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In an active and open society such as ours it is easy for a set of individuals to create a new organization with a novel purpose when the participants decide this action is necessary. Almost daily we read of a newly identified social problem, or of a revived interest in a familiar crisis, and simultaneously learn that a unique social unit is being founded to deal with this dilemma. As a result of these purposive endeavors, millions of citizens in the United States currently belong to well over 13,000 national associations. The separate agencies operate in varied fields of interest: public health, business, race relations, foreign affairs, athletics, and many others. Thus, their objectives, as implied in their names at least, appear to be dissimilar. Yet, their purposes are not widely separate if one ignores the fields in which they work. Regardless of their disciplinary or substantive concerns, many organizations are alike in that they propose or enforce uniformity in behavior, for example, or in that they encourage improved procedures in doing work, try to increase the well-being of individuals, seek to change laws, or foster development of better scientific theories.

What outcomes do associations most frequently try to attain? This question arose as a natural extension of an ongoing program of studies into the origins of group goals (Zander, 1971). To broaden our understanding of the things men accomplish through organized effort, we looked for summaries of the purposes in organizations of all kinds, not only associations. Surprisingly, such information could not be found. Aside from two surveys of goals in business firms (Dent, 1959; Gross, 1965), almost no descriptive or normative accounts are extant about what people try to do through collective action.

The report in hand offers a simple set of facts toward relieving such a lack. It is limited to national associations because a source of raw data about their purposes exists that could be economically processed for the present need.

Certain concepts are useful in considering the objectives of social units. A *purpose* of an organization is a general state that members wish to develop or maintain in one another, nonmembers, events, or objects, because members will be satisfied if that state is achieved. An *outcome* of an organization is a particular end or change sought by members as a result of action by those in the organization; its attainment usually is easier to denote or to identify reliably than is the attainment of a social unit's purpose. An organizational *goal* is the degree of, or the nature of, the outcome that is necessary in order for satisfaction to occur. A *membership motive* is a disposition to be satisfied by attainment of a given outcome; thus, the stronger is a member's motive, the more is he interested in the group's fulfillment of its purpose. A membership motive is *aroused* when existing or anticipated conditions foretell that a satisfying state is likely to develop should the members engage in a particular course of action. A member is more likely to behave in ways that are instrumental for the attainment of the group's preferred outcomes if his group-oriented motivation is aroused.

It is useful to identify the general purpose of any organization with such terms in mind since one can thereby deduce what state is most likely to be satisfying to its members and what information will, in turn, arouse a group-relevant motive among them. If a unit's purpose is known, it is possible to derive why persons join it, work hard for it, have feelings of

success or failure as a result of its performance, perceive they are responsible or otherwise for the agencies' outcomes, and why they arrange roles within it as they do. Such derivations of course require assumptions beyond those to be discussed here. Eventually, when we have a more complete knowledge of the motivational processes in collective enterprise, it should be possible to examine and explain what men try to do through groups and what they prefer to do on their own.

Association Characteristics

A national association, we bear in mind, is a unique social institution with particular properties that other kinds of collectives do not always possess. Intuitively, several characteristics seem most typical of an association. Its purpose is rather abstractly stated; this purpose may be approached by any of a variety of means; and the purpose can seldom be fully realized. An association almost never earns a score for each of a number of repeated trials on a given task. Consequently, its performance can seldom be compared to a general standard of excellence, or improved by giving feedback of a quantitative kind to decision-makers, who then might seek ways of increasing the association's output.

Membership activities in an association are not demanding ones for most of those who join it; the majority of participants (can and do) spend little time together; and only a small percentage of the members can have central roles in the organization, the rest being in fairly peripheral positions. Thus, participation in an association is usually a part-time activity in contrast to his daily work in the locale where a man earns his pay.

Unlike many other organizations, an association may be either inward-turning or outward-directed in its choice of beneficiaries. Following terminology advanced by Mohr (1969), an association that exists primarily for the benefit of its members is called hereafter a *reflexive* association. One that mainly offers benefits to nonmembers is called *transitive*. Many associations of course are of both types, reflexive and transitive. In the United Fund, for example, board members are interested in providing both a sense of success for members of the organization that collects the funds (reflexive) and financial assistance to the social welfare agencies in the community that want such money (transitive) (Zander, Forward, Albert, 1969).

