, organizational structure, membership, and control variables. Each of the variables within these groups will be presented below, and the external validity of them will be evaluated. In this regard internal validity concerns whether the variables measure what the hypothesis requires them to measure (Pennings, Keman, & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006).

4.5.1 – Dependent Variable: Political Involvement

There are three dependent variables examined in this thesis. They all concern voluntary associations' political involvement on specific issues that have been up for discussion or made a motion on by different governmental bodies. The dependent variables are divided according to which governmental level the associations' target, the municipal level, district municipal level and the state level. Though this is a rather narrow definition of political involvement, thus ensuring more accurate measures of political involvement, which increases the internal validity of the measure. The variables are dichotomous where 1 means that the association is politically active, and 0 means that they are not.

4.5.2 – Organizational Type

The variable group organizational type intends to investigate the extent to which the type of association affects the political involvement. There are six variables in this group: a consensus versus conflict index; an individual versus collective index; an interest organization dummy; a social movement organization dummy; a communitarian organization dummy; and a service organization dummy.

The indexes are based on two questions for each variable with a range from one to ten. These are then added together creating an index from two to twenty. The consensus-conflict index indicates that the higher the score is, the more conflict oriented the association is, and the lower the score, the more consensus oriented the association is. The associations were asked to range their association according to how

much they agreed with the statements posed. The statements that constructs this index are: (1) the association is not in opposition to prevailing values in society versus the association is in opposition to prevailing values in society; and (2) it is not important for the association to convince others of our ideas versus it is very important for the association to convince others of their ideas²².

Similarly for the individual-collective index the higher the score the association has the more collective-oriented they are, and oppositely the lower the score is the more individual-oriented they are. As with the former index this one also builds on two statements: (1) the association primarily works for its members versus the association primarily works for the local society; and (2) most of the association's activities are only open for members versus most of the association's activities are open to all²³.

These two indexes are also used to construct dummy variables of organizational types. Wollebæk and Selle (2002) uses, as seen in chapter 3, four different ideal types to describe the types of associations, namely interest organizations, social movements organizations, communitarian organizations, and service organizations. Interest organizations are those associations that have answered equal to or above five on the consensus-conflict index, and below or equal to five on the individual-collective index. If the association has given a score equal to five or above on both indexes, then the association is considered a social movement organization. The communitarian associations are the associations that have a score equal or below five on the consensus-conflict index, and above five on the individual-collective index. The service organizations are those associations that have scored below five on both the individual-collective index and the consensus-conflict index.

4.5.3 – Organizational Structure

This variable group consists of four aspects of organizational structure. The first is the actual structure the organization is a part of, whether they are a part of a hierarchical structure or not. The second, is regarding the associations' affiliation to an umbrella or

²² If the association considers themselves primarily consensus oriented they would give the value one, whereas if they consider themselves primarily conflict oriented they would give the value ten. This applies for both of the countering statements.

²³ If the association considers themselves primarily individually oriented they would give the value one, whereas if they consider themselves primarily collectively oriented they would give they value ten. This applies for both of the countering statements.

cooperative organization. The third is the associations' degree of professionalization and the third their degree of formalization.

The organizational connection to a hierarchical structure is a dichotomous variable constructed from five dummy variables. The first dummy variable is whether the association has subdivisions of its own. The second is if they are a subdivision of an organization on the municipal level. The third is if the association is linked to a district or regional organization. The fourth is whether the associations are members of a national organization. If an association has two or more of these connections, then the association is considered to have a hierarchical structure. Though this reduces the information it also makes it easier to conclude whether or not the results strengthen or weakens the hypothesis and reduces the drop out rate of values. The second variable states whether the organizations are a members in an umbrella organization. If the association is a member of an umbrella organization or cooperative organization it has the value 1 and if not 0.

The degree of professionalization is measure using two proxy-variables, namely whether the association has employees, and the internal democracy-efficiency index. If the voluntary association has employees then it has the value 1, whereas if it does not it has the value 0. The internal democracy-efficiency index is a scale from one to ten ranging those associations that value internal democracy over efficiency with a low score, and those that value efficiency over internal democracy with a high score. This index builds on the two statements: (1) democratic procedures should be followed even though it makes the association's work less efficient; and (2) democratic procedures should yield if it causes inefficiency. There is a possibility here for low reliability as this is a type of question which may cause people to answer according to what they believe should be answered instead of what actually is the case. This is because democracy is a value that is highly regarded in Norway, and placing efficiency over democracy could be criticized.

The degree of formalization is measured using one proxy-variable, constituting of four dichotomous variables. An association is formalized if it has three or more of the four following procedures institutionalized: a constitution; hold annual meetings; keep meeting minutes; and keep records of their members. Whether the variables that measure professionalization and formalization actually measures this is difficult to determine, however they are included as the theory argues that variables above are a sign of professionalization and formalization.

4.5.4 – Organizational Membership

This variable group regards the membership base of the associations and the types of members they value. There are three aspects these variables measure, the size of the membership base, the age of the members, and whether the associations only value active members or also value passive ones. The first variable measures the number of members the associations have, both active and passive. The second aspect consists of several dummy variables showing what age group dominates the organization, in order to measure whether age has an effect on whether the associations are politically active or not.

The age ranges that are included are: young; middle aged; and older. These three groups are made up of five dummies. The group young members consist of two dichotomous variables indicating the age of the members, respectively the age groups up to 15 years of age and from 16 to 30 years old. The second dichotomous variable middle-aged members consist of associations with members between 31 and 50 years old. The last dichotomous variable consists of the two dummy variables members are between 61 and 66 years old, and members are from 67 years old and up. It should however be noted that the associations are able check off several of the age groups in the survey. This may have an effect on the results. The last variable is an index on whether the association only value active members or if they also value passive members. The index ranges from one to ten, where one indicates that the association only value active members, and ten indicates that they also value passive members.

4.5.5 – Control Variables

Five control variables are included in the analysis. These are: whether the association is new, that is established after 1980; whether the association operates in Bergen²⁴; if the associations scope is nonlocal; and if the municipal government has asked the association for advice on political issues. All of these variables are dichotomous.

4.6 – Summary

This chapter has discussed which method is best suited to answer the research question. A descriptive analysis will first be conducted to determine how the independent variables have changed between 1999 and 2009, thus also ascertain which of the individual variables are time-varying and may thus have an effect on changes in

²⁴ The district capital of Hordaland

political involvement. The choice fell on a longitudinal logistic regression model, more specifically the random-intercept model. This model allows for incorporation of both time-constant and time-varying variables. More importantly this model allows for statistically testing the hypotheses regarding change in political involvement.

The next chapters are the analysis of the data and the discussion of the results. The first chapter below is the descriptive analysis, which will examine the changes in the dependent variables and independent variables, as well as determine which of the independent variables are time-varying. Thereafter the causal analysis will be conducted in order to determine the effect the different independent variables have on political involvement on the municipal, district-municipal and state level, as well as determining whether any of the changes in the independent variables have had an effect on the changes in the associations' political involvement. The last chapter discusses the hypotheses presented in chapter 3 and compares the results across the three governmental levels.

Chapter 5 – Descriptive Analysis

In order to better understand what causes changes in voluntary associations' political involvement two forms of descriptive analysis will be conducted, one on the whole population of associations in Hordaland, and the other on only those associations that participated in both the 1999 and 2009 survey. The purpose of this is to see whether the factors mainly changes in the organizational population as a whole or within the different associations, as well as establishing whether the difference between the dataset of the whole population and the dataset on the associations that participated in both surveys differ. This will in turn determine which variables are time-varying, and time-constant and whether it is possible to refrain from using the fixed-effects model discussed in chapter four.

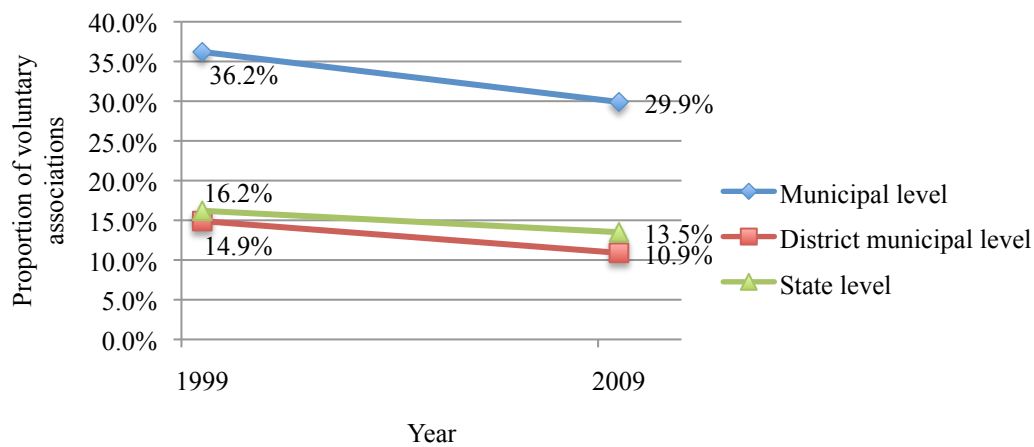
The structure of this chapter is divided into the four variable groups – the dependent variables for political participation and the independent variables for type, structure and membership. The two populations of associations will be compared and analyzed within these groups to determine whether it is a general trend within the associations or if the changes that has occurred for each variable is a result of the rise of new associations and the disbandment of others.

5.1.1 – The Dependent variable: Political Involvement

Almost every advanced democracy has been experiencing declining electoral turnout. This indicates that Western societies have in general become less engaged in politics. This section will investigate whether this also is the case in the local voluntary sector in Norway. The term political involvement refers to direct attempt to influence governmental decision-making processes through contacting the government – municipal, district municipal or state – on specific issues. When comparing the associations in the voluntary sector in Hordaland between 1999 and 2009 it is evident that there has been a decrease, though relatively small, in political participation. Figure 5.1. shows that voluntary associations attempts to affect politics on the municipal level has decreased slightly more than the other levels. It decreased by roughly six percentage points, whereas the proportion on the district-municipal level decreased by four percentage points and about three percentage points on the national level. As with electoral turnout, the local voluntary sector has become less politically active. However, in order to determine whether this is caused by new associations emerging

and old ones disappearing or if voluntary associations have gone from being active to inactive further examination of the data is necessary.

Figure 5.1 – Changes in Local Voluntary Associations’ Political Involvement



By solely studying the associations that both participated in the 1999 and 2009 survey it is possible to discern whether the decline in political involvement seen in figure 5.1 is also occurring within the individual associations. Table 5.1 shows that the narrower sample of associations have similar trends to those in the whole population. The total change in ‘yes’ decreased on all governmental level, at roughly five percentage points on the municipal level, four on the district-municipal level, and three at the state level. Political involvement on the municipal level decreased slightly more, approximately one percentage point, in the sample of the whole population. This could indicate that associations that have ‘died’ were more prone to political participation than the new associations that have emerged.

The analysis above does not determine whether political involvement is a time-varying or time-consistent characteristic. The overall stability of these variables is rather high. The stability of a variable indicates the percentage of voluntary associations that maintain the same answer in both 1999 and 2009. The stability of participation on the municipal level and district-municipal level is slightly lower at approximately 82 percent, than on the state level which has a stability of roughly 88 percent. Though could indicate that the dependent variable is time-constant, a closer examination of the answers imply otherwise. Though the proportion of associations that changed their answer from ‘no’ to ‘yes’ is not very high at roughly seventeen percent on the municipal level, and even lower on the district-municipal and state level at roughly seven and ten percent, the associations that changed their answer from ‘yes’ to ‘no’ is very high. At the municipal level circa 37 percent changed from ‘yes’ to ‘no’

between 1999 and 2009, more strikingly though, roughly 56 percent did so on the district-municipal level and 59 percent on the state level. This reveals that the not only are all of the dependent variables time-varying, but also that the voluntary associations seem to move away from the political sphere, in other words away from civil society.

