8

EFFECTIVENESS IN CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

LEADER DEVELOPMENT, MEMBER ENGAGEMENT AND PUBLIC INFLUENCE IN THE SIERRA CLUB

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For much of our history, civic associations have served as schools of democracy for the millions of Americans to whom they taught leadership skills, democratic governance and public engagement. Civic associations rooted in a membership to whom they are accountable, in governance by elected leaders, and in a commitment to public advocacy not only make claims on public officials but teach the practice of democracy itself by engaging citizens in working together on common goals. In fact, many have argued that the recent trend replacing such associations with professional advocates and professional service providers has eroded valuable civic infrastructure (Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003). But not all civic associations are in decline. Some continue to thrive as they develop leaders, engage their members and influence public life—and afford scholars the opportunity to learn why they work when they do.

Given the important role of civic associations in American democracy, surprisingly little research addresses the question of why some are more effective than others. Although the question of organizational effectiveness has been addressed by organization scholars for the last three decades, much of their work has focused on private, public, and nonprofit organizations that produce goods or provide services. The fact that their core activity consists of selling products or delivering a service distinguishes them from civic associations in the very ways that have made them "schools of democracy:" accountability to members, election of leaders, and claims making in the public arena. Although debate about the ambiguities of the meaning of effectiveness continues, these scholars have developed a rich toolbox of methods to define and measure effectiveness, conduct cross-sectional studies of organizations, and account for key leadership, organizational, and environmental variables that influence it.

However, scholars who do study civic associations have rarely addressed the question of organizational effectiveness, especially in terms of core leadership and organizational variables. These scholars often root their work in the study of social movements (sociology), civic engagement (sociology and political science) interest groups (political science), or labor unions (industrial relations) and focus more narrowly on the environmental conditions—resources and opportunities—that facilitate success, most often defined as public influence. Neglect of internal dynamics, however, not only ignores important influences on public outcomes, but also on other outcomes unique to civic associations: impact on the engagement of members and development of leaders.

In this paper, we build on and extend these approaches to define and understand organizational effectiveness. We draw on the work of organization scholars to guide our methodology and understanding of organizational effectiveness. At the same time, we build on scholarship on social movements, interest groups, and labor unions to focus on understanding the dynamics of organizational effectiveness in civic associations.

The paper begins by developing a multi-dimensional definition of organizational effectiveness that takes into account the multiple goals of civic associations. Second, we discuss how to measure these goals and their viability as tools of organization analysis. Third, we examine data on the relationship of these measures of organizational effectiveness to one another. We address these questions through a new study called National Purpose, Local Action (NPLA), a project examining variation in the organizational effectiveness of the Sierra Club's 62 state or regional chapters and 343 local groups. This study focuses on the influence of leadership, organization, and community context on organizational effectiveness, a question of interest both to practitioners and scholars.

THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

Although evaluating the effectiveness of civic associations ought to be of critical interest to scholars and practitioners, few studies have focused on this question. Studies of organizational effectiveness that have focused on other types of organizations have nevertheless generated important tools upon which we can build.

Effectiveness became a focus of intense interest to organization scholars during the 1970s (Webb, 1974; Pennings, 1976; Cunningham, 1977; Kanter & Brinkerhof, 1981). Initially, scholars argued that effectiveness could be evaluated in terms of *goals* (Georgopoluous & Tannenbaum, 1957; Etzioni, 1964; Perrow, 1965; Price, 1968; Campbell, 1977; Hall, 1978), but debated whose goals were relevant and how best to measure them. Another group of scholars argued that accomplishing goals was a poor measure of effectiveness since organizations could accomplish goals even if they were not very "effective" organizations (Campbell, 1977). These scholars argued that examining organizational *capacities*, such as resources, staffing, and structure is required to understand effectiveness (Mahoney & Frost, 1974; Yuchtman & Seashore, 1967). Often, however, the connection between capacities and outcomes is quite murky, making this method of measuring effectiveness difficult. Others argued organizational effectiveness is best understood as the degree to which the organization satisfies its *constituencies* (Hirsch, 1975; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Scott, 1978; Bluedorn, 1980; Connoly, Conlon & Deutsch, 1980). But since one organization often has multiple constituencies that could be at odds with one another, the question remained of which constituency counted. Finally, in the wake of neoinstitutional analysis (Meyer & Rowan, 1979; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) some argued that effectiveness was a matter of *legitimation* in the public arena (Yuchtman & Seashore, 1967; Meyer & Rowan, 1978). Each of these definitions of effectiveness left important questions about just what effectiveness is unresolved. In fact, the unresolved nature of these questions led one scholar to argue that the ambiguity of the concept of effectiveness simply reflected the paradoxical nature of effective organizations (Cameron, 1986).

Beginning in the 1980s, scholars began to question the utility of the search for a universal measure of effectiveness—arguing that effective was more of an expression of value than an objective phenomenon (Goodman, Atkin & Schoorman, 1983). Because most organizations have a wide diversity of goals, capacities, and constituencies, scholars argued that more complex, most often multi-dimensional, measures of effectiveness were required (Lewin & Minton, 1986; Doty, 1993). This result led some scholars to shift their focus from effectiveness to "performance", even as scholarship on the components of effectiveness has continued unabated, (Hirsch & Levin, 1999).

Meanwhile the study of effectiveness as such has relocated to scholarship on service-providing non-profit organizations. This may reflect new interest in non-profit accountability and governance from both non-profit funders and the public (Herman & Renz, 1993; Sowa & Selden, 2004).

Scholarship on civic associations, on the other hand, has either ignored internal influences on organizational effectiveness, focusing on the influence of the environment, or conceptualized it in a uni-dimensional way, focusing exclusively on policy goals, rather than on those associated with leaders or members. In terms of understanding the effectiveness of civic associations in general, this focus ignores the membership's being the ultimate source of legitimacy (Wilson, 1973). And because elected leaders make key organizational decisions, their effectiveness depends at least in part on political relationships among leaders and between members and leaders. At the same time, in terms of goals, ignoring the membership also ignores the status of goals related to members and leaders, thus constituting measures of effectiveness itself. Instead of examining the internal dynamics of leadership and organization, for example,

many social movement scholars focus on explaining success based on the role of favorable or unfavorable environmental conditions such as the availability of allies, the strength of the opposition, the availability of resources, and opportunities that may exist (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tarrow, 1998).

Civic engagement scholars have focused primarily on declines in measures of civic engagement, as associated with reduced social capital or a diminished role for organizations believed to have generated social capital, but pay little attention the mechanisms by means of which they generate social capital or, more generally, stimulate civic engagement (Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003).

Students of interest groups examine interest-group roles in policy networks, in organizational fields, or as sources of information and money for legislators (Smith, 1995; Heinz, et al., 1993; Walker, 1991; Laumann & Knoke, 1997; Langbein, 1993; Ainsworth, 1993; Austin-Smith, 1993; Austin-Smith, 1995), using as proxies for organizational effectiveness patterns of interaction with outside actors or prestige in the policy environment (Heinz, et al., 1993; Laumann & Knoke, 1987). To the extent these studies explain effectiveness, they do so only in terms of policy outcomes without taking into account the way the organization's own membership and leadership influence it.

Those scholars who do argue that organizational structures, resources, and practices can differentiate effective from ineffective organizations, rarely consider the influences of leadership (Key, 1956; Wilson, 1973; Gamson, 1976; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983; Walker, 1991; Andrews, 2004). Although a few scholars argue that leaders' decision processes, and the decisions they make, critically influence organizational success, their analysis is usually based on single-case studies rather than on cross-sectional studies of comparable organizational units (Burns, 1978; Ganz, 2000; Baker, Johnson & Lavalette, 2001; Morris & Staggenborg, 2002).

The scholarship on civic associations that most closely parallels the organizational effectiveness scholarship focuses on unions and includes that by Webb (1974), Fiorito (1987, 1995) and Bronfenbrenner (2001). They evaluate union effectiveness with respect to bargaining and organizing, and consider individual, organizational, and environmental influences. But the outcomes on which they focus—collective bargaining agreements and union representation elections—do not transfer easily to other kinds of representative organizations.

Thus, the question of why some civic associations are more effective than others remains largely unexplored, particularly with respect to that which makes them uniquely civic: members, elected leaders and public advocacy. Organizational scholars have developed multi-dimensional definitions of effectiveness, but they have focused primarily on bureaucratic organizations that produce goods or provide services. Conversely, studies of civic associations by scholars of social movements, civic engagement, interest groups, and unions rarely consider internal organizational dynamics or have they developed multi-dimensional definitions of effectiveness.

This paper and the project more broadly attempt to move in exactly this direction. Although we draw on research on the effectiveness of for-profit and non-profit organizations to develop more complex definitions of organizational effectiveness, we focus on membership-based civic associations, building

on insights from studies of social movements, interest groups and unions to understand their unique features. In doing so, we develop a multi-dimensional definition of organizational effectiveness in civic associations and apply this conceptualization to local groups of the Sierra Club.

A NEW CONCEPTION OF EFFECTIVENESS IN MEMBERSHIP-BASED CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

To improve on previous conceptions of effectiveness in membership-based civic associations, we develop a definition that is multi-dimensional, considers outcomes that combine the accomplishment of goals with the creation of capacity, and that can be used to compare across organizations. In this section we define our concept of effectiveness and discuss ways it can help us better understand what organizations do and how well they do it.

