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von **Ekaterina Ivanova**

Fachgebiet: **Management**

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Abstract

It is generally assumed that the activities of associations based on voluntary membership not only are multi-faceted, but simultaneously contribute to societal, economic, and political spheres. This dissertation draws on an integrated theoretical framework of functions of nonprofit organizations, and then studies the composition of roles that professional and business associations (PBAs) play in Russia's transition to market economy. Moreover, a theoretical framework of environmental embeddedness of nonprofit organizations is applied to examine the forces that drive, as well as hinder, fulfillment of their missions. This study focuses on examination of the relative importance of the advocacy, community building, and service delivery functions fulfilled by business associations, intermediary unions, and liberal professional societies. Moreover, governance, public and political, and socio-economic factors are investigated to determine whether they drive or hinder successful achievement of PBAs' missions. The original empirical data, collected qualitatively from fifteen leading experts on associational activities, is triangulated with quantitative evaluations from 215 associations across Russia. Such an approach allows better interpretation both of the multiplicity of roles played by different types of associations, and of the forces driving and hindering their activities in a country in transition. The results show that the prevailing majority of the examined professional and business associations are multi-functional, simultaneously performing all three major functions. Advocacy is considered the most important function for all types of associations. The governance factors are deemed major drivers of accomplishment of associational missions, while public and political factors are regarded as an obstacle, undermining the potential of PBAs. The findings suggest that even though professional and business associations are not yet granted the status of an equal partner of the state, they manage to build constructive relations with the government by combining policy and public advocacy and relying on bonding community building activities. This study highlights the expressive, rather than service-oriented, character of organized civil society in Russia.

Es wird allgemein davon ausgegangen, dass die Aktivitäten von auf freiwilliger Mitgliedschaft basierenden Verbänden nicht nur facettenreich sind, sondern gleichzeitig zu gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Bereichen beitragen. In erster Linie wird in dieser Dissertation, Bezug nehmend auf den integrierten theoretischen Rahmen der Funktionen von Nonprofit-Organisationen, die Zusammensetzung der Rollen untersucht, die Berufs- und Unternehmensverbände (*professional and business associations, PBAs*) in Russland im Übergang zur Marktökonomie spielen. Darüber hinaus wird der theoretische Rahmen der *environmental embeddedness* von Nonprofit-Organisationen angewandt, um jene Faktoren zu untersuchen, die zur Erfüllung ihrer Missionen beitragen bzw. sie verhindern. Die Studie fokussiert auf die Untersuchung der relativen Bedeutung der Funktionen Interessenvertretung, Gemeinschaftsbildung und Dienstleistung, die von Wirtschaftsverbänden, Vermittlungsvereinigungen und liberalen Fachgesellschaften erfüllt werden. Außerdem wurden Governance-Faktoren, öffentliche und politische sowie sozioökonomische Faktoren in Hinblick auf ihre förderliche oder behindernde Wirkung auf die erfolgreiche Erreichung der Missionen von PBAs untersucht. Die empirische Basis der Studie besteht aus Fünfzehn mit führenden Experten

für Verbandsaktivitäten geführten qualitativen Interviews, die durch quantitative Analysen der Daten von 215 Verbänden in ganz Russland ergänzt wurden. Diese Vorgangsweise ermöglicht eine bessere Interpretation der Vielfalt an Rollen, die verschiedene Arten von Verbänden spielen sowie der Faktoren, die deren Tätigkeiten in einem Land im wirtschaftlichen Übergang fördern oder behindern. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der untersuchten Berufs- und Unternehmensverbände multifunktional ist und gleichzeitig zur Erfüllung aller drei Hauptfunktionen beiträgt. Interessenvertretung gilt als die wichtigste Funktion für alle Arten von Verbänden. Governance-Faktoren wurden als wichtiger Motor für die erfolgreiche Erfüllung der Mission von PBAs genannt, während öffentliche und politische Faktoren eher als Hindernis betrachtet werden, welches das Potenzial der PBAs untergräbt. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass es professionellen und Unternehmensverbänden gelingt, obwohl sie noch nicht zu einem gleichberechtigten Partner des Staates geworden sind, konstruktive Beziehungen mit der Regierung aufzubauen, etwa durch die Kombination von *public* und *policy advocacy* oder unter Berufung auf *bonding* gemeinschaftsbildende Aktivitäten. Diese Studie unterstreicht den expressiven statt dienstleistungsorientierten Charakter der organisierten Zivilgesellschaft in Russland.

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List of Abbreviations

BA	Business Association
BR	Business Russia
CCI	Chamber of Commerce and Industry
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
GCR	Global Competitiveness Report
IU	Intermediary Union
JHCNPS	John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
LPS	Liberal Professional Society
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Nonprofit Organization
OR	Opora Rossii
PBA	Professional and Business Associations
RUEI	Russian Union of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists
SRO	Self-regulating Organizations
WTO	World Trade Organization

1 Introduction

1.1. Introductory remarks

Since the fall of communism in the Soviet Union in 1991, the rebirth of civil society in Russia and its former Eastern European allies has received substantial interest in academic research. This could be explained by the fascination of scholars from the post-communist countries with a concept of civil society, which is both complex and hard to capture empirically. They were guided by the orthodox assumption rooted in Alexis de Tocqueville's oeuvre that a robust civil society, represented by a structured and organized associative life (Rosenblum 2000), is an essential prerequisite for the success of democratic transformations in liberal regimes (Diamond 1994). In the 1990s the practical implementation of such democracy-building initiatives across most of the post-communist polities, sponsored largely by the Western donor nations through their development agencies, appeared to be a failure (Hemment 2004). This demonstrated that it is impossible to simply export neoliberal, one-size-fits-all models of civil society without addressing the specific socio-cultural conditions of the local context and letting the nonprofit sector grow organically in its natural setting. President Yeltsin's administration was largely indifferent to civil society (Reuter 2007), demonstrating benevolent noninterference and only negligibly supporting NPOs financially. While in the Putin era an "import substitution" model of the nonprofit sector has emerged in Russia (Jakobson and Sanovich 2010, 279), the federal government has started to allocate more funds to NPOs and has taken an active position in setting agenda and providing "discursive space for communication and action" (Wilde 2014, 41), thus establishing a civil society from above.

In comparison to other Eastern European post-communist countries, the study of civil society has progressed little in Russia. The concept of civil society remains vague for the Russian academic community, preventing its thorough empirical examination (Yakobson et al. 2011). Western ideals of civil society posit that democracies must be counterbalanced by a certain number of independent institutions in order to check the power of the government (Putnam 1993). However, most scholars would agree that the modern-day Russian nonprofit sector is not strong enough to conform to these ideals (Golenkova 1999; Howard 2003; Volkov 2003; Crotty 2009). Instead, civil society arrangements are beginning to emerge with strong, structured, and dependent relationships between NPOs and the state (Ljubownikow, Crotty, and Rodgers 2013). Unfortunately, there is little evidence that NPOs exercise influence in decision-making at various levels of public administration, partially due to a lack of a strong political system (Uhlin 2006). In Russia, where the government has historically been omnipotent and authoritarian, it is not surprising that the state still plays a crucial role in structuring and channeling civic activity (Henderson 2011). According to the Russian ethos, as noted by Domrin (2003, 203), civil society can be successfully implemented only "in tandem with the strengthening of Russian statehood"¹. In other words, the Russian version of civil society "attributes the state as a key player in all societal spheres" (Ljubownikow, Crotty, and Rodgers 2009, 1). Thus, the responsibility for what

¹ Historically, Russia has rarely been inclined to produce liberal democracy; it happened only in the early Middle Ages. The northern Russian democratic republics of Novgorod and Pskov, each self-regulating, existed up to the 12th century, when the Russians fell victim to the Tartar Yoke. The lesson learned from three centuries under the Yoke was that only centralised monolithic control from Moscow could prevent Russia from in-fighting and falling apart.

transpires in the country is concentrated in the hands of the ruling Putin-Medvedev duo, while civil society is only marginally represented in public discourse².

Other basic building blocks of a vibrant civil society are civic engagement (Brehm and Rahn 1997) and interpersonal trust (Fukuyama 1995), even when it does not take on an explicitly political coloration (Inglehart 1997). In this respect the situation is somewhat more promising; the deeply rooted traditional “nonparticipation syndrome” of citizens in collective civic or political action (Petukhov 2007; Rimskii 2008) is slowly disappearing. This became evident during the mass rallies across large Russian cities in December 2012. It is also evident from the growing popularity of volunteering among youth, especially in the aftermath of natural disasters, such as the unprecedented floods in the Russian Far Eastern provinces during the summer of 2013. With respect to trust, quite a few interpretations to its formal and informal manifestations are given by the scholars studying this phenomenon. In general, Russia today is considered a low-trust society, where trust formation arises from the micro-level of individual relationships and then develops into one-sided trust in institutions (Radaev 2003). Given a lack of positive dynamic in the level of interpersonal trust (Gibson 2001), Russian citizens, according to the 1990–2000 World Values Survey, do not particularly trust key societal institutions, ranging from parliament and the armed forces to the mass media, schools, labor unions, the police, civil service, churches, etc. Russian citizens show consistently lower scores on these indicators compared to citizens in developed countries (Feldman and Blokov 2009). At the same time, individual Russians are linked through dense, politically charged social networks, which are characterized by high levels of trust (Gibson 2001) but which constitute what Granovetter terms “weak ties” (1973), which are strong in contributing to democratic transformation. Moreover, in her recent ethnographical study of the emerging civic organizations in Russia, Spencer (2011) pointed out the role of cultural legacies of patronage, personalistic contacting, and collectivism, which are reproduced in an informal bonding rather than in a formal bridging social capital associated with democratic society (Putnam 1993). For the success of democracy, as Gibson (2001) argues, the existing social networks must take more impersonal forms by evolving into formal organizations.

As of September 25, 2013, over 225,000³ NPOs are listed in the official register of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation; this shows that such a turn towards formalization is on its way. According to expert estimations there are approximately 136,000 functioning NPOs, which compose the core of the institutional structure of Russian civil society (Yakobson et al. 2011). Furthermore, the traditional approach to studying civil society through the examination of formal NPOs has already spread among nonprofit scholars. The modern Russian NPOs examined are represented at large by the environmental movement (Feldman and Blokov 2009; Crotty 2009), human rights and law enforcement (Holland 2004; Taylor 2006), health and education (Ljubownikow and Crotty 2014), trade unions (Baglione and Clark 1998) and women’s organizations (Sperling 1999; Sundstrom 2002; Hemment 2007; Kulmala 2010). The focus of this research project is professional and business associations; these have not been thoroughly

² Such patterns of behaviour in contemporary Russia are deeply rooted in the Soviet model of civil society, in which public life was separated from private life and dominated by the state and the Communist Party (Semenova 2006, 320).

³ In a personal communication (July 2014) with one of the leading researchers on Russian civil society, I was told that the number of NPOs is even larger and could amount to over 600,000 organizations. This discrepancy could be due to the difficulties associated with administering a single registry of all Russian NPOs.

addressed by nonprofit scholars, and their impact on building civil society is significantly underestimated. There are only a few scholars who consistently examine PBAs, and the prevailing perspectives are those of sociology of professions (Mersiyanova, Cheshkova, and Krasnopolskaya 2011; Moskovskaya et al. 2013), political theories of institutional channels of representation (Duvanova 2011), and economic theory of collective action (Pyle 2006; Yakovlev et al. 2010). Insufficient research interest in professional and business associations is even more surprising given the fact that the latter, according to Mersiyanova's assessments (2010), account for 14% of all Russian NPOs and compose the fourth largest group of NPOs in Russia. The group of PBAs is the core component of the nonprofit sector, behind only NPOs active in social services (22%), arts and culture (17%), and advocacy and interest representation (17%).

Since the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (Anheier 2005) groups professional and business associations under one category, it is accurate and legitimate to treat them as a single object of study⁴. This study further applies the definition of professional and business associations given by Anheier (2005, 391). Professional associations are “organizations promoting, regulating, and protecting professional interests, e.g. bar associations and medical associations”; business associations are “organizations that work to promote, regulate, and safeguard the interests of special branches of business – e.g. manufacturers' associations, farmers' associations, and bankers' associations”. Even though mutual benefit associations, which include professional and business associations, were of interest to scholars of the nonprofit sector for a long time, they have long remained at the periphery of research activity on NPOs (O'Neill 1994). Despite the influential appeal from Smith (1991) over two decades ago regarding the groundless expulsion of membership associations from mainstream research on the nonprofit sector, so far there has been no progress on the systematic study of mutual benefit associations.

The research gap is especially deep for professional and business associations, a particular type of membership association. Within the nonprofit research program, empirical studies with focus on professional and business associations are still rare, especially in comparison to research on various aspects of voluntary member-serving associations, ranging from their organizational features, participation trajectories, conflicting member demands and their relationships with social capital, democracy and entrepreneurship to the philanthropic dimensions of collective action (Kerri 1972; O'Neill 1994; Harris 1998; Rotolo 1999; Rosenblum 2000; Baer, Curtis, and Grabb 2001; Wollebaek and Selle 2002; Hooghe 2003; Torpe 2003; Hall 2006; Wollebæk and Strømsnes 2008; Kreutzer and Jäger 2011; Holmes and Slater 2012; Jun and Shiau 2012; Teckchandani 2013; Quintelier 2013; Johnson 2013; Åberg 2013; Kou et al. 2014; Freise and Hallmann 2014b; Beynon, Davies, and Davies 2012; Critchfield 2011)⁵. Exceptions include conceptual works by

⁴ The third type of NPO included in Group 11 (“Business and professional associations, unions”) of the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations are labor unions. However, the Russian labor unions will be excluded from further examination, since most of them represent the Soviet legacy. According to Moskovskaya et al. (2013) labor unions in Russia do not operate as professional organizations; rather, their efforts are limited at negotiating general labour and employment conditions of workers with employers.

⁵ Another approach to literature review can be found in the work by Tschirhart & Gazley (2013); this was based on 67 publications on membership organizations published from January 2010 to July 2013. Results from the earlier (January 2000 to October 2011) overview of bibliography on published works on associations are presented in the paper by Tschirhart & Travinin (2012).

Knoke (1986) and Tschirhart (2006) that point out scientific immaturity in the field⁶ or answer specific questions, such as the one formulated by Haynes & Gazley (2011) regarding how professional associations contribute to public sector professionalism; also noteworthy is a recent patchwork of empirical studies: one by Gazley (2013) on the volunteer commitment in professional associations; one by Esparza et al. (2014) on the role trade associations play in legitimizing new industry; or one by Hager (2014) on public and private incentives of member participation. Since professional and business associations are perceived as being less about civic action and more about professional and market logic, they remain at the outskirts of the research on NPOs. As such, professional and trade association research is found predominantly in scholarship either on sociology of profession (Connell and Voss 1990; Brockman 1998; Chua and Poullaos 1998; Neal and Morgan 2000; Scott 2008; Mersiyanova, Cheshkova, and Krasnopolskaya 2011; Thomas et al. 2012; Moskovskaya et al. 2013) or on for-profit organizations (Gupta and Lad 1983; Maitland 1985; Aldrich et al. 1994; Schmitter and Streeck 1999; Barringer and Harrison 2000; Scott 2001; Lenox and Nash 2003; Cohen and Evseev 2007; Kshetri and Dholakia 2009; Reveley and Ville 2010; Yakovlev 2010; Barnett 2013). Finally, research on nonprofit membership associations retains special urgency given the diversity of disciplines concerned with membership associations, existing limitations in generalizability across different fields of professional and business activities, and the varying meaning which associational activities convey in particular cultural and political environments (Tschirhart and Gazley 2013).

1.2. Problem statement

Many scholars (Vorontsova and Filatov 1997; Golenkova 1999) regard Russia as a unique environment where Western institutions cannot be easily transposed; the construction of civil society meets many attitudinal, political, and legal obstacles. Russia's state of transition introduces difficulties⁷. Nevertheless, I proceed from the premise articulated in Anheier's (2005, 61) statement that "a functioning government and a functioning economy need a robust civil society to make society possible". I strongly believe that if Russia is to regain its place as a deserving member of the civilized world, it has no choice but to adopt the norms and values of democracy that go hand in hand with building its own robust civil society. Along these lines some critically minded scholars warn about the autocratic trends in state-society relations (Shevtsova 2004), the dominance of the state in economy (Yakovlev 2006), and an hourglass model of society (Rose 1995); these are dangerous for the legitimacy and sustainability of the fragile democracy, the new market economy, and the emerging civil society in Russia.

Formally organized entities in the nonprofit sector will likely play a crucial role in Russia's transition to a new societal order; these are represented by national professional and business associations in particular. Being an integral part of a functioning civil society, associational activity produces such positive outcomes as enhanced trust, democratic behavior, credibility, and

⁶ In an earlier work by sociologists Wayne & Babchuk (1959) a similar argument was introduced. In the absence of a sufficient number of studies, which take voluntary associations as the object of study, a theory of voluntary associations in the shape of typology was proposed. Authors distinguished between two types of functions of such organizations defined as "instrumental" or "expressive" in relation to the participants.

⁷ For instance, Crotty (2014) points out that the degree of contextualization is significant within the Russian practices of CSR and the original Western assumptions about the meaning of CSR are challenged in Russia.

economic gains, which outweigh potential shortcomings of collective action, such as weaker tolerance or exclusion practices (Tschirhart and Gazley 2013). Professional and business associations give voice to private and collective persons, consolidate and collectively promote group interests, provide alternative means of socialization, and address the psychological need to belong to a certain community (Tschirhart 2006). The innovative capacity of professional and business associations is higher than that of other NPOs owing to the size, bureaucratic structures, and high level of professionalization of PBAs (Kramer 1981). Moreover, in developing countries, where institutions of civil society are weak, membership associations that would normally be excluded under most functional definitions of the nonprofit sector – for example, trade and professional associations – should be included since their contribution is crucial to civil society formation (Salamon and Anheier 1997a). With regard to transition economies, professional and business associations not only represent one of the largest employers in the nonprofit sector (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004; Mersiyanova 2010), but also play an important societal role, substituting some of the underdeveloped elements of the institutional infrastructure (Yakovlev and Govorun 2011). Therefore, professional and business associations in contexts of transition constitute an important part of the nonprofit sector. Moreover, treating PBAs as a distinct type of nonprofits is also in line with the above-mentioned international classification of NPOs (Anheier 2005).

In the absence of a strong civil society in Russia, I proceed from the premise that all positive and negative changes in society are for the most part associated with the most active citizens exploring opportunities, primarily in business (Moskovskaya 2010). According to the findings of the CIVICUS project, slightly over one third (34.3%) of the adult population in Russia belongs to the “core” and “satellites” of civil society (Yakobson et al. 2011, 17). The “core” is rather small; only 7.7% of the adult population is actively involved in organized activities of the nonprofit sector. The “satellites” represent the 26.6% of adult Russians who are not yet involved in civic activities, but are ready to unite with others for collective action⁸. These adult Russians include entrepreneurs, professionals, and intellectuals; they represent the most educated⁹, socially active, and well-off part of Russian society. They in turn presumably form the basis for membership in the mutual benefit associations. Most probably, these adult Russians already share democratic values and attitudes, which makes me think that they are potentially willing and able to contribute their expertise, time, and financial support to the formation of institutions of a pluralistic civil society in their country. The resources listed above could be utilized to transform the existing professional and business associations into effective civil society institutions capable of advocating democratic governance. Moreover, the distinctive feature of these associations is that they have not been imposed from abroad by technical assistance projects sponsored by Western donor nations. Rather, they appeared naturally, either dating back to Imperial Russia or Soviet Russia, or developing along with new institutions in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This natural development supports the assumption that professional and business

⁸ Very similar is the percentage of the population declaring themselves involved in NPOs in Poland (a comparable post-communist country with a similar history of transition to democracy); this percentage ranges from 14% in 1997 to 25% in 2013. Both countries – along with other post-communist countries, which score even lower on civil engagement – lag behind the European average of 43% (Siemienska 2014).

⁹ I suppose that in Russia, similar to Germany, members of educated classes will constitute the most important spokesmen (Walk and Schröder 2014) contributing to the creation of the necessary conditions for democratic participation and solidarity.

associations can be regarded as a springboard for organized civil society development in Russia¹⁰. This constitutes the major assumption of the present study.

As shown in the current research, the societal roles that NPOs perform are varied across nation states and are determined by the nonprofit regimes they adhere to (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000; Salamon et al. 1999). Unfortunately, the classification of Russian nonprofit regime is not yet finished (Fenger 2007; Klishevich 2012). That is why I can only refer to existing approximations. For example, in a study on the welfare regimes of post-communist countries, Fenger (2007) argued that Russia does not completely fit any one of the ideal types proposed by Esping-Andersen (1990); instead, Russia resembles to a high degree the conservative-corporatist type¹¹ and to a lesser degree the social-democratic types¹² of welfare regimes. A groundbreaking study of nonprofit regimes under the John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector (JHCNPS) Project showed that Central and Eastern European countries, which could be taken as proxies for Russia even though it was not included in the sample, “occupy a ‘borderline’ area between the statist and social-democratic regime types: a relatively high level of government social spending coupled with a relatively small nonprofit sector” (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000, 20). Both of the studies came to somewhat similar results in terms of the prevailing mix of at least two tendencies, characteristic of the nonprofit regime in Russia, but from the substance it is not clear to which combination of models Russian nonprofit regime should be attributed. Thus, it is unclear which mix of societal functions, be it the dominance of social services delivery as in the social-democratic nonprofit regimes of Western Europe or cultural advocacy as in the case of the statist regimes of Central Europe (Salamon et al. 1999), is an appropriate description of Russian NPOs in general, and whether that description will hold for the professional and business associations, in particular.

Given the lack of a reference framework for the nonprofit regime in Russia, in what follows I examine this issue without going into too many details; they are beyond the scope of the present work. In my research endeavour, I systematically study associations according to the societal functions that they perform in a single context, since NPOs’ functions should be regarded as “the focal point when defining nonprofit regimes” (Neumayr et al. 2009, 168). I investigate the concrete organizational activities of the particular type of entities that constitute the Russian nonprofit sector. In the dissertation I apply an integrated conceptual framework of NPO’s functions (Neumayr and Meyer 2010) using the example of Russian professional and business associations. Then I compare the relative importance of the individual functions for different types of professional and business associations. On the basis of theory of NPOs’ societal embeddedness, I explore the driving and hindering forces that influence the capability of associations to

¹⁰ In comparison to some of the Russian foundations, which started their operations in the 1990s and earned a bad reputation due to money-laundering schemes (Alexeeva 2008), associations do not have to overcome such a legacy.

¹¹ The “corporatist” welfare state regime is more widespread in continental Europe in such countries as France and Germany. It is characterised by strong dependence on the state in providing social assistance, but it retains many of the traditional institutions, such as organized religion. This regime emerged as an outcome of strong states and aristocracies, as well as of the power of organized religion (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000, 15).

¹² The “social democratic” model is common in the Scandinavian countries. This regime is characterised by universalism and a clear division between social welfare spending and the market. It emerged as a consequence of strong working class movements that were able to effectively tie up to the middle class (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000, 15).

accomplish their organizational missions. I also interpret the various roles that different types of professional and business associations perform in the context of a country in transition.

1.3. Aim of study and research questions

On the basis of the problem indicated above, I am studying civil society in Russia by examining the existence and functions of a subset of the formally organized NPOs. More precisely, this dissertation aims to explore how professional and business associations contribute to the development of civil society in Russia. In order to better address the research aim, the following three specific research questions guide my study:

- Which societal **functions** do professional and business associations fulfill in Russia?
- Which **types** of professional and business associations exist in Russia? How similar or different is the composition of the societal functions that different types of PBAs perform?
- Which **forces** stimulate or undermine the capability of professional and business associations to fulfill their missions in Russia?

1.4. Structure of dissertation

The dissertation consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic of investigation, explains the aim of the research, and lists the research questions.

The second chapter continues by providing a thorough overview of the central issues in scholarship surrounding professional and business associations. It places PBAs within the research program of nonprofit studies, discusses functions of NPOs, and justifies the application of the integrative framework of NPOs' functions. Furthermore, it offers an institutional perspective on NPOs' embeddedness in the nonprofit regimes and introduces a theoretical framework that shows the influence of environmental forces on the models of PBAs in a single context.

The third chapter presents two different designs used for the empirical research. Each design entails a theoretical framework relevant for the concrete methodological section and, where appropriate, the derived research hypotheses. In addition, samples and data generation are described.

The fourth chapter focuses on the results, structured by the applied research methods. It presents analysis of both the qualitative and the quantitative data through the use of appropriate analytical tools and statistical methods, and it discusses the results in light of existing literature.

The final chapter summarizes the key findings and discusses the academic and practical relevance of the research. It concludes by highlighting research limitations and suggestions for potentially promising future research.

2 Theoretical framework

Before I turn to a mix of the core theories I employ in the present study, a wider context of nonprofit studies is introduced.

2.1 Mutual benefit organizations as subject of nonprofit studies

As a distinct academic discipline, scholarship focusing on associations, foundations, and other NPOs emerged over 30 years ago in the USA. Given its extremely complex interdisciplinary character, there is no general theory of NPOs. It is no wonder that there is no agreement among nonprofit scholars on a single term that covers the whole spectrum of concepts used to label this “crucial part of the public space between the state and the family, and embodied in voluntary organizations” (Howard 2003, 1). The range of concepts used to portray it, apart from the original American “nonprofit sector”, is diverse and culturally loaded. For instance, in France, Belgium, and Spain, it is mostly referred to as “*économie sociale*” (Defourny and Develtere 1999); in the UK it is called the “voluntary sector” (Salamon and Anheier 1997a, 41; Kendall 2003); in the German-speaking countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, the nonprofit sector is shaped by three quite different principles: self-governance, subsidiarity and “*Gemeinwirtschaft*” (Anheier and Salamon 2006, 90; Anheier and Archambault 2014). The list of synonymously used concepts includes the third or independent sector, civil society, philanthropy, charity, commons, social entrepreneurship, nongovernment organizations, public benefit organizations, etc. All these names reflect the basic proposition put forward by DiMaggio and Anheier (1990, 137) on the origins of the nonprofit sector: “‘nonprofitness’ has no transhistorical or transnational meaning; nonprofit sector functions, origins, and behavior reflect specific legal definitions, cultural inheritances, and the state policies in different national societies”. Russia is in transition; since the state and the private sector are very much in flux and the boundaries of the nonprofit sector are blurred, it makes sense to frame this field of studies as Muukkonen did. He suggested that attempts to “use categorizations should be replaced with the Wittgensteinian idea of family resemblance” (2009, 684) due to the fact that different disciplines and different nations define the concepts of the field differently, while simultaneously acknowledging central elements consistent with a phenomenon of “nonprofitness”.

Some scholars (Evers and Laville 2004) have drawn distinctions at least between the European and American debate on the nature of nonprofit studies. They argue for the narrowness of the American approach (Van Til 2000) based on the definition of the sector as developed by the JHCNPS Project, which emphasizes the importance of the nonprofit sector as such and the centrality of the non-distribution constraint that underlines the configuration of the American nonprofit sector. On the one hand, the legal requirements in European countries are different, as they treat NPOs according to limits on profit distribution, thus including cooperatives and mutual aid societies under the category of NPOs. On the other hand, European scholars emphasize the analytical approach to developing association typologies and contextualizing them, as in the case of the civil society concept, which according to Zimmer and Freise (2008) represents an overarching approach embedded largely in European history, sociology, and political science. I apply both approaches by using the standard American terminology when addressing the nonprofit sector – since this is how NPOs are mostly referred to in Russian legislation, research tradition, and everyday life – and complement it with the European contextualization tradition. I further

outline the core distinctive features that differentiate nonprofit from for-profit and public organizations.

2.1.1 Defining characteristics of nonprofit organizations

Professional and business associations are one of eleven types of entities that constitute the nonprofit sector, according to the classical structural-operational definition developed by the international team of scholars on the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (Salamon and Anheier 1997a). This definition serves as the most productive framework in a civil law country such as Russia¹³. Five key distinctive features can be used to define the nonprofit sector “as a collection of entities that are:

- **Organized**, i.e. institutionalized to some extent...
- **Private**, i.e. institutionally separate from government...
- **Non-profit-distributing**, i.e. not returning any profits generated to their owners or directors...
- **Self-governing**, i.e. equipped to control their own activities...
- **Voluntary**, i.e. involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation, either in the actual conduct of the agency’s activities or in the management of its affairs” (Salamon and Anheier 1997a, 33-34).

In order to be considered a nonprofit, an organization has to meet all of the above requirements to a reasonable extent. The first and most important criterion refers to the formal organizational structure, which is reached by a legal charter of incorporation. The second one concerns the fundamental nongovernmental status of the organization, but it does not mean that the government cannot support NPOs through grants, subsidies, or participation on their boards. The third criterion focuses on the “non-distribution constraint”, which differentiates non-profit from for-profit organizations in one key aspect: the former can earn profits, but they must be reinvested into the achievement of the entity’s mission and not used for the benefit of the NPO’s founders or managers. The next criterion concerns the freedom of NPOs from outside control, thus indicating that any NPO determines its own strategy and operations independently from third parties. Finally, the last criterion relates to the voluntary nature of associational activity, whose meaning is two-fold. First, voluntarism is manifested in non-coercive membership in NPOs. Second, activities of any NPO are based on a certain level of voluntary effort, which takes place either through investment of time, expressed in voluntary participation in an organization’s activities or its board, or through investment of funds, such as private or corporate donations. Finally, according to Zimmer and Priller (2004a, 16), NPOs are characterized “by their own logic of action, specific functions, and special organizational structures”. Thus, as opposed to for-profit and state organizations, NPOs are “capable of continuously reproducing the sociocultural foundations of the society they live on” (Backhaus-Maul and Langner 2014, 114).

¹³ The first legal framework for the initialization of the nonprofit sector dates back to the “Law on non-governmental association” passed in the USSR in 1990. On April 14th, 1995, a Russian federal “Law on nongovernmental association” was adopted after a thorough examination of the best Western practices. Thus the new law was designed in full correspondence with the best practices, as one of its architects, Lev Yakobson, admitted during his speech at the ISTR Conference in Sienna in 2012. However, a new set of restrictive changes to the legislation were introduced in 2006, undermining the independence of Russian NPOs and their ability to hold the state accountable (Ljubownikow and Crotty 2014).

2.1.2 Salient features of associations as nonprofit organizations

Nonprofit membership associations, being a significant subset of the nonprofit sector and a central object of the current study, play important roles across different societies¹⁴. From an internal perspective, associations serve as a forum for discussions and coordination of common interests among full-fledged members; from an external perspective, they provide vital horizontal and vertical links between different parts of society (Torpe 2003). In other words, according to Anheier (2005, 61), the function of voluntary associations “is to serve both as a cohesive device for members with similar interests and as an inclusive mechanism by being open to different segments and groups of the community”. At the same time, Cattacin (2014) argues that associations’ impact on society is ambivalent, ranging from negative exclusive to positive inclusive effects of associating.

I further use the broad definition given by Knoke (1986, 2), who defined a membership association as “a formally organized named group, most of whose members – whether persons or organizations – are not financially recompensed for their participation”. The membership’s role in associational activity is a focal point in this definition, implying that members’ active engagement is a crucial determinant of the association’s survival. This definition is also suitable for the purposes of the current study since it covers professional societies and business and trade associations.

The most important distinctive feature of nonprofit membership associations studies is that “elements for a comprehensive theory of associations lie scattered across diverse disciplines, including sociology, political science, business, organizational analysis, social work, labor economics, recreation and leisure, and law” (Knoke 1986, 1). For instance, political scientists claim that today “the diversity of associations is the institutionalized core of civil societies”, which guarantees “the democratic commonwealth” (Freise and Hallmann 2014a, 2). Associations are a “bulwark” against an omnipotent state that seeks to intervene in citizens’ private sphere (Fung 2003), or they are viewed as “transmission belts” between the citizens and the state, which help aggregating interests (Cohen and Rogers 1995). But the most prominent role of associations in the welfare states is cooperation with the state in the provision of services (Freise and Hallmann 2014a). Finally, Etzioni (1973) even claims that associations are instrumental in contributing to the creation of the moral basis of modern societies.

Given the cross-disciplinary and multi-dimensional nature of literature on civil society and its organizations, and given the varied meanings in different nation states, it is no wonder that there is no single ideal typology of associations in use (Reuter, Wijkström, and Meyer 2014). That is why the only reasonable attempt to make generalizations concerns key classification criteria, such as the associations’ purpose and member type, as suggested by Tschihart (2006)¹⁵; after all, any organizational structure is goal-oriented, and membership structure is a major feature of voluntary associations (Braun 2014).

¹⁴ A historical perspective on associative life and voluntary membership organizations is provided by Strachwitz (2014). A brief retrospective on associations and associating can be found in the work of Freise and Hallmann (2014a, 4-7).

¹⁵ Another approach to categorization of associations is developed by Warren (2001), who distinguishes between the thickness and thinness of associative relations. He differentiates between primary associations, which involve families and friendships, secondary associations, which involve close social attachments in the living environment (e.g. leisure clubs, self-help groups), and tertiary associations, whose members have little in common apart from shared group purpose (e.g. professional and business associations).

2.1.3 Categorizing associations by purpose and membership

At least three methods of differentiating nonprofit membership associations according to purpose are found in the literature. The first one concentrates on intended target audiences, which vary in composition. Associations that exist to benefit individual members follow expressive goals, whereas associations that exist to challenge the far-reaching societal systems pursue instrumental goals. Certainly, there are also hybrids. The second method looks at the social agenda of associations, such as whether they claim to support existing societal structures, undermine the status quo in relation to societal norms and values, or provide their members with alternative lifestyle options that contradict established societal systems. A final way to differentiate associations is by looking at their territorial scope, measured in terms of the broadness of the mission, scale of membership, or budget. Depending on the degree of locality, there are grassroots associations with a small number of members or federated associations with large membership and clear service base, compulsory member dues, and restrictive selection rules for the membership candidates (Tschirhart 2006).

Another way to categorize associations is by their membership, which is a key attribute that all nonprofit membership associations must have in common. Nonprofit scholars identify two major aspects of member type: coercion and identity (Tschirhart 2006). Even though most of the literature on associations is devoted to large associations with paid staff and voluntary membership, there are examples of coerced membership, as well. In countries with long-established traditions of medieval guilds, like Germany or Austria, some occupational associations require membership in a respected association in order for an individual to be certified or licensed in a certain field. It is important to draw a distinction between members that independently represent their own interests, and those that act as designated representatives of others such as a state, corporation, or family (Tschirhart 2006). Having looked at two major ways of differentiating nonprofit membership-based associations, it becomes evident how their roles in society differ.

2.1.4 The pluralistic value of associations

The central features of nonprofit membership associations are their multi-facetedness, hybrid character, and environmental openness to surrounding social systems (Backhaus-Maul and Langner 2014). This refers to their ability to simultaneously fulfill a number of goals and produce a wide spectrum of outcomes, some of which may have positive or negative side effects. According to Tschirhart this ambivalence of associations is reflected in the fact “that they support democratic processes, give voice to special interests, regulate behaviors, develop and diffuse innovations, and provide psychological and social rewards... also support inequalities, repress voices, and constrain freedoms” (2006, 526). Another view on associations is given by Seibel (1996), who identifies them as “functional dilettantes”, claiming that financial support of associations through the state does not necessarily lead to solving of societal problems, but rather contributes to increased legitimacy of the state. Finally, the importance of associations as “driving forces of modern societies” (Freise and Hallmann 2014a, 9) is in their ability to produce what Annette Zimmer calls “the cement of society” (Zimmer and Priller 2004a, 26). Let us explore in more detail each of the identified aspects of associational duality from a variety of perspectives:

societal, organizational field, and individual. The boundaries between these are drawn according to convenience since they overlap to a large extent.

2.1.4.1 Societal perspective: enhancing democracy

In the tradition of Alexis de Tocqueville's thinking about the relationship between associational life and democracy, a well-known claim is that associations "provide a training ground for the values, norms, and civil skills necessary for a healthy democracy" (Denters, Gabriel, and Torgal 2007, 67). In a similar way, Robert Putnam's widely promoted concept of social capital (Putnam 1993, 2000) concerns the political and economic externalities of civic engagement, voluntary associations, and generalized trust. Both lines of thinking stress the internal democratic role of associations, also known as the "bedrock of democracy" (Zimmer 2007), which supports the involvement of groups of citizens in the public sphere by giving them the possibility of free speech and tools to check the government in a pluralist political system (Habermas 1996). However, some recent studies present less optimistic evidence of associations serving as "schools of democracy" (Putnam 2000); they argue that the skill-building capacity could be selective, and that the societal role of associations change over time and depend on the involvement of members and leadership of associations (Torpe 2003). Given the Soviet legacy, where a free public sphere was entirely controlled by the Communist Party and multiple centers of power did not exist, the tradition of independent civic engagement has a long way to go to become well established in contemporary Russia. However, I suppose that the first social group in Russia that will wake from its forced liturgical sleep will consist of the highly educated representatives of the middle class¹⁶, traditionally considered the basis of a thriving associational life and "an important precondition of democratic stability" (Freise and Hallmann 2014a, 5). This assumption finds support from a panel study of 100 countries worldwide on involvement in civic associations. The study shows that civil society in its organized form comprises primarily representatives of the middle class with a rather high level of education (Robert 1999). These educated citizens will be more likely to engage in protecting common interests under the framework of professional and business associations, rather than, for instance, under the less formal lifestyle, leisure, inward-oriented types of expressive unions since well-educated people are more inclined to be involved in politics (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996; Dekker 2014).

There is also the external democratic role that associations play as intermediary structures between their members and the state (Backhaus-Maul and Langner 2014) since associations "bind society together by its own internal divisions and produce pluralist competition between different interests" (Newton 1997, 579). In this capacity nonprofit membership associations are serving as platforms that give voices to special interests. Their most obvious task in this respect is participation in passing legislation. In the Russian context, two of the most active cross-sectoral federated associations that have acted as recognized lobbyists¹⁷ since the beginning of 2000 are

¹⁶ In terms of the occupational composition of Russian employment, according to ILO comparative data from 2002, the percentages of white-collar and blue-collar workers are 52% and 48%, respectively, whereas in the Czech Republic and Germany this proportion is slightly higher: 57% & 43%, and 66% & 34%, respectively. At the same time, according to OECD education indicators for 2002, Russia is a world leader in terms of adult population (25-64 years), whose highest level of attainment is upper secondary (89% for all population / 94% for employed population) or post-secondary (57% for all population / 64% for employed population) non-tertiary education (Kapelyushnikov 2006).

¹⁷ Despite the fact that no federal law governing lobbying has yet been adopted in Russia.

the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (Markus 2007). Based on a review of the single and cross-country studies of associations that represent business interests, Tschirhart concluded that “the more centralized, concentrated, and representative the organization of business interest, the greater will be the association’s voice in policy-making and its role in implementing policies” (2006, 526-527). This macro-level perspective points out an important role of associations as a legitimate and accountable voice involved in the enhancement of democratic governance.

2.1.4.2 Organizational field perspective: self-regulation and innovations

Nonprofit membership associations, especially in professional societies, often represent an alternative to state regulation of the right to exercise an occupation (Evetts 2003). Such practices exist under the label of self-regulating organizations, which are granted the statutory monopoly over the maintenance of jurisdictional boundaries in certain professions in order to protect both the public interest and professionals from charlatans. SROs are given the power to introduce restrictions on occupational activities by means of a stricter licensure or more inclusive certification mechanisms, thus excluding anybody who is not licensed or certified by the SRO or government agency from offering specified services (Brockman 1998). For instance, most of the early sociological studies focused on “free” professions in medicine and law, since they were conducted predominantly in Anglo-Saxon countries, where the formation of a strong central state followed the emergence of powerful professional associations (Scott 2008). According to Scott (2008), two major frameworks dominated the discussion of professions: from the 1930s into the 1960s, the functionalist interpretation claimed that the practice of professions was based on formal knowledge, autonomy in decision-making, and orientation towards providing the best service to the clients; this was refocused in the 1960s by the conflict perspective, in which the center of discussion shifted towards political explanations and providers’ interests in securing their professional status and financial rewards.

It becomes evident that the development path of professional associations and the degree of their professional power are closely echoed by the historically set mode of the state’s engagement in structuring and shaping social groups. A state-superior model is more common in continental Europe but less characteristic of liberal democracies, such as those of the UK and the United States (Morgan and Quack 2006). In practice, powerful associations play an important role in legitimizing professions: they exercise control over the quality of professional services through barriers to entry, standards of training and ethics, and disciplinary sanctions, while simultaneously excluding unwanted practitioners from the profession (Brockman 1998). With respect to professional associations in Russia, only a minor share of them was granted the privilege of professional self-regulation. For example, compulsory membership in the state bar associations was initially regulated by law when freedom of association was re-introduced in the new Russian constitution in 1993. Another example is associations incorporated recently under the 2007 federal law governing self-regulating organizations, covering such industries as construction, design, audit, and valuation.

Nonprofit membership associations in their capacity as networking organizations serve as important mediators of knowledge, innovative processes, and sustainable agendas to practitioners from the same or varied fields of activity (Newell and Swan 1995; Thomas et al. 2012). Being

literally a meeting place for members and experts, professional associations stimulate the exchange of ideas, promote best practices, and set standards. Tschirhart argues that associations, apart from participating in the development of technologies, “may also force all members to accept innovations and comply with rules and regulations set by the most powerful members” (2006, 527). On the meso-level, associations are perceived as corporate actors contributing to self-regulation of the field and its innovative potential. It seems that this role of associations is the most undervalued in the Russian public sphere, where associations are not viewed as potentially important mediators of new ideas and technologies.

2.1.4.3 Individual perspective: intrinsic satisfaction

Other benefits commonly associated with membership in nonprofit associations are found at the level of individual members that feed their deep psychological and social needs through participation in group activities. In many cases, the participative process itself rather than a measurable result is the greatest value that association membership provides (Rosenblum 2000). Moreover, empirical studies of sport clubs in Germany revealed that having fun is considered to be one of the major driving forces of associating (Zimmer, Basic, and Hallmann 2011). Tschirhart (2006, 527) characterized some of the most-claimed benefits an individual can receive from association membership in this way: “satisfaction of psychological needs for fellowship, safety and security; promotion of social mobility; prestige-enhancement; legitimation; advancement of political and economic interests; satisfaction of religious impulses; self-improvement; assistance with problem-solving; and development of group consciousness”. Through active engagement in associational activity, members may build up positive self-identities. For instance, in the United States the black church of today is the most important semi-voluntary association for African Americans; it creates a powerful and influential environment and produces most black leaders (Cnaan and Curtis 2012). In a historical study of voluntary associations in pre-revolutionary Russia, Bradley (2002) demonstrates the opportunities for public action that different learned societies provided to their members. These opportunities aimed to bring progress and well-being to the nation by means of a pragmatic and reciprocal relationship with the imperial government.

At the same time, in giving the opportunity for advancement and developing solidarity among members, nonprofit membership associations can also be discriminative against others. As Rosenblum (2000, 63) summarized in her analysis of the moral and political ambiguities of associations in the United States, “associations mirror, reinforce, and actively create social inequalities”. One of the most well-known examples is that of the elite American universities at the turn of the 20th century that limited admission of Jews and Catholics in favor of native-born Protestants. This led the marginalized peoples to establish exclusive associations (Hall 2006). Another historical account showcases early American women’s benevolent associations that were built on the basis of network ties of its members; they managed to create many societies of the same kind, but with little in common (Boylan 1984). Thus, associations also address the psychological and social needs of individuals on the micro-level.

A brief overview of associational benefits and drawbacks from three different perspectives showed how substantial are the methodological difficulties when attempting any generalizations at the aggregate level; these difficulties stem from the diversity of purposes and member types of nonprofit membership associations. Moreover, voluntary membership associations are still rarely

examined as a subject of nonprofit studies (Gordon and Babchuk 1959; Knoke 1986; Tschirhart 2006). The concept of associations remains an open one whose meaning and interpretation are bounded by context. In terms of the “family resemblance” metaphor (Muukkonen 2009, 684), these characteristics suggest resemblance rather than exact similarity among nonprofit membership associations¹⁸. Moreover, in order to thoroughly examine and grasp the specifics of professional and business associations as a subset of membership associations, scholarly understanding of both types of associations have to be taken into account. These theoretical perspectives will be introduced at a later stage of the dissertation after discussing the major functions of NPOs and their societal embeddedness.

2.2 Functions of nonprofit organizations in the literature

As the literature review in the preceding chapter revealed, NPOs play a wide range of societal roles according to the functions they perform in different nonprofit regimes. Since NPOs that are fulfilling their societal roles contribute simultaneously to economic, political, and social domains, **multi-tasking** and **multi-functionality** describe their most distinctive characteristics (Edwards and Foley 2001; Zimmer 2007; Zimmer and Freise 2008). As Backhaus-Maul and Langner claim (2014, 115), associations – being multifunctional organizations – pursue several goals which often clash, thus leading to the constant need for reconciliation “in complex negotiation processes again and again”. Such complexity and diversity are reflected in the definitional fuzziness, fragmentary character, and constant change prevailing in much of the third sector literature (Meyer and Simsa 2014), causing multiple interpretations in different contexts. They are also reflected in the specifics of nonprofit studies that encourage involvement of scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds. However, each discipline provides only one fragmented interpretation of the NPOs’ functions, depending on the way the nonprofit sector’s roles are conceptualized. For instance, institutional economists are mostly interested in the capacity of NPOs to serve as an alternative to social service provision by the state or private enterprises; sociologists adopt primarily a bottom-up perspective by regarding NPOs as a means of civic engagement, social integration, and societal stratification; political scientists, on the contrary, take a top-down perspective, focusing also on the service delivery function in different nonprofit regimes (Zimmer and Freise 2008). At the same time, as Zimmer and Freise (2008) noticed, advocacy, a core area of nonprofit activities, is not properly addressed by any of these disciplines, even though NPOs are engaged on a daily basis in lobbying and interest representation. From these general disciplinary observations I now turn to a more concrete investigation of the functions attributed to NPOs in the literature.

Since nonprofit studies cut across the confines of a single discipline, there are a number of difficulties that researchers face examining the functions performed by NPOs¹⁹. First of all, there is no common definition of the term “function”. To my knowledge the only available, albeit quite general, definition of the functions performed by nonprofit organizations was given by Anheier (2005, 174), who wrote that “by function we mean the normal tasks or roles that nonprofit organizations can be expected to perform”. Consequently, the task of comparative analysis of literature on the functions of NPOs, as well as of their empirical operationalization, becomes quite

¹⁸ It is important to keep in mind that the major limitation of Wittgensteinian idea is that it does not distinguish between the exhibited and non-exhibited properties of associations.

¹⁹ Apart from the fact that neo-functionalism is not particularly popular among American scholars, especially sociologists, because it rests on strong assumptions and is “high tech” in application (Rojas 2014).

challenging. For the purposes of the current work I apply the systematic definition of NPOs' function developed by Neumayr (2009, 171), which defines NPOs' functions "as (the total of) single actions and decisions that NPOs²⁰ perform, each of which serves a certain subsystem of society", namely, the economic, political, and community system. Second, there are few attempts in the literature to systematically examine and compare the functions that NPOs fulfill in different nonprofit regimes, with an exception of those, while not exhaustive, by Neumayr and team (2007; 2009; 2010) in eight papers (James and Rose-Ackerman 1986; Salamon et al. 1999; Frumkin 2005; Kramer 1981; Kendall 2003; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000; Land 2001; Johnson 1998). Finally, based on the eight previously identified functions that NPOs fulfill, Neumayr (2007; 2009; 2010) concluded that among the roles assigned to NPOs – roles which broadly correspond to social, civic, and economic domains (Rempel 1996) – the most frequently cited one belongs to the service delivery function. This function, according to market failure thinking (Steinberg 2006), contributes to explaining the existence of the nonprofit sector as such. The delivery of service is usually contrasted against or combined with up to four other functions fulfilled by NPOs at the same time, such as advocacy, community building, innovation, philanthropy, expression, and social entrepreneurship.²¹ In what follows I examine the existing literature on the functions of NPOs following two different approaches. The first one is embedded in a single context and shaped by a specific nation or field of activity. The second one is based on multiple contexts, which enables me to draw comparisons between the functions that NPOs fulfill in different nation states or fields of activity.

2.2.1 NPO's functions from a single-context perspective

From a single-context perspective, Frumkin (2005) offers one of the most systematic approaches found in literature on the spectrum of functions performed by NPOs²². Frumkin's work builds on the US-specific concept of service and expressive functions of NPOs put forward by James and Rose-Ackerman (1986). On the basis of the civic heritage of American society, the scholar recognizes four underlying functions of the nonprofit sector: "encouraging civic and political engagement, delivering needed services, enacting private values... and providing a channel for social entrepreneurship" (Frumkin 2005, 24). The first area of activities, in which American NPOs are traditionally heavily involved, is represented in their advocacy efforts aimed at generating social solidarity and social capital within communities on the one hand, and bringing social and political change on the other hand, thus making NPOs an important power in political life. Also important is the instrumental service delivery role that NPOs play in response to crucial public needs in a variety of fields, such as health care, education, art, or housing. When the state or the private sector fail to meet those needs, NPOs become important partners with government in filling the gaps. NPOs serve as a vehicle for the expression of values. The values reflect the internal motivation for people to engage in the world of NPOs. The value constituency, which steps outside the confines of pragmatics and purposefulness of the NPOs' activities, is an integral

²⁰ In the original definition, instead of NPOs the authors used CSOs to refer to third-sector organizations.

²¹ A critical overview of every single function can be found in Neumayr's works (2007; 2010).

²² Frumkin's concept draws heavily on the seminal work of Kramer (1981), who made a first comparative assessment of the nonprofit sector contributions, expressed in roles of the vanguard, the value guardian, the improver, and the service provider that NPOs play in four Western countries. The national studies have been conducted in the USA, England, Israel and the Netherlands.

part of the nonprofit work. This value orientation makes NPOs attractive to volunteers, donors, and activists. Finally, the social entrepreneurship role of NPOs is a relatively new phenomenon, rapidly developing in the last two decades. It stresses the proactive stand that NPOs take in searching for innovative solutions to societal problems and attracting funding through commercial activities for their aggressive growth agendas. In a slightly different manner, Land (2001), based upon the works of Wolpert (2001), defines the major organizational categories that make up the US nonprofit sector: service, philanthropy, charity, and fellowship. Finally, the situation in the UK is reflected in Kendall's (2003) concept, who also follows Kramer's (1981) work and distinguishes five functions that NPOs perform in four different fields: service provision, innovation, advocacy, expressive function, and community building functions.

Apart from the papers indicated in Neumayr's (2009; 2010) review of functions that NPOs fulfill, there are several more works that should be added to the list of studies that take a predominantly single-context perspective. Another well-known example of classifying functions in a given American context is found in the Filer's Report²³. The Filer Commission identified nine core functions of the nonprofit sector: "(1) initiating new ideas and processes; (2) developing public policy; (3) supporting minority or local interests; (4) providing services that the government cannot constitutionally provide; (5) overseeing government; (6) overseeing the market place; (7) bringing the sectors together; (8) furthering active citizenship; and (9) giving aid abroad" (Lieber 2000, 737). Despite the fact that most of these functions fall under the category of "advocacy", there is still not enough empirical evidence of the primacy of this function for the American nonprofit sector (Salamon 2002a). On the contrary, according to the above-mentioned study, American and Japanese NPOs both tend to concentrate their efforts on services, namely health services (Salamon et al. 1999)²⁴. One of the more recent attempts to represent the functions of NPOs in the case of endowed foundations, a particular type of NPO, is found in Prewitt's (1999) paper. According to his framing, foundations fulfill four basic distinct functions: (1) redistributing funds from the better-off to the more needy parts of the population; (2) offering services more efficiently than market or government agencies do; (3) challenging and supporting desired social changes; (4) promoting pluralism, or diversity in thought and practice, as well as searching for causes and solutions to the most acute societal problems. In the Anglo-Saxon context, Handy (1990) suggested that voluntary organizations fulfill three distinct functions: (1) mutual support, (2) service delivery and (3) campaigning, which are weakly coupled and over time develop their own dynamic. The pioneer of research on the multiple functions of associations in Germany, Annette Zimmer, claimed (2007) that NPOs fulfill at least three major functions: (1) social integration of citizens, (2) lobbying or interest representation and (3) service provision, especially for the social sector. These correspond to the NPO functions identified by Neumayr (2009). Finally, in the context of *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege* in Germany, Backhaus-Maul and Mutz (2014) argue that the German welfare federations combine (1) an associative function, (2) an

²³ The Filer Report has been produced by the 1973 federal Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs, more commonly known as the Filer Commission.

²⁴ In Europe this discussion takes a different angle. Zimmer and Priller (2004b) argue that the German and Swedish nonprofit sectors are not perceived as service providers; instead, the sectors offer a societal sphere for self-organization, where members have the opportunity to engage in nonprofit activities. The community building function of NPOs is stressed since the bedrock of the nonprofit sector in many European countries is represented by membership rates, rather than employment opportunities that sector provides.

interest-group function, and (3) an operational function, all of which also mirror the NPO functions identified by Neumayr (2009).