Simpson and Gulley (1962) observed the effects of internal and external social pressures on national associations. They report that internal

pressures, more than external ones, generate greater centralization of authority, greater emphasis on membership involvement, and greater attention to communication among members. It seems likely that there may be interesting contrasts as well between associations with reflexive and transitive emphases in their programs. One can imagine they will differ in their relative emphasis on means and ends, the types of outcomes they favor, their emphasis on values or ideas, the kinds of programs they offer, and so on. Consider the following reasons for such differences.

A *reflexive* association, as already noted, exists to serve its members. Doubtless the participants have developed desires relevant to the association when they join it; if not, they may learn, after entering it, to want what is attainable there. Given the physical distance among members, their wants, even when not strictly cognitive, can best be met by information. The provision of this information to the members need not be justified or legitimized by those who offer it since making this knowledge available is in accord with the needs individuals sought to satisfy by joining the society. Thus, reflexive associations should be influential if they expertly satisfy a need; members can take or leave the offered enlightenment as they find it instrumental for their own desires. A reflexive unit, it follows, should prefer members who can benefit from what the association has to offer.

A *transitive* association exists to change the views or behaviors of nonmembers. On the average, one might reasonably assume, nonmembers have less interest in changes pressed upon them than do members of the association who make these proposals. Given that the recipients of an association's services are physically separated, they must be reached through an information medium of some kind. Because the (non-member) recipients are usually not seeking the proffered knowledge, the expertness or credibility of the information is not enough to make it influential; the active members in a transitive association may therefore strengthen their impact upon the outsiders by pointing to advantages that will follow if the target persons behave as proposed. A transitive association is likely, in addition, to be more influential in changing the behaviors of individuals if the receivers of the influence attempts can be convinced to become members of the society. Thus, members of a transitive agency should welcome anyone who is interested regardless of his ability to benefit from the change being advocated by the association, and the association consequently should have a larger membership roster than a reflexive unit.

National associations often provide organized plans and efforts in social action and many are properly called *social movements*, working in civil rights, social welfare, public affairs, and the like. The members of such associations, it seems likely, must stress the importance of conformity to certain values or ideals. In the descriptions of associations, value terms are often mentioned. Some examples are "no-nonsense conservatism," "justice and fairness in employment," "peace and harmony throughout mankind." Other types of associations, in contrast (hobby clubs or trade and commercial societies are appropriate illustrations), need not include values in the statement of their purposes. Associations that explicitly mention value-terms, and those that do not, may thus differ in their objectives and appeals. A major reason for this difference is that a value describes a state of affairs that members want not only for themselves but for others as well. One *should* moreover abide by a value, not merely decide whether or not to do so. A prime distinction then between a potentially satisfying state that arouses a motive and one that arouses a value is that the latter invokes or implies an emphasis on how people ought to behave. It follows that values may more often be contained in the purposes of transitive associations than in the purposes of reflexive ones.

STUDY METHODS

The data for this survey were taken from the descriptions of national associations contained in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (1968). Each description includes basic facts about an organization, its age, size, number of sub-groups, number of staff members, nature of members, requirements for membership, targets or beneficiaries of its efforts, program activities, and a brief statement of its purposes. As a source of data these statements are certainly less complete than might be obtained during an interview with responsible persons in each association. The completeness of each published description of each association is in some degree a function of the energy, conscientiousness, knowledge, and communication-skill of the person who provided the information about his association in response to a questionnaire. The data taken from these sources can at best be considered a set of examples rather than a fully accurate accounting of the purposes and programs in this nation's voluntary associations.

The coding scheme developed for determining the apparent popularity of certain *outcomes* is shown in Table 1. In constructing a code of this type one might become too specific and

create a list of outcomes in which separate substantive interests in different fields of endeavor are too prominent. Or, one may become too abstract and create categories that blur important functional differences. The categories in the present code are as general or broad as possible while yet preserving major distinctions. The code was developed by reading the description of the first association in the right hand column of the right hand page on each of several hundred pages selected at random until no more new outcomes appeared. In using these categories it was assumed a coder had to make a judgment occasionally about what the associational efforts might do to someone or something, even though this result was not explicitly stated in the description of the organization; this judgment was based on all the evidence available about the association.

