

A photograph of a person wearing a grey turtleneck sweater. They are holding a handful of blueberries in their left hand, and a single blueberry is falling from their right hand. The background is blurred.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND BUSINESS

Markus Kallifatides and Lin Lerpold (eds.)

Sustainable development and business

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The mission of the Mistra Center for Sustainable Markets (Misum) is to strengthen Sweden's competitiveness in sustainable markets, in part by supporting Swedish actors in these markets with both research findings and directly applicable solutions. The Mistra Center for Sustainable Markets is a cross-disciplinary and multi-stakeholder research, education and outreach center at the Stockholm School of Economics.

This book is dedicated to Marie Ehrling for her long commitment to enabling studies of management practice conducted by researchers at the Stockholm School of Economics. Her commitment to research has also greatly contributed to our mission of science-based education and, thus, our students' education. Marie has also acted as an important executive within the sustainability field. She is deeply knowledgeable of the dynamic nature between business and society, encompassing both challenges and opportunities, some of which this book addresses.

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Stockholm, December 2016

Markus Kallifatides and Lin Lerpold

¹ Up until 2009, the Annual Book was produced by Ekonomiska forskningsinstitutet (EFI), the predecessor to SIR.

The fundraising manager's dilemma

Balancing diverse stakeholder images

LIN LERPOLD AND URSULA TENGELIN

The rhetoric and behavior of fundraising organizations have become closely similar to the language and practices within the for-profit, corporate world. Contemporary fundraising's changing focus towards branding, marketing and campaigns, market share, performance and competition has come to characterize the professional nonprofit organization (Bradach et al. 2008; Letts et al. 1999; Neuhoﬀ and Searle 2008). As nonprofits have increasingly embraced managerialism (Hwang and Powell 2009) and have become what we call 'corporatized', debate has grown as to the risks of corporatization amongst organizations whose missions, values, passions and ethics are perceived as different from those of for-profit organizations (Rothschild and Milofsky 2006). Contemporary diffusion towards and implementation of corporate management practices in fundraising organizations has implications for how the nonprofit organization is understood by both internal and external stakeholders. When an organization identifies itself as belonging to either the nonprofit or the for-profit sector, stakeholders believe they understand which kinds of missions, practices and behaviors are expected and how they can evaluate the organization (King and Whetton 2008). When a nonprofit project's cause or mission-based image is projected, but it emulates in practice the for-profit organization, stakeholders become confused in their assumptions and expectations of the organization. In the eyes of stakeholders such as donors, organizational survival and legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan 1977) could be connected to aspects associated with the nonprofits' image of being mission-driven. Discrepancies between organizational identity (who we believe we are as an organization) and image (how the external world sees us as an organization) may lead to adaptive 'organizational instability' (Gioia et al. 2000). The unaddressed gap between identity and image amongst stakeholders may have strategic and

structural implications (Young 2001) and could ultimately lead to what some have described as organizational ‘schizophrenia’ (Brilliant and Young 2004).

In this chapter, we explore the tension in managing mission-based organizations that are under pressure to move towards corporatization. To do so, we link organizational identity theories with stakeholder theories and explore the perceptions of corporatization among Secretaries General (SGs) for five of the largest nonprofit fundraisers in Sweden. We are especially interested in exploring how fundraising organizations have adapted to the pressures of corporatization and what implications that adaptation has had on stakeholders’ view of the fundraising organizations. We are also interested in understanding how nonprofits balance the tension stemming from multiple organizational identities within the organization and from diverse stakeholders’ expectations.

Organizational identity and stakeholder theory

Organizational identity is a sum of what is taken by organization members to be central to the organization, what renders the organization distinct from other organizations, and what are perceived to be the enduring and persistent features linking the present organization with its past and the future (Gioia et al. 2000). Organizational identity represents how members of an organization answer self-reflective questions such as: who we are; what kind of business we are in; and who we want to be in the future (Albert and Whetten 1985). The concepts of identity and image are especially important, assumed as interlinked but separate constructs, or ‘cousins’ (Gioia 1998). Organizational identity is defined as the way organizational members see themselves as an organization, whereas organizational image is defined as the way insiders believe that outsiders see the organization (Dutton and Dukerich 1991). Discrepancies between identity and image can be seen as either inconsequential or important enough to merit attempts at alignment (Gioia et al. 2000). In this way, gaps between organizational identity and organizational image are linked to adaptation processes and organizational strategic action. Perceptions of organizational identity and image are formed through membership in formal groups or through benchmarking processes (Gioia 1998), or through more informal networks, including the industry to which a company belongs (Elsbach and Kramer 1996) in the competitive identity domain (Livengood and Reger 2010), the organizational form these companies use, or through membership in accrediting bodies (Sarason 1998). Organizations engage in categorization,