2.2.2 NPO's functions from a multiple-context perspective

From a cross-national perspective, the most widely accepted attempt to systematically address more than one dimension of the nonprofit sector was made by an international group of scholars under the leadership of Lester Salamon. The team of scholars (Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000) involved in the seminal JHCNPS Project empirically confirmed the following five major roles that NPOs play in the diverse range of countries involved in the study: service provision, advocacy, expression, community building (social capital), and innovation. In the first instance, the nonprofit sector is expected to be a service provider. The services that NPOs provide are quasi-public goods, which could be better supplied by the nonprofits than commercial entities. According to Weisbrod's trustworthiness theory (1977), the former are assumed to be more trustworthy since they are not allowed to distribute profit; thus, demand for the services of NPOs exists. As advocates, independent NPOs are situated in the right position between the state and the market, serving as a natural mediator between a citizen and a broader political system. By giving a voice to under-represented interests, NPOs are in a position to draw public attention to societal problems, and to demand changes in government policy or social conditions (Kramer 1981; Knapp, Robertson, and Thomason 1990). The expressive role encompasses NPOs' broader representational activities, which serve as vehicles for self-expression at the individual or group level, thereby promoting the values of pluralism, diversity, and leadership in society (Kramer 1981; James and Rose-Ackerman 1986; Kendall 2003). The community building function of NPOs brings about the unifying and integrative character of nonprofit activities, embodied in the extensive bonds of trust and reciprocity which are crucial for encouraging economic growth and democracy (Putnam 1993, 2000). Last, but not least, is the innovation of NPOs. This role is widely recognized in both theory (Kramer 1981; Kendall 2003) and practice (for the government-sponsored review of the US nonprofit sector, see the above-mentioned Filer Report; for the UK, see the Report by Beveridge²⁵)²⁶. The innovation potential is expressed in NPOs' capacity to serve as accessible incubators for pioneering ideas in the public sphere with an aim to work out solutions to public problems. Nevertheless, the research team admitted that the most distinguishing characteristic of the nonprofit sector lays in the combination of roles that NPOs perform, such as service and advocacy, or service and innovation. However, after the empirical confirmation of the hypothesised five societal functions, the focus of the JHCNPS Project was shifted from the study of the composition of different functions toward performance in specific subfields of nonprofit activity. In a quantitative study the scholars used only two out of five functions to draw a distinction between the countries with predominantly service delivery or predominantly expression-oriented nonprofit regimes (Salamon et al. 1999). The major critique of this study lays in the reduction of the number of NPOs' functions to only two; the fact that NPOs are multi-functional (Zimmer 2007) and simultaneously perform more than two roles was ignored for the sake of research simplicity. Interestingly enough, a dominance of the welfare service

²⁵ The Report, published in 1948, was compiled by Lord William Beveridge at the inception of the post-war welfare state in Great Britain.

²⁶ In his later publications (Salamon 2002b) on the functions of NPOs, Lester Salamon replaces the innovation function with a value guardian (mobilization) function. One of the reasons for doing this seems to be that his later work concerned only the US, where the value guardian role of the nonprofit sector is of particular importance.

function over the advocacy function was revealed for most of the developed and developing countries. At the same time, significant differences were found between developed and transition countries. For instance, in the transition societies of Central Europe the expressive function of the nonprofit sector dominates over the service function. Anheier (2005, 83) explains it as “a reflection of the more dominant role of the state in providing social welfare services in these countries”.

In order to deepen the comparative perspective of the initial literature review by Neumayr (2007; 2009; 2010), several more important publications devoted to the functions of NPOs deserve mentioning. First of all, in the context of simultaneous democratization and peace-building practices, which is of special relevance for the transition countries, Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) systematically recognized seven basic civil society functions²⁷: (1) protecting citizens against despotism by the state, (2) monitoring the activities of state authorities and their apparatus for accountability, (3) achieving advocacy and public communication through articulation of underprivileged interests and bringing them to the public agenda, (4) achieving socialization through rich associational life, (5) building community by means of fostering social capital, (6) intermediating between citizens and state, and (7) delivering services, expressed in the direct provision of services to citizens. Thus, this conceptual paper provides a holistic picture of the societal functions that NPOs are expected to fulfill. In this sense it complements the multiple perspectives and cross-national context approach taken in works by Kramer (1981) and by Salamon’s team (Salamon et al. 1999; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000). Finally, the comparative study of the three simultaneously performed functions – service delivery, advocacy, and community building – by NPOs in Austria and the Czech Republic is the last research project undertaken by Neumayr’s team (2009) to be mentioned, since it adopted the most systemic integrated approach, building on the previous knowledge and, at the same, time providing a clear systematic framework to the analysis of the NPOs’ activities in the multiple contexts²⁸.

2.2.3 Revised overview of NPO’s functions in the literature

Findings of the extended literature review of the concepts of key NPOs’ functions are presented in Table 2.1. From this overview it becomes evident that there are at least two approaches to defining NPOs’ functions. The first one adopts a rather narrow single perspective, such as that of foundations, or unfolds within a particular national context, predominantly that of the USA. Adherents to the second approach employ a multifaceted perspective, such as in the case of democratization and peace building, or place their studies in cross-national settings; thus functions, as well as the composition of functions performed simultaneously, vary depending on the national context or type of NPO. Given the lack of common framework for comparison of

²⁷ Five of them (protection, intermediation between state and citizens, participatory socialization, community building – integration, communication) are based on the German political scientists Merkel and Lauth’s Function Model (Merkel and Lauth 1998). Similar composition of civil society’s democratic functions (control of state power, interest mediation, social integration, political socialization and service provision) is found in the paper by Forbrig (2002).

²⁸ Another systemic approach to the study of NPOs as untypical organizations that perform all kinds of functions is found in Simsa’s (2013) conceptual work. She distinguishes between the running in parallel rendering of services, mediation, alarm and repair functions. Another conceptual paper by Strachwitz (2014) points out four roles that associations and foundations, according to the European Commission’s typology issued in 1999, fulfill – service provision, advocacy, self-help and intermediary – which he finds incomplete; he adds three more potential roles: watchdog, community building, and political deliberation.

different functions that NPOs fulfill, I have grouped the identified functions under the following three overarching categories: service delivery, advocacy, and community building. These categories reflect Neumayr's (2007; 2009; 2010) works. Each of these categories is named after the central function that is most often cited in the literature review. At the same time each central category has a periphery of functions, which are regarded as its derivatives since they are used in connection or inseparable to the central category.

Table 2.1. Concepts of key NPOs' functions: service delivery, advocacy, community building, and their derivatives

	Concept of function/ Authors	Single-context perspective								Multiple-context perspective						
		The Filer's Report, 1973 / USA	James, Rose-Ackerman, 1986 / USA	Handy, 2004 / UK	Prewitt, 1999 / Foundations	Land, 2001 / USA	Frumkin, 2002 / USA	Kendall, 2003 / UK	Zimmer, 2007 / Germany	Backhaus-Maul et al, 2014 / Germany	Kramer, 1981 / USA, England, Israel, Holland	Salamon, Anheier et al, 1999 / N. America, S. America, Europe, Asia, Middle East ²⁹	Johnson, 1998 / Europe	Salamon, Hems et al, 2000 / Western developed, transition and developing countries ³⁰	Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006 / Democratization and peace building	Neumayr, Meyer et al, 2009, Austria, Czech Republic
Service Delivery function + derivatives	Service provision/ Service delivery/Operational function	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Innovation / Vanguard	X						X			X			X		
	Social Entrepreneurship						X									
	Redistribution / Charity				X	X										
	Efficiency				X											
	Self-help											X				

²⁹ In total, 22 countries have been examined.

³⁰ Among 11 countries under study, there were four countries of Western Europe (France, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the U.K.), four other developed countries (Israel, Australia, Japan, and the U.S.), one transitional-economy country of Central Europe (Romania), and two developing countries of Latin America (Colombia and Argentina).

Advocacy function + derivatives	Advocacy / Improver/ Public communication/ Social change/ Lobbying / Interest group function / Campaigning	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	
	Expression of values / Value guardian / Pluralism	X	X		X		X	X			X	X		X			
	Protection of citizens														X		
	Monitoring for accountability	X													X		
	Intermediation and facilitation between citizens and state	X													X		
	Giving aid abroad	X															
	Overseeing the market place	X															
Community Building function + derivatives	Building community/ Social Capital / Social Integration / Associative function							X	X	X			X	X	X	X	
	Socialization / Fellowship/ Active citizenship / Mutual support	X		X		X									X		
	Philanthropy					X											

Source: Modified and extended from Neumayr (2007; 2009; 2010)

Service delivery is a central category for the service delivery function, whereas its derivatives include such closely linked functions as innovations (which go hand in hand with service provision), redistribution (which appeals to funds transferred into services by means of foundations), self-help (which refers to the direct exchange of services between contributor and beneficiary, and efficiency (which measures the impact of service delivery). The advocacy function as a central category is connected with such derivative functions as the expression of values (which in a broad sense refers to interest representation), protection of citizens (which stresses the independence of NPOs from the state and NPOs' capability to influence the public agenda), monitoring for accountability (which underlines the separation of powers in the democratic states), intermediation and facilitation between citizens and state, and overseeing the market place (which shows the mediatory role NPOs play in articulating the most urgent problems of the day and pressing for changes in state policy or corporate strategies, giving aid abroad that is connected with promotion of values and agendas of donors abroad). Finally, community building is a third central function that is complemented by such derivatives as socialization (which refers to the need for fellowship that individual members of NPOs experience) and philanthropy (which implies a certain level of wealth being passed downstream in exchange for social acknowledgement and public status benefits). As Table 2.1 shows, service delivery and advocacy with their derivatives are the two functions most often attributed to NPOs in the literature. The community building function and its derivatives are far less often cited. It appears that both the

disciplinary boundaries (Zimmer and Freise 2008) and the identified limited functional scope could be well addressed by applying a systematic integrated framework to the study of functions of NPOs. I further examine one such overarching theoretical framework that structures functions of NPOs in a cross-disciplinary, multi-level framework.

2.3 Integrative framework of NPO's functions

An Austrian-Czech comparative research project on the role of civil society organizations in old and new democracies (Neumayr et al. 2009; Neumayr and Meyer 2010; Neumayr 2010) developed and empirically tested an integrative framework of the functions of NPOs. I assume that this framework is the most suitable one for the purposes of the current study. The robust framework delivered by this international research project is displayed in a triangle shape with the three main functions of NPOs – service delivery, advocacy, and community building – located at its corners, which are further connected to three corresponding subsystems of society – economic, political and community. There are three decisive arguments in favor of my choice of this framework. First, this integrative model, unlike many vague categories related to different concepts of NPOs' functions reviewed in the previous section, rests on the solid theoretical assumption from the social systems theory (Luhmann 1977), which provides a foundation for integration of most of the empirically relevant functions discussed above³¹. Second, it is empirically grounded in the findings of the exploratory qualitative study of 20 NPOs and the confirmatory quantitative survey of over 500 NPOs in two countries. Third, one of the examined countries represents a Western European developed democracy (Austria), while the second one represents an Eastern European country in transition (the Czech Republic). This fact makes this framework especially relevant to the study of Russian NPOs, since both Russia and the Czech Republic share a legacy of transition from planned to market economy and from communism to democracy. I now take a closer look at this integrated framework.

The starting point for the proposed integrative framework is a rejection of the classical Parsonian (1965; 1998) structural functionalism. This all-encompassing grand theory of society rested on the assumptions that “social systems unite under a singular, common language and cultural tradition”³² (Rempel 1996, 59). Instead, a neo-functionalist paradigm of modern society conceived by Luhmann (1984, 1998) as a social system comprised of multiple independent functional subsystems, each of which is distinguished from its environment by means of meaningful social communication, is adopted as a key conceptual framework. Its major assumptions regarding NPOs' functions were indicated by Neumayr's team (2007) as an implied need to distinguish between systems and environments, and to analyze the contributions of the focal system to its environmental systems. In other words, in fulfilling their functions, NPOs are viewed as serving various systems that scholars argue are mostly found at the societal macro level, as opposed to the micro level contributions of NPOs to single individuals or meso-level cooperation of NPOs in a certain organizational field (Neumayr et al. 2007).

³¹ Another approach to defining NPO's functions by means of systems theory is proposed by Simsa (2001). She recognizes four different functions that NPOs fulfill in parallel: rendering of services, societal alarming and mediation, as well as repairing. This classification was not included in the previous section, since the major focus of the article was not on the NPOs' functions, but rather on a wider context of civil society.

³² Another reason not to apply a Parsonian framework is the fact that Russian culture, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon culture, is highly contextualized (Myasoedov, Kolesnikova, and Borisova 2010).

2.3.1 Macro level: functional environments of NPOs

The next logical step is to link different types of NPOs with corresponding functionally defined environments at the macro level. For this purpose, I use the overarching concept of civil society organizations comprised, according to Then and Kehl (2011, 2012), of three major organizational types – nonprofit organizations, non-governmental organizations, and informal networks – which differ in external coupling (Steinberg 2006). Under the premises of Luhmann’s (1984, 1998) systems theory their activities correspond to three dominant functional subsystems of society – economic, political, and communitarian³³ – which develop by establishing and using “a sub-system specific generalized medium of communication” (Rempel 1996, 60). Below I briefly outline these three socially consequential subsystems.

The economic subsystem of the modern society secures need satisfaction by producing goods and services; it accomplishes this by setting prices in private exchanges and issuing appropriate payments (Neumayr et al. 2007). This subsystem, as Luhmann (1989) contends, uses the assertion of money to communicate economic decisions. The meaning-based construction of payment versus nonpayment, as the binary code, was identified by Luhmann (1989). NPOs that operate in fields closely tied to the economy, such as those represented by business associations, are more likely to actively use managerial discourse and appear business-like in their governance models. When NPOs’ operations are predominantly service oriented, as in the case of NPOs in the fields of health or education, the logic of producing goods that are mostly private in purpose does not differ greatly from that of for-profit companies working in the same fields. However, NPOs seek to work for the public good, and their activities in general could produce positive externalities.

The political subsystem of society fulfills its social function by rendering collectively binding decisions for the entire society (Neumayr et al. 2007). Political rhetoric is illustrated in the binary code of those holding political office and those who are not (Luhmann 1989). The basis for the government to act and communicate in the political subsystem is represented by the generalized medium of power (Luhmann 1989). As such, Luhmann sees power not as a repressive mechanism but as “a functional resource to move society forward” (Rempel 1996, 64). NPOs in their endeavor to articulate interests in a particular field and push for changes in policy are not always consistent in following this either/or alternative. At times NPOs, especially in the field of environment protection, work as close allies with the government, but they could also operate in the opposition or simultaneously with both of the competing camps. The last option appears to be the least constructive one.

The communitarian subsystem encourages in-group participation and contributes to activities across different social groups and classes (Neumayr et al. 2007). The communitarian subsystem is not anchored to any one of Luhmann’s (1989) original six subsystems (economic, political, legal, scientific, educational, and religious). Organized networks and initiatives at the grass-roots represent NPOs that are most closely linked to their immediate neighborhoods and communities and depend on the involvement of their members. Its binary code is reducible to such

³³ To follow the spirit of Luhmann’s terminology (1989), I use the term “communitarian” subsystem to describe community in the sense of communitarianism (Etzioni 1996).

alternatives as exclusive versus inclusive relationships. These relationships correspond to Putnam's (1993, 2000) concepts of bonding social capital, also known as "the sociological superglue for in-group cohesion and solidarity", and of bridging social capital, which "refers to outward-looking networks across different groups, classes, and political cleavages" (Anheier 2005, 61).

It is important to keep in mind, as scholars warn (Neumayr et al. 2007, 9), that within the concept of societal subsystems "it is always the single communication or decision, which can be assigned to economy, politics, or communities". In other words, the language of social communication produced by each functional communication vehicle is what makes each subsystem distinguishable, not the individuals or organizations it adheres to. Thus, the empirical task consists in identifying the binary codes or structural couplings that dominate NPOs' communications in the form of the separate discursive statements most often expressed in relation to their strategy, structure, and operations in each of three functional subsystems. Even though evidence could be found that NPOs' communications are linked to all of the original six functional subsystems defined by Luhmann, I proceed from the premise that the key functions of NPOs could be localized into a triangle of economic, political, and communitarian subsystems.

2.3.2 Meso-level: key functions of NPOs

In this section I discuss the structural couplings between the three functional subsystems of society and the corresponding key functions of NPOs that are performed at the same time. In other words, it is assumed that NPOs are multi-functional (Zimmer 2007) and contribute simultaneously to up to three different functional subsystems in varying degrees.

The economic subsystem of society is connected with the nonprofit sector by means of the **service-delivery function** since NPOs render services against fixed prices and administer payments for these services. The latter is made either directly by the beneficiaries themselves or on their behalf by some other intermediary institution (private or public). The distinctive characteristic of services delivered by NPOs is that they belong to the quasi-public goods, contributing to the satisfaction of individual needs and to the common good. However, their production causes positive externalities, which are often considered more important, as Neumayr (2007; 2009; 2010) argues, than the service itself. For example, NPOs with a focus on extra-curricular activities for children, such as drawing, singing, or dancing, keep the children busy; thus kids are kept off the streets, which not only reduces the chances of their possible interaction with criminal circles, but also raises their social and cultural competencies, hence contributing to a better societal environment. Such services are offered by NPOs on a paid basis, but their price is negligible compared to their assistance in preventing such social ills as crime, or in maintaining social order.

The political subsystem of society is linked to the **advocacy function** of NPOs. By participating in the political process, NPOs are directly involved in decision-making surrounding collectively binding decisions and policies. NPOs reflect the pluralistic nature of a modern society by giving voice to various points of view and diverse groups of interests, stimulating public discussion, and pushing governments for action on matters of public interest. There are at least two major directions in which NPOs exercise advocacy. They can be directly involved in drafting

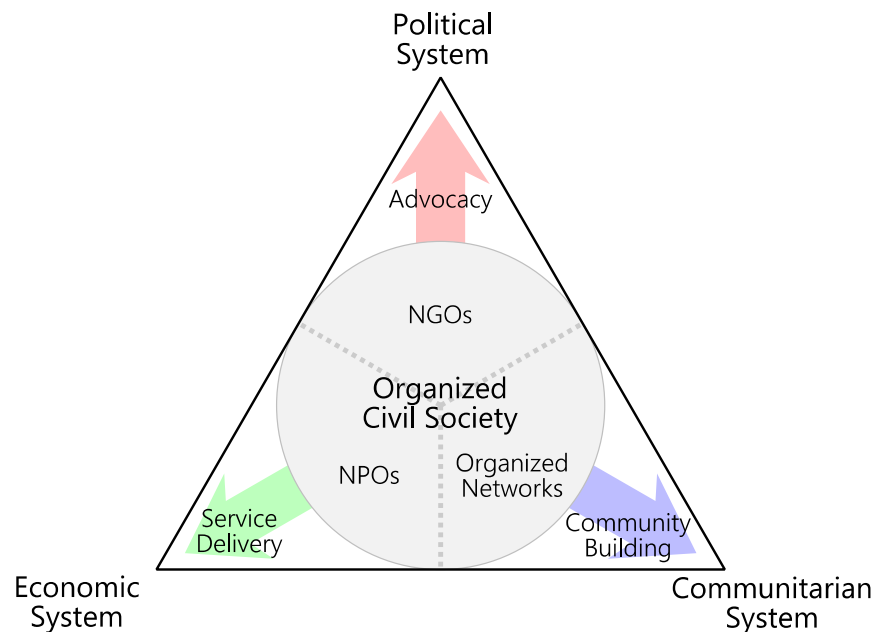
legislation as experts or lobbyists, depending on the legal restrictions in different countries, or NPOs can be active indirectly through public relation campaigns aimed at articulating certain societal problems, raising public awareness, and pressing for adequate solutions. Such activities also contribute to the public good. For example, NPOs serve as schools of democracy (Putnam 2000) in which citizens become accustomed to civic culture and learn the civic skills associated with engagement practices, elections procedures, or the exercise of public control.

The communitarian subsystem of society is tied to NPOs through the **community building function**. This function is executed through interaction at the interpersonal and inter-organizational levels by enacting and solidifying relationships. This interaction is in turn conducive to the enhancement of social capital³⁴. On the one hand, exclusive “within group” social capital “refers to the degree to which people take part in group life” and is vital for group solidarity, where bonds of trust facilitate social interaction and likewise group participation contributes to the building of trust; such social capital acts as a “social glue” (Lang and Hornburg 1998, 4). On the other hand, inclusive “between groups” social capital, based on norms of reciprocity, fosters linkages across different groups and provides access to wider social networks outside of members’ immediate reach, thus serving as a “social bridge” (Lang and Hornburg 1998, 4). NPOs’ activities under the community building function result in a sense of belonging to a group that unites individuals around certain professional or recreational interests. In other words, the socializing effects of associations are of crucial importance for promoting collective action for the common good.

The next step consists of connecting the functions that various types of NPOs perform to the functional subfields of society. Figure 2.1 provides a conceptual triangle in which each function is coupled with the corresponding societal subfield; this triangle provides a rough visual representation of the nonprofit sector’s functional capacity to serve as an institutional infrastructure of civil society. This conceptual model shows that any communication, decision, or action carried out by various types of NPOs can be assigned to any of the main functions – service delivery, community building, and advocacy. These communications, decisions, and actions contribute to one, two, or all three functional subsystems of society. Due to semantic similarities, the types of civil society organizations, closely resembling those defined by Then and Kehl (2011, 2012), are connected to their corresponding functions by arrows. It should be emphasized that the underlying assumption of this concept is that each type of NPO can simultaneously perform more than one function, but the composition of the three functions performed in parallel by different NPOs will differ. For this reason it might be misleading, even though intuitively it might appear convincing, to claim that the service function is the highest priority for NPOs, or that the advocacy function is the most important function of NGOs, or that community building is the dominant function of organized networks.

³⁴ Social capital “refers to the stocks of social trust, norms, and networks that people can draw upon in order to solve common problems”(Lang and Hornburg 1998, 4).

Figure 2.1. The conceptual framework of the functions of civil society organizations as contributions to societal subsystems



Note: Modified from Neumayr et al. (2007; 2009; 2010) and Then and Kehl (2011, 2012).

A similar approach to underlining the multi-functional character of NPOs could be found in Edwards and Foley's (2001) conceptual framework. They argue for this multi-functional character despite the fact that the contemporary notion of civil society suffers from definitional fuzziness that results in its multiple co-existing interpretations in different contexts. Scholars recognize three largely distinctive roles that civil society plays: the socialization function, aimed at building citizenship skills and attitudes; the public and quasi-public function, associated with providing many of the needs of modern society; and the representative or contestatory function of NPOs outside the state (Edwards and Foley 2001). Also, Zimmer and Freise (2008) point at multi-tasking as NPOs' distinctive feature since NPOs participate simultaneously in no fewer than three societal fields: As service providers, NPOs are involved in the market economy; as advocates, they are active in the political sphere; as community builders, NPOs contribute to the processes of self-actualization by fostering the feelings of belongingness. The triangle presented in Figure 2.1 builds on earlier triangular representations of the third sector, such as the founding "welfare triangle" (Pestoff 1998), its modified version in "the welfare mix" (Evers and Laville 2004), Neumayr's triangle on NPOs' functions (2007; 2009; 2010), and the triangle on social, cultural, political, and economic functions of civil society (Then and Kehl 2011, 2012). However, the conceptualization used in the present work not only uses the categorization of different types of civil society organizations located between the market, state, and community found in the previous triangles; it also integrates the categorization on the grounds of systems theory with the specific communications, actions, and activities executed by these organizations in each of three functional environments, as defined in Neumayr's works (2007; 2009; 2010). Such an approach points out the hybrid nature of organizations constituting the nonprofit sector, showing that they lie at the intersection of three different logics that underpin the economic, political, and communitarian subsystems of society.

2.4 NPOs' embeddedness in the environment

According to findings reported by the JHCNS Project, the nonprofit sector's societal functions differ considerably across nation states and depend on the type of welfare regime in which they are embedded. Salamon's team developed a typology of four nonprofit regimes (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000) that drew heavily upon the initial work of Titmus (1974) on welfare typology, which was later popularized by Esping-Andersen (1990) and Moore's (1966)³⁵ work on the social origins of modern states. The elaborated typology proceeds from the assumption that the extent of government social welfare spending and the size of the nonprofit sector, as key dimensions used in the classification, determine whether NPOs' activities are deemed to substitute or to complement the provision of public services and the expression of group interests in society (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000). Four models of nonprofit regimes were identified on the foundation of a quantitative study from 22 participating countries (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000). Table 2.2 provides not only the most vivid examples of distribution among the statist, liberal, corporatist, and social democratic nonprofit regimes, but also places Russia in this scheme since it was not covered by the JHCNPS Project.

Table 2.2. Mapping Russia in the nonprofit's regime coordinates

Government Social Welfare Spending (as % of GDP)	Nonprofit Scale (as a share of the economically active population)	
	Small	Large
Small	<p>Statist</p> <p>Japan: 22,2% [SE] / 4,2% [NS] Czech Republic: 20,7%[SE] / 2% [NS]</p>	<p>Liberal</p> <p>USA: 19,2% [SE] / 9,8% [NS] Australia: 17,8% [SE] / 6,3%[NS]</p>
	<p>Russia:</p> <p>→ ≈17% [SE]*</p> <p>← ≈1,3% [NS]**</p>	
Large	<p>Austria: 29,1% [SE] / 4,9% [NS] Finland: 29,4% [SE] / 5,3% [NS]</p> <p>Social Democratic</p>	<p>Germany: 27,8% [SE] / 5,9% [NS] France: 32,1%[SE] / 7,6% [NS]</p> <p>Corporatist</p>

Note: Adopted from Salamon et al. (2000, 16).

Sources of statistical data: Data on the Government Social Welfare Spending is based on the Social Expenditures Indicator in % of GDP from the OECD Social Expenditures Database for 2009 (OECD 2013). Data on the Nonprofit Scale is based on the civil society organization workforce (paid staff and volunteers) as a share of the economically active population, by country, 1995-2000 (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004). *Since Russia is not yet a member of the OECD, only estimated fully comparable data on the SE indicator (covers health, education and social protection spending) for 2009 is available (OECD 2011; WB 2011). **The most reliable data on the NS indicator for

³⁵ Unfortunately, Moore did not focus in his work on Russia explicitly, as he did on England, France, the USA, and Asian countries. He only used Russia for comparative purposes. His major argument in the case of Russia was that its transition to modern statehood was paved ideologically by means of communism and practically through the peasant revolution, due to the powerful elites and high number of peasants in the country.

2008 is based on the calculations of the Centre for Studies of Civil Society and the Nonprofit Sector, which includes both paid employees and volunteers (Mersiyanova 2010).

The implicit conclusion from Salamon's typology of nonprofit regimes is two-fold. On the one hand, in countries where the nonprofit sector is large, NPOs tend to perform the service provision function, as is the case in the liberal (e.g. USA, Australia) and corporatist (e.g. Germany, France) nonprofit regimes. On the other hand, in countries with a comparatively small nonprofit sector, such as the ones represented by the statist (e.g. Japan, Mexico) and social democratic (e.g. Austria, Finland) regimes, NPOs are rather inclined to be involved in the interest representation function (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000). As Table 2.2 shows, Russia, like most of the Central and Eastern European countries examined by Salamon's team, takes a borderline position between two regime types. Moreover, the findings presented in Table 2 are in line with the conclusion reached by Ljubownikow (2011, 11), who claims that "contemporary Russian civil society embeds within itself aspects of both statist and liberal facets of civil society arrangements", thus undermining the earlier assessments that civil society in Russia rather matches a statist/corporatist model (Hale 2002; Domrin 2003; Hudson 2003).

In comparison to all of the OECD countries represented in Table 2.2, the amount of social welfare spending by the Russian government, estimated by the OECD (2011) at 17% for 2009, places Russia in the small welfare states category with a social expenditures indicator exceeding the scale of developing countries (e.g., Mexico with 8.2%) and approaching the level of such developed countries as Australia (17.8%), the USA (19.2%), the Czech Republic (20.7%), and Japan (22.2%). At the same time, the size of the nonprofit sector in Russia corresponds definitely to the small nonprofit scale. With its total NPO workforce estimated at 1.3%³⁶, Russia most closely approaches the Czech Republic (2%) and is still ahead of Mexico (0.4%), though it is far behind other small scale nonprofit regimes such as Japan (4.2%), Austria (4.9%), and Finland (5.3%). In other words, Russia currently has a hybrid model of a nonprofit regime characterized by a fairly low level of government social spending in comparison to developed countries³⁷, coupled with a relatively small nonprofit sector, leaving the latter quite constrained in the realm of service provision. NPOs are viewed rather "as vehicles for the expression of political, social, or even recreational interests" (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000, 17). In their modified conceptualization of the models of civil society structure, Salamon and Sokolowski (2010) introduced 5 models (liberal, welfare partnership, social democratic, deferred democratization, and traditional), which enabled scholars to cover not only the Western developed countries, but also transition and developing states. According to this new framing, Russian civil society formally falls into the deferred democratization category, characterized by the small workforce, low volunteer share, low government support, and limited advocacy.

Even though Salamon's team (2000, 21) admits that "single-factor explanations" were dominant in the contemporary debate surrounding the nonprofit sector, they followed the same American pattern in their analysis, putting too much emphasis on the service delivery function of

³⁶ The number employed in the nonprofit sector in Russia is not fully covered by the National Statistical Accounts. That is why the workforce indicator takes somewhat different values, ranging from as low as 0.6% of the economically active population for 2005-2007, calculated for only 2 (societal organizations and religious organizations) out of 14 legal forms for NPOs (Zadorin et al. 2009, 27), to as high as 0.9% for 2009 (The Boston Consulting Group 2011).

³⁷ But in comparison to developing countries, social expenditures of the state are rather high since demands for social welfare are still high in the aftermath of 70 years of communism.

NPOs at the expense of other functions (Kuti 1990). The initial classification of countries in certain nonprofit regimes was based only on two criteria, both of which derived directly from the service-oriented function of NPOs. In the case of social welfare spending, the link to services is obvious, as the latter is the major constituency of the former. In the case of the nonprofit scale, measured by number of paid staff and volunteers, it is believed that in countries with relatively large nonprofit sectors, concentrated primarily in social and health services, NPOs deliver primarily social services (Neumayr et al. 2009). Paradoxically, Salamon and colleagues (2000, 21) in the framework of the social origins approach appeal to understanding NPOs “at the global level”, meaning that the nonprofit sector should be treated “as an integral part of a social system” that developed gradually as “a by-product of a complex set of historical forces”. Unfortunately, the scholars did not extend their analysis in order to frame the processes and circumstances that shape the nonprofit sector; they only stated that the latter is “affected by the particular constellation of social forces that gives rise to it”. In order to bridge this gap I further apply the new institutionalism in sociology and organization studies (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983) that claims that NPOs are products of their environment. More specifically, I apply Kerlin’s (2013) analytical tool in order to identify the major macro-institutional processes that shape the model of the Russian professional and business associations.

2.4.1 Professional and business associations as products of their institutional environment

The new institutionalism in sociology and organization studies (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Zucker 1977; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Scott 1991; Scott 2001) emphasizes that contextual factors are responsible for the legitimacy of organizations in a given institutional environment, and that contextual legitimacy increases the chances of their survival. That is why adherents of new institutionalism in sociology place the major focus on the effects of institutional context on the organizational structures and actions and not on the efficiency of organizational activities. Such a focus is explained by the fact that economic models tend to start with individuals or economic actors on the market, whereas sociological perspectives start with society. In this view, institutions, defined by Rueschemeyer (2009, 210) as “clusters of norms with strong but variable mechanisms of support and enforcement that regulate and sustain an important area of social life”, are perceived as socially constructed; they embody consciously- and unconsciously-shared cultural scripts, rules (formal and informal), and understandings of the way the order is structured and how the world functions (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Scott 2001; Zucker 1977). The principle of institutional isomorphism, which refers to greater similarity in logic and homogeneity of emergent institutional forms (achieved through coercive, normative, and mimetic mechanisms in a given organizational environment) plays a central role in the new institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). However, the specific organizations that struggle to survive are not as important, due to the structuration of organizational fields (Giddens 1979). At the same time, resemblance of institutional forms is to a large extent effected by such institutions as “the state and professions, which have become the great rationalizers of the second half of the twentieth century” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 147). New institutional scholars conceptualize organizations as open systems, in which, as Scott (2001, 179) argues, “organizations are creatures of their institutional environments”, which emerge in distinctive times and places. However, modern organisations are not simply passive actors that acquire a form by following those norms

regarded by society as legitimate; instead, they are involved in “the complex recursive processes by which institutional forces both shape and are shaped by organizational actions” (Scott 2001, 179).

Due to the complexity of the institutional environment of organizations (Simsa 2013), I build on the theoretical frame from Kerlin’s (2013) conceptual grid, which she applied to the construction of the institutional environment, as the most relevant one for the study of the nonprofit sector. Kerlin (2013) draws on the theory of historical institutionalism, which puts emphasis on institutional formation and change³⁸ and is based on the premise that “institutions are ‘sticky’ and that once created may prove difficult and costly to change” (Laffan and O’Mahony 2003, 5). In other words, the options available for actors to challenge existing institutions through time appear constrained by the institutional environment (Thelen 1999). Kerlin’s framework for “large institutional processes shaping social enterprises”, developed under the assumption that “macro-institutions can account for a large part of the variation in social enterprise across different countries” (2013, 85-86), enhances our understanding of how context influences the development of a particular type of NPO. Moreover, this framework is aligned with the new insights³⁹ of comparative historians of the social origins approach (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010). This approach provides solid explanations for the significant variations that exist in the scope and structure of the nonprofit sector cross-nationally due to the distribution of power between the state and other societal institutions in an actual historical setting. Kerlin, in line with Mahoney’s path-dependence explanation of institutional reproduction, used a power perspective⁴⁰ based on the mechanism of reproduction, which, once supported by an elite group of actors, may be used “to show how institutions alter the power structure within society by strengthening previously subordinate actors at the expense of the previously dominant ones” (2000, 522).

Even though Kerlin (2013) developed a conceptual framework for social enterprises (a type of NPO), it appears appropriate to substitute them with professional and business associations, as a distinct and widely recognized type of NPO. I also brought Kerlin’s framework (2013) to a country level. I localized the framework from the global comparative perspective to the specific socioeconomic conditions of the Russian context on the basis of three initial qualitative and quantitative macro-level sets of information on national institutions. The first qualitative block of information includes the emerged type of government; this represents three models of political routes to modernity, ranging from democratic to absolutist (Moore 1966), each of which demonstrates a varying degree of supportive or unsupportive policies to collective activity (Kerlin 2013). The second block includes models of three stages of economic development. According to the Global Competitiveness Report, this block distinguishes between three stages: innovation-driven, efficiency-driven, or factors-driven (Schwab 2012). Finally, the last block, according to the latest findings of the JHCNPS Project, comprises five civil society

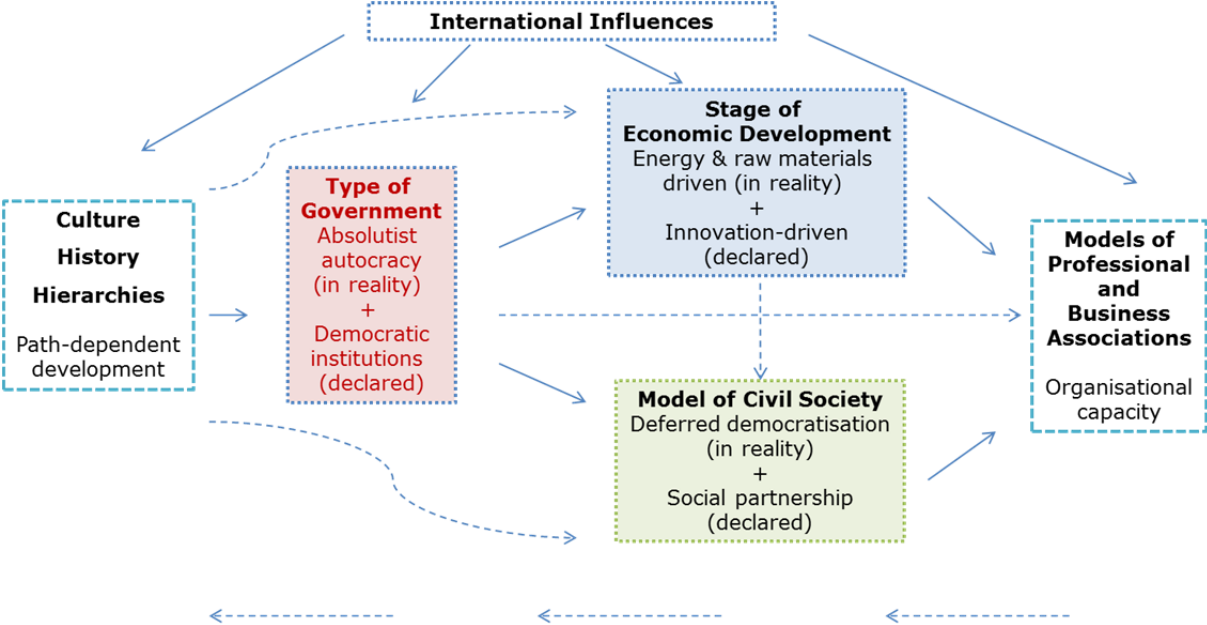
³⁸ It is also centred around the concept of path dependency, which is explained by “the notion that institutions may be locked into a particular path of development” (Laffan and O’Mahony 2003, 5).

³⁹ Earlier social origins theories (Salamon et al. 1999; Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000) concentrated on the explanation of development of the shape and role of the nonprofit sector in different countries as a function of existing institutions, expressed in “certain cultural sentiments”, such as altruism, or “preferences”, such as the scale of demand for collective goods (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010).

⁴⁰ Another three perspectives presented in Mahoney’s typology (2000, 517) include “utilitarian”, “functional”, and “legitimation” explanations.

sector models, among which the liberal, welfare partnership, social democratic, differed democratization, and traditional are distinguished (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010).

Figure 2.2. Emergence of models of PBAs in Russia: macro-institutional and organizational processes and causal paths



Note: Adopted from Kerlin (2013). Solid arrows denote direct causal paths; dotted arrows denote indirect causal paths.

Figure 2.2, derived from Kerlin’s initial framework (2013) after the alterations discussed above, shows that the national model of professional and business associations is shaped under the influence of multiple macro-institutional processes, connected by the proposed causal paths. These institutional processes could be broadly divided into two strands, representing national (endogenous) and international (exogenous) factors. The national institutional processes influencing the model of PBAs are multi-faceted. As historical institutionalism theory suggests, they are determined by a rich blend of the national culture, history, and power structures embedded in society over time. All of these factors are responsible for the type of state that emerges, which consequently contributes to shaping the current economic development and civil society. The latter two factors in turn both have an effect on the development of PBAs. The processes of international influence in the age of growing globalization are represented by pressure from the more advanced and powerful states. While all of the above-mentioned processes, visualized by inward-looking arrows, directly or indirectly influence the model of PBAs, the only feedback channel is represented by the outward-looking lower block of dotted arrows. This channel shows how PBAs contribute to the external environment through their organizational capacity, expressed by their reputational capital, which allows leaders of PBAs to act in the capacity of change agents. The key proposition of my theoretical frame, which is aligned with the works of Kerlin (2013) and Schofer and Longhofer (2011), is based on the crucial role that the type of historically emerged state plays in the construction of a country-specific model of PBAs. In the following sections I concentrate on the discussion of three central macro-institutional processes, illustrated by Figure 2.2 in the shadowed boxes, in connection to the current research and the Russian context.

2.4.1.1 Type of the emerged state regime: between autocracy and democracy

Many social scientists utilized the comparative historical method to address the issue of how preceding events and processes structured the forms of rule incorporated by either the democratic or the authoritarian states in power in the complex societies of today. In the seminal work of Moore (1966), a perspective on the development of institutional choice is discussed in terms of the social origins theory by outlining three alternative paths of modern nations – liberal democracy (England, France, USA), in which transition to modern capitalist state happened by means of bourgeois revolution; nationalism (Germany, Japan), in which in the absence of a revolutionary upheaval the transition to industrial countries passed through reactionary politics; and communism (Russia, China), where the process of industrial modernization was achieved through peasant revolution. As Kerlin (2013) argues, Moore's original hypotheses were found limited in the subsequent critical reviews by Skocpol (1973) and Mahoney (2003), partially due to the fact that they were based on Marxist political sociology on modernization. Even so, Moore's argument still holds. This argument is found both in Moore's work (1966) on the social origins of modern politics, and in Esping-Andersen's work (1990) on the origins of the modern welfare-state. According to Salamon (2000, 15), central to this argument is the viewpoint that the emergence of such complex social phenomena as certain types of states cannot be understood as a linear product caused by a single factor, such as industrialization or heterogeneity; on the contrary, "more complex interrelationships among social classes and social institutions are involved".

Currently, the ground-breaking work of Rueschemeyer, Huber, and Huber (1992) on the origins of democracy in the twentieth century is considered a new intellectual landmark for its consideration of the established correspondence between capitalist development and democracy in the Western World. It is explained that such a complex social phenomenon as democracy is, first and foremost, "a matter of power", represented in "an increased political equality", which is reflected in the balance of power among social classes and complemented by "the impact of state apparatus" and "transnational power relations". Rueschemeyer et al. (1992), building on earlier studies of Lipset (1959), argues that democracy has developed most fully in the Western countries due to "massive industrialisation and capitalist development" that Western societies undertook. Thanks to these factors, the authors conclude, the transformation of class structure has been achieved through the "strengthening the working and middle classes and weakening the landed upper class" (Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens 1992, 246). In their view, the urban working class was considered the most inclined towards democracy, and the landed upper classes were the most consequential opponents of democracy; while the bourgeoisie was generally supportive of democracy, it was against the extension of political freedoms to lower classes. Contrary to both classical Marxist-Leninist and liberal theories that assign bourgeoisie the central role as an agent of democracy, Rueschemeyer et al. (1992, 7) pointed attention to "the contradictions of capitalism that advanced the cause of democracy". What is important, as Rueschemeyer et al. (1992) claim, is that the overall strengthening of civil society supports the installation of formal democracy and serves as a basis for progress towards greater social and economic equality.

It is widely supported that "the very presence of state structures and policies leaves no doubt that states and state–society relations constitute a powerful and influential environment for

social and economic dynamics at the meso- and micro-levels of social life” (Rueschemeyer 2009, 258). This becomes apparent when one turns to more specific theory frames on states and state-society relations. In other words, both for-profit organizations and NPOs, as particular types of institutions at the intermediary levels of social life, are highly structured by the government and its policies over time. As Kerlin (2013) points out, many instances of the important role that state institutions play in shaping business and society over time are found in the respective literature.

With regard to business-state relations, a good example of this constellation is a study by Baumol (1996, 894) based on the expansion of Schumpeter’s model of entrepreneurship, which argued that the manner in which entrepreneurs act “at a given time and place depends heavily on the rules of the game ... that happen to prevail”. Baumol examined historical evidence from four distinctively different epochs: ancient Rome, early China, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. Baumol concluded that the prevailing social rules of wealth, power, prestige, success, etc. – rules established by social elites – are prime determinants of the allocation of the productive (i.e. not rent-seeking or illegal) “entrepreneurial activities” in a given society. For instance, by citing the works of Lefebvre, Baumol (1996, 908) shows that during the industrial revolution the upper echelons of the French nobility were highly jealous of the English lords that managed to gain their wealth in “bourgeois ways”, while in France the noble was destined “to fell into the common mass, if... he followed a business or profession”. Only when more favourable rules for entrepreneurship were enacted in the eighteenth century were the French and British nobility involved on equal terms in industry, commerce, and banking. The comparative historical analysis allowed Baumol (1996, 914-915) to conclude that the industrial revolution, which is still underway today, “has brought to the industrialists and businessperson generally a degree of wealth and respect probably unprecedented in human history”; thus, it serves as another argument in favour of the scholar’s proposition that the allocation of entrepreneurial activity does matter for the innovativeness of an economy.

In the case of civil society and state relationships, scholars often show the ways in which the state structures the functional context of civil society. Walzer (1991) acknowledges the paradox of state-civil society relationships; this paradox is found in the fact that the state determines the boundaries and prerequisites for the forms of civil association. Walzer argues that in order to enjoy the fruits of democratic civil society, it is imperative to struggle for democratic states, “for civil society, left to itself, generates radically unequal power relationships, which only state power can challenge” (1991, 302). In a similar way, Salamon and Sokolowski present their historical account of the nonprofit sector by stating that democratic governance is “the key dimension that shapes the state-civil society relationship” (2010, 26). They argue that “the presence of such governance protects the civil sector from arbitrary state control and repressions”. This allows it to function, whereas “the absence of democratic governance, however, entails authoritarian measures that governments take to restrain political opposition which impede the functioning and development of the civil society sector” (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010, 26).

In light of the reviewed theory, it is now possible to address the issue of the type of state that has emerged in contemporary Russia. According to Olga Kryshtanovskaya – one of the most distinguished Russian sociologists specializing on research of the Russian elites – the type of political regime in today’s Russia can be characterized in two ways: as a symbiosis of the

persistent, de facto, traditional, absolutist type of state, and the de jure elements of democratic institutions (Chechel and Markov 2013b). Scholars not only state that democracy is currently weak in Russia (Howard 2003; Shevtsova and Eckert 2001; Shevtsova 2004), but also provide numerous interpretations of the fundamental sources of difficulties that democracy faces on the Russian soil. One of them is the systematic denial of the rule of law, or the failure to build the “Rechtsstaat” throughout Russian history (Hedlund 2005). This is illustrated by the tragic inability to implement the republican ideal of freedom guaranteed “by a government of laws and not of men” (Kharkhordin 2001, 224). A famous Russian proverb states that “there is a loophole in every law”. Similarly, the famous Russian author Saltykov-Shchedrin expressed that “the strictness of the Russian laws is accompanied by the optionality of their enforcement”. Arbitrary law enforcement and general legal nihilism are still quite common in contemporary Russia.

The traditional monolithic structure of the Moscow-ruled state is another fundamental problem of democratic development. The separation of power between legislative, executive, and judicial branches of state government has been almost impossible to achieve, despite its explicit prescription in the present Constitution of the Russian Federation. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that business is tightly linked to the government. This monolithic matrix is best exemplified by Kharkhordin’s (2011) linguistic analysis of the evolution of the word “state”, in which he claims that until the end of the eighteenth century, the Russian words for “fatherland”, “state” and “society” were used interchangeably. Even more interesting is that in the eighteenth century the word “civil society”, as used by Locke, was synonymous with “state” (Kharkhordin 2001). When the Bolsheviks came to power, they “made the modern meaning⁴¹ of the term [state] obvious to everybody” (2001, 226) at the price of the near extinction of civil society.

Yet one more set of explanations of the weaknesses of Russian democracy draws on individual actors. In the first decade of the 20th century, the subjects of the Russian empire were slowly beginning to view themselves as citizens (Bradley 2002); however, they were interrupted by the revolution of 1917. A lack of individual activism continues to be one of the main problems with democratic development in Russia. The present political regime in Russia is conflicted. On the one side, Boris Yeltsin, the first president of the Russian Federation, attempted to build liberal democratic institutions in the thorough reforms of the 1990s. These reforms treated Russia as a tabula rasa and failed to take into account national culture, history, and established power relations. On the other side, Vladimir Putin started with a more autocratic style of governance through his policy of “power vertical”. A search for a customized version of democracy has been launched. Even though one of Putin’s evident successes in internal policy could be attributed to the strengthening of the state and the stability of the national political situation, so far he has not been able to find the formula for making it sustainable under democratic rule. It is not surprising that scholars often refer to the contemporary Russian political regime as “defective” or “deficient democracy” (Merkel et al. 2003; Lauth 2004; Lauth and Sehring 2009).

⁴¹ The modern state, according to Kharkhordin (2001, 231), is constructed “as supra-personal entity for a common good of all”. At the same time, Kharkhordin continues that the inseparably intertwined institutions that constitute the modern state are created by “intimate consulting and lobbying relationships, frequent employment interchanges and open communication channels between government and interest groups” (2001, 233). The scholar concludes his analysis of the main problem of the modern state by putting it in Bourdieu’s words (1991, 206): “that it functions not as a metaphor, but rather as a metonymy: one person (or a selected group) from the multitude takes the function of speaking for all and acting for the good of all” (2001, 239).

Russia has a long history of autocratic rule and a strong statist tradition. One needs to take into account that the latter imposes significant restrictions on the development of civil society organizations. The state has always been rather suspicious of interest associations as intermediary organs between the citizens and the state. Moreover, the state, both during imperial Russia and Soviet rule, closely monitored all major industrial and professional associations and societies (Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001). As a consequence, a certain form of close working relationships emerged between the state and voluntary organizations. The latter often served as a vehicle for implementing government policies. It remains to be explored whether the widespread phenomenon of professional and business associations in post-Soviet Russia is characterized by the same path dependency.

2.4.1.2 Stage of economic development: between resource-dependency and modernization

As stated in the previous section, theory provides strong support for the assumption that the model of professional and business associations could be indirectly shaped by governmental decisions over time; this is due to PBAs' direct contact with both civil society and the economy. In this section I examine evidence from empirical research on the links between the state, business, and civil society. One of the most reliable sources for cross-national empirical data on the role of governments in economic development, as well as on the role of societal factors that affect business, is the Global Competitiveness Report (GCR). The Global Competitiveness Index, calculated in the GCR, takes into account 12 drivers of productivity and competitiveness. They include institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic environment, health and education, business satisfaction, innovation, and others. The World Economic Forum – which publishes the GCR – possesses over 30 years of experience in the study and benchmarking of many factors underpinning the competitiveness of nation states. The leadership of Xavier Sala-i-Martin from Columbia University ensured the methodological rigidity of the 2012/2013 issue of the GCR (Schwab 2012, xiii). While all of the 12 pillars matter to a certain extent for all nation states, it is also clear that they affect different economies in different ways. That is why the GCR ranked countries according to different stages of development. Countries at the first stage of development are mainly factor-driven (i.e. GDP per capita does not exceed USD 2,000), and their economies are characterized by cheap labor and natural resources, insufficiently developed infrastructure, and poor economic environment. Countries at the second stage of development are efficiency-driven (GDP per capita does not exceed USD 9,000) due to the introduction of more efficient production processes and due to the improved quality of products, both achieved thanks to the government's improved regulation of the economy. Finally, countries at the third stage of development fall into the innovation-driven category (GDP per capita exceeds USD 17,000), which means that their economy yields high standards of living, and that businesses compete in a climate favorable to business and produce unique and technologically advanced products.

According to the GCR, Russia is located at the transition from the efficiency-driven stage to the innovation-driven stage of economic development (Schwartz 2005), as are Brazil, Mexico, Poland, and Turkey. Such a result could be interpreted critically. Given the weaknesses of the GCR, expressed in its “linear determinism” and “failure to also recognize the influence a country's economic development can have on its institutional framework” (Kerlin 2013, 90), a

more careful examination must be given to the stage of Russian economic development. In this respect, I would rather give a twofold assessment by placing Russia on the continuum between the first factor-driven stage, which closely resembles reality, and the last stage, which corresponds more to wishful thinking about the innovation-driven development of the Russian economy. The latter is embodied in President Medvedev's famous 2008 address to the Krasnoyarsk Economic Forum; he described national economic policy until 2012 based on four I's: innovations, investments, infrastructure, and institutions. GDP per capita in Russia increased rapidly from USD 2,096 in 2001 to USD 14,247 in 2012 (IMF 2013). Economists attribute this rapid growth primarily to the concurrent world price increases of energy resources and raw materials (Rautava 2004; Freinkman, Polyakov, and Revenco 2004; Appel 2008). By 2006, Russia's key commodities (oil, gas, coal, timber, etc.) accounted for between two thirds and three quarters of Russian exports (OECD 2006; Inozemtsev 2007). Hydrocarbon sales constituted the largest share of Russian federal government revenues (World Bank 2005). These figures show explicitly that Russia still suffers from a "resource curse" rather than exploiting its "resource blessing", despite the recent steady growth of GDP⁴². Most experts agree that major macroeconomic achievements under Putin's presidency are associated with the direction of significant resource-driven wealth towards the repayment of foreign debt. Those achievements are also associated with the creation of the national hedge funds that allowed the Russian economy to resist fluctuations of the global economy, significantly contributing to Russia's sovereignty (Appel 2008). It appears that when shaping domestic economic policy, the Russian government is considering the successful economic models of such resource-blessed countries as Canada, Australia, and Norway.

Some respected social scientists are rather pessimistic when they assess the feasibility of Medvedev's strategy of four I's. Based on a survey of MBA students, Zaslavskaja (2012) concluded that the new generation of businesspeople in Russia is not prepared to play an active role in modernizing the Russian economy. Her major argument is that since business does not perceive itself as "an independent actor of economic modernization... the latter is possible only under the conditions of the modernization of society and its political system" (Zaslavskaja 2012, 87). Inozemtsev, an economist similarly skeptical of the Kremlin, argues (2009) that the chance of making modernization a reality is low for the following reasons: first, neither the Russian elites nor the general public shows signs of consensus on industrial modernization; second, there is a lack of understanding of the meaning of modernization; third, there is no government body solely in charge of enforcing modernization; finally, the monopolistic structure of the Russian economy enables "raw material and energy producers to push up commodity prices" (Inozemtsev 2009, 47-48). Inozemtsev concludes that in order to modernize, Russia first needs to change its political leadership, since the latter not only "failed to act in the national interest" but appeared to "think and act as businessmen" (2009, 51). Business logic dominates all others in the decision-making process; the government is focused on profit-generating activities and regards its social obligations as a burden. Thus, both of the cited works indirectly support the proposition that the model of state significantly affects its economic development.