A *program* of an association is an activity it conducts toward the attainment of its purposes, e.g., annual convention, newsletter, contest, survey. The code for summarizing the relative frequency of programs was developed in the same way as the desired outcomes. The resulting list of program-types is shown in Table 3.

The sample of association-descriptions used for the data reported here is composed of each association described at the top of the left hand column of the left page of the directory, beginning with the first page and proceeding through the book. This sampling method provided a total of 290 associations. The types according to their substantive areas of interest and the *N* within each were as follows: Trade and Commercial, 60; Agriculture, 12; Governmental, Public Administration, Military, Legal, 18; Scientific, Engineering, Technical, 30; Educational and Cultural, 34; Social Welfare, 34; Health and Medical, 41; Public Affairs and Civil Rights, 25; Veterans' Patriotic, 9; Hobby, Recreational, Avocational, 18; Athletic, Sport, 16; General, 4. Associations in the following fields were omitted: religion, labor unions, fraternal, ethnic, and greek letter societies, either because they were parts of a larger movement and thus had few differences in their purposes or because they provided almost no information about themselves. Only half of the potential sample in the Trade and Commercial association was used because there were far more of this type than any other and our including all eligible ones would have increased the size of the sample without our increasing information as most of these associations were similar in preferred outcomes and programs.

There is no feasible way of determining how representative this sample is of all existing associations because, even though the directory

contains over 13,000 entries, it is not known how many eligible associations are not included. Also, there are many small committees, councils, commissions, and other types of groups described in the volume that do not intuitively fit one's conception of an association. Such special groups were omitted from this study. As our sample of 290 is a varied selection from, rather than a fair representation of, a larger population, it is not appropriate to submit the results to statistical tests of reliability and this will not be done.

RESULTS

Background Information

First, certain characteristics of these associations are of general interest even though they are varied and scattered in nature.

Age

The average tenure of the 290 organizations is 34 years. Thus, many of them were developed during the years of the great financial depression (1930-1938). About half of them are thirty years old or less. The age of the units in most fields of interest is about the same; the oldest ones are those concerned with Government, Public Administration and the Military as well as those devoted to Athletics and Sports (mean of 40 years). The youngest are those devoted to Public Affairs and Civil Rights (mean of 18 years). It may be that organizations of this latter type have a briefer life span because they are viable only when a given problem is demanding attention and fade away when that problem is no longer interesting. Or perhaps national societies concerned with Public Affairs and Civil Rights are a more recent invention than associations in in other areas.

Size

The exact number of members in each association was not coded since the range of associational sizes was unreasonably large, from a few dozen members in the smallest to nearly half a million in the largest. The fairly crude categories used for recording size revealed that the Trade and Commercial associations were the smallest, half as large as those in most other classes,

whereas the associations concerned with Public Affairs, Civil Rights, Veterans' Problems and Patriotism were the largest.

Staff

About one-half of the organizations have one or more members of a paid executive staff. Trade and Commercial as well as Scientific societies more often had paid staff members (67%) while Hobby and Avocational organizations were least likely to have such personnel (28%).

Geographically Separated Subunits

About one-third had local chapters away from the national headquarters. These were most common in the Scientific and Professional Societies (57%). The number of members in these local units is not known, but assuming that all potential members take part in local-chapter activities when these are available, at most one-third of the participants could do so.

Membership Types

Twenty-three percent (largely Trade and Commercial associations) had organizational units as members, 66% had individual persons only as members, and the remaining 11% had both individuals and groups as members.

Requirements for Membership

In order to be eligible for membership, 40% of the associations required a given academic degree, successful completion of an examination, or some specified competence. Such requirements were most often posed by the Health and Medical associations (80%) and by the Scientific and Professional societies (60%). Other associations preferred that their members be engaged in a given business, program or practice (28%) and the rest said that their ranks were open to anyone interested in the work of the organization (22%). The associations concerned with Public Affairs and Civil Rights most often welcomed all interested people regardless of their experience or training (52%).