We assess organizational effectiveness along three dimensions that take into account the multi-dimensional aspects of civic associations, including, but not limited to, public influence. Because civic associations have members, they a pursue goals related to their membership and to the leaders who engage that membership. Based on these considerations, we assess civic association effectiveness along three dimensions: (1) leader development, (2) member engagement and (3) public influence. Public influence refers to the extent to which an organization achieves its goals with respect to the public. In terms of the Sierra Club, it refers to the contributions of Sierra Club groups to the protection of the environment based on action in their communities. Member engagement is the degree to which the organization engages members in the activities of the group, thus influencing the individuals involved and, through them, the broader community. By leader development, we mean the extent to which the organization enhances the motivation, skills and practices of current leaders, such as recruiting, training and developing new leaders.

The strengths of this approach are, first of all, that it is multi-dimensional, recognizing that civic associations pursue multiple goals against which to evaluate their effectiveness, public outcomes, member outcomes, and leader outcomes.

Second, our approach considers outcomes that combine the accomplishment of goals with the creation of capacity. Organizations are distinct from single campaigns in that they have long-term agendas. In the interest of long-term viability, they thus have to generate resources even as they expend resources. Recent research on social movements has begun to recognize this situation by focusing on the ongoing and differential impacts of movements, instead of on a narrow focus on political success or failure (Amenta & Young, 1999; Andrews, 2001). This research recognizes that most movement groups experience a variety of accomplishments and setbacks over the course of their lifespans that cannot be captured by a dichotomous measure of success or failure in one campaign (Andrews, 1997; Diani, 1997; Snyder & Kelly, 1979). Instead, most organizations seek to affect public outcomes as they build organizational capacity because achieving their broader goals requires a multi-targeted effort as well as sustaining the organization. Building on this insight, our study is designed to capture the diverse influence that Sierra Club organizations have not only on ongoing environmental debates, but also on their members and their leaders.

Finally, in a related vein, we focus on organizational goals or outcomes rather than on the success or failure of a particular campaign or project. In this way, we can compare organizations that have much in common but may differ on key issues or substance of the priorities they pursue. This method allows us to develop a more general theoretical understanding of effectiveness than would be the case for research focusing on the success or failure of any particular campaign.

In sum, our conception of organizational effectiveness is multi-dimensional reflecting the goals of membership-based civic associations. Although we expect the most successful groups to be effective along each of our three dimensions, some will likely be more successful in one dimension than the others. For example, a group may be very effective at engaging membership in activities but experience little success in parlaying member support into broader public influence, which may depend on the strength of allies or opponents. We will assess effectiveness on each of our three dimensions and determine how these dimensions of public influence, member engagement, and leader development are related to one another.

THE SIERRA CLUB: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

The Sierra Club provides an excellent setting for studying the effectiveness of state and local organizations within a broader national association because of its prominence, multi-tiered organizational structure, variation in performance, and openness to academic inquiry. First, we provide relevant background on the organization's history and structure followed by a more methodologically driven discussion of the Sierra Club as a case study.

Historical and Organizational Overview

The Sierra Club is based in San Francisco with another major office in Washington, D.C. and 27 regional offices throughout the United States. Although it was founded in 1892, the modern Sierra Club grew in three distinct waves of growth after World War II. By the end of the 1960s, it had grown from six California Chapters to 62 chapters spread across the country. During the 1970s, the number of local groups grew from just three to 174. And finally, during the 1980s, individual membership grew from 181,000 to 600,000, and today reaches 750, 000.

The national club is governed by a fifteen-person board of directors elected by the membership at large. The Sierra Club's 62 chapters are divided roughly into one chapter per state. The main exception is California, where twelve chapters are coordinated by a single state-level lobbying organization that serves as an intermediary between the California chapters and the national organization. There are also 343 local groups that are each affiliated with a chapter, although the number of groups per chapter ranges from 0 to 17. Each chapter is governed by an elected Executive Committee (ExCom) that includes representatives of each local group in its territory. Local groups, in turn, are governed by their own locally elected ExCom. The mean size of a chapter ExCom is 12.5 members, and the mean size for a Group ExCom is 7.1. The National Board conducts organizational business through seven governance committees and numerous subcommittees, a committee structure the groups and chapters emulate.

Although membership dues flow directly from individuals to the national organization, a portion of the dues from members in their areas go to chapters, based on a subvention formula. Chapters may or may not distribute funds to their local groups. Chapters and groups also engage in local fundraising to support their activities and projects.

The Sierra Club distinguishes its programs as conservation work (campaigns, lobbying, advocacy to protect habitat, pass legislation, public education, etc.), as outings (hiking, camping, trail maintenance, etc.), as electoral activities (endorsing candidates), and as efforts intended to strengthen the organization itself (training, recruiting, fund raising)—work it carries out at the national, state, and local levels. The national organization is thus what Shaiko (1999, 44) calls a "full-service public interest organization" that pursues a wide range of activities and goals. Although the parent organization, as a 501(c)(4), can endorse

national candidates and engage in electoral activities in local communities, the Sierra Club conducts its business through a variety of related entities that include the Sierra Club Foundation, a 501(c)(3); the Sierra Student Coalition; Earth Justice Legal Defense Fund (formerly the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund); and Sierra Club Books.

Case Study: The Sierra Club

Our study is both a single-case study of the Sierra Club and a multi-organizational study in which we make systematic comparisons across the numerous local sub-units of the Sierra Club. As a case study, our research is situated within an important tradition of single-organization studies central to this field of political organizations, including Michel's *Political Parties* (1915); Lipset, Trow & Coleman's *Union Democracy* (1956); Selznick's *TVA and the Grassroots* (1966); and Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), among many others. The strength of these studies was that they were able to delve deeply enough into the workings of one of a broader class of organizations—either because it was representative or because it was an outlier-to discern the key mechanisms of interest at work.

We also follow scholars who hold the organizational context constant to conduct cross-sectional analysis of variation in units of the organization (Webb, 1974; Pennings, 1976; Hammer & Waseter, 1993) Examining the public influence of advocacy groups poses the methodological challenge of conceptualizing and measuring appropriate indicators of effectiveness and assessing the causal impact of organizational characteristics alongside rival explanations. With this approach, we can develop a single measure of effectiveness by discerning relationships between individual, organizational, and environmental variables and organizational effectiveness. It would be far more difficult, for example, to compare effectiveness of local units of the NRA, AARP and SEIU.

For example, several important studies of interest groups were based on surveys administered to a random sample of organizations (Walker, 1991; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Knoke, 1990). In these studies, as well as case studies of specific organizations or movements (Rothenberg, 1992), researchers focused on questions such as the recruitment and retention of members and the acquisition of financial resources (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998). But they have not simultaneously examined the effects of this variation on the influence of these organizations because of the difficulty of developing a common metric across organizations with very different political objectives and programs.

In this case, we have the opportunity to systematically analyze variation across over 300 groups, each of which is responsible for its own governance, but within a broader federated framework. As Figure 1 shows, the multi-tiered structure of the Sierra Club allows us to examine local variation within a common national framework of overlapping national, state, and local components, with comparability across organizations in the composition of their leadership, their resources, practices, performance, and process. This creates an opportunity for analytic leverage by allowing us to identify and understand major sources of variation. We thus can look at a set of organizational units with a common set of political objectives, achieving comparability across our measures of organizational effectiveness. Second, by studying numerous local entities, we have in-depth measures of the internal practices of these groups and can compare the effect of those practices, as well as the impact of varying social and political contexts on an organization's ability to have meaningful influence.

FIGURE 1   STRUCTURE OF THE SIERRA CLUB'S VOLUNTEER LEADERSHIP
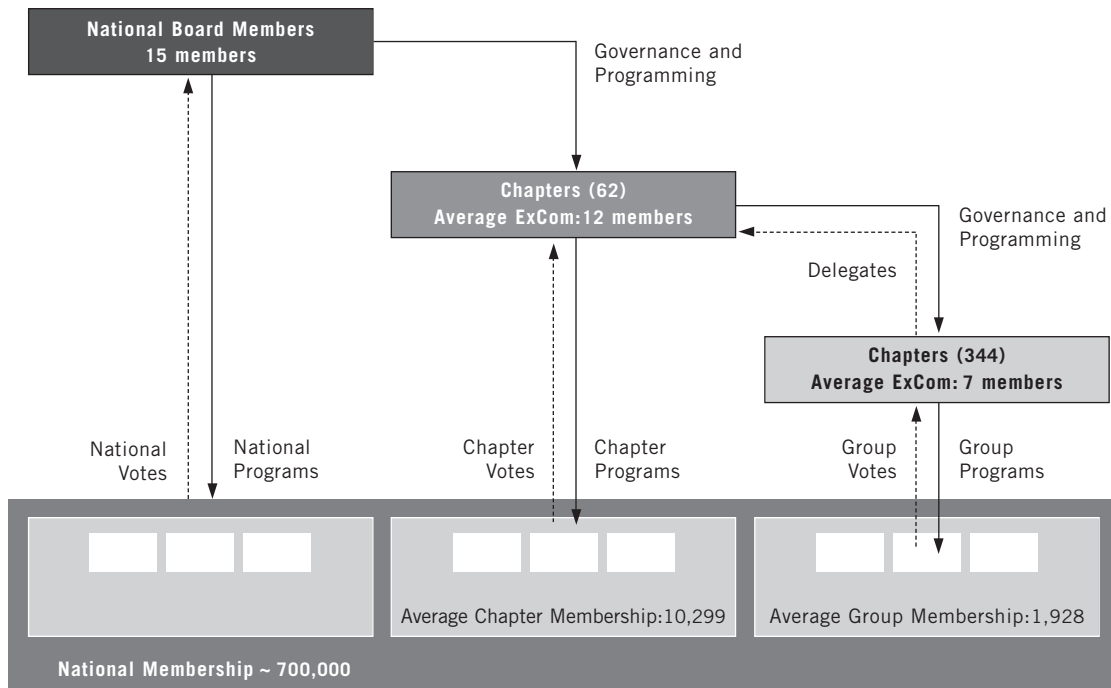
Our preliminary analyses showed a wide variation in the effectiveness of Sierra Club groups along our three key dimensions of leader development, member engagement, and public influence. Overall, although only a fraction of Sierra Club members participate in local organizations, some local organizations engage their members much more fully than others in their conservation campaigns, outings programs, electoral work, and organizational leadership and activism. We have also identified major variation in the broader characteristics of Sierra Club's groups and chapters, such as the backgrounds of their leaders, their goal-setting and strategic practices, the extent and focus of activities, and their access to financial and staff resources. Moreover, local Sierra Club organizations are located in every one of the United States and in cities of widely varying size and characteristics. In sum, analyzing the sources of this variation in organizational characteristics, contexts and effectiveness will allow us to determine why some state and local units are more effective than others.