⁴² According to Inozemtsev, "from 1996 to 2007 Russian GDP grew by an average of 5.9 per cent annually, but industrial production grew by only 4.9 per cent" (2009, 47).

2.4.1.3 Model of civil society: between differed democratization and social partnership

Government is crucial in making civil society work across the globe. According to the typology by Salamon and Sokolowski (2010), it is possible to differentiate between five country clusters, which correspond to different paths of civil society development in their respective countries: the Liberal model (Anglo-Saxon countries), the Welfare Partnership model (Western European countries), the Social Democratic model (Scandinavian countries), the Differed Democratization model (Eastern European, CIS, Latin American, Industrialized Asian countries), and the Traditional model (African and Indian) (Desse 2012). The first three models represent the Western developed countries, each of which features a well-established system of social security that matches the varying levels of welfare state (relatively weak in Anglo-Saxon countries, as opposed to being strong in Scandinavian and Western European countries); these are coupled, in contrast to the rest of the world, with the long-standing and well-implemented traditions of civil society. The last two models are drawn for the transition and developing countries, in which civil society is significantly less developed than in the Western countries. Salamon and Sokolowski's typology is far from perfect, primarily since it does not allow one to address the specific features of each country. Nevertheless, it is still an adequate starting point of reference for my analysis.

I argue that Russia's civil society model presents another case of ambivalent meaning. On the one hand, Article 7 of the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation declares Russia a social state that guarantees its citizens social security and social partnership; this is officially recognized as a principle of inter-sectoral cooperation (Semenenko 1998; Yakimets, Nikovskaya, and Konovalova 2004). On the other hand, Russia definitely belongs to the differed democratization (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010) group of countries, despite the lack of confirmatory empirical data on Russia stemming directly from the JHCNPS Project. However, it is correct to assume that the structure of Russian civil society largely corresponds to the transition societies of Central Europe and the CIS, all of which share the common legacy of communism. It is thus appropriate to expect similar characteristics of civil societies in the transition countries.

Table 2.3. Key indicators of the civil society models in 14 countries

Model of civil society / Indicators	Countries	Nonprofit Institution contribution to GDP, including volunteers	Nonprofit Institution workforce (paid and volunteer), as a share of total workforce	Nonprofit Institution revenue, by source			Shares of Nonprofit Institution activity, by type		
Liberal	Canada	8.1%	-	42%	51%	7%	85%	10%	5%
	USA	6.6%	10.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	New Zealand	5.3%	10.6%	67%	9%	24%	54%	29%	17%
	Australia	4.9%	11.5%	51%	33%	11%	70%	25%	5%
	<i>Average</i>	6.2%	10.8%	53.3%	31.0%	14.0%	69.7%	21.3%	9.0%
Social Democratic	Norway	4.6%	8.2%	-	-	-	57%	40%	3%
Welfare Partnership	Israel	7.1%	12.7%	34%	52%	14%	89%	10%	1%
	Belgium	5.8%	11.5%	28%	68%	4%	71%	15%	13%
	France	4.7%	8.9%	-	-	-	80%	19%	1%
	<i>Average</i>	5.9%	11.0%	31.0%	60.0%	9.0%	80.0%	14.7%	5.0%
Differed Democratization	Brasil	3.4%	3.7%	53%	5%	42%	61%	39%	0%
	Kyrgyzstan	2.3%	2.9%	85%	11%	4%	63%	21%	16%
	The Czech Republic	1.9%	2.4%	22%	65%	13%	66%	33%	1%
	Russia	0.9%	1.3%	34%	16%	50%	44%	52%	4%
	<i>Average</i>	2.1%	2.6%	48.5%	24.3%	27.3%	63.3%	31.0%	5.7%
Traditional	Mozambique	6.7%	-	13%	3%	84%	81%	14%	5%
	Thailand	1.6%	0.9%	30%	11%	59%	76%	24%	0%
	<i>Average</i>	4.2%	0.9%	21.5%	7.0%	71.5%	78.5%	19.0%	2.5%

Source: Salamon et al. (2013) for all listed countries except Russia. Data on Russia (Mersiyanova 2010; The Boston Consulting Group 2011).

Note: Countries were assigned to the corresponding models of civil society (Desse 2012) according to the available empirical data. Dashes indicate no data available. The base year of data varies by country from 2002 to 2009; for Russia it is 2008-2009.

It appears from Table 2.3, based on the latest findings from the UN Nonprofit Handbook (Salamon et al. 2013), that Russia is correctly placed among countries within the differed democratization model of civil society. Two major indicators characterize the size of the sector and its economic potential; these indicators show that the Russian nonprofit sector is relatively small, both in its contribution to GDP and in its share of the workforce. In fact, Russia scored the lowest on both of the above-mentioned dimensions, which means that, on the one hand, the sector is not perceived as a significant taxpayer and employer, but on the other hand, there is much room for improvement. Russia's nonprofit sector accounts for only 0.9% of its GDP, which is 6 times less than in any of the three groups of developed countries, 2 times less than in the group of transition countries, and 4 times less than in the developing countries. The nonprofit workforce constitutes only 1.3% of the total workforce in Russia; by comparison, it is on average 10 times less than in the developed countries, 2 times less than in the comparable transition countries, and about the same size as in the developing countries. The size of the nonprofit sector also confirms the small dimensions of NPOs in Russia. According to the expert estimations of the Boston Consulting Group (2011), the revenues of Russian NPOs in 2010 amounted to USD 13 billion, which roughly corresponds to the aggregate income of NPOs in such countries as Norway (10 billion), Brazil (12 billion), Israel (12 billion), and Argentina (16 billion), of which only Brazil, as a BRIC country, can be used as an adequate parallel for comparison. (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004).

However, the structure of domestic NPO revenues places Russia outside the differed democratization model of civil society. According to this metric, the Russian nonprofit sector

closely resembles its analogues in developing countries⁴³, where the single largest share of revenues is derived from philanthropic giving (50% in Russia), the second largest share from service fees charged by NPOs (34% in Russia), and only a minor share from government sources (16% in Russia). By contrast, in the developed countries the governmental support of NPOs is 3-4 times higher than in Russia, whereas the governments that are least supportive of their NPOs are mostly found in transition and developing countries. At the same time, Russian NPOs generate only 34% of their revenues from rendered services, which strongly differentiates them from NPOs in liberal countries, which are much more active in service delivery; it also places Russian NPOs between the less active service providers in welfare partnership countries (31%) and in other differed democratization countries (48.5%). The fact that Russian NPOs receive the most substantial part of their financing from philanthropic giving most vividly shows its resemblance to NPOs from developing countries, in which such financing prevails. In Russia, however, foreign-funded human rights NPOs are associated with a risk of regime change. The Russian government's 2012 initiatives to ban USAID-funded projects in Russia, and to pass the Law on Foreign Agents aimed at stigmatizing foreign-funded Russian NPOs which are active in advocacy, appear to be another logical step by Putin's administration to eliminate foreign support of Russian NPOs⁴⁴. At the same time, the government introduced several initiatives to strengthen the sector, such as an increase in budgetary provisions for socially oriented NPOs and an introduction of tax benefits for individual donors (USAID 2013).

Finally, the last group of indicators regarding the distribution of NPO activities appears as the most relevant for the current research. Albeit at the expense of up-to-date data, Table 2.4 attempts to avoid the limitations of the data used in Table 2.3, in which only 2 countries shared Russia's legacy of communism. Since Table 2.4 covers twice as many countries as Table 2.3 covers, it allows me to make more precise comparative judgments both across five models of civil society and within the group of countries characterized as differed democratization. As shown in Table 2.3, among Russian NPOs the share of expressively oriented NPOs (52%) is slightly more prevalent than of service providers (44%). As shown in Table 2.4, the same pattern of nonprofit activities is true for most of the Eastern European countries, which demonstrate similar distribution between service and expressive activities. At the same time, only Scandinavian NPOs show even more orientation towards expressive activities (70%), leaving the service activities (29%) far behind.

⁴³ Especially if one considers the Boston Consulting Group Analysis (2011), in which a somewhat different structure of NPOs' revenues from the one presented in Table 2.3 on the basis of Mersiyanova's data (2010) is presented: fees (22%), government (5%), and philanthropy (73%).

⁴⁴ In an interview with German TV company ARD on April 5, 2013, Putin said that there are currently 654 NPOs in Russia that receive funds from abroad that are estimated at over USD 1 billion.

Table 2.4. Key indicators of civil society models in 26 countries

Model of civil society / Indicators	Countries	Volunteering, giving and private philanthropy as a share of GDP	Civil society sector workforce as a percent of the economically active population	Civil society sector sources of support with volunteers, by source			Civil society sector workforce, by field		
				Fees	Government	Philanthropy	Service	Expressive	Other
Liberal	USA	7.97	9.8	47.4	25.6	26.9	79.8	19.1	1.1
	UK	7.51	8.54	34.8	36.4	28.8	63.2	35.6	1.2
	Australia	4.01	6.33	51	25.4	23.6	67	30.7	2.4
	<i>Average</i>	<i>6.50</i>	<i>8.22</i>	<i>44.40</i>	<i>29.13</i>	<i>26.43</i>	<i>70.00</i>	<i>28.47</i>	<i>1.57</i>
Social Democratic	Norway	6.95	7.2	33.1	20	46.9	35.7	64.1	0.3
	Sweden	8.84	7.1	31.7	14.6	53.7	22.8	75.5	1.7
	Austria	1.56	4.92	35.6	41.3	23.1	-	-	-
	<i>Average</i>	<i>5.78</i>	<i>6.41</i>	<i>33.47</i>	<i>25.3</i>	<i>41.23</i>	<i>29.25</i>	<i>69.80</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Welfare Partnership	Israel	4.76	8	23.9	59.1	17	88	12	0
	Netherlands	10.14	14.4	30.1	46.1	23.9	74.8	25.2	0
	Ireland	4.07	10.42	13.8	67.6	18.6	85.7	14	0.3
	Belgium	4.06	10.93	16	65.9	18.1	85.9	14.1	0
	Germany	5.18	5.89	21.3	42.5	36.2	62	31.6	6.4
	France	6.51	7.55	20	33.4	46.6	56.5	43.5	0
	Spain	4.22	4.31	38.5	25.2	36.3	71.2	28.6	0.2
	<i>Average</i>	<i>5.56</i>	<i>8.79</i>	<i>23.37</i>	<i>48.54</i>	<i>28.10</i>	<i>74.87</i>	<i>24.14</i>	<i>0.99</i>
Differed Democratization	Brasil	1	1.62	69.2	14.5	16.3	74.8	24.9	0.3
	Colombia	1.2	2.36	62	13.1	24.9	74.2	24.9	0.9
	Mexico	0.24	0.4	74.7	7.5	17.9	57.4	42.6	0
	Romania	1.1	0.79	13	20.5	66.5	59.2	40.8	0
	Poland	0.78	0.8	57.1	22.8	20.1	49.8	50.2	3
	Slovakia	0.9	0.82	53.5	21.3	25.1	39.1	59.8	1.1
	The Czech Republic	1.4	2.04	37.9	32.1	30	44.5	55.5	0
	<i>Average</i>	<i>0.95</i>	<i>1.26</i>	<i>52.49</i>	<i>18.82</i>	<i>28.69</i>	<i>57.00</i>	<i>42.67</i>	<i>0.76</i>
Traditional	Pakistan	0.72	0.99	41.9	4.9	53.1	82.8	17.2	0
	Philippines	2.37	1.88	53.7	3.1	43.2	61	39	0
	Kenya	2.11	2.11	71.8	4.3	23.9	60	15.5	24.5
	Uganda	2.25	2.27	42.7	5.5	51.8	69.5	27.9	2.6
	India	0.79	1.36	35.2	24.9	39.9	82.9	17.1	5
	<i>Average</i>	<i>1.65</i>	<i>1.72</i>	<i>49.06</i>	<i>8.54</i>	<i>42.38</i>	<i>71.24</i>	<i>23.34</i>	<i>6.42</i>

Source: Salamon et al. (2004).

Note: Countries were assigned to the corresponding models of civil society (Desse 2012) on the basis of the available empirical data. Dashes indicate no data available. The base year of data varies by country from 1995 to 2002.

One evident conclusion from this analysis is that Russia, as a transition country that seeks to catch up with the West, has at its disposal a choice of three models of civil society. The fourth alternative of the traditional model could not be considered as an attractive option since Russian society already outgrew this stage of development. As the matter stands, from the three Western models the liberal one appears to be the least suitable, given tremendous cultural differences between Russia and Anglo-Saxon countries throughout history, as well as the different composition of their nonprofit sectors, as illustrated in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. Thus, I argue that since the transition stage is by definition a temporary construct, there are only two suitable models of civil society for Russia to choose from: the social democratic model, represented by the Nordic countries, or the welfare partnership model, represented by France and Germany. At the same time, Table 2.4 provides clear evidence that the Russian model of civil society closely resembles its analogues in Eastern European countries. NPOs in Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Romania on average account for only 1% of GDP (0.9% in Russia) and employ only 1.1% (1.3% in Russia) of the economically active population. They derive 75% of their income (84% in Russia) from fees and philanthropy, whereas government funding accounts for only 25% of their income (16% in Russia). Finally, the distribution between functions shows only a minor advantage

in favor of expressive activities (52% in CEE countries, 52% in Russia) over service activities (48% in CEE countries, 44% in Russia). Indeed, the Russian NPO sector is currently in the process of transition. It simultaneously incorporates elements of the liberal model, as well as the social democratic and welfare partnership models; its ultimate goal could thus be called a social partnership.

2.4.2 Models of professional and business associations

All of the previous sections on the type of government, stage of economic development, and type of civil society model clearly show the dual character of the Russian context. Such ambivalence remains one of the key characteristics of contemporary Russia. Its culture remains understudied⁴⁵ (Chechel and Markov 2013a). The findings of the GLOBE project⁴⁶ provide one of the few insights into Russian culture in the managerial setting. The GLOBE findings confirm the duality of the Russian culture. This duality could be traced back by examining at least two dimensions that were used to measure it. One of them is In-Group Collectivism, which denotes “the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations, families... or other such small groups”; the other one is Uncertainty Avoidance, which reflects “the extent to which members of an organization or society strive to avoid uncertainty by relying on established social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices to decrease the probability of the unpredictable future events...” (Chhokar, Broadbeck, and House 2008, 3-4). In the case of the In-Group Collectivism, there is more agreement between the “As Is Score” (5.63) and the “Should be Score” (5.79), while Uncertainty Avoidance presents more differences between the behaviors “As Is Score” (2.88) and the values “Should Be Score” (5.07) (Gratchev, Rogovsky, and Rakitski 2008, 814). With respect to collectivism, both of Russia’s high and consistent scores on this dimension were predictable since collectivistic culture is deeply rooted in the historic tradition. But in the case of uncertainty avoidance there is a large gap between the real and the ideal scores, a gap which shows that Russian managers currently accept uncertainty, but wish to operate in a more orderly and stable environment. The findings from the GLOBE project are consistent with the findings of “Measuring Russian Culture Using Hofstede’s Dimensions” (Naumov and Puffer 2000); based upon Hofstede’s famous work “Culture’s Consequences” (2001), this empirical study applied similar theoretical constructs (Collectivism-Individualism and Uncertainty Avoidance).

Before I turn to describing the landscape of professional and business associations in Russia, I will undertake an overview of the key aspects in the scholarly understanding of professional associations and business associations. According to the international classification of NPOs (Anheier 2005, 55), professional and business associations constitute Group 11, “Business and professional associations, unions”. In developed economies, this type of NPO provides

⁴⁵ A good example of the ideology free historiographical approach to understanding of the Russian culture could be found in the conceptual works of the famous Russian linguist Prof. Nikolai Trubetskoi (2012), who immigrated from the Russian Empire after the revolution of 1917 and until 1938 worked at the University of Vienna, where most of his scientific work was produced.

⁴⁶ The Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness (GLOBE) Research Project is an in-depth study of the 25 societies reported in “Culture and Leadership Across the World: The GLOBE Book of In-Depth Studies of 25 Societies” (Chhokar, Broadbeck, and House 2008). One of its chapters is devoted to the Russian findings of the project (Gratchev, Rogovsky, and Rakitski 2008). The study came up with the societal culture profiles, measured by means of 9 dimensions, each of which is represented through behaviour (as is) and values (should be). Each dimension indicates a mean score on a 7-point Likert-type; higher scores indicate greater value.

employment for 4.8% of the total civil society workforce, while in transition and developing economies almost twice as many people (8.6%) are employed by PBAs (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004). According to Salamon et al. (2004), the countries in which such associations generate the highest figures of employment in the nonprofit sector include Mexico (33.6%), the Philippines (29.3%), Sweden (15.4%), Columbia (14.9%), Hungary (14%), Norway (13.1%), and Poland (10.8%). Russian PBAs, according to Mersyanova's (2010) assessments, account for 14% of employment in the nonprofit sector. It means that, by percentage of the PBA workforce, PBAs in Russia are at roughly the same level as those in transition countries such as Hungary and Poland, and close to those in the Nordic Social Democracies of Sweden and Norway. In all of these countries, PBAs rank third or fourth in terms of creating employment for NPOs, trailing only culture, social services, and civic and advocacy activities. Thus, Russian PBAs compose the fourth largest group in the domestic nonprofit sector, meaning that they play a recognizable role as an employer.

2.4.2.1 Scholarly understanding of professional associations

In the Western academic tradition, NPOs are normally considered professional associations, which were created in order to independently promote, regulate, and protect interests in certain professional fields (Anheier 2005). As Chua and Poullaos (1998, 156) argue, the neo-Weberian notion of “social closure” or “market closure”, as opposed to the critical frameworks of Marx and Foucault, remains a mainstream theoretical basis for the empirical analysis of professionalization projects⁴⁷. The theory of market closure “focuses on how members of an interest group seek market dominance by monopolizing social and economic opportunities and closing off opportunities to outsiders” (Chua and Poullaos 1998, 156). In other words, occupations strive to introduce entry barriers to the profession (Johnson 1972; Abbott 2007; Neal and Morgan 2000). Occupations follow such strategies not only to cut off rival interest groups, such as amateurs or charlatans, but also to maximize the economic and political power that allows them to keep and protect their occupational “havens” from the threats and fluctuations of a free market of services. Starting in medieval European cities, professionals have traditionally gained the benefits of “social closure” from unwanted similarly qualified immigrants, thus keeping the membership numbers of professional guilds within desirable limits and protecting their earnings from a consequent depreciation. However, with the introduction of the progressive EU 1989 Directive 89/48/EEC on the mutual recognition of professional qualifications, professional bodies in European member states are now prevented from exercising influence over labor markets, at least in theory.

If we turn back to history again, we will see that professionalization projects are implemented in two ways (Neal and Morgan 2000; Evetts 2003): either in a bottom-up way, as in the liberal Anglo-Saxon countries, in which professional associations emerged from the horizontal voluntary interaction at the occupational level in order to achieve professional status; or in a top-down manner, as in the case of the continental European state-centric countries, such as Germany, where the state was actively involved hierarchically as an interventionist in the initial establishment, regulation, and administration of professions in order to make labor markets

⁴⁷ Under the term “professionalization”, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 147), following Bourdieu, understand “the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work”. In other words, professionalization is viewed as the routes occupations must take in order to achieve professional status, power, and authority (Neal and Morgan 2000).

rationalized and controlled. Neal and Morgan's (2000) comparative historical study of 19 professions in the UK and Germany detailed two different models of professionalization, resulting from a systematic occupational project: "the spontaneous" self-interest-guided model was characteristic of the insular UK, and the "state-sanctioned" model was attributed to continental Germany. In both cases the mode of professionalization (expressed through the conditions for entry into the regulated field, the licensing procedure, or an academic route to qualification) was negotiated between three major constituencies: the state, academia, and the professional associations. However, professional associations played different roles in the two countries. In the UK, they were set up at an earlier stage of the professionalization process and remained responsible for professional education; the professions in the UK evolved predominantly on a self-regulatory basis. In Germany, professional associations, represented by a system of professional chambers, emerged at a later stage of the professionalization process, having only limited amount of self-regulation at their disposal, whereas the state remained responsible for professional education and admittance into the profession; professions in Germany were largely state-regulated (Neal and Morgan 2000). Nevertheless, the emergence of professional associations as legitimate bodies that represent interests of their respective communities remains a sign of a completed professionalization project in a given field, whether of established professions such as lawyers, accountants, and medics, or of newer professions in engineering, management, or business services (Scott 2008). More important to note is that the professional transparency directives of the European Union are based upon the Germanic mode of professionalization. The European super-state will continue to play a leading role in establishing new professions, such as that of "eco-auditor", in terms of setting new regulatory and educational frameworks (Neal and Morgan 2000).

At the same time, scholars increasingly predict "de-professionalization" and the end of the "golden age" of traditional professions, both caused by the hegemony of the economy in the modern world (Moskovskaya et al. 2013). The old "collegial" model of national professionalization, based on formal credentials that certify mastery of a given body of knowledge, is challenged by the new market-oriented "corporate" professionalization, which has been carried out primarily by large multinational corporations in the context of globalization (Muzio et al. 2011). A formal codifiable body of knowledge was a prerequisite for the professionalization of the canonical professions; this body of knowledge was regulated and controlled via educational institutions and state licensing, and protected by ideology stated in the professional codes of ethics, which were enforced by a particular professional association (Torres 1991). In the case of the new knowledge-based corporate professions, such as management consultants, project managers, or executive head-hunters, that body of knowledge consists to a certain degree of codifiable technical knowledge, and to a large degree of uncodifiable practical knowledge, which always varies with time, place, and personal characteristics of a professional. Accordingly, the reasons for acquiring legitimacy are different in each model. Traditionally, the reasons came down to the public benefit factor, expressed in claims to public service and the social trusteeship of key competencies; legitimacy in the new professions stems purely from commercial claims and the market value that they create (Muzio et al. 2011). Finally, the role of professional associations is diminishing in the new market-oriented professions. They are now restricted in influence rather than bearing responsibility for ideals and professional control, as was common for the traditional professions (Moskovskaya et al. 2013).

However, in the case of Russia, as outlined in the recent explorative study of professional associations by Moskovskaya's team (2013), professionalization projects in the high-status occupations are far from being completed in any profession. Most professions are found at different stages of struggle for their professional status. Given the omnipresence of the state in the public sphere throughout Russian history, it becomes apparent that a Moscow-led mode of professionalization will follow the German pattern rather than the Anglo-Saxon one. This means that the role of Russian professional associations is far less important than that of the state. According to Moskovskaya et al. (2013), it is self-evident that the self-regulation mechanisms used by Russian professional associations are still at the embryonic stage of development. It is the state, not professional associations, that decides which professions should be regulated. Currently, fields of professional activities in Russia fall into one of three categories: the state-licensed, quasi self-regulated, and not regulated. The licensed fields are regulated by the Federal Law on Licensing (No.99-FZ dated 04.05.2011), which distinguishes 49 occupations, covering such fields as health, safety, defense, education, transport, space, and cultural heritage. The quasi self-regulated fields are regulated by the Law on Self-Regulated Organizations (No 315-FZ dated 04.12.2007) and several industry-specific laws on the same subject; among the self-regulated occupations are auditing, evaluation, advertising, architectural engineering, and heat supply. Finally, among fields that are exempt from regulation one finds such occupations as journalism and general engineering. It comes as no surprise that the Russian Ministry of Labor sets targets for the number of professional standards developed; the current target is 800 in total by 2014⁴⁸. Given that the majority of higher education institutions in Russia are state-funded, the current work on professional standards shows that the state plays a key role in professionalization projects by regulating education and entrance into the labor market.

Finally, any scholar embarking on research on Russian PBAs will inevitably encounter tremendous difficulties, starting from the basic semantic level. Since the Russian language does not distinguish between "occupation" and "profession", in both cases the term "profession" is used (Moskovskaya 2010). Moreover, contemporary discursive practices show that the term "professional association" is used very arbitrarily in Russia, but the ambiguity of the term "professional" is generally recognized (von Nordenflycht 2010). Russia is not any different in this respect. Due to this vagueness of meanings, quite a few associations claim to be "professional" in the colloquial sense of the term, which represents high quality of work and helps them to gain legitimacy (Meyer, Buber, and Aghamanoukjan 2013); however, they do not embrace the full sense of the word, which represents professional associations' power to fully control a field⁴⁹, such as the right to define entry qualifications and evaluation criteria for those who want to perform certain tasks (Freidson 2001). That is why the question of which associations to categorize as professional is hard to answer empirically. But difficulties lay even deeper, in the

⁴⁸ Under the initiative of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Olga Golodets, existing professional standards have been scrutinized since 2012. Golodets set a target of 800 standards to be developed in 2014 by joint efforts of the relevant departments of the executive power, the Russian Unions of Employers and Trade Unions (Moskovskaya et al. 2013). However, this ambitious goal was not reached on time. By the end of 2014, only over 300 professional standards have been developed.

⁴⁹ It is embodied in Freidson's "third logic" or "professional logic", based on self-regulations of professions, that suits provision of complex services to the public, such as medical or legal ones, as opposed to the logic of the market, based on supply and demand, and the logic of bureaucratic managerialism, based on hierarchy and subordination (2001).

theoretical and methodological approaches to the studies of professionalism. Such studies are not only very scarce and unpopular in modern Russia, but they suffer from disconnection to the established Western tradition of sociology of profession since they are based on Soviet Marxian ideology, in which professions were historically neglected and excluded⁵⁰. The very few Russian studies that are based on a Western framework of sociology of professions are found in the works of Clark and Kabalina (2000; 2001) on the transformations in the Russian labor market, in Abramov's monograph (2005) on professionalization of managers in Russia, in the findings of the research project by Mersiyanova et al. (2011) on professional societies of scientists, lecturers, teachers, doctors, and businessmen in Russia, and in Moskovskaya's studies (2010; 2013) on professionalism and professional associations in Russia. Russia finds itself in a unique historical moment, in which professionalization projects are still at the very early stages of attaining their professional status, given the lacking social embeddedness of professions in Russia. This lack is contrary to the institutionalized professions in the West.

2.4.2.2 Scholarly understanding of business associations

Business associations, or trade associations as they are often referred to alternatively, promote the collectively shared interests of their members (Barnett 2013). Trade associations are created by companies in the same sector "to collect and disseminate trade information, offer legal and technical advice, furnish industry-related training, and provide a platform for collective lobbying", as well as to provide services and organize annual meetings and events for members (Barringer and Harrison 2000, 392-393). The typical model of governance of business associations represents a combination of a paid workforce and a voluntary board (Barringer and Harrison 2000). In many respects, business associations are similar to other mutual benefit membership organizations, such as professional associations discussed in the section above. Their activities are similar since they aim to restrict competition within their industry and act as gatekeepers within their issue area (Aldrich et al. 1994); also, their advocacy activities "may generate positive spillover benefits even for those who are not members of the association" (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013, 3). Another similarity between professional and business associations is the uneven distribution of power, which is concentrated in the hands of the most influential actors in the field (Harris 1998; Barnett 2013), despite the common view of trade associations "as organizations that engage in collective action for mutual benefit of all industry members" (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013, 4). Moreover, many business associations, like professional associations, not only advocate for their interests in the face of the government, but also enjoy the privilege of self-regulation in their industry, thus supplementing or complementing direct regulation by the government (Gupta and Lad 1983; Lenox and Nash 2003; Maitland 1985).

According to Scott (2001, 118), professional and trade associations represent modern cases of the normative institutionalization of field practices, saying that "normative standards may be explicitly established by self-appointed arbiters employing more or less representative bodies and deliberative procedures". Such a normative role prescribed to professional and business associations appears in various scholarly accounts (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; DiMaggio 1991;

⁵⁰ Moskovskaya (2010) provides a comparative analysis of the Soviet and Western sociology of profession, and reflects on the ideology behind the Soviet quasi-professionalization projects. Balzer (1996) and Bradley (2002) employ historical perspective to study the rise and halt in the development of professions in late imperial Russia, use that perspective as an indication of the emerging middle class and transformation of subjects into citizens.

Starr 1982; Boli and Thomas 1997) that involve the processes of value-setting about the most preferred courses of action or establishment of standards (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013). Following Scotts' categories on three pillars of institutions (2001), apart from the central normative role, trade associations are also active in the regulative field through advocacy and interest representation activities, as well as in the cultural-cognitive field by reinforcing their collective identity and taken-for-grantedness. In their capacity as arbiters, business associations possess the power to encourage appropriate behavior in confirmation of the established standards, as well as to sanction those who do not conform to them (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013). The intermediary position occupied by business associations between the state and industry contributes to the fact that their governance model is shaped by their environments by means of two oppositely directed logics: the logic of membership, and the logic of influence (Aldrich et al. 1994; Schmitter and Streeck 1999). The logic of membership is coined by the diverse interests of the industry members and the need to coordinate them in order to aggregate competing interests into an effective action beneficial to all constituencies (Aldrich et al. 1994). The logic of influence concerns how business associations interact with the state and other industries (Aldrich et al. 1994). Both of these logics are intertwined; for instance, business associations that do not have strong connections with the state and cannot exercise influence upon it may compensate by having stronger ties within their membership and better articulating their interests (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013).

In spite of the fact that there are thousands of business associations representing almost every industry, there is still little academic research devoted to this phenomenon (Barringer and Harrison 2000; Barnett 2013). In an empirical investigation of the effects of association size, Staber (1987) concluded that trade associations of intermediate size are more likely to be effective than large or small-sized trade associations. A descriptive study on industry self-regulation argued that business associations are capable of introducing and enforcing industry standards, as well as product quality and safety guidelines, on a self-regulatory basis that could serve as an alternative to state regulation (Gupta and Lad 1983). Among factors that drive companies' participation in a trade association, researchers recognize networking opportunities with industry peers (Tschirhart 2006), a reduction of uncertainty, and augmenting industry legitimacy (Kshetri and Dholakia 2009; Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013). However, there are also drawbacks of associational activity. On the one hand, since there are almost no barriers to entry in trade associations, typically any company can join; this leads to an increase in the "free-rider" problem, which refers to members enjoying the benefits of association while contributing minimally (Vernon 1980). On the other hand, there is a risk of disclosing too much information for the essential needs of a trade association in their information collection efforts, meaning that sensitive information on technologies, know-how, or trade secrets will benefit competitors (Bresser 1988).

If we turn to the Russian specifics of business association development in the post-Soviet time, a general picture emerges. There are at least two distinct periods in the institutionalization of relations between the state and the private sector. The first one is linked to the Yeltsin presidency in the 1990s, which was marked by an emergence of a large number of professional and business associations. These NPOs were organized primarily around the personalities of their founders, and around social capital inherited from communist rule. Also, many of the former sector-specific "glavki" (central offices for industrial management) that were responsible for the strategic

planning and supply activities in the planned economy were transformed into the new business associations. However, the public standing and influence of these organizations had been negligible (Zudin 2006). The second period starts with Putin's rise to power in 2000. A turn in the construction of the societal model towards a traditional state-dominant one was made. It appeared in the increased intervention of the state in both the economy and public life. The latter became apparent particularly in the state corporations established "from above", as well as in the all-Russian umbrella-type public chambers. The "power vertical" influenced relations between the state and business and became evident through the official state support of four cross-sectoral federal associations: the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, Business Russia, and "Opora Rossii". Each of these organizations was officially recognised as a consultation platform that represents interests of the large (CCI and RUIE), medium (BR), and small (OR) business, respectively (Markus 2007).

The state of empirical studies on business associations in Russia is similar to that of studies on professional associations. The studies are scarce and driven primarily by economists and political scientists. Among the most comprehensive works on the Russian trade associations is the work of Yakovlev and co-authors (2010), and it deserves special mentioning. These scholars managed to show the evolution of the role and place of business associations in relations between the state and the private sector in contemporary Russia. The authors of this monograph, as well as other scholars doing research in this field (Unger and Waarden 1999), try to refute the critical propositions of Olson (1982), who claimed that collective business action inevitably brings harm to society, and that the embeddedness of such interest groups impedes economic growth. On the contrary, Yakovlev and Govorun (2011) proceed from the assumption that in the face of poorly developed institutions of market infrastructure, business associations that unite the most successful companies encourage production of public goods. Thus, trade associations facilitate interaction between the state and the private sector, possibly even contributing to the modernisation processes (Yakovlev and Govorun 2011). Based on surveys of executives of firms and business associations, Pyle (2006, 2011) claimed that Russian companies with active membership in a trade association adapt better to a market economy; on the other hand, collective action on behalf of the business community to a certain degree nullifies political competition and protects property rights from the predatory actions of corrupt officials. In many transition economies, business associations emerge in industries with low levels of corruption. This allows such organizations to play an active role in the economic and political life of their countries (Duvanova 2011, 2007). The formation of trade associations is higher in industries in which the threat of overregulation exists, which necessitates lobbying (Barringer and Harrison 2000). It is thus not surprising that in Russia, privately owned companies of the competitive service sectors are more eager to unite, whereas extractive, primarily state-owned monopolies are less inclined to do so.

2.4.2.3 Landscape of professional and business associations in Russia

Having established that professional and business associations have many functional similarities, I further refer to them as a single category of NPOs operating in Russia. Table 2.5 represents a synthesis of the three groups of environmental factors that shape professional and business associations in Russia, discussed in previous sections on the basis of Figure 2.2. More precisely, in Table 2.5 the dual meaning of government, economic development, and civil society is combined

with the landscape of professional and business associations, empirically defined by Moskovskaya et al. (2013), in order to build a structural grid of their contextual embeddedness. Let us examine how these contextual factors shape the models of associations in Russia.

Table 2.5. A structural grid of the embeddedness of professional and business associations in Russia

Landscape of professional and business associations and environmental factors	State		Economy		Civil Society	
	Traditional Absolutist (centralized control, licensing)	Liberal Democratic (self-regulation, no regulation)	Factor-Driven (natural resources intensive)	Innovation-Driven (knowledge intensive)	Differed Democratisation (weaker presence vis-a-vis state)	Social Partnership (stronger presence vis-a-vis state)
Professional clubs (e.g.: healthcare, engineering)	+	+/-	-	+	+	-
Business associations (e.g.: insurance, telecom, car manufacturing)	-	+	-	+	-	+
Business related professional service associations (e.g.: audit, appraisal, IT, consulting)	+	+	-	+	-	+/-
Professional associations (e.g.: medicine, architecture)	+	+/-	-	+	-	+/-

Note: “+” stands for a presented trait, “+/-“ stands for a dubiously presented trait, “-“ stands for a non-presented trait. Source: Kerlin (2013), Moskovskaya et al. (2013).

The columns in Table 2.5 show the dual character of the Russian state, economy, and civil society, each of which undergoes transition. With respect to the state, there are two opposing trends. One is closer to reality and could be put under the traditional absolutism category, characterised by prevalence of centralized control and licensing of professional and business activities. The opposite trend is declared in the Russian Constitution and proclaims Russia a democratic state, in which liberal regimes of self-regulation, or even the absence of any regulation of certain fields of professional and business activities, are predominant. In the case of the economy, there is also a dual situation. On the one hand, the de-facto Russian economy is driven by extractive industries, such as energy, metals, lumber, and other natural resources. On the other hand, the rhetoric of government policy points at converting the Russian economy into a knowledge-intensive and innovation-driven economy; this was demonstrated by the establishment of the Skolkovo innovation project, as well as the state corporation Rusnano. Finally, when we examine civil society, we still observe the same ambivalence. In reality, Russia belongs to the differed democratisation types of civil society (Salamon and Sokolowski 2010), defined by the weak presence of nonprofit organizations in their interaction with the state. On paper, one finds that according to the Russian Constitution, social partnership is declared an ultimate mode of interaction between the state and society; both partners are strongly represented in their partnership.

The rows of Table 2.5 represent the landscape of professional and business associations in Russia, according to the typology derived from the exploratory empirical study conducted by Moskovskaya's team (2013). The first type is professional clubs, whose main objective is integrative. Organization in professional clubs is equally typical for associations in both regulated fields, such as healthcare, and non-regulated fields, such as engineering. Such club organizations focus their activities on the community building function and show no involvement in advocacy or service delivery. Since their activities are not aimed at gaining any professional control over their jurisdiction, in this sense they could not be regarded as full-fledged professional associations. The second type is business associations, which unite employers' unions from various industries. Such associations vary by the size of their members' business, as well as by the economic sector that they represent. They are found in non-regulated sectors, such as telecommunications and car manufacturing, as well as in self-regulated sectors, such as insurance. Business associations are primarily involved in community building and interest representation activities, whereas service delivery is not so evident in their activities. The third type is made up of business-related professional service associations. They represent sectors where self-regulation has been introduced, such as audit and appraisal, but also non-regulatory sectors, such as IT and consulting. It appears that this type of professional and business association displays traits of all three types of functions: community building, advocacy, and service delivery. Finally, the fourth type brings together professional associations. They are most commonly found in such occupations as medicine and architecture, which mostly fall under licensed fields but show signs of moving towards self-regulation. Within the activities of this type of association, all functions, from community building and advocacy to service delivery, are distinguishable.

Since the only data available on the landscape of professional and business associations in Russia is the data generated by Moskovskaya et al. (2013), I could only rely on this data to complete analysis of the environmental embeddedness of associations. The major weakness of the conducted study lies in its exploratory character. It provides only a limited interpretation of the phenomenon of associations. Even though the research team claimed serious difficulties with identifying the general population of professional and business associations in Russia, in the absence of a single register for such organizations, it appears that the sampling technique adopted was not an optimal one. The data derived from this research is not comprehensive and representative since all of the bodies representing extractive industries and the four major umbrella associations of large, medium, and small business were left out. As shown in Table 2.5, all of the professional and business associations described in the study belong to the knowledge-intensive service and manufacturing sectors, whereas none of the existing associations representing factor-driven industries and multi-sectoral unions were included in the study. Having in mind such shortcomings, it is still possible to make some preliminary conclusions. First, with regard to state regulation of professional and business associations, it becomes evident that currently the regime of state regulation dominates over the self-regulatory and non-regulatory regimes. Second, professional and business associations are predominantly found in the innovation-driven, knowledge-intensive industries, such as services and manufacturing. Third, judging by indirect indicators of involvement in advocacy activities, only professional clubs demonstrate weak presence in their relations with the state, whereas all of the other types of professional and business associations tend to occupy a somewhat stronger position in their interaction with the state.

The presented analysis serves as an attempt to illustrate how such socioeconomic institutions as culture, state, economy, and civil society impose pressure on the fourth largest segment of the Russian NPO sector, professional and business associations, in the process of attaining their missions. The structural grid, developed on the basis of a dynamic framework, showed preliminary evidence for the existence of distinct models of professional and business associations. The models of these associations are shaped by macro-level institutions. Given the current transition stage of the Russian state, economy, and civil society, as well as a lack of sufficient empirical data on the nonprofit sector in Russia, no attempts were made to distinguish between professionalization projects in certain professions or industries. For these reasons and due to the embeddedness of NPOs in a single context, professional and business associations, which have many similarities in their functioning, are further regarded as a single distinguished group of NPOs. The theory of historical institutionalism assumes that socioeconomic institutions change over time, leading to inevitable changes in the models of professional and business associations. However, in Russia some characteristics are imprinted and remained unchanged throughout the centuries. One of them refers to the genetically installed tendency of having a strong state, which puts Russia closer to the German top-down model of professionalization from above, where the leading role in legitimization of professional and business activities is traditionally assigned to the state.

3 Methodology

This chapter starts with the overall research design of the current research project and discusses in detail the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection employed for the empirical study.

3.1 Research paradigms

The stated research questions of the present study (see chapter 1) contain implicit assumptions, both ontological (the nature of reality as it is assumed to exist within a research paradigm) and epistemological (the relationship between the knower and what can be known). These considerations are of vital importance in guaranteeing that the most suitable research methodology (particular ways of knowing reality) has been adopted (Morgan and Smircich 1980). Moreover, considering these issues helps to justify a choice of appropriate research design and analytical techniques, especially in the case of mixed-methods research combined for complementary purposes (Sale, Lohfeld, and Brazil 2002). It is important to specify the research paradigms underpinning the current study in order to establish the rigour of the analytical process and the validity of the empirical findings (Chen and Hirschheim 2004); it is equally important to establish the broader theoretical framework (see chapter 2). The worldviews and knowledge contained in this study are placed within the multiple paradigms of positivism (quantitative methods) and interpretivism (qualitative methods). According to a categorization of researchers proposed by Landry & Banville (1992), I belong to the minority group of “knights of change” who advocate methodological pluralism, by combining both inductive and deductive research methods.

There are three major differences between the quantitative paradigm, based on positivism, and the qualitative paradigm, based on interpretivism. The ontological position of positivists is that there is only one truth; they claim that objective reality exists independently of human perception. On the other hand, interpretivists believe that there are multiple truths; they claim that realities are multiple, socially constructed, and based on one’s subjective meaning (Burrell and Morgan 1979). On an epistemological level, the investigator and investigated represent independent entities for positivists. Their goal is to test theories through hypothetic-deductive reasoning. Scientific knowledge is produced to verify or falsify propositions and generalize results. As such, positivists formulate hypotheses, measure, and examine causal relationships between variables in an unbiased framework (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). For interpretivists, by contrast, the investigator and the object of investigation are constantly coupled. That is why findings are co-produced within the given contextual situation that informs the subject of research (Guba and Lincoln 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 2000). They presume that scientific knowledge and understanding emerge from social interaction, through which the multiple subjective meanings of reality are constructed (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). The focus of qualitative research is on process and meanings. Methodologically, positivists argue that research with objective measurement and value-free interpretation should be employed to collect empirical evidence. A quantitative technique such as a survey (e.g., a written questionnaire with a limited number of closed-ended responses) is a typical positivist tool. The sample sizes are much larger in comparison to the ones applied in qualitative research; this enables researchers to use statistical methods to ensure representativeness of samples (Carey 1993). On the other hand, interpretivists claim that in order to explore the multiple meanings embedded in social interaction from a non-deterministic

position, a researcher needs to engage with the research subject in the specific social and cultural setting in order to accurately and deeply understand the subject's relationship with the investigated phenomena (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Techniques that engage researchers in a real social setting (e.g. in-depth interview, participant observation) are appropriate for generating interpretive knowledge. Samples used in qualitative studies are rather small since they are meant to provide important information, not represent large populations.

In detailing the history of methodological pluralism, Mingers (1997) argues that this new perspective emerged by challenging the positivism orthodoxy through the introduction of various schools of interpretivism (e.g. phenomenology and hermeneutics) and structuralism. Methodological pluralism rests on the assumption that the use of multiple theoretical frameworks and multiple methodological strategies is not only legitimate but also preferable if existing models are brought into a question and further knowledge generation is fostered. Embracing the principles of methodological pluralism focuses on the context sensitivity built in research design. In fact, some authors (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005) argue that pragmatic researchers should be able to combine both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, utilizing the strengths of one method to enhance the other in order to better understand social phenomena. For instance, 'hard' data needed for uncovering relationships could be complemented by 'soft' data needed to explain them (Loosemore, Hall, and Dainty 1996). Without entering the debate on the primacy of questions of paradigm to the questions of method (Guba and Lincoln 1994), in this study research methodology is treated as a tool "designed to aid our understanding of the world" (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005, 377). Finally, others claim that combining methods is useful in those areas of research in which complexity of phenomena requires empirical data from different perspectives. This is definitely the case with respect to PBAs in Russia (Steckler et al. 1992).

In this research, when research subjects are organizations, represented primarily by executive officers that manage PBAs, I use both deductive and inductive methodological approaches to examine the functions that these organizations perform and the factors influencing the successful accomplishment of their missions. By engaging in PBAs, these executives construct the social reality of these organizations and take part in constructing civil society arrangements in Russia. For the exploration of the functions of PBAs and the factors influencing fulfillment of PBAs' missions, this study adopts a particular strand of the social constructivist perspective: descriptive empirical phenomenological research, which allows a researcher to examine the social-cultural forces that influence textual accounts (such as transcribed interviews) by interpreting these texts (Moustakas 1994). Studies using inductive strategies, which are grounded within the social constructivist tradition, have already gained currency in nonprofit organization studies in countries in transition (Crotty 2003, 2009; Kulmala 2010; Ljubownikow 2011; Spencer 2011; Fröhlich 2012; Pape 2014). Moreover, such studies are particularly suitable for examining contexts with limited theoretical knowledge (Eisenhardt 1991), such as that of Russia. Studies using both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate the phenomenon of NPOs in countries in transition are also becoming visible (Neumayr et al. 2009; Nezhina and Ibrayeva 2013), but they are less popular as mono-methods studies due to the high costs involved. Since this thesis investigates an area of Russian civil society, in which studies are mostly fragmented (see chapter 2) and about which adequate theoretical knowledge is still lacking, adopting

methodological pluralism and subsequent research strategies allows the researcher to gain a better in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study.

3.2 Research design

The research design of my empirical study is based on two different methodological approaches in order to thoroughly address the research questions outlined above in section 1.3. The major reason for applying a multi-method framework is the desired methodological triangulation. This triangulation enables a researcher to generate more data of different natures on the same phenomenon (Denzin 1978). Having multiple viewpoints which stem from different kinds of data allows researchers to improve the “accuracy of their judgements” (Jick 1979, 602). Another advantage of triangulation is that it simultaneously displays multiple “refracted realities” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 6), which leads to a deeper understanding of the topic of interest (Hall and Rist 1999). The application of a multiple methods approach in empirical studies allows mitigating risks associated with potential deficiencies of individual methods and provides “cross-data consistency checks” (Patton 2002, 556). Moreover, the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative methods “to form a more complete picture of a phenomenon outweigh the costs of time and effort” (Shah and Corley 2006, 1832). All in all, triangulation serves as “a validation strategy” for the procedures and findings of empirical social research (Flick 2004, 178).

For the first stage of the empirical study, the qualitative exploratory design⁵¹ was chosen. It was chosen to reveal the perceptions of experts and executives of PBAs regarding the societal functions that these NPOs perform, in addition to the factors that they believe either stimulate or hinder achievement of their missions. Findings of the exploratory expert interviews served as a point of departure for the next confirmatory stage of the research project. For the second stage of the study, a quantitative conclusive design was chosen. It was implemented in the form of a survey to shed light on the composition of societal functions that PBAs perform and the factors that aid or impede achievement of their mission, depending on the different types of PBAs. By using two distinct but complementary methods of gathering data, through combination of the open-ended interview questions and closed-ended survey data, the identified research questions are addressed as unambiguously as possible. Thus, the advantages of the complementary nature of qualitative and quantitative research are fully explored in the selected research design. At the same time, by addressing the same research questions at both stages of the study, but with different methodological tools, it is appropriate to take a meta-analytical approach to integrating the findings of both studies in order to achieve greater clarity about generalized inferences. The subsequent parts of the present chapter explain in detail the specific research designs applied to structure each stage of the empirical study.

3.3 Qualitative exploratory study

A qualitative approach was employed for two reasons: first, to find out whether the integrative framework on functions of NPOs (discussed in section 2.3) is applicable for NPOs in the transition

⁵¹ I am applying here the understanding of research designs in accordance with Malhotra & Birks’s (2003) classification. They distinguish between exploratory and conclusive designs. The former falls into qualitative and quantitative exploration. The latter includes descriptive and causal research.

society of Russia; second, to find out whether the institutional and organizational approaches to PBAs' embeddedness in their environment (discussed in section 2.4) is applicable for NPOs in this same context. An exploratory study was conducted in order to gain a deeper understanding of what is perceived under societal functions of PBAs in Russia, and of what factors enhance or undermine the capability of PBAs to fulfill their missions. Conceptual frameworks on functions of NPOs, along with institutional and organizational factors that shape models of PBAs, were tested by means of expert interviews with senior executives of PBAs and leading experts in this field. Specifically, the texts generated from the expert interviews about the goals, activities, and strategies of PBAs, as well as factors influencing the accomplishment of their missions, were systematically analyzed following the corresponding theoretical frameworks. The steps undertaken – starting from sampling selection, data collection, and data analysis methods – are presented below.

3.3.1 Sampling

Since the focus of qualitative research is on interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena (King 2004), it is common to use small samples. This is in contrast to quantitative research, in which large representative samples are used to meet the major criterion of generalizability that allows for evaluation of a study's quality. In qualitative studies, the quality is measured by replicability⁵² and transferability⁵³ of findings; this is why purposive sampling is the dominant strategy that allows gaining a rich, contextual, and in-depth understanding of the topic of interest by means of intensive study of cases (Patton 2002). Even though issues of generalizability are rarely of explicit concern in qualitative research, the highly detailed, fruitful, and deeply penetrative nature of qualitative findings permits "reasonable extrapolation" (Patton 2002, 582) from the sample to the population. Purposive samplings can be of different kinds. Patton (2002), for instance, distinguishes between 16 types whose names are self-explanatory: typical case sampling, homogeneous sampling, critical case sampling, maximum variation sampling, sampling politically important cases, convenience sampling, etc. However, all of them select participants in accordance with preset criteria relevant to a given study.

For the purposes of the present dissertation, a convenience sampling approach was used. In other words, the participants were selected from available populations. Since the problem of gatekeepers and gaining access to respondents remains one of the major difficulties for scholars doing research on Russia, no other more sophisticated sampling strategy was possible. Interview access to the identified potential candidates was secured through my existing contacts in the Russian nonprofit sector. These contacts were acquired during a decade of work in managerial positions for a number of NPOs. In order to achieve maximum variation on issues of interest, and to find significant common patterns, the sample of experts was constructed according to the following research relevant criteria. The first criterion was the experts' type of involvement with the PBAs, depending on the stakeholder group to which they belong. Internal experts were represented by the leadership and members of the identified PBAs. External experts were represented by the government relations consultants with extensive expertise on PBAs, and by

⁵² Replicability, as the most important form of reliability, means that researchers working at different circumstances and points of time by applying the same technique to the same data should yield the same results (Krippendorff 2004).

⁵³ Transferability is a judgement on whether findings from one context could be applicable to another (Domas White and Marsh 2006).

leading scholars with a track record of empirical studies on PBAs. The second criterion was the field of organizational activity. All experts were selected by their direct or indirect involvement with professional associations, business associations, and inter-sector umbrella associations. These correspond to the professional and business associations category under the International Classification of NPOs (Anheier 2005). The third criterion was the geographical span of organizational activities of PBAs. Given the highly hierarchical structure of the leading Russian PBAs, preference was given to experts predominantly involved in activities of organizations present nationwide. Such a purposive sampling strategy allowed me to cut across cases to identify shared themes, thus contributing to the significance of the findings that emerged out of the heterogeneity of perspectives conveyed by the participants.

In total, 15 one-on-one semi-structured expert interviews, supported by an interview guide, were carried out. The interviewees represented four different stakeholders, including four executives of PBAs, five members with current or expired membership in PBAs, four leading researchers focusing on PBAs, and two government relations consultants with extensive experience in the field of PBAs. The spectrum of organizational activities that experts represented included business associations in the extractive, production, and service-oriented sectors of the economy, professional associations of managers, scientists and educators, and inter-sector umbrella associations for entrepreneurs and industrialists. Most of the PBAs in which these experts are engaged are active on a nationwide scale with headquarters in Moscow. Moscow was chosen as a sampling point for convenience reasons; it was easier for me to reach the respondents there. Since most of the identified experts are extremely well-educated individuals with high social standing, it was assumed that they not only possess organization-specific knowledge, but also are culturally competent respondents with deep understanding of the context-specific knowledge, upon which they could reflect. See Appendix 1 for a detailed overview of the anonymized expert interview participants.

3.3.2 Data collection

As mentioned above, the empirical data for the qualitative study was collected through expert interviews. According to Kruse (2011), expert interviews represent a subtype of guided interviews. Expert interview are less concerned with the methodical issues of conducting an interview, but more focused on the choice of experts (Kruse 2011). At the same time, as Kruse (2011, 61) points out, the expert in the phenomenological understanding of an “aggregate person” is not perceived as a subject of analysis; rather, experts represent the views and modes of action of a specific expert group in a given setting. In this respect, the experts play a representational role in relation to PBAs, which form the actual subject of the current study. The stakeholder approach taken to the selection of experts explains the multitude of relations in which interviewed experts are involved with PBAs. The interviewees are linked to the represented PBAs in two possible ways. Either they are senior PBA executives, members, or consultants linked through direct engagement in the working process, or they are researchers linked to the PBAs indirectly through investigation of their activities. The interview guide that was used in the course of the expert interviews is very important since it steers and structures the interview (Kruse 2011). See Appendix 2 for an interview guide that was employed to conduct the expert interviews. It should be mentioned that the interview guide was tested in the pilot study conducted in July 2010. One

interview was carried out in Vienna with an expert on professional associations in Russia. This expert recently graduated from the JOSZEF Program at WU and defended a doctoral thesis at Moscow State University on the relevant subject. The interview was fully transcribed and analyzed in order to verify the instrument for the current study.