identification and comparison in their construction of a self-reflection or in the pursuit of a positive social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1985). The notion that identity can be studied at multiple levels is closely linked to whether or not individuals, groups and organizations have one sole identity or multiple identities. Individuals have multiple identities within themselves depending on the relevant issues, circumstances and roles (James 1918), and given the number of groups to which an individual might belong, his or her social identity is assumed to consist of an amalgam of identities (Ashford and Mael 1989). Similarly, organizations have 'hybrid' or multiple identities depending on an issue's temporal salience or specific context (Albert and Whetten 1985; Gioia 1998; Pratt and Foreman 2000); thus organizations can assume a multiplicity of identities or 'multiple selves' in a particular context or audience (Rindova and Fombrun 1998).

A stakeholder is 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives' (Freeman 1984: 46). Stakeholder theory posits that organizations are constrained by the social environment of which they are part, and that organizations unresponsive to stakeholder pressures and social expectations risk losing their perceived 'license to operate', thus putting their own survival at stake (Freeman 1984). Organizational projected images constitute an organization's reference group and provide stakeholders with standards by which assessments of the organization are made (King and Whetten 2008). Identification with stakeholder groups (Jones 1995), both internal and external to the focal organization, includes all those who have expectations pertaining to the organization's successful operation (Donaldson and Preston 1995). Organizational identity and image are defined in the minds of managers and stakeholders through a dynamic, reciprocal and iterative process 'on the meaning of organizational events, policies, and actions; the construction and presentation of organizational images; the interpretation of identity-relevant feedback; and cognitive reconstruction activities' (Scott and Lane 2000: 45). Managers, such as SGs of nonprofits, project desired organizational images to stakeholder groups but are also influenced by stakeholder reactions. While positive and congruent stakeholder group reactions may cause differing degrees of passive managerial reflection, negative stakeholder appraisal, along with the time periods during which managers view the negative organizational images as highly important to the organization, incurs a more active identity and image self-reflection (Albert and Whetten 1985). Stakeholder

groups can be internal or external to the focal organizations (Jones 1995) and are subsumed in stakeholder networks of varying density (Rowley 1997). In denser networks, stakeholder group views will be more congruent and exert a greater influence on managers (Rowley 1997), while in less dense networks with fewer shared behavioral norms, stakeholder groups are more likely to have conflicting expectations of an organization and managers are less likely to acquiescence to or even pay attention to the opposing views (Oliver 1991). Stakeholder identification and salience is based on stakeholders possessing one or more of three relationship attributes: power, the ability to impose their will on organization; legitimacy, their actions or claims to be proper and appropriate; and urgency, their claims on organizational attention are both time-sensitive and critical to them (Mitchell et al. 1997).

Though recent research linking multiple identities and images vis-à-vis multiple stakeholder groups has focused on the influence of the organizations' relations with stakeholders (Brickson 2005) and the management of minimally competing or conflicting identities and images (Price and Gioia 2008), to our knowledge, little research has focused on how managers in fundraising organizations balance the salient differences between what Rothschild and Milofsky (2006) describe as the values, passions and ethics characterizing nonprofits from for-profits. Indeed, fundraising organizations whose 'raison d'être' is focused on a mission, yet which are still dependent on funds, constitute a perfect setting for exploring and understanding how organizations manage multiple identities.

Methods

Our study employs an inductive approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967), grounded in the phenomenon of corporatization. Our data collection involved three data sets – semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and archival data – gathered from five of Sweden's largest fundraisers.

FUNDRAISER	2009	2008	2007
UNICEF – Sweden	479	414	220
The Swedish Cancer Society	433	427	410
Save the Children	407	392	320
Swedish Red Cross	348	330	282
SOS Children Villages – Sweden	220	210	200
Doctors without Borders	204	195	143
Plan Sweden	181	211	209
WWF Sweden	180	178	158
Swedish Church	177	201	180
Heart and Lung Foundations	176	144	119
Total Top 10	2.805	2.702	2.241

Source: Swedish Fundraising Council, FR11/EZ, March, 2010.