Thus, we can think of our study in two distinct but complementary ways. First, it is a detailed case study of an important national organization. Second, it is a multi-organizational study that gains analytic leverage from variation among over 400 local units and the communities in which they operate.

At the same time we have to ask of what is the Sierra Club a case? We have argued that civic associations are distinguished by the fact they are membership based, governed by elected leaders, and pursue civic goals. In addition, the Sierra Club is a federated organization, a form of organization of particularly recent interest to scholars because of the way it combines local action in a national framework (Oster, 1996; Aspen,1999; Skocpol, Ganz & Munson, 2000). Historically, many organizations developed a multi-tiered

structure as a way to combine local action with national purpose—at the same time, grounding national action in local purpose—a structure that continues to be used by influential contemporary organizations such as NOW, the NAACP, the NRA, SEIU, most trade unions, the Audubon Society, the League of Women Voters and MADD. The Sierra Club is funded by members who pay dues and elect local, state, and national officers. State and local units, although not distinct financial entities, are self-governing, choose their own leaders, and conduct their own affairs within a broader national framework. The Sierra Club was established neither to market products nor deliver services but to "enlist humanity to protect the environment and enjoy the natural world."

" Our preliminary analyses showed a wide variation in the effectiveness of Sierra Club groups along our three key dimensions of leader development, member engagement and public influence."

Although historians, sociologists and political scientists have studied the Sierra Club, they focused on the national organization, leaders, and campaigns rather than on the organizational infrastructure of local groups and chapters (Brulle, 2000; Cohen, 1988; Devall, 1970; Dunlap & Mertig, 1992; Gottlieb, 1993; Shaiko, 1999), a focus that characterizes studies of other major environmental organizations as well. Similarly, prior studies conducted internally by the Sierra Club have sampled individual members or leaders for their opinions and characteristics, but offered little insight into the organization's overall structure as a multi-tiered organization.

The Sierra Club's role as a major environmental organization increases the visibility and relevance of our findings. For example, in a recent analysis, Amenta and his colleagues (2005) collected coverage of social movement organizations in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* for the entire twentieth century, and they examine which organizations received the most media attention by each decade. The Sierra Club was one of the ten most-covered organizations in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s gaining far more coverage than any other conservation or environmental organization. Social movement scholars regard environmentalism as an exemplar of contemporary social movements. These characteristics include a reliance on direct membership recruitment, the relative affluence of movement supporters, reliance on relatively routine or non-disruptive tactics, and the centrality of post- material values to their mission (Berry, 1999; Meyer & Tarrow, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Even though the Sierra Club is not representative of national environmental organizations or the movement as a whole, it has played a critical role throughout the movement, and it has changed in ways that reflect broader shifts in environmentalism, including its structure and programmatic activities. Most importantly, the Sierra Club combines characteristics of the older form of three-tiered civic associations based on federated state and local groups with the newer form of organization reliant on direct marketing to support a broad environmental agenda at the national level (Skocpol, Ganz & Munson, 2000).

Finally, the Sierra Club's openness to academic inquiry makes this research possible. The opportunity to study such an influential organization as the Sierra Club with the full cooperation of its leadership permits a much richer understanding than more typical studies that rely on fragmentary evidence. The depth of the Sierra Club's commitment to learning is reflected in its willingness to make the findings and insights from this study and the data collected publicly available to benefit other organizations and the broader scholarship on these questions. The Sierra Club's leaders have devoted enormous time to the development and implementation of this project which accounts for the breadth and quality of the data.

RESEARCH DESIGN OVERVIEW

We initiated the National Purpose, Local Action (NPLA) project in the summer of 2003 as a result of discussions with Sierra Club leaders concerned about the unrealized potential of their 750,000 members, 343 local groups, and 62 chapters. Conversations within the Sierra Club began in December 2002 when its Organizational Effectiveness Governance Committee formed the "Bowling Together" task force to assess the Club's social capital and identify barriers to its growth. Given limited information on local organizations within the Sierra Club, the task force asked fundamental questions that could only be answered by collecting, analyzing, and reflecting on new information. This initiative is the most recent in a series undertaken by Sierra Club leadership to strengthen the effectiveness of local groups and chapters including efforts to encourage an activist culture, improve communications, offer organizer training, and provide resources to encourage local participation in national campaigns. Unlike earlier initiatives, however, the NPLA project has begun to create a new framework for learning from the experience of chapters and groups, how they do their work, and the reasons some are more effective than others.

The study is thus based on a newly created dataset that we designed and collected in cooperation with the Sierra Club. The unit of analysis for this project is each group and chapter with a particular focus on the elected Executive Committee (the ExCom). All of the Sierra Club's U.S. groups and chapters were included in the study, except for those that were in reorganization in September 2003.[1] For this paper, we will only present data on groups because groups and chapters differ in important ways including their scope, staff support, and governance. We conducted two major surveys between September 2003 and March 2004. Overall, we draw on five different sources of data to provide a comprehensive view of the Sierra Club, integrating local organizational data with community-level and individual-level data to distinguish different sources of variation within the Sierra Club. We describe each of our five data sources below, and then describe the process we used for collecting the data. Gathering this amount of data with consistency and timeliness required this innovative, challenging, but ultimately highly rewarding approach.

(1) *Interviews with ExCom chairs focusing on organizational structure, activities and efficacy.* From October 2003 to January 2004, we conducted 50-minute telephone interviews with 368 chapter and group executive committee chairs focusing on questions of organizational structure, leader and member participation, activities, networks, practices, community assessments, and effectiveness. We worked with the University of California at Berkeley's Survey Research Center to conduct these interviews, and we achieved a 90.6% response rate. This data provide us with an in-depth, systematic overview of the Sierra Club's organization. Potential respondents received a letter from the PIs and three national volunteer leaders describing the project and interview to prepare them for the call.

(2) *Collective self-assessment of organizational practices.* Group and chapter ExComs participated in 280 ExCom Self-Assessment Sessions (ESAS). After completing the individual survey, volunteer facilitators gathered ExCom members together for a facilitated self-assessment discussion about the ExCom as a whole. Each session took approximately three and one-half hours and was conducted from October 2003 to February 2004. Sessions were based on the aggregation of key elements of data gathered in the individual surveys and reported on by individual ExCom members. Similar to the ELS, the meetings were divided into topical discussions that paralleled the issues raised in the ELS. These sessions were thus data-based, facilitated self-assessments that allowed us to gauge how the ExCom collectively understood its own processes of decision making and other organizational behaviors.

(3) *Written surveys with Executive Committee members on background, leadership and organizational practices.* The 15-page ExCom Leader Survey (ELS) was completed by 1,624 ExCom members. Within the ExComs that held a self-assessment meeting, 68% of ExCom members completed the survey, as did 51% of all ExCom members. The survey includes closed-ended and open-ended questions on the background, leadership experience, goals and motivations, and organizational practices of local leaders, as well as their evaluation of the practices and efficacy of their own ExCom. The survey focused on the following broad topics:

1 how individuals become engaged in the Sierra Club and how they engage others;
2 how ExComs prioritize their goals and objectives;
3 how ExComs conduct strategic deliberation;
4 how ExComs organize to implement their plans and deploy their resources;
5 how ExComs define the success and failure of its projects;
6 how leadership operates within the group; and
7 the demographic characteristics of the leadership. Completing the individual surveys prepared ExCom members for local meetings that initiated a process of organizational self-assessment. We use this data both to characterize individual leaders and aggregate it to assess the leadership of each Group and Chapter.

(4) *Secondary data available from the Sierra Club.* The Sierra Club has extensive data on its Groups, Chapters, and members compiled for a variety of purposes that ranges from demographic characteristics of members and records of their organizational involvement to the assets of particular groups and chapters. This type of data allowed us to determine whether the non-respondents are systematically different from the groups that participated in the study. In addition, these indicators have allowed us to assess the validity of our survey measures with independent information to increase the overall validity of the study and its results. Finally, some of the information collected by the national organization is of higher quality or only available from national sources, such as the number of members, financial information, and some historical data.

(5) *Secondary data on community context.* Data on the characteristics of the communities within which local Groups operate is also available, and we are focusing on demographic, economic, political, civic, and environmental characteristics. This data is derived from the U.S. Census and other relevant sources.

MEASURES OF EFFECTIVENESS

We now introduce our measures of organizational effectiveness for each dimension of leader development, member engagement, and public influence. Our initial task is to describe the univariate characteristics and assess the relationships among variables within each of our three major dimensions. By leader development we mean enhancing the motivation, skills, and practices of current leaders, such as recruiting, training, and developing new leaders. Member engagement is measured by the degree to which members participate in the activities of groups. Public influence refers to the contributions of Sierra Club groups to protection of the environment based on action in their communities. Although organizational effectiveness can be difficult to evaluate, especially in not-for-profit organizations, we find that groups vary widely on all three of these measures. Some develop leaders, while others do not. Some engage their members, while others do not. And some claim to wield public influence while others do not.