Number of Desired Outcomes

The majority of the associations had more than one preferred outcome, the overall mean being

2.36 per association. Organizations devoted to Public Affairs and Civil Rights had more objectives on the average than others (mean of 3.24), and those concerned with Veterans' and Patriotic issues had the fewest (mean of 1.41).

Beneficiary of Outcomes

It was judged that 53% of the societies were purely reflexive, intending to benefit the members of the association, 31% were purely transitive, proposing to serve those outside the association, and 16% were both reflexive and transitive. The Trade and Commercial associations (72%) were most often reflexive, whereas the Public Affairs and Civil Rights groups (72%) and Social Welfare organizations (56%) were most often transitive.

Number and Targets of Programs

On the average, an association had 3.73 different types of programs. Athletic and Sport societies had the greatest variety (mean of 5.06), Public Affairs and Civil Rights organizations had a Mean of 4.56, and Hobby groups, at the other extreme, had the least variety in their programs (mean of 2.78).

About 75% of the program services were directed to members only, 14% were pointed toward nonmembers, and 15% were aimed to reach both members and nonmembers. The Trade and Commercial associations were most often reflexive in their programs (93%) and the societies devoted to Public Affairs and Civil Rights were most often transitive (56%).

TABLE I - Outcomes Desired by Associations and Beneficiaries of Each
(N=290)

Desired Outcomes	f. of mention	%N	Beneficiaries					
			Members		Nonmembers		Both	
			f.	%*	f.	%*	f.	%*
Improved methods or procedures	166	<u>57</u>	97	<u>58</u>	36	<u>22</u>	33	<u>20</u>
More precisely stated standards for uniform behavior, practices, or things	87	<u>30</u>	44	<u>51</u>	31	<u>36</u>	12	<u>13</u>
Wider public acceptance of views, practices, things	85	<u>29</u>	27	<u>32</u>	49	<u>58</u>	9	<u>10</u>
Increased amount of mutual helping	66	<u>23</u>	29	<u>44</u>	28	<u>42</u>	9	<u>14</u>
Improved theory or system of ideas	55	<u>19</u>	35	<u>64</u>	9	<u>16</u>	11	<u>20</u>
Improved well-being, health, financial security of individuals	45	<u>16</u>	8	<u>18</u>	36	<u>80</u>	1	<u>2</u>
More effective response to social pressures, laws; changes in laws	42	<u>15</u>	16	<u>38</u>	22	<u>52</u>	4	<u>10</u>
Maintenance of value seen in past events, persons, or beliefs	38	<u>13</u>	16	<u>38</u>	22	<u>52</u>	--	--
Improvement in quality of processed objects	36	<u>12</u>	14	<u>39</u>	8	<u>22</u>	14	<u>39</u>
More complete and accurate information	35	<u>12</u>	14	<u>40</u>	19	<u>54</u>	2	<u>6</u>
Feedback re attainment of aims	18	<u>6</u>	13	<u>72</u>	2	<u>11</u>	3	<u>17</u>
Increased financial and other resources	14	<u>5</u>	6	<u>43</u>	6	<u>43</u>	--	--

*Percent of frequency in column 1.

Desired Outcomes

The number of associations mentioning each of the desired outcomes is shown in the first column of Table 1. *The most frequently desired outcome is a betterment of procedures or practices.* Examples: "the improvement of accounting practices in the hotel business," "the development of better methods for feeding hogs," "sharing experiences on methods of college administration," "improving procedures of physical rehabilitation." Clearly, Americans create associations to help them do things, and to help them do these things better.

The next most frequent emphasis was on the development of uniformities or standards, in behavior, organizational procedures, or proposed objects. This category included ethical standards of practice as well as codes for

construction, or agreed-upon uniformities in manufactured things. *Almost as often, associations sought to obtain wider public support or acceptance of certain views, activities or processed objects.* A desire to increase mutual helpfulness among persons and an effort to develop an improved system of ideas was evident in about one-fifth of the associations. Other preferred outcomes, such as improving the well-being of individuals, creating more effective responses to regulations and social pressures, or maintaining reverence for certain objects (ships, buildings, statues), events, persons, or beliefs, were of interest to one eighth of the associations. (See Table I.)