Table 5.1 – Changes in Local Voluntary Associations Political Involvement

	Municipal level participation		District-municipal level participation		State level participation	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Total no in 1999	448	58.7	549	82.7	537	82
Total yes in 1999	315	41.3	115	17.3	118	18
Total number of associations	763	100	664	100	655	100
Total no in 2009	487	63.8	574	86.5	556	84.9
Total yes in 2009	276	36.2	90	13.5	99	15.1
Total number of associations	763	100	664	100	655	100
Total change in 'yes' between 1999 and 2009	-39	-5.1	-25	-3.8	-19	-2.9
Over all stability		82.5		89.8		88.3
Answer remains 'no' in 2009	371	82.8	510	92.9	486	90.5
Answer changes from 'no' to 'yes' in 2009	77	17.2	39	7.1	51	9.5
Associations that answered 'no' in 1999	448	100	549	100	537	100
Answer remains 'yes' in 2009	199	63.2	51	44.3	48	40.7
Answer changes from 'yes' to 'no' in 2009	116	36.8	64	55.7	70	59.3
Associations that answered 'yes' in 1999	315	100	115	100	118	100

5.1.2 – Organizational Typology

The Consensus-Conflict and Individual-Collective Dimensions

The purpose of an association often determines the orientation an association has. As portrayed in chapter two, the voluntary sector has become increasingly more individualistic and consensus-oriented. This may have had a profound effect on whether associations are politically active or not. The associations that are conflict oriented – that is, interest organizations and social movement organizations – have traditionally been more politically active than the consensus oriented organizations – service organizations and communitarian organizations. Furthermore, a collective orientation are concerned with society's wellbeing, thus it is likely that associations

which target society and political institutions – social movement organizations and communitarian organizations – are more likely to be politically involved.²⁵

The voluntary sector in Hordaland is minimally more individual-oriented than collective-oriented, with a mean score of 9.5 in 1999 and 10.1 in 2009. However, the increase in the mean score also indicates a slight move towards a more collectivistic voluntary sector.²⁶ The voluntary sector in Hordaland has a means score of 10.2 on the consensus-conflict index in 1999, and a means score of 9.4 in 2009. The voluntary sector in Hordaland is in other words slightly more consensus-oriented than conflict oriented. Further, the mean’s decrease indicates that the voluntary sector in Hordaland is becoming more consensus-oriented.

Figure 5.2 – Local Voluntary Associations’ Orientation on the Individual-Collective and Consensus-Conflict Indexes

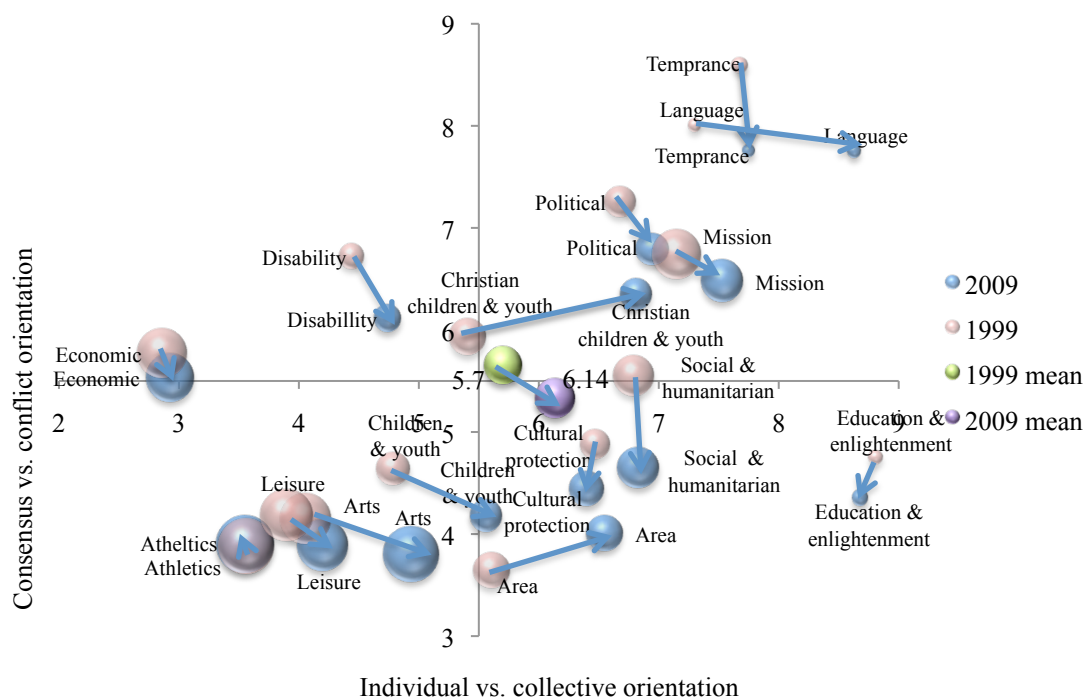


Figure 5.2 illustrates clearly how different associations have traveled along the individual-collective index and consensus-conflict index between 1999 and 2009. There is a general trend that the voluntary sector in Hordaland has become more

²⁵ Though both service organizations and interest organizations are individual-oriented, the interest organizations are more likely to be politically active than either of the other organizational types, as interest organizations aim at representing their members’ rights and interests. It is therefore probable that the individual-collective dimension has little effect on political participation.

²⁶ The boundary between individually oriented and collectively oriented is a score of eleven on the index. The lower the score the more individualistic the voluntary sector is and the higher the score the more collectivistic the voluntary sector is.

consensus-oriented and collective-oriented. This is somewhat different from trends seen earlier. As described in chapter two, Wollebæk and Selle (2002) gave a different picture of the development in the Norwegian voluntary sector, changing from collective- and conflict-oriented to individual- and consensus-oriented. Figure 5.2 shows that the voluntary associations in Hordaland moved from being individual-oriented to collective-oriented between 1999 and 2009. Though the trend towards an even more consensus-oriented voluntary sector continues, the voluntary sector has on a general note become more collective.

Table 5.2 – The Orientation of the Voluntary Sector

	Individual-oriented		Collective-oriented		Consensus-oriented		Conflict-oriented	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Total 'no' in 1999	465	51.1	370	40.7	530	58.2	265	29.1
Total 'yes' in 1999	445	48.9	540	59.3	380	41.2	645	70.9
Total number of associations	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100
Total 'no' in 2009	479	52.6	344	37.8	478	52.5	315	34.6
Total 'yes' in 2009	431	47.4	566	62.2	432	47.5	595	65.4
Total number of associations	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100
Total change of 'yes' between 1999 and 2009	-11	-1.6	26	2.9	52	6.3	-50	-5.5
Overall stability		77.1		78.7		72.3		62.7
Answer remains 'no' in 2009	337	72.5	234	63.2	311	58.7	118	44.5
Answer changes from 'no' to 'yes' in 2009	128	27.5	136	36.8	219	41.3	147	55.5
Associations that answered 'no' in 1999	465	100	370	100	530	100	265	100
Answer remains 'yes' in 2009	142	31.9	110	20.4	167	44	197	30.5
Answer changes from 'yes' to 'no' in 2009	303	68.1	540	79.6	213	56	448	69.5
Associations that answered 'yes' in 1999	445	100	540	100	380	100	645	100

The narrower population sample also shows the same trends. Table 5.2 depicts a voluntary sector that is becoming more consensus- and collective-oriented. The close similarities between the two samples indicates that the change has not been a result of the entry of new associations and the exit of old ones, rather it seems to be the result of changes within the associations. In order to strengthen these findings further examination of the change within the voluntary associations is necessary.

The overall stability of the variables is moderate ranging between roughly 63 percent and 79 percent. This makes it more plausible that changes have occurred due to

internal strategic alterations instead of associations in the whole voluntary sector. This is in turn related to whether the variables are time-constant or time-varying. When examining how the associations have changed their position on the two dimensions it becomes clear that the variables are time-varying. On the one hand, on the individual-collective dimension 28 percent become individual-oriented, whereas 37 percent become collective-oriented. On the other hand, 68 percent move away from being individual-oriented, whereas 80 percent move away from being collective-oriented. Though this seems to contradict the findings above, it does not as the percentage between the changes depend on the total of either being or not being individual- or collective-oriented. It rather implies that the variables vary greatly between 1999 and 2009, making them time-varying variables. Similarly, on the consensus-conflict dimension, 41 percent of the associations that were not consensus-oriented in 1999 became so in 2009, and 56 percent of the associations that were not conflict-oriented in 1999 became so by 2009. Further, 56 percent of the associations that were consensus-oriented in 1999 were not so in 2009, whereas 70 percent of the associations that were conflict-oriented in 1999 were not so in 2009. These findings indicate that both the individual-collective index and consensus-conflict index are time-varying variables.

In sum, the finding show a different trend than previous research, that the voluntary sector is becoming more collective-oriented as opposed to individual-oriented. Though the trends are different, the time-varying aspect of the findings is consistent with the notion that the voluntary sector as a whole and internally in the associations is affected by general changes in society. Perhaps the individualization in society in general is in recession.

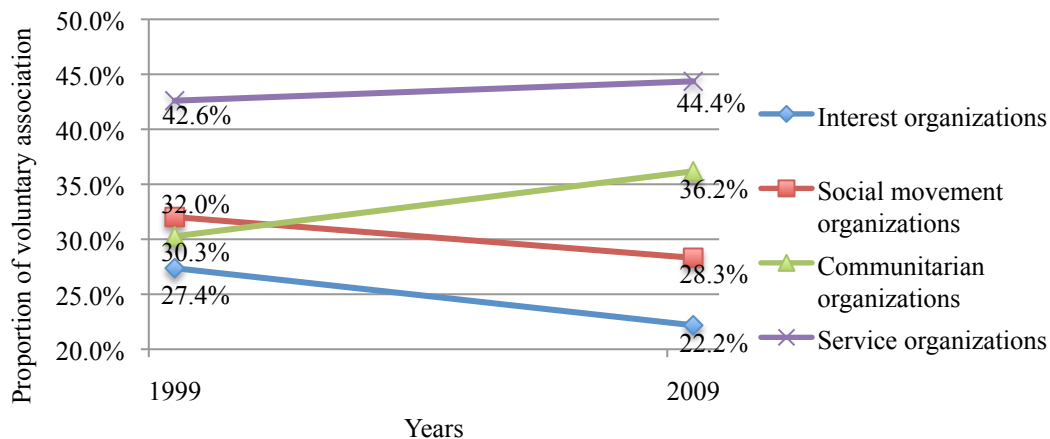
Type of Organization

Over the past hundred years new organizations have risen and old ones have disappeared. The type of organization an association is, often determines whether an association is involved with political institutions or not. By using two indexes, the individual-collective index and the consensus-conflict index, it is possible to identify four types of organizations: interest organizations; social movement organizations; communitarian organizations; and service organizations. The social movement organizations dominated the voluntary sector for a long time. However at the turn of the 20th century interest organizations and service organizations began to emerge, and particularly the service organizations dominated the voluntary sector from the 1960s.

At the turn of millennium the communitarian organizations became more pronounced in the voluntary sector.

These trends are still striking, as illustrated in figure 5.3 both the service organizations and communitarian organizations increased between 1999 and 2009. The communitarian organizations did so more exponentially than the service organizations. The proportion of communitarian organizations increased by roughly six percentage points, whereas the service organizations increased by about three percentage points. Adversely, the proportion of social movement organizations and interest organizations decreased between 1999 and 2009. The interest organizations decreased slightly more than the social movement organizations, respectively by roughly five and four percentage points. This may indicate that voluntary associations that are identified as social movements organizations and interest organizations are diminishing in the voluntary sector. However, it may also mean that a share of the voluntary associations' function in society has changed.

Figure 5.3 – Changes in the Voluntary Sectors' Composition of Organizational Types



When comparing the entire population of voluntary associations to the smaller sample of those associations that answered both the 1999 and 2009 survey, the picture becomes a bit different. The proportion of voluntary associations that are interest organizations or social movement organizations still decrease, but not to the same extent as in the whole population. The proportion of communitarian associations still increases in the narrower sample, except not as much as in the whole population. This implies that changes in organizational type may both be due to the exchange of old organizations for new ones, and because of internal changes in the associations. The proportion of service organizations however, decreases in the narrower sample instead

of increasing as in the whole population. This insinuates that some of the newly established associations are service organizations, whereas internally associations move away from being service organizations.