Data was collected in the course of my research trip to Moscow throughout September 2011. Following the sampling strategy, 28 potential candidates were identified and contacted by email one month prior to my scheduled trip to Russia. In the email I briefly introduced my research project and asked the expert for an appointment. Some of the candidates were not available for the interview because of alternative meetings; others were on business trips or notified me of their illness; a few people (including federal government officials) did not show any interest in the study and did not even reply to the initial invitation. I was able to arrange 15 appointments prior to my departure from Vienna, but most of them had to be confirmed upon my arrival in Moscow since a researcher in Russia faces many uncertainties⁵⁴. The interviews took place either at the experts' premises, in centrally located cafes, or at the apartment in which I was staying in the center of Moscow. All interviews were held one-to-one, excluding any other participants. In the course of the expert interviews, I used an interview guide in order to cover all of the topics intended to be raised. The interview guide (in Russian) was sent by email to all confirmed participants 3 weeks prior to the interview with clear statements about research goals, as well as notes on recording equipment and confidentiality. For this reason, there was no need to start the interview with technical instructions.

The topics for the expert interview were divided into three theme-based blocks, except for the first and last questions. I started each interview with an ice-breaking question of a rather common character; I asked the expert to give his or her opinion on the state of the art of professional and business associations in Russia. It was intended to enable the interviewee to give a descriptive account of a bigger picture of the phenomenon under study, and to situate his or her experience within it. I proceeded with three blocks of more specific questions. The first block of questions inquired about the success stories and particular organizational characteristics of PBAs in comparison to other NPOs. The second block of questions centered on the functions of PBAs and their relationships with the public sector. The third block of questions addressed the factors influencing achievement of PBAs' missions. In conclusion, the last question was formulated somewhat unconventionally as a request to give a name to a book or a film on PBAs that the interviewee hypothetically is planning to create. It was constructed to determine the attitude of the interviewee toward the prospects of PBAs in Russia. It should be pointed out that the questions regarding the functions of PBAs and the factors influencing accomplishment of their missions were formulated both indirectly and directly. Such a combination of approaches allowed me to gain a comprehensive picture of the phenomena in question.

Since I was familiar with all of the respondents through prior professional cooperation, no extra effort was needed to establish rapport. On the contrary, all interviews were conducted in a trusting atmosphere, resembling a normal conversation and supported by positive emotional contact with the interviewees. In order to assure quality of the interviews, I was deliberate not to

⁵⁴ In the Russian language, the meaning of "the appointment" is less articulated than in its German version "der Termin". That is why even once scheduled, appointments have to be confirmed prior to the time they were conducted.

impose any normative notions on the respondents. The questions were formulated to generate open answers and to prevent informants from simple yes or no answers. All respondents were familiarized with the questions several weeks prior to their interviews to communicate the content of the interview; this prior knowledge of questions served to create a comfortable atmosphere and did not produce any negative side effects. Despite the fact that an interview guide was created to frame the interview, no rigid adherence to the planned sequence of questions took place. On the contrary, questions were asked at the right moment, based on the logic of previous statements, to fit naturally in the course of the interview. Some of the planned questions were not asked because the informants already covered them in previous answers. Moreover, additional ad-hoc questions were posed in order to follow the course of the conversation with an aim of specifying individual issues, giving examples, or generating more details about reported information. I tried to phrase the questions as simply as possible so that our discussions resembled real discursive practice. At the same time, to avoid the risk of deviation from the subject, the conversation was carefully guided on the basis of the three main thematic blocks. Finally, attempts have been made to eradicate bias by bracketing in order to address the multiple presuppositions regarding the topic under investigation (Tufford and Newman 2012). Throughout the conversation I attempted to minimize the potential influence of my own perceptions and constructs derived from theory. It was not always easy, especially in the case of body language, since it was my first major experience in the role of interviewer. To insure the reliability of the collected data, I aimed for stability and replicability of results. In accordance with Russian tradition⁵⁵, at the end of the interview each respondent received a small gift (a pot of Austrian honey for the ladies and a bottle of Austrian Grüner Vertliner wine for the men) from me to thank the expert for the time devoted to the interview.

3.3.3 Data evaluation

All interviews were recorded and then fully transcribed verbatim. The overall length of the interviews was between 16 and 93 minutes, and the average interview length amounted to 63 minutes. In total, 15 conducted interviews constituted a data set, which corresponded to 943 minutes of recordings. Moreover, notes were taken after each interview to capture my immediate impressions and general setting of the interview. I decided to transcribe the interviews myself. The final proofed versions of the transcripts, which summed to 164 pages of text, were finished by February 2012. The collected texts were further treated on the grounds of a social constructivist epistemological position, which assumes that participant accounts produced in interviews cannot be considered “as a means of gaining insight into the ‘real’ experience of the interviewee, but as an interaction constructed in the particular context of the interview” (King 2004, 13). The applied stakeholder approach to sampling reveals important distinctions within the examined organizational population. Further analysis increases validity because it builds on data derived from different categories of interviewees. Moreover, the number of interviews conducted was sufficient to reach saturation in relation to the explored themes.

Each interview transcript was read several times in order to better understand the meaning of the expert’s discourse; a qualitative content analysis was conducted in this time according to

⁵⁵ It is a common tradition among sociologists conducting interviews in Russia to reward the interviewed experts with a small compensation (a bottle of alcohol or a box of candies) upon successful completion of the interview.

Krippendorff (2004). The focus of this analysis method is upon systematic classification of data into categories within their context of communication in ways that “maximize the reliability and validity of the coding system” while “facilitating the testing of prior theoretical concerns” (Henwood and Pidgeon 1992, 100). The core element of Krippendorff’s methodology (2004) is the semantic component of content analysis, which refers to a procedure of examining types and frequencies of the particular sense-bearing themes. For this reason, the sequence in which the themes occurred throughout the expert interviews was not considered important for data analysis within the present study. The qualitative content analysis appears to be a suitable method for the analysis of the expert interviews since it focuses on the observable semantic commonalities contained in the data and disregards as irrelevant the sequence in which particular statements were brought up during the expert interview. Through the analytical method of rereading the transcripts, the thematic units of meaning were discerned. Statements that were relevant to functions of PBAs and influencing factors were identified, analyzed, and compared to derive the essential elements of the phenomena under study. On the basis of the original Russian transcripts, the collected data was coded into categories employing a computer-aided content analysis program Atlas.ti.

3.3.3.1 Qualitative content analysis

According to Krippendorff (2004, 18), qualitative content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts ... to the contexts of their use.” In other words, it aims to deliver a picture of a particular phenomenon that is always embedded within a given context. The centerpiece of this research technique is “the drawing on inferences” that are systematic, explicitly informed, and verifiable (Krippendorff 2004, 25). Moreover, the method not only analyzes the manifest content of the text, but also serves as a tool for inquiring into the latent features within the manifested text (Mayring 2010). By applying a system of rigorously defined rules to the analytical constructs, this technique allows researchers to come up with the answers to research questions by deriving them from the text. Such a rule-based approach serves as a guarantee that qualitative content analysis deals with empirical data systematically, and that analysis could be reproducible (Gläser and Laudel 1999).

The analytical constructs (the system of categories) that are placed in the center of analysis may be obtained in three ways: from existing theories or practices, through experience or knowledge of experts, or by means of previous research (Krippendorff 2004). At the same time, many content analysts rely on coding schemes devised by other researchers instead of developing their own (Domas White and Marsh 2006). Qualitative content analysis involves special procedures that allow for replication. Krippendorff (2004, 87) points out four basic components of these procedures that proponents of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis follow: “(1) sample text, in the sense of selecting what is relevant; (2) unitize text, in the sense of distinguishing words or propositions and using quotes or examples; (3) contextualize what they are reading in light of what they know about the circumstances surrounding the text; and (4) have specific research questions in mind”. Another advantage of content analysis is internal flexibility within research design and compatibility with other techniques employed in social research projects.

In the subsequent analysis, I followed the generalized framework for content analysis (Krippendorff 2004) and placed a particular emphasis on structuring the experts’ discourse content according to the key theoretically informed categories (Mayring 2010). I referred particularly to

methods of structuring content analysis in order to filter out certain content-oriented categories from the interview transcripts and organize them in a systemic way. For this purpose, the content of the collected data was restructured and analyzed in accordance with the applied categories systemized within the relevant coding schemes. There are several consecutive steps along which the qualitative content analysis procedure unfolded:

- (1) Determining the key categories within the main structural dimensions, based on theoretical background and the corresponding research questions (functions of PBAs and influencing factors). The transcripts were read at least 6 times in order to gain a better understanding of the context in which the text was originated prior to identification of the matching key categories.
- (2) Finding out different expressions for the key categories. The possible connotations of the key categories were identified from the prior literature review, expert consultations, and my personal professional experience, which made it possible to find not only the relevant explicit but also implicit statements in the transcripts.
- (3) Screening the transcripts for the key categories. The data was coded into units by assigning the statements in the text to the key conceptual categories. Units for content analysis were identified according to a combination of several kinds of distinctions (Krippendorff 2004): syntactical (natural unit in text: words, sentences, quotations, paragraphs, etc.), categorical (membership in a category), and propositional (semantic relations between conceptual components). After that, the dimensions of the techniques⁵⁶ of content analytical structuring and content analytical summary were established and the features of the system of categories were fixed. Subsequently, in order to ensure consistency, a coding scheme (system of categories) was formed on the basis of the formulated definitions, key examples, and agreed coding rules for separate categories. After the coding of the first 3 transcripts, the initial coding scheme was re-examined and revised. On the basis of the revised scheme, all of the transcripts were coded into the key categories using Atlas.ti.
- (4) Interpreting the units. After ordering of the data took place, the coding results were processed according to the content structuring analytical technique⁵⁷, the goal of which is to extract and summarize a particular content-focused structure from the material.
- (5) Portraying the selected results. The selected regularities and patterns were documented.

The greatest advantage of the latest version of Mayring's qualitative content analysis techniques lies in its strictly guiding methodology and analysis of data in a bit-by-bit manner. This content analysis methodology allows a researcher to start the theory-guided analysis with key categories that were determined deductively (Kruse 2011, 188). Then, in the course of the

⁵⁶ Depending on the research questions, Mayring (2010, 63-110) has put forward three distinct types of analytical procedures that could be carried out independently or in combination: "summary (paraphrasing the text and by abstraction or generalization creating a reduced body that reflects the original text), explication (explaining the text, clarifying it by narrow and broad context analysis and explicatory paraphrasing of a particular part of text is made back to the overall context), structuring (corresponding to the classical content analysis procedures and viewed as the most important content analysis technique that aims to filter out a certain structure from the text)".

⁵⁷ This step could be taken with different purposes, depending on the research concerns. Mayring (2010, 94-101) distinguishes between four alternative qualitative content analysis techniques: "formal structuring (reorganizing the data according to certain formal characteristics of the text, such as syntactic, semantic, thematic, etc.), typifying structuring (identifying the salient features in the data in order to generate a typology), scaling structuring (rating the data according to the certain dimensions of scale of intensity) and content structuring (extracting and compressing blocks of the data according to specific areas of content)".

analytical process, a category system could be refined closer to the text by extensive in-vivo coding, assisting with inductive inference. Thus, by following best practices in qualitative analysis, the analytical process consisted of deductive as well as inductive category building periods (Silverman 2010).

3.3.3.2 Development of the coding schemes

The most important part of the interview content analysis was devoted to addressing the research question “which societal functions do professional and business associations fulfill in Russia?” Subsequently, a research question was addressed: “Which driving forces stimulate or undermine the capability of professional and business associations to fulfill their missions in Russia?” The analysis was carried out in line with two main structural dimensions: the first on the functions, and the second on the factors. With regard to the main structural dimensions represented by the key categories, functions and factors respectively, two steps were taken in each case in identifying the subcategories and assigning them to the corresponding codes. Throughout both steps of data evaluation, the basic unit of analysis was defined as a notional statement, e.g. “everybody unites to protect their specific professional interests”; this stood for the key category function.

3.3.3.2.1 Coding scheme for the functions of PBAs

As a first step in the above procedure, the various statements were reduced to the key category by means of coding. At the next step, corresponding subcategories were developed for the key category so as to encapsulate, for example, the conceptualization of the main functions of NPOs as concisely as possible. To develop the coding scheme, I familiarized myself with the list of units derived from the previous research on NPO’s functions by Neumayr’s team (2007; 2009; 2010). I relied heavily upon this scheme for my own research purposes. Although the development of the coding scheme was to a certain extent a collaborative effort by the author and a volunteer research assistant, the analysis reported below is based on coding done for all transcripts by the researcher. It should also be noted that the developed system of categories played an important role in the selection of items for the confirmatory survey conducted at the next stage of the research project. Next, the development of the coding scheme is introduced for the first research question.

At the first stage of coding scheme development, it was necessary to generally define what constitutes the functions of the PBAs in Russia. Since it has already been stated in section 2.2 that it is hard to find in theory an adequate definition of the term “function”, I apply a definition given by Anheier (2005), introduced in section 2.2. These normal tasks that compose the key category “function” were operationalized by three subcategories: “goals”, “activities”, and “successes” of PBAs reported during the interviews (Neumayr 2010, 47). All of the subcategories were related to PBAs’ actions in Russia at various points of time (past, present, or future). The definitions, coding rules, and examples used for the identification of PBAs’ functions are outlined in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. The preliminary coding scheme for the identification of the category “functions of PBAs”

Subcategory	Definition	Coding rules	Key examples
Goals of PBAs	The fulfilment of the multi-dimensional value-based mission of the organization, which encompasses financial and non-financial measures, but not obtaining of increased profit.	Strategic as well as tactic measures (value orientation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>To support development of the small and medium business</i> • <i>Lobbying as a major goal</i> • <i>Confectioners became active in order to impose protective import duties</i> • <i>Formation of public opinion</i> • <i>Providing business services, which are more competitive to render together than separately</i>
Activities of PBAs	The broad scope of actions being undertaken on behalf of the organization by its employees, members or volunteers in pursuit of its goals.	Tasks formulated in abstract amorphous, as well as in concrete pragmatic terms (task orientation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Association should provide its members with substantive information</i> • <i>Attracting public attention</i> • <i>Discussion of the urgent problems at the specialized forum</i> • <i>Development of professional standards in law</i>
Successes of PBAs	The subjective evaluation of the achievements on certain issues, accomplished on behalf of the organization by its employees, members.	Achievements formulated in tangible as well as intangible ways (issue orientation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Succeeded opposition to hostile takeovers in the timber industry through a special State Duma Committee</i> • <i>Amendments to the current legislation have been passed</i> • <i>They were the first ones, who developed the educational standard for their industry</i> • <i>As a forum for communication and lobbying that has been achieved.</i>

Note: Adopted from Neumayr (2009)

Source: Russian PBA-Expert Interviews, 2011 (N=15).

In essence, the first stage of coding consisted of going through each interview, using the facilities of Atlas.ti to label statements according to the pre-designed coding rules and definitions. Based on the above-stated coding scheme, all of the interviews were coded in an incremental and iterative way, following the content analysis procedure presented earlier in section 3.3.3.1. In total, the screening of the transcripts for the key category of functions of PBAs resulted in 243 statements assigned to three sub-categories. The aggregated sub-categories formed a pool for the second stage of development of the system of categories.

The final stage of development of the coding scheme was conducted on the basis of the structural dimension of functions of PBAs. It was intended to answer the specific research question about which societal functions PBAs perform. The identification of the three major subcategories, Advocacy, Service Delivery, and Community Building, was grounded in both

theory and previous research, discussed in detail in chapter 2. All of the interviews were coded again in accordance with the same content analysis procedure, following the definitions and key examples shown in Table 3.2. It should be emphasised that for the final coding scheme an additional coding rule was adopted: each statement is assigned to only one of the three subcategories. In case of possible multiple interpretations for the allocation of statements, the latter was assigned to the most relevant subcategory. However, if one statement included mentioning of several subcategories, each part of the statement was treated as a sampling unit and assigned to the corresponding subcategory. At both stages of development of the system of categories, intercoder reliability was established by comparing scoring of two coders on a random sample of 25 statements across all of the subcategories, and disagreements in coding were resolved through discussion.

Table 3.2. The final coding scheme for the identification of the category “functions of PBAs”

Subcategory	Definition	Key examples
Advocacy	The wide scope of actions aimed at effecting change in political sphere by enforcing common rules. The first block of activities refers to intermediation and facilitation between citizens and state, as well as monitoring for state’s accountability. The second block of activities relates to expression of values, in general, and interest representation, in particular, in order to articulate the most urgent problems of the day, influence public agenda and press for changes in the state policy or corporate strategies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Associations are created first of all to lobby interests</i> • <i>Our association aims to improve the legal environment</i> • <i>From the perspective of the effective implementation of the government relations technologies, it [PBA] is probably the only working civil society institution</i> • <i>Here a pure representation of interests of only own group does not work; on the contrary, it is a kind of work addressed to the community at large</i> • <i>As an expert community it [PBA] seeks the ways to take part in setting public agenda</i>
Service delivery	All sorts of market and nonmarket transactions, aimed at rendering of goods or services, which implicitly or explicitly include the economic component in them. These goods and services could be funded either by the members’ contributions, or through other public or private sources. These outputs take the form of private, club, quasi-public or public goods.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>They [PBAs] are a very important information provider for their members. Nobody can get it anywhere else</i> • <i>There should be established an ongoing working process, through committees, working groups, different meetings. In order to fill in with substance the real working plan of the association</i> • <i>At least by means of formulating common positions</i> • <i>Preparing analytical reports for those who have already joined the community</i>

Community building	All activities that are directed towards building common norms and enhancing social capital. That is, generating and consolidating social solidarity, mutual trust and interrelations both within communities, and between individuals and organizations. This occurs in two distinctive ways. Through informal bonding social capital that stands for greater in-group cohesion. And formal bridging social capital, which refers to fostering integration across different networks.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>They [members] need a place for common meetings, communication and networking</i> • <i>It is true that owners like to network with each other</i> • <i>We have a gathering that pays money for this gathering</i> • <i>Establishing educational programs, certain standards and so on</i> • <i>They [PBA] were the first ones, who developed the educational standard for their industry</i> • <i>It seems to me that creation of such codes [of ethics] is already a sign of certain maturity</i>
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Note: Adopted from Neumayr (2009),
Source: Russian PBA-Expert Interviews, 2011 (N=15)

The completion of the final coding scheme for the identification of the category “functions of PBAs” was a starting point for the subsequent structural content analysis. Further, on the basis of the findings reported in chapter 4, a quantitative analysis of the relative importance of functions of PBAs was carried out. It was based on the assumption that the number of identified functions corresponds to the significance of these functions to PBAs.

3.3.3.2.2 Coding scheme for the factors influencing achievement of PBAs’ missions

In this section, development of the coding scheme for the second research question on the factors influencing fulfilment of PBAs’ missions is introduced. The development of the system of categories used here followed alternately the deductive and the inductive analytical approaches, going back and forth between consideration of theory and data as an element of theoretical contextualization in the analytical process. As a point of departure for the development of the coding scheme, a general definition of factors affecting activities of PBAs in Russia was given. In this context “influencing factors” are factors that are extraneous to or inherent in the process of PBAs’ activities and have a significant influence over them. Since the environment in which PBAs function is too complex to fully identify and consider all influencing factors, only two of its dimensions were chosen to reduce the level of complexity. The category influencing factors was operationalized by two subcategories: “driving forces” and “hindering forces” that affect activities of PBAs, as they were reported in the expert interviews. The factors influencing the activities of PBAs are variable in time, but all take place within the specific context of transition Russia. Table 3.3 shows the definitions, coding rules, and examples used for the identification of factors influencing successful achievement of PBAs’ missions.

Table 3.3. The preliminary coding scheme for the identification of the category “factors influencing accomplishment of PBAs’ missions”

Subcategory	Definition	Coding rules	Key examples
Driving factors	Forces that cause observable positive changes in achievement of PBAs’ missions.	Items formulated positively with varying degrees of explicitness in temporal, spatial, and institutional terms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Everything depends on the priorities set up by the state</i> • <i>The process of activity itself</i> • <i>Money paid by members</i> • <i>Strong staff</i> • <i>Creative potential of the youth</i>
Hindering factors	Forces that cause observable negative changes in achievement of PBAs’ missions.	Items formulated negatively with varying degrees of explicitness in temporal, spatial, and institutional terms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Difficulties in coordination of conflicting interests</i> • <i>Over-centralization of the state</i> • <i>Associations are not perceived by members as something serious</i> • <i>Absence of legislation on lobbying</i> • <i>Lack of cooperation and trust among people and organizations</i>

Source: Russian PBA-Expert Interviews, 2011 (N=15)

Just like with the first coding scheme, the second preliminary coding scheme involved undergoing each interview on the basis of Atlas.ti software to identify and label statements, in accordance with the predefined definitions and coding rules. All interviews were coded using the coding scheme outlined above, relying on the content analytical procedure indicated in section 3.3.3.1. As a result of screening of the transcript for the category factors influencing mission fulfilment by PBAs, 240 statements were assigned to two sub-categories, of which 80 statements referred to the driving forces and twice as many – 160 – to the hindering forces. These sub-categories in an aggregated way formed a basis for the second stage of building the system of categories for the driving and hindering forces.

For the development of the final coding scheme, a summary content analytical technique was first applied in order to build sub-categories for the factors influencing activities of PBAs. Further, the technique of content analytical structuring, supplemented by in vivo codes, was applied to distinguish between the individual factors. The three major subcategories – “Public and political factors”, “Socio-economic factors”, and “Governance factors” – were identified inductively. Moreover, key themes informing three major subcategories are linked to the framework of institutional embeddedness of PBAs discussed in chapter 2. This analytical approach was adopted because the study of influencing factors is problem-focused, and in practice it is not constrained by any specific framework or method (Bürgi, Hersperger, and Schneeberger 2004). For instance, in the environmental studies, researchers (Brandt, Primdahl, and Reenberg 1999) identify five types of driving forces that influence change: socioeconomic, political,

technological, natural, and cultural⁵⁸. Even though the three subcategories identified in the present study closely resemble this theoretical model (“Governance factors” correspond to the technological and cultural driving forces, while natural forces are not relevant for the nonprofit studies), there are certain difficulties associated with its application. They arise since real-life phenomena are complex and problematic to categorize. Often notions behind the identified subcategories represent different aspects of the same phenomenon. It is especially clear in the case of the socio-economic and political factors, which represent important but closely interlinked factors since socio-economic needs are stated in public policy and laws. With respect to the governance factors, the technological component manifested in the management tools is an important relevant factor for the current study, while its cultural component, being the hardest to examine, usually remains vague.

Transcripts for all of the interviews were coded once again on the basis of the content analysis procedure, outlined in section 3.3.3.1, in accordance with the definitions and key examples presented in Table 3.4. Each subcategory included both driving and hindering forces. In order to address the difficulties with categorization, an additional coding rule was adopted for the final coding scheme: each statement is assigned to only one of the three subcategories. Should there be multiple interpretations for the assignment of statements, the dilemma was solved by allocating the statement to the most relevant subcategory, determined by the discursive content. If several subcategories were mentioned in one statement, each part of the statement was regarded as an individual sampling unit and assigned to the appropriate subcategory. For both stages of the development of the system of categories, intercoder reliability was established by comparing scoring of two coders on a random sample of 25 statements across all of the subcategories, and disagreements in coding were resolved through discussion.

Table 3.4. The final coding scheme for the identification of the category “factors influencing accomplishment of PBAs’ missions”

Subcategory	Definition	Key examples
Public and political factors	<p>A broad spectrum of forces, partly of public, partly of political nature, which are extraneous to or inherent in the process of PBAs’ activities.</p> <p>External factors are defined as factors caused by the power of the government (local, regional or federal) to set policy and install collectively binding formal rules or keep existing informal practices in the public arena and political sphere, which are manifested in the political discourse.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The state could be regarded as a driving force. It has an interest. We understand under the state a whole range of sector-specific ministries.</i> • <i>There are positive ways [of interaction] for independent associations. For instance, a minister may offer on his own behalf support to the association’s projects. And if the promise is kept, the association starts to listen to his recommendations and inquiries.</i> • <i>At the same time, a threat that if one is not going to influence upon these conditions, one will suffer from them. That is why it works as a trigger, to accurately advocate the own interests</i>

⁵⁸ They also strongly resemble PEST (political, economic, socio-cultural and technological) analysis in management.

	<p>The internal factors refer to the capacity of PBA, as an intermediary actor, to interact and communicate with the government on its public policy or participate in the political process through the relevant discursive practices.</p>	<p><i>in a defensive response.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Apparently there are opportunities for self-organization and nobody really opposes, but nobody really cares.</i> • <i>If there is no political process, business associations cannot function properly, if they lobby and not simply offer business services.</i> • <i>In Russia they [PBAs] are not fulfilling the function of advocating for narrow interests. On the contrary, they correct underdeveloped political system.</i> • <i>In the context of inequality of civil society, missing legislation on lobbying, they [PBAs] start to fulfill functions that are not natural for them.</i>
<p>Socio-economic factors</p>	<p>A set of forces, of social or economic nature, which are either extraneous to or inherent in the process of PBAs' activities.</p> <p>The factors from the outer world are expressed through the relevant social or economic discourse in society, which reflects development of social capital and functioning of markets in relation to PBAs' activities.</p> <p>The inside factors are constructed and communicated by the socio-economic discourse, which refers to the material and nonmaterial assets of PBAs and influences their ability to accomplish their missions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Reputation [of PBAs] is of key importance, since all strong associations are well-known by the government, for instance.</i> • <i>Size of budget. Besides, budgets could be membership-based, as well as state-based, for instance, various subsidies, R&D or grants.</i> • <i>One of the factors, I would say, strongly correlates with the economic dynamics, with the development of a certain sector and the role of state in development of this sector.</i> • <i>Also what hinders is that not all people in the sector understand the value of associations. Often it is due to the internal competition, or when they cannot separate, when their interests match together or not.</i> • <i>Pressure from the large capital and total vulnerability of the small and medium business, makes the situation worse.</i> • <i>We have problems with morale and trust in society. There is no interpersonal trust and no trust among organizations.</i> • <i>They [members of PBAs] get together, discuss something, drink at least together. But there is no collective action, as such.</i>

<p>Governance factors</p>	<p>A set of forces, of technological or cultural nature, which are either extraneous to or inherent in the process of PBAs' activities.</p> <p>The extrinsic factors involve instrumental and cultural forces, depicted in the relevant discourse, that shape achievement of PBAs' missions.</p> <p>The intrinsic factors are represented by the managerial discourse, which relates to the hard aspects (technologies) and soft issues (culture) of the PBAs' governance model.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>There should be a smooth working process. Through committees, working groups, various meetings. So that the working plan of association would be full of content.</i> • <i>A lot depends on the concrete people, who assume the lead in associations.</i> • <i>If association exists for 10-15 years, it survived during this time, it is needed, it has proved its sustainability.</i> • <i>The capability to generate ideas and attract members, so that members would see these new opportunities, including those for cooperation with the state.</i> • <i>Such a driving force could be availability of team, people and resources.</i> • <i>When a goal is achieved, as soon as enemy is no longer there, association starts to work so-so.</i> • <i>We were not able to reach a consensus [among members of PBA].</i> • <i>There was an interest to get together, but absolutely no interest to raise funds [among members of PBA].</i> • <i>Personnel, professional education and retaining of staff. There are not enough specialists. Often companies are headhunting staff from associations, if a person showed good results.</i> • <i>Rotation of leaders should be more common.</i>
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Source: Russian PBA-Expert Interviews, 2011 (N=15)

The final coding scheme developed for the category “factors influencing activities of PBAs” enabled me to conduct a further structural content analysis. The findings reported in chapter 4 were used to develop items for the subsequent analysis of driving and hindering forces influencing activities of PBAs in the quantitative confirmatory stage of the study.

3.4 Confirmatory survey design

In order to increase the viability of research design, both qualitative and quantitative data were used in the study. The original empirical data was collected from interviews with leading experts on associational life and triangulated by the quantitative assessments from the surveyed associations across Russia. The integrated model of the functions of PBAs along with the framework of PBAs' societal embeddedness as adapted in the exploratory stage were quantitatively validated at this confirmatory stage.

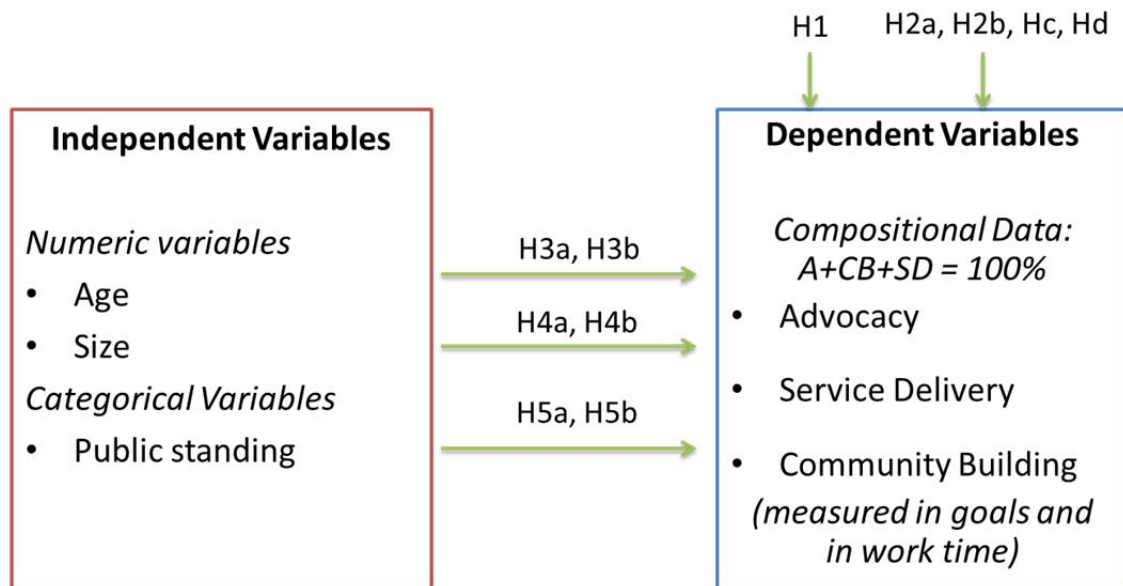
3.4.1 Development of hypotheses

In the preceding chapter, two theoretical frameworks were introduced on the composition of PBA functions, as well as PBAs' embeddedness in the transition environment of Russia. In order to provide for quantitative validation of the applied integrated model of the functions of PBAs in Russia, appropriate measures are specified and subjected to hypothesis testing. The major underlying assumptions of the study are that PBAs are multi-functional, and that the composition of functions that they perform is determined by their key organizational characteristics (age and size) and their public standing towards the state. Thus, the hypotheses that derive from the previous review of literature and empirical studies are the following:

1. PBAs in Russia are multi-functional, contributing simultaneously to three major subfields of society: political, economic, and communitarian.
 - H1: PBAs in Russia simultaneously fulfill three major functions: advocacy, service delivery, and community building.
2. The relative importance of the composition of functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – differs for PBAs in Russia.
 - H2a: Advocacy is the most important function for PBAs in Russia, when measured in organizational goals.
 - H2b: Advocacy is the most important function for PBAs in Russia, when measured in work time.
 - H2c: Service delivery is the second most important function for PBAs in Russia, when measured in organizational goals.
 - H2d: Service delivery is the second most important function for PBAs in Russia, when measured in work time.
3. The composition of functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – performed by PBAs in Russia is influenced by the age of an organization.
 - H3a: Age of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in organizational goals.
 - H3b: Age of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in work time.
4. The composition of functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – performed by PBAs in Russia is influenced by the size of an organization.
 - H4a: Size of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in organizational goals.
 - H4b: Size of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in work time.
5. The composition of functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – performed by PBAs in Russia is influenced by the public standing of an organization towards the state.
 - H5a: The public standing of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in organizational goals.
 - H5b: The public standing of an organization influences the distribution of the relative importance of PBAs' functions, when measured in work time.

Figure 3.1 shows a schematic drawing of the hypotheses.

Figure 3.1. Schematic overview of the hypotheses for the study



3.4.2 Analysis strategy

The multi-functional nature of PBAs is explored through analysis of the compositional data, which was collected by means of a survey. The descriptive statistics on the composition of PBAs' functions, measured in two different scales, allows me to show whether these organizations are simultaneously fulfilling all three functions: advocacy, community building, and service delivery.

To demonstrate the relative importance of the functions that PBAs perform, I calculated the means of the three functions, measured in two different ways over the sample, clustered in distinct types of PBAs. For testing differences in function fulfillment between different types of PBAs, I apply the nonparametric tests (Kruskal-Wallis for comparing between 3 samples and Mann-Whitney for comparing between 2 samples) since the variables in the sample on the relative importance of the service, advocacy, and community building functions are not distributed normally. This method allows me to identify whether significant differences between different types of PBAs come out.

A Dirichlet multi-variable regression method is further used for modelling compositional data on functions of PBAs. This method presents components as a percentage of a total (Maier 2014). The application of this model helps to assess the effects of covariates (organizational size, organizational age, public standing towards the state) on the relative contributions of different components of a measure (functions of PBAs). These three explanatory variables were available from the survey and were selected for further analysis on the basis of the previous literature review.

Further, I turn to analysis of descriptive statistics on the factors driving and hindering mission accomplishment by PBAs. The quantitative data are analyzed based on the assumption that organizations are creatures of their environments. This analysis relies on the literature

introduced in chapter 2. In the discussion section, I summarize the findings of both qualitative and quantitative stages of the study. The results of the third form of measurement of functions, which also proceeded from the conceptual framework on the functions of NPOs as presented in chapter 2, are introduced and discussed. All findings are contextualized thanks to evidence from the interviews on the key directions of PBAs' activities, their goals, and their successes. These interviews allowed me to gain a better understanding of the way the functions are performed.

3.4.3 Specification of the applied measures

In the following section, the measures applied on the basis of the preceding literature review and the selected operationalization approach are discussed.

3.4.3.1 Dependent variables: composition of PBAs' functions as a central unit of analysis

Neumayr's (2009; 2010) works combined a robust theoretical framework on functions of NPOs with a convincing empirical operationalization in the developed and transition context. Since this constitutes the only systematic approach to measuring functions of NPOs, it has served as a major reference point for the current study. As the present research focuses on studying and measuring the composition of functions performed by different types of PBAs by means of a quantitative survey, the corresponding organizational data was collected to test hypotheses from H1 to H5. In this regard the use of compositional data is the preferred approach since this "nonnegative proportions with unit sum" (Hijazi and Jernigan 2009) could be analysed using log-ratio analysis to model compositional data, as introduced by Aitchison (1982, 1986). To implement Aitchison's method, I use R package DirichletReg for compositional data analysis (Maier 2014). The advantage of Dirichlet regression models is that they can be applied to "analyse a set of variables lying in a bounded interval that sum up to a constant (e.g., proportions, rates, compositions, etc.) exhibiting skewness and heteroscedasticity, without having to transform the data" (Maier 2014, 1). Moreover, the framework, similar to the generalized linear model, is set up through application of appropriate link-functions, which allow analysing compositional data in a straightforward way since interpretation is analogous to the familiar multinomial logistic regression. The alternative parametrization is used, which allows for modelling 'means' and 'dispersion' in the Dirichlet distribution; therefore heteroscedasticity is explicitly taken into account (Maier 2014).

In order to get a comprehensive picture of the composition of functions – service, advocacy, and community building – that PBAs fulfil, three separate survey questions were presented on the basis of the Austrian-Czech NPO-Study. The findings reported in the next chapter are based on three different approaches to measure fulfillment of the PBAs' functions. For each of the approaches, corresponding indicators were developed that enabled measuring all three functions and their relative importance. A particular common mode of operationalization was used in all three cases, where one or more indicators for each of the functions of PBAs were used to measure the composition and relative importance of functions performed by PBAs. In order to better interpret the findings, each of three approaches was supported by visualization of the findings through corresponding plots and drawings.

3.4.3.1.1 Subjective approach to measuring the composition of functions of PBAs in organizational goals

The first approach to measuring PBAs' functions used organizational goals as indicators that correspond to three major functions of PBAs. It was based on a rather subjective evaluation of the importance of organizational goals. The items for the operationalization of each function were replicated from the qualitative part of the Austrian-Czech NPO-Study with regard to PBAs as a particular type of NPO. Only a minor change in formulation of the statement about advocacy was undertaken; the other two statements about service delivery and community building were identical to the statements used in Neumayr's study (2010). The corresponding question in the survey tool consisted of 3 pre-stated statements about organizational goals, each relating to one of the three functions – service delivery, advocacy, and community building:

- “We are providing services.”
- “We are representing our member's interests.”
- “We are bringing people together.”

Respondents were asked to indicate the relative importance of the individual statements by allocating 100 points between the three statements, giving more points to goals with higher priorities. An overall score for each of the three functions was calculated as a mean value of the sum of the corresponding individual values for each function. To examine the relative importance of each function, the composing aggregate mean values of three functions were taken. This measure of the relative importance of functions is applied to describe the composition and relative importance of service delivery, advocacy, and community building that PBAs perform in Russia.

3.4.3.1.2 Objective approach to measuring the composition of functions of PBAs in work time

The second approach to operationalization focused on work time allocated to the fulfillment of each of the functions as a corresponding indicator. Here I applied a more objective evaluation of work time assigned to PBAs' functions. The items for the operationalization of each function were adopted from the quantitative part of the Austrian-Czech NPO-Study with regard to PBAs as a particular type of NPO. However, in contrast to Neumayr's study (2010), no extended list of ten items corresponding to three different functions of NPOs was used; rather, only five key categories relevant for PBAs were applied in order to make the choice for the respondents easier. These five relevant categories included service delivery, community building, policy advocacy, public relations, and administration. The respondents were asked to indicate what percentage of the overall work time was spread between several fields of activities. The sum of percentages totalled 100% of work time. Only time worked by paid employees was considered; volunteers were neglected due to their relatively small number in Russian PBAs, and due to difficulties associated with measuring their involvement. The range offered consisted of five fields of activities, each of which had a list of reference categories. The fields were the following:

- Service delivery to membership and society at large: providing specialized information and analytical data, developing and diffusing innovations;

- Community building: conducting events, making rankings, providing social and psychological rewards, regulating behaviour through codes of ethics and professional standards corresponded to the community building function;
- Policy advocacy: supporting democratic processes by contributing to the passage of legislation, serving as intermediaries between the state and individual members;
- Public relations: promoting agenda by influencing public opinion;
- Administration: planning, fundraising, accounting, HR management, reporting.

The first two categories from this list corresponded to the service delivery and community building functions. The third and fourth categories were used to measure two aspects of the advocacy function, which were further analysed both separately and aggregately. The last category was used to reflect on the realistic character of activities of PBAs that include administrative work and functionally specialized activities. However, the administration category was further neglected in order to make the first two approaches to measuring functions of PBAs comparable. For this reason only three categories, corresponding to the service delivery, community building, and advocacy, were calculated as making 100% of work time of PBAs.

Since paid staff traditionally prevail in PBAs in a transition country, it is appropriate to neglect volunteers in measuring functions (Mersiyanova 2010). An overall score for each of the three indicators was calculated as a mean value of the sum of the corresponding individual values for each function. In order to examine the relative importance of the three functions, the corresponding percentages on each of the function fulfillment were summarized and the relative shares were assigned to the respected functions calculated. It implies that 100% of work time, measured in terms of work time dedicated to fulfilment of functions, depicts the composition of functions and the relative share that PBAs assign to each of the three functions.

3.4.3.1.3 Verifying approach to measuring the composition of functions of PBAs in KPIs

The third verification approach to measuring functions of PBAs was developed to check the actual indicators used to evaluate the performance of this type of NPO. It applied the ranking of 12 key performance indicators, each corresponding to one of the functions of PBAs; these were derived inductively from the qualitative stage of the study. Table 3.5 shows a list of 12 KPIs, broken down into three groups, containing from 3 to 6 indicators for each of the functions of PBAs.

Table 3.5. KPIs corresponding to the functions of PBAs

Advocacy Function (6 items)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of organized public events • Quantity of the successfully implemented law-making initiatives • Quantity of working meetings with the relevant government officials • Media coverage of organizational activities (press, TV, radio, internet, etc.) • Positive feedback from the local population (web-site, social networks, etc.) • Grants received from the Russian state
Service Delivery Function (3 items)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantity of the published analytical publications • Amount of services rendered to members • Funds raised for ad-hoc projects from sponsors

Community Building Function (3 items)

- Number of active members involved in organizational activities
 - Budget revenues from membership dues
 - Number of permanent working groups, commissions and committees
-

In order to compute a comparative index, the individual values for each of the ranks (from 1 to 12) derived from the cross-tabulation tables were weighted across all three groups of PBAs. Then all individual values for each of the ranks were multiplied by a corresponding factor (from 12 to 1) in order to convert the scale of importance in the reverse order, where 12 corresponds to the most important indicator and 1 to the least important indicator. After that, an average value for each indicator across all weighted ranking values was calculated. This third way of measuring functions of PBAs was intended to extend and check the first two approaches to operationalization of PBAs' functions. It was developed to better interpret the findings of the first two modes of operationalization. It serves as additional descriptive material, rather than a further statistical confirmation.

3.4.3.2 Independent variables: age, size, public standing

According to formulated hypotheses H3 (a,b), H4 (a,b), and H5 (a,b), there are a number of independent variables which were operationalized. The first two of them – organizational age and size – represented continuous variables, while the last one – an organization's public standing – referred to categorical variables.

- **Age of organization.** In the transition context, organizational age is one of the most important indicators that enable judgments on the viability of PBAs' activities. This organizational characteristic is of central importance in determining the composition of functions performed by PBAs. Organizational age is a continuous variable that is easily obtained and suitable for statistical analysis; it was calculated from the first questionnaire question regarding the year the organization was founded. The unit of measurement for this variable is the year.
- **Size of organization.** Organizational size is another important indicator for the evaluation of PBAs' activities in transition countries. The composition of functions that PBAs fulfill is examined in relation to the size of organization. In the nonprofit management literature, the organizational size variable usually takes the form of the number of full-time employees in an NPO (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004). Since in Russia over two thirds (82%) of NPOs' staff is represented by full-time employees (Mersiyanova 2010), it is appropriate that this measure of organizational size does not take into account volunteers. This continuous variable was measured by asking the respondents to indicate the approximate number of full-time employees working for their organization.
- **Organization's public standing.** Since relationships with the state are considered to be of primary importance for the ability of PBAs to fulfill their functions in the transition context, the public standing of PBAs toward the state had to be examined. The state in Russia is perceived as a key societal actor, involved in structuring all societal structures

(Ljubownikow, Crotty, and Rodgers 2013). On the foundation of this theoretically and empirically grounded proposition, the respondents were asked to evaluate the character of their organizational activities in relation to existing societal structures. They were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale their public standing towards the state, as either “supporting”, “undermining”, or “providing alternative” societal structures (Tschirhart 2006, 524). For the statistical analysis of this categorical variable, the 5-point Likert scale was converted into the 3-point Likert scale, grouping together two positive (strongly agree and agree) and two negative (disagree, strongly disagree) answers and leaving without changes the “do not know” option.

3.4.3.3 Control variable: types of PBAs

Since the landscape of associations in Russia is not fully structured yet, in the framework of the present study an empirical typology of PBAs was developed and used as a compound control variable. The typology was constructed as a result of the two-step cluster analysis on the basis of continuous and categorical variables. This method, available in SPSS, was chosen for classifying the PBAs as membership-based organizations according to their key organizational characteristics because the software determines the number of clusters automatically (Nasledov 2011). In order to make a more precise classification, it was decided to use most of the demographic data on PBAs collected through the survey. To run the two-step cluster analysis, seven variables were chosen, two of which were continuous (organizational age and size, already presented in the previous section) and five were categorical variables. I now briefly outline the applied categorical variables.

- **Type of collective mutual benefit entity.** On the basis of the literature review of empirical studies on PBAs in Russia, extended by the findings of the qualitative part of the current study, a preliminary classification of this type of NPO was developed. It distinguishes between professional societies, sector-specific industry associations, and multi-sector associations. The respondents were asked to identify the type of collective mutual benefit union to which their organizational activities correspond. Since not all of the respondents were able to assign their activities to only one type of association, the preliminary classification had to be further adjusted.
- **Fields of organizational activity.** The most important characteristic of PBAs is the field of their activities. Since PBAs simultaneously fulfill multiple tasks, it was assumed that their activities are very heterogeneous. On the basis of a desk-study of secondary information on the Russian online registers of organizations, a classification of fields of activities was developed. It reflects the specifics of the Russian for-profit and non-profit organizations and represents three major areas of activities. The first area consists of public sector activities, which includes 11 categories: security, health and medicine, culture and art, science and research, education, law, facilitating business and entrepreneurship, sports, housing and communal services, and environment and ecology. The second area represents service activities, which are listed under 14 categories: audit and accounting, banking and finance, information technologies, consulting, real estate, hotel-restaurants-tourism, valuation, telecommunications, media business, insurance, household services, trade, transportation, and legal services. The third area covers extraction and production

activities, which were indicated through 12 categories: agriculture, agricultural processing, machine building and production of equipment, metallurgy, food-processing industry, FMCG, oil and gas, construction and development, extraction of resources, pharmaceutical industry, chemical industry, and energy. In order to examine the specific organizational activities, respondents were asked to select the fields of activities that best describe the specifics of their organizational work. In an effort to make further analysis more observable, multiple answers on the fields of activities were rearranged into four larger relevant groups by the Multiple Response command in SPSS. In other words, the PBAs were automatically assigned to one of the four groups according to their self-identification; the groups were identified by judgment on the basis of the three overarching groups of activities used in the classification and distribution of answers to the question on the type of collective mutual benefit entities. These four groups of activities were identified as liberal professional (health and medicine, culture and art, science and research, education), brokerage (facilitating business and entrepreneurship), industrial (agriculture, agricultural processing, machine building and production of equipment, metallurgy, food-processing industry, FMCG, oil and gas, construction and development, extraction of resources, pharmaceutical industry, chemical industry and energy), and trade and services (audit and accounting, banking and finance, information technologies, consulting, real estate, hotel-restaurants-tourism, valuation, telecommunications, media business, insurance, household services, trade, transportation and legal services, sports, environment and ecology, security, housing and communal services, law). Moreover, for the cluster analysis an additional variable on the distribution of fields of activities was used; it consisted of three groups, in which trade and services and industrial groups were merged together since they all represented business-related fields of activities, while liberal professional and brokerage activities were kept without any changes.

- **Basis for membership.** One of the key distinctive features that determines the activities of any association is the nature of its membership. A distinction between voluntary and compulsory membership is critical for comprehension of the way PBAs are governed in the transition context. Since the basis for membership is stipulated by law in any given country, the respondents had to indicate, whether their activities are based on voluntary membership or members have to participate on a compulsory basis.
- **Organizational governance structure.** Organizational governance structure is another important characteristic that shows how activities of PBAs are organized in terms of management strategy and geographical presence. With reference to both the findings of the qualitative stage of the study and an additional desk-study of the web-sites of PBAs from the sample for the quantitative study, the most frequent forms of governance structures, varying from autonomous (with regional offices or without them) to centralized structures (headquarters) were identified. They included autonomous organizations without affiliates, central head organization, and representative office (affiliate) of a head organization. The respondents had to choose which of these three forms corresponds to their governance structure.

By using the cluster analysis, I have classified 215 organizations (apart from 40 organizations excluded due to missing answers) into three well-separated and homogeneous

subtypes (clusters) with similar demographic profiles. Since the estimation of the optimal number of clusters is the major challenge in cluster analysis, it was determined to be three, based on trial and error by running the algorithm for different combinations of variables. On the one hand, such an approach ensured that consistent differentiation in the data set was produced, showing distinct combinations of characteristics in the emerged natural groupings. On the other hand, an adequate size of clusters has been achieved. The size of the largest cluster, of business associations (cluster 1), was 48% of the overall number of the clustered PBAs; the second largest cluster, of liberal professional societies (cluster 2), was of 30; and the smallest cluster, of intermediary unions (cluster 3), was of 22%. The cluster profiles, represented through centroids for the continuous variables and frequencies for the categorical variables, are shown in Appendix 3, entitled “Results of statistical analysis”. Table 3.6 provides an overview of the dominant characteristics for each of the three types of PBAs derived from the cluster analysis.

Table 3.6. Types of PBAs in Russia

Characteristic/Type of PBAs	Business associations	Intermediary unions	Liberal professional societies
Field of organizational activity	Real sector of economy & services	Supporting business and entrepreneurship	Culture, healthcare, science and education
Type of collective mutual benefit entity	Industry association / Professional society	Multi-sector association	Professional society
Age of organization (years)	Youth	Adulthood	Maturity
Size of organization (employees)	Small	Average	Very Small
Basis for membership	Voluntary / Compulsory	Voluntary	Voluntary
Organizational governance structure	Autonomous / Centralized	Autonomous / Centralized	Centralized

Source: Adopted with minor changes from Ivanova (2013), N=175.

Business associations unite representatives of the real sector of the economy and professional service provider, which has been reflected in the dualistic self-identification of these associations. Organizations in the business associations cluster claim to be either professional societies (53%) or count themselves as sector-specific industry associations (47%). Out of the three identified types of PBA, business associations are the youngest ones; their average age does not exceed 10 years. In terms of organizational size, this type of PBA is rather small, having on

average thirteen full-time employees on the payroll. This is the only type of PBA with a prevailing voluntary membership (78% of the examined business associations), which is being contested by the emerging compulsory membership⁵⁹. The latter development was caused by the Federal Law on Self-Regulated Organizations, introduced in 2007, which enabled self-regulation in such fields as auditing, evaluation, advertising, architectural engineering, heat supply, and law. For attorneys, association membership has been compulsory since the reintroduction of the profession in post-Soviet Russia. The activities of business associations are characterized by high autonomy and centralization of the governance structure. This is indicated by the fact that almost half (49%) of the examined representatives of this type of PBA are set up as autonomous organizations without any regional affiliates, while 42% represent a central head organization.

Intermediary unions consist of federated umbrella associations, all of which clearly identify themselves as multi-sector associations that encourage development of national business and entrepreneurship. The average age of this type of organization amounts to 15 years. However, some of the regional offices of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry claim to have reached the age of 49 years, which speaks to their perception of themselves as direct successors of the system of chambers of commerce and foreign trade offices of the USSR. According to the number of employees in the bureaucratic apparatus (20 persons on average), the examined intermediary unions take a leading position in comparison with other types of PBA. This could be explained by the fact that IUs often serve as an “outlet for declassé state functionaries” in post-communist countries (Boychuk 2007, 209). Membership within intermediary unions is entirely voluntary. With relation to the governance structure, the examined intermediary unions are characterized by the combination of centralized and autonomous structures. Among the surveyed organizations most frequently occurring are regional affiliates (48%), followed by autonomous organizations (30%) and centralized head organizations (23%).

Liberal professional societies consolidate representatives of culture, healthcare, science, and education. These associations, with a clear-cut self-identification of professional societies (98%), consist of members of liberal professions, most of whom simultaneously represent public-sector employees. They are the most mature organizations with an average age of 34 years, but some of the organizations date back to pre-revolutionary imperial Russia. By the number of fulltime employees, this type of PBA is the smallest since most of the organizations have little or no paid staff, amounting to three persons on average. Membership in the liberal professional societies is completely voluntary. Among this type of PBA, centralized governance structure prevails, which is illustrated by the fact that 64% of liberal professional societies are set up as regional affiliates.

A cross-tabulation procedure was employed in order to further illustrate the relationship between the identified types of PBA and such organizational features as types of membership that PBAs provide and the territorial span of their activities. I used the SPSS statistical package to

⁵⁹ Since according to the defining characteristics of nonprofit organizations (Salamon and Anheier 1997a) compulsory membership contradicts the voluntary membership criteria, this type of PBA does not meet the formal requirements of being considered an NPO. However, according to Russian legislation (Law on Self-Regulated Organizations No 315-FZ dated 04.12.2007), self-regulated organizations are treated as a legitimate type of nonprofit organization. Even though membership in such self-regulated organizations is compulsory, potential members have a right to choose which self-regulated organizations they want to join. Thus there is an element of voluntary involvement, which enables me to include in the analysis business associations with compulsory membership.

perform statistical analysis for these additional variables (see Appendix 3, part 2 for details). For the majority of both business associations (77%) and intermediary unions (86%), collective membership is a preferred type of member's association with a PBA. Individual membership is the most frequently occurring type of membership for liberal professional associations (96%) in comparison to business associations (53%) and intermediary unions (63%), in which it is found significantly less frequently. Honorary membership is not widely accepted for all types of PBA, with a single exception of liberal professional societies (24%). Associative membership is more common for intermediary unions (37%) and business associations (24%). In terms of territorial span, the vast majority of the examined intermediary unions (67%) and liberal professional associations (69%) are active within one region. In contrast to them, more than half of the surveyed business associations are working at the federal (36%) or interregional (26%) levels, and only slightly more than a quarter (27%) of them are present at the regional level.