Table 1. Top 10 in Terms of Funds Raised (million SEK)

In the first data collection phase (early 2009), in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with SGs of UNICEF Sweden, the Swedish Cancer Society, Swedish Red Cross, SOS Children Villages Sweden, and Plan Sweden. Each interview was conducted in the SG's office using an interview guide. We used a 'descriptive stakeholder theory' approach via which participants' view of what the organization was vis-à-vis stakeholders, as well as the mechanisms through which different views come into being, were explored (Donaldson and Preston 1995). Interviews lasted between 60–90 minutes and focused on identification of salient stakeholder groups, how stakeholder groups perceived the nonprofit, and how SGs managed the diverse perceptions. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. The second data collection phase (end of 2009), involved a two-hour focus group discussion with the SGs, as well as a short survey in which each SG was asked to rate the stakeholder groups according to Mitchell et al.'s (1997) variables of power, legitimacy and urgency. In the focus group, results from the interviews were presented and discussed, including identification of salient stakeholder groups, as well as discussions of similarities and differences in the SGs' experiences in managing diverse stakeholders' perceptions of the fundraising organizations.

During the focus group discussions, a much publicized and current critical event was discussed and used as an example for how different stakeholders perceived the organizations as well as the nonprofit sector in general[†]. Archival materials such as annual reports and public media press reports were used throughout our study to give input to interviews and the focus group discussion, as well as to inform our interpretation of results.

PLAN – SWEDEN

The Swedish Plan (PS) represents one of 66 countries in the Plan International federation, which was established in 1937. PS was founded in Sweden in 1997. Their focus is on children's rights and needy children around the world. Their main source of funding is individual regular donors (88%).

UNICEF – SWEDEN

The United Nations Children's Fund works for children's rights and their survival, development, and protection. UNICEF Sweden (US) focuses on fundraising, advocacy, information, and education. Their main source of funding is through regular individual donors (43%) and corporate donors (32%).

SWEDISH RED CROSS

The Swedish Red Cross (SRC) is one out of 186 country organizations that have agreed on a common vision as a humanitarian organization to work to relieve and prevent human suffering. SRC is a member-based organization with 262 000 members and 40 000 volunteers in Sweden. Their main sources are individual, minor donations and second-hand sales.

SOS CHILDREN'S VILLAGES – SWEDEN

SOS Children's Villages, with 132 member countries, is the world's largest charity for orphans, founded in Austria in 1949. SOS Sweden was established in 1972 to contribute to the global mission; 81% of funding comes from minor donations and 16% from corporate entities.

THE SWEDISH CANCER SOCIETY

Established in Sweden in 1951, The Swedish Cancer Society (SCS) is the only organization with a purely Swedish focus. SCS's mission is to prevent and cure cancer through funding long-term cancer research, as well as facilitating short-term improvement through advocacy and knowledge transfer. Their main sources of funding are through legacies (42%) and minor individual donations.

Table 2. The Five Fundraiser Case Organizations

[†] A much-publicized scandal broke during the spring of 2009 and involved large-scale fraud by a former fundraising manager who had worked at two of the case organizations. The manager was sentenced to five years in prison and was ordered to pay 16 MSEK in punitive damages in 2010.

Balancing identity and image amongst stakeholders

According to the interviews with the SGs, nine stakeholder groups were identified as being held in common for the five fundraising organizations. Some stakeholder groups were clearly internal or external, and some existed within the intersection of these two domains. Though the identification of stakeholder groups was homogeneous, the power, urgency, and legitimacy attributed varied to some degree among the organizations.