Table 5.3 – Changes in Local Voluntary Associations’ Organizational Type

	Interest organization		Social movement organization		Communitarian organization		Service organizations	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Total ‘no’ in 1999	303	71.5	291	68.6	289	68.2	255	60.1
Total ‘yes’ in 1999	121	28.5	133	31.4	135	31.8	169	39.9
Total number of associations	424	100	424	100	424	100	424	100
Total ‘no’ in 2009	317	74.8	294	69.3	276	65.1	260	61.3
Total ‘yes’ in 2009	107	25.2	130	30.7	148	34.9	164	38.7
Total number of associations	424	100	424	100	424	100	424	100
Total change of ‘yes’ between 1999 and 2009	-14	-3.3	-3	-.7	13	3.1	-5	-1.2
Overall stability		84.4		86.8		85.8		87.2
Answer remains ‘no’ in 2009	239	78.9	234	80.4	219	75.8	201	78.8
Answer changes from ‘no’ to ‘yes’ in 2009	64	21.1	57	19.6	70	24.2	54	21.2
Associations that answered ‘no’ in 1999	303	100	291	100	289	100	255	100
Answer remains ‘yes’ in 2009	43	35.5	73	54.9	78	57.8	110	65.1
Answer changes from ‘yes’ to ‘no’ in 2009	78	64.5	60	45.1	57	42.2	59	34.9
Associations that answered ‘yes’ in 1999	121	100	133	100	135	100	169	100

Similarly to the analysis of voluntary associations’ political involvement above, it is necessary to examine the changes in the voluntary associations’ organizational type more closely. The overall stability of the organizational type variables is relatively lower than the ones on political involvement. The interest organizations variable is the most stable of the four. Roughly 72 percent of the associations that were an interest organization in 1999 were also interest organizations in 2009. Meanwhile, the service organization variable is the most unstable variable, of which approximately sixty percent remain service organizations in 2009. Though the instability of the variables is relatively high, it becomes more evident when examining the percentage of associations that have changed type between 1999 and 2009. Table 5.3 shows the proportion of associations that change from being one type of organization in 1999 to not being that type in 2009. For either of the organizational types, roughly twenty percent of the associations that were not that specific type in 1999 were so in 2009. In

comparison, the proportion of associations that changed from being a specific type of association in 1999 to not being that type 2009 is much higher. The interest organizations had the largest demise at about 65 percent. The other types were slightly lower at around forty percent. This could also explain why the voluntary sector is becoming less individual-oriented as discussed above. This strengthens the notion that organizational type is a time-varying variable.

As discussed in chapter 2, voluntary associations are becoming increasingly more consensus oriented than conflict oriented. In other words they do not try to change the public opinion to the same extent as during the era of social movements. Furthermore, as the general population has become wealthier and has more spare time on their hands, they have become increasingly individualistic. This trend has been mirrored in the voluntary sector previously. However the findings on types of organizations and with regards to the individual-collective dimension contradicts these earlier findings. It is possible that the new collective spirit that have risen, is a result of the strengthening in the communitarian organizations numbers, and the decline of service organizations and interest organizations.

5.1.3 – Organizational Structure

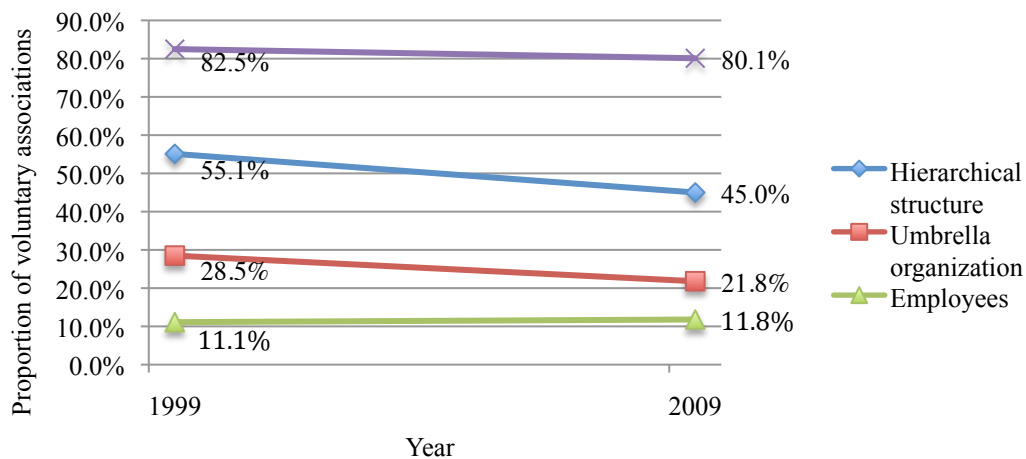
As portrayed in chapter 2, Norwegian voluntary sector has mainly had a hierarchical structure in a geographical sense, however this structure has become less dominant. New structures may thus have replaced the hierarchical structures in order to increase political legitimacy. The theory hypothesis that umbrella and cooperative organizations could act as such uniting structures. In addition to study the changes in the explicit structures, the degree of professionalization and formalization is also examined here.

Hierarchical Structure and Umbrella Organizations

When examining the results from the whole voluntary sector in Hordaland (see figure 5.5), there are only slight changes in the organizational structure. On the one hand, the hierarchical structure has decreased by approximately ten percentage points between 1999 and 2009. On the other hand, the proportion of voluntary associations that are a member of an umbrella organization or cooperative organization has also decreased between 1999 and 2009, though by roughly seven percentage points. Table 5.5 illustrates that the proportion of associations – that answered both the 1999 and 2009 surveys – that have a hierarchical structure, decreased by ten percentage points between 1999 and 2009, whereas the proportions of associations that are members of

umbrella organizations have decreased by roughly five percentage points. This indicates that umbrella organizations are not replacing the hierarchical structures. This may either be a result of the decrease in the proportion of associations that are politically active, or it might indicate that other structures act as procurers of political legitimacy.

Figure 5.4 - Local Voluntary Associations' Change in Organizational Structure



Furthermore, by comparing the changes in both the whole population and the narrower population, it becomes clear that the trends are similar. As in the whole population, the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure decreases, and those with an umbrella organization also decreases. It is therefore plausible that the changes are a result of changes within the associations, as opposed to changes in the voluntary sector as a whole. The variables are thus time-varying, not time-constant.

The conclusion above is strengthened when examining the internal changes in the associations between 1999 and 2009. The proportion of voluntary associations that no longer have a hierarchical structure in 2009 is approximately fifteen percent, whereas the proportion of associations that adapted the hierarchical structure by 2009 is roughly nine percent. This strengthens the conclusion that hierarchical structure is a time-varying variable. The same illation is possible for the dichotomous variable for umbrella organizations. Nearly twelve percent of the voluntary associations from the narrow sample became a member of an umbrella organization between 1999 and 2009, while circa twenty percent of the voluntary associations went from being a member of an umbrella organization in 1999 to not being a member in 2009.

Table 5.4 – Changes in Local Voluntary Associations’ Organizational Structure

	Hierarchical structure		Umbrella organization		Employees		Internal democracy		Organizational efficiency		Formalization	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Total ‘no’ in 1999	281	38.6	516	68.3	757	90.8	386	42.4	460	50.4	92	12.3
Total ‘yes’ in 1999	447	61.4	240	31.7	82	9.8	524	57.6	450	49.5	659	87.7
Total number of associations	728	100	756	100	834	100	910	100	910	100	834	100
Total no in 2009	333	45.7	573	75.8	739	88.6	344	37.8	483	48.1	90	12
Total yes in 2009	395	54.3	183	24.2	95	11.4	566	62.2	427	46.9	662	88
Total number of associations	728	100	756	100	834	100	910	100	910	100	752	100
Total change in ‘yes’ between 1999 and 2009	-52	-7.1	-57	-7.5	13	1.6	42	4.6	-23	-2.6	3	.3
Over all stability		83.6		79.8		93		72.9		70.8		93.6
Answer remains ‘no’ in 2009	218	77.5	429	83.1	711	96.2	196	50.8	284	61.7	60	65.2
Answer changes from ‘no’ to ‘yes’ in 2009	63	22.4	87	16.9	28	3.8	190	49.2	176	38.3	32	34.8
Associations that answered ‘no’ in 1999	281	100	516	100	739	100	386	100	460	100	92	100
Answer remains ‘yes’ in 2009	332	74.3	96	40	54	56.8	376	71.8	251	55.8	629	95.4
Answer changes from ‘yes’ to ‘no’ in 2009	115	25.7	144	60	41	43.2	148	28.2	199	44.2	30	4.6
Associations that answered ‘yes’ in 1999	447	100	240	100	95	100	524	100	450	100	659	100

Professionalization

Having employees and valuing organizational efficiency over internal democracy are indicators of an increasingly professional voluntary sector. The results in figure 5.4 show that the proportion of associations that have employees has increased nominally. The results from the narrower population sample show similar trends. The proportion of associations that have employees has increased by roughly two percentage points between 1999 and 2009. This implies that change in employment is a result of internal change in associations rather than the exchange of associations in the voluntary sector.

When studying the population of associations that participated in both of the surveys the conclusions above are weakened. Though the stability of the variable is very high (at 93 percent), the internal changes show a very different picture. Table 5.4 shows that of the associations that did not have employees in 1999 four percent did in 2009. This is very low increase in comparison to the 43 percent of the associations that did not have employees in 1999 did in 2009. This is a strong indicator that the increase in the whole population of associations is a result of new associations emerging and old ones disappearing, indicating that this is a time-constant, rather than a time-varying factor.

The second measure of professionalization is the democracy-efficiency index. The higher up on the scale between 1 and 10, the higher the degree of professionalization in the association. The democracy-efficiency index had a mean of 3.48 in 1999 and a mean of 3.25 in 2009, meaning that the whole population of associations in Hordaland value democracy more in 2009 than in 1999. The mean indicates the organizational population values democracy higher than it values efficiency. The investigation of the narrower sample, using a dummy variable each for internal democracy and efficiency²⁷, show similar trends, thus insinuating that the changes are due to internal altercations, as opposed to exchanges of associations in the whole population. When examining the change within the variables closer it shows that the overall variation is moderately high at approximately 73 percent of the internal democracy dummy, and 71 for the efficiency dummy. This indicates that the variables

²⁷ The internal democracy dummy has a value of one if the association has a score between one and five on the democracy-efficiency index. The efficiency dummy has a value of one if the association has a score between six and ten.

are time-varying. This is supported by the proportion of associations that change in either of the dummy variables (see table 5.4).

Formalization

The proportion of associations that are formalized is very high at approximately 80 percent in both 1999 and 2009. The changes in formalization are however, very marginal. The changes in both the population as a whole and the changes within the associations are minimal. In the whole population, the proportion of association that were formalized decrease by roughly two percentage point, whereas with internally changes it increased by less than one percent. This along side the high stability of the factor within the associations, indicate that this is a time-constant variable. However when examining the internal changes more closely it shows a slightly different picture. The proportion of associations that changed from being informal in 1999 to formal in 2009 is about 25 percent, whereas the proportion of associations that went from being formal in 1999 to informal in 2009 is circa five percent. Though the big difference between the two may be attributed to the low frequency of informal associations, it indicates that associations are becoming more formal. Thus this factor will be treated as a time-varying factor, however it is not expected to yield significant results in the analysis, as it is prone to uncertainties due to the low variation.

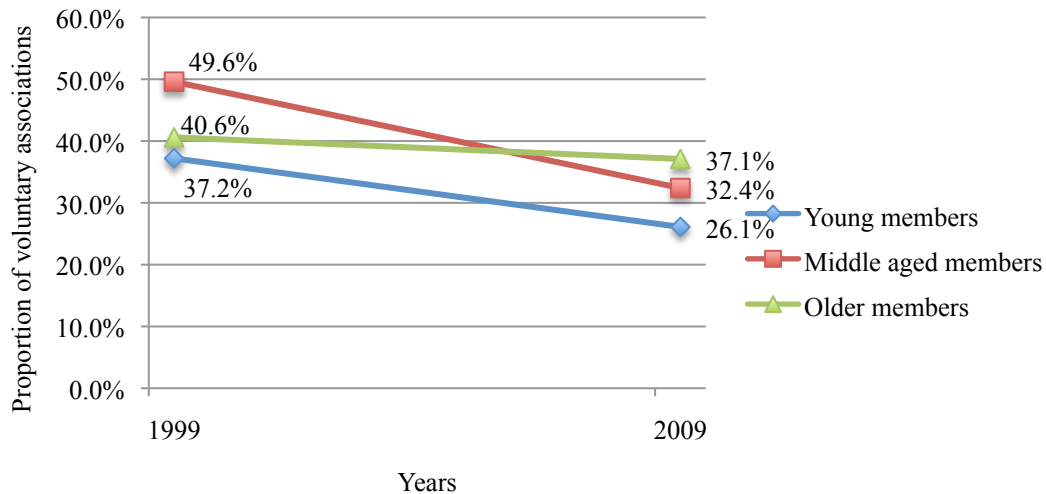
5.1.4 – Organizational Membership

The membership has long been the cornerstone in many voluntary associations, they have particularly been important in associations with political motives, as a large membership provides greater political legitimacy. As with the membership in political parties, the proportion of the Norwegian population participating in voluntary associations has decreased. However, more people seem to be participating in several associations. Furthermore, there have also been changes in the age range of the membership. This is particularly visible among the younger generations. Furthermore, the concept of membership has changed over the past twenty years. Both active and passive membership are valued, though active membership more so than passive. This section of the analysis, will investigate how these factors changed between 1999 and 2009, both in the voluntary sector as a whole and internally in the associations.