> "Leader development is critical for member-based advocacy organizations because the task at all levels requires motivating people to work together, dealing strategically with dynamic and changing contexts, and adapting to the novel and challenging circumstances that accompany the work of advocacy. "

Leader Development

Leader development is critical for member-based advocacy organizations, especially volunteer organizations, because the task at all levels requires motivating people to work together, dealing strategically with dynamic and changing contexts, and adapting to the novel and challenging circumstances that accompany the work of advocacy.

One way to assess leader development is to evaluate the relational, motivational and strategic skills individuals develop in the course of their work as leaders with the organization (Oberschall, 1973; Ganz, 2000; Burns, 1978; Cohen & March, 1986; Thorlinddsson, 1987; Simonton, 1988; Hackman, 2002; Ganz, 2004a, 2004c; Fiorina & Shepsle, 1989). Volunteer-led organizations that alienate potential leaders, undermine their confidence, or reduce their motivation are less effective than those that enhance their leaders' knowledge and skills, increase their sense of efficacy, and increase their motivation. In recent years, scholars have begun to pay attention to ways organizations can structure themselves and develop practices that encourage mentoring, coaching, and other internal forms of leadership development (Day, 2001; Collins & Holton, 2003; Rousen & Reinelt, 2004).

Leader development, however, is best evaluated not only in terms of individuals' claims as to their own learning, but in terms of their behavior as leaders. While many leader behaviors may be difficult to quantify, one measure central to the capacity of voluntary associations is the recruitment of other leaders. The extent to which a volunteer organization realizes its potential is in large measure dependent on the extent to which it can field leaders capable of engaging others in the organization's work. If a local group generates more leaders than it needs, it can become a resource to the broader organization, enhancing its influence. On the other hand, if it needs more leaders than it has, it may consume organizational resources required to sustain its operations.

In this study, we thus evaluate leader development in three ways. First, we consider the development of three motivational attitudes: work satisfaction, organizational identification and self-efficacy. Second, we consider the development of three kinds of skills: self-management, coordination and organization. And, third, we consider one critical practice: the recruitment and retention of new volunteers and leaders.

With leader development, we rely on measures derived from surveys completed by the elected leaders serving on Executive Committees to assess three components of leader development, attitudes, skills and practices. Our measures of attitudes and skills were constructed similarly. In each case an individual leader assessed his or her attitudes on 21 distinct items and skills on 19 items. For example, the skill items asked leaders to "Please indicate whether your leadership skills have improved through your service as a volunteer in the Sierra Club" on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree); and whether "I am better at" relevant skills such as "delegating responsibilities to others," "raising money," or "speaking in public." With our 21 attitude measures, we asked elected leaders to "Please take a moment to think about how you feel about your experience as a volunteer leader in the Sierra Club," and asked them to describe "How much you agree with each statement ranging from 'strongly disagree' (1) to 'strongly agree' (5)." (Item wording, descriptive statistics for each item and Cronbach's alpha values for our scales are summarized in Appendix A.) We conducted factor analyses using the individual response to facilitate

the construction of three scales for satisfaction, identification, and efficacy. These individual scales for attitudes and skills were then aggregated to the group level.[2]

Satisfaction indicates whether leaders value and enjoy the work and working with their ExCom. *Identification* evaluates the extent to which leaders report strong attachment to the organization and the extent that the organization plays a central role in their lives. Finally, *efficacy* measures the extent to which leaders feel they have the capacity to work effectively. Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for each of our measures of leader development including the mean, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, and alpha reliability measures for the scales. Among the measures of leader attitudes, the mean of satisfaction is highest followed by identification. The mean of group efficacy is lowest: an intriguing pattern suggesting that in the aggregate groups, leaders are less likely to report confidence regarding their work than the pleasure of participating or belonging to the group.[3]

With our measures of skills we identified three distinct forms of skill development: self-management, coordination, and organizational. *Self-management* skills refer to the ability to carry out independent tasks by taking ownership of one's work within the group. *Coordination* skills concern the ability to motivate, manage, and train other volunteers within one's group. *Organizational* skills are those that require carrying out core technical tasks such as running meetings and communicating with allies. Table 1 shows that at the group level, organizational skills have improved most substantially followed by self-management and coordination skills, which have improved the least.

To measure leader practices, we focus on the critical task of recruiting new volunteers, asking whether those recruits continue to participate or come to play leadership roles. We asked elected leaders to list up to five individuals they had successfully encouraged to participate in their group's activities. We also asked how they knew that person, how they encouraged him or her to participate, and how active that person is currently. This last question is especially relevant because we used it to construct measures of effectiveness at retaining new volunteers as either participants or leaders. In sum, we constructed three measures at the group level for the total number of volunteers recruited,[4] the number who continue to participate, and the number who hold leadership positions. Each estimate is divided by the number of ExCom members who completed the survey—the people responsible for recruiting and retaining them. This method takes into account both the number of recruiters and their effectiveness. These measures are referred to as VRQ (volunteer recruitment quotient), PRQ (participant recruitment quotient) and LRQ (leader recruitment quotient).

As Table 1 indicates, groups recruit almost two volunteers for each leader. Among those recruits, 1.3 recruits per leader are still participating in some form, and, on average, 0.6 recruits per leader are now leaders. In separate analyses not reported here, however, we found that recruiting is unevenly distributed, with approximately two-thirds of ExCom members recruiting no additional leaders. This uneven distribution is found within groups and across them. Thus recruiting activity varies considerably across individuals and groups, with some engaging in virtually no recruiting and others reporting greater levels of success.

Turning to the bivariate correlations in Table 2, we find that the measures of skill development are strongly related to one another. Measures of attitude are less strongly related to one another, with satisfaction and efficacy showing, perhaps surprisingly, the lowest level of association. Skills and attitude are moderately correlated, with the strongest associations between skill development and identification with the Sierra Club. We find that groups with leaders who have developed more skills are also doing more recruiting. Finally, groups with higher levels of efficacy are doing more recruiting, but satisfaction is unrelated to recruiting.

TABLE 1   DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

		N	MEAN	SD	MIN	MAX
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT						
Attitudes	Efficacy	224	3.44	0.40	2.00	5.00
	Identification	224	3.88	0.36	2.67	4.83
	Satisfaction	224	3.98	0.41	1.86	4.82
	Self-management skills	224	3.26	0.39	1.78	4.67
Skills	Relational skills	224	2.95	0.39	1.71	4.00
	Organizational skills	224	3.08	0.47	1.57	4.71
Practices	Volunteer recruitment	224	1.95	1.08	0.00	5.00
	Participant recruitment	224	1.29	0.87	0.00	5.00
	Leader recruitment	224	0.58	0.51	0.00	3.00
MEMBER ENGAGEMENT						
General Forms of Engagement	Core activists	304	4.21	3.84	0	20
	Leaders	302	10.22	7.88	0	65
	Participants	293	33.45	30.50	0	185
Specific Forms of Engagement	Meeting attendance	305	24.19	15.81	0	90
	Being on committee	304	13.21	12.06	0	110
	Leading outings program	308	5.17	7.29	0	55
	Local voting	296	43.05	53.25	0	300
National Member Engagement	Subscribing magazine	344	48.94	46.44	1	344
	National voting	343	843.66	928.24	40	6355
PUBLIC INFLUENCE						
Self-Reported Influence	Advocacy influence	306	3.05	0.82	1	5
	Community influence	305	3.28	0.85	1	5
	Electoral influence	302	2.93	1.20	1	5

T A B L E 2 CORRELATION AND PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Bivariate Correlations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
(1) Efficacy	1																				
(2) Identification	.25**	1																			
(3) Satisfaction	.13	.37**	1																		
(4) Self-management	.14*	.41**	.17*	1																	
(5) Coordination	.30**	.35**	.09	.69**	1																
(6) Organizational	.29**	.38**	.12	.67**	.66**	1															
(7) Volunteer recruitment	.30**	.23**	-.01	.18**	.31**	.30**	1														
(8) Participant recruitment	.32**	.16*	.03	.20**	.30**	.27**	.83**	1													
(9) Leader recruitment	.28**	.16*	.09	.21**	.25**	.23**	.54**	.71**	1												
(10) Core activists	.13	.11	-.08	.13	.23**	.16*	.27**	.22**	.18*	1											
(11) Leaders	.10	.12	.03	.03	.10	.09	.16*	.22**	.19**	.52**	1										
(12) Participants	.12	.04	-.03	.09	.17*	.09	.20**	.23**	.18*	.48**	.54**	1									
(13) Votes in ExCom	.13	.17*	.13	.13	.09	.07	.06	.05	.02	.27**	.27**	.30**	1								
(14) Meeting attendance	.17*	.11	-.01	.07	.25**	.14*	.25**	.26**	.22**	.43**	.51**	.54**	.26**	1							
(15) Committee members	.15*	-.01	-.04	.03	.15*	-.03	.17*	.28**	.21**	.37**	.45**	.48**	.23**	.44**	1						
(16) Outing leaders	.08	.07	-.07	.07	.09	.07	.12	.15*	.13	.33**	.30**	.31**	.31**	.31**	.28**	1					
(17) ERN (*Planet* subscribers)	.20**	.15*	-.12	.04	.18**	.16*	.16*	.13	.12	.42**	.37**	.38**	.29**	.37**	.27**	.42**	1				
(18) Votes for national board	.13*	.09	-.11	.01	.15*	.15*	.14*	.13	.13*	.40**	.31**	.32**	.24**	.32**	.25**	.35**	.91**	1			
(19) Advocacy	.24**	.16*	-.01	.24**	.32**	.33**	.27**	.22**	.17*	.36**	.27**	.32**	.19**	.36**	.15**	.15*	.19**	.16**	1		
(20) Community	.23**	.12	.11	.23**	.19**	.26**	.21**	.17*	.10	.40**	.28**	.32**	.23**	.34**	.14*	.20**	.14*	.08	.75**	1	
(21) Electoral	.22**	.17*	-.07	.09	.16*	.23**	.10	.09	.14	.29**	.26**	.30**	.13*	.34**	.11	.09	.47**	.47**	.54**	.38**	1