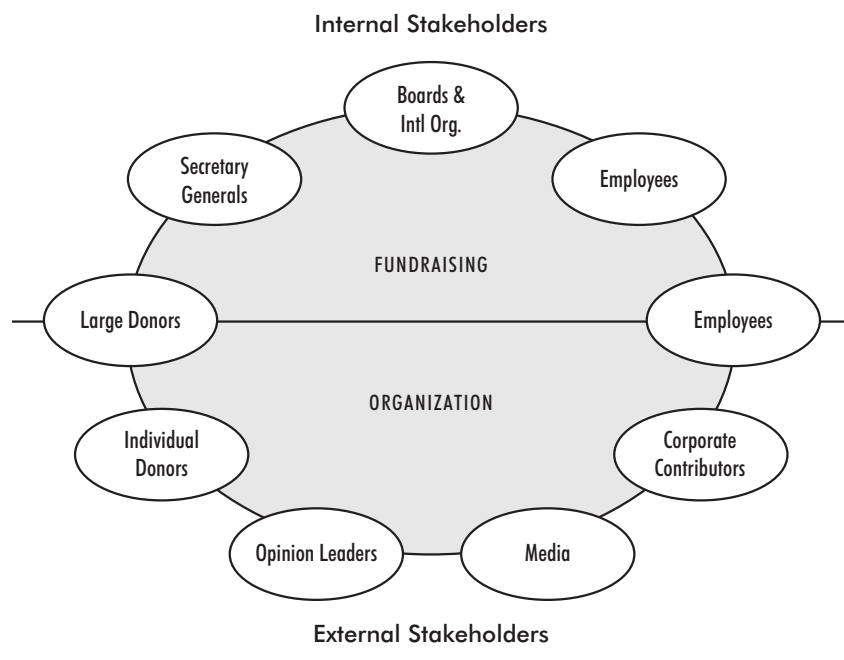


Figure 1. Major Stakeholder Groups

SECRETARY GENERALS EXPRESS AMBIGUITY

SGs identified themselves as an internal stakeholder and discussed their ambivalence to corporatization: *'We, the professional fundraisers are the [furthest] away from traditional nonprofit organizations'*, yet, *'When it comes to fundraising, this is much closer to a commercial business. Fundraising is business-driven; in other words, it is a business. It is about making profits'*. Furthermore, *'We are in competition with other fundraising organizations [over] media coverage, space, members, money, and attention'*.

In all interviews, SGs used words such as ‘business’, ‘results’, ‘efficiency’, ‘market’ and ‘competition’, yet expressed concern over what they all accepted and considered a move towards a more corporate-oriented way of working. While most SGs accepted this, they also expressed concern about the nonprofits’ mission and purpose and how they were perceived by more mission-oriented stakeholders. Concerns were expressed in this way; *‘I’m afraid of losing the soul of our nonprofit’*; *‘We have a complementary role to the rest of society’s institutions’*, *‘To be a channel for people’s engagement and wish [to do] good’*, and *‘The challenge is to continuously balance and develop the organization in terms of strategy and actions, and simultaneously handle different demands amongst stakeholders’*.

Secretary Generals clearly experience a tension between on one hand running an organization and conducting operations in an effective and efficient manner in a setting in which transparency has become more important, and on the other hand advocating the value-based mission of the nonprofit organization.

MANAGING THE EXPECTATIONS OF BOARD MEMBERS AND HEADQUARTER ORGANIZATIONS

Another important internal stakeholder group is the fundraisers’ boards or international headquarter organizations. Each of the Swedish fundraising organizations had a board, though these varied considerably in terms of size, structure and decision-making mandate. Historically, the fundraising organization’s registered ‘members’ – similar to shareholders in stock-listed companies – in each organization have had the ultimate decision-making influence, and the General Assembly was where most important decisions were made: *‘When creating the Swedish association, it was expected that we should live up to the classical Swedish[democratic] model for this type of organization’*. For the Red Cross and Save the Children, this was to a large extent still the case. In the other three organizations, board and international headquarter organizations had become more influential, and though most board members were from other nonprofits or public bodies or were politicians who themselves lacked corporate experience, SGs expressed the perception that board members sought to work in a manner more closely aligned to how they believed a corporate board worked. As it was common that numerous board members sat on a number of nonprofit boards, SGs also reported that another significant challenge was getting board members to understand which ‘hat’ they should be

wearing when making decisions. *'Having other fundraisers on the board can be a potential conflict of interest, as we might be competing for the same money'*. Thus, the original role of the board, as being cause- or mission-driven to make member-based decisions, seems to have been challenged. SGs report dual expectations of having professional boards comprising members with legitimate nonprofit experience. A professional board was largely associated with the image and workings of a for-profit board.