Number of Members

The mean number of members has increased from 225 members to 312 between 1999 and 2009. However, this is not sufficient to determine that this variable is time-varying. Therefore the number of members will be examined for the associations that both participated in the 1999 and 2009 survey. An interesting measure is the standard deviation of the within analysis. When the standard deviation of the within analysis is zero, then the variable does not vary over time. The standard deviation of the within analysis of number of members is 230. This asserts that the variable changes over time for several of the associations. This implies that this variable is time-varying, not time-constant.

Figure 5.5 – Changes in Membership’s Age in Local Voluntary Associations



The Members’ Age

The membership’s age range may also have an effect on political participation, therefore if these change it may cause changes in the associations political participation. As seen in figure 5.5, the proportion of associations with middle-aged members were higher than that of the younger and older age ranges. In 2009 however, the proportion of associations with older members surpassed the proportion of associations with middle-aged members. The proportion of association for all age groups has decreased between 1999 and 2009. This is possibly a result of less defined age ranges, as the associations are able to choose all of the options in the survey as to better describe their members’ age range. These data alone are inconclusive as to whether the changes are a result of changes in the general population of associations in

Hordaland or as a result of changes within individual associations, therefore they need to be studied in greater detail.

The results from the analysis of changes within individual associations show a slightly different picture than for the whole population. The proportion of associations with young members decreases by seven percentage points and the proportion with middle-aged members by roughly eighteen percentage points, whereas the proportion of associations with older members increases minimally by about one percentage point. In contrast the proportion of associations in the whole population decrease by roughly eleven percentage points for young members, seventeen for middle-aged members, and four for older members. The most distinct difference is the proportions of associations with older members, which is negative for the whole population and positive for the smaller sample. This may either indicate that the results are unreliable, or that the emergence of new associations and disappearance of old ones may have cause the change in proportions, or that the members that upper range of the middle-aged members that pertained to the associations in 1999 also do so in 2009, thus raising the age range. It is therefore inconclusive whether these variables are time-constant or time-varying.

A closer examination of the internal changes in the associations shows that all of the variables have a moderately high stability of between 75 and 85 percent. This implies that variation over time within the associations is relatively low. However, when examining the changes closer, the proportions of associations that change age group is roughly between ten and fifty percent. The middle-aged members range varies the most, and thereafter the older members (see table 5.5). This indicates that the variables are time-varying, the variable for middle-aged members more so than the others.

The stability of the active members dummy and passive members dummy is moderately high at roughly 76 and 81 percent. This indicates that there is some variation in time within the individual associations. However, when examining the answers more closely, it becomes clear that a large proportion of the associations change their values between 1999 and 2009. 64 percent of the associations change from not valuing passive members in 1999 to valuing them in 2009. Similarly, 61 percent of the associations change from only valuing active members in 1999, to not only valuing active members in 2009. This indicates that the active-passive members index is time-varying.

Table 5.5 – Changes in Local Voluntary Associations’ Membership

	Young members		Middle aged members		Older members		Active members		Passive members	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Total no in 1999	614	67.5	427	46.9	492	54.1	663	72.9	177	19.5
Total yes in 1999	296	32.5	483	53.1	418	45.9	247	27.1	733	80.5
Total number of associations	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100
Total no in 2009	678	74.5	592	65.1	480	52.7	679	74.6	167	18.4
Total yes in 2009	232	25.5	318	34.9	430	47.3	231	25.4	743	81.6
Total number of associations	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100	910	100
Total change in ‘yes’ between 1999 and 2009	-64	-7	-165	-18.2	12	1.4	-16	-1.7	10	1.1
Over all stability		85.9		74.8		80.4		76.1		80.7
Answer remains ‘no’ in 2009	571	93	356	83.4	375	76.2	528	79.6	63	35.6
Answer changes from ‘no’ to ‘yes’ in 2009	43	7	71	16.6	117	23.8	135	20.4	114	64.4
Associations that answered ‘no’ in 1999	614	100	427	100	492	100	663	100	177	100
Answer remains ‘yes’ in 2009	189	63.9	247	51.1	313	74.9	96	38.9	629	85.8
Answer changes from ‘yes’ to ‘no’ in 2009	107	36.1	236	48.9	105	25.1	151	61.1	104	14.2
Associations that answered ‘yes’ in 1999	296	100	483	100	418	100	247	100	733	100

Active and Passive Membership

The mean score on the value of active versus passive members index was 7.02 in 1999 and 6.89 in 2009. This means that the associations mainly regard active members as more valuable than passive members. This has become nominally stronger between 1999 and 2009 as the index has decreased. Contrastingly, when examining the changes individual associations the proportion of associations that value only active members has decreased by roughly two percentage points, whereas the proportion of associations that also value passive members increased by one percent between 1999

and 2009.²⁸ Though this may be a coincidental difference as the values are so low, it may also be a result of new associations emerging which only value active members or the disappearance of old associations that value both. However, in order to determine whether this variable is time-constant or time-varying a further investigation of the individual associations' changing view have to be conducted.

The stability of the active members dummy and passive members dummy is moderately high at roughly 76 and 81 percent. This indicates that there is some variation in time within the individual associations. However, when examining the answers more closely, it becomes clear that a large proportion of the associations change their values between 1999 and 2009. 64 percent of the associations change from not valuing passive members in 1999 to valuing them in 2009. Similarly, 61 percent of the associations change from only valuing active members in 1999, to not only valuing active members in 2009. This indicates that the active-passive members index is time-varying.

5.1.5 – Summary

As this chapter illustrates there have been a number of changes both in the associational population as a whole, and internally in the voluntary associations. Political involvement has decreased. The voluntary sector has become more collective- and consensus-oriented. The proportion of interest organizations and social movement organizations has decreased, whereas the proportion of service organizations and communitarian organizations has increased. The organizational structures have also experienced changed. The proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure has decreased. Similarly the proportion of associations that belong to an umbrella or cooperative organization has decreased. The voluntary sector's degree of professionalization show ambiguous results, as the increase in associations with employees indicate an increase in professionalization, whereas the decrease in the internal democracy-efficiency index indicate that there has been a decrease in the degree of professionalization. The proportion of associations that are formalized has also decreased. The mean number of members increased between 1999 and 2009. The

²⁸ In order to more easily study changes in the active-passive members index a dummy variable for each of the direction is created. The active members dummy has a value of one if the association has a score between one and five on the active-passive members index. The active members dummy has a value of one if the association has a score between six and ten.

proportions of associations mainly composed of either of the age groups have decreased. Lastly, the value of active versus passive members index has decreased, indicating that passive members are less valued in 2009 than in 1999.

The analysis above indicates that all of the variables are time-varying, however some are closer to being time-constant than others. For instance the variable for formalization is relatively stable but as it is not 100 percent stable it will be regarded as time-varying. Furthermore, the analysis of the whole population of associations and those that participated in both the 1999 and 2009 surveys is relatively similar. It would therefore not be necessary to use the fixed-effects model to estimate the causes of change in the political involvement.

In the subsequent chapter the causes for change will be examined. The chapter is divided into three sections, one for each dependent variable: political involvement on the municipal level, district-municipal level, and state level.

Chapter 6 - Causal Analysis

This chapter analyzes the causes of change in associations' political involvement. A causal analysis is conducted for the dependent variables, involvement on the municipal level, the district municipal level and the state level. The descriptive analyses above indicate the variables are time-variant, and that the differences between the whole population of associations and those that both participated in the 1999 and 2009 survey is small. The variables that are time-variant will be transformed into interaction variables for the respective variable and the time variable. These variables are the ones that potentially show what causes change in political involvement. As the models also have to include the variables that make up the time-interactions, the analysis will also report and discuss the effects these variables have on political involvement in general.

In this chapter is divided into three sections. In total six different models will be presented, two models for each governmental level. The first model (a) of each of these contain all the independent variables and their time-interaction variables, the second model (b) also contain the control variable. The first model pair presented is on voluntary associations' political involvement on the municipal level, the second pair is on their involvement on the district-municipal level and the last pair is on their involvement on the state level.

6.1 – The Municipal Level

This section presents the results from the municipal level, one model with and another without the control variables. The model estimates will first be presented. Thereafter the each different variable group will be presented.

Regarding model 1a the pseudo R^2 indicates that the model fits relatively poorly as it is a lot closer to 0 than 1, however the model estimates are also significant as the likelihood-ratio has a significance of .001. Model 1b, however seems to be better suited than model 1a, as the Pseudo R^2 is, though only slightly, closer to 1 than in model 1a. This is supported by both the AIC and BIC value which both are lower in model 1b than in 1a (for all of the measures see table A.1 in the appendix). The model estimates show that model 1b has a better goodness-of-fit than model 1a. Model 1b will therefore be used to interpret the probability each of the independent variables have on voluntary associations' political involvement.

The control variables all have a significant effect on the probability of political involvement with the exception of the new organizations dummy. Being an organization in the Bergen has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, so does having a nonlocal scope. The probability of an association being politically active when the municipality asks for advice is roughly 514 percent higher than if they do not ask for advice. In the following sections the different independent variables and interaction effects are discussed, starting with organizational type thereafter, organizational structure, and lastly organizational membership.

6.1.1 – Organizational Type

This section will first discuss the independent variables and thereafter the time-interaction effects. The individual-collective index and consensus-conflict index have a positive effect, on involvement in specific political cases on the municipal level. The more collective- and conflict-oriented an organization is, the higher the probability of political involvement. The percentage change in odds for the individual-collective index is roughly three percent, meaning that every time the individual-collective index increases by one point the probability of political involvement increases by roughly three percent. The effect is however not significant, this indicates that the results are not reliable. The consensus-conflict index however is significant at a twenty percent level. The percentage change in odds of this variable is roughly six percent, meaning that for every one point increase on the index the probability of political involvement increases by six percent. This is similar to the hypothesis. However, as the results are not significant, this conclusion is not reliable.

The interest organization variable, social movement organization, and communitarian organization variables have a positive effect on political involvement, whereas the service organization variable has a negative effect on political involvement. The effects being an interest organization, service organization and communitarian organization has on political involvement is in line with the hypothesis. The positive effect being a social movement organization has on the probability of political involvement, however, is not consistent with the hypothesis. The percentage change in odds shows that the probability of political involvement is roughly 66 percent higher for associations that are interest organizations than those that are not. This is as expected. The social movement organizations have a sixteen percent higher

probability of being politically active than those that are not social movement organizations. This is also in line with the expected outcome. Though associations that are social movement organizations have a greater probability of being politically active than those that are not, the interest organizations have a greater probability than social movement organizations, this is as expected. However, only the interest organization variable is significant of the two. Therefore only the hypothesis that interest organizations increase the probability of political involvement is strengthened.

Being a communitarian organization increases the probability of being politically active as expected. The percentage change in odds for communitarian organizations is three percent, meaning that if an association is a communitarian organization it has a three percent higher probability of being politically active than if it is not a communitarian organizations. Also as expected, both interest organizations and social movement organizations have a greater effect on the probability of political involvement than the communitarian organizations. The effect of communitarian organizations is however, not significant, and is therefore the conclusions drawn here are not reliable. The service organizations had a negative effect on political involvement as expected. The service organizations approximately have an eleven percent lower probability of being politically active than those associations that are not service organizations. However neither of these is significant and the hypotheses can therefore not be verified.

Furthermore, only one of the time-interactions has a significant effect on the probability of political involvement, the change in the individual-collective index. The change in communitarian organizations variable however is close to significant. The reason why so few of the time-interactions are significant may be the result of the little variation in the variables seen in section 5.1.2. The results, however uncertain, show that changes in the individual-collective index have a positive effect on political involvement. The mean score on the index went up between 1999 and 2009, indicating that a more collective-oriented voluntary sector is positive for political involvement. This is as the hypothesis predicted. Contrastingly, the time-interaction on the consensus-conflict index is negative. The mean score between 1999 and 2009 decreased indicating a more consensus-oriented voluntary sector. This change has had a negative effect on political involvement, as hypothesized.