Some of these outcomes were more often introverted in their direction and others were more often outward turning. The proportion of

TABLE II - Outcomes Desired by Transitive vs. Reflexive Associations and by Those Expressing Interest in a Value

Desired Outcomes	Reflexive associations (N=201)		Transitive associations (N=89)		No Value given (N=206)		Value given (N=84)	
	f.	%N	f.	%N	f.	%N	f.	%N
Improved methods or procedures	128	<u>64</u>	38	<u>43</u>	132	<u>64</u>	34	<u>40</u>
More precisely stated standards for uniform behavior, practices or things	51	<u>25</u>	36	<u>40</u>	43	<u>21</u>	44	<u>52</u>
Wider public acceptance of views, practices, things	42	<u>21</u>	44	<u>49</u>	46	<u>22</u>	40	<u>48</u>
Increased amount of mutual helping	35	<u>17</u>	31	<u>35</u>	33	<u>16</u>	33	<u>39</u>
Improved theory or system of ideas	44	<u>22</u>	11	<u>12</u>	48	<u>23</u>	7	<u>8</u>
Improved well-being, health, financial security of individuals	20	<u>10</u>	25	<u>28</u>	23	<u>11</u>	22	<u>26</u>
More effective response to social pressures, laws; changes in laws	20	<u>10</u>	22	<u>25</u>	22	<u>11</u>	20	<u>24</u>
Maintenance of value seen in past events, persons, or beliefs	22	<u>11</u>	16	<u>18</u>	18	<u>19</u>	19	<u>23</u>
Improvement in quality of processed objects	25	<u>12</u>	11	<u>12</u>	29	<u>14</u>	7	<u>8</u>
More complete and accurate information	20	<u>10</u>	15	<u>17</u>	25	<u>12</u>	10	<u>12</u>
Feedback re attainment of aims	15	<u>7</u>	3	<u>3</u>	18	<u>9</u>	--	--
Increased financial and other resources	10	<u>5</u>	4	<u>4</u>	8	<u>4</u>	6	<u>7</u>

associations preferring each outcome for these separate types of beneficiaries is also shown in Table 1. It can be seen that the outcome most often used in a reflexive way were the improvement of procedures, the development of standards, the creation of theories, or the collection of facts, and the obtaining of measurements so that members can appraise their attainment in their own activities away from the association. Outcomes more often sought in a transitive way included: arousing wider public acceptance, improving the well-being of individuals, creating more effective responses to laws and social pressures, and preserving the favorable value placed upon ideas or events. *It appears that reflexive efforts are mainly concerned with the effective functioning of individuals or the improved operation of agencies whereas transitive efforts are largely devoted to humanitarian ends or the defense of an ideology.*

The most frequently mentioned outcomes had different degrees of acceptance in associations from separate fields of interest. Improvement of procedures was most often of interest to Trade and Commercial; Health and Medical; and to associations interested in good government (70% or more in each instance). Standards and uniformities were most often emphasized by Athletic and Sports societies - mainly rules for games (62%), Public Affairs and Civil Rights groups (52%), and associations concerned with good government (44%). Public acceptance was most often sought by the Public Affairs and Civil Rights units (56%) and the organizations concerned with government (50%). Mutual help was most frequently stressed in the Public Affairs and Civil Rights associations (52%) and by those interested in Social Welfare (48%). Improved systems of ideas were most often mentioned by the Scientific and Professional societies (73%).

Reflexive and Transitive Associations

Each association was designated as either primarily reflexive or primarily transitive, even though some served both members and non-members. A total of 201 associations were labeled reflexive and the remaining 89 as transitive. The proportion of associations, within these two types, that sought each of the desired outcomes is shown in Table 2.

It is notable that the reflexive associations, more than the transitive ones, were interested in developing improved methods and procedures as well as creating better systems of ideas. The transitive associations, more than the reflexive ones, on the other hand, were concerned with the development of standards, the enlargement of public acceptance, and with increased helpfulness among persons.

A reflexive association, we have assumed, is mainly to help members do the things they ordinarily do. A transitive association, in contrast, wishes to bring about changes in nonmembers that are for their own good. In a transitive association, more than in a reflexive one, therefore, we expect indications that values are important. *Exactly 60% of the transitive associations mentioned a value of some kind in their statement of purpose, whereas only 15% of the reflexive groups did so.*

We were prepared to find that transitive associations have more varied programs than reflexive associations so that they can use more channels of influence, but this was not so. *Transitive associations are, however, considerably larger than reflexive ones, suggesting that the former are more eager to have a large membership.* A reflexive association should be more concerned with the provision of feedback to its members so that the members might improve in ways that they see as necessary. This notion was weakly supported.