EMPLOYEES SEE NEW CAREER PATHS

All of the case organizations had salaried employees in charge of overseeing daily operations. These employees were divided into those with a commercial background in sales and marketing and those working on programs of more mission-oriented tasks. A majority of employees had university educations or were specialists with little or limited corporate experience. Those focused on mission-oriented tasks were particularly sensitive to how management expressed the organization's mission in terms of determining the best course of action and top priorities. From a managerial perspective, SGs expressed a need for a more flexible approach when leading, motivating, and managing the different groups of employees in pursuing common goals and priorities when some were focused on business-like goals and others on mission goals: *'We are not only a fundraiser; we are a hybrid also focusing on our cause'*. It was argued that one of the most important challenges for SGs was to manage such heterogeneously focused groups. *'We are more open to employ people with different backgrounds today, which contributes to different cultures'*; *'Sometimes it is difficult with two different cultures, but mostly they meet in the organization's overall mission and goals'*. As internal stakeholders, employees were considered key in the development of the nonprofits' identity. The last decade had witnessed increased competition with for-profits for new recruits: *'We have to be competitive; the alternative for our employees is a job in the for-profit or public sector'*. According to SGs, this market-force change involving competition in recruiting top talent was regarded as influential in the corporatization of the nonprofit sector. The fundraising organization had opened up new opportunities for employment. One clearly identified group of employees were those attracted more generally to the field of 'sustainability' and those seeking more 'meaningful' jobs. This redefined interest had in the past rested with the specialists working primarily in the nonprofit sector, more specifically in philanthropy, advocacy or a particular

cause. The exchange of employees among different sectors in Sweden – for instance, between the nonprofit, private, and public sectors – has increased the number of opportunities for employees but has also blurred the boundaries across sectors regarding which image is projected.

THE VOLUNTEER ROLE UNDER PRESSURE

Historically, Swedish nonprofits have been democratic, membership-based organizations with local and regional representation influencing national strategy. Volunteers had been involved in operational work, and they had roles related to the organizational mission and raised funds locally. Today, all large fundraisers have developed professional fundraising departments, resulting in the decreased role of volunteers.

I have collaborators who think they have too little power to influence, and that everyone should be involved in the strategic planning.

Though volunteers' importance in terms of fundraising had diminished over time, they were still deemed as important and influential stakeholders. Volunteers played a particularly important role in helping to raise awareness of the organization's mission and work around the country; however, they also represented a management challenge in comparison to traditional employees: *'We have to manage and involve...volunteers without the usual...tools you have in a company'*. Thus, in the larger fundraising organizations, the role of volunteers in fundraising was diminishing and they were increasingly being replaced by salaried employees in the fundraising and marketing/communication departments. Some of the newer organizations did not even have volunteers as a part of their initial setup. Tension between the image of pro bono work fundamentally associated with nonprofit organizations often created to advocate for or highlight a certain cause, and the emergence of highly professional fundraising organizations was identified as an increasingly important challenge for SGs.

DONORS' DIFFERENTIATION BY SIZE OF DONATION

The term 'donors' was used as a general description of two major external stakeholders: individual small donors, which were categorized as external; and the individual larger donors who were almost considered to exist at the inter-

section of internal and external². The importance of donors as a stakeholder group is emphasized in the following: *'To keep the confidence of our donors is the greatest challenge'*. All five nonprofits noted that most of their fundraising efforts focused on individual, smaller donors, so this category was of fundamental importance to the nonprofit's image and reputation. SGs explained that the traditional Swedish welfare state and publicly financed social programs had historically resulted in relatively few independent nonprofit organizations. During the last decade, however, nonprofits had taken over more of what had previously been publicly funded initiatives, resulting in increased individual donations. With these increases, a growing focus on transparency and accountability began to take hold. SGs gave examples of this scrutiny: *'How can you guarantee that children will be vaccinated?'* and *'During our last activity, we had a web chat, and the most common questions were about the salary of the Secretary General and...our administration costs'*. SGs also expressed a significant challenge in communicating the cost structure and encouraging donors to focus on outcomes rather than costs: *'There is a fear in our business that if we tell people the actual costs of fundraising and running a professional organization, a lot of donors will disappear'*; *'The more professional we get, the more we are dissociating ourselves from the donor'*.

The emergence of the category of larger individual donors (i.e., those donating very large sums on a single occasion) was a relatively new challenge to the Swedish nonprofits. SGs discussed the challenge of managing the increased assumed influence of very large individual donors on 'earmarked funds', and on procedures and general praxis within the organization: *'It is a completely different business to address larger donors'*. These donors were considered as different from smaller individual donors, having less operative influence on the nonprofit organization, whereas there was a greater risk that the individual larger donors would attempt to leverage their resources to exert power: *'In exchange for money, larger donors expect to influence the allocation and sometimes even our strategy'*. SGs discussed the challenge of attracting larger donations without compromising on the mission or long-term strategy of the organization. A vital challenge thus reported by SGs was maintaining control regarding elements of organizational strategies and operations when eliciting donations. Transparency was a challenge, as the donor focus tended to be on the proportional focus on cost for certain activities, rather than on the projected long-term impact. Another