Table 6.1 - Political Involvement on the Municipal Level

	Model 1a			Model 1b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Survey year	-.217	.805	2.6	.201	1.222	2
Organizational type						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Individual-collective index	.04††	1.041	4.1	.026	1.026	2.6
Consensus-conflict index	.05††	1.051	5.1	.053††	1.055	5.5
Interest organization	.51***	1.666	66.6	.508†	1.661	66.1
Social movement organization	.252	1.286	28.6	.148	1.16	16
Communitarian organization	-.065	.937	-6.3	.03	1.03	3
Service organization	-.317	.729	-27.1	-.111	.895	-10.5
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in individual-collective index	.007††	1.072	7.2	.099†	1.104	10.4
Change in consensus-conflict index	-.066	.934	-6.6	-.057	.945	-5.5
Change in interest organization	.694††	2.003	100.2	.6	1.822	82.2
Change in social movement organization	.019	1.019	1.9	-.21	.812	-18.8
Change in communitarian organization	-.576	.562	43.8	-.834††	.434	-56.6
Changes in service organization	.06	1.062	6.2	.298	1.348	34.8
Organizational Structure						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Hierarchical structure	.341†	1.407	40.7	.184	1.202	20.2
Umbrella organization	.538**	1.712	71.2	.573**	1.774	77.4
Employees	.205	1.228	22.8	.269	1.308	30.8
Democracy-efficiency index	-.128*	.88	-12	-.118*	.888	-11.2
Formalization	.707***	2.03	103	1.03**	2.801	180.1
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in hierarchical structure	-.638†	.528	47.2	-.706†	.494	-50.6
Change in umbrella organization	.442	1.556	55.6	.354	1.425	42.5
Change in employees	.088	1.092	9.2	.168	1.183	28.3
Change in democracy-efficiency index	-.038	.963	-3.7	-.05	.951	-4.9
Change in formalization	1.427***	4.167	316.7	.619	1.857	85.7

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

Furthermore, changes in interest organizations have a positive effect on political involvement, meaning that though the proportion of interest organizations decrease between 1999 and 2009 it has a positive effect on political involvement, this to the contrary of the hypothesis. Similarly to the interest organizations, the proportion of social movement organizations decreased between 1999 and 2009, this however has according to the interaction effect in time, as hypothesized, a positive effect on political involvement.

Contrastingly to the two other two types, the proportion of communitarian organizations and service organizations increased between 1999 and 2009. This seems to have had a positive effect on political involvement on the municipal level, as the time interaction term is positive.

6.1.2 – Organizational Structure

Being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of being politically active by roughly 77 percent. This variable is significant and therefore strengthens the hypothesis that being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on the municipal level. Despite not being significant in model 1b the hierarchical structure variable is significant at a ten percent level in model 1a indicating that there is some certainty to the results, the hierarchical structure dummy variable has a positive effect on political involvement.

Though one would think that increased professionalization improves the likelihood for political involvement, as the political environment demands quicker organizational reactions, it does not seem to be the case in Hordaland. The democracy-efficiency index shows that for every score it increases the probability of political involvement decreases by approximately eleven percent, meaning that efficiency has a negative effect on political involvement on the municipal level. This in addition to the significance of the results indicates that professionalization is negative for political involvement. Though the employees' dummy variable has a positive effect on political involvement, which is in line with the results from the democracy-efficiency index. Though the employee-variable is not significant, this result further indicates that professionalization does not have a positive effect on political involvement. The formalization dummy variable indicates that an association that is formal has a 180 percent higher probability of being politically active than those that are not formalized.

As the formalization variable is significant, this strengthens the hypothesis that formalization increases the probability of political involvement.

Of the time-interactions, only the hierarchical structure interaction has a significant effect. The proportion of associations with hierarchical structure decreases between 1999 and 2009, and the time-interaction shows that this has a negative effect on the proportion of associations that are politically active. This is in line with the hypothesis. Though the other results are not significant, it is interesting to see what possible effect the different time-interactions have. The proportion of associations that are members of an umbrella organization decreases between 1999 and 2009. This has according to the result a positive effect on political involvement, which contradicts the hypothesis that a decrease in umbrella organizations should have a negative effect on political involvement on the municipal level.

Furthermore, the increase in the proportion of associations that have employees has a positive effect on political involvement. If this time-interaction had been significant it would have verified the hypothesis. Moreover, the decreasing value of organizational efficiency has a positive effect on political involvement. If this interaction were significant it would weaken the hypothesis that a more efficient voluntary sector would be positive for the probability of political involvement.

6.1.3 – Organizational Membership

The number of members has a positive effect and significant effect²⁹ on the probability of political involvement. For every increase in one member the probability of political involvement increases by .03 percent. This is consistent with the theory of logic of numbers and the hypothesis.

Furthermore, of the three age range dummy variables, only the young members have a significant effect. As expected, associations with younger or older members have a negative effect on the probability of political involvement, whereas associations with middle-aged members have a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Associations with young members have a roughly forty percent lower chance of being politically active than those that do not mainly have young members. Similarly, the associations that have older members have an approximately thirteen percent lower probability of being politically active. The association with mainly

²⁹ At a five percent level.

middle-aged members has a fourteen percent higher probability of being politically active. However, only the variable identifying associations with mainly young members give a certain result, as the others are not significant.

Table 6.1 continued – Political Involvement on the Municipal Level

	Model 1a			Model 1b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Membership						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Number of members	.0002†	1.0002	.02	.0003***	1.0003	.03
Young members	-.625**	.535	-46.5	-.503***	.605	-39.5
Middle aged members	.366***	1.441	44.1	.131	1.14	14
Older members	-.202	.817	-18.3	-.138	.871	-12.9
Active-passive members index	.134*	1.144	14.4	.111*	1.117	11.7
<i>Time interactions</i>						
Change in number of members	-.0004††	.999	-.1	-.001***	.999	-.1
Change in young members	-.572††	.564	-43.6	-.426	.653	-34.7
Change in middle aged members	-.345	.708	-29.2	-.332	.718	-28.2
Change in older members	-.355	.701	-29.9	-.534††	.586	-41.4
Change in active-passive members index	-.005	.954	-4.6	-.012	.989	-1.1
Control variables						
New organizations				.079	1.082	8.2
City: Bergen				-.516**	.597	-40.3
Scope is nonlocal				-.496***	.609	-39.1
Municipality asks for advice				1.815*	6.139	513.9
Constant	-.813*			-.866*		

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

The active-passive members index is significant at a .1 percent level. The more acceptant an association is of passive members the more likely the association is to be politically active. For each unit increase in the index the probability of political involvement increases by roughly twelve percent. This is in accordance with the hypothesis.

The time-interaction for number of members is the only time-interaction with a significant effect. The mean number of members increased between 1999 and 2009, the time-interaction variable for number of members show that this had a negative effect on the probability of political involvement between 1999 and 2009. This contradicts the hypothesis. None of the interaction effects for the age range of the members and time are significant therefore, the conclusions drawn here are very uncertain as to the other two dummy variables. The dummy variable for associations

with mainly older members is however, close to being significant at a ten percent level. The proportion of associations that pertain to either of age ranges, decreased between 1999 and 2009. In contrary to the hypothesis, the decreasing proportion of associations that have young members have had a negative effect on voluntary associations political involvement between 1999 and 2009. Contrastingly, the decrease in proportion of associations with middle-aged members has, as expected, had a negative impact on political involvement. Lastly, the decrease in associations with older members has had a negative impact on the probability of political involvement. This is not in compliance with the hypothesis. Furthermore, the time-interaction for the active-passive members index is not significant. With a degree of uncertainty, the decreasing acceptance for passive members has had a negative effect on political involvement, meaning that it is consistent with the hypothesis.

6.2 – The District-Municipal Level

This section presents the results from the district-municipal level, one model with and another without the control variables. The model estimates will first be presented. Thereafter the each different variable group will be presented.

The pseudo R^2 indicates that both models fits relatively poorly, however, model 2a fits more poorly than model 2b as it is closer to one. This is supported by both the AIC and BIC value which both are lower in model 2b than in 2a (for all of the measures see table A.2 in the appendix). The model estimates show that model 2b has a better goodness-of-fit than model 2a. Model 2b will therefore be used to interpret the probability each of the independent variables have on voluntary associations' political involvement.

The control variables all have a significant effect on the probability of political involvement. Being an association established after 1980 decreases the likelihood of being politically active by roughly 38 percent. Furthermore, an organization operating in Bergen has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level. Unlike on the municipal level, having a nonlocal scope has a positive effect on political involvement on the district-municipal level. The probability of an association being politically active when the municipality asks for advice is roughly 316 percent higher on the district-municipal level, than if they do not ask for advice. In the following sections the different independent variables and interaction

effects are discussed, starting with organizational type. Thereafter, organizational structure, and lastly organizational membership will be studied.

6.2.1 – Organizational Typology

The individual-collective index has a positive significant effect on the probability of political involvement. For every score the individual-collective index increase, the probability of political involvement increases by roughly seven percent, meaning that the more collective-oriented the voluntary sector is, the higher the probability that the associations are politically active on the district-municipal level. This is consistent with the hypothesis. Furthermore, the consensus-conflict index is not significant. When increasing by one unit it increases the probability of political involvement by about five percent. This indicates that the more conflict-oriented an association is, the higher the probability it has for being politically active. This is consistent with the hypothesis.

Of the four organizational type dummy variables only the interest organization variable is significant. By being an interest organization the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level increases by about 69 percent. This supports the hypothesis. Similar to the interest organizations, being a social movement organization or a community organization increases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level, by respectively roughly seven and two percent. The positive effect social movements have on the probability of political involvement is consistent with the hypothesis. Though the hypothesis that service organizations have a negative effect on political involvement is compatible with the results, the communitarian organizations' effect is not. Being a service organization has a profound negative effect, roughly 32 percent, on the probability of political involvement. However, this result is not reliable, as it is not significant.

Neither the individual-collective nor the consensus-conflict indexes are significant. Contrary to the expected result, the increase on the mean score of the individual-collective index has a negative effect on political involvement. The decrease in the mean score of the consensus-conflict index does, as expected, have a positive effect on political involvement. Of the time-interaction variables for the organizational types only the change in interest organization is significant. The decrease in the proportion interest organizations between 1999 and 2009 decreased the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level. This is consistent with the hypothesis. Similarly, the decrease in proportion of social movements organizations

between 1999 and 2009, decreased the probability of political involvement, strengthening the hypothesis. Contrastingly, both increase in the proportion of communitarian organizations and service organizations decreased the probability of political involvement, which are both consistent with the hypotheses.

6.2.2 – Organizational Structure

The dummy variable for a hierarchical structure is only significant at a twenty percent level, thus the effects given in model 2b are uncertain. Having a hierarchical structure increases the probability of political involvement by roughly seven percent. This is not consistent with the hypothesis. Being a member of an umbrella organization similarly has a positive and significant effect on the probability of political involvement. Being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on the district municipal level by approximately 45 percent, thus making it compatible with the hypothesis.

Furthermore, both of the proxy-variables for professionalization are significant. They are two different indicators as to whether a higher degree of professionalization is positive for the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level or not. Having employees has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement, whereas valuing efficiency over internal democracy has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. By having employees an association increases the probability of being politically active by roughly 74 percent. While for every increasing score on the democracy-efficiency index the probability of political involvement decreases by about seven percent. This means that the more the association value efficiency over internal democracy the less likely the association is to be politically active. The employee-variable strengthens the hypothesis that professionalization has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement, whereas the democracy-efficiency index contradicts the hypothesis. However, as discussed in section 4.5.3, the employee-variable is more reliable than the democracy-efficiency index, the professionalization hypothesis is strengthened. Formalization has a significant and strong positive effect on the probability of political involvement. By being formalized an association increases the probability of being politically active by 324 percent. This is consistent with the hypothesis.