3.4.3.4 Descriptive variables: driving and hindering forces

The analysis of factors influencing fulfillment of PBAs' missions could only be performed on the basis of the descriptive statistics derived from the survey. The factors that either hinder or facilitate the successful achievement of PBAs' missions were identified during the first explorative stage of the study. The concept of PBAs as products of their institutional environment was applied as a theoretical framework for the interpretation of the results of the confirmatory study. On the basis of the findings of the exploratory study, all influencing factors were categorized as driving or hindering factors and assigned to three groups: public and political, governance factors, and socio-economic factors. All of the factors represent categorical variables.

- *Driving forces.* The following three groups of factors were identified during the first part of the empirical study as contributing to successful achievement of PBAs' missions:
 - The group of public and political factors includes:
 - *Close ties with the government officials*
 - *Official support from the state*
 - *Organizational visibility in the media*
 - *Transparency and accountability (web-site, social networks, publication of annual report)*
 - *External threat to common interests.*
 - The group of governance factors consists of:
 - *Management competencies of the head of association*
 - *Effective executive team*
 - *Valid honorary governing body (board of directors)*
 - *Aggregation of the field-specific information*
 - *Innovation through knowledge transfer*
 - *Sustainable funding raised from various sources (membership dues, grants and subsidies from the state, sponsorship)*
 - *List of members*
 - *Annual plan of activities (evidence of the ongoing working process)*
 - *Capacity to effectively coordinate members' interests.*
 - The group of socio-economic factors is composed of:
 - *Ability to sustain competition against similar organizations in the field, especially foreign*
 - *Reputation of the organization*

- *Public acknowledgement (awards, rankings)*
- *Establishment of professional standards*
- *Operation of certification programs.*

The respondents were asked to evaluate how these factors facilitate successful achievement of their organizational missions. They were asked to rate the answers on a 5-point Likert scale, as either “strongly facilitating”, “facilitating”, “rather not facilitating”, “not facilitating”, or “do not know”. The statistical analysis of this categorical variable was conducted through converting the scale in order to simplify and better interpret all the peculiarities of the answers.

- *Hindering forces.* The following three groups of factors were identified during the first part of the empirical study as impeding successful achievement of PBAs’ missions:
 - The group of public and political factors includes:
 - *Low level of political culture in the country*
 - *Preference for solving problems behind-the-scenes – tet-a-tet with the state*
 - *Common attitude among the officials ‘I have what I protect’*
 - *Lack of legislation on lobbying*
 - *Overregulation of the third sector in Russia*
 - *Passivity of the citizens in self-organization and self-regulation*
 - *Weak position of the third sector as an intermediary organ between the state and society.*
 - The group of governance factors consists of:
 - *Difficulties with fundraising for operational activities*
 - *“One-man show”, depicted in infrequent rotation of organizational leaders*
 - *Abuse of authority by the leader in pursuit of his own interests*
 - *“The winner takes it all”, expressed in the low ability to reach agreement by consensus in response to conflict among members*
 - *Low level of active membership participation*
 - *Recruitment, retention and training of personnel.*
 - The group of socio-economic factors is composed of:
 - *Consequences of the global financial crisis*
 - *Russia’s accession to the WTO*
 - *Weak articulation and consolidation of interests within the professional community*
 - *Weak shared understanding of benefits from collective action*
 - *Poorly developed horizontal communications in society*
 - *Low level of moral standing in society.*

The respondents were asked to evaluate how these factors hinder successful achievement of PBAs’ missions. They were requested to rate the answers on a 5-point Likert scale, as either “strongly hindering”, “hindering”, “rather not hindering”, “not hindering”, or “do not know”. The statistical analysis of this categorical variable was conducted by converting the scale in order to simplify and better interpret all the peculiarities of the answers.

3.4.4 Sampling

In a statistical sense, a sample is a subset or a certain accessible part of a larger population. The process of selecting units from a population of interest is referred to as sampling. After calculating statistics from the sample, it is possible to generalize results from the sample back to the original population. There are distinctions between probability and nonprobability sampling methods (Trochim 2006).

A probability sampling method employs some kind of random selection. In this case different units of population have equal probabilities of entering the sample. Trochim (2006) distinguishes between simple, stratified, systematic, cluster, and multi-stage random sampling methods. Each of these methods utilizes a distinctive procedure for random selection.

A nonprobability sampling method does not include random selection. Trochim (2006) divides these sampling methods into two general types: purposive and accidental. In the first case, when sampling takes place with a purpose in mind, the following subcategories of sampling methods are identifiable: modal instance sampling (for the most frequent case), expert sampling (involvement of expertise), quota sampling (proportional, in which segmentation into mutually exclusive groups is performed according to some fixed quota or less restrictive non-proportional with only minimum requirements to sub-groups), heterogeneity sampling (looking for diversity), and snowball sampling (by recommendation). In the second case, also referred to as haphazard or convenience sampling, the units are chosen without any control in an accidental manner based on their accessibility. The last sampling technique is the most problematic in terms of generalising back to the population of interest, but this method is often employed nevertheless, especially in the new fields of studies.

The participants for this study were selected through a non-random purposive sampling strategy, combining the modal instance and heterogeneity approaches due to the lack of a single register in which all domestic PBAs could be located. Due to technical problems associated with the diverse forms of PBAs' incorporation, it was impossible to generate a list of such organizations on the basis of the national register of all NPOs, which is administered by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. It was decided to choose the list approach (Grønbjerg 1989; Grønbjerg, Liu, and Pollak 2010) to generate the sample database of active PBAs because the available lists of PBAs were easy to obtain. To implement the list approach, I developed a single database from a variety of sources that already included lists of the demanded organizations. The major sources that I used included the lists of the central and regional offices of the umbrella PBAs from the official registry of the Russian Ministry of Justice, as well as the registries of online resources devoted to activities of NPOs in Russia. For these reasons the prerequisites of drawing a random sample were not feasible. I am aware that I cannot claim that all visible PBAs in Russia have been found, but I believe that the organizations that later took part in the survey provide a quite exhaustive picture of the organizational ecology of PBAs across Russia.

A combination of modal instance and heterogeneity sampling approaches was considered as the best possible alternative since parameters of the Russian population of PBAs were unknown. By combining these opposite methods, I was trying to capture the most typical organizations and to identify the broad spectrum of PBAs. In order to minimize potential selection

bias, the sampling was performed according to several preconceived filters. For the purpose of entering the sample of PBAs, an NPO shall be said to correspond to the following initial selection requirements: (1) being a membership-based organization, (2) being engaged in representing professional- or business-related fields of activities, and (3) being active, and recognized as such by different sources, throughout the period of study. Moreover, since I intended to examine PBAs from multiple perspectives, additional effort was taken to select participants for this study according to such criteria as size, field of activity, basis and type of membership, and territorial span. This selection ensured that PBAs with diverse organizational backgrounds – big, small, and medium-sized organizations, multi-sector and single-sector organizations, voluntary and compulsory membership organizations, and organizations with headquarters or regional unions across the country and at local, regional, and federal jurisdictional levels – were adequately represented. The final sample, therefore, for the survey of executives of PBAs represents a sample of 2000 organizations. The sample was designed to be representative of the population of actively operating PBAs through all federal districts of Russia.

Even though the definition of the population from which a sample is drawn is of fundamental importance, it remains one of the major problems that faces research on NPOs in Russia in general, and on PBAs in particular. Until recently, systematic collection of data on the Russian nonprofit sector was rather moderate. The only reliable provider of internationally compatible data, such as the findings of CIVICUS Project in Russia (Yakobson et al. 2011), is the Centre for Studies of Civil Society and the Nonprofit Sector at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. According to the expert estimations of the heads of this Center (Mersiyanova and Jakobson 2007), the share of the functioning non-profit organizations in the total number of officially registered organizations listed in the official register of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation (over 225,000 NPOs as of 25 September 2013) does not exceed 38%. That makes active only 85,500 NPOs as of September 2013. Since the estimated share of professional and business associations is 14% (Mersiyanova 2010) of the total number of registered NPOs, the actual total number of PBAs in Russia relevant for this research project is approximately 31,500 (as of September 2013) listed organizations; the active part (38%) could be estimated at approximately 12,000 PBAs. Thus our sample corresponds to 17% of the estimated number of the general population of active PBAs in Russia. Given the prevalent lack of information on this subject, the undertaken calculations are a good point of reference.

3.4.5 Data collection

Prior to data collection, a pre-test of the survey tool was carried out. For this purpose the questionnaire was sent to 15 experts that took part in the expert interviews; they were asked to complete it and provide feedback on the content and structure of the questionnaire during September 2012. Three questionnaires were collected with feedback, which was sufficient to bring the last minor changes in the formulations of the questions and design of the questionnaire. No major changes were requested by the experts. The primary data were collected through an online survey of the top executives of PBAs. This survey was conducted between December 2012 and February 2013. The survey invitations were personalized and distributed only by means of email. The language of communication was Russian. Each email was addressed to the individual email address of the designated PBA head, or to the contact email address for the whole organization if an individual email address was unavailable. The subject of the email was an invitation from

Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU) to take part in the survey. By pointing out the name of the foreign academic institution, my intention was to raise the status of the research project since highlighting the international component of the study should have helped increase the level of confidence of the potential informants. I did not explicitly inform the potential participants of the survey that it was conducted in the framework of the dissertation in order to raise the status of the research project. I intended that they have a feeling of taking part in a more advanced research project.

Each message started with an indication of the position of the addressee, name of the organization, and name of the addressee (according to Russian etiquette, the order of greeting is the opposite of the traditional Anglo-Saxon greeting). This was followed by a form of the greeting that included the first and middle name of the potential respondent. The main body of the personalized email included a formal invitation to take part in the survey, an outline of the goals of the research project and its relevancy, technical information on the dates of the survey, links to the questionnaire, and a statement that all respondents will receive a presentation with the findings of the research to motivate them to take part in the survey. The last component of the email was my signature, which indicated my position as a Research Associate at WU. All emails were sent out from my personal email account at WU – ekaterina.ivanova@wu.ac.at – using the integrated mailing options of Microsoft Outlook and Microsoft Word. In order for the respondents take this email seriously, it was important to use an individualized account at WU rather than the impersonal h0953842@wu.ac.at student email account. In order to increase the response rate, the anonymity of the participants was assured.

3.4.5.1 The survey tool: a questionnaire

Qualitative data was collected by means of expert interviews that took place prior to the survey. This data allowed me to verify the applicability of the theoretical framework of functions of NPOs and PBAs' societal embeddedness in the context of Russia's transition society. The next confirmatory stage of the study was based on the generated quantitative data that systematically described the activities of PBAs in Russia. A customized version of the standardized questionnaire that was applied earlier for data collection in the Austrian-Czech survey of NPOs (Neumayr et al. 2009) was used to conduct the survey. The customization was made with regard to the specific features of PBAs as a particular type of NPO. In line with the research questions, the questionnaire was structured into three parts: (1) information about the organization, (2) organizational activities, and (3) driving and hindering forces. See Appendix 4 for a questionnaire that was employed in the survey.

3.4.5.1.1 Introduction and conclusion

The questionnaire started with an introductory statement explaining the purpose of the survey and its target audience. Respondents were familiarized with the expected duration of the survey and assured anonymity. Also, respondents were informed that their contact data, including their names, their titles, and the name of the organization, were gathered by means of an internet search. Technical instructions were provided on how and when to submit the off-line version of the questionnaire. My contact information was provided for any possible questions and additional feedback. To simplify the navigation through the questionnaire, each of its parts was arranged as a

new section. Throughout the questionnaire, adequate instructions were provided for specific questions. At the end of the questionnaire, respondents were offered the option of receiving the results of the study as an incentive to complete the questionnaire. To make this feedback feasible, respondents were asked to provide their contact details. Finally, the respondents could leave any comments they had on the survey. Each questionnaire ended with a thank you statement.

3.4.5.1.2 Information about an organization

The first part of the questionnaire was devoted to obtaining organizational data. The questions for this part of the questionnaire were adapted from the standardized questionnaire used in the Austrian-Czech survey of NPOs (Neumayr et al. 2009); the questions were adopted according to specific features of the nonprofit membership organizations. The intention was to start the questionnaire with simple questions so that respondents would not be immediately scared off by difficult questions and would only gradually move on to more substantive questions. A combination of 13 multiple choice, open-ended and Likert-scale questions was used in this part of the questionnaire. The following organizational indicators were identified in the first part of the questionnaire: age, governance structure, kind of association, territorial span, number of employees, fields of activity, basis and type of membership, membership selection rules, number of members and volunteers, and activity in social networks.

3.4.5.1.3 Organizational activities

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of questions regarding the activities that PBAs fulfill. In order to thoroughly examine the functions of PBAs, three questions with alternative measurement scales were applied. The first two core questions referring to the functions of NPOs were partially replicated from the Austrian-Czech NPO-Study, whereas the third question was based on the categories that were derived inductively from the qualitative data of the study. The first and the second questions in this part were based on the compositional data approach (Maier 2014), in which respondents were asked to allocate one hundred percentage points between different statements referring to the functions of PBAs. The allocations were expressed first in terms of organizational goals and second in terms of work time. Finally, the third question on the functions of PBAs asked respondents to rank their key performance indicators.

The rest of the questions in this section were formulated as Likert-scale questions. The first two of them – on the motives of founders to establish the organization and motives of members to join the organization – were developed based on the categories that were generated inductively from the qualitative data of the study. Lastly, this part of the questionnaire contained a theoretically informed question on the character of organizational activities in relation to existing societal structures (Tschirhart 2006).

3.4.5.1.4 Driving and hindering forces

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of only two questions on the factors that either drive or hinder activities of PBAs. All questions were asked as Likert-scale questions. The categories for the items used in the questions for this part of the questionnaire were generated from the qualitative data of the study. Each question was divided into three topical sub-groups: public and political factors, governance factors, and socio-economic factors. Furthermore, respondents could

add comments to each of the sub-groups, which gave the questions an additional dimension of open-endedness.

3.4.5.2 Implementation and data handling

The questionnaire was developed in two versions, both made accessible through a link that was included in the emails. The respondents had a choice of method. They could either complete the questionnaire in a non-interactive way by downloading the Microsoft Word document from my dropbox.com account, or they could complete the interactive version of the questionnaire, powered by the LimeSurvey platform, by simply clicking on the link that was provided in email. In both cases, respondents had to complete the questionnaire on their own without any direct involvement by the researcher.

Initially it was planned that the survey would run throughout December 2012. However, by the end of December only 50 respondents had taken part in the survey, so the deadline for the survey was extended until January 31, 2013. An extension announcement was sent out after the Christmas and New Year break. This strategy helped to increase the response rate substantially. Out of 2,000 PBA executives addressed, at least 300 started to fill in the questionnaire online. However, only 136 of them managed to fully complete the questionnaire and deliver useful data records. Another 77 questionnaires were completed in a non-interactive electronic format and attached to emails. Finally, 2 questionnaires were filled in by hand and submitted as scanned documents by email. The number of respondents surveyed was 215; of the completed surveys, 63% were completed online through the LimeSurvey platform, 36% were submitted in Microsoft Word format, and 1% were completed on paper and sent back as a scanned document. It appears that the twofold mode of inquiry proved its value. A response rate of 11% was achieved. Thanks to the features of the LimeSurvey platform, it was possible to export the results of the survey directly into Excel and the SPSS statistical software package for further statistical analysis.

4 Research results and interpretation

In this chapter, the findings of both research stages are presented. The results of the qualitative exploratory research are outlined first, followed by the results of the confirmatory quantitative research. The findings of each research stage are thoroughly described and discussed.

4.1 Results of the exploratory research

In the following part of the chapter, the results of the exploratory research stage are presented and discussed.

4.1.1 Functions of PBAs

In this section, I describe how theory-derived functions of PBAs are reflected in the empirical data collected. Each of the three major functions of PBAs is illustrated by means of quotations from the interviews. The section concludes with a discussion of the model of functions of PBAs in the Russian context.

4.1.1.1 Introducing the functions of PBAs in Russia

On the basis of the literature review, I was able to deductively apply the integrative framework of functions of NPOs in relation to PBAs. Each of the three key societal functions of NPOs was confirmed empirically through the inductive category development. I iteratively categorized the responses of the experts as manifestations of functions of PBAs and subsequently assigned them to the three subcategories of functions of PBAs: advocacy, service delivery, and community building.

The first subcategory confirmed by the empirical data is **advocacy**. It represents various actions that aim for political change by enforcing common rules. Advocacy is understood in two ways: first, as deliberate representation of the interests of collective agencies directed towards the state; second, as the outreach activities addressed through the media to society at large. The former, also known as “*policy advocacy*”, consists of proposing new and changing existing legislation and lobbying for resources, while the latter, also referred to as “*public advocacy*”, concerns setting and promoting agendas by influencing public opinion (Knapp, Robertson, and Thomason 1990, 15). The following quotations⁶⁰ show how policy advocacy is being interpreted by the experts:

“The Chamber of Commerce and Industry was created from the very beginning as a societal organization for supporting and developing small and medium businesses. Later on top of that large businesses became members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. So the point is that it provides support in different ways. First, there is an attempt to improve legislature. It means that they are active in law-making activities. They are recognized for these activities” (EI#8, M:64).

⁶⁰ Appendix 1 provides a table of interviews cited. Each interview quotation is marked with the number of the expert interview (EI), the stakeholder group that the respondent represents – Leadership (L), Member (M), Scholar (S), and Government Relations (GR) – and the number of the line where the quotation starts in the transcript. All interview translations from Russian to English were made by the author.

“The Association of Lawyers of Russia has seventeen thousand members. Even though it is clear that it is sort of a Putin’s pet project, we have an objective problem in overproduction of lawyers. They are produced by everybody, who is capable of doing so. And they in the association have started to work on the development of education standards in the field of law. Also they lobby this matter in the Ministry of Education” (EI#3, L:23).

“For instance, there have been a lot of hostile takeovers and scandals about criminal bankruptcies. Under the leadership of Nikolai Nikolaevich Gudkov, the Deputy Head of the Committee on Security and Entrepreneurship of the State Duma, a Commission has been founded. It has worked for one or two years. It had a very complicated name – combatting hostile takeovers and mergers. They involved experts on corporate raiding, representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Public Prosecutor Office and I also happened to be among them... At the end of the day, we proposed the State Duma additional amendments in order to restrict legislation on corporate raiding. We were able to force Deripaska to leave the pulp and paper mills alone” (EI#8, M:68-78).

“The advantage is that government officials can work with associations without having to fear corruption allegations, as if they had to work with separate companies. For government bodies such a work is convenient, because we provide them with the consolidated opinion of the sector. They simply are not capable of reaching the companies” (EI#2, L:165).

“The major criterion of success is, of course, defending interests of members of associations. And it should be materialized in public policy. Through passing amendments to legislation... It takes place but at a very limited scale... For instance, entrepreneurs in due time were advocating for a different attitude toward the so called economic crimes, so that arrests would not follow immediately” (EI#6, M:22).

“There are serious players, which exercise influence over the actions of the government, lobby for various measures of support, subsidies and the like. For instance, the association of pipe and tube producers really protects interests of the pipe- and tube-making industry... They are successfully blocking access of the Ukrainian pipe and industry goods into the Russian market. In other words, they are conducting anti-dumping investigations, custom duties, receiving a lot of support from the Government for the responsible national pipe and industry producers” (EI#14, GR:8-15).

The public advocacy is illustrated by the next set of quotations:

“I would like to say that for such societies, developing, as our Russian society, there is one more function, yes, which perhaps is not perceived by associations, yes? But on the other side, certain activities prove that they fulfill this function. It is not so much working with society, whose interests they represent, that is with members, but rather with, so to say, with society at large. It is a certain function, may be outreach activities. How can we name it otherwise? It is hard to find suitable words. It is a work with population, yes, with various social groups”(EI#7, M:31).

“...As an expert community it looks for ways in which it could take part in shaping public agenda. We have a website, which we created in the association on the basis of IWEIR [the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations], traffic on identity is high. In other words, it is one of the ways to create a forum in order to bring expertise, analysis and evaluations to a larger audience. That is to participate in public politics” (EI#10, M:229-231).

“For instance in the association of confectioners they were talking that it is necessary to protect national producers, to protect jobs. When there was a problem with the Ukrainian competitors, which enjoyed the more favourable terms, they were trying to solve it [the problem] through mass media, trying through governors to bring this problem on the surface” (EI#5, M:103).

On the basis of the developed coding scheme, 138 statements were assigned to the first subcategory, **advocacy**. Out of these statements, 121 referred to policy advocacy and only 17 concerned public advocacy. Such an outcome is not surprising since PBAs represent mostly collective bodies and not individual citizens. It became evident that the preferred mode of interest representation for PBAs is a direct form of advocacy. The overall number of frequencies (138) within the advocacy subcategory constitutes 57% of the total amount of statements assigned to the category “functions of PBAs”. Thus, the experts perceive this function to be a central function performed by PBAs in Russia.

The second subcategory investigated empirically was **service delivery**. It relates to market and nonmarket transactions that aim to render goods or services for personal or public use. Service delivery to membership and society at large takes various forms, such as providing members with relevant statistical data, analytical reports, and other types of specialized knowledge by means of mailing lists, websites, or by request. Moreover, in their service delivery capacity, PBAs are platforms that enable articulation of common interests, exchange of best practices, development and diffusion of innovations, mutual learning, and professional development through the medium of public events or private consulting practices. The following quotations exemplify the reading of this function of PBAs by the experts:

“What was good about association? It was collecting information on the production of confectionary in the country once a year. But it would have been better, if they have done this on a quarterly basis...” (EI#5, M:157).

“Organization of exhibitions and it does not matter what are the taxes there, which are the rules of the game there, exhibitions should always be held. Certain promotion to the export markets should be always carried out. Certain marketing actions. It is some kind of business services, which are more profitable to organize together than apart” (EI#13, S:7).

“Discussion of the most demanding problems on the forum of, let us say, a certain chamber, all of these conferences, meetings, round tables, including those that we ourselves organize on various aspects, they allow scientists, practitioners, representatives of the business community to meet with each other, to speak up and to come up with a certain opinion, to provide some recommendations” (EI#8, M:86).

““Rosagromash” is just one example. I know very well how they work. They are now working hard on collecting statistics. They are a very important provider of information for their members. And nobody and nowhere can get it” (EI#15, GR:67).

“There is an interesting mechanism of holding annual fairs, forums. For instance, “Rosagromash” ... They hold an annual fair-exhibition, in which all producers come. They rent “Crocus-City”, earn on that one million dollar and the association can live on that for the entire year. Thanks to that money they can attract normal experts, qualified youth, educated, that speaks foreign languages...” (EI#14, GR:53).

“The major task of associations is finding a common denominator between members and a constant dialogue. What we have at the “National Payments Counsel” is that 95% of our work time goes to organization of communication between members. This one does not like this, that one does not like that. This one has this idea, that one has that idea. Seventeen rounds of negotiations. And only afterwards we come to a joint opinion. Moderation is a central thing we do” (EI#15, GR:153).

“Associations should develop as think tanks, which could also be classified as services” (EI#8, M:218).

“Elaborating analytical materials, I think it was very good” (EI#6, M:105).

“Does it provide a certain service? At least through elaboration of common positions it does” (EI#1, L:181).

In total, 59 statements were classified as service delivery. The service delivery subcategory constitutes 24% of the total assigned to the category “functions of PBAs”. The percentage shows that this function is less dominant than advocacy in the activities of PBAs.

The third subcategory that was put to empirical examination is **community building**. This refers to activities that are directed towards building common norms and enhancing bonding and bridging social capital. Community building involves the creation of norms that grant status, identity, and privileges, and set boundaries of membership and hierarchies within a certain professional or business field. There are different forms in which this function is implemented. The more simple forms include regular networking events aimed at contributing to the sense of community and satisfying the psychological needs of members for fellowship, safety and security. These contribute to the bonding social capital as a “byproduct of collective action” (Zimmer 2007, in Braun, 2014, 60). The more mature forms pertain to the formation of a code of ethics for the profession, to the establishment of formal accreditation processes, to the creation of professional standards, and to the certification of actors within a given professional or business field. These foster the bridging social capital. In the following set of statements, experts provide interpretations of the community building function:

“The very fact that these associations became spread tells us that consolidation is taking place on the grounds of self-regulation and common interests” (EI#5, M:140).

“He was one of the founding fathers of this aggregated code [of ethics]. It consisted only of 12 or 14 articles. And it precisely reflected the ethical course. One sentence and no fuzzy

phrases. We have been developing this code in 2001. Moreover, the trigger for this work was his cooperation with the association of constructors. And they were the first ones to raise the issue, they were saying that we are cheating each other, we are not able to compete. And the first association that signed this code was the association of constructors” (EI#9, M:260).

“I met with them (the Federation of Restaurateurs and Hoteliers) recently. They were the first ones in Russia, who developed the professional education standard for an industry. And they have made it in a way, so that people that did not take their training program, they simply did not hire them. It was cooks, employees of hotels... It was in the beginning of 2000... They managed to find an agreement” (EI#3, L:25-179).

“I assume that the “community building” strand will be gaining in strength either due to maturation of market actors, or because of intensification of external threats (crisis, pressure from the state), or through opening of new opportunities from the state (for instance, by transferring part of the regulatory functions from the state to the business community)” (EI#2, L:102).

“There is a certain useful work that I think the apparatus does in the framework of the functions of consolidation, exchange of experience, giving support to people in the companies that are also involved with that. For instance, I am a member of the Committee and Council on the Nonfinancial Reporting. There are people that evaluate these reports. Afterwards they go to their general director and tell him that the RUIE [Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs] gave them a certificate. But it all has a limited value” (EI#6, M:98).

“Shaping the image of an association. Or even building reputation of the industry, building the attitude toward the industry. In other words, it is about formation of the attitude to the community” (EI#14, GR:110).

“Here we talk about building cooperation, in other words, about creation of professional networks. We were busy with that. We have Moscow, Peter [St. Petersburg], regions. How to unite researchers? Through professional association. We have over 1000 researchers with interests in political studies” (EI#10, M:223).

“... “Business Russia”, “OPORA Rossii” and RUIE [Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs] of course they are working on this (community building), despite the fact that they were created by the Kremlin and managed by the Kremlin. It is not that important. What is important is that they do community building. Yes, community can be created by force, as the “Business Russia” has been created by the Kremlin a while ago. But later on the Kremlin stopped forcing, but the community remained in this or that way, do you understand? (EI#1, L:181).

“The strength of the Association of Managers is that it creates conditions for professional development of managers from different industries. It is a good expert forum” (EI#7, M:130).

Overall, 46 statements were identified as fitting in the subcategory “community building”. This means that 19% of all statements that correspond to PBAs’ functions fall into the community building subcategory. It is clear that this function plays an important role in PBA activities, but it is less prevalent than the first two functions.

4.1.1.2 Deconstructing the functions of PBAs in the Russian context

As a result of the exploratory study, I was able to arrive at the conclusion that the three mainstream societal functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – that characterise the activities of any NPO are also performed by the PBAs in Russia. Stated differently, the findings of the structuring content analysis presented in section 4.1.1.1. confirmed that the activities of the explored PBAs match the theory-backed integrated framework of NPOs’ functions. It is also important to highlight that all experts, when asked directly whether the three mainstream functions correspond to the specifics of the activities of Russian PBAs, have unanimously agreed with such a typology. This agreement is demonstrated in the following quotations:

“Yes, there are services for members. Yes, the community is being built. Yes, the interests are being projected outwards. Of course, these are the three mainstream functions for any association. On the basis of the level of their development it is possible to judge upon the validity of these organizations. It is a good classification” (EI#1, L:183).

“I think yes, I would agree. As a rough sketch it is normal. I would in principle agree with it. Perhaps it could be extended. I have already indirectly touched upon the third [advocacy]– it is the weakest that we have. NPOs are putting effort into it. I could even say that there are NPOs which contribute a lot in this and they have certain achievements. But overall, it is the first two functions [community building and service delivery] that are being implemented” (EI#6, M:67).

“The first two [advocacy and community building] for sure, but services is a bit of an exaggeration. However, the need to exchange information, organize conferences, yes, I also consider it important. (EI#5, M:67).

“I would agree with these mainstream functions [advocacy, community building and service delivery]” (GR#14, M:110).

In order to better conceptualize the societal functions that PBAs perform within the Russian context, I have drawn upon the criteria derived mostly from the analysis of the empirical data. I have arranged the findings of the qualitative study in Table 4.1, which I discuss in more detail.

Table 4.1. Functions of Russian professional and business associations

Function / Criterion	Advocacy	Service Delivery	Community Building
Perspective	Legal /Communicative	Organizational	Normative
Mission	Socio-political	Socio-economic	Socio-cultural
Addressee	State, society	Members, society, (state – indirectly)	Members, society, (state – indirectly)
Members’ role	Funders/ Opinion makers	Customers/ Inquirers	Networkers/ Status Enhancers

Critical resource	Connections to public officials, publicity	Bureaucratically organized and professionally managed structure	Collective action
Action logic	Influence	Service	Interaction
Outcome	Changes in legislation, setting agenda, outreach activities	Specialized knowledge, development and diffusion of innovations	Events, psychological and social security to members, codes of ethics, rankings, professional standards
Output	School of Democracy	Commercialization	Trust

Source: Adopted with minor changes from Ivanova (2013).

Note: The criteria in italics were developed inductively on the basis of the qualitative empirical study (N=15). The rest of the criteria represent synthesis constructs, derived deductively from the theory, reviewed in chapter 2 and confirmed inductively and empirically.

The advocacy function appears to be one of the central societal functions performed by the examined PBAs in Russia. The double-sided character of this socio-political function is reflected in its two addressees: the state and society at large. The role of members in carrying out advocacy is confined to providing PBAs with the necessary resources (both material and intellectual) or jointly developing public opinion on their subject matter. The experts named two critical resources for the successful fulfilment of both forms of advocacy. For interest representation, considered primarily from a legal perspective, informal close ties with public officials within a mutually shared atmosphere of privacy are crucial. At the same time, for successful public awareness campaigns, viewed from a communicative perspective, an opposite pattern of maximal publicity, openness, and transparency of PBAs in the articulation of their positions is essential. In practice, both of these critical resources are applied simultaneously. The logic of influence is exercised by PBAs by means of initiating changes in the legislature, as well as by setting agenda and holding outreach activities. All in all, the fulfilment of the advocacy function, which combines government and public relations activities of PBAs, serves as a symbolic “school of democracy” (Edwards and Foley 2001), thus contributing to the strengthening of democracy in Russia (Howard 2003).

According to the experts’ assessments, service delivery is the second important function that PBAs perform. This socio-economic function addressed to members, society at large, and indirectly to the state can also gain benefits from service provision. The organizational structure of PBAs is a critical resource; for efficient service delivery, they must be bureaucratically organized (managerialism) and professionally managed (professionalism). The ability of PBAs’ paid staff to raise funds, to attract volunteers, and to organize the internal procedures of service delivery and ad hoc project management services to members are the prerequisites for the successful implementation of the service delivery function. The organizational perspective determines how the service logic unfolds in the PBAs’ activities and allows them to accumulate specialized knowledge that facilitates development and dissemination of innovations. As a product of these activities, PBAs might achieve commercialization of their services, which is essential for the sustainable funding of PBAs and contributes to their legitimacy, but could also lead to conflict

with the shifting mission of PBAs and loss of their nonprofit spirit (Young and Salamon 2003; Guo 2006; Jones 2007; Shaw and Allen 2009; Henderson 2011; Meyer and Simsa 2014).

Community building is the third societal function that PBAs fulfill. This fulfillment happens primarily through normative activities, which are reflected in the wide socio-cultural mission of these organizations. The major addressees of these activities are members of PBAs and society at large, but the state also indirectly takes advantage of the actions of various unions, including self-regulatory organizations. Members of PBAs benefit from professional networking and enhance their professional status. A critical resource for successful community building activities is the capability of PBAs to unify members by means of collective action. The interaction logic of this function shows itself through such mechanisms as holding public events, providing psychological and social security to members, drafting codes of ethics for the professional and business societies, making rankings to identify the best representatives of professions and industries, and developing professional standards. At the end of the day, community building activities give members a sense of belonging and foster the enhancement of trust (Putnam 1993, 2000), which is expressed in the formalized bridging social capital, whereas the bonding social capital is traditionally high in Russia (Spencer 2011). Moreover, the community building function encourages social solidarity and civic spirit, which are not possible without the underpinning bonds of trust.

4.1.1.3 The integrated framework of the functions of PBAs confirmed qualitatively

Both of the preceding sections (4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2) have shown that the analysis of the expert interviews confirmed that three theory-based functions of NPOs are performed by PBAs in Russia. It has been also illustrated by Table 4.1 that the three functions of PBAs derived from the empirical material could be interpreted from different perspectives, serve different missions, and produce different outputs. In other words, a clear analytical distinction between three functions was presented with no major overlap between the functions. However, the activities, goals, or successes of PBAs could either be assigned to only one function at a time or to multiple functions simultaneously. The following examples show such instances:

“It has been discussed by the Commission. Even the mass media was invited. Gudkov gave interviews many times. The consultations took place, the recommendations have been written. At the end of the day, we proposed the State Duma additional amendments in order to restrict the legislation on corporate raiding. We were able to force Deripaska to leave the pulp and paper mills alone” (EI#8, M:78).

“On the other side, work of this Commission allowed to make the changes in the current legislation. So it was an absolutely real work. And public opinion is very important, because the local mass media were attacking these pulp and paper mills, that they are such and such. That is Deripaska was able to create such a wave of aggression around them. But we were able to prevent it. Later on there were a lot of discussions on corporate raiding. We have made a lot of publications, of course” (EI#8, M:78).

The activities of the Commission were primarily aimed at changing the legislature, so they correspond to the advocacy function. At the same time, in the process of achieving of this goal there were elements of collective action performed in parallel as a part of this initiative, as is shown by the joint efforts of the Commissions' members to discuss the corporate raiding problem. That is an example of the community building function in action. Moreover, there are elements of service delivery expressed through knowledge accumulation and production of the relevant publications. This example provides evidence that one goal-oriented activity simultaneously corresponds to all three functions of PBAs. It is a vivid sign of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the activities that PBAs perform in their day-to-day practice.

In some cases, the activities of PBAs correspond simultaneously to a set of only two functions, such as service delivery and advocacy, or advocacy and community building, or service delivery and community building. The following quotations serve as such examples:

“At the association there is always a certain minimum, which one [member] pays, for example, for operations, for development of certain annual reports. But if you want something extra, for instance, to draw a legislation, which is not covered by the membership dues, this requires extra money” (EI#14, GR:61).

“There should be specialists capable of looking at the industry level, reflecting on problems, analysing and understanding. They should be able to find members' support in order to form a position, to articulate and implement it in life” (EI#14, GR:179).

“It is not clear what we are. I am not very much afraid of the analysis I will give you in a minute. On the one hand, we have a community, which is paying for the networking. Of course, we are artful functional bureaucrats, since we are able to raise funds from members and one of the sponsors and so on. We are kind of bad guys, which by pursuing personal ends try to transform something... We are this and that, and a little bit of everything” (EI#1, L:305).

“How the Committee on CSR at the RUEI [Russian Union of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists] under the leadership of Prokopov and Feoktistova is functioning? I know it very well. We cooperate constantly. But they have their position. It consists, basically, in promotion of the RUEI's interests” (EI#10, M:7).

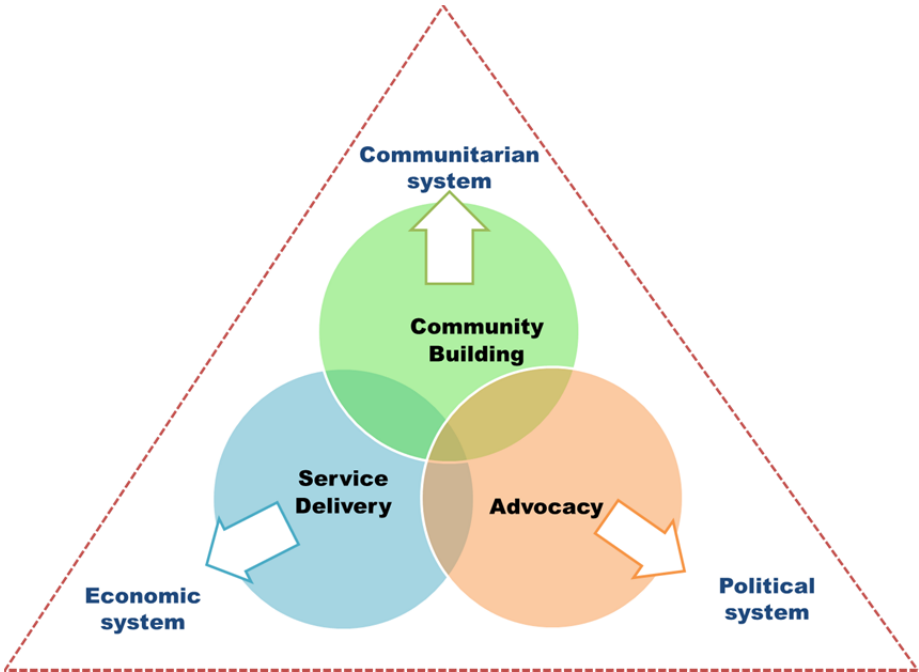
“There is also the National Agency on Development of Qualifications... They were created under the RUEI [Russian Union of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists] and they received a national status... The RUEI must report on what they are doing in the field of labour market development, labour force in industries and so on. So they have got this idea, let it be on our basis. Under the auspices of the RUEI and nobody will argue against it. It is the most powerful, the largest association. So this center was created. And now the situation is the following. If somebody wants to obtain an accreditation of professional standard at the national level, he should approach them. They are making an expertise, they are running a data base, a united registry of professional standards” (EI#3, L:41-49).

The first example shows a typical instance of the service delivery for which members have to pay. However, when additional fundraising is taking place, it starts to serve a different goal: advocacy. The second example also demonstrates how the service delivery function, expressed

through the expertise of the specialists, simultaneously serves the advocacy function, manifested through interest representation. The third and the fourth quotations provide examples of the community building function executed through networking activities, which serve as a foundation for a parallel desire to make a change through advocacy. The last example serves as proof of convergence of the service delivery and community building functions performed by a PBA in the process of establishment of professional standards.

The empirical data revealed that the individual actions undertaken by PBAs could be explicitly assigned to a single function, to a combination of two functions, or to all three functions performed by PBAs simultaneously. Figure 3.2 provides a graphical depiction of the **multi-functional nature of PBAs** and their contribution to the corresponding societal subsystems. In contrast to the three analytically separate key societal functions of NPOs, presented as an integrated framework in section 2.3.2, the empirically derived functions of PBAs are not bound to be attributed to one function only. The empirical evidence discussed above shows that PBAs could simultaneously fulfill several functions, in which two (depicted by the intersection of adjacent circles that stand for service delivery and community building, community building and advocacy, service delivery and advocacy functions in Figure 3.2) or all three of them (depicted by the intersection of all three circles in Figure 3.2) could run in parallel. A similar conclusion was reached by Neumayr (2010, 58) on the basis of the empirical data from the Austrian NPOs; the data proves that the integrated framework of the functions of NPOs could be applied in the context of both developed and transition economies.

Figure 3.2. The integrated framework on the multi-functional character of PBAs and their contribution to societal subsystems



This brings me to the next issue: the **relative importance of PBAs’ functions**. It has already been specified in the previous section of chapter 4 that the experts mentioned advocacy twice as frequently as service delivery and three times as frequently as community building. When

the experts were asked directly to give their estimation of the relative importance of the functions of PBAs, they came to similar conclusions, as illustrated by the following quotations:

“I would put government relations and lobbying of interests on the first place. I would name it that way, this is the most important thing that associations must do. The second is coordination of community. And the third is services, the least important, in my opinion (EI#5, M:65).

“Let us say that interest representation, if we talk about it in terms of results, then representation will take a little. If we take it in terms of the amount of activities, how much time, resources, then it might take more. Out of these three it is the most resource intensive. In terms of the process characteristics, I would evaluate it as 30% [service delivery], 30% [community building], 40% [advocacy]. In terms of the results, I would evaluate it as 40% [service delivery], 40% [community building], 20% [advocacy]” (EI#6, M:67).

“The other way around. The first is advocacy [followed by community building and service delivery]. This is the foundation, it is the first clause of any charter” (EI#9, M:68).

“First of all is GR, then – services. And only afterwards are standards. For the last, I have not come across it, at least in the associations that I work with. Those that managed to go through the lobbying stage to the service delivery stage, there are not so many of them” (EI#14, GR:67).

The experts put the function of advocacy in first place and gave less credit to the importance of the service delivery and community building functions of PBAs. These findings give a first rough picture of the order of importance of functions of PBAs in Russia. They are examined further in the quantitative confirmatory study.

All in all, the empirical study proved the applicability of the integrated framework of the functions of NPOs – advocacy, community building, and service delivery – to a particular type of NPOs: PBAs in the context of Russia’s transition economy. The multi-functionality of PBAs in Russia has been proven empirically. It also aligns with theory on the multi-functional nature of NPOs and their contribution to three societal spheres simultaneously: advocacy to the political system, service delivery to the economic system, and community building to the communitarian system (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier 2000; Zimmer and Freise 2008). The integrated framework on functions of NPOs allows researchers to capture and operationalize the multi-functional character of NPOs on the organizational meso-level (Neumayr 2010, 58). This contrasts with the widely used concept of functions of NPOs developed within the JHCNPS Project (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock 2000), in which NPOs are assigned to two categories at the macro level, depending on which of two central activities – service or expressive – is predominant. The integrated framework of the functions of NPOs is used as a foundation for the subsequent quantitative study of the relative importance of the functions of PBAs in Russia.

4.1.2 Forces driving and hindering accomplishment of PBAs' missions

In the following section, I outline how the experts that took part in the interviews differentiate between the forces driving or hindering achievement of PBAs' missions. Each block of factors is illustrated by quotations from the interviews. The section ends with an outline of an analytical toolbox of factors influencing mission fulfillment by PBAs in Russia, a toolbox developed for further quantitative testing.

4.1.2.1 Distinguishing between driving and hindering forces

Following the definition and rules formulated in the preliminary coding scheme for the identification of the category "factors influencing accomplishment of PBAs' missions" (Table 3.3), I was able to distinguish between forces influencing PBAs' mission fulfillment. Each of the subcategories corresponding to driving and hindering forces was confirmed empirically through the inductive category development. The expert responses were iteratively categorized as manifestations of factors influencing the achievement of PBAs' missions and subsequently assigned to two subcategories of factors: driving or hindering factors.

The first subcategory that was confirmed empirically is driving forces. It represents various factors which encourage positive changes in activities of PBAs. The meaning of these factors was expressed by experts in a favorable sense with a certain degree of clearness and directness. The following quotations illustrate the reading that interviewed experts give to the factors that drive accomplishment of PBAs' missions:

*"The **personality** [of the leader] is very important. He should not be lazy. He should possess authority and connections outside" (EI#5, M:148).*

*"I don't know, how many issues would have been resolved, had Zurab [Co-chair of a PBA] not been so **active**" (EI#5, M:150).*

*"Where there is a lot of import and **foreigners** are noticeable, the things are much better with joining associations (EI#5, M:152).*

*"The most important is that there should a **performance** aspect" (EI#5, M:159).*

*"A strong **executive team**, of course. First of all, there are representatives of large business. There are also former executives from the government, .. , such as former deputy minister for interior affairs. Some of them are former Komsomol members... Also there is the ex-prime minister to begin with" (EI#8, M:106-110).*

*"The state basically removed itself [from many socially significant public arenas]. But it is very hard to expect that they all [entrepreneurs] will start to happily get together. But look, nevertheless, they are **uniting together**" (EI#8, M:354).*

*"Positive **feedback** from the market actors" (EI#2, L:18).*

*"**Acknowledgement** [of PBA] on behalf of the dedicated government authorities" (EI#2, L:19).*

*“I think that **status attributes** play a more significant role than functions [that PBAs fulfill] themselves. Functions are considered, but as something that comes as a by-product and an extra” (EI#6, M:143).*

*“NPOs are now getting money from the government. Particularly through the Ministry of Economic Development. They administer **grants** there” (EI#6, M:161).*

*“If we talk about organization itself, of course it is the **number of members**. This is the most understandable [driving force]” (EI#14, GR:24).*

*“As a rule, more developed industries, in which **money** are available; they have resources to fund activities of associations. It refers primarily to industries where Russian actors dominate” (EI#14, GR:137).*

*“There should be certain courage and **ambitions** coming from associations. But this is a task of leaders of associations, so that they would be able to generate ideas, develop and move their industry forward” (EI#14, GR:179).*

*“One should always look at the **sources of funding**. You know my position, had there be control over the sources of funding and information would be publicly available, but in a proper way, without undermining competition and activities of NPOs, of course it would have been easier to understand. Yes, it is the other way around what we have now, when it is possible to hide away anything. Even when it comes to direct funding from the Kremlin. One cannot strictly identify it without being expert on all of these issues. For instance, last year we received a grant of 5 million roubles from the President and this year we also received 5 million roubles from the President for the innovation award. When we look at the way these money are being transferred to us, we will find out that they come from an organization named ‘The State Club’, which has no direct affiliation with the Administration of the President” (EI#1, L:195).*

*“Nothing unites better than a **common threat**. This is probably a major driving force” (EI#15, GR:71).*

*“Also the fact that we have a **professional bureaucracy**, unlike unprofessional one there [in Ukraine]. Our bureaucracy is here for a long time. It does not change. It bears responsibility for results, takes into consideration all the conventions. There [in Ukraine] they are not responsible for results, but here they are. One knows that one came for three years, one will be asked, one should deliver results. To do so, one must be in dialogue with the industry one is responsible for. One needs fresh ideas, understanding of what is going on, threats, plans, strategies. We now have strategies for 20 years introduced everywhere [federal ministries]” (EI#15, GR:79).*

*“There is a **competition** between the Association of Managers, the Russian Union of Industrials and Entrepreneurs and to some extent the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It should be pointed out that perhaps this competition pushes certain innovations, developments, new topics are being introduced, expert communities are being established, cooperation with the regions is taking place. All of this shows that elements of competition show positive influence” (EI#7, M:126).*

*“Most probably, the executive team has more time to follow modern trends and act as an **initiator**. I think that this is a task of association to have a certain intuition, to analyse and offer strategic directions for their members. That is why there should be some organizing strategic role for an association” (EI#7, M: 218).*

The second subcategory examined empirically was hindering forces. It relates to a variety of factors that impede positive changes in activities of PBAs. The factors were formulated with varying degrees of explicitness to convey the prescribed negative meaning. The following statements show how the interviewed experts assess the factors that hinder achievement of PBAs’ missions:

*“Difficulties appear when association works **not in the interests** of the industry but thinks about itself. Or when access to information or contacts is misused for one’s own ends” (EI#5, M:81).*

*“Since we have a very **centralized state**, it determines why everything takes such a long time at the level of the sector specific associations” (EI#5, M:99).*

*“In Russia everybody wants to solve their own problems by means of a bribe or through a certain special status. It seems to me that the specifics of Russia is that every producer wants to solve his own local problem quietly, locally and **behind-the-scenes**. At the same time, associations are a more open and transparent mechanism. Because when one agrees on the preferences unofficially it is one story. But our society is not that developed yet” (EI#5, M:152).*

*“Unfortunately, we do not have **legislation on lobbying**. This is discouraging” (EI#8, M:126).*

*“By the way, the large successful companies, they think that they **can do everything themselves**. And here is their mistake. Since they, first of all, make lobbying more expensive. Secondly, they play against public opinion, since the emerging public opinion is against large companies. Even the opinion of officialdom is quite specific. In fact they bite the hand that feeds them” (EI#8, M:154).*

*“Something does not work. Because they all [PBAs] should be busy with coordination of public interests and quasi pushing for their own ones. They [PBAs] are pushing them not exactly the way they should have been doing. They [PBAs] should be influencing Duma, but I think they are doing it differently. Perhaps it is due to **imperfection of our civil society** (EI#8, M:170).*

*“The major task of these associations is to restore **trust**. At least between the groups that have common economic interests” (EI#8, M:334).*

“There is a union, which bear a name “an academy”, but it unites the whole industry, science and research that serves telecommunication industry. How should it be named? To begin with, it has a strange name “an academy”. But nobody there offers any training, of course. The

only reason this organization was founded was to confer a **title** of member of the academy. It happens because a lot of people like to have an opportunity to write down that they are members of a certain academy. I was offered many times such a title, but I was always laughing at it” (EI#9, M:28-32).

“It is not a coincidence that during Perestroika a lot of talented people that came from officialdom or from the closed down academic institutions were available. They created this nonprofit sector, they were at the age of 40-45 years at that point. What about today, 20 years after? These people are still chairing these organizations and they do not let youth in. Stagnation is also in these elements... It is a generational problem. There is no **rotation**” (EI#9, M:144-148).

“We have problems with **morals** and trust in society. There is no interpersonal trust, no trust among organizations” (EI#9, M:176).

“Since 1996, the draft legislation on lobbying is at the State Duma. Why it has not been passed up to now? In order to keep the **almighty officialdom**. Had there be legislation on lobbying, everybody should have been playing according to the common rules. The rules would have been working instead of the officials” (EI#9, M:232-236).

“There is a certain habit, a certain cultural background. In this case, people have no skills of **horizontal communication**. They used to have some sort of authority and they also used to playing games on cheating these authorities” (EI#13, S:107).

“A certain communicational infrastructure does not emerge. That is why there is no **role of an intermediary** [for PBAs] between officialdom, population and business community. The problem is in this interface. That is why when one tries to formulate recommendations on necessary actions or obstacles to overcome, of course there are claims on both sides, which are well grounded, there is no doubt about it. There are no hurdles, but also no attempts to adjust this interface” (EI#4, L:9).

“**External environment** sets up such tough barriers that no single organization, or even ten of them, is capable of overcoming them. So this external environment is the major factor that hampers development [of PBAs]” (EI#4, L:33).

“Low **understanding** on behalf of members of their role in development of market and society” (EI#2, L:8).

“The major difficulty is in our **mentality**. We are already not Soviet any more, and we are not going to collectively pick litter. But we did not develop ourselves yet into responsible citizens, realizing that the state is hired through the honestly paid taxpayers money” (EI#2, L:171).

“This imitational model that emerged by and large in society, when democratic procedures and other aspects of life within society, one would think they exist, but they are to a great extent formalized and organized from above. That is why what we have here is an **imitation**. Something is going on, so to speak, but the real influence over the life of society or on the specific field of

activities, this influence [of PBAs]I think is not there yet” (EI#6, M:18).

“One of the problems is a serious **fragmentation of interests**. Also there are few people, who think in terms of public goods in this country, except perhaps very indirectly” (EI#6, M:63).

“What does it mean that one fits in? To be fit in, in relation to large business, means to comply with the request not to interfere in politics without permission. This is first, then OK and once again OK. If one does it all, it appears that everything works quite well. But the most disappointing I think is that the large business completely agrees with all of this... Because they assume that it is more lucrative to share, so to speak, and not to interfere where they are not welcome, rather than taking some meaningful position and putting themselves under attack. And this **conformism**, so to speak, is of course sad” (EI#6, M:86).

“I think that unfortunately such **apathy** and lack of faith that it is up to civil society and its institutions to bring some real changes into the situation, it holds true” (EI#6, M:94).

“All of these business leaders they are actually **individualists**. They think that majority of issues [with the state] could be resolved either inside or on the bilateral basis” (EI#6, M:141).

“The **environment** itself is ready for a kind of limited or sometimes I would even say distorted perception of importance and functions of these organizations [PBAs]. Because the fact that the most important are certain status, PR or other characteristics, it misrepresents activities of these organizations and attitude towards them. And it comes not only from them, but from the environment. Perhaps even more so from the environment” (EI#6, M:149).

“Influence comes through development of system of education and class of professionals for associations. But as we know such executive **leadership programs** for heads of associations have not been offered and are not planned to be offered. If in America this process goes permanently, in this country nothing of this kind happens. It emerges in a very home-made way” (EI#14, GR:153).

“Also I can point out that leaders of associations are involved in these activities for many years. **Rotation of leaders** would have helped them. For instance, Zlachevskiy in the grain association, he is there for 10 years already. Or Tusunyan, he also does it for 10 years” (EI#14, GR:167).

“In this country at the level of business associations there are almost **no specialists**, which could realistically identify interests of their industry, where these industries are under discrimination. There are almost no specialists familiar with issues of the WTO or protective measures” (EI#14, GR:193).

“Now they [members of PBAs] get together, discuss something, drink, at least, together. But there is **no collective action** as such. Because in order for some action to appear, there should be a counterpart in the process. And both parties should act as adults. What does it mean as adults? Each party voices its interests and these interests clash. And nobody takes offence,

because these interests do not match or are not congruent. On the contrary, they are happy that there is a possibility to arrive at a united understanding of the course of action through conflict. It is also a learning process (EI#1, L:143).