Because a reflexive association exists to help its members, it should most often restrict membership to those who can benefit from its services. The results are in accord with this idea: only 14% of the reflexive associations say they will take anyone who is interested (regardless of their talents, training, or experience), whereas 40% of the transitive associations will accept anyone who wishes to join. Because a reflexive society is presumably more supportive of members in their regular activities than is a transitive one, it should more often have organized groups as members, such as firms, clubs, or teams. This notion fits the results as 26% of the reflexive associations have groups as members whereas only 16% of the transitive associations contain such sets of members.

All in all, reflexive and transitive associations are different types of social units in many ways.

Table 3 - Programs and Projects in Associations

Programs	Sample (N=290)		Reflexive associations (N=201)		Transitive associations (N=89)	
	f.	%N	f.	%N	f.	%N
Annual meeting, convention	216	<u>75</u>	160	<u>80</u>	56	<u>63</u>
Publications, journals, books	170	<u>59</u>	118	<u>59</u>	52	<u>58</u>
Newsletter	127	<u>44</u>	89	<u>44</u>	38	<u>43</u>
Committees for special problems	78	<u>27</u>	62	<u>31</u>	16	<u>18</u>
Courses, workshops, seminars	68	<u>23</u>	38	<u>19</u>	30	<u>34</u>
Collect data, surveys, studies	58	<u>20</u>	39	<u>19</u>	19	<u>21</u>
Give awards, prizes, medals	46	<u>16</u>	34	<u>17</u>	12	<u>13</u>
Give advice, counsel, clearing house	42	<u>14</u>	21	<u>10</u>	21	<u>24</u>
Exhibits, visual aids, films	35	<u>12</u>	23	<u>11</u>	12	<u>13</u>
Lending library	32	<u>11</u>	23	<u>11</u>	9	<u>10</u>
Contests, competitions, tournaments	28	<u>10</u>	22	<u>11</u>	6	<u>7</u>
Advertising, public relations	27	<u>9</u>	15	<u>7</u>	12	<u>13</u>
Provide financial support to individuals	25	<u>9</u>	17	<u>9</u>	8	<u>9</u>
Keeps records on performance, pedigrees, events, contests	25	<u>9</u>	14	<u>7</u>	11	<u>12</u>
Evaluations, inspections, examinations	24	<u>8</u>	16	<u>8</u>	8	<u>9</u>
Placement-job service	19	<u>7</u>	12	<u>6</u>	7	<u>8</u>
Technical, basic, research	14	<u>5</u>	17	<u>8</u>	6	<u>7</u>
Negotiates, bargains, represents others	12	<u>4</u>	7	<u>3</u>	5	<u>6</u>
Solicits funds, gifts	7	<u>2</u>	4	<u>2</u>	3	<u>4</u>
Recruits members	2	<u>1</u>	--	--	2	<u>2</u>

Value Oriented and Non Value Oriented Associations

As already observed, it was possible to identify associations that emphasized values in their statement of purposes and those that did not do so. There were 84 of the former and 206 of the latter. The outcomes most often mentioned by associations of these separate types are shown in Table 2. One can see that organizations with an interest in values, compared to those with no mention of values, more often work toward

developing standards and uniformities, winning public acceptance, generating mutual helpfulness among persons, and fostering the well being of individuals. Units with no stated emphasis on values, in contrast, are more interested in the improvement of methods and procedures and in the development of better systems of ideas.

The outcomes favored by organizations that have a value-orientation resemble those preferred by transitive associations and the outcomes mentioned by associations without an

obvious value-orientation resemble those preferred by reflexive associations. This similarity was systematically examined by observing the beneficiaries in associations that mention values and those that do not. The analysis revealed that, for every single outcome except one, a value-oriented association is more likely to be transitive and a non value-oriented association is more likely to be reflexive.