Table 6.2 – Political Involvement on the District-Municipal Level

	Model 2a			Model 2b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Survey year	-.568***	.567	-5.5	-.06	.942	-.6
Organizational type						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Individual-collective index	.055†	1.057	5.7	.07***	1.073	7.3
Consensus-conflict index	.054††	1.055	5.5	.046	1.047	4.7
Interest organization	.606***	1.833	83.3	.522†	1.686	68.6
Social movement organization	.334	1.397	39.7	.064	1.066	6.6
Communitarian organization	.13	1.139	13.9	.017	1.017	1.7
Service organization	-.484††	.617	-38.3	-.38	.684	-31.6
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in individual-collective index	-.052	.949	-5.1	-.067	.935	-6.5
Change in consensus-conflict index	.032	1.033	3.3	.094	1.099	9.9
Change in interest organization	-.92††	.398	-60.2	-1.57***	.208	-79.2
Change in social movement organization	-.239	.788	-21.2	-.508	.602	39.8
Change in communitarian organization	-.108	.898	-10.2	-.001	.999	-.1
Changes in service organization	-.604	.547	-45.3	-.514	.598	-40.2
Organizational Structure						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Hierarchical structure	.243	1.275	27.5	.07††	1.072	7.2
Umbrella organization	.286††	1.331	33.1	.374†	1.453	45.3
Employees	.751***	2.119	111.9	.551†	1.736	73.6
Democracy-efficiency index	-.117**	.89	-11	-.077***	.926	-7.4
Formalization	1.34**	3.817	281.7	1.445**	4.242	324.2
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in hierarchical structure	-.233	.792	-20.8	-.586††	.556	-44.4
Change in umbrella organization	.372	1.45	45	.084	1.087	8.7
Change in employees	-.11	.896	-10.4	-.102	.903	-9.7
Change in democracy-efficiency index	-.022	.979	-2.1	-.018	.982	-1.8
Change in formalization	-.427	.653	-34.7	-.755	.47	-53

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

None of the time-interactions have a significant effect on the probability of political involvement. The hierarchical structure variable has an effect that is close to

significant on a ten percent level. The decrease in the proportion of associations that have a hierarchical structure between 1999 and 2009, also decreases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level. This would have weakened the hypothesis if it were significant. The decrease in the proportion of associations that are member of an umbrella organization however increases the probability of political involvement, which is inconsistent with the hypothesis. On the one hand, the increase in the proportion of associations that have employees has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. This contradicts the hypothesis that increasing professionalization increases the probability of political involvement. On the other hand, decreasing mean on the democracy-efficiency index also has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. Unlike the employee-variable, this would strengthen the hypothesis that professionalization increases the probability of political involvement if it was significant. Furthermore, the decrease in the proportion of associations that are formalized between 1999 and 2009 has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement, which is compatible with the hypothesis.

6.2.3 – Organizational Membership

The higher the number of members the more likely an association is to be politically active on the district municipal level. This variable is significant at a ten percent level, which strengthens the hypothesis that a higher number of members increases the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level. Of the three age group variables both the variable for associations that mainly have young members and the one for older members are significant. As expected, by having young members an association reduces their chances of being politically active by approximately 56 percent. Mainly having older member similarly decreases the probability of political involvement by roughly 45 percent. This is also in compliance with the hypothesis. The effect that associations with mainly middle-aged members have on the probability of political involvement, though not significant, is also in agreement with the hypothesis. Mainly having members in middle-age range has positive effect on the probability of political participation. It increases the probability by ten percent.

The active-passive members index is significant at a ten percent level. For every score higher on the index, the probability of political involvement increases by roughly eight percent. This means that the more the association value passive members the more likely an associations is to being politically active, which is in line with the

hypothesis that valuing both active and passive members has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement.

Table 6.2 continued – Political Involvement on the District-Municipal Level

	Model 2a			Model 2b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Membership						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Number of members	.0002***	1.0002	.02	.0002†	1.0002	.02
Young members	-1.02*	.361	-63.9	-.817**	.442	-55.8
Middle aged members	.391†	1.479	47.9	.091	1.095	9.5
Older members	-.434***	.648	-35.2	-.602**	.548	-45.2
Active-passive members index	.087***	1.091	9.1	.074†	1.077	7.7
<i>Time interactions</i>						
Change in number of members	-.0001	1.0002	.02	.00004	1.0002	.02
Change in young members	.112	1.119	11.9	.199	1.22	22
Change in middle aged members	-.158	.854	-14.6	-.344	.709	-29.1
Change in older members	.081	1.084	8.4	.25	1.284	28.4
Change in active-passive members index	-.017	.983	-1.7	-.074	.929	-7.1
Control variables						
New organizations				-.473***	.623	-37.7
City: Bergen				-.468***	.626	-37.4
Scope is nonlocal				.821*	2.273	127.3
Municipality asks for advice				1.426*	4.164	316.4
Constant	-2.751*			-2.828*		

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

None of the time-interactions for membership are significant. As expected, the increase in the mean number of members between 1999 and 2009 has had a positive effect on the probability of political involvement of voluntary associations in Hordaland. As hypothesized, the decrease in the proportion of association pertaining to the younger and older age groups has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Similarly, as expected, the decrease in associations mainly composed of middle-aged members has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. As assumed, the decreasing mean score on the active-passive members index between 1999 and 2009 has had a negative impact on the probability of political involvement. This indicates that changing perceptions from valuing passive members to valuing them less has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement.

6.3 – The State level

This section presents the results from the state level, one model with and another without the control variables. The model estimates will first be presented. Thereafter the each different variable group will be presented.

According to the pseudo R^2 both model 3a and 3b fit relatively poorly however, model 3a fits more poorly than model 3b as it is closer to one. This is supported by both the AIC and BIC value which both are lower in model 3b than in 3a (for all of the measures see table A.3 in the appendix). The model estimates show that model 3b has a better goodness-of-fit than model 3a. Model 3b will therefore be used to interpret the probability each of the independent variables have on voluntary associations' political involvement.

Of the control variables only the dummy variable for nonlocal scope and that the municipality asks for advice are significant. Having a nonlocal scope has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level. It increases the probability of political involvement on the state level by roughly 297 percent. Similarly, the probability of an association being politically active when the municipality asks for advice is roughly 153 percent higher on the state level, than if they do not ask for advice.

In the following sections the different independent variables and interaction effects are discussed, starting with organizational type thereafter, organizational structure, and lastly organizational membership.

6.3.1 – Organizational Typology

As expected, the individual-collective index has a positive and significant effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level, meaning that the more collective an association is, the higher the chances are that an association will be politically active. For every unit increase on the index, the probability of political involvement increases by roughly nine percent. The consensus-conflict index is also significant, and has, as expected, a positive effect on political involvement. For one unit increase on the index, the probability for political involvement increases by fourteen percent, however this result is not reliable, as it is not significant.

Of the organizational types only the social movement organization variable is significant. The interest organization variable has a positive effect, increasing the probability of political participation by roughly 33 percent. This is consistent with the

hypothesis. All of the other organizational types have a negative impact on the probability of political involvement on the state level. All of these results are consistent with the hypotheses with the exception of the social movement organization variable. By being a social movement organization the probability of being politically active decreases by about 46 percent. As mentioned, being a communitarian organization or a service organization is consistent with hypothesis as it decreases the probability of political involvement by respectively 33 percent and 36 percent.

None of the time-interactions are significant. The change in the consensus-conflict index however comes close to being significant at a ten percent level. The decrease of the consensus-conflict index mean between 1999 and 2009 has, as expected, a negative impact on the probability of political involvement on the state level. This means that that an increasingly consensus-oriented voluntary sector has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement on the state level. Between 1999 and 2009 the mean of the individual-collective index increased, this has, contrary to the hypothesis, had a negative impact in the probability of political involvement. This means that the more individual-oriented the voluntary sector becomes, the more likely the associations are to be engaged in national politics, which weakens the hypothesis that an increasingly more collective-oriented voluntary sector should have a positive effect on the probability of political involvement at the state level.

The proportion of associations that are interest and social movement organizations decreased between 1999 and 2009. As expected, this decreases the probability of political involvement on the state level. The proportion of communitarian and service organizations, on the other hand increased, this also had a negative impact on the probability of political involvement, which is compatible with the hypotheses.

6.3.2 – Organizational Structure

Neither the hierarchical structure dummy variable nor the umbrella organization variable is significant. The umbrella organization dummy variable however is close to being significant. By having a hierarchical structure the probability of political involvement increases by roughly 48 percent. This contradicts the hypothesis that hierarchical structure has little effect on political involvement on the state level. Moreover, being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on the state level by roughly 43 percent. This is consistent with

the hypothesis that being a member of an umbrella organization increases the probability of political involvement on the state level.

Table 6.3 – Political Involvement on the State Level

	Model 3a			Model 3b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Survey year	-.253	.777	-22.3	-.257	.773	-22.7
Organizational type						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Individual-collective index	.041††	1.042	4.2	.087***	1.091	9.1
Consensus-conflict index	.102*	1.107	10.7	.134**	1.143	14.3
Interest organization	.129	1.138	13.8	.271	1.331	33.1
Social movement organization	-.235	.791	-20.9	-.614†	.541	-45.9
Communitarian organization	-.336	.715	-28.5	-.402	.669	-33.1
Service organization	-.494†	.61	-39	-.441	.643	-35.7
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in individual-collective index	-.071††	.931	-6.9	-.043	.957	-4.3
Change in consensus-conflict index	.095††	1.1	10	.132††	1.142	14.2
Change in interest organization	-.278	.757	-24.3	-.691	.501	-49.9
Change in social movement organization	-.23	.795	-20.5	-.783	.457	-54.3
Change in communitarian organization	.311	1.365	36.5	-.267	.765	-23.5
Changes in service organization	-.057	.946	-5.4	-.072	1.074	.74
Organizational Structure						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Hierarchical structure	.191	1.211	21.1	.391††	1.479	47.9
Umbrella organization	.143	1.153	15.3	.002	1.433	43.3
Employees	.933*	2.542	154.2	1.142**	3.134	213.4
Democracy-efficiency index	-.089**	.915	-8.5	-.09***	.914	-8.6
Formalization	1.108**	3.027	202.7	1.234***	3.435	243.5
<i>Time-interactions</i>						
Change in hierarchical structure	-.288	.75	-25	-.688††	.503	-49.7
Change in umbrella organization	.345	1.411	41.1	.34	1.433	43.3
Change in employees	.327	1.386	38.6	-.079	.924	-7.6
Change in democracy-efficiency index	.004	1.004	.4	.0007	1.001	-.1
Change in formalization	-.836	.433	-56.7	-1.405††	.245	-75.5

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

In compliance with the hypothesis, the probability of being politically active on the state level increases when an association has employees. This factor is significant at a one percent level, and increases the probability of political involvement by 213 percent. This indicates that professionalization increases the probability of political involvement on the state level. This however is contradicted by the democracy-efficiency index. For one unit increase on the index, the probability for political involvement decreases by roughly nine percent, meaning that the more an association values efficiency the less politically active the association is. Both of these factors are significant, however it could be argued that whether an association has employees or not is a better measure of professionalization as many of the associations may answer that they value internal democracy over efficiency as it places the association in a better light.

None of the time-interaction variables are significant. The change in hierarchical structure interaction and formalization interaction however, is close to significant at a ten percent level. The decrease in the proportion of associations that have a hierarchical structure has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement, which is inconsistent with the hypothesis. Further, the decrease in the proportion of associations that are a member of an umbrella organization has a positive impact on the probability of political involvement on the state level. This also contradicts the hypothesis. The increase in the proportion of associations that have employees has a positive impact on the probability of political involvement. This result strengthens the hypothesis. Similarly, the decrease in the mean score on the democracy-efficiency index has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement, which is also consistent with the hypothesis. Moreover, the decrease in the proportion of associations that are formalized has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement.

6.3.3 – Organizational Membership

Though the number of members an association has is not significant in model 3b it is significant in model 3a, therefore it is possible to at least determine that higher numbers of members have a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level, which is compatible with the hypothesis.

In compliance the hypothesis, mainly having young members or old members decreases the probability of political involvement. Both of these factors are significant.

Having younger members decreases the probability of political involvement by roughly 67 percent, whereas having older members decrease it by about 53 percent. The dummy variable for having mainly middle-aged members has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement, but is not significant. Furthermore, the passive-active member index is close to having a positive significant effect in model 3b, however it has a positive significant effect in model 3a at a five percent level. It can therefore to some extent be concluded, in compliance with the hypothesis, that not valuing passive members also has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level.