*“We are organized differently. We should follow the principle “the winner takes it all”. There should be no other option as majority dominating over minority. In case one cannot gather majority then **manipulation** comes in play. It is our socio-cultural aspects. Because people allow to be manipulated... We do not have a perception of NPO, as something useful and autonomous, created with some kind of good mission. That is why the whole socio-cultural aspect rests on manipulations” (EI#1, L:143-157).*

*“This social, socialist aspect of **clasterisation** of people into community in this country it appeared as absolutely underdeveloped. It was historically underdeveloped” (EI#1, L:207).*

*“In most of the cases it is impossible to **collect money** from participants of get-togethers” (EI#1, L:281).*

*“There are problems. A lot of problems and **corruption** is one of the main problems. Our corruption is different. In this country corruption takes place at the lower and middle levels” (EI#15, GR:95).*

*“Another hindering factor is industries with small number of players. For instance, metal-makers. There are only five players and their interests are often contradictory. They are not able to reach agreement. They all have direct access to the state. All large players have a priori direct access to the state. When an industry with a few players is **too consolidated**, then it does not work out” (EI#15, GR:109).*

*“It is clear, that if in this country everything is happening in a **top-down manner**, there are few chances. That is why we are left with one hope. It has been always with us. A hope about the informed monarch, about the ruler” (EI#7, M:102).*

Overall, experts were more inclined to talk about negative factors, which appeared twice as often as positive ones (160 quotes for hindering forces vs. 80 quotes for driving forces). Such a finding is in line with the Russian tradition of intellectual debate, in which intellectuals and social scientists have always been more inclined to highlight the negative aspects of reality without making enough effort to identify and discuss the positive aspects⁶¹. Such a misbalanced approach to analysis of the social phenomena became evident in the present study, as well.

4.1.2.2 Categorising driving and hindering forces

Considering the complexity of the environment, this attempt to distinguish between forces facilitating or hampering PBA activities should be interpreted with caution since they vary with time and space. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of the factors identified in the previous section are closely connected with the internal organizational setting of PBAs, while others lay in the

⁶¹ The cultural historian Makhnach adds on this subject, “Thus, we did not notice and keep not noticing our own advantages and continue to highlight our own disadvantages” (1995, 270).

external environment. However, the boundary between internal and external remains difficult to address. Modern works of art by Anselm Kiefer provide the best illustration to this dilemma. As the next step of analysis, I applied the second chapter’s deductive approach based on the theoretical framework of NPOs’ embeddedness in the environment (see chapter 2) to identify the three main subcategories of driving and hindering forces affecting accomplishment of PBAs’ missions in Russia: “Public and political factors”, “Socio-economic factors”, and “Governance factors”.

The aggregated results of analysis on the basis of the final coding scheme are shown in Table 4.2. Two key findings appear most evidently from the data. First, experts assigned internal governance factors most frequently (48.75%) to the driving forces. Second, experts most frequently (46.88%) recognized external public and political factors as the ones hindering achievement of their missions. It appears that PBAs are inclined to believe in their own capacity as a major success factor, while the external environment is perceived as hostile to their development. Since the objective of this exploratory study was to identify the factors that drive or hinder PBAs’ activities, that data allowed me to develop the corresponding section of the questionnaire for the subsequent quantitative study. In what follows I first present the findings on each of the subcategories. Each subcategory was then represented by a list of items for the quantitative investigation using structuring technique and in-vivo codes to formulate the relevant most often cited driving and hindering forces.

Table 4.2. Driving and hindering factors influencing achievement of PBAs’ missions, by subcategories

Factors	Driving		Hindering	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Governance	39	48.75	43	26.88
Public and political	22	27.50	75	46.88
Socio-economic	19	23.75	42	26.25
<i>Total</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Russian PBA-Expert Interviews, 2011 (N=15)

The subcategory “**governance factors**” was the most frequent category for driving forces. The next set of quotations shows the instrumental and cultural meaning that experts attach to this group of factors. The **driving factors** are represented first.

*“A lot depends on the concrete people, who lead the work, **people who lead association**. For instance, let us take Shikherev. He stood at the origins of introduction of ethical code for businessmen” (EI#9, M:260).*

*“**Personal factor** plays a role. Interest from the executive director is even more significant than anything else. Because the executive director can track how the corresponding working bodies are set up (EI#2, L:105).*

*“**Good executive team** should be elected” (EI#5, M:154).*

*“Associations themselves are growing evolutionary, because certain **governing bodies** are being elected. In some associations such a norm is in line with the law, in others executive director is appointed on the basis of agreement with its major sponsor” (EI#7, M:198).*

*“One thing I am absolutely sure about is there [in PBA] should be **expertise**” (EI#14, GR:179).*

*“There are [in PBAs] different formats of information. On the market conditions, on the market volume, on the market segmentation, history, such and such positions and so on. In other words, such amount of market information is impossible to get from anywhere else. For officialdom it is a unique source of information. Such information as they have on machine building, for instance, is not available anywhere else in the country. This is absolutely **unique information**” (EI#15, GR:67).*

*“Most probably the executive team has more time to follow modern trends and act as an **initiator**. I think that it is a task of an association to have a certain intuition, to analyse and offer strategic directions for their members. That is why there should be some organizing strategic role for an association” (EI#7, M: 218).*

*“**Membership dues** should be secured” (EI#5, M:154).*

*“Growth of **the list of members**” (EI#2, L:18).*

*“**Association’s active work** that makes visible their activities on the day to day basis” (EI#5, M:154).*

*“When a single owner [of business] does something on his own it is one story. When something is done on **behalf of an association** it is already perceived differently, more seriously” (EI#5, M:91).*

The following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as driving forces in the subcategory “governance factors”:

- *Management competencies of the head of association*
- *Effective executive team*
- *Valid honorary governing body (board of directors)*
- *Aggregation of the field-specific information*
- *Innovation through knowledge transfer*
- *Sustainable funding raised from various sources (membership dues, grants and subsidies from the state, sponsorship)*

- *List of members*
- *Annual plan of activities (evidence of the ongoing working process)*
- *Capacity to effectively coordinate members' interests.*

The **hindering factors** within the subcategory “governance” are shown in the next set of quotations.

*“There was an interest to get together, but absolutely no interest in **fundraising** [among members of PBA]” (EI#3, L:159).*

*“The point is that this is a trait of our political system and political culture. The notion of **rotation**, of accountability, it is not simply some kind of failure, this is how the system is organized, not only in public domain, but in business, as well” (EI#7, M:61).*

*“Personal things matter. For instance, when the **chairman** of association is rather weak (EI#5, M:146).*

*“The hardest thing is to **coordinate interests**, especially when they are somewhat different among members of association” (EI#5, M:81).*

*“Look, level of **participation** [by members] is decreasing. Nobody is striving to come. They all got to know each other in their small community and nobody wants anything” (EI#4, L:73).*

*“There is a whole segment of associations, I would say 30-40%, in which former Soviet directors assume the lead. They are good specialists, they have a good school, they take a responsible attitude towards their work. They have all the statistics. But they all are reaching 60-70 years. It means that they will be gradually leaving the job market. I believe that the big challenge would be **human resources**. As I understand, these people will be working, due to their age, only 10-15 years more” (EI#14, GR:53).*

The following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as hindering forces in the subcategory “governance factors”:

- *Difficulties with fundraising for operational activities*
- *“One-man show”, depicted in infrequent rotation of organizational leaders*
- *Abuse of authority by the leader in pursuit of his own interests*
- *“The winner takes it all”, expressed in the low ability to reach agreement by consensus in response to conflict among members*
- *Low level of active membership participation*
- *Recruitment, retention and training of personnel.*

The subcategory “**public and political factors**” was most often referred to as a hindering factor. The experts used the following wording to express their concerns about this set of factors, rooted in the public and political discourse. Despite the domination of hindering factors in the

subcategory, I start by first listing the **driving factors**.

*“There are positive ways [of interaction] for independent associations. For instance, a **minister** may offer on his own behalf support to the association’s projects. And if the promise is kept, the association starts to listen to his recommendations and inquiries” (EI#2, L:151).*

*“Acknowledgement on behalf of the sector specific **government bodies**” (EI#2, L:18).*

*“To answer your first question, I would not say that there is no role [of mass media] at all. I would say that it is not big or limited. It fits quite well. They [PBAs] say something publicly and it gets into mass media. It does not get ignored... Of course something gets **covered by the mass media**, they manage to agree something between themselves. That is why I would not say that this activity is useless” (EI#4, M:51).*

*“Yes we do not get too much coverage [in the media]. But there are activities. You may check the **web site** of the Russian political science association. There are a lot of activities presented. (EI#10, M:227).*

*“Nothing unites better than a **common threat**. This is probably a major driving force” (EI#15, GR:71).*

With respect to the above statements, the following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as driving forces in the subcategory “public and political factors”:

- *Close ties with the government officials*
- *Official support from the state*
- *Organizational visibility in the media*
- *Transparency and accountability (web-site, social networks, publication of annual report)*
- *External threat to common interests.*

The **hindering factors** within the subcategory “**public and political**” are shown in the following quotations:

*“It is clear that power holders are doing whatever they want to without even trying to cover their intentions. They continue to impose that this is a mainstream, this is a tough story. It only looks from outside that everything is all right, because nobody goes on demonstrations. But this is caused by a **lack of political competition**” (EI#1, L:215).*

*“All of these business leaders they are actually individualists. They think that majority of issues [with the state] could be resolved either inside or on **the bilateral basis**” (EI#6, M:141).*

“Our specific is that it is very hard to find common interests, because our economy is structured in such a way that there are larger players, instead of smaller ones. And these large ones consider themselves as a political power. And they prefer to agree with the power holders

directly” (EI#7, M:47).

“When it turned out that such practices, such stereotypes that **‘I have what I protect’** emerged, then these self-regulated organizations they will not work otherwise. It is more likely that people that will get there for them it will be hard to change something” (EI#6, M:59).

“Certain time ago I had an enquiry on the **lobbying legislature**, since every year there are talks on the need to pass this federal law. It exists in several regions. Why wouldn’t we take a certain region as a model to try how it works. In case some of the government bodies would implement experience from the best practices, it is most likely that something will change in this respect. But I don’t see yet this happening” (EI#10, M:181).

“Anyway in such transition societies as we have **the role of the state is great**. However, in this country it is exaggerated. It turns out that it is out of balance. How should it be reached? Yes, the state should create the terms and conditions... In other words, the state should provide signals and tell that this is yes, this is a good practice, it is necessary for the Russian society... But what happens next? Then the counter reaction begins, when the terms and conditions are emerging. I happen to be saying something at some personal level and the state realizes it and there comes fear that they will lose control over these processes. And it comes to intervention. And substitution starts to take place. It is especially evident in the field of state’s support of civil society when the Public Chambers were founded. Afterwards the state overtook the initiative and began to manage them” (EI#7, M:88).

“It turned out that thanks to certain well-known people and our own **passivity** we founded ourselves, so to speak, under the imitational framework. Starting from elections and up to associations or something else. It seems that from outside all these procedures are in place, but their influence in terms of outcomes is questionable” (EI#6, M:46).

“Apparently there are opportunities for **self-organization** and nobody really opposes it, but nobody really cares about it” (EI#1, L:139).

“A certain communicational infrastructure does not emerge. That is why there is no **role of intermediary** [for PBAs] between officialdom, population and business community. The problem is in this interface” (EI#4, L:9).

Taking into account the above statements, the following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as hindering forces in the subcategory “public and political factors”:

- *Low level of political culture in the country*
- *Preference for solving problems behind-the-scenes – tet-a-tet with the state*
- *Common attitude among the officials ‘I have what I protect’*
- *Lack of legislation on lobbying*
- *Overregulation of the third sector in Russia*
- *Passivity of the citizens in self-organization and self-regulation*

- *Weak position of the third sector as an intermediary organ between the state and society.*

The subcategory “**socio-economic factors**” was mentioned less frequently in comparison to the first two subcategories. These forces are illustrated by following statements, which were revealed in the socio-economic discourse of the interviewed experts. First, I turn to outlining the **driving factors**.

*“There is a **competition** between the Association of Managers, the Russian Union of Industrials and Entrepreneurs and to some extent the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It should be pointed out that perhaps this competition pushes certain innovations, developments, new topics are being introduced, expert communities are being established, cooperation with the regions is taking place. All of this shows that elements of competition show positive influence” (EI#7, M:126).*

*“The issue of **reputation** [of PBA] is definitely important” (EI#6, M:59).*

*“One should always look at the sources of funding. You know my position, had there be control over the sources of funding and information would be publicly available, but in a proper way without undermining competition and activities of NPOs, of course it would have been easier to understand. Yes, it is the other way around what we have now, when it is possible to hide away anything. Even when it comes to direct funding from the Kremlin. One cannot strictly identify it without being expert on all of these issues. For instance, last year we received a grant of 5 million roubles from the President and this year we also received 5 million roubles from the President for **the innovation award**. When we look at the way these money are being transferred to us, we will find out that they come from an organization named ‘The State Club’, which has no direct affiliation to the Administration of the President” (EI#1, L:195).*

*“**Professional standards**, technical regulations, all these topics are very important now and associations are taking part here” (EI#14, GR:114).*

*“This is a sort of guilds. Some are doing it in order to set barriers against competitors. That is to say that some part of professional community tells that, just like it was in the Middle Ages in France, where winemakers gathered and agreed that we are an association that controls the products, for instance, wine, cheese, etc. We want to control quality. And those who belong to our association, we control them. So it is a tag that we make and this label that is attached to the product, it guarantees quality. The same is going on in some professional circles. For instance, **professional certification** of auditors, lawyers, real estate agents. It is all the same. Some kind of training. It is all up to professional standards and then professional certification” (EI#3, L:183).*

The following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as driving forces in the subcategory “socio-economic factors”:

- *Ability to sustain competition against similar organizations in the field, especially foreign*
- *Reputation of the organization*

- *Public acknowledgement (awards, rankings)*
- *Establishment of professional standards*
- *Operation of certification programs.*

The **hindering factors** within the subcategory “**socio-economic**” are shown in the following quotations:

*“When we had a certain analogy of the competitive environment during the economic upturn, everybody was trying to build professional reputation, to run the business somehow, all these aspirations they did exist. But now when all these scary political events are taking place and **economic factor** of course hinders development of this institute [PBAs] (EI#4, L:21-27).*

*“If one takes Russian associations, the problem of Russia’s **accession to the WTO** according to our key negotiator Medvedkov is the following. He says that he is being accused that he doesn’t defend interests of the industries. And then he asks why nobody comes to him. Why don’t I have a line of business associations, businessmen, who would tell me which positions to defend? What is interesting, when government officials are carrying out negotiations, for instance with Americans, they bring 30 lawyers or industry representatives with them, who formulate position of their industry. And he simply takes this position, which is written down, straight to the point, and defends it. And when we look at our delegation, it is made out of only government officials. And all they do is fighting against the American or European positions. It turns out that they have no background from the Russian stakeholders. Our people live from day to day only” (EI#14, GR:189).*

*“I already pointed out that **interests are highly fragmented**. It hampers all sorts of real unifications, since it is hard to identify these mutual interests. Private interests dominate” (EI#6, M:175).*

*“Now they [members of PBAs] get together, discuss something, drink, at least, together. But there is **no collective action** as such. Because in order for some action to appear, there should be a counterpart in the process. And both parties should act as adults. What does it mean as adults? Each party voices its interests and these interests clash. And nobody takes offence, because these interests do not match or are not congruent. On the contrary, they are happy that there is a possibility to arrive at a united understanding of the course of action through conflict. It is also a learning process (EI#1, L:143).*

*“On a broader scale it turned out that **people are disengaged**. There is no trust in society” (EI#8, M:322).*

*“There is a certain habit, a certain cultural background. In this case, people have no skills of **horizontal communication**. They used to have some sort of authority and they also used to playing games on cheating these authorities” (EI#13, S:107).*

*“If we talk about contemporary Russia the public and the **moral-psychological climate** does not facilitate now, first of all, establishment of any sorts of organizations” (EI#1, L:215).*

Finally, the following were the most frequently chosen items in the expert interviews, and in a summarized form devised for the questionnaire (see Appendix 4), as hindering forces in the subcategory “socio-economic factors”:

- *Consequences of the global financial crisis*
- *Russia’s accession to the WTO*
- *Weak articulation and consolidation of interests within the professional community*
- *Weak shared understanding of benefits from collective action*
- *Poorly developed horizontal communications in society*
- *Low level of moral standing in society.*

All in all, the preceding analysis allowed me to create the questionnaire on the forces either driving or hindering PBAs’ activities. These forces were examined in the quantitative study and reported in the next chapter.

4.2 Results of the confirmatory research

4.2.1 Descriptive statistics

As Table 4.3 suggests, the average organization that took part in the survey is 21.92 years old (min: 1; max: 168) and has an average of 11.87 full-time employees (min: 0; max: 100). The question of organizational age was easy for respondents to answer, while organizational size appeared difficult to address. Almost 40 respondents could not provide data on the number of employees in their organization. Moreover, 15% of surveyed PBAs indicated that they have no full-time employees, which shows that a small proportion of PBAs are managed on a voluntary basis. The majority of PBAs have a rather small permanent staff: slightly over half of PBAs (50.9%) reported that they have from 1 to 8 full-time employees.

For the majority of the responding organizations, the most important field of activity is participation in advocacy, which takes almost half of their organizational resources: 50.04% in goals and 45.69% in work time. The second important area of activities for PBAs is service delivery, which accounts for slightly less than a third of organizational resources: 29.74% in goals and 29.60% in work time. According to respondents, the least important function of PBAs is community building, which is responsible for less than a quarter of organizational resources: 20.22% in goals and 24.71% in work time.

Table 4.3. Descriptive statistics: numerical variables and compositional data

Variable	N of Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age (years)	215	21.92	27.949	1	168
Size (number of employees)	175	11.87	17.867	0	100
Advocacy (goals)	211	50.04	25.652	0	100
Service delivery (goals)	211	29.74	18.490	0	70
Community building (goals)	211	20.22	22.100	0	100
Advocacy (work time)	211	45.69	23.020	0	100
Service delivery (work time)	211	29.60	20.408	0	100
Community building (work time)	211	24.71	24.714	0	100

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N=215)

The survey responses also show that PBAs tend to characterize their organizational behavior as supportive rather than undermining existing societal structures. When asked whether their activities are perceived as supporting existing societal structures, 85.5% of the organizations agreed or strongly agreed that they share a positive attitude towards cooperation with the state. By contrast, 71.7% of the organizations disagree or strongly disagree that their activities undermine existing societal structures. However, when asked whether PBAs are providing alternative societal structures, over one third of respondents (40.4%) disagree or strongly disagree, while slightly less than one third of respondents (31.2%) strongly agree or agree with being perceived as completely independent from the state (see Table 4.4). It seems that when respondents were answering this politically charged question, their self-censorship did not allow them to express more critical views on their relations with the state. So far, PBAs showed themselves as conformists in their attitude towards existing societal orders.

Table 4.4. Descriptive statistics: categorical variables

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Supporting existing societal structures		
Strongly agree	76	35.3
Agree	108	50.2
Disagree	4	1.9
Strongly disagree	1	0.5
Do not know	20	9.3
Missing values	6	2.8
Total	215	100
Undermining existing societal structures		
Strongly agree	1	0.5
Agree	4	1.9
Disagree	44	20.5
Strongly disagree	110	51.2
Do not know	46	21.4
Missing values	10	4.7
Total	215	100
Providing alternative societal structures		
Strongly agree	15	7.0
Agree	52	24.2
Disagree	36	16.7
Strongly disagree	51	23.7
Do not know	53	24.7
Missing values	8	3.7
Total	215	100

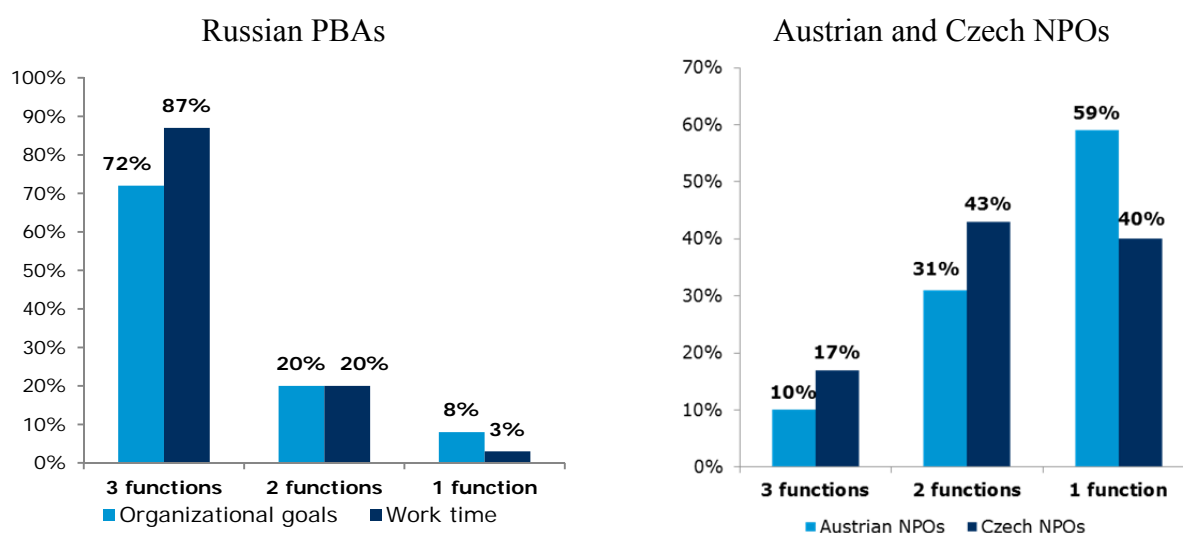
Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N=215)

4.2.2 An overview of the PBAs' functions

4.2.2.1 Multi-functional nature of PBAs

I now turn to hypothesis testing. The first hypothesis on the multi-functional nature of PBAs requires no additional statistical verification; it has already been tested through the application of the compositional approach to data collection. The empirical data on the functions of PBAs represents compositional data since respondents were asked to allocate one hundred percentage points between different statements referring to the functions of PBAs. These were expressed in terms of organizational goals in the first case and in terms of work time in the second case. The descriptive statistics presented in Table 4.3 lend support to the first hypothesis: that PBAs simultaneously perform all three functions, no matter which measurement scale is used. Figure 4.1 shows the results of comparative investigation into the **multi-functional nature of PBAs** in Russia and NPOs in Austria and the Czech Republic.

Figure 4.1. Multi-functional nature of nonprofit organizations: comparative perspective



Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N=215.

Source: Neumayr & Schneider (2008), N=523.

The applied methods allowed me to investigate the multi-functional nature of associations by looking at the composition of functions performed by different types of PBAs. Depending on the applied measurement approach, almost three quarters of PBAs in Russia contribute simultaneously to all three functions. The definite share ranges from 72% (goals) to 87% (work time). Every fifth PBA (20% for both scales) contributes simultaneously to two functions, with the most frequent combination of advocacy and community building (goals) and advocacy and service delivery (work time). Finally, only a minor share of PBAs, varying from 3% (work time) to 8% (goals), specializes in one function only. These findings demonstrate that the majority of PBAs in the sample are multi-functional. This underpins the applied conceptual approach and empirically confirms the multi-tasking nature of associations.

Compared to findings from a study on the functions performed by NPOs in Austria and the Czech Republic, Russian PBAs are significantly more inclined to perform all three functions simultaneously. Only 10% of NPOs in Austria and 17% of those in the Czech Republic contribute

to all three functions simultaneously, while a large share of Austrian NPOs (59%) and a significant share of Czech NPOs (40%) are specialized in one function only (Neumayr and Schneider 2008). This difference could be explained by the specific type of NPO represented by PBAs, whose multi-functionality is a distinctive feature; it could also be explained by the emerging character of the Russian NPO sector, which is still young and less functionally specialized.

4.2.2.2 Relative importance of PBAs' functions

In the second hypothesis, I proposed that the relative importance of functions differs for PBAs in Russia. More specifically, four additional hypotheses were developed that point out that advocacy is the most important function – and service delivery the second most important function – for PBAs regardless of measurement scale (organizational goals or work time). In a similar way to the first hypothesis, the second also needs no further statistical verification due to the application of the compositional approach to data collection. Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d are supported by the descriptive statistics listed in Table 4.3. As the evidence shows, advocacy is by far the most important function performed by PBAs in Russia, while service delivery is the second most important one, irrespective of the measurement scale. I turn to the examination of the relative importance of functions performed by different types of PBAs.

In order to investigate the relative importance of PBAs to the economic, political and communitarian systems of society, as stated above, two distinct approaches for measuring the corresponding functions were used. For both measurement scales, a statistically significant link between the relative importance of the advocacy function (Kruskal-Wallis-Test: $p < .001$ in goals, $p = .002$ in time units) and the community building function (Kruskal-Wallis-Test: $p < .001$ in goals, $p = .006$ in time units) and types of PBAs was established, but no such links were found for the service function (Kruskal-Wallis-Test: $p = .173$ in goals, $p = .810$ in time units).

In order to better visualize the differences in composition of functions performed by different types of PBAs, I used our compositional data set to draw ternary plots (Maier 2014)⁶². Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 show the composition of all three functions performed simultaneously by the PBAs in our sample, where cells with a more intensive color saturation depict a more frequently occurring distribution. The more objective scale of measuring functions (Figure 4.3) in work time – in comparison to subjective ratings of goals (Figure 4.2) – reveals a more intensive distribution of different combinations of all three functions performed simultaneously.

⁶² A special thanks goes to Marco Maier, who helped me to draw the plots in R.

For all PBAs

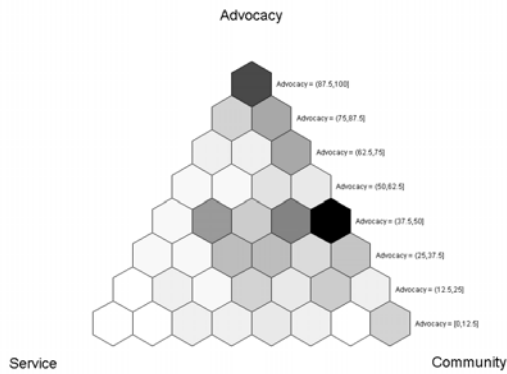


Figure 4.2. Composition of functions performed by PBAs, in organizational goals (N = 211).

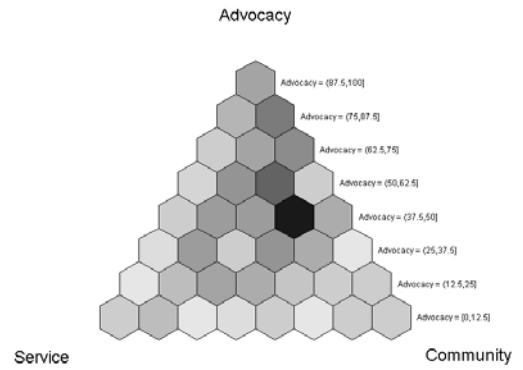


Figure 4.3. Composition of functions performed by PBAs, in work time (N = 211)

For different types of PBAs

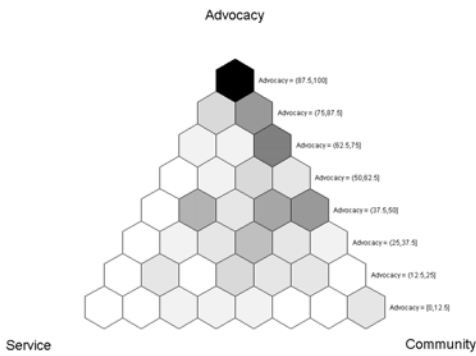


Figure 4.4. Composition of functions performed by BAs, in organizational goals (N = 175).

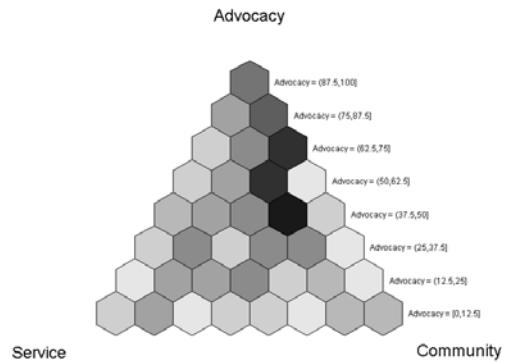


Figure 4.5. Composition of functions performed by BAs, in work time (N = 175).

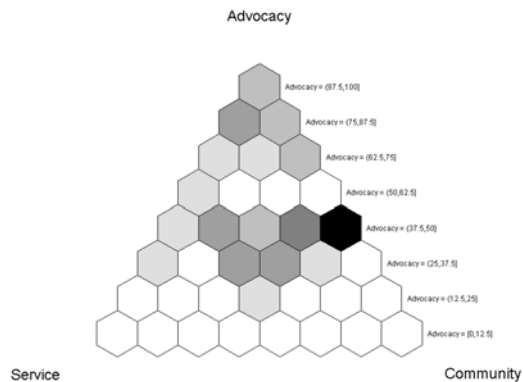


Figure 4.6. Composition of functions performed by IUs, in organizational goals (N = 175).

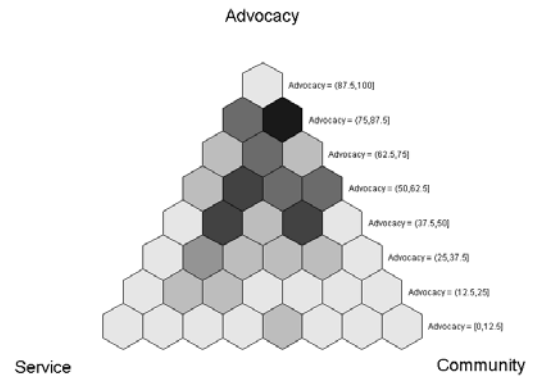


Figure 4.7. Composition of functions performed by IUs, in work time (N = 175).

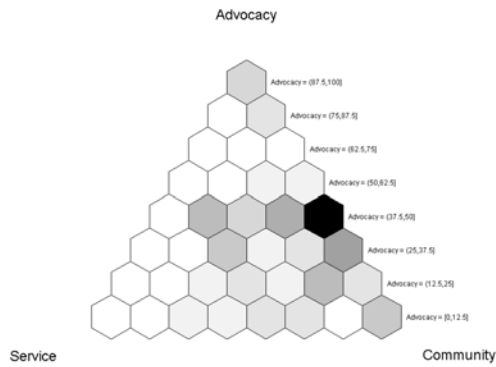


Figure 4.8. Composition of functions performed by LPSs, in organizational goals (N = 175).

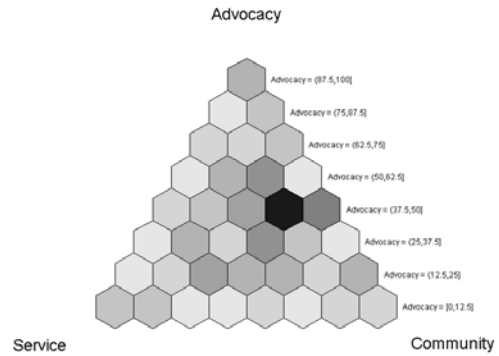


Figure 4.9. Composition of functions performed by LPSs, in work time (N = 175).

If we take a closer look at the composition of functions performed by different types of PBAs (Figure 4.4-Figure 4.9), measured by two alternative scales, we can easily distinguish graphically between the varying distribution of priorities in PBAs' activities. For business associations the most frequent is the combination of high values assigned to the advocacy function (>50% for both scales), with more moderate values corresponding to the service (between 25% and 37.5% for both scales) and the community building functions (< 25% and around 50% for goals and between 12.5% and 37.5% for work time). For intermediary unions we also see a high priority of the advocacy function (between 37.5% and 50% and > 62.5% for goals and between 37.5% and 75% for work time), most frequently combined with the service delivery (<37.5% for both scales) and followed by the community building function (< 25% for both scales). In the case of liberal professional societies, the most important function is contested between the community building function (between 37.5% and 50% in goals) and the advocacy function (between 37.5% and 50% in work time), followed by the service delivery function (between 12.5% and 37.5% in goals and 25% and 50% for work time).

As shown in Figure 4.10 and Figure 4.11, application of both a more subjective scale (organizational goals) and a more objective scale (work time) to measure functions performed by PBAs delivers quite similar results: a leading role of advocacy as the single most important function across all types of PBAs. At the same time, the other two functions, service delivery and community building, rank interchangeably as second or third in importance, though taken together they are as important as advocacy.

When we apply the first subjective scale (Figure 4.10), based on perception of organizational goals, for both business associations and intermediary unions, advocacy – with an average of around 58% (BAs) and 52% (IUs) – constitutes the most important function, community building the second most important, and service delivery the least important. A somewhat different distribution of priorities is established for the LPSs, in which the community building function (42%) is just as important as the advocacy function (39%), substantially overshadowing service delivery (19%). When we compare the relative importance of the advocacy function for BAs and IUs, no significant differences appear (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .130$), but advocacy is more relevant for BAs (average of 58% compared to 39%) than for LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = 0.001$), as well as for IUs (average of 52% compared to 39%) than for LPSs

(Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .002$). The community building function is significantly more important for LPSs (average 42% compared to 23%) than for BAs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p < .001$), whereas no statistically significant links were found for the importance of this function between BAs and IUs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .391$), as well as between IUs and LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .103$). Concerning the service delivery function, no significant differences appear between BAs and IUs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .076$), as well as between BAs and LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .982$) and IUs and LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .103$).

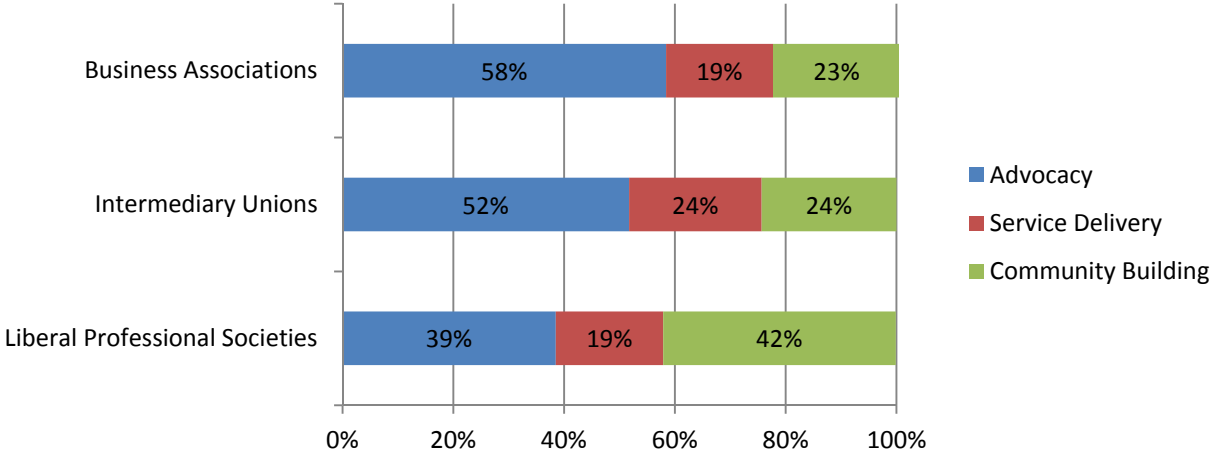


Figure 4.10. Distribution of relative importance of functions of PBAs by organizational goals. Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N=175)

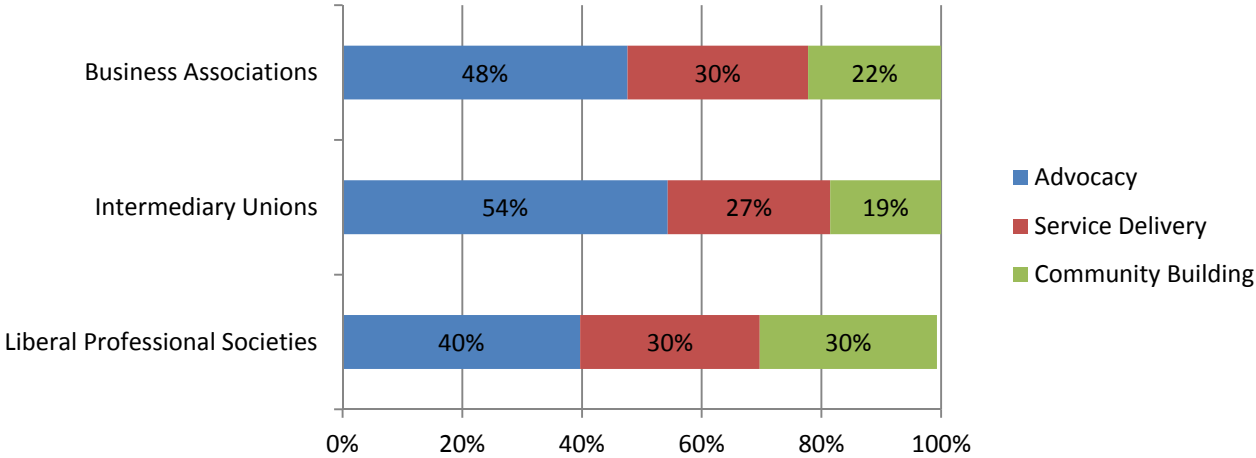


Figure 4.11. Distribution of relative importance of functions of PBAs by work time. Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 175)

When we apply a more objective scale (Figure 4.11), which rests on the allocation of work time to each of the three functions, we observe even fewer differences in three groups of PBAs, as well as in allocation of priorities between the functions. The most important function – both relatively and absolutely – for all types of PBAs is advocacy, as it accounts for on average 54% of work time in IUs, 48% in BAs, and 40% in LPSs. That is at about the same level as the subjective ratings suggested. It indicates that advocacy is significantly more important for IUs (average of 54% of work time compared to 40%) than for LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p < .001$) and slightly less significantly relevant for BAs (average of 48% of work time compared to 40%) than for LPS (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .047$). The remaining two functions occupy approximately half of work

time across the different types of PBAs. This corresponds to the pattern identified by the subjective ratings. The similarities between all three groups of PBAs are apparent.

Moreover, service appears to be the second most important function across all types of PBAs, leaving community building as a third priority. These results contradict the findings from the subjective ratings, in which the importance of community building was rated higher than that of service delivery across all three groups of PBAs. The service delivery function accounts for almost one third of work time across all three types of PBAs. At the same time, in fulfilling this function no significant differences appear between BAs and IUs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .678$), between BAs and LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .799$), and between IUs and LPSs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .493$). The third function, community building, is slightly less important when this form of measurement is applied. All endeavours towards community building are significantly more important for LPSs than for BAs (Mann-Whitney-Test: $p = .015$). LPSs devote 30% of work time to community building activities, while BAs devote only 22%. The same is true for the LPSs in comparison with IUs (Mann-Whitney-Test, $p = .003$), since the latter assign slightly less (27%) work time to the community building function. No statistically significant links were found for the importance of this function between BAs and IUs (Mann-Whitney-Test, $p = .349$).

If the findings on the relative importance of PBAs' functions appear to be fairly consistent for the advocacy function as the most representative of this type of NPO, the same does not apply for the service delivery and community building functions. Inconsistencies in their order of importance could be explained by the way they were measured. We encounter diverging values in the importance of community building. These values are somewhat higher when PBAs take a subjective approach to rating the significance of community building, but slightly lower when objectively measuring the work time assigned to it. Such a difference could be attributed to the character of the community building function, which does not necessarily occur as a direct consequence of a planned course of action; instead, the resulting bonds of trust emerge as a side effect of other organizational activities or as an outcome of PBAs' interaction with external stakeholders. Therefore, even though PBAs give a high priority to community building, the amount of time they allocate for the implementation of this function is somewhat lower. Another interpretation could be that mostly top executives took part in the survey. In their view, advocacy and community building are strategically more important than the tactical routine of service delivery. At the same time, they admit that the share of time allocated to the fulfillment of service delivery is higher in comparison with community building across all types of PBAs.

The acquired data show that PBAs represent an advocacy-oriented type of NPO, referring both to the allocation of goals and to work time. Based on these findings, I could argue that in relation to PBAs the organized civil society in Russia, exemplified by PBAs, could be classified as **expressively oriented**. Unfortunately, I cannot extrapolate these findings to the Russian nonprofit sector as such and compare them with the findings of the Austria-Czech research, in which the whole sector in both countries was examined, or with findings of the JHCNPS Project, where no data on Russia is available. Nevertheless, the findings on PBAs' functional orientation seem to correspond to assessments of the expressive character of the Russian nonprofit sector, presented in chapter 2, as well as to the JHCNPS Project's conclusion that in countries like Russia with small-scale non-profit sectors, functional orientation inclines toward being expressive.

4.2.2.3 Determinants of the composition of PBAs functions

Hypothesis 3 (a,b) deals with the questions of whether the composition of functions performed by PBAs (measured in two alternative scales: goals and work time) is dependent on the organizational age, and the nature of this dependence if it exists. To answer it, the data was prepared using the R package DirichletReg, and the investigated parameters were listed in Table 4.5. Since I examined three types of functions, for which the means must always sum up to 100%, a multinomial logit strategy, as in multinomial regression, was employed (Maier 2014). To model the relationship between the composition of functions and organizational age, I fitted a Dirichlet regression model using the alternative parametrization, as in Maier (2014). As Table 4.5 shows, the dependent variable proves statistically significant in the precision model based on the expected values. This suggests that organizational age substantially influences the functions that PBAs fulfill. Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Table 4.5. Dirichlet Regressions on effect of organizational age on the composition of PBAs' functions

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Composition of functions, measured in organizational goals	Composition of functions, measured in work time
Estimation method	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis
Organizational age (logged)	0.91159*** (0.06094)	1.17401*** (0.06005)
# of obs.	211	211
Log likelihood	267.2	177.7
Parametrization	alternative	alternative

Note: *** Significant at the 0.1% level, ** 1% level, * 5% level.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 215.

In order to better interpret the Dirichlet regressions, the composition of PBAs' functions was plotted against the organizational age (Figure 4.12). This shows the way the composition changes with the increasing age of the organization. Both models deliver somewhat similar trajectories of composition of PBAs functions depending on the organizational age. Advocacy accounts for slightly over 60% of organizational goals in the young PBAs, and its share declines to 40% for more mature PBAs. When the advocacy function is measured in work time, it remains the most important function. It accounts for around 45% of organizational resources, but its importance varies less across PBAs of different age. Community building seems to be the second most important function for the young PBAs, taking a share of over 25% in the overall distribution of PBAs' functions (in both scales). By the time an organization becomes well-established, the share of this function starts to gain in importance, especially when measured in goals; it even exceeds the advocacy function by taking a share of 50% in the overall distribution of functions, while when measured in work time it also gains in importance over time, but less rapidly, reaching a share of only 35% of organizational resources. Service delivery seems to be the least important function when measured in organizational goals. For young PBAs, service delivery rapidly gains importance from over 10% share to the peak of slightly over 20% share, while for mature PBAs service delivery rapidly loses importance, returning to the share of only 10%. When service

delivery is measured in work time, its share is more stable for PBAs of all ages, slightly exceeding 25% share in the overall distribution of functions.

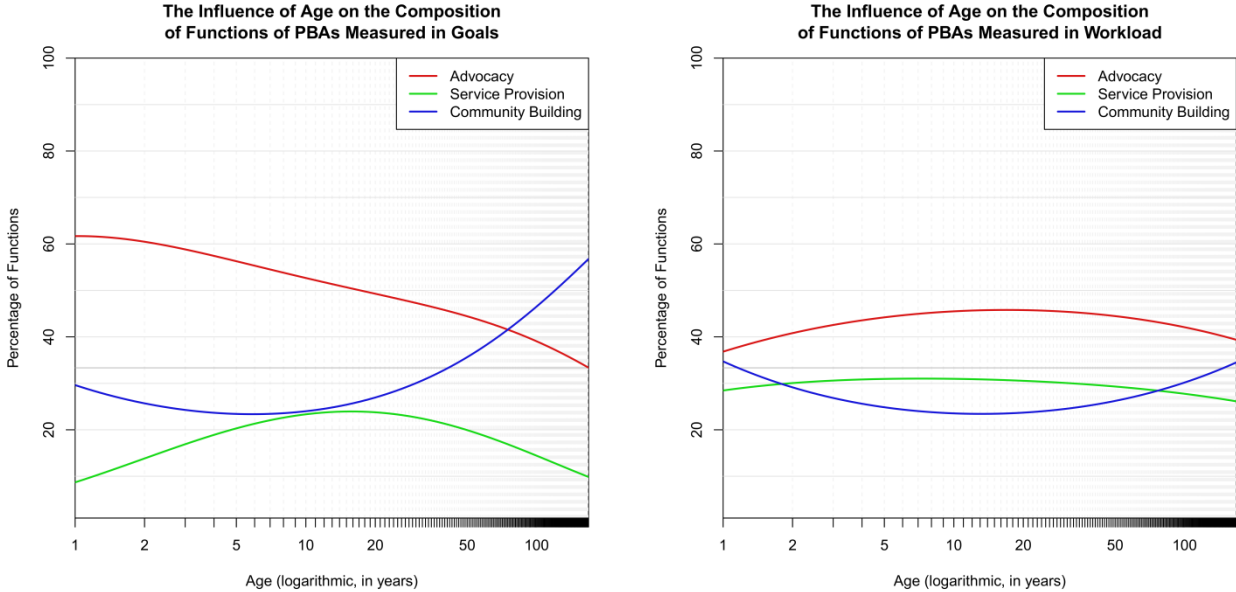


Figure 4.12. The influence of age on the composition of functions of PBAs, measured in organizational goals (left) and in work time (right): predicted values of Dirichlet regression
Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 211.

Hypothesis 4 (a,b) concerns the questions of whether the composition of functions performed by PBAs (measured in two alternative scales: goals and work time) is dependent on the organizational size, and the nature of this dependence if it exists. The data was prepared using the R package DirichletReg, and the examined parameters were listed in Table 4.6. Since I investigated three types of functions, for which the means must always sum up to 1, I employed a multinomial logit strategy, as in multinomial regression (Maier 2014). To model the relationship between the composition of functions and organizational size, I fitted a Dirichlet regression model using the alternative parametrization, as in Maier (2014). As shown in Table 4.6, the dependent variable proves statistically significant in the precision model based on the expected values. This suggests that organizational size substantially influences the functions that PBAs fulfill. Hypothesis 4 received support.

Table 4.6. Dirichlet Regressions on effect of organizational size on the composition of PBAs' functions

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Composition of functions, measured in organizational goals	Composition of functions, measured in work time
Estimation method	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis
Organizational size (logged)	0.59500*** (0.15320)	1.06406*** (0.16433)
# of obs.	145	145
Log likelihood	190.5	133.5

Parametrization	alternative	alternative
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Note: *** Significant at the 0.1% level, ** 1% level, * 5% level

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 215.

In order to better interpret the Dirichlet regressions, the composition of PBAs' functions was plotted against the organizational size (Figure 4.13). This shows the way the composition changes with the increasing size of the organization. When functions are measured in organizational goals, advocacy is the single most important function. It gains in importance as the size of the organization grows, ranging from over 45% in the composition of functions for small PBAs to slightly less than 60% for large PBAs. However, when functions are measured in work time, the trend is somewhat different; it appears that with growth in the number of employees, the importance of the advocacy function decreases from almost 50% to less than 40% of work time. Still, advocacy remains the most important function, except in very big organizations, in which the importance of service delivery exceeds that of advocacy, taking a share of over 40%. For both measurement scales, service provision gains in importance as the size of the organization grows, varying from around 20% share for small PBAs (in both scales) to less than 30% share (in goals) and over 40% (in work time). With regard to community building, the trend is different for both measurement scales. This function definitely loses importance as organizations employ more staff. When community building is measured in goals, its share drastically diminishes from 40% for the small PBAs to slightly over 10% for large PBAs. When community building is measured in work time, the share of this function decreases less dramatically, from almost 30% to around 15%.

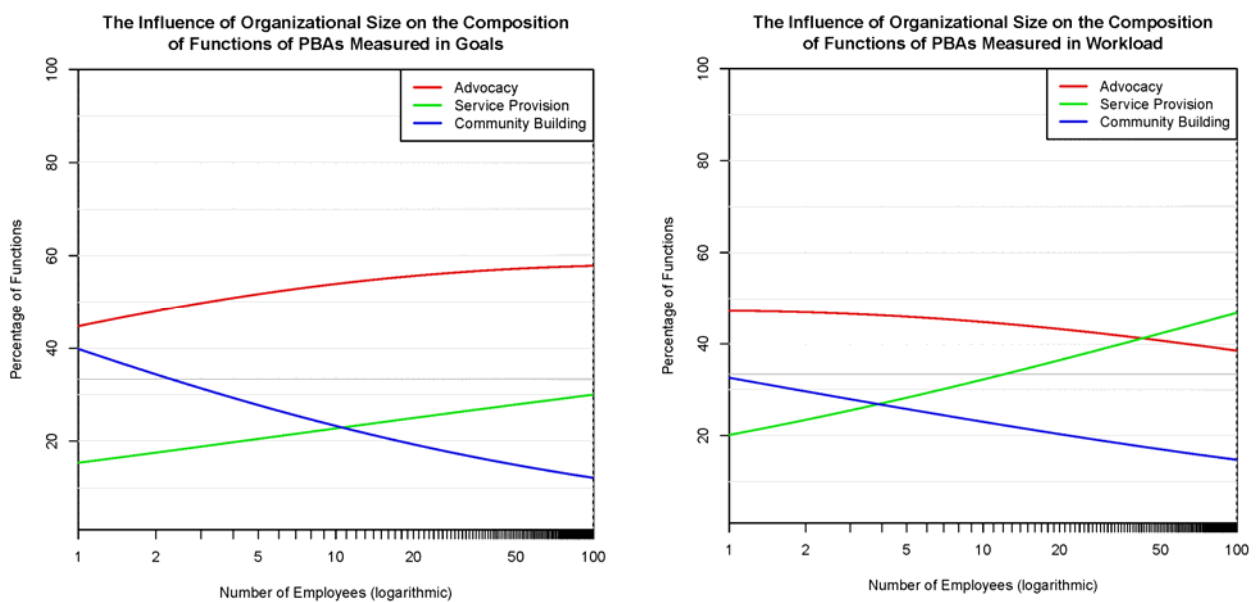


Figure 4.13. The influence of organizational size on the composition of functions of PBAs, measured in organizational goals (left) and in work time (right): predicted values of Dirichlet regression.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 145.

Hypothesis 5 (a,b) deals with the question of whether the composition of functions performed by PBAs (measured in two alternative scales: goals and work time) is dependent on the public standing towards the state, and the nature of this dependence if it exists. Only one of three possible public standings toward the state – support to existing societal structures – was examined

since the other two options – undermining societal structures, and providing alternative structures – yielded similar results, as descriptive statistics showed. The data was prepared using the R package DirichletReg, and the examined parameters were listed in Table 4.7. Since I investigated three types of functions, for which the means must always sum up to 1, I employed a multinomial logit strategy, as in multinomial regression (Maier 2014). To model the relationship between the composition of functions and public standing towards the state, I fitted a Dirichlet regression model using the alternative parametrization, as in Maier (2014). As shown in Table 4.7, the dependent variable proves statistically significant in the precision model based on the expected values. This suggests that public standing towards the state substantially influences the functions that PBAs fulfill. Hypothesis 5 is supported.

Table 4.7. Dirichlet Regressions on effect of public standing towards the state by the composition of PBAs’ functions

	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent variable	Composition of functions, measured in organizational goals	Composition of functions, measured in work time
Estimation method	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis	Dirichlet (precision model) Standard errors in parenthesis
Public standing towards the state (support)	0.91618*** (0.06175)	1.25236*** (0.06148)
# of obs.	205	205
Log likelihood	257.2	178.2
Parametrization	alternative	alternative

Note: *** Significant at the 0.1% level, ** 1% level, * 5% level.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 215.

In order to better interpret the Dirichlet regressions, the composition of PBAs’ functions was plotted against the public standing towards the state (Figure 4.14). This shows the way that composition changes depending on the degree of agreement or support that PBAs offer to existing societal structures. Since here I am dealing with a case of a categorical predictor (level of agreement, which includes the answers “strongly agree” and “agree”, vs. disagreement, which includes the answers “disagree”, “strongly disagree”, and “don’t know”), the plots are presented in the form of stacked bars.

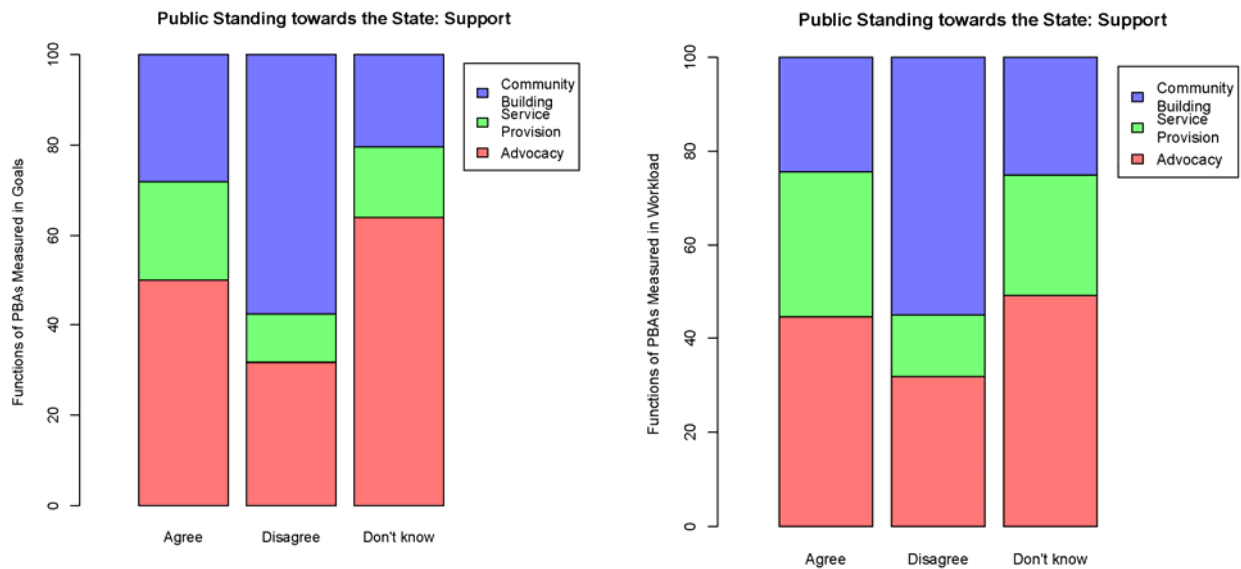


Figure 4.14. The influence of the support of existing societal structures on the composition of functions of PBAs, measured in organizational goals (left) and in work time (right): predicted values of Dirichlet regression.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013, N = 205.