Partial Correlations with controls for population and membership size

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
(1) Efficacy	1																				
(2) Identification	.24**	1																			
(3) Satisfaction	.15*	.39**	1																		
(4) Self-management	.14*	.41**	.17*	1																	
(5) Coordination	.29**¹	.34**	.11	.69**	1																
(6) Organizational	.27**	.37**	.15*	.68**	.66**	1															
(7) Volunteer recruitment	.29**	.22**	.01	.18**	.29**	.28**	1														
(8) Participant recruitment	.32**	.15*	.04	.20**	.28**	.26**	.83**	1													
(9) Leader recruitment	.26**	.15*	.11	.20**	.24**	.21**	.53**	.71**	1												
(10) Core activists	.07	.08	-.04	.12	.17*	.11	.20**	.16*	.12	1											
(11) Leaders	.06	.10	.08	.03	.05	.05	.11	.19**	.15*	.45**	1										
(12) Participants	.07	.01	.00	.09	.13	.04	.16*	.20**	.15*	.40**	.48**	1									
(13) Votes cast for local ExCom	.02	.04	-.03	.07	.04	.01	.07	.12	.09	.22**	.22**	.22**	1								
(14) Meeting attendance	.10	.16*	.16*	.13	.06	.03	.02	.02	-.01	.21**	.21**	.25**	.26**	1							
(15) Committee members	.14*	.13	.07	.08	.22**	.08	.18**	.19**	.16**	.36**	.45**	.48**	.26**	.21**	1						
(16) Outdoor leaders	.12	-.03	-.01	.03	.12	-.07	.13	.24**	.19**	.31**	.39**	.43**	.22**	.20**	.41**	1					
(17) ERN (*Planet* subscribers)	.13*	.15*	-.04	.05	.10	.01	.07	.04	-.01	.19**	.25**	.22**	.28**	.23**	.20**	.15**	1				
(18) Votes cast for national board	-.10	-.03	.00	-.07	-.02	-.07	-.01	.02	.02	.14*	.05	.00	.07	.12*	-.01	.06	.08	1			
(19) Advocacy	.21**	.15*	.01	.25**	.32**	.31**	.25**	.22**	.15*	.34**	.25**	.29**	.09	.17**	.34**	.15**	.13*	.05	1		
(20) Community	.21**	.11	.14	.23**	.19**	.25**	.20**	.17**	.08	.41**	.29**	.32**	.17**	.22**	.37**	.15**	.15**	.03	.74**	1	
(21) Electoral	.15*	.13	-.01	.10	.11	.17*	.03	.05	.08	.14*	.15*	.17*	-.12	.03	.24**	.02	.04	-.03	.52**	.37**	1

Note: **<.01; *<.05

Member Engagement

Member engagement is the second way we conceptualize the effectiveness of a member-based advocacy organization. Although the number of members can be a legitimate measure of effectiveness, it would only be meaningful as a proportion of the potential membership, a matter of demographics, environmental orientation, etc. Since the 1980s the Sierra Club has engaged in extensive direct marketing of membership throughout the United States, the principal way in which new members are recruited, suggesting membership itself may serve as an index of the environmental orientation of a particular community. And although interest in joining the Club may be related to local activities for which the group is responsible, the group itself does not recruit members, making it a poor gage of its effectiveness.

Instead, we measure the extent to which those who are members participate actively in the work of the organization. Active membership participation not only enhances the work of the organization, but can extend its influence within the community by engaging a broader segment of that community in club activities (Knoke, 1990). Members who participate in group deliberations are also more likely to commit to the outcome of that deliberation, making success more likely (Black & Gregersen, 1997). Through face-to-face interaction, experiences of reciprocity and norms of trust participation in organizational activities can also generate social capital within the group that can enhance its overall effectiveness (Putnam, 1993). Finally, for civic associations, member engagement may be viewed as a good for its own sake.

The basic indicator of engagement is the degree to which members participate in group activities. Like many other civic associations, Sierra Club organizations have more members than participants. Although participation can take many forms—ranging from attending a picnic to serving as an elected officer—we focus on three general forms: as a leader, as core activist, and as a participant. Leaders occupy titled positions at the group, chapter, or national level of the organization, accepting formal responsibility for club activities. Core activists are those individuals who invest substantial time in the work of the organization, whether occupying a formal leadership position or not. Participants are individuals who engaged in at least one activity of the group during the year.

Members also have opportunities to engage in the Sierra Club by directly participating in the national organization. We look at the two most important forms of national participation. Members can vote in national board elections or join the Environmental Rights Network through which they receive action alerts and a subscription to a specialized publication for activists, *The Planet*.

Voluntary associations seek to involve their members in their activities both as an end itself and a way to enhance an organizations' capacity for achieving other goals. Much has been written about the proliferation of paper membership—members who pay dues but have no face-to-face interaction with other members (Putnam, 2000; Shaiko, 1999; Skocpol, 2003). This form of participation could be used to characterize a large segment of the Sierra Club's membership. However, relative to other major environmental organizations, the Sierra Club has especially high levels of participation. One survey found that 10% of Sierra Club members considered themselves active in their groups, and 15% reported participating in an outings activity (Shaiko, 1999).[5] By comparison, approximately 20% participated in the most recent and highly contested election for the national board. More important for our analysis is the fact that there is significant variation among groups in local and national forms of member engagement, suggesting that differences in leadership, organization, or local context may influence the level of member engagement.

We measure the number of members who participate in varying capacities and in varying types of activities. First we consider three types of engagement: participants, including individuals who participate regularly

and from time to time; leaders who occupy titled positions within the group; and core activists who spend an estimated five or more hours per week on Sierra Club activities. We also consider participation in four distinct types of activities: voting for the local ExCom, attending regular meetings, serving on committees and leading an outdoor program. All measures of local participation are estimates provided by a Sierra Club Group chair in our phone interview.[6] We also include two estimates of participation in the national organization described above as 1) *Planet* subscribers and 2) voters in the 2003 national board election. These data were provided by the Sierra Club for each group.

Using our measures of member engagement, we report descriptive statistics for three types of indicators reported in Table 1. On average, groups have 4.2 volunteers who spend at least five hours per week on Sierra Club work. The next tier of involvement contains the persons holding formal leadership where the average group has 10.2 leaders. These groups are not mutually exclusive. The average group has a broader ring of participants with 36 volunteers. In terms of specific forms of participation, voting in local ExCom elections defines the outer bounds of participation with a mean of 43. On average, chairs report that 24 members attended their meetings, 13 members served on a committee, and 5 members led an outdoor program during the past year. Participation in the national organization is defined most broadly by members' voting in the national election of the board of directors. In the average group, 844 individuals voted in the 2003 election. Subscription to the *Planet* magazine includes a smaller group of members. The average group has 49 members who participate in this component of the national organization, about the same number that participate in the local ExCom elections.

Our measures of ongoing engagement—core activists, leaders, and participants—are strongly correlated as indicated in Table 2. The measures of specific forms of participation are less strongly correlated with one another, but we would expect this result. For example, some groups may focus on developing a set of programs for their regular meetings while others engage people through outdoor activities. Measures of ongoing engagement are moderately correlated with measures of participation in specific types of activities. Based on the bivariate correlations, national participation (*Planet* subscription and national board voting) appears to be highly correlated with local participation. However, in the partial correlation we see that the strength of these relationships is substantially reduced when controls for population and member size are included, especially true for voting in national board elections.

PUBLIC INFLUENCE

Although public influence is a matter of winning battles over public policy, court cases, and elections, it also involves recognition by policy makers of the organization as an authoritative advocate and serving as a valued source for public opinion. We focus on the influence that Sierra Club groups achieve in three major arenas of advocacy, community, and elections. Advocacy refers to effectiveness at advancing conservation objectives where the major target is influencing public policy through elected officials and government agencies. Community influence refers to effectiveness at influencing public opinion and debate and gaining support from other civic groups in ones community. Finally, electoral influence refers to effectiveness at influencing the election of candidates that the Sierra Club endorses.

We report our initial measures of public influence in this paper based on self-reports of organizational leaders, using 22 questions assessing the influence of their local group in political, community, and electoral terms. In subsequent analyses we will incorporate additional measures to assess the validity of these self-reported indicators of public influence.[7] We developed measures corresponding to these three arenas based on 22 items included in our phone interview with chairs of Sierra Club groups. ExCom chairs eval-

uated how accurately each statement described their Group or Chapter where 1 indicates "not very accurate" and 5 is "very accurate." Detailed descriptions of the items are presented in Appendix B.

As Table 1 shows, Sierra Club Groups report having the greatest influence upon their communities. On average, groups report similar levels of influence in advocacy and elections. However, there is much greater dispersion in electoral influence than advocacy or community influence. Advocacy and community influence are most closely related to one another while the correlation between electoral and community influence is positive but indicates a substantially weaker relationship.

HOW LEADER DEVELOPMENT, MEMBER ENGAGEMENT AND PUBLIC INFLUENCE ARE RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER

Next, we examine how our three dimensions of organizational effectiveness are related to one another. This analysis allows us to assess the value of a multi-dimensional framework on organizational effectiveness. In particular, we are attempting to gauge the extent to which our measures are highly correlated and the extent to which they are distinct.