Table 6.3 continued – Political Involvement on the State Level

	Model 3a			Model 3b		
	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds	Coef.	Odds ratio	Percentage change in odds
Membership						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Number of members	.0003**	1.0003	.03	.0001	1.0001	.01
Young members	-.976*	.377	-62.3	-1.112*	.329	-67.1
Middle aged members	.103	1.108	10.8	.042	1.043	4.3
Older members	-.519**	.595	-40.5	-.761**	.467	-53.3
Active-passive members index	.06***	1.061	6.1	.058††	1.06	6
<i>Time interactions</i>						
Change in number of members	.0002	1.0002	.02	.001†	1.001	.01
Change in young members	.194	1.214	21.4	.435	1.546	54.6
Change in middle aged members	.065	1.067	6.7	.105	1.11	11
Change in older members	.338	1.4	40	.789†	2.201	20.1
Change in active-passive members index	.034	1.035	3.5	.047	1.048	4.8
Control variables						
New organizations				-.224	.8	-20
City: Bergen				.238	1.267	26.7
Scope is nonlocal				1.373*	3.948	294.8
Municipality asks for advice				.938*	2.556	155.6
Constant	-2.126*			-3.266**		

* < .001, ** < .01, *** < .05, † < .1, †† < .2

Of the time-interaction effects, the change in number of members and change in mainly having older members have a significant effect on the probability of political involvement. The increase in number of members has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level. The decrease in the proportion of associations with mainly older members has had a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Both of these results are compatible with the hypotheses.

The other interaction-effects do not have a significant effect on the probability of political involvement. As expected, the decrease in the proportion of associations that mainly have young members has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level. Contrastingly to the hypothesis, the decrease in the proportion of associations with mainly middle-aged members has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Lastly, contradicting the hypothesis, the decrease in the mean score of the active-passive members index has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level.

6.5 – Summary

As the causal analysis shows there are only a few independent variables and time-interaction effects that have an impact on the probability of political involvement. The individual-collective index has a positive significant effect on the district-municipal and state level, whereas the consensus-conflict index only has a significant and positive effect on the state level. The interest organization variable has a significant positive effect on the municipal and district-municipal level, whereas the social movement organization variable has a positive significant effect on the state level. The umbrella organization variable has a significant positive effect on the municipal and district-municipal level. The employee dummy has a positive effect on both the district-municipal and state level. The internal democracy-efficiency index has a negative effect on all three governmental levels. The formalization dummy also has significant though positive effect on all three governmental levels. The number of members variable has a positive effect on the municipal and district-municipal level. Both the young members and older members variables have a significant negative effect on all three governmental levels. The active-passive members index has a significant positive effect on the municipal and district-municipal level.

The model on political involvement on the municipal level has two significant time-interaction effects. First, the increase in the mean of the individual-collective index between 1999 and 2009 has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. Second, the decreasing proportion of associations that have a hierarchical structure has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. On the district-municipal level only the time-interaction for interest organizations has a significant effect. The decrease in the proportion of interest organizations between 1999 and 2009 has had a negative effect on the probability of political involvement.

On the state level there are two significant time-interactions, number of members and older members. The increasing number of members in the voluntary associations between 1999 and 2009 has had a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. The decreasing proportion of associations that mainly have older members also has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement.

In the following chapter the results found in the descriptive and causal analysis will be discussed and compared across the three governmental levels. Thereafter, the chapter will discuss the potential implications this thesis has for future research on local voluntary associations' political involvement on the municipal, district-municipal, and state level.

Chapter 7 – Discussion and Conclusion: Differences Between Governmental Levels

In this section both the descriptive and causal results from the analyses of political involvement on the different governmental levels will be compared and discussed. First the effects themselves will be compared according to the three factors: organizational type; organizational structure; and membership. Thereafter the same factors will be compared on all governmental levels for the potential effects on changes in political involvement. As seen in the analyses above there are only a few of the variables and in particular time-interactions that are significant.

7.1 – Organizational Type

This section of the chapter discusses the effect different types of associations have on the probability of political involvement, and how the changes in type changes the probability of political involvement, comparing them across the different governmental levels.

The collective-orientation has a significant and positive effect on the probability of political involvement, however only on the district-municipal and state level. The hypothesis that the more collectivistic an association the higher the probability of political involvement is therefore strengthened. Similarly, the time-interaction effect shows that the increasing collective-orientation in the voluntary sector between 1999 and 2009 has a positive effect on political involvement on the municipal level.

Though the literature does not accommodate that collective-orientated associations are more likely to be politically active than individual-oriented associations, these results show otherwise. The associations that usually are collective-oriented³⁰ are associations such as religious organizations, political parties, social and humanitarian associations, and education and enlightenment organizations. These are the associations that belong to the traditional organizations. From the time these associations began to form in the middle of the 19-hundreds, they have tried to influence the political decision-making processes. Though most of the associations have become more consensus-oriented, they seem to have maintained their interest of

³⁰ See figure 5.1.2.1.

being involved in politics. Furthermore, according to Wollebæk and Selle (2002) the proportion of area associations has had a steep increase in the latter thirty years. Their main goal is to act as the local society's mouthpiece to communicate with the municipal and district-municipal authorities. These associations are locally oriented, but have as seen in figure 5.2 an increasing collective-approach.

Table 7.1 – Organizational Type: Expected and Actual Results³¹

	Change in proportion	Municipal level		District-municipal level		State level	
		Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings
Collective-orientation		+	(+)	+	+	+	+
Conflict-orientation		+	(+)	+	(+)	+	+
Interest organization		+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Social movement organization		-	(+)	+	(-)	+	-
Communitarian organization		+	(+)	-	(+)	-	(-)
Service organization		-	(-)	-	(-)	-	(-)
Change: collective-orientation	Increase	+	+	+	(-)	+	(-)
	Decrease	-		-			
Change: conflict-orientation	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(-)	-	(+)	-	(-)
Change: interest organization	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(+)	-	-	-	(-)
Change: social movement organization	Increase	-		+		+	
	Decrease	+	(+)	-	(-)	-	(-)
Change: communitarian organizations	Increase	+	(-)	-	(-)	-	(-)
	Decrease	-		+		+	
Change: service organization	Increase	-	(+)	-	(-)	-	(-)
	Decrease	+		+		+	

The results from this study contradicts the assumption that the Norwegian people and the voluntary sector have become more individualized (Tranvik & Selle, 2007a). This could either mean that the voluntary sector does not reflect the general changes in society or it could be a counter-measure to the increasing individualization in society. However, it is more likely that this turn towards a more collective-orientation is not a return to the old forms of collective spirits that is tied to the

³¹ The highlighted trends in the column 'Change in proportion' indicate how each variable has changed between 1999 and 2009. The grey columns with title 'Hypothesis' show the expected effect each variable will have. For the change interactions in the same columns, the expected effect the 'increase' and 'decrease' in proportion in each factor are both presented. The columns marked 'Findings' show the effects the analysis found. For the change interactions only the results for change the occurred are presented, i.e. the conflict orientation in the voluntary sector decreased between 1999 and 2009 therefore only the results for this is presented. The other direction is beyond this thesis.

conflict-orientation that usually tries to change the general values in society. However, it is rather a collective spirit within the local community that target the municipal and district-municipal authorities to influence local politics, such as improvement of local roads, prevention of development project and such. This hypothesis is reinforced by the increasing consensus-oriented voluntary sector, which do not try to change established values and beliefs in society. The time-interactions are however not significant therefore it is not possible to determine what effect a decreasingly conflict-oriented voluntary sector has on the associations' political involvement.

The interest organizations exist to represent their members' interests, thus their primary objective is to ensure that their members' rights and interests are respected, not only in legislation, but also in society. Examples of such associations are associations that vouch for the disabled, environmental organizations and such. The interest organizations therefore are highly engaged in the political decision-making processes. A decrease in the proportion of interest organizations in the voluntary sector would therefore have a negative impact on the general political involvement in the voluntary sector.

The results found in this analysis show that the effect of interest organization on the probability of political participation has significant and positive effect on the municipal and district-municipal level. Similarly, the time-interaction effect shows that the decrease in the proportion of interest organizations in the voluntary sector between 1999 and 2009 has had a negative effect on the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal level.

The thesis hypothesized that being a social movement organization has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the district-municipal and state level, and a negative impact on the municipal level. The results on the municipal and district-municipal level are not significant, but they are on the state level. The results however, show that being a social movement organization has a negative effect on the state level. This could be related to efficiency and flexibility of the associations. The social movement organizations are large slow-moving organizations as they have a greater focus on internal democracy than other organizations. This means that social movement organizations are less flexible and efficient than say interest organizations. The internal structures of a social movement organization may thus inhibit the association to partake in the fast-changing political environment in Norway. The time-interaction for social movement organizations is not significant therefore it is not

plausible to establish what effect the decrease in the proportion of social movement organizations has had on the probability of political participation.

None of the other independent variables or interaction effects in the type of organization has a significant effect on any of the governmental levels, therefore it is not reliable to use the results to strengthen or weaken the hypotheses. Though it may be tempting to disregard them as potential influential factors, it would be ill advised, as they may in fact have an effect, though these results cannot determine as to what ends.

7.2 – Organizational Structure

This section of the chapter discusses the effect different organizational structures have on the probability of political involvement, and how changes in these structures affect the probability of political involvement across the three governmental levels.

The results for hierarchical structures is not significant on any of the governmental level, the change variable on the municipal level however is. The decreasing proportion of hierarchical structures between 1999 and 2009 has a negative effect on the probability of political involvement. This is consistent with the hypothesis. The decrease in the proportion of associations that have a hierarchical organizational structure is potentially due to the emergence of associations established at the local level and the disappearance of local associations tied to a hierarchical structure. The new association that have emerged may choose to focus on local and regional political issues, such as the area organizations, and if they see the need to address the national government they do so without being tied to organizations on a higher geographical level. As the organizational society has become more two-tiered – that is, different types of organizations on the national and local level with no ties between the local and national organizations – a new form of structure has risen, the umbrella organization, also called cooperative organization. These organizations are loosely formed networks between associations with similar interest fields and/or goals. They generally have the function of exchanging knowledge and expertise, as well as increasing the political legitimacy in specific fields or issues. The previous increase of the proportion of associations that are members of an umbrella organization seems however to be in decline as shown in figure 5.4.

Being a member of an umbrella organization is often a strategic choice by autonomous local voluntary associations in order to gain legitimacy both in the field the association considers itself a part of and in as advocates of their interests in the

political decision-making processes. The results in the analysis support this. Being a member of an umbrella organization has a significant and positive effect on the voluntary associations' political participation on the municipal and district-municipal level supporting the hypothesis. However, whether the decrease in proportion of associations that are members of an umbrella organization has had a negative or positive impact on political participation is not possible to determine, as the time-interaction is not significant.

With the introduction of interest organizations and the declining importance of members, the voluntary sector became more professionalized, as a response to a more efficient, centralized and diverse decision-making process (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002). The professionalization can be seen in increasing use of employees seen in figure 5.4. Associations began to hire people to take care of the tedious administrative tasks that regular members do not want to spend their time on. This is linked to people becoming more concerned with their wellbeing, rather than ideological concerns. They no longer have the ideological drive to commit to such tasks. The declining willingness to conduct administrative tasks is possibly associated with the increasing demands from the authorities to document the associations' financial records, both regarding taxes and governmental funding, that increased the time needed to conduct administrative tasks. Furthermore, the declining importance of members came as a response to improve the efficiency of the associations. Having to cater to the interests of all the members' views is a tedious process. Therefore many associations have had a disintegrating internal democracy (Tranvik & Selle, 2007b). A higher degree of professionalization made the associations more efficient and specialized, which gave them more political legitimacy, thus increasing the probability that they are involved in politics.

Two measures have been used to determine whether professionalization has had a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on all governmental levels – having employees and valuing efficiency over internal democracy. The results show that having employees has had a significant and positive effect on the district-municipal and state level. It is albeit not possible to determine whether the increase in the proportion of associations with employees between 1999 and 2009 has had a positive or negative effect on the probability of political involvement. Consequently it is not possible to make any conclusions as to whether changes in the proportion of associations having employees actually has an effect on the changes in political

involvement. The measure of whether the associations value efficiency over internal democracy gives contradictory results to the measure of having employees. The more an association values efficient the lower the probability of political involvement. This measure however is probably prone to being unreliable, as the associations may have answered that they value internal democracy more than they actually do, in order to put themselves in a better light. Furthermore, similar to the employee measure, the time-interaction of the efficiency measure is not significant it is therefore not viable to determine whether the decrease in how much the voluntary sector values efficiency between 1999 and 2009 has a positive or negative effect on the probability of political involvement on either of the governmental levels.