Both measurement scales show quite similar results with respect to the composition of functions that PBAs perform, depending on whether they agree that they support existing societal structures. As descriptive statistics showed, 85% of the examined PBAs support existing societal order. This proves the overwhelming dominance of this category. On the contrary, only 2% do not share this view, while around 9% do not have any clear position on this issue. It appears that advocacy remains the most important function, reaching a share of almost 50% (in goals) and slightly over 40% (in work time) when PBAs agree that they support existing societal structures. But with respect to the second and third most important function, there is a certain ambiguity. When functions are measured in goals, community building seems to be the second most important function for PBAs showing support to existing societal order, reaching a share of almost 30%, while service delivery takes slightly over 20% in the distribution of functions. Measurement in work time, however, shows that for PBAs supporting existing societal structures, service provision is the second most important function and holds a share of over 35%, while community building only reaches a share of slightly over 20%.

When PBAs disagree that they support existing societal structures, the single most important function is community building, which takes a share of almost 60% (in goals and work time). Advocacy, with a share of slightly over 35% (in both scales), is the second most important function for PBAs that disagree that they support existing societal order; service delivery, with a share of around 15% (in both scales), is the least important function. Since this category only received support of 2% of the examined PBAs, the composition of function by PBAs that do not support existing societal order should be interpreted with caution. Finally, when looking at those PBAs that do not have a clear opinion on whether they support existing societal structures, there is still evidence that advocacy remains the most important function in their activities: it takes a share of over 60% when measured in goals and over 40% when measured in work time. The other two

functions for PBAs with undecided public standing towards the state take similar proportions. In the case of measurement in goals, community building takes around 20% in the composition of PBAs' functions, while service delivery takes slightly less than 20%. When measured in work time, community building and service delivery take around 25% share each in the overall distribution of functions.

4.2.3 Forces driving and hindering achievement of PBAs' missions confirmed quantitatively

4.2.3.1 Organization: governance factors

At the level of the organization, according to over two thirds of respondents (Figure 4.15), governance factors substantially contributing to the successful achievement of organizational missions include management competencies of the head of association (84%), an effective executive team (84%), and a capacity to effectively coordinate members' interests (84%); these are illustrated by the list of attracted members (73%), funding raised from various sources (73%), and planning of activities (79%). Slightly over half of the respondents (Figure 4.15) agreed that among the factors facilitating their organizational activities are stimulation of innovations (62%), aggregation of information (59%), and an active, voluntary governing body (51%). These findings show that PBAs attach a lot of importance to the leadership and his/her team in managing daily operations, while sophisticated and resource-intensive management tools linked to innovations, information, and governance receive less attention.

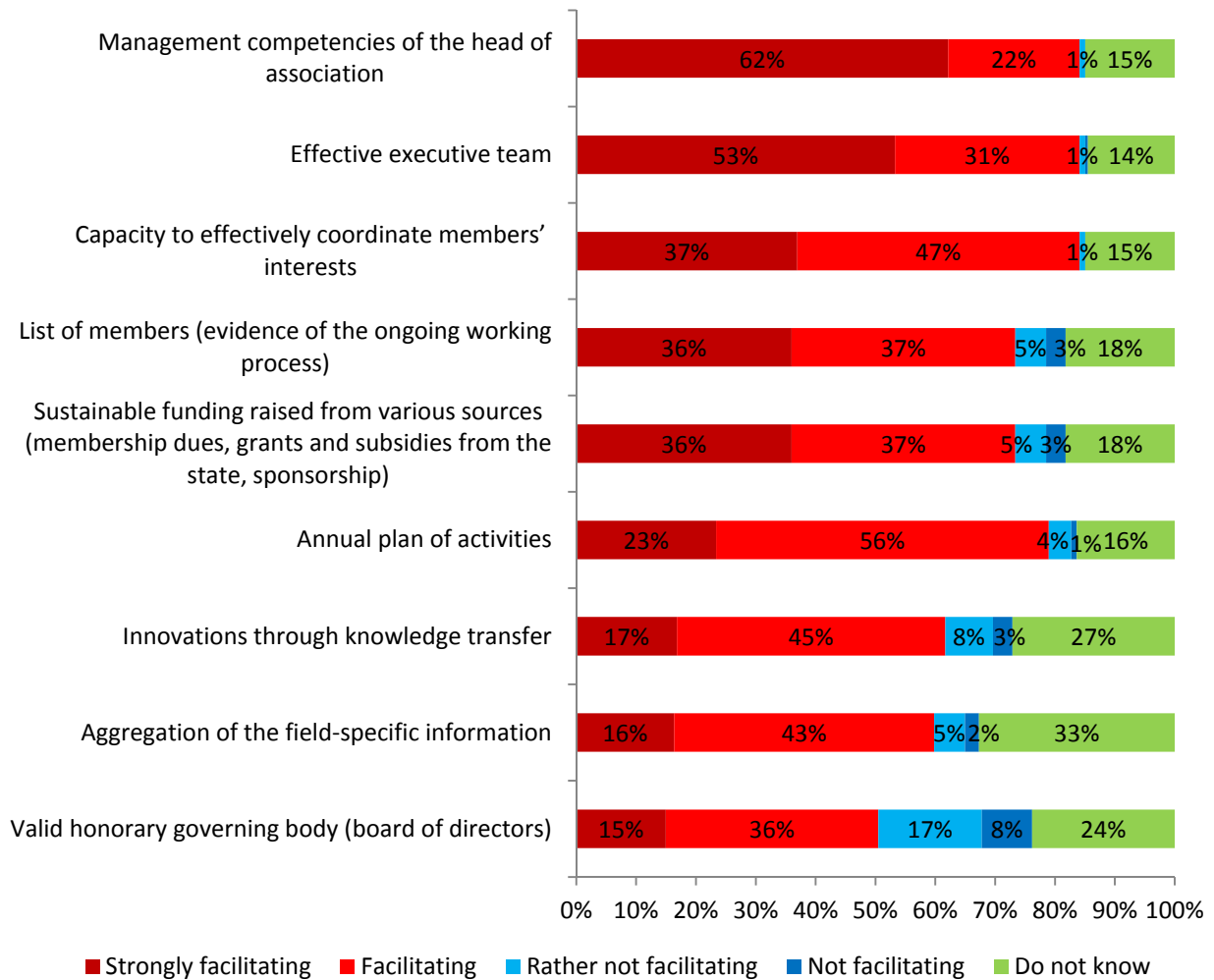


Figure 4.15. Governance factors: driving forces.

Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

When I turn to the factors that hinder successful achievement of organizational mission, it appears that almost two thirds of respondents indicate only two such factors (Figure 4.16). The first is difficulties associated with fundraising for operational activities (69%), and the second is the low level of active participation on behalf of members (66%). Respondents disagreed about whether two other factors hinder achievement of mission or not. About one third of them (33%) considers the low ability to reach consensus in decision-making to be a hindering factor, while almost the same share of respondents (42%) disagree. A similar discrepancy arises with the issue of personnel: 35% of respondents tend to see it as a hindering factor, whereas 37% of respondents are unconcerned. But when it comes to such delicate issues as rotation of leadership (53%) and abuse of authority (50%), half of respondents do not consider them to be hindering factors. Such a reaction could be explained by the fact that respondents represented leaders of PBAs, who are not used to facing such direct questions and were perhaps offended by them. In the feedback to the survey, one of the respondents complained that the item on “abuse of authority” was formulated without due academic accuracy. I agree that the respondent was right in this respect, and the above-mentioned item could have been formulated differently, without forcing heads of PBAs to admit that they might be involved in unethical behaviour.

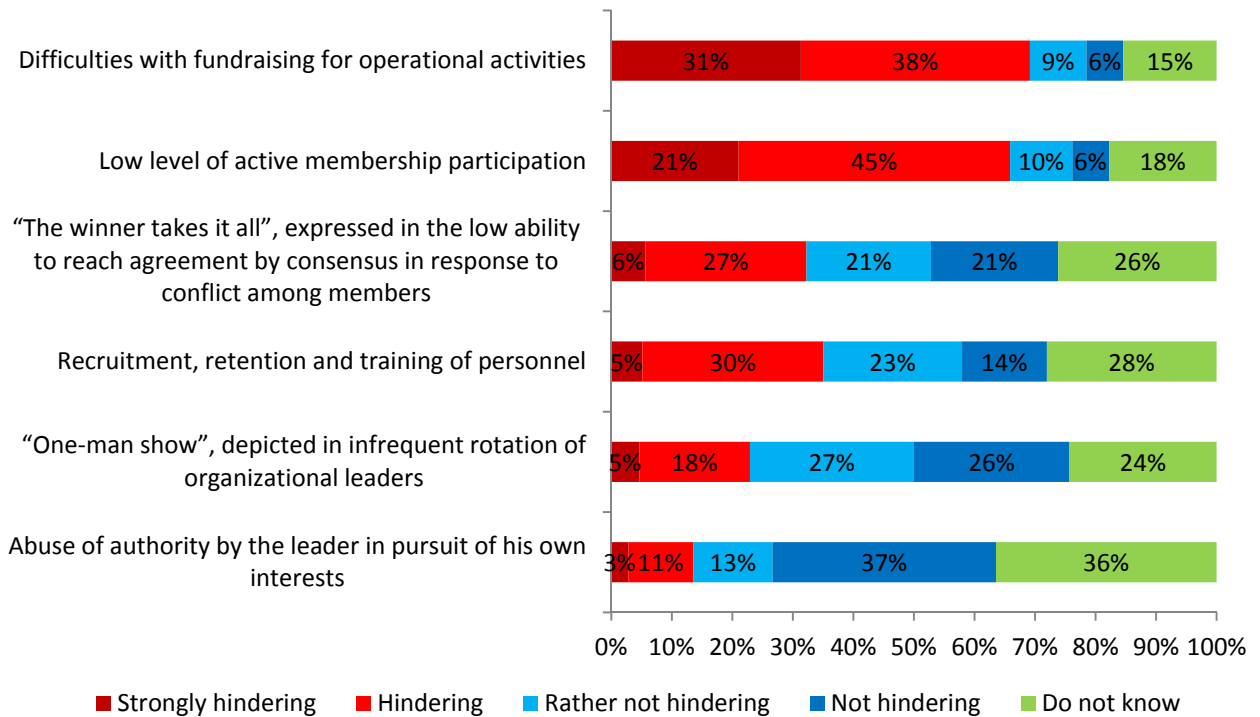


Figure 4.16. Governance factors: hindering forces.

Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

When comparing the results of the qualitative research with the findings of the survey, it appears that the latter confirm results of the exploratory study (Table 3.4). In the qualitative study, governance factors were considered to be the most frequently mentioned driving factor among all three categories of the latter. The quantitative study also revealed that the vast majority of respondents consider the identified driving factors as strongly facilitating or facilitating fulfillment of their organizational mission. Moreover, across two other categories of driving factors, this category was rated highest on the “strongly facilitating” option to the question on the governance factors. Less agreement is evident with respect to the hindering factors, just like in the qualitative study, where this category of hindering factors was less frequently mentioned in comparison to other two categories of hindering forces. This means that governance factors are strongly perceived by heads of PBAs as facilitating, rather than hindering, achievement of their missions.

4.2.3.2 State: public and political factors

At the societal level, the overwhelming majority of respondents agreed that public and political factors facilitating successful achievement of organizational missions include activities in the field of public relations (public advocacy) and government relations (policy advocacy). As Figure 4.17 shows, 72% of respondents consider official support from the state, and 70% of respondents emphasize that having close ties with government officials is beneficial for their organization. The vertical communication with authorities needed for the implementation of policy advocacy remains an important factor in the transition context of Russia. At the same time, respondents attach even more significance to organizational visibility in the media (82%) and transparency and accountability practices (73%) as driving forces. This serves as a confirmation that PBAs use

mixed strategies in their interaction with the state and society in order to reach their goals. With respect to such factors as external threats to common interests, the respondents were divided. 34% agreed that it could be regarded as a facilitating factor, while 37% took the opposite position, and 29% were unable to take any position at all.

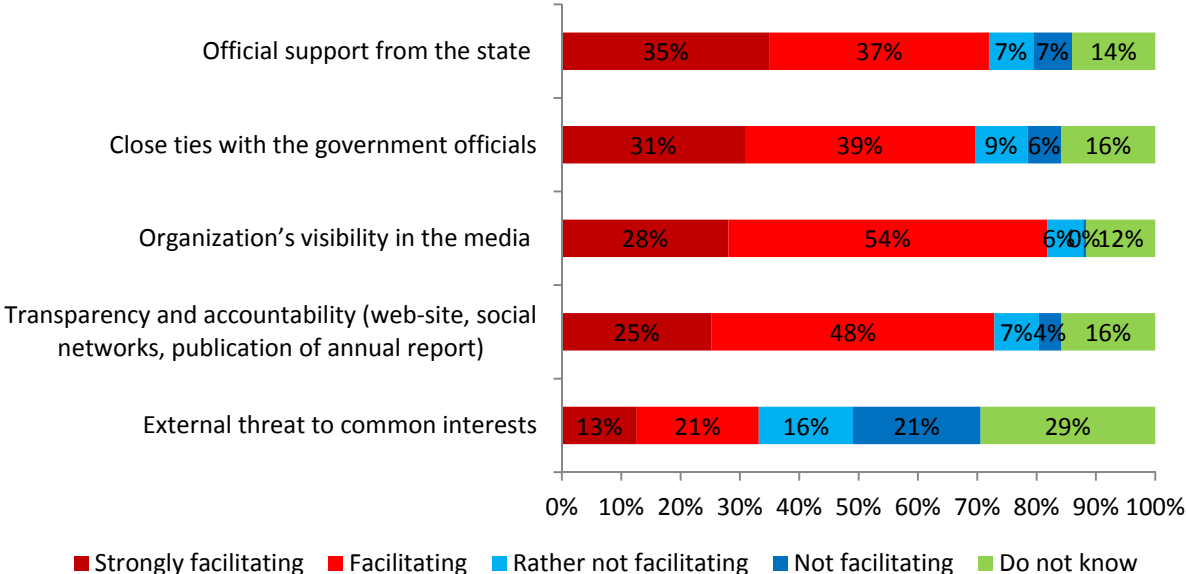


Figure 4.17. Public and political factors: driving forces.
 Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.
 Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

Over half of the respondents indicated that passivity of citizens in self-organization (64%) hinders successful achievement of organizational mission (Figure 4.18). This is reflected in a weak position of the third sector as an intermediary between the state and society (64%) and is dramatized by the propensity of officials to corruption (53%) and preference for dealing with the state on an individual basis (53%). No agreement between the respondents was reached on the next three factors. With respect to overregulation of the third sector in Russia, 40% of respondents labelled it a hindering factor, another 34% did not see this factor as any threat to their activities, and 27% were undecided. The low level of political culture in the country also did not garner agreement. The most surprising, however, was the fact that respondents could not agree on the need for laws on lobbying. Only 39% of respondents think that lack of such laws hinders fulfillment of their missions; 27% do not see any such influence, and 33% are undecided on this issue.

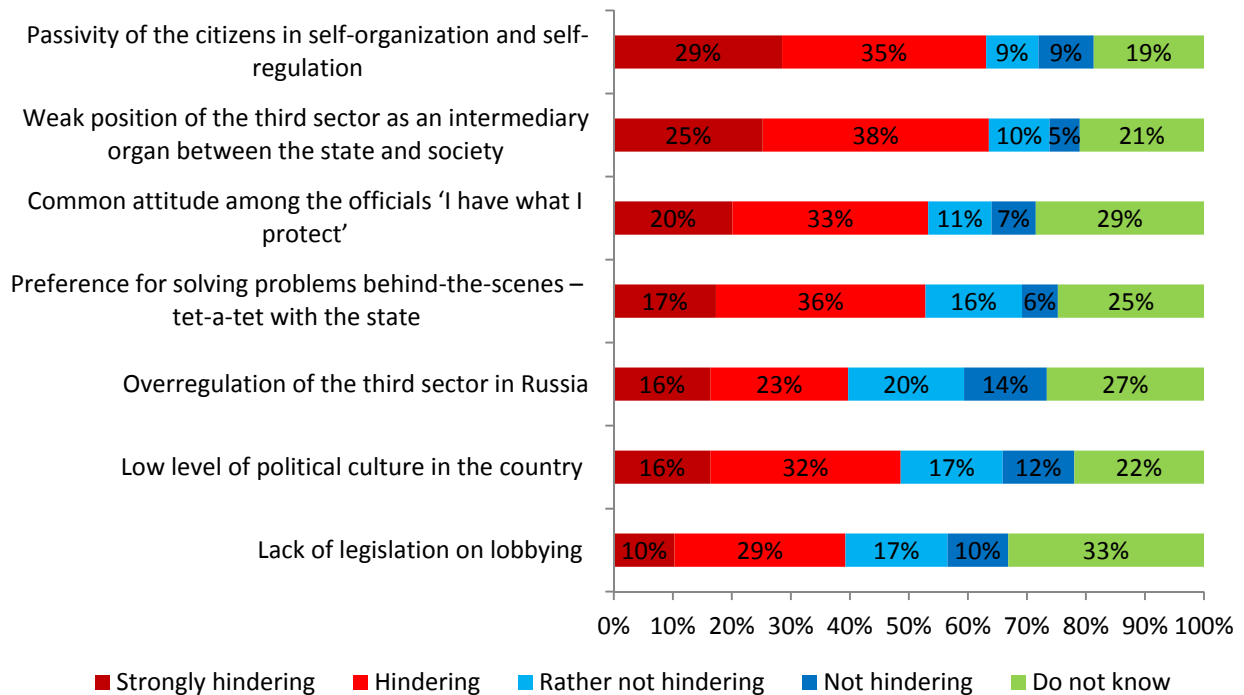


Figure 4.18. Public and political factors: hindering forces.

Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

A comparison of these findings with the results of the preceding qualitative study (Table 3.4) shows a certain degree of consistency. They are in line with regard to public and political factors, as the latter was indicated most frequently as a hindering force. In the capacity of a driving force, this category was the second most frequently identified. Between a third and over half of heads of PBAs indicate public and political factors as strongly hindering or hindering achievement of their missions. Moreover, among all other hindering factors, this category received the highest ratings on the “strongly hindering” option, thus confirming that for PBAs public and political factors remain the most important force impeding achievement of their missions. At the same time, the findings of the quantitative study on the public and political factors prove that heads of PBAs show more agreement on the driving forces than on the hindering forces. The fact that public and political factors are more likely being viewed by the respondents as opportunities, rather than threats, gives cautious evidence that PBAs share optimistic views about the current political system. As people directly involved in cooperation with the state on a daily basis, heads of PBAs are more inclined to engage with the state on its terms and conditions than to look for alternative platforms for interaction.

4.2.3.3 Community: socio-economic factors

At the community level, over two thirds of the respondents (Figure 4.19) considered the following socio-economic items among the factors facilitating achievement of organizational missions: the reputation of organization (84%), establishment of professional standards (71%), and public acknowledgement (79%). It should be pointed out that according to 60% of respondents, the reputation of a PBA strongly facilitates fulfillment of organizational missions. This could be interpreted as a confirmation of PBAs’ long-running plans and intention to establish themselves in

the field. Also, the fact that PBAs claim that they apply sophisticated community building tools, such as granting public acknowledgement and even developing professional standards, proves that PBAs have a strategic agenda for development. At least half of the respondents indicated that the ability to sustain competition (62%) and the operation of certification programs (50%) enhance their organizational success. The last two factors show, however, that the operational issues of sustaining competition and running certification programs are perceived by the respondents as somewhat less important. This could be due to the fact that respondents represented top managers of PBAs and pay more attention to strategic issues and less to routine.

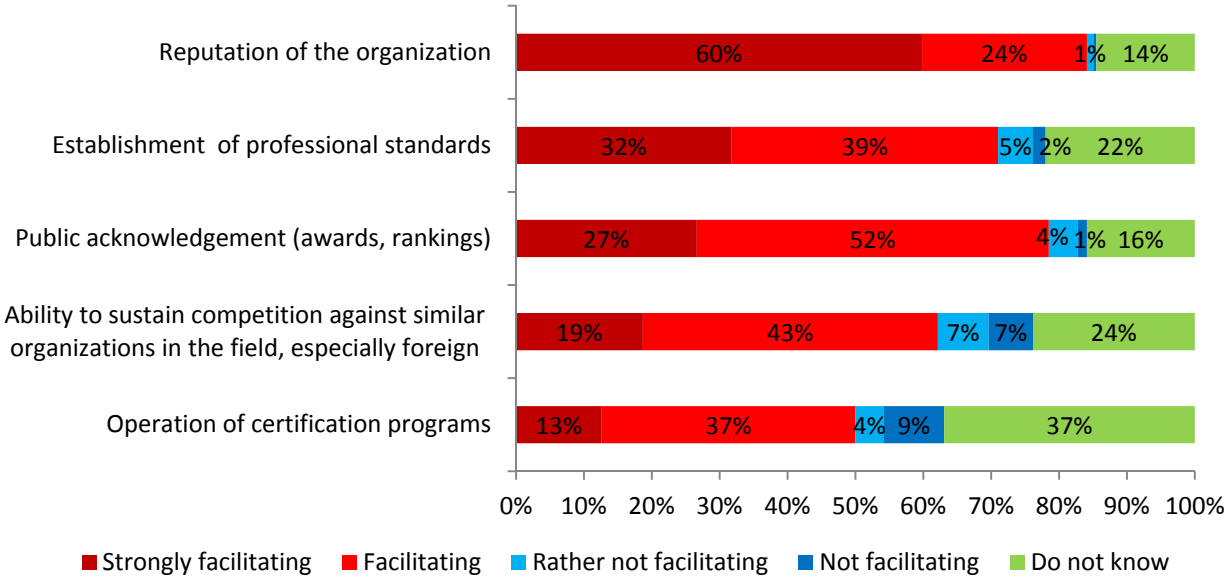


Figure 4.19. Socio-economic factors: driving forces.
 Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.
 Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

For the majority of respondents, the factors that hinder the success of their organizational missions lay in the field of difficulties associated with community building (Figure 4.20). This is reflected in the misunderstanding of benefits of collective action (68%) and weak articulation and consolidation of interests (61%) against the background of poor horizontal communications in society (56%). Respondents were divided on the next two factors. It appears that consequences of the global financial crisis prevented only 45% of respondents from successfully pursuing their missions, while 31% did not feel their influence. 42% of respondents considered a low level of moral standing in society as a hindering factor, while 31% of respondents claimed that it did not represent a threat to achievement of their missions and 28% of respondents could not decide their opinion on this issue. The most surprising was the reaction of the majority of respondents on Russia’s accession to the WTO: 60% of respondents welcomed it instead of showing concerns for its consequences. However, this could be due to low awareness on the issue of the WTO and its consequences for the Russian economy.

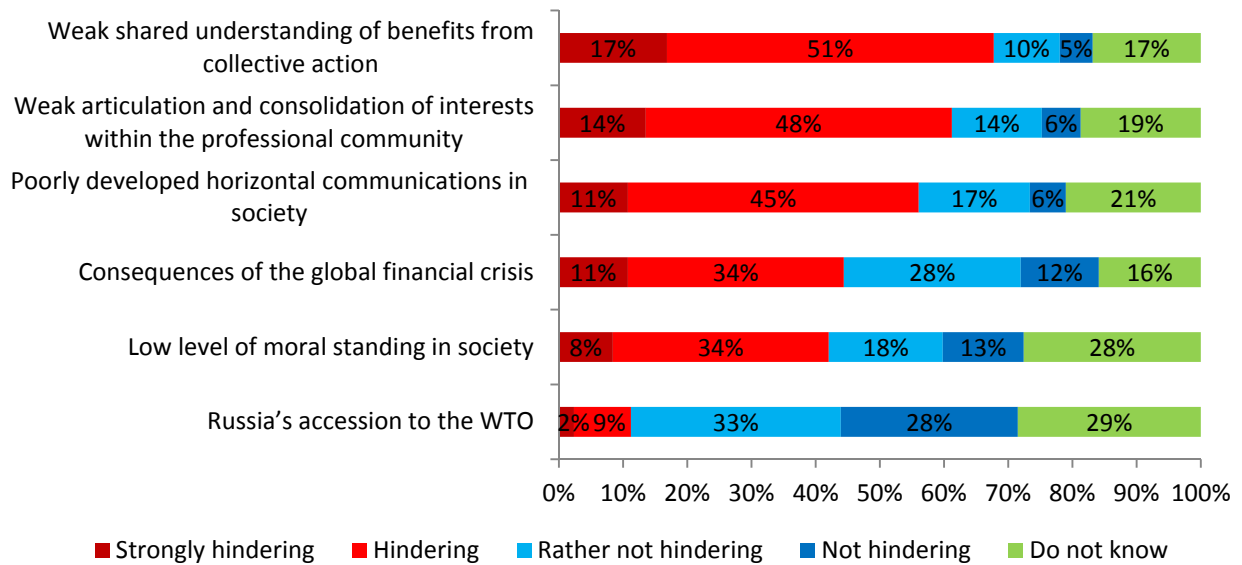


Figure 4.20. Socio-economic factors: hindering forces.
 Note: The values are represented as a percentage of the total number of respondents.
 Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

The findings of the qualitative study (Table 3.4) showed that socio-economic factors were indicated as the least frequent category both as a driving and as a hindering force. In comparison, the results of the quantitative study show a somewhat different picture. The absolute majority of respondents rated all of the available socio-economic options as strongly facilitating or facilitating accomplishment of their missions, thus contributing to the importance of these driving factors. On the contrary, from slightly fewer than every fifth respondent to over one half of them chose to indicate socio-economic factors as rather not hindering or not hindering their activities. This means that socio-economic factors are viewed by the heads of PBAs as forces driving, not hindering, their organizational activities.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 A detailed view of PBAs’ advocacy, community building, and service delivery functions

Apart from examining the relative importance of the three major functions – advocacy, community building, and service delivery – for different types of PBAs, the subsequent section allows us to gain a better understanding of the meaning that implementation of these functions is associated with in the transition context. As stated above, I was able to conclude from the qualitative content analysis that the theoretical framework of the functions of NPOs is suitable for PBAs in Russia. Russian PBAs simultaneously implement all three major societal functions, similar to their counterparts in the West. The following analysis is based on the set of criteria derived from the expert interviews and supported by the findings of the survey in relation to three different types of PBAs.

4.3.1.1 Advocacy as PBAs’ input to the political system

The content analysis revealed that advocacy is the most important societal function performed by the examined PBAs in Russia. Even though advocacy could be fulfilled in multiple ways, it is

most frequently understood in two ways: first, as a deliberate representation of the interests of collective agencies directed towards the state; second, as awareness-raising activities addressed to society at large through the media. The former, also known as “policy advocacy”, consists of proposing new and changing existing legislation and lobbying for resources, while the latter, also referred to as “citizen advocacy” or “public advocacy”, refers to the setting and promoting of agendas by influencing public opinion (Knapp, Robertson, and Thomason 1990, 200). Examples of policy advocacy are found in such statements of experts as “*associations are created first of all to lobby interests... for instance, confectioners became active to lobby for protective import duties*” (EI#5, M:11), “*our association aims to improve the legal environment*”(EI#2, L:131) and “*from the point of view of effective implementation of the government relations technologies, it [PBAs] is probably the only working civil society institution*” (EI#14, GR:199). With respect to public advocacy, the experts emphasise that “*here a pure representation of interests of own groups only does not work, on the contrary, it is a kind of work addressed to the community at large*” (EI#7, M:226) or “*I am a member of an association, but as an expert community it seeks ways to participate in setting the public agenda. At our website, which we created in the association... the traffic on identity is high... To put it briefly, it is one of the ways to create a platform for promotion of our expertise to a wider community*” (EI#10, M:231).

Table 4.8. Relative importance of the components of the advocacy function for different types of PBAs by work time

Type of PBA	Policy Advocacy	Public Advocacy
Business Association	30%	18%
Intermediary Union	34%	20%
Liberal Professional Society	15%	25%

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 175)

For BAs and IUs, activities contributing to policy advocacy are somewhat more important (Table 4.8) in terms of allocated work time than public advocacy activities. However, for LPSs the situation is exactly the opposite; they put more emphasis on being heard as a public voice than on reaching politicians directly. Thus, both BAs and IUs are more active in influencing policy makers through direct interaction, whereas LPSs are more engaged in mobilizing public opinion by indirect interaction. This difference in advocacy practice can be partially explained by the fact that BAs and IUs have significantly more paid staff than LPSs, which enables them to regularly engage with policy makers on various occasions that involve professional expertise. LPSs have significantly fewer resources available to them, limiting their direct access to policy makers and leaving them with the option to influence politicians indirectly through less-resource-intensive PR activities. Another reason for the minor importance of policy advocacy for LPSs might be the character of relations between the government and this type of PBA. Since LPSs are by far the oldest group among the PBAs examined, it is hard for them to overcome traditional dependency on state support, as well as the communist legacy of mutual mistrust imprinted in their relationships with the state. On the contrary, business-oriented BAs and IUs developed in parallel with the modern Russian state, enabling them to build constructive government relations as their fields became more structured. Such is the case, for example, with umbrella associations (IUs) for large, medium, and small businesses; their existence was strongly supported by the state (Markus

2007). It has become especially evident since 2000, when Putin came to power and started to conduct regular meetings and consultations with representatives of the major associations uniting businesses of various sizes. At least nominally, the leading IUs were acknowledged as partners of the state in the public policy debate. Of course, it is still too early to talk about equal partnership between the state and PBAs; however, the acknowledgement of this part of organized civil society signals that the import substitution phase in the Russian third sector is underway (Jakobson and Sanovich 2010).

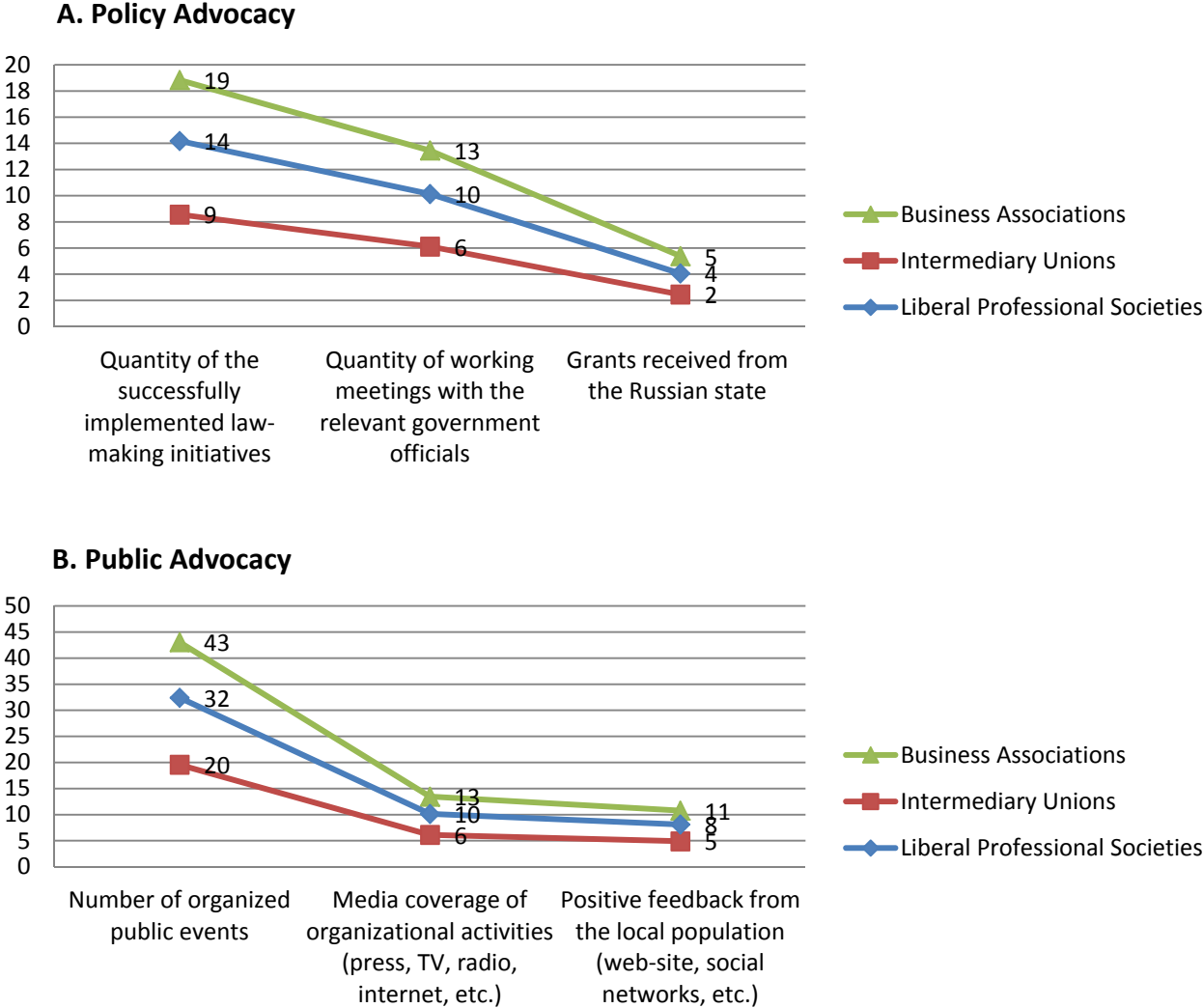


Figure 4.21. Ranking of PBAs’ annual performance indicators for the advocacy function. Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

The ranking of annual performance indicators provides another perspective on the two major dimensions of the advocacy function (Figure 4.21). As can be seen from Figure 4.21, the most important advocacy KPI for all types of PBAs is the number of organized public events. This indicator, however, should be interpreted as an integrated KPI since public events also contribute to the fulfillment of the community building and service delivery functions. With respect to policy advocacy, the most important KPIs for all types of PBAs include the quantity of successful law-making activities and meetings with government officials. It shows that PBAs are involved in the formal political process and take advantage of regular personal contact with government officials.

At the same time, PBAs do not consider government grants to be an important KPI. This could be because this practice has only recently begun to emerge in Russia; the government views socially oriented NPOs as its priority in fund allocation (The Boston Consulting Group 2011). With regard to public advocacy, apart from public events, PBAs view media coverage of their activities and positive feedback from the local population as important KPIs. PBAs report that they actively use both public and policy advocacy KPIs to evaluate their activities, but it appears that these KPIs are somewhat more important for BAs and LPSs than for IUs. Perhaps the latter has a slightly different set of KPIs that they use for evaluation.

When we examine the character of PBAs' relations to existing societal structures, we discover striking similarities across all three types of associations (Figure 4.22). Over 85% of the examined PBAs (Figure 4.22: A) agree that their activities serve to support the existing structures in society. NPOs overwhelmingly support the state as a dominant player in public intersectoral relations; this is indicative of PBAs' societal embeddedness and their close collaborative relations with the ruling elites. The fact that over 73% of the explored PBAs (Figure 4.22: B) disagree that their efforts undermine existing societal structures also proves that this type of NPO is a close proponent of the state. Perhaps such attitudes can be explained by the remaining self-censorship practices among the leaders of PBAs, most of whom were brought up and socialized in the closed society of the USSR. The picture of PBAs' activities is somewhat different when it comes to identifying themselves as an alternative to existing societal structures. It appears that across all types of PBAs there is no certainty on their status as an alternative to the existing status quo in society. Opinions are equally divided between those that agree that they are an alternative and those that disagree. For instance, most supporters of an alternative status are found among IUs (42%), but roughly the same share (39%) of IUs disagrees with being seen as an alternative structure (Figure 4.22: C). Also, every 5th IU, every 4th BA, and almost every 3rd LPS hesitated to give a definite answer on their identity as an alternative societal structure; these rather high numbers might be interpreted as a sign of additional uncertainty on this issue. It seems that representatives of PBAs managed to establish constructive working relationships with their government counterparts to engage in meaningful dialogue under the leadership of government officials.

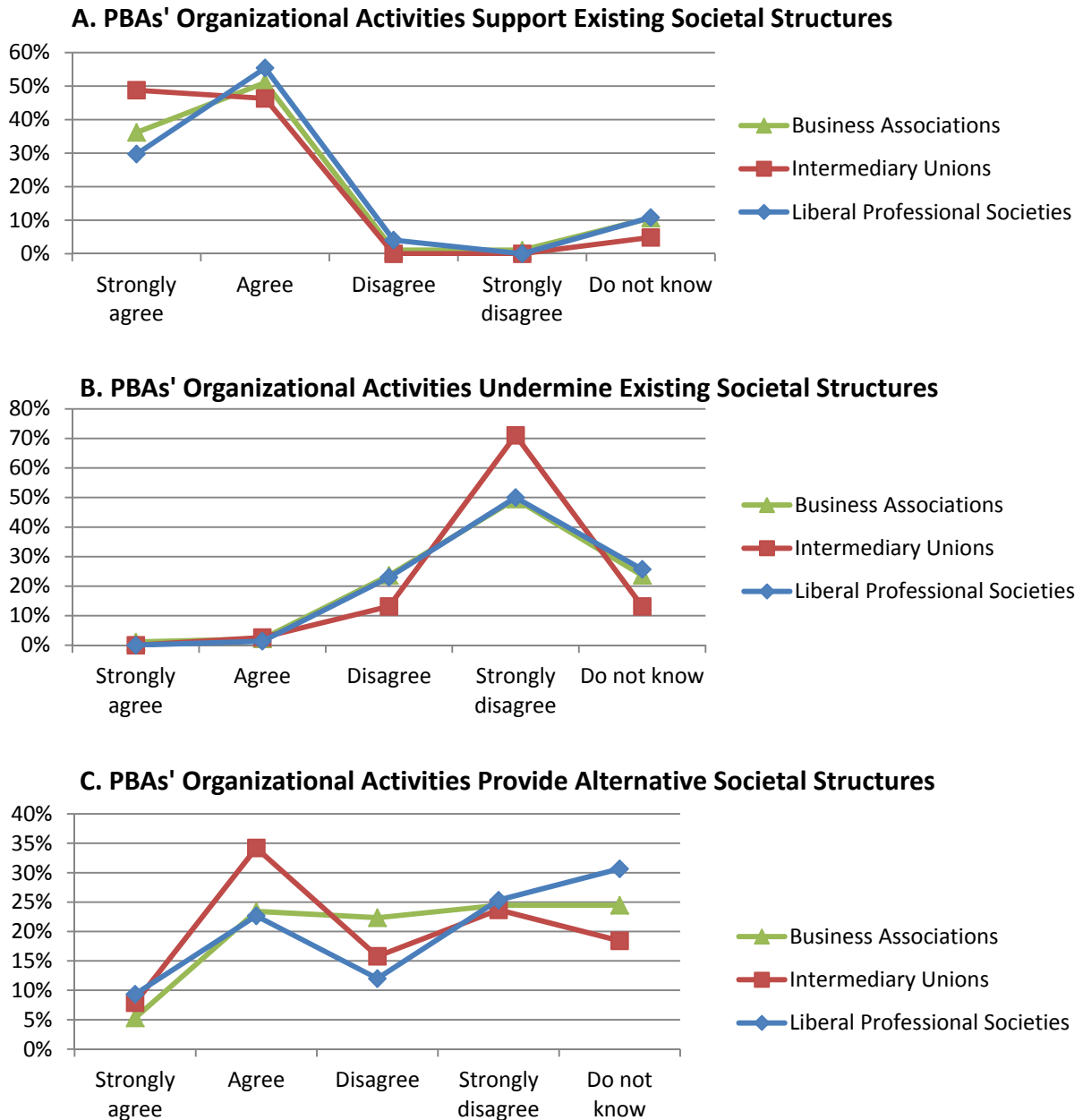


Figure 4.22. Character of PBAs' organizational activities in relation to existing societal structures. Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

Contrary to other types of NPOs in Russia, PBAs do not come under attack from the government under suspicion of representing the interests of foreign funders. Most of their activities are relevant to domestic audiences only, and they show little direct involvement in international affairs. Since 1999, major umbrella associations (primarily IUs and BAs) that function as representatives of employers have been involved with the federal government and trade unions in constant social dialogue aimed at policy formulation. They have engaged as social partners on the basis of the Trilateral Commission on the Regulation of Social and Labour Relations. After the Yukos case, cooperation between state and PBAs was also intensified through the emerging system of public advisory boards, which were set up at the federal and regional levels (Yakovlev et al. 2010). However, the experts that took part in the interviews were far from

giving optimistic evaluations to this new form of government relations. Distinguishing features of these institutions were highlighted in one of our interviews:

“...these public advisory boards are set up under the state authorities and I have a feeling that they are more helpful to authorities to sell, what they also consider important... it seems that the public advisory boards are rather nominal representatives of civil society ... they are created by order of the head of the administrative entity and I can assure you that if professionals are for any reasons disliked by the authorities, they will simply not get invited to these boards.” (EI#6, M:40)

Another critical expert showed a skeptical attitude towards these institutions: *“these public advisory boards died before being born... formally they are established, but they don't get together and don't work... yes, we are members there, but rather in order to have contacts with the government officials” (EI#2, L:135)*. One critically minded expert pointed out that *“...we have everything build on the conflict of interests... there is a need to have expert's opinion the way we want them, besides for free ... that is why there is a certain illusion that let us put together certain respected people on the board... this is a bribe to elites and nothing else...” (EI#1, L:125)*. This attitude toward voluntary participation ensures that there are no transparent procedures to compensate board members for their intellectual input.

Others provided a less critical evaluation of board activities:

“Such boards are working in principle, but it depends on the ministries, how much they are ready to listen. Often they are created to imitate the work. When it comes to specific decisions, they are worked out by the sector specific departments, and here the expert position is carefully examined in detail. Of course they influence the public climate, show something to civil society... For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture is considered to be a showcase office for their interaction with the industry associations.” (EI#14, GR:147)

Despite institutionalized formal structures for intersectoral cooperation, there is still a heavy reliance on individual relationships between PBAs and government bodies. Moreover, government entities have the power to decide whom they want to engage in dialogue. This power could be interpreted as a sign of exclusive practices. PBAs use every opportunity to participate in public affairs by strengthening their ties with representatives of the executive branch of the Russian government, but not with representatives of the legislative power; political parties were not mentioned by the interviewed experts at all. All in all, these emerging institutions for bilateral cooperation show that the government acknowledges the political role of PBAs, or at least of IUs and BAs, who take an active part in public affairs. It appears that fourteen years of predictable internal politics under the leadership of Putin were necessary to structure relations between the government and PBAs.

In the expert interviews, the media was mentioned significantly less often than relations with the government. Only a few mentioned public advocacy through the use of media. At the same time, the media is recognized by PBAs as an important stakeholder. One of the experts stressed their role:

“In the confectionary association there were talks that one needs to save the domestic producer..., when there was a problem with the Ukrainian competitors, which had better competitive advantages, there were attempts to solve it through the media, to bring it to the attention of the governors.” (EI#5, M:103)

Another expert gave the example of raising awareness during hostile takeovers in the pulp and paper industry; the situation was addressed by the IU’s commission at a number of public events, and media representatives were invited:

“This platform [IU’s commission] allows us to attract quite reputable media... We managed to raise public awareness... Public opinion is very important, because local mass media were attacking these industrial plants... In other words, Deripaska managed to create an atmosphere of aggression around them. But we managed to prevent it [through a law-making initiative]. Later on we discussed a lot of problems connected with the hostile takeovers and of course made a lot of publications.” (EI#8, M:82)

Both of these examples demonstrate that PBAs use both types of advocacy in their efforts to influence political decision-making. PBAs shape their institutional contexts through advocacy. The implementation of this expressive function by PBAs is often described as a “school of democracy” (Edwards and Foley 2001; Putnam 1993, 2000). It shows their contribution to the strengthening of the political system in the transition context.

4.3.1.2 Service delivery as PBAs’ contribution to the economic system

The relative importance of the service delivery function is substantially lower than that of the advocacy function. The service delivery function challenges the community building function for being the second most important activity for different types of PBAs. Interview examples of the service delivery function in action show that PBAs tend to offer resource-intensive services to their members. As one expert mentioned: *“The association accumulates a lot of necessary and useful information by virtue of its nature... The most valuable benefit that association provides is the sector statistics, which often is not available even from the government bodies...” (EI#5, M:85)*. A similar statement was made in another interview, highlighting *“the function of development of analytical reports for those who joined the community” (EI#11, S:243)*. One more example of the service delivery function was pointed out by another expert:

“There is an interesting mechanism of holding annual fairs, fora. For instance, ‘Rosagromash’. We worked with this association. They carry out an annual forum-fair, to which all producers come. They rent the Crocus-City, earn one million dollars on that and the association is funded for the year ahead. Thanks to this money they can invite normal specialists, qualified well educated youth that speaks languages...” (EI#14, GR:53)

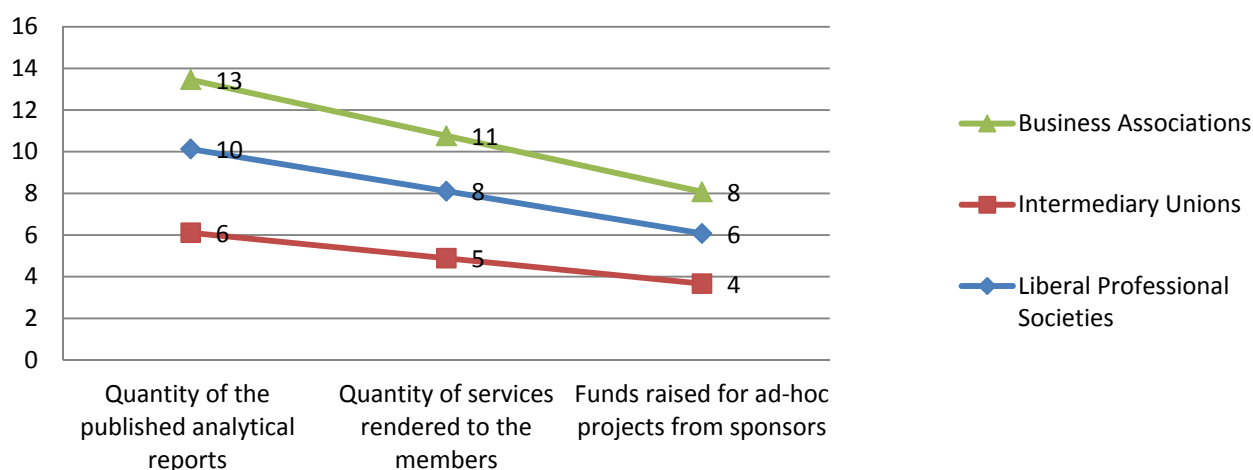


Figure 4.24. Ranking of PBAs' annual performance indicators for the service delivery function. Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

The indicators that PBAs use to evaluate their service delivery performance are displayed in Figure 4.24. PBAs publish resource-intensive analytical reports that are very important. Slightly less important is the overall volume of services rendered to members. Fundraising activities were considered the least important KPI because they seem to be the hardest tool for PBAs to learn in the transition to a market economy. All in all, PBAs show particular involvement in the service delivery function since it is vital for their existence as membership-based organizations. Members who do not see a personal benefit from PBAs' services may withdraw their membership at any time.

4.3.1.3 Community building as PBAs' participation in the communitarian system

Similar to the expressive function, the community building function has many manifestations. Most commonly it acts as a unifying agency for existing and new members of PBAs, or as an intermediary agency between different organizational stakeholders. Through belonging to a given community and networking in it, members of PBAs benefit from adhering to the commonly shared norms and rules that grant privileges in the form of enhanced status or a clearer identity. Community building activities serve the broad social mission of PBAs, contributing to greater social solidarity achieved through the propensity of members to unite in collective action.

In the interviews were many examples of bonding through community building activities. One of the experts emphasized that "...we have similar problems, for instance, taxation of corporate universities... licensing, standards. Part of them was addressed when we were getting together to work jointly or to chip in together. For instance, one provider does something for us and we all would use it" (EI#3, L:155). One more expert underlined that "... here we are talking about creating cooperation, that is about creating professional networks. We are doing it. We have Moscow, St. Petersburg, the regions. How to unite researchers? We have over 1000 researchers with interest in political science" (EI#10, M:223). More evidence of such activities:

"I assume that the administration [of the IU] takes some useful measures in the framework of the consolidation function, exchange of experience, supporting those people in companies that are also involved in this. I am, for example, a member of the Committee and Council on

Nonfinancial Reporting. There are people that verify these reports. Afterwards they go to their CEOs and tell them that they have a certificate...” (EI#6, M:98)

These examples show that PBAs facilitate collective action by bringing like-minded people together. At the same time, the nature of associations leaves behind nonmembers, who are not integrated in the PBAs’ boundaries, thus excluding them from the field.

Community building activities link different groups in society and contribute to greater social trust on the formal level. Examples of this bridging function were mentioned considerably less frequently in the interviews. Examples from the interviews that illustrate this function include the following:

“All these conferences, fora, round tables, including those that we conduct on certain topics, allow the scientific community, political quarters, and representatives of the business community to meet and come up with certain positions and recommendations.” (EI#8, M:86)

“I met recently with them [BA]. They were the first ones in Russia to develop a professional educational standard for the industry. It was for the cooks, hotels’ employees...” (EI#3, L:25)

Informal community building activities prevail over more formal bridging practices among Russian PBAs. This is supported by the findings of ethnographic research of civic organizations in one of the largest Russian cities. It pointed out traditionally high levels of informal social capital in Russia (Spencer 2011). Most researchers agree that insufficiency of formal social capital hinders democratization and is a common problem across transition countries, as revealed in the case of the Czech NPOs (Neumayr et al. 2009).

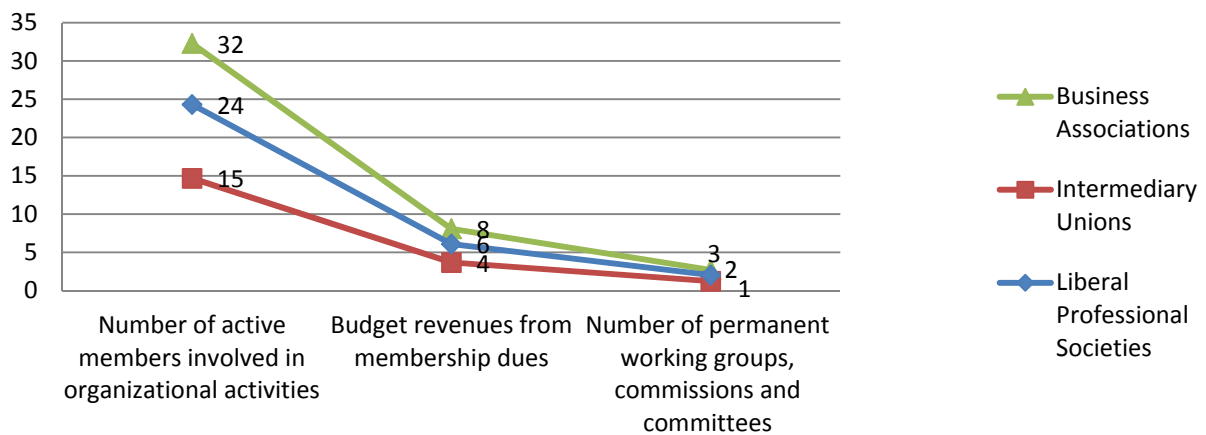


Figure 4.23. Ranking of PBAs’ annual performance indicators for the community building function

Source: Russian PBA-Survey, 2013 (N = 215).

The findings of the survey also indicated the same trend observed in the qualitative data. As shown in Figure 4.23, all types of PBAs give a higher priority to such KPIs as number of active members involved in organizational activities and the amount of membership dues; the number of permanent working groups, commissions, and committees is substantially less important. Clearly PBAs consider bonding activities, which involve membership, to be more

important than bridging activities, which are carried out through formal mechanisms for cooperation, such as permanent working groups. It appears that for membership-based organizations, informal bonding activities are more relevant than formal bridging activities. This is also in line with findings on Czech NPOs (Neumayr et al. 2009).