Our analysis includes bivariate correlation and partial correlation coefficients including two control variables. The controls in the partial correlations are the population size (logged) and the membership size for the group (logged). Population size is measured at the zip code level using the 2000 Census then aggregated for each group. Membership size was provided by the Sierra Club for each group.

The bivariate and partial correlation coefficients are summarized in Table 2. The first matrix shows the bivariate correlation coefficients, and the second matrix shows the partial coefficients.

Overall, although we find that leader development, member engagement, and public influence are related, their relatively low correlation suggests that they are distinct outcomes, perhaps shaped by distinct leadership, organizational and contextual factors. As summarized in Table 2, this positive correlation holds even when control variables are introduced. Although we find the weakest correlation to be between member engagement and leader development, we note three important relationships. First, leadership recruitment practices may increase the number of activists and leaders within Sierra Club Groups. This observation is supported by the stronger correlations between our measures of recruitment and selected measures of member engagement (the number of core activists, leaders, and committee members). Second, leader development may be related to participation in the national organization. As shown in the table of bivariate correlations, however, these relationships are much weaker when controls for membership and population size are introduced. And third, although the development of self-management and organizational skills seem to be unrelated to member engagement, the development of coordination skills—skills used in working with others—are positively correlated with selected measures of member engagement. Nevertheless, among leader development variables, neither identification and satisfaction nor self-management and organizational skills have a strong relationship to our measures of member engagement.

Member engagement and leader development are related to public influence in three ways, as shown by a mild to moderate correlation. Looking first at attitudes, we find that a sense of efficacy is strongly related to all three measures of public influence. Developing a sense of efficacy thus seems distinct from developing identification and especially, satisfaction, attitudes that seem to have little to do with winning public influence. Second, all of our measures of skill development and recruiting are positively correlat-

ed with winning influence through advocacy. Community influence is also positively associated with skill development and recruitment practices, except for leader recruitment. Third, among avenues to public influence, electoral influence seems only related to a sense of efficacy and the development of organizational skills. These relationships with electoral influence are reduced, however, when we include controls for membership and population size in the partial correlations.

In general we find the strongest relationships between member engagement and public influence—especially advocacy and community influence. Advocacy and community influence are most strongly related to the number of core activists, leaders, participants and committee members, and they are correlated at lower levels with meeting attendance, outings leaders and *Planet* subscribers. The main exceptions to this pattern are the number of members voting in the 2003 national board election, which is not related to either community or advocacy influence, and members voting in the local ExCom election, which has a modest correlation with community influence but not advocacy. Finally, the relationship of member engagement to electoral influence is much lower when controls are introduced for membership and population size. As with the relationship between public influence and leader development, these patterns suggest that electoral influence is distinct from advocacy and community influence.

We explore these patterns further in the final section of the paper where we compare analyses of member engagement and public influence.

DISTINGUISHING MEASURES OF EFFECTIVENESS IN TERMS OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In order refine our understanding of the differences between two of our three measures of effectiveness, member engagement and public influence, we compare them with respect to two of three types of independent variables relevant to our analysis, characteristics of organization and of environment. In this preliminary analysis, we omit both leadership development outcomes and leadership input variables. We omit leader development outcomes because modeling them requires a different set of techniques that can account for the individual and collective factors related to leader development. We also omit leadership input variables including background, motivation, and social networks; governance practices; and cultural perspective. Our objective here is not explanatory, but to use OLS regression analysis to further understand differences in our dimensions of effectiveness. For example, if two measures of member engagement are related in different ways to organizational and environmental characteristics, it is evidence that each indicator is measuring a distinct aspect of member engagement.

We have included selected measures of environment (population and ExCom chairs' perception of their community in terms of its civic, political. and environmental characteristics) and organization (structure, organizational age, resources, leadership resources, public programs and support activities). In this initial analysis, we use these factors primarily because our data on them is readily available, and correspond to our broader effort to distinguish between environmental and organizational factors.

> "Overall, although we find that leader development, member engagement, and public influence are related, their relatively low correlation suggests that they are distinct outcomes, perhaps shaped by distinct leadership, organizational and contextual factors."

TABLE 3 REGRESSION MODELS FOR MEMBER ENGAGEMENT

	Core activtists	Leaders	Particip.	Local voting	Meeting attend.	Comm. Memb.	Outings leaders	ERN/Planet	National Board
Variable membership (ln)	0.054	0.089*	0.108	0.337***	0.089	0.066	0.108	0.698***	0.945***
	0.048	0.053	0.074	0.104	0.091	0.07	0.072	0.03	0.025
Population (ln)	0.043	-0.017	-0.004	-0.205**	-0.031	0.019	0.013	-0.087***	-0.036
	0.043	0.048	0.067	0.095	0.082	0.064	0.065	0.027	0.023
Political context	-0.025	-0.097	-0.017	-0.213**	-0.111	0.08	-0.005	-0.034	-0.019
	0.039	0.044	0.061	0.086	0.075	0.058	0.06	0.025	0.021
Civic context	0.036	0.029	0.014	0.082	0.044	-0.02	-0.019	0.007	0.003
	0.037	0.041	0.056	0.08	0.07	0.054	0.055	0.023	0.019
Environmental context	-0.053	0.014	-0.045	0.042	0.135**	0.045	-0.017	0.019	0.015
	0.034	0.038	0.053	0.075	0.065	0.051	0.052	0.022	0.018
Organizational age (ln)	0.03	0.012	0.04	0.365***	0.206*	0.07	0.123	-0.013	-0.013
	0.064	0.072	0.099	0.14	0.122	0.095	0.097	0.041	0.034
Revenue (ln)	0.036**	0.038**	0.044*	0.168***	0.073**	0.025	0.022	0.038***	0.013
	0.017	0.019	0.026	0.037	0.032	0.025	0.025	0.011	0.009
Committees (ln)	0.077	0.055	0.09	0.109	0.026	0.213***	0.078	-0.006	0.009
	0.052	0.058	0.08	0.113	0.099	0.076	0.078	0.033	0.027
Chair hours/month (ln)	0.135***	0.092**	-0.005	-0.144*	0.022	0.034	0.023	0.008	0.029
	0.035	0.039	0.054	0.076	0.066	0.051	0.053	0.022	0.018
Leader advocacy	0.199***	0.029	0.13	0.337**	0.221	-0.036	-0.255**	0.091	0.011
	0.075	0.083	0.115	0.164	0.143	0.111	0.113	0.047	0.039
Outings	0.022	0.062	0.263**	0.013	-0.007	0.074	0.51***	0.005	0.016
	0.05	0.056	0.078	0.11	0.096	0.074	0.076	0.032	0.026
Public advocacy	-0.072	0.032	0.052	0.076	0.074	0.309**	0.057	-0.082	0.01
	0.082	0.092	0.127	0.18	0.157	0.121	0.124	0.052	0.043
Election	-0.051	-0.007	0.033	-0.223**	-0.093	0.014	-0.059	0.021	-0.013
	0.05	0.055	0.077	0.109	0.095	0.073	0.075	0.031	0.026
Info. sharing	0.001	-0.078	0.05	0.097	0.22**	0.1	0.03	-0.074**	0.04
	0.049	0.054	0.075	0.106	0.093	0.072	0.073	0.031	0.025
Fundraising	0.019	0.065*	0.014	-0.134*	-0.032	0.034	0.032	-0.001	-0.019
	0.033	0.037	0.051	0.072	0.063	0.049	0.05	0.021	0.017
Organization building	0.118***	0.066	0.027	0.037*	-0.017	0.135**	0.061	0.029	-0.049**
	0.041	0.045	0.063	0.089	0.078	0.06	0.061	0.026	0.021
Community building	0.027	0.073	0.111*	0.109	0.062	0.01	0.123*	0.081***	-0.014
	0.044	0.049	0.067	0.095	0.083	0.064	0.066	0.028	0.023
Recruitment	0.098**	0.055	-0.007	-0.013	-0.012	-0.015	0.064	0.018	0.021
	0.043	0.047	0.066	0.093	0.081	0.063	0.064	0.027	0.022
Constant	-0.899	0.795	0.39	0.834	0.034	-0.94	-1.365	-0.427	0.095
	0.483	0.538	0.746	1.057	0.92	0.714	0.73	0.305	0.253
N	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235
R2	0.4394	0.3247	0.3471	0.3105	0.1934	0.3788	0.4495	0.8772	0.9501
adj-R2	0.3927	0.2684	0.2936	0.253	0.1962	0.327	0.4036	0.867	0.9459

*Note: *** p<.01; ** p<.05; * p<.10*

TABLE 4 OLS REGESSION MODELS FOR PUBLIC INFLUENCE

	Advoc. Influence	Comm. Influence	Electoral Influence
Variable membership (ln)	-0.087 0.064	-0.031 0.065	0.215** 0.093
Population (ln)	-0.007 0.058	-0.092 0.059	-0.016 0.085
Political context	0.14*** 0.053	-0.076 0.054	0.309*** 0.077
Civic context	0.142*** 0.049	0.135*** 0.05	0.25*** 0.072
Environmental context	0.03 0.046	0.053 0.047	-0.026 0.067
Organizational age (ln)	0.074 0.086	0.002 0.088	-0.162 0.126
Revenue (ln)	-0.014 0.023	-0.004 0.023	-0.044 0.033
Committees (ln)	0.173** 0.069	0.058 0.071	0.059 0.101
Chair hours/month (ln)	0.046 0.047	0.106* 0.047	0.081 0.068
Leader advocacy	0.584*** 0.1	0.521*** 0.102	-0.063 0.146
Outings	0.052 0.067	0.033 0.069	0.176* 0.098
Public advocacy	0.066 0.11	0.233** 0.112	-0.014 0.161
Election	0.169** 0.067	0.146** 0.068	0.62*** 0.097
Info. sharing	-0.034 0.065	-0.049 0.066	0.009 0.095
Fundraising	-0.041 0.044	0.06 0.045	0.054 0.064
Organization building	0.041 0.055	-0.019 0.056	0.004 0.08
Community building	0.038 0.058	0.083 0.059	-0.019 0.085
Recruitment	-0.01 0.057	0.034 0.058	0.022 0.083
Constant	0.257 0.648	1.323 0.659	-1.09 0.945
N	235	235	235
R2	0.5444	0.546	0.5653
adj-R2	0.5065	0.5081	0.5291