The Programs in National Associations

Twenty different types of programs were identified in these associations. The frequency in the use of each is displayed in Table 3. *It can be observed there that the most popular activity is an annual meeting and the next most frequent is a publication.* One quarter of the associations have committees to work on special problems and the same proportion hold special courses, seminars, or workshops. One fifth of the associations serve their beneficiaries by collecting basic facts relevant to their interests. One in six give rewards or prizes to persons who merit such distinctions and almost as many provide a clearing house or a counseling service for persons requesting advice. Ten percent of the associations run contests, stage exhibitions, or provide a lending library. Although a variety of means are used now and then to attain their desired ends, *it is striking that the large majority of associations do no more than hold an annual convention and publish a periodical of some kind.* (See Table III.)

The target-persons of a given program were harder to identify with confidence than were the targets of an outcome since a program was often mentioned without indicating who was the recipient of what. It was not feasible, therefore, to indicate the transitivity and reflexivity of each kind of program. In Table 3 there is shown, instead, the preference for each of these program types among the associations earlier classified as mainly reflexive or transitive in their purposes. *It can be seen that the emphases on program types are not greatly different in these separate kinds of associations. One activity is used just about as often by a reflexive unit as by a transitive one, although some small, not remarkable, differences do exist.*

It is of interest to determine if reflexive associations more often direct their programs toward members while transitive associations more often direct them toward nonmembers. An analysis done to answer this question, despite the questionable reliability of the targets

for programs, revealed that reflexive units had members as their targets in 90% of their program efforts. Transitive associations, however, had members as the targets of their programs as often as they had nonmembers (43% compared to 40%). *Thus, it appears that those in associations with transitive purposes spend as much of their energy talking to one another as they do in reaching out to the nonmembers they wish to change.*

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

The two most frequently mentioned outcomes sought by the associations in this sample have to do with processes: the improvement of procedures or the support of standards for behavior. *Clearly, national associations are more concerned with the proper way to perform or to behave than with anything else.* Perhaps such purposes prevent or reduce unfair competition among members, enhance coordination among them, and help them to select reasonably achievable aspirations. Certainly these purposes facilitate achievement and the favorable consequences that follow from successful attainment. *It appears, therefore, that most national associations help those who are members (or are nonmembers) to do their own work, and to do it well.*

It is not surprising, then, that almost no associations engage, as an organization, in the making of objects or in the accomplishment of quantitative gains. Instead, *they primarily advance ideas and information.* There are no outward signs, moreover, that the purposes of associations are to maintain the organization itself - an end which probably is important in many instances but cannot, for strategic reasons, be included in a public statement of objectives. Only the first of the above two most frequently mentioned objectives was given by more than half of the associations in the present sample. There is considerable variation then in the purposes among societies that have a nation-wide domain.

The emphasis upon improving procedures and establishing standards largely occurs because most associations are reflexive, intending to serve (and guide) their own members. It is the reflexive associations that most often mention these two objectives, along with a third purpose: the development of idea-systems and theories.

Transitive associations, in contrast, place most emphasis on winning acceptance from the public at large. More than the reflexive organizations, they are concerned with humanitarian or ideologically oriented ends. These associations have several further

qualities that are not often evident in reflexive ones. *They justify their appeals by mentioning values they support and invoke these values in their attempts to influence nonmembers. They tend to be younger, larger, and more willing to accept anyone as a member. Their program activities seem to be directed to members as often as they are to nonmembers.* Apparently a good part of the members' energy is spent in influencing (or bolstering) one another, along with spreading the word they have chosen to evangelize among those who have not yet been converted.

About eight out of ten associations have an annual meeting; this program activity, it appears, is the nearest to a *sine qua non* for an association. Only 60% have any kind of publication, which makes one wonder how the rest of the associations survive in the absence of inter-member communications. Presumably their survival and service is fostered through the variety of program-methods earlier described. The majority of these programs, it is interesting to observe, are some form of educational or advisory activity.

FOOTNOTE

- ¹ This research was financed by a contract with the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. This paper is "reprinted" here with the special permission of the Journal Supplement Abstract Service of the American Psychological Association. An abstract of the paper was published in the Winter (vol. 2,, 1972) issue of the Catalogue of Selected Documents in Psychology (p.15).

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