The state has attempted to forcibly structure civil society relations in a top-down manner through major umbrella associations. In the face of this, horizontal cooperation across different groups in society takes more time to develop. Perhaps this is typical of post-communist transition countries, whose NPO sectors are not as established and trusted by the government as those in developed countries. Another factor that restricts collaboration with other PBAs is the internal competition that some of them encounter. According to one expert, *“There is a certain element of competition for members. There are industries, for example, confectionary, in which there was a united association, but in other industries there might be 2-3 of them”* (EI#5, M:48). Another expert also recalled that *‘competition is moderate, but it exists. As a rule, it is associations of related or partially overlapping market sectors. For example, the sector of software with open code and the offshore programming industry... Relations are developing in different ways. At times there is cooperation, sometimes they compete for members or influence over the relevant government body’* (EI#2, L:53). Overall, there is great potential for closer cooperation between different PBAs as they mature and gain public weight.

4.3.2 PBAs’ societal embeddedness and organizational capacity: driving and hindering forces

In this section I discuss the findings of both parts of the study on the factors driving and hindering achievement of PBAs’ missions. I discuss this on the basis of the theoretical frameworks of NPOs’ embeddedness in environment and their organizational capacity introduced in the second chapter.

4.3.2.1 Governance factors as a major force driving accomplishment of PBAs’ missions

The results of the quantitative study confirmed the findings of the qualitative study concerning the block of governance factors that are a major force driving achievement of PBAs’ organizational missions. In other words, in order for PBAs to succeed at their missions, they have to heavily, but not exclusively, rely on their own organizational capacities. In Figure 2.2 this organizational capacity is indicated at the far right as the only force that influences the environment in which PBAs operate. The study revealed that PBAs are aware of the importance of their organizational activities in interacting with the external environment. Of course, this is not the only factor contributing to the sustainability of PBAs, but it is definitely the most important that they control.

The quantitative study convincingly showed that the majority of PBA heads highlight the important role of the leader and management team in achieving organizational missions. Thus, the estimations from the preceding interviews were confirmed, as shown in the following statements: *“The personality [of leader] is very important. He should not be lazy. He should possess authority and connections outside”* (EI#5, M:148); *“Good executive team should be elected”* (EI#5, M:154). The importance that informants attach to the leader and his/her team indicates that in the organized civil society of Russia, the formal hierarchy within PBAs plays a considerable role. Even though the concept of leadership is transforming in Russian society in transition (Lewis

2006), the intersection of individuality and collectivism traits in the non-profit leadership style deserves attention. The fact that Russian PBAs assign so much importance to leader and team highlights what Sergeeva terms their “people orientation”, rather than “deal orientation” or “profit orientation” (Sergeeva 2004; Lewis 2006).

The prevailing majority of respondents considered the driving factors directly connected to PBAs’ activities to strongly contribute to their organizational success. These factors included coordination of members’ interests, lists of members, sustainable funding, and annual planning. This ranking confirms that business matters are a second priority to the orientation of people. The interviewees pointed out these factors in the following statements:

“There are associations, in which there are particularly many foreign companies. There all decisions are discussed and any letter is coordinated with members of associations and the decision is taken by compromise.” (EI#14, GR:45)

“If we talk about organization itself, of course it is the number of members. This is the most understandable [driving force].” (EI#14, GR:24)

“Membership dues should be secured.” (EI#5, M:154)

“There should be a smooth working process. Through committees, working groups, various meetings. So that the working plan of association would be full of content.” (EI#5, M:154)

These factors illustrate the core of PBAs’ operational activities.

While such strategic issues as promotion of innovations, accumulation of knowledge, and honorary governance bodies were named by a majority of respondents as facilitating their organizational missions, they were indicated only as a third group of priority. These vital factors of PBA sustainability are reflected in the following expert statements:

“There is a competition between the Association of Managers, the Russian Union of Industrials and Entrepreneurs and to some extent the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It should be pointed out that perhaps this competition pushes certain innovations, developments, new topics are being introduced, expert communities are being established, cooperation with the regions is taking place. All of this shows that elements of competition show positive influence.” (EI#7, M:126)

“There are [in PBAs] different formats of information. On the market conditions, on the market volume, on the market segmentation, history, such and such positions and so on. In other words, such amount of market information is impossible to get from anywhere else. For officialdom it is a unique source of information. Such information as they have on machine building, for instance, is not available anywhere else in the country. This is absolutely unique information.” (EI#15, GR:67)

“Associations themselves are growing evolutionary, because certain governing bodies are being elected. In some associations such a norm is in line with the law, in others executive director is appointed on the basis of agreement with its major sponsor.” (EI#7, M:198)

It appears that the identified sequence of driving factors is not accidental. This sequence distinguishes between the “people orientation”, tactical routine, and strategic aspirations. It reflects the state of development of PBAs in Russia. In the organized part of civil society, people who are leading PBAs are viewed as their major asset, followed by daily operations and issues of strategic relevance.

In the course of the qualitative study, the public and political factors were the second most frequently mentioned group. As demonstrated by the individual items that constituted the group of

public and political factors in the subsequent quantitative study, slightly over a quarter of respondents considered two strands of factors to strongly facilitate fulfillment of PBAs' missions. The first strand of factors involved policy advocacy, and the second involved public advocacy. PBA heads believe that both types of activities contribute to the achievement of their organizational missions. This is in line with the findings on the advocacy function discussed in the section above. As the theoretical model of NPOs' embeddedness in environment suggests, the type of emerged state plays a crucial role in shaping activities of PBAs. This is reflected in the finding that PBAs attribute almost the same importance to both types of advocacy activities. It shows that relations with the state and society are equally significant to the achievement of PBAs' missions.

The group of socio-economic factors was less frequently mentioned than two other groups of factors throughout the expert interviews. Nevertheless, socio-economic factors received high scores in the subsequent quantitative study. Organizational reputation was the single most important item, considered by over half of respondents as strongly facilitating achievement of their organizational missions. This factor is an integrative indicator of long-term organizational achievements in the eyes of stakeholders; the high importance that respondents attach to this indicator means that PBAs are aware of the economic value of their reputation. A majority of respondents considered establishment of professional standards, granting public acknowledgement, and sustaining competition to be socio-economic drivers facilitating accomplishment of PBAs' missions. This reflects that cooperative and competitive elements play an important role in PBAs' community building efforts.

Two blocks of driving factors constitute the second and third group in order of the most frequently mentioned factors that facilitate achievement of PBAs' missions. In accordance with the findings of the qualitative study, these factors were public and political items and socio-economic items, and they followed the group of governance factors. The results of the quantitative study confirmed this finding when judging all three groups of factors by the distribution of answers in the "strongly facilitating" and "facilitating" categories. The corresponding mean value for the governance factors is 72%; for the socio-economic factors it is 69%; and for the public and political factors it is 66%. The same order of importance appears when the mean values for the categories "rather not facilitating" and "not facilitating" are considered. The corresponding mean value for the governance factors is 7%; for the socio-economic factors it is 8%; and for the public and political factors it is 17%. The highest and lowest mean values for governance factors – for aggregate facilitating score and aggregate non-facilitating score, respectively – show their leading role as a driving factor within the three groups of identified factors. Even though the differences between the three groups of factors are not as striking in the quantitative study as in the qualitative study, they still allow me to assume that governance factors are a major force driving achievement of PBAs' missions. Moreover, 9 items were identified in the qualitative study as driving forces in the governance category, in comparison to 10 items in the public and political and socio-economic categories. This fact also confirms the leading role of governance factors in advancing organizational missions.

4.3.2.2 Public and political factors as a major force hindering achievement of PBAs' missions

The findings of the quantitative study, just like the results of the qualitative study, indicated that public and political factors are considered the most important force hindering achievement of PBAs' organizational missions. The respondents were generally inclined to identify factors that lay in the external environment, beyond their control, as hampering their activities. When turning back to the central elements of the theoretical model (Figure 2.2) represented by the type of government, stage of economic development, and model of civil society, it appears that the findings of the study confirm the key role of the government-related factors. However, the role of the public and political factors in shaping PBA activities was assessed by the respondents in a negative, rather than positive, sense. The same negative influence was discovered with respect to a combination of socio-economic factors, but it was somewhat less dominant. Governance factors were mostly not viewed as strongly hindering PBA activities.

According to the findings of the quantitative study, the majority of respondents consider the passivity of citizens and the consequent weak position of the third sector as an intermediary between the state and society to be factors that strongly hinder achievement of their organizational missions. This confirmed the findings of the exploratory expert interviews, which are illustrated by the following statements:

“Apparently there are opportunities for self-organization and nobody really opposes it, but nobody really cares about it.” (EI#1, L:139)

“A certain communicational infrastructure does not emerge. That is why there is no role of an intermediary [for PBAs] between officialdom, population and business community. The problem is in this interface. That is why when one tries to formulate recommendations on necessary actions or obstacles to overcome, of course there are claims on both sides, which are well grounded, there is no doubt about it. There are no hurdles, but also no attempts to adjust this interface.” (EI#4, L:9)

The heads of PBAs recognized low levels of citizen engagement in nonprofit activities as a force hindering accomplishment of their missions. This directly contributes to the perception of the non-profit sector as a weak counterpart to the state in public dialogue. Since the tradition of free civic engagement was interrupted during the Soviet regime, the Russian nonprofit sector's disadvantage in this vital aspect of civil society development remains one of its defining features (Jakobson and Sanovich 2010; Jakobson et al. 2011). In this respect the findings of the current study are consistent with the previous studies on the Russian nonprofit sector. It is not surprising given that civil society does not emerge overnight; rather, it is a long-term process that takes time to develop in an evolutionary way. Trust in the third sector is also likely to develop; over time, PBAs might be perceived by counterparts as an equal partner.

The hindering factors that were pointed out by a majority of respondents as preventing them from accomplishing organizational missions were both connected to the issue of corruption in government relations. The first was a common attitude among officials: “I have what I protect”. The second was the preference for solving problems directly with the state, excluding PBAs as intermediaries. The experts emphasized these issues in the following statements:

“When it turned out that such practices, such stereotypes that ‘I have what I protect’ emerged, then these self-regulated organizations they will not work otherwise. It is more likely that people that will get there for them it will be hard to change something.” (EI#6, M:59)

“In Russia everybody wants to solve their own problems by means of a bribe or through a certain special status. It seems to me that the specifics of Russia is that every producer wants to solve his own local problem quietly, locally and behind-the-scenes. At the same time, associations are a more open and transparent mechanism. Because when one agrees on the preferences unofficially it is one story. But our society is not that developed yet.” (EI#5, M:152)

It is not surprising that the issue of corruption, which remains one of the key problems in the Russian economy (Schwab 2012), was a factor hindering the successful achievement of PBAs’ missions. A more disturbing concern is the fact that corruption in government relations hampers the development of PBAs into full-fledged intermediaries between the state and society.

Slightly fewer than half of respondents consider low political culture, overregulation of the nonprofit sector, and the lack of laws on lobbying to be factors impeding accomplishment of PBAs’ missions. These factors are reflected in the following statements by the interviewed experts:

“It is clear that power holders are doing whatever they want to without even trying to cover their intentions. They continue to impose that this is a mainstream, this is a tough story. It only looks from outside that everything is all right, because nobody goes on demonstrations. But this is caused by a lack of political competition.” (EI#1, L:215)

“Anyway in such transition societies as we have the role of the state is great. However, in this country it is exaggerated. It turns out that it is out of balance. How should it be reached? Yes, the state should create the terms and conditions... In other words, the state should provide signals and tell that this is yes, this is a good practice, it is necessary for the Russian society... But what happens next? Then the counter reaction begins, when the terms and conditions are emerging. I happen to be saying something at some personal level and the state realizes it and there comes fear that they will lose control over these processes. And it comes to intervention. And substitution starts to take place. It is especially evident in the field of state’s support of civil society when the Public Chambers were founded. Afterwards the state overtook the initiative and began to manage them.” (EI#7, M:88)

*“Since 1996, the draft legislation on lobbying is at the State Duma. Why it has not been passed up to now? In order to keep the **almighty officialdom**. Had there be legislation on lobbying, everybody should have been playing according to the common rules. The rules would have been working instead of the officials.” (EI#9, M:232-236)*

The expert statements illustrate how environmental factors in relationships between the state and PBAs impede development of the latter. It appears that all of these factors are closely interconnected since there will be no advances in political culture in the absence of the political process. The dominance of the state in the public sphere does not allow the public to introduce written rules into the lobbying process; officialdom prefers to settle issues according to informal rules.

In the preceding qualitative study, the group of socio-economic and governance factors was indicated as a hindering force, half as common as a group of public and political factors. In the subsequent quantitative study, the socio-economic group of hindering factors was somewhat more articulated in comparison to the group of governance factors. At the level of individual factors that constituted the socio-economic factors hampering achievement of PBAs’ missions, the majority of respondents pointed out three important factors. The first is the weak shared understanding of the benefits of collective action; this shows that the problems of solidarity and

bridging trust are highly relevant to Russian society. The second is the weak articulation and consolidation of interests within the professional community; this is a sign of fragmentation in professional circles. The third is the poorly developed horizontal communications in society; these develop slowly in the highly hierarchical societal structure that exists in Russia. The opinions of respondents were divided with respect to international economic factors, such as the consequences of the global economic crisis; slightly more numerous were proponents of the negative impact of the international financial turmoil on the prospective achievement of PBAs' missions. The heads of PBAs were similarly divided over the low level of moral standing in society, which could be considered an important hindering factor. Finally, for the majority of respondents, Russia's accession to the WTO, which lasted almost two decades and symbolized tighter integration into the world economy, was not viewed as a hindering factor; on the contrary, it seems that respondents were eager to see this as a positive development. This assessment of socio-economic factors shows that PBA heads in Russia are deeply concerned with overcoming the shortage of bridging trust in their community building activities.

The quantitative study showed that the majority of respondents agreed on only two out of six options for the group of governance factors hindering achievement of PBAs' missions. The first of these factors highlighted difficulties that PBAs experience in fundraising for operational activities; this indicates that PBAs have conservative budgeting strategies and are not inclined to diversify their sources of income. The second hindering factor referred to the low level of active membership participation; this shows that there is great potential for PBAs serving their membership. The rest of the governance factors showed that the respondents were undecided on them and more inclined not to see them as hindering accomplishment of their organizational missions. Such issues as a low ability to reach consensus among members, management of PBAs' human resources, and discrepancies in behaviour of PBA leaders were not explicitly considered as hindering successful achievement of PBAs' missions. It appears that heads of PBAs indicated operational issues connected to core aspects of serving members as strongly hindering their mission accomplishment, while such strategic issues as personnel and leadership were not recognized as problematic.

According to the findings of the preceding qualitative study, the group of public and political factors was most frequently mentioned as hampering activities of PBAs, while the groups of governance and socio-economic factors took second and third place, respectively. The results of the quantitative study confirmed this finding when judging all three groups of factors by the distribution of the answers in the "strongly hindering" and "hindering" categories. The mean value for the public and political factors is 51%; for the socio-economic factors it is 47%; and for the governance factors it is 40%. The same order of importance of the three groups of factors appears when the mean values for the categories "rather not hindering" and "not hindering" are considered. The mean value for the public and political factors is 24%; for the socio-economic factors it is 31%; and for the governance factors it is 36%. The highest and lowest mean values for public and political factors – for aggregate hindering score and aggregate non-hindering score, respectively – show their leading roles as hindering factors within three groups of identified factors. Even though the differences between the three groups of factors are not as striking as in the previous qualitative study, they still allow me to assume that public and political factors are a major force hindering achievement of PBAs' missions.

5 Conclusion

I started this study by pointing out that while civil society in Russia remains under-investigated, the share of people employed by PBAs makes this type of NPO the fourth largest employer in the Russian nonprofit sector. The subject of this investigation was selected for that reason. I successfully applied a theoretical framework with organizational indicators rather than macro-indicators in an investigation of functions performed by Russian PBAs. Examining the major functions of PBAs through the lenses of their contribution to three subsystems of society – political, economic, and communitarian – allowed me to better address the multi-faceted nature of associations. The analysis focused on the intersection of two concepts: that of welfare mix, which shows the position of NPOs between the state, community, and market, and that of the functions of NPOs, which are advocacy, community building, and service delivery. Through an analysis of organizational data, I was able to prove the multi-functionality of PBAs in Russia, to describe the functional composition of PBAs' activities, and to discuss both the relative importance of the three functions that different types of PBAs fulfill and the determinants that influence the composition of PBAs' functions. I further interpreted PBAs' contributions to the political, communitarian, and economic spheres. Moreover, through the application of a conceptual framework of PBAs' embeddedness in their environment, I explored the factors that hinder and facilitate fulfillment of PBAs' missions.

5.1 Summary of the empirical findings

The two-stage, mixed-methods approach in the research design of the present study consisted of exploratory expert interviews and a confirmatory survey of top executives of PBAs. This approach allowed me to test the applicability of the conceptual frameworks on NPOs' functions and NPOs' environmental embeddedness and – since the qualitative data were in line with these theoretical frameworks – to address the research questions in the subsequent quantitative study, utilizing three different forms of measurements of PBAs' functions and a set of measurements of factors driving and hindering achievement of PBAs' missions.

As the collected organizational data clearly show, PBAs in Russia are multi-functional, simultaneously fulfilling a combination of advocacy, service delivery, and community building functions. Thus, PBAs contributing to both the political system and the market and society at large are characterized by a pluralism of different logics. These logics exist simultaneously and must be constantly balanced. Moreover, the Russian PBAs appeared considerably more multi-functional than did NPOs from Austria and the Czech Republic (Neumayr et al. 2009). Such a difference could be due to the specific type of NPO – the PBA – under investigation in the current study, in which multi-facetedness is a distinctive feature, but also because of the emerging character of the Russian NPO sector, which is still young and less functionally specialized.

Empirical data on the relative importance of functions was measured in three different ways. The statistical analysis consistently indicated that advocacy is the most important function for Russian PBAs, thus constituting the prime source of their legitimacy. This finding was predictable since well-established associative life has traditionally been closely connected with politics (Strachwitz 2014). Also, the other two functions performed by different types of PBAs –

service delivery and community building – rank interchangeably as of secondary or tertiary importance when measured in terms of organizational goals and work time; however, taken together they are as important as advocacy. Inconsistencies in order of importance of the latter two functions could be explained by the way they were measured. Since survey respondents were top PBA executives, advocacy and community building, when measured in organizational goals, are strategically more important in their view than the tactical routine of service delivery. At the same time, they admit that the share of time allocated to the fulfillment of service delivery is higher than the share of time allocated to community building.

Furthermore, primacy of the advocacy function has also been confirmed across all types of identified PBAs – Business Associations, Intermediary Unions and Liberal Professional Societies – when the distribution of work time is taken into consideration. The remaining service delivery and community building functions occupy the other half of work time for all types of PBAs. But LPSs allocate significantly more work time to the community building function than BAs and IUs. For membership based PBAs in Russia, community building activities are more relevant in the form of informal bonding activities, rather than formal bridging activities. The repertoire of forms of advocacy activities that PBAs use consists of both direct and indirect efforts. In their contribution to the political system, BAs and IUs prefer direct policy advocacy, while LPSs engage more in indirect public advocacy. Moreover, LPSs are the smallest organizations in terms of size, significantly conceding to more human resources intensive IUs and BAs. Against this background, it appears natural that younger and well-resourced BAs and IUs focus their efforts more on the policy advocacy that requires specialized expertise, while older and poorer LPSs are more involved in public advocacy and community building, relying on the well-established connections within their field.

The regression analysis proved that organizational age, size, and public standing towards the state are significant determinants of the composition of functions that PBAs perform. The role of advocacy as a single dominant function diminishes with the aging of PBAs, while the role of community building gains in importance; service delivery remains the least important function. This trend shows that for PBAs, the strategic value of the advocacy and community building functions is interchangeable in terms of importance over time, while service delivery remains the field in which PBAs have the largest potential to develop. As the size of PBAs increases, advocacy remains the most important function, community building drastically loses in importance, and service delivery gains in significance. It appears that a large staff allows a PBA to increase its service provision capacity while simultaneously preventing further development of the community building function. As descriptive statistics revealed, the prevailing majority of PBAs support the existing societal order. Support for existing societal structures influences the composition of functions of PBAs. The data show that advocacy is the single most important function for PBAs supporting the state, while service delivery and community building are interchangeably second and third in importance when different measurement scales are applied. This means that the conformist position of PBAs in relation to the existing societal structure allows them to successfully pursue their agenda through a mix of all three functions.

The results of the survey confirmed the findings of the expert interviews concerning the block of governance factors as a major force driving successful achievement of PBAs' missions.

The findings of the quantitative study convincingly showed that the prevailing majority of PBA heads highlighted the importance of the organization leader and the management team in fulfilling associational mission. Thus, the people leading PBAs are viewed as their major asset, followed by daily operations and issues of strategic relevance. Governance is certainly not the only factor contributing to the sustainability of PBAs, but it is definitely the most important that they control. Similarly, the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative studies indicated that public and political factors are considered the most important force hindering achievement of PBAs' missions. The surveyed top PBA executives were inclined to identify factors that lay in the external environment as hampering achievement of their organizational missions; these factors were beyond their control. Citizen passivity weakens the position of the third sector as an intermediary between the state and society; the findings of the quantitative study showed that the majority of the respondents consider these to be the factors that strongly hinder achievement of their missions. In this respect, the findings of the current study are consistent with previous studies on the Russian nonprofit sector. It is not surprising, given that civil society does not emerge overnight; rather, it is a long-term process that takes time to develop in an evolutionary way. Trust in the third sector will also likely develop; over time, PBAs might be perceived by counterparts as equal partners rather than junior partners.

The data clearly show that PBAs represent the advocacy-oriented type of NPO. One would normally expect this type in structured Western societies, but it might seem counter-intuitive in transition societies. Based on these findings, I can argue that the organized part of Russian civil society, represented here by PBAs, is predominantly expressive since the service dimension in their activities is far less important than the advocacy dimension. This is not surprising given that I examined membership-based organizations involved in those professional and business-related fields of activity in which self-regulation is rare compared to direct government regulation (Moskovskaya et al. 2013). This is also in line with the results of the JHCNPS Project in respect to the dominance of expressive services in countries with small nonprofit sectors. I could thus assume that the strategic orientation of the Russian nonprofit regime lies somewhere between the social democratic and welfare partnership nonprofit regimes and could be named as social partnership when examined through the lens of its organized part, represented by PBAs. The neo-liberal mantra of “small government, big society”, propagated by the current governments in the UK and China (Bode 2014, 282), is definitely not relevant in contemporary Russia. The nonprofit sphere in Russia is still evolving; it thus retains a hybrid character. However, one thing is almost certain: that the Russian nonprofit sector will much more likely resemble its equivalents in European civil law countries with state-centric welfare systems (e.g. France, and to a lesser extent Germany) than its Anglo-Saxon equivalents. The self-identification of the nonprofit sector is still underway since most of its constituencies are contemporaries of the modern Russian state, whose institutions are under the pressure of cultural inertia and still catching up to conform to the new societal order.

In my attempt to describe the organized part of civil society in Russia on the basis of its fourth most important constituency – PBAs – I reflected on the wide spectrum of activities in which these organizations are engaged. A thorough analysis of qualitative data on the perceptions and opinions of the leading experts on PBAs in Russia, complemented by country-specific interpretations, was combined with quantitative organizational data on the most active Russian

PBAs; in this way I aimed to create a full-bodied portrait of the organized part of civil society in this transition country. I outlined that the leading role of the state in structuring societal relations in a top-down manner has emerged since 2000; this was reflected in the fact that the advocacy function, implemented through vertically directed communications, was recognized as the most important function of PBAs. Even though the level of distrust between the government, civil society, business, and media is high in contemporary Russia, PBAs managed to establish mechanisms for cooperation with government bodies in such a complex and unpredictable environment. However, there is still a lot ahead of them in the struggle for acknowledgement as equal partners in their cooperation with authorities. It appears that the political mandate that NPOs tend to have by definition in developed Western countries (Zimmer 2001) is not yet fully granted to organized civil society in transition societies. It is clear that a transition towards a new societal order in Russian post-communist society will be full of challenges that are hidden in old worldviews and legacies. However, the experience that PBAs have already accumulated could make the implementation of an agenda for strengthening democracy and pursuing modernization run smoother.

5.2 Contributions for theory and practice

This study makes several important contributions both to theory and practice. To begin with, it is one of the first empirical investigations into the multi-faceted activities of NPOs in a transition society. As the literature review showed, the majority of studies have focused on the activities of NPOs in Western democratic states; little attention is paid to countries in transition, which have different political and cultural settings. The present study is arguably the very first attempt to test the theoretical framework of NPOs' functions in the empirical setting of professional and business associations in Russia. It thus fills a void in current research on the functions of NPOs. Since this study has followed prior research in measuring key variables (e.g. advocacy, service delivery, and community building), I can compare some of my findings with those reported by other researchers. The comparison shows some similarities and differences between Russia (a transition country) and countries like Austria (a developed country) and the Czech Republic (a transition country). This study indicates that Russian PBAs, similar to their Western counterparts, perform all three key societal functions – advocacy, service delivery, and community building – that any nonprofit is expected to fulfill. Two thirds of Russian PBAs perform all three functions simultaneously; they are significantly more inclined toward multi-functionality than NPOs in Austria or the Czech Republic: only 10% of NPOs in Austria and 17% of those in the Czech Republic contribute to all three functions simultaneously (Neumayr and Schneider 2008). This pattern shows that professional and business associations demonstrate multi-facetedness more distinctively than NPOs in general, even in the transition context. In Russia, the role of professional and business associations in the development of civil society is currently constrained to that of institutional infrastructure of civil society that serves to promote civic engagement. In this configuration, associations actively shape policy discourse and public debate; they also serve as potential transmission mechanisms for the modernization of society.

The fact that the advocacy function was identified as the most important for PBAs in Russia was anticipated since public advocacy and policy advocacy are generally considered the most important functions of professional and business associations (Yakovlev and Govorun 2011).

On the other hand, this finding somewhat contradicts Salamon and Anheier's observation that authoritarian political regimes leave little room for the independent nonprofit sector (Salamon and Anheier 1997b). It appears either that the Russian political regime is not as authoritarian as claimed in the literature⁶³, or that the organized nonprofit sector represented by PBAs have functioned as proponents of that regime and gained a certain degree of independence. It is true that in Russia's political setting, similar to China's authoritarian regime, advocacy-oriented NPOs are more heavily regulated than service-oriented NPOs (Zhang and Guo 2012). However, evidence suggests that this rule does not apply to PBAs. A study of nonprofit sectors in twenty post-communist states, including Russia, from 1991 to 1998 also demonstrated a strong link between democratization and development of civil society (Green 2002). PBAs, which represent market and labor relations, are viewed with far less suspicion by the authorities than human rights NPOs, potential "foreign agents" that seek to change the political regime in Russia. Thus, in these fields a more autonomous space is emerging in which organizations and citizens can not only participate in the political process but also advocate for social change by ultimately influencing government policy.

In addition to the previous point, I presented a theoretical framework for understanding the activities of NPOs in the context of a transition country. This framework considers three groups of factors influencing achievement of PBA's missions: governance, public and political, and socio-economic. In particular, I proposed that accomplishment of PBAs' missions could be examined through the lens of driving and hindering forces. The empirical findings provide definite support to this three-factor theoretical framework, but also draw attention to the need to further expand and improve this framework. According to empirical evidence, governance factors were considered a major force driving PBAs' activities, while public and political factors were identified as a key hindering force. These findings are supported by much of the prior research. Somewhat surprising was that the third group of socio-economic factors did not gain much support as either a hindering or a driving force. Possible explanations could be culture or methodology. The relatively low attention given to socio-economic factors could be due to the fact that the Russian middle class is still emerging and bourgeois values do not prevail across the whole society. Alternatively, since the current items used to measure socio-economic factors were based on the categories derived from the expert interviews, the interviewees might have underestimated the role of socio-economic factors for NPOs; this evidence could have been inadequate to accurately measure the influence of socio-economic factors on PBA activities. To improve this shortcoming, other indicators responsible for socio-economic factors have to be investigated.

Overall, this study shed some light on the composition of key functions that different types of PBAs – Business Associations, Intermediary Unions, and Liberal Professional Societies – perform. The key determinants of this composition are organizational age, size, support for existing societal structures, and how aspects of governance and public and political factors contribute to achievement of PBAs' missions in a transition setting. The theoretical framework

⁶³ In the Democracy Index (2013), compiled by the Economist Intelligence Unit to measure the state of democracy worldwide, countries are classified according to one of four regime types: full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regime, and authoritarian regime. Russia was placed in the hybrid regime category in 2006 (107 rank), 2008 (102 rank), and 2010 (102 rank), but it seems that democracy declined in 2011 (rank 117) and 2012 (rank 122) since Russia was moved into the authoritarian regime category (Wikipedia 2014).

and empirical findings of this study also have practical implications. The framework of advocacy, community building, and service delivery, very well-known in the West (Freise and Hallmann 2014b), was barely familiar to the Russian nonprofit managers and researchers, even at a discursive level. This rather simple but powerful analytical tool was introduced to the Russian nonprofit community through the two-stage empirical research process, as well as through the dissemination of the preliminary findings at international conferences and in publications (Ivanova 2013). In a non-liberal democracy like Russia, the organized nonprofit sector, represented here by PBAs, enjoys some autonomy to engage in the political process as long as they support the existing political regime. The state does not impose serious constraints on the activities of PBAs, as it does with respect to NPOs engaged in human rights issues. PBAs also successfully fulfill the social integration function, fostering community building in professional and business fields. However, more efforts should be taken to further develop bridging trust across different societal actors. For PBAs with long term ambitions, there is an immense reservoir of opportunities that lies in improving service provision. This will essentially depend on whether the Russian state will increase its funding for NPOs, understand its potential as a supplier of innovations, and accept NPOs as partners in addressing the most pressing societal challenges.

5.3 Suggestions for future research

The limitations of this study suggest several paths for future research. First, the data used for this study is too limited to generalize the results. However, these results, in addition to the findings of the Austrian-Czech survey, suggest some interesting patterns with regard to the distribution of functions performed by NPOs across different nonprofit regimes and call for more empirical research. It would be advisable to conduct a quantitative study on a representative sample of NPOs in Russia and other countries in transition to explore two issues: which composition of functions their NPOs perform, and how the distribution of functions varies across different types of NPOs as categorized internationally. Such an approach would be instrumental in assessing development of civil society in the transition context through the lens of a theoretical framework of NPOs' functions at the organizational level. Moreover, it would allow researchers to empirically verify the argument that “the fundamental role of CSOs ... is to produce, articulate, disseminate and defend values, ideas and ideology with the aim of attaining normative change” (Reuter, Wijkström, and Meyer 2014, 77).

Second, the empirical setting for this study is Russia, the largest country in the world; it is unique in many respects. The findings of this study could undoubtedly enhance our understanding of the composition of societal functions that NPOs fulfill – and of factors driving and hindering fulfillment of their organizational missions – in a country transitioning from communism to democracy. However, these findings must only cautiously be generalized and applied to organizations of different cultural and political settings. Further qualitative investigation of the successful cooperation between PBAs and the state is needed in order to scale up the lessons learned from PBAs to NPOs in general; the latter have failed to contribute to democratization in a sense of public participation in policy making.

Third, even though the empirical data generated for the study was qualitative and quantitative, which allowed me to validate the findings through a mixed-methods approach, this data was descriptive in the exploratory interviews and cross-sectional in the confirmatory survey.

Although the results provide us with a snapshot of PBAs at the time of investigation, the nature of this data does not permit us to trace the changes in PBAs' activities over the course of time or to derive at causal inferences. This could be done if the present investigation were repeated in the future; a repetition would produce longitudinal data.

Fourth, as a result of the cluster analysis, a typology of PBAs was introduced in the study. Even though this typology showed differences between different types of PBA, a deeper investigation of each type of PBA is desirable. In this case, an application of historiographical methods would be more insightful since it could show the genesis of associations in Russia and their contribution to the development of civil society throughout different historical epochs. Moreover, the use of ethnographical methods in relation to specific types of PBAs would also enrich our understanding of the distinguishing features of associations and their embeddedness in the environment. Also, discursive analysis of communicative practices within different types of PBAs in the context of their contribution to civil society development (Issers 2013) would be beneficial in gaining knowledge of the strategies used by PBAs in fulfilling their missions.

Finally, this study concentrated on the composition of PBAs' functions and forces that drive or hinder fulfillment of their organizational missions; it did not concentrate on outcome or evaluate the effectiveness of the specific PBAs' functions. Prior research indicates the difficulties associated with evaluating the effectiveness of advocacy (Teles and Schmitt 2011), service delivery (Kaplan 2001), and community building (Fukuyama 2001) and fails to provide an integrated approach to evaluating all three key functions of NPOs. Finding indicators to measure the multi-faceted activities of NPOs might be an exciting task for future research.

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Appendix 1. List of interviewed experts

No	Date of interview <i>[Notes]</i>	Stakeholder <i>[Notes]</i>	Field of activity	Geography of activity
1.	23.09.2011 (a)	Leadership <i>[Executive Director]</i>	Professional Association of Managers	Nationwide
2.	25.09.2011 <i>[Interview by Email]</i>	Leadership <i>[Executive Director]</i>	Business Association in the information & computer technologies industry	Nationwide
3.	29.09.2011 (a)	Leadership <i>[Co-founder/ Director of Corporate University, State Energy Corporation]</i>	Professional Association of corporate universities	Nationwide
4.	29.09.2011 (a)	Leadership <i>[Head of Research]</i>	Professional Association of Managers	Nationwide
5.	04.09.2011	Member <i>[former / professional CEO]</i>	Business Association in the confectionary industry	Nationwide
6.	22.09.2011 (a)	Member <i>[Expert on CSR]</i>	Inter-sector Umbrella Association for Entrepreneurs	Nationwide
7.	26.09.2011 (a)	Member <i>[former / Associate Professor of Management, Higher School of Economics]</i>	Professional Association of Managers	Nationwide
8.	27.09.2011	Member <i>[active / Professor of Economics, Financial University under the Government of Russian Federation]</i>	Inter-sector Umbrella Association for trade and commerce	Nationwide
9.	28.09.2011 (b)	Member <i>[former / Professor Emeritus of Economics]</i>	Inter-sector Umbrella Association for trade and commerce	Nationwide
10.	22.09.2011 (c)	Member <i>[Professor of Political Science, The Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Science]</i>	Professional Association of Scientists	Nationwide
11.	26.09.2011 (b)	Scholar <i>[Professor of Sociology, Institute for Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Science]</i>	Professional Associations (managers) & Inter-sector Umbrella Associations	Nationwide
12.	28.09.2011 (a) <i>[Interview by Skype]</i>	Scholar <i>[Associate Professor of Sociology, Higher School of Economics]</i>	Professional Associations	Nationwide
13.	28.09.2011 (c)	Scholar <i>[Lecturer of Economics, Head of Research, State Bank]</i>	Professional Associations	Nationwide
14.	22.09.2011 (b)	Government Relations Consultant <i>[Head of the GR Agency]</i>	Professional Associations, Business Associations & Inter-sector Umbrella Associations	Nationwide / regional
15.	23.09.2011 (b)	Government Relations Consultant <i>[Executive Partner at the GR Agency]</i>	Professional Associations, Business Associations & Inter-sector Umbrella Associations	Nationwide / regional

Appendix 2. The interview guide

Warming up question

There are different opinions regarding developments in the field of professional and business associations in Russia. Some experts consider these organizations as growing societal institutions with potential to become change agents for national economy and society. Others are less optimistic and argue that they are at the very early stage of development. What do you think about this?

I. The success stories and organizational characteristics of professional and business associations

1. How would you define key performance indicators of professional and business associations?
 - 1.1. Could you please give me an example of success story of any professional or business association in the last few years that you know?
 - 1.2. What are the concrete indicators that help to figure out, whether goals of professional and business associations have been achieved?
 - 1.3. Which stakeholders are interested in goal attainment of professional and business associations?
 - 1.4. Which criteria of goal attainment stakeholders use to evaluate professional and business associations?
 - 1.5. Would you agree that professional and business associations unite a significant number of successful, socially active people, which care beyond their immediate interests and think more in terms of public interests?
3. Are there any special features of professional and business associations, which make them different from other civil society organizations?
 - 3.1. In terms of resources the apparatus of associations plays an important role. Which types of staff members – technical, administrative, specialists and volunteers – are employed by professional and business associations? Which background, abilities and attitudes are important for the recruitment in associations?
 - 3.2. Have you heard of any conflicts that happen within associations and how are they normally resolved?
 - 3.3. Do you know any professional and business associations in which volunteers are actively involved? If yes, in which fields are they involved (are they different from those of paid employees)? Are there any specific reasons why (exclusively) volunteers are involved in these fields?
4. How competitive are Russian professional and business associations?

5. Would you agree with the following classification of professional and business associations: “Pocket”, “Apparatus-driven”, “Systemic saboteurs”, “Systemically preventive”?

II. The functions of professional and business associations and their relationships with public sector

4. There are typically three major areas of activities in which professional and business associations are involved. They provide services to their members, they contribute to community building and finally they are involved in advocacy.

- 4.1. Would you agree with such a classification?
- 4.2. Which areas of activities are mostly demanded by members (proportion of energy/time/money for certain goals/ tasks)?
- 4.3. Which activities are the most resource intensive to fulfill?
- 4.4. Goals of professional and business organizations are very diverse (providing certain services, representing interests of certain groups, fundraising, etc.). How could they be successfully managed within one organization?
- 4.5. Which goals/tasks are the most hard to coordinate within the everyday routine of professional and business associations (e.g. deadlines for certain goals are too short, contradictions between different goals)? How do they solve these problems (e.g. certain strategies, organizational forms)?
- 4.6. Do you believe that priorities of professional and business associations will change in the coming years? If yes, why?
5. How can you describe relationships between professional and business associations and public sector (government officials at the local, regional and federal level)?
 - 5.1. Are government officials taking professional and business associations seriously?
 - 5.2. Is it hard to secure an access to government officials (local, regional and federal level)?
 - 5.3. What do professional and business associations seek to achieve in the course of their interaction with the officials?
 - 5.4. What is your attitude toward the public advisory boards that have been recently introduced in the ministries?
 - 5.5. Can professional and business associations exercise influence over the actions of the government? If yes, then by means of which activities / through which medium? If no, why does not it work?
 - 5.6. Can government officials influence professional and business associations? If yes, how? Could you give me an example? Are there any influence/ dependency on the basis of government funding?

- 5.7. Could you give me an example of successful professional and business associations' participation in civil society, where social or political change has been achieved (e.g. success stories of public advocacy)?
- 5.8. What are the advantages of associations as centers of coordination of various interests, as compared to the individual interactions of organizations with public officials?

III. Factors influencing activities of professional and business associations

6. Let us talk about difficulties that professional and business associations faced in their daily activities.
- 6.1. What cause these difficulties?
- 6.2. In your opinion, which factors hinder capability of associations to fulfill their key goals (internal, external, personal factors)?
- 6.3. Which recommendations can you give associations in addressing some of these factors that you have identified?
- 6.4. How does an ideal model of successful association look like?
7. Let us imagine that professional and business associations represent a strong civil society institution in Russia.
- 7.1. Which factors/measures (internal, external, personal factors) would have helped them to fulfill their goals?
- 7.2. Are there any measures that government has to undertake in this respect?
- 7.3. Which recommendations can you give associations in addressing some of these factors that you have identified?
- 7.4. Is it correct to consider associations as schools of democracy which allow their participants to learn the democratic values, norms and skills necessary for civil society development?

The final question

Imagine that you are writing a book about professional and business associations in Russia or making a film about it. Which title would you give to it? Tell me the first idea that comes up on your mind.

Thank you for participating in the study!

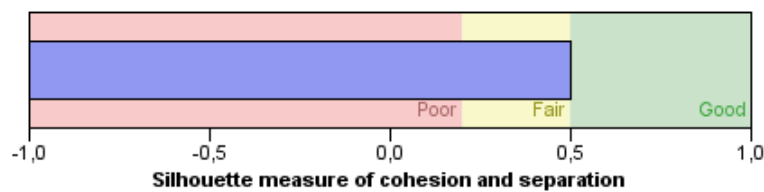
Appendix 3. Results of statistical analysis

1. Two-Step Cluster Analysis

Model Summary

Algorithm	TwoStep
Inputs	7
Clusters	3

Cluster Quality



Cluster Distribution

	N	% of Combined	% of Total
Cluster ⁶⁴ 1	83	47.4%	38.6%
Cluster ⁶⁴ 2	52	29.7%	24.2%
Cluster ⁶⁴ 3	40	22.9%	18.6%
Combined	175	100.0%	81.4%
Excluded Cases	40		18.6%
Total	215		100.0%

Cluster Profiles

Centroids

	Age of organization (years)		Size of organization (number of employees)	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cluster 1	10.16	5.558	13.41	18.105
Cluster 2	34.10	33.408	2.85	2.986
Cluster 3	14.85	8.100	20.40	23.135
Combined	18.34	21.572	11.87	17.867

⁶⁴ “1” corresponds to Business Associations, “2” – Liberal Professional Societies, “3” – Intermediary Unions.

Frequencies

		Basis for Membership			
		Voluntary		Compulsory	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cluster	1	65	41.4%	18	100.0%
	2	52	33.1%	0	0.0%
	3	40	25.5%	0	0.0%
	Combined	157	100.0%	18	100.0%

		Type of collective mutual benefit entity					
		Professional society		Sector specific industry association		Multi-sector association	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cluster	1	44	46.3%	39	95.1%	0	0.0%
	2	51	53.7%	1	2.4%	0	0.0%
	3	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	39	100.0%
	Combined	95	100.0%	41	100.0%	39	100.0%

		Organizational governance structure					
		Autonomous organization without affiliates		A central head organization		Representative office (affiliate) of a head organization	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cluster	1	41	66.1%	35	64.8%	7	11.9%
	2	9	14.5%	10	18.5%	33	55.9%
	3	12	19.4%	9	16.7%	19	32.2%
	Combined	62	100.0%	54	100.0%	59	100.0%

		Fields of organizational activity (Breakdown into 4 groups)							
		Liberal professional activities		Brokerage activities		Industrial activities		Trade activities	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cluster	1	1	1.9%	2	4.8%	27	100.0%	53	98.1%
	2	51	98.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.9%
	3	0	0.0%	40	95.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Combined	52	100.0%	42	100.0%	27	100.0%	54	100.0%

Fields of organizational activity (breakdown into 3 groups)

	Liberal professional		Brokerage activities		Business activities	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cluster 1	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	83	100.0%
Cluster 2	52	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Cluster 3	0	0.0%	40	100.0%	0	0.0%
Combined	52	100.0%	40	100.0%	83	100.0%

2. A cross-tabulation procedure

A Cross-Tabulation Table (Types of PBAs and Types of Membership)

	Types of Membership								Total Frequency	
	Individual (for natural persons)		Collective (for legal entities)		Honorary		Associative			
	Frequency	% within Types of PBAs	Frequency	% within Types of PBAs	Frequency	% within Types of PBAs	Frequency	% within Types of PBAs		
Types of PBAs	Liberal Professional Societies	72	96.0%	27	36.0%	18	24.0%	7	9.3%	75
	Intermediary Unions	27	62.8%	37	86.0%	3	7.0%	16	37.2%	43
	Business Associations	51	52.6%	75	77.3%	12	12.4%	23	23.7%	97
Total		150		139		33		46		215

A Cross-Tabulation Table (Types of PBAs and Territorial Span of PBAs)

	Territorial Span of PBAs					Total	
	Local (city, community)	Regional (one region)	Multi-regional (several regions)	Federal (in all federal districts)	International (in Russia and abroad)		
Types of PBAs	Liberal Professional Societies	2.7%	69.3%	8.0%	14.7%	5.3%	100.0%
	Intermediary Unions	9.3%	67.4%	7.0%	11.6%	4.7%	100.0%
	Business Associations	2.1%	26.8%	25.8%	36.1%	9.3%	100.0%
Total		3.7%	49.8%	15.8%	23.7%	7.0%	100.0%

Appendix 4. The questionnaire

SURVEY “THE ROLE OF PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS IN BUILDING CIVIL SOCIETY IN RUSSIA”



Purpose of the survey	<i>The present study of Vienna University of Economics and Business aims to thoroughly investigate activities of the nonprofit membership based professional and business associations, in order to examine development of civil society in Russia.</i>
Respondents	<i>Heads of professional and business associations</i>
Fill-in time	<i>It should not take more than 20 minutes to fill in the questionnaire!</i>
Statement of privacy	<i>Full confidentiality is guaranteed with respect to the link between results and the participants' identity. Collected data will be analyzed only in aggregated form.</i>
Contact data	<i>Your contact details were gathered by means of the internet search.</i>
Data collection	<i>Please fill in the questionnaire and send it back until 15 December 2012 via email: ekaterina.ivanova@wu.ac.at or fax: +43 1 313 36 744.</i>
For questions	<i>Ekaterina Ivanova, Research Associate, Vienna University of Economics and Business Tel. +7.985.293.6758 (Russia) +43.664.208.1345 (Austria) Skype: Ekaterina_AI, Email: ekaterina.ivanova@wu.ac.at</i>

I. INFORMATION ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION

1. When your organization was found?

2. How is governance structure of your entity organized?

Autonomous organization without affiliates	<input type="checkbox"/>	Affiliate of a head organization	<input type="checkbox"/>
A central head organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	Representative office of a head organization	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>		

3. To which type of collective mutual benefit entities your organization belongs? You may choose more than one answer to this question.

Professional society	<input type="checkbox"/>	Multi-sector association	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industry association (sector specific)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. What is the territorial span of your organization? Please, choose one answer, which best describes the scope of your organizational activities.

Local (city, community)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Federal (in all federal districts)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regional (one region)	<input type="checkbox"/>	International (in Russia and abroad)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Multi-regional (several regions)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. According to your estimation, how many employees are currently working for your organization?

6. Which of the listed below fields of activity best describes specifics of your organization? Please, choose one answer, which best describes the profile of your organizational activities.

Public Sector		Services		Extraction and production	
Security	<input type="checkbox"/>	Audit & accounting	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health and medicine	<input type="checkbox"/>	Banking & finance	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agricultural processing	<input type="checkbox"/>
Culture and art	<input type="checkbox"/>	Information technologies	<input type="checkbox"/>	Machine building and production of equipment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Youth	<input type="checkbox"/>	Consulting	<input type="checkbox"/>	Metallurgy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Science and Research	<input type="checkbox"/>	Real estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Food-processing industry	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hotels, restaurants, tourism	<input type="checkbox"/>	FMCG	<input type="checkbox"/>
Law	<input type="checkbox"/>	Valuation	<input type="checkbox"/>	Oil and gas	<input type="checkbox"/>
Facilitating Business & Entrepreneurship	<input type="checkbox"/>	Telecommunications	<input type="checkbox"/>	Construction and development	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sports	<input type="checkbox"/>	Media business	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extraction of resources	<input type="checkbox"/>
Housing and communal services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Insurance	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pharmaceutical industry	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environment & Ecology	<input type="checkbox"/>	Household services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Chemical industry	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trade	<input type="checkbox"/>	Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Legal services	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		

7. What is the basis for membership in your organization?

Voluntary	<input type="checkbox"/>	Compulsory	<input type="checkbox"/>
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8. Which types of membership provides your organization? You may choose more than one answer to this question.

Individual (for natural persons)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Honorary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Collective (for legal entities)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Associative	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>		

9. Are any of the selection rules for member candidates applied in your organization? You may choose more than one answer to this question.

Written declaration that candidate shares the goals of organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	Restrictive qualification requirements to the candidates	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recommendation from the existing members	<input type="checkbox"/>	Secrecy about the membership process	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approval through the election process	<input type="checkbox"/>	No formal rules are applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>		

10. According to your estimation, how many members are currently enrolled in your organization?

11. Is your organization an active member in any other associations?

National head association	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>
International head association	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. How many volunteers your organization attracts at least once a month?

13. How actively is your organization presented in the following social networks?

	Very actively	Actively	Rather passively	Passively	Not presented at all
Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Twitter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Life Journal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You Tube	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LinkedIn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
V Kontakte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

II. ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

14. How important to your organization is each of the following goals?

Please allocate **100** points among the following statements, giving more points to higher priorities.

We are representing our member's interests.		%
We are providing services.		%
We are bringing people together.		%
	100	%

15. How would you allocate the overall work time of your employees between the following activities?

Please allocate **100** points among the following types of activities.

Policy Advocacy: supporting democratic processes by contributing to the passage of legislation, serving as intermediaries between the state and individual members		%
Public Relations: promoting agenda by influencing public opinion		%
Service delivery to membership and society at large: providing specialized information and analytical data, developing and diffusing innovations		%
Community building: conducting events, making rankings, providing social and psychological rewards, regulating behaviour through codes of ethics and professional standards		%
Administration: planning, fundraising, accounting, HR management, reporting		%
Other:		%
	100	%

16. How would you evaluate the character of your organizational activities in relation to existing societal structures?

Please rate the answers on a scale of "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". For each answer please tick only **one** box.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
Supporting existing societal structures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Undermining existing societal structures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Providing alternative societal structures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. What were the major motives of the founders to establish your organization? Please rate the answers on a scale of “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. For each answer please tick only **one** box.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
Need to protect common interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public acknowledgement of a specific field	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Demand for the independent professional service provider	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Need to accumulate and transfer knowledge and expertise at the independent venue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Legalization of the preexisting like-minded community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wish to contribute to the public service by means of collective action	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Personal ambitions and resources of the founders	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Political will on behalf of the state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organization represents the Soviet Union legacy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. What motivates members to enter your organization?

Please rate the answers on a scale of “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. For each answer please tick only **one** box.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
Organization’s capability to effectively advocate members interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Legitimation of the right to operate in the field	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Access to the cutting edge field-specific knowledge and expertise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-improvement and professional development opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discounts on events and catalog items	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Networking opportunities with like-minded individuals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maintaining personal PR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social status and prestige enhancement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Value of the participative process itself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Please rank the following annual performance indicators of your organization in order of descending importance on the scale from 1 to 12, where ‘1’ is the most important indicator and ‘12’ is the least important indicator.

Performance indicators	Rank
Number of the successfully implemented law-making initiatives	
Number of working meetings with the relevant government officials	
Media coverage of organizational activities (press, TV, radio, internet, etc.)	
Positive feedback from the local population (web-site, social networks, etc.)	
Number of analytical publications	
Amount of services rendered to members	

Budget revenues from membership dues	
Number of active members involved in organizational activities	
Number of permanent working groups, commissions and committees	
Number of organized public events	
Grants received from the Russian state	
Funds raised for ad-hoc projects from sponsors	

III. DRIVING AND HINDERING FORCES

20. How do the following factors facilitate achievement of organizational goals? Please rate the answers on a scale of “strongly facilitating” to “not facilitating”. For each answer please tick only one box.

Public and political factors	Strongly facilitating	Facilitating	Rather not facilitating	Not facilitating	Do not know
Close ties with the government officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official support from the state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organizational visibility in the media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transparency and accountability (web-site, social networks, publication of annual report)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
External threat to common interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Governance factors	Strongly facilitating	Facilitating	Rather not facilitating	Not facilitating	Do not know
Management competencies of the head of association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Effective executive team	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Valid honorary governing body (board of directors)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aggregation of the field-specific information	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Innovation through knowledge transfer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sustainable funding raised from various sources (membership dues, grants and subsidies from the state, sponsorship)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
List of members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annual plan of activities (evidence of the ongoing working process)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Capacity to effectively coordinate members' interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Socio-economic factors	Strongly facilitating	Facilitating	Rather not facilitating	Not facilitating	Do not know
Ability to sustain competition against similar organizations in the field, especially foreign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reputation of the organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public acknowledgement (awards, rankings)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Establishment of professional standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Operation of certification programs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. How do the following factors hinder achievement of organizational goals? Please rate the answers on a scale of “strongly hindering” to “not hindering”. For each answer please tick only one box.

Public and political factors	Strongly hindering	Hindering	Rather not hindering	Not hindering	Do not know
Low level of political culture in the country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Preference for solving problems behind-the-scenes – tet-a-tet with the state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Common attitude among the officials ‘I have what I protect’	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of legislation on lobbying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Overregulation of the third sector in Russia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Passivity of the citizens in self-organization and self-regulation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Weak position of the third sector as an intermediary organ between the state and society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Governance factors	Strongly hindering	Hindering	Rather not hindering	Not hindering	Do not know
Difficulties with fundraising for operational activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
“One-man show”, depicted in infrequent rotation of organizational leaders	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abuse of authority by the leader in pursuit of his own interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
“The winner takes it all”, expressed in the low ability to reach agreement by consensus in response to conflict among members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Low level of active membership participation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recruitment, retention and training of personnel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Socio-economic factors	Strongly hindering	Hindering	Rather not hindering	Not hindering	Do not know
Consequences of the global financial crisis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Russia's accession to the WTO					
Weak articulation and consolidation of interests within the professional community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Weak shared understanding of benefits from collective action	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poorly developed horizontal communications in society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Low level of moral standing in society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please, specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

CONTACT INFORMATION

Would like to receive findings of this study?

Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
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Please indicate your contact details:

Name	
Position	
Organization	
Email	

Would like to add or comment anything regarding this study? _____

Thank You for Your participation!