Note: *** $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$; * $p<.10$

159

Environmental Characteristics:[8] Contextual measures of the perceived characteristics of the political, civic, and environmental context. These measures are scales based on questions asked in the phone interview with chairs of Sierra Club groups about the community in which they work. Our measure of political context is based on items asking whether government actors and institutions are favorable toward the Sierra Club's positions and goals. Our measure of civic context is based on the chairs perception of the strength of the environmental movement, "progressive" groups and conservative groups (reverse coded). Finally, environmental context is based on the chair's perception of the quality of the natural environment and major threats to it. All three scales are coded so that higher values indicate a more favorable context in terms of receptive political and civic setting and a better quality of natural environment. Perceptions of organizational context are clearly distinct from independent measures of the political, civic, and environmental setting, and we will examine the relationship between them in subsequent analyses. For this preliminary analysis, we treat these perceptions as proxies of the context and expect each to have a positive relationship with member engagement and public influence. We also include a measure of the population size as in the partial correlations above, which we treat as a control variable. The population size within group jurisdictions range from 7,230 to 7,985,352 while the average population size is 690,156 and the median is 472,625.

Organizational characteristics: We examine organizational characteristics of membership size, organizational age, financial resources, leadership resources, the number of committees, public programs, and support activities. Our measure of membership size is based on the membership in July 2003, and the mean for groups is 1,577 ranging from 39 to 13,005. Organizational age is measured as the number of years since founding. Most groups were founded after 1970, and the average group is 24 years old, but the oldest was 68 and the youngest had been in existence for only one year. Financial resources are measured as the total revenue during the prior year, in this case 2003. Groups can receive revenue from various sources including local fundraising, grants from the national organization, and funds distributed by the chapter. We measure leadership resources as the number of hours that the chair spends on work for the group during the typical month (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996).[9] We measure the total number of committees other than the ExCom, and we summarized above these are divided into conservation, electoral/political, outings, and administrative. Although the average group has 3.5 committees, the range extends from 20 to zero. All continuous measures described here are logged to correct for the distribution.

We also consider the kinds and amount of activity that groups pursue in their broader efforts. We look first at the amount of activity in each of four major program domains: leadership advocacy, outings, public advocacy, and elections. We use scales derived from 35 separate items asking about the frequency of different types of activities ranging from "sponsoring a hike" to "meeting with legislators" to "issuing press releases" to "mobilizing voters". Using factor analysis, we identify four major sets of activities or programs. Leadership advocacy entails efforts to work with government agencies, elected officials, business leaders, and community leaders to advance the organizations goals. Outings are various kinds of outdoor recreational and service activities. Public leadership includes activities that involve communicating to or with the broader public in order to make persuasive arguments or encourage the public to take action. Finally, electoral activities include efforts to encourage electoral participation and endorse or support candidates.

Finally, support activities include internally generated activities intended to enhance the capacity of the organization, its leaders, and its members. We examined eleven separate items which we have grouped into the five categories of information sharing (e.g., newsletters), fundraising, organization building (e.g., training programs, retreats), community building (e.g., social events, celebrations), and recruitment (e.g., new member events).

Table 3 summarizes results from OLS regression models for each of nine indicators of member engagement, and Table 4 presents an identical analysis for our three measures of public influence. Beginning

with the analyses of member engagement, different measures of member engagement are associated with different patterns in relation to independent variables. Given their preliminary nature, we summarize the major patterns in bullet format rather than providing a more complete but overly speculative interpretation.

Member Engagement

- Overall the character of the civic, political and environmental setting (as measured by the chairs' perception of it) does not have a statistically significant relationship to member engagement.
- Membership size is associated with national participation and local voting, but not other forms of member engagement.
- Revenue is associated with the number of core activists, leaders, participants, local voting, meeting attendance and *Planet* subscribers.
- Leadership resources measured as the amount of time chairs spend on Sierra Club work has a positive and statistically significant relationship with the number of core activists, leaders and local voting.
- The amount of leader advocacy activity is positively related to the number of core activities and local voting, while public advocacy is related to the number of people serving on committees, which tend to carry out much of the conservation work.
- The amount of outings activity is related to the number of participants as well as to the number of outdoor leaders, but electoral activities are not related to any form of member engagement.
- Information sharing is positively related to meeting attendance and negatively related to *Planet* subscribers. Organization building and recruitment have significant relationship to the number of core activists. Organization building is also related to the number of committee members and local voters, and it has a negative relationship with voting in the national board election. Fundraising is related to the number of leaders and local voters. Community building is related to the number of participants, outings leaders, and *Planet* subscribers.

Public Influence

- First, electoral influence appears to be quite distinct from advocacy or community influence.
- Second, all three indicators of public influence are related to the chair's perception of the civic and political context, a pattern that is quite distinct from the analyses of member engagement where these contextual measures were not statistically significant.
- Leader resources (chair hours per month) are related to community influence, and the number of committees is related to advocacy influence.
- Leader advocacy activities has a positive statistically significant relationship with public influence such as advocacy and community standing, while public advocacy activities are related only to influence with the community.
- Electoral activities are positively related to all three forms of public influence.
- Although outings activities are related to member engagement, they have no significant relationship to public influence through advocacy or upon the community.
- No support activities have significant relationship to any of the measures of public influence.

In sum, we can use these regression models to extend our comparison of member engagement and public influence based on bivariate correlation analyses. For example, we see that member engagement captures a number of distinct forms of participation in the organization. Important correlates for local member engagement are financial resources, leadership resources, leader advocacy activities and outings, although none of these factors have statistically significant relationships with all forms of local member engagement. Thus, these analyses suggest that local groups may have very different configurations of member engagement.

With our measures of public influence, electoral influence is related to the size of the membership and to a chair's perception of the civic and political setting, as well as electoral activities. Contextual factors and electoral activities are also important for advocacy and community influence, and a group's work with leaders and the broader public around its conservation goals (leader advocacy and public advocacy) also have significant positive relationships to these forms of influence. These results, then, support our interpretation of the correlation coefficients in Table 2 that there is an important distinction between electoral influence on the one hand and community and advocacy influence on the other.

DISCUSSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study of the Sierra Club's organizational effectiveness contributes to ongoing debates about the role of civic associations within sociology, political science and organizational behavior. Moreover, this study provides a model for making research more useful to organizational actors, a development that might encourage organizational leaders to be more open to researchers. Although it has been long known to some scholars in organization studies, this research practice could open new possibilities to those studying civic associations, social movements, and interest groups.

In sum, this paper has presented a framework for examining organizational effectiveness in civic associations by arguing for strategies that incorporate broad organizational and necessarily multi-dimensional outcomes. We have described measures capturing core dimensions of leader development, member engagement, and public influence, and examined the extent to which these measures cohere as distinct components of organizational effectiveness. This analysis lays the groundwork for further work that we will complete during the spring providing regression analyses for key indicators of organizational effectiveness. For these analyses we will draw on the rich database described above which includes measures of organizational practices, leader background, financial and staff resources, and the local community in which each group operates.

Note

This paper was presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Meetings, March 18, 2005.

ENDNOTES

1   Reorganization status refers to organizations that do meet minimal standards, such as an elected ExCom, and that are receiving assistance from the national organization to reestablish the organization in a community.

2   We have also constructed measures of the within-group dispersion. However, we only report the mean values for this paper.

3   The mean for individuals on these scales reflects a similar structure where group ExCom members report the highest level of satisfaction, followed by identification and efficacy (data not reported here).

4   Although our survey imposed an upper bound on the number of volunteers recruited, this is unlikely to have a substantial effect in biasing our results because only ***% reported the maximum of 5 volunteers recruited.

5   These estimates are based on a survey conducted in 1978 with members of five major environmental organizations. Thus, these estimates preceded the dramatic growth in Sierra Club membership that occurred during the 1980s, so current levels of engagement are probably lower than these estimates.

6   Here, we report the number of individuals rather than the proportion relative to the membership. This is because theoretically we are interested in an organization's capacity. In addition, our correlation analysis below would be biased by dividing these numbers by the membership size. Instead, we introduce membership size as a control variable.

7   A second way we evaluate public influence is based on individual surveys of local ExComs members that indicate what they do well and where they need improvement, citing examples of successful and unsuccessful projects. Third, we expect that groups whose leaders are more widely networked with organizations that reach outside the environmental community would have more public influence. Fourth, we test the validity of these evaluations by tabulating mentions of the Sierra Club in local newspapers that report on activities of the local group or chapter. And fifth, we compare the independent ratings of the public influence enjoyed by a local group in the judgment of knowledgeable informants–in this case, Sierra Club staff with whom they work on a regular basis. While any one of these measures has shortcomings, to the extent they are correlated they should provide a good index of influence enjoyed by a local group.

8   We use *environmental* in two senses that can be confusing. On the one hand, we distinguish environmental influences for internal organizational factors, a descriptive convention in organization studies. On the other hand, we also use environmental to describe the natural environment and organizations advocating its preservation.