Table 7.2 – Organizational Structure: Expected and Actual Results³²

	Change in proportion	Municipal level		District-municipal level		State level	
		Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings
Hierarchical structure		+	(+)	-	(+)	-	(+)
Umbrella organization		+	+	+	+	+	(-)
Employees		+	(+)	+	+	+	+
Efficiency		+	-	+	-	+	-
Formalization		+	+	+	+	+	+
Change: Hierarchical structure	Increase	+		-		-	
	Decrease	-	-	+	(-)	+	(-)
Change: Umbrella organization	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(+)	-	(+)	-	(+)
Change: Employees	Increase	+	(+)	+	(-)	+	(-)
	Decrease	-		-		-	
Change: Efficiency	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(-)	-	(-)	-	(+)
Change: Formalization	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(+)	-	(-)	-	(-)

The voluntary sector has become more formalized for many of the same reasons they have become more professionalized. In order for the associations to receive governmental funding they have to keep several different forms of records. Furthermore, being a formalized association may also have an effect on political involvement, as being a formal organization gives them a higher level of legitimacy. Figure 5.4 shows that this increase has turned, and between 1999 and 2009 the proportion of associations that are formalized has decreased slightly.³³ The results from

³² See footnote 25

³³ This differs from the Hordaland-report on the same data, however this is because the criterion that the associations have to fulfill in order to be considered formal is higher in this study than theirs.

the analysis illustrate that being formalized has as expected a positive effect on the probability of political involvement. However, as with the other structural variables the time-interaction is not significant. Consequently it is not possible to determine whether the decreasing proportion of formalized association has a positive or negative effect on probability of political involvement on either of the governmental levels.

7.3 – Organizational Membership

This section of the chapter discusses the effect membership has on the probability of political involvement, and how changes in membership affect the probability of political involvement across the governmental levels.

As seen in section 5.1.4, the mean number of members has in fact increased between 1999 and 2009. However, there is a sound explanation for the deviating trends. The decrease in number of members has usually been measure in terms of the proportion of the population that is members of one or more associations (Wollebæk et al., 2000). In this thesis however, membership is measured according to the number of members each associations have. This may have caused the deviation, as those people who are prone to being members of one association, often is a member of several associations (Wollebæk et al., 2000).

The members have traditionally been the source of political legitimacy. Though the rise of interest organizations without members has challenged this notion, however this trend has been more visible at the national level, than on the local level. The power of a large membership should therefore be more relevant at the local and regional level than on the national level. Therefore there is reason to believe that a higher number of members would increase the probability of political involvement solely at the municipal and district-municipal level. Hence an increase in the number of members between 1999 and 2009 should have a positive impact on political involvement on the municipal and district-municipal level, and a negative impact on the national level.

The results from the municipal and district-municipal models show that a higher number of members have a significant positive impact on political involvement. The hypothesis that higher numbers of members has a negative impact on the probability of political significant on the national level can however not be confirmed, as the results are not significant. The findings for time-interaction for number of members illustrate that the increase in number of members has a significant positive effect on political involvement, contradicting the hypothesis. Both the effects on the

municipal level and state level are significant, but show the opposite effect of the expected impact. The increasing number of members between 1999 and 2009 has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement on the municipal level, whereas a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level. This indicates that the associations that are politically active on the municipal level are becoming less dependent on large number of members to be involved in politics. This may be related to the increasing proportions of locally based collectively oriented associations, that are prone to having few members but act on the behalf of a local community to persuade local authorities to listen to their demands. Furthermore, the positive impact the increase in members has had on local voluntary associations' political involvement on the national level could be a result of the acceptance of passive members as valid members. Interest organizations in particular consider passive members a great resource as they provide financial support and political support. Hence, as interest organizations are more inclined to target the national authorities, the positive effect of increasing members between 1999 and 2009 have on political involvement on the state level may be explained by the potential increase in interest organizations that are involved in the national political discourse.

Table 7.3 – Organizational Membership: Expected and Actual Results³⁴

	Change in proportion	Municipal level		District-municipal level		State level	
		Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings	Hypothesis	Findings
Number of members		+	+	+	+	-	(+)
Young members		-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle-aged members		+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Older members		-	(-)	-	-	-	-
Passive members		+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Change: Number of members	Increase	+	-	+	(-)	-	+
	Decrease	-		-		-	
Change: Young members	Increase	-		-		-	
	Decrease	+	(-)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Change: Middle-aged members	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(-)	-	(-)	-	(+)
Change: Older members	Increase	-		-		-	
	Decrease	+	(-)	+	(+)	+	+
Change: Passive members	Increase	+		+		+	
	Decrease	-	(-)	-	(-)	-	(-)

³⁴ See footnote 25.

The age of the members can also determine the extent to which an association is likely to be involved in politics. Wollebæk et al. (2000) find that middle-aged members consider political influence a more important factor for membership in an association, than young and older people. It is therefore hypothesized that middle-aged members have a positive effect on the probability of associations' political involvement, whereas young and older members have a negative effect. Consequently, the decrease in the proportion of associations with young or older members between 1999 and 2009 seen in figure 5.5 should have a positive impact on the probability of political involvement. Contrastingly, the decrease in the proportion of associations that have middle-aged members should have a negative effect on the probability of political involvement.

Regarding the effect of young and older members, the results show that both have a negative and significant effect on political involvement on all governmental levels, the older member variable on the municipal level is however not significant. The effect of middle-aged members however, is not significant, thus no conclusions can be drawn as to whether it has a positive effect or not. Moreover, only the effect change in the proportion of associations with older members has a significant effect, though only on involvement on the state level. The decrease in the proportion of older members between 1999 and 2009 has as expected a positive effect on the probability of political involvement on the state level.

The concept of membership has changed over the past thirty years, passive members have become more valued by associations and their numbers have increased. Wollebæk et al. (2000) found that passive members in fact are more disposed to join an association for political reasons, than active members. Furthermore, interest organizations are often those associations that have the highest level of passive members, as they obtain political legitimacy and financial resources from them. It is therefore probable that the more an association values passive members, the more likely they are to be involved in politics. Therefore, an increase in valuing passive members would have a positive effect on the probability of political involvement, whereas a decrease would have a negative effect. The results show, as expected, that the passive members indicator has a positive and significant effect on the probability of political involvement on the municipal and district-municipal level. The effect on state level however is not significant and is therefore unreliable. Furthermore, the changes in this indicator between 1999 and 2009 has no significant effect on any of the

governmental levels, therefore it is not viable to produce any conclusions as to whether the decreasing mean value of passive members has a positive or negative impact on the probability of political involvement on any of the governmental levels.

7.5 – Summary

This thesis has tried to examine the ways in which the local voluntary associations in Norway have changed in regards to attempted influence of municipal, district-municipal and state authorities. By identifying changes in organizational type, structure and membership this thesis has tried to uncover what changes in the voluntary sector may have had an impact on changes in the associations' political involvement.

The thesis can conclude that there have been a number of changes in the Norwegian voluntary sector. First, the associations' political involvement has decreased on all governmental levels. There has also been a number of changes within the composition of the types of organizations in the voluntary sector and their approach to society. The voluntary sector has become even more consensus-oriented than previously, and more surprisingly the voluntary sector, which prior to 1999 became more individual-oriented, has between 1999 and 2009 become more collective oriented. Furthermore, the proportion of interest organizations and social movement organizations has declined between 1999 and 2009, whereas the proportion of service organizations and communitarian organizations has increased. Both proportions of associations with a hierarchical structure and a membership in an umbrella organization have decreased. There are ambiguous findings as to whether the voluntary sector has become more professionalized. However as the employee variable is more reliable than the internal democracy-efficiency index, it is possible to conclude that it has become more professionalized between 1999 and 2009. The number of members in the associations has increased, whereas the proportion of associations pertaining to one or more of the age groups indicated here has decreased. Lastly, the voluntary sector values passive members less in 2009 than in 1999.

Regarding organizational type, being collective-oriented increases the likelihood of being political active on all the governmental levels except from the municipal level. Having a conflict-orientation also increases the probability of political involvement, though only on the state level. Furthermore, the thesis finds that being an interest organization has a positive effect on the probability of political involvement, however this can only be concluded with regard to political involvement on the

municipal and district-municipal level. Being a social movement organization on the other hand, has a negative impact on political involvement. Albeit this can only be said for political involvement on the state level.

Regarding changes in the organizational type only two conclusions can be drawn. The increase in a collective-oriented voluntary sector between 1999 and 2009 had a positive impact on the probability of political involvement on the municipal. This strengthens the hypothesis that a more collective voluntary sector is positive for political involvement. Further, the decreasing proportion of interest organizations has a negative impact on the likelihood of political involvement on the district-municipal level. This strengthens the hypothesis that interest organizations are an important aspect of the Norwegian civil society and thus the political discourse.

The changes in the organizational structures have also had an impact on the voluntary associations' political involvement. The thesis finding strengthens the hypothesis that being a member of an umbrella organization is positive for the probability of political involvement on the municipal and district municipal level. Further, the findings also strengthen the notion that professionalization has a positive impact on political involvement on the district-municipal and state level. Last, the findings also reinforce the hypothesis that formalization of the voluntary association has a positive impact on political involvement.

With regards to changes in structure there is only one finding that is significant. The findings sustains that a decrease in the proportion of associations with a hierarchical structure has a negative impact on the probability of political involvement on the municipal level.

Lastly, the changes in membership has also has an effect on the probability of political involvement. The thesis finds that the number of members is important for the probability of political involvement on the municipal and district-municipal level. Furthermore, the age of the members also determines whether an association is politically involved. Having younger or older members decreases the chances of political involvement on practically all the governmental levels. Valuing passive members has positive impact on the probability of political involvement on the municipal and district-municipal level.

The changes that have occurred in membership has also had an impact on the associations' political involvement. The thesis finds on the one hand, that the increase in members between 1999 and 2009 has a negative impact on the probability of

political involvement on the municipal level; on the other hand it finds that the increase has a positive impact on the probability of political involvement on the state level. These finds contradict the hypotheses connected to this. Lastly, the decreasing proportion of associations that have older members has, as expected, a positive impact on the likelihood of political involvement on the state level.

The findings in this thesis are not many, but they create a number of implications for future research on this field.

7.6 – Further Research

This thesis is the first research project of its kind. No previous attempts have been made to generate hypotheses as to what causes change in voluntary associations' political involvement, and test them afterwards. This thesis is a starting point and encouragement to other researchers within research on the voluntary sector and civil society.

The hypotheses and findings show that both qualitative and quantitative research on changes in voluntary associations' political involvement is needed to provide more sound hypotheses and potential theories as to what causes change. This thesis has particularly focused on the internal changes in the voluntary sector. This could constitute a problem as the voluntary sector is a part of a larger system, and is therefore also influenced by external factors. It is in particular important to further examine the relationship between the voluntary sector and the state, as the government produces norms and laws that may cause changes in the relationship between the voluntary sector and the state, thus potentially causing changes in the voluntary sector's political involvement.

Furthermore, it is also necessary to expand the research done here to other areas in Norway, as there might be inherent differences between the voluntary sectors in the peripheral Norway and the urban areas, particularly the area in and around the capital.

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Appendix

Model Estimates

Table A.1 – Model 1a and 1b: Municipal Level

	Model 1a	Model 1b
LR χ^2	228.83	292.73
Prob > χ^2	.000	.000
Log likelihood _{model}	-1123.9	-916.66
Log likelihood _{null}	-1238.35	-1063.03
-2LL _{model}	2247.8	1833.32
-2LL _{null}	2476.7	2126.06
Pseudo R ²	.092	.138
AIC	2317.87	1911.33
BIC	2511.6	2121.35
N of obs	1873	1612
N of groups	1713	1488

Table A.2 – Model 2a and 2b: District-Municipal Level

	Model 2a	Model 2b
LR χ^2	215.39	238.14
Prob > χ^2	.000	.000
Log likelihood _{model}	-662.75	-507.32
Log likelihood _{null}	-770.44	-626.39
-2LL _{model}	1325.5	1014.64
-2LL _{null}	1540.88	1252.78
Pseudo R ²	.14	.193
AIC	1395.49	1092.64
BIC	1587.91	1301.28
N of obs	1804	1556
N of groups	1659	1443

Table A.3 – Model 3a and 3b: State Level

	Model 3a	Model 3b
LR χ^2	254.13	281.75
Prob > χ^2	.000	.000
Log likelihood _{model}	-714.06	-580.35
Log likelihood _{null}	-841.12	-721.23
-2LL _{model}	1428.12	1160.7
-2LL _{null}	1682.24	1442.46
Pseudo R ²	.184	.195
AIC	1498.11	1238.69
BIC	1690.26	1447.14
N of obs	1790	1548
N of groups	1651	1439