9   This measure is highly correlated with a separate measure based on the reported amount of time spent by all ExCom members on work related to their group ($R2 = .59$)

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APPENDIX: RESPONSE BIAS AND AGGREGATION OF INDIVIDUAL SURVEYS

Overall, the response to our phone survey and ExCom leader survey were remarkably high, minimizing the likelihood of significant nonresponse bias. However, we undertook a comprehensive analysis to assess possible bias in our datasets. To assess response bias, we drew on the secondary Sierra Club data. Since this data included information on all the groups and chapters, we could assess the extent to which participating groups differed from those that did not participate on key organizational characteristics:

1 the number of individuals holding leader positions in the group,
2 the number of ExCom members,
3 the percentage of ballots returned in the 2003 National Board election,
4 the number of members in the group,
5 the average leadership tenure,
6 the average number of leadership positions held by each individual leader.

In evaluating our phone interviews with group chairs, we compared the means of participating groups to non-participating groups and found no statistical difference between them. We evaluated the ExCom Leader Survey (ELS) in the same way. We compared ExComs for which we had ELS data to ExComs for which we did not on the same six dimensions. We found that non-participating group ExComs had slightly smaller leadership cores than those that participated. Thus, our ELS data is slightly biased because the group ExComs that participated tended to be the ones with larger leadership cores. (Results of these analyses are available from the authors.)

In sum, our response bias analysis gives us confidence in the data. While some parts of the data are biased against smaller ExComs, on the whole our data is representative. Because we have a clear understanding of the existing bias, particularly the ExCom Self-Assessment Sessions (ESAS) data on Groups, our interpretation of the data will be stronger. Finally, a research design that includes multiple data sources, most of which are unbiased, allows us to buttress our claims through triangulation.

Another challenge we faced in using ELS data grew out of the fact that although individual leaders completed the survey, we are primarily interested in the collective assessment by ExCom members of their group. Therefore, we had to avoid the situation in which the opinion of a single ExCom member—if he or she were the only one to fill out the survey—could be taken as the collective judgment of the whole group. To determine whether groups with high rates of participation differed from those with low rates of participation, we conducted a response bias analysis using several measures of demography and leadership commitment. We found that ExComs with 50%, 60%, 70%, 80% and 90% response rates were statistically indistinguishable from ExComs with 100% response rate on these dimensions. We thus included data from any ExCom with at least a 50% response rate from its ExCom members. Further, to ensure that we do not draw conclusions about the ExCom from too few surveys, we included in our analysis only ExCom with three or more respondents. We thus had sufficiently complete data on 182 (53%) ExComs to include them in our analysis of questions relying on aggregation of assessments of individual ExCom members as reported in the ELS.

A P P E N D I X A: LEADER DEVELOPMENT SCALES, SKILLS AND ATTITUDES

CRONBACH'S ALPHA	ITEM	ALL GROUPS					THRESHOLD APPLIED				
		N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Self- Management 0.85	thinking creatively	224	3.22	0.59	1.0	5.0	169	3.20	0.48	2.0	4.2
	accepting responsibility	224	3.43	0.56	1.0	5.0	169	3.43	0.48	2.0	4.6
	accepting criticism	224	3.10	0.51	2.0	5.0	169	3.10	0.41	2.0	4.7
	asking for help	224	3.24	0.56	1.0	5.0	169	3.25	0.48	1.8	4.4
	listening to other people	224	3.62	0.47	2.0	5.0	169	3.62	0.43	2.3	4.7
	managing my time	224	2.92	0.51	1.0	5.0	169	2.92	0.46	1.6	3.9
Coordination 0.86	coaching and mentoring others	224	2.88	0.54	1.3	5.0	169	2.84	0.49	1.3	4.3
	saying no	224	3.09	0.58	1.7	5.0	169	3.07	0.50	1.7	4.5
	delegating responsibilities to others	224	2.96	0.57	1.0	5.0	169	2.98	0.50	1.6	4.4
	providing others with support to do their work well	224	3.29	0.50	2.0	5.0	169	3.28	0.46	2.2	4.5
	holding others accountable	224	2.72	0.48	1.0	4.3	169	2.75	0.43	1.6	4.3
	challenging others to be more effective	224	2.76	0.49	1.0	5.0	169	2.75	0.41	2.0	3.6
	asking people to volunteer	224	2.99	0.62	1.0	5.0	169	3.00	0.51	1.8	4.3
Organizational 0.85	organizing and running a meeting	224	3.32	0.65	1.0	5.0	169	3.29	0.55	2.0	4.7
	managing internal conflict	224	2.94	0.51	1.5	4.5	169	2.93	0.46	1.7	4.0
	planning and carrying out a campaign	224	3.09	0.58	1.0	5.0	169	3.08	0.49	1.7	4.3
	speaking in public	224	3.18	0.65	1.0	5.0	169	3.16	0.53	1.8	4.5
	working effectively with public officials	224	3.05	0.69	1.0	5.0	169	3.04	0.56	1.3	4.4
	working with the media	224	2.88	0.66	1.0	5.0	169	2.84	0.53	1.5	4.2
Identification 0.73	My work in the SC influences many aspects of my life.	224	3.62	0.61	2.0	5.0	195	3.61	0.56	2.0	4.8
	I really feel as if the Excom's problems are my problems.	224	3.35	0.63	1.0	5.0	195	3.32	0.54	2.0	4.5
	I often try to think of ways of doing my work on the Excom more effectively.	224	3.32	0.55	1.0	5.0	195	3.32	0.49	2.0	4.5
	I feel myself to be part of the Excom in which I work.	224	3.98	0.56	1.0	5.0	195	3.99	0.49	2.6	4.8
	What the SC stands for is very important to me.	224	4.58	0.42	2.7	5.0	195	4.57	0.40	2.7	5.0
	I am proud of tell others that I am part of the SC.	224	4.45	0.42	3.0	5.0	195	4.45	0.39	3.3	5.0
Satisfaction 0.78	Generally speaking, I am very satisfied with this Excom.	224	3.63	0.64	1.0	5.0	195	3.63	0.58	2.0	5.0
	Working on this Excom is an exercise of frustration. [R]	224	3.68	0.71	1.0	5.0	195	3.69	0.63	2.0	5.0
	My relations with other Excom members are strained. [R]	224	4.47	0.54	1.0	5.0	195	4.47	0.46	3.0	5.0
	I enjoy talking and working with other Excom members.	224	4.26	0.51	1.0	5.0	195	4.27	0.42	2.7	5.0
	I enjoy the kind of work we do on this Excom.	224	3.58	0.50	2.0	5.0	195	3.59	0.47	2.3	4.7
	My own creativity and initiative are suppressed by this Excom. [R]	224	4.35	0.58	1.0	5.0	195	4.37	0.47	3.0	5.0
	The chance to get to know the other Excom members is one of the best parts of working with the g/c.	224	3.90	0.54	2.0	5.0	195	3.92	0.50	2.0	5.0
Efficacy 0.71	I have confidence in my ability to do my work in the SC.	224	3.85	0.48	2.0	5.0	195	3.82	0.40	2.3	4.7
	All in all, I'm satisfied with the work I am doing in my SC.	224	3.32	0.58	2.0	5.0	195	3.29	0.52	2.0	4.4
	Most people in my group can do this work better than I can. (R)	224	3.40	0.56	1.0	5.0	195	3.38	0.48	2.0	4.6
	I have all the skills needed to do my work in the SC very well.	224	3.20	0.59	1.5	5.0	195	3.16	0.50	2.0	4.7

APPENDIX B: PUBLIC INFLUENCE ITEMS

SCALE	CRONBACH'S ALPHA	Q.#	ITEM	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Advocacy Influence	0.84	1	Our efforts have placed important environmental issues on the political agenda.	308	3.69	1.12	1.0	5.0
		2	Public officials take stronger stands on environmental issues because of our work.	308	3.43	1.12	1.0	5.0
		4	Local governments adopt new policies as a result of our advocacy.	308	2.64	1.11	1.0	5.0
		5	Our Group has helped to delay or block efforts that would have harmed the environment.	308	3.41	1.23	1.0	5.0
		6	Our Group's efforts have led to stronger enforcement of environmental standards and regulations.	307	3.19	1.09	1.0	5.0
		12	Officials at public agencies consult with us on environmental issues.	307	2.54	1.18	1.0	5.0
		13	Local government leaders consult with us on environmental issues.	308	2.46	1.21	1.0	5.0
Community Influence	0.89	7	Our Group has been successful at raising awareness about environmental issues.	308	3.48	1.00	1.0	5.0
		15	Business leaders and groups know they have to deal with us on environmental issues.	307	2.63	1.29	1.0	5.0
		16	We are key players in environmental policy issues in this area.	307	3.14	1.24	1.0	5.0
		17	Our Group is an important leader among community environmental groups.	308	3.49	1.19	1.0	5.0
		18	People in this area view our Group [Chapter] as a respected voice on environmental issues.	307	3.85	1.00	1.0	5.0
		19	Our Group is well known in the community.	307	3.56	1.10	1.0	5.0
		20	Our Group's statements and reports influence public debate.	308	3.35	1.09	1.0	5.0
		21	Our Group's activities and positions are covered regularly in the local media.	308	2.97	1.19	1.0	5.0
		22	The local media turns to us as an important spokesperson on environmental issues.	307	3.04	1.22	1.0	5.0
Electoral Influence	0.75	3	We help elect pro-environmental candidates that we endorse or support.	305	2.91	1.35	1.0	5.0
		11	Candidates for local office place a high value on our endorsement.	305	2.95	1.34	1.0	5.0