² Legacies constituted a particularly important and unique category for the Swedish Cancer Society, but since this only related to one organization, it is not discussed here.

relatively recent trend was that some people with a focus on the mission or cause had begun establishing their own foundations rather than donating to the established fundraising organizations focusing on the issue. In this way, their own reputation was a guarantee of sorts that donations made would go to the cause in question, but such an approach could also be a way of building or strengthening their own personal image and reputation as benefactors in society. Interestingly, according to SGs, the legal transparency requirements imposed on foundations are less rigorous than those that a professional fundraising organization must comply with, according to the Swedish sector called the '90-account [colloquial expression for wire accounts of NGOs] where at maximum 25 per cent of donations can be used for the fundraising organization's operational costs (a minimum of 75 per cent must go to the actual cause).

CORPORATE CONTRIBUTORS: DONORS OR SPONSORS?

Another group of external stakeholders, corporate contributors, were categorized as both donors and sponsors depending on the context. Since donations made by companies are not tax-deductible in Sweden, corporate sponsorships (defined as donations involving some form of reciprocity) account for less than 5 per cent of nonprofits' total donations (SFI 2009). Instead, the more commercial form of reciprocal sponsorship involved funds going to the non-profit in exchange for some sort of tangible benefit, such as, for instance, brand exposure for the contributing company, increased sales, product or company knowledge, or the added reputational effect of being linked with a 'good' cause. Increased corporate social responsibility (CSR) efforts and social entrepreneurship had also been beneficial to nonprofits, with fundraising organizations assuming various roles on a continuum from passive receiver to close inter-organizational collaboration partner. In the interviews, a mostly positive attitude towards companies was displayed. *'When working with companies, they express surprise over their experience [and] that we are more professional, commercial, and flexible than they expected, which we [the SGs] think is positive'* and *'We have salespeople approaching companies; this is no different...to what they do in a for-profit.'* But SGs also expressed concerns about the sincerity of the interest expressed by companies: *'They [the companies] claim to be open, ethical, and transparent, but we really need to live up to that'*, *'Within the companies, [these are mere] words'*, *'the good talk'*, and *'Why are companies reducing their contributions when tough times come?'* SGs also discussed what appropriate collaboration was and which

products or companies they could, or could not, associate themselves with. Challenges included whether or not corporate collaborations could have an influence on the fundraising organization's image and could thus elicit reactions from other stakeholders such as individual donors and opinion leaders who were sensitive to corporate contributions: *'Our collaboration with a large multinational raises the discussion [of] how far we can go in commercialization. Sweden is a rather sensitive country when it comes to collaborations with companies'*. More recently, SGs reported that there was a clear trend towards linking contributory sponsorship with a fundraising organization, e.g., a certain percentage of the price of each unit of a company's product purchased goes directly to the fundraising organization. A clear challenge was to balance the short-term support with the long-term impact of the relationship or sponsor agreement. Choosing the right partnerships was described as a delicate process, and SGs have to be able to justify the decision to other stakeholders.

PUBLIC MEDIA IN DUAL ROLES

Public media organizations were identified as an external stakeholder of growing importance, according to SGs. This group included print, web and broadcast media. Challenges discussed involved increased scrutiny from the media, the difficulty of understanding the operations from the outside, improving nonprofits' communication around how they work, and the increased resources needed to address the media-related concerns of internal and external stakeholders. The delicate balancing act of conveying the organization's mission in a comprehensive manner while simultaneously justifying costs and expenditures was identified as a key challenge: *'That it costs money to raise money and that a new campaign demands a lot of work is very important to understand'*, *'We are continuously working to increase effectiveness and decrease our costs'*, and *'The Swedes donated 5 billion this year – but the demand for reports on results increase'*. The increased media attention had also had the effect of imposing greater demands for accessibility and preparedness to meet media. One SG expressed, *'The...respect from the media [we previously had] is gone; they demand exactly the same from us as from companies'*, and *'[Before,] the NGOs were untouchable, but that's gone'*. The trend of nonprofit accountability and transparency was mostly welcomed by the SGs; however, they expressed that it demanded new skills and areas of competence on the part of SGs. In addition to the role of

focusing scrutiny on fundraising organizations, the media also employed the nonprofits as a source for legitimacy and background knowledge used to criticize politicians or public bodies when questioning decreasing public funds in social spending. Thus, for SGs, the dual aspect of being scrutinized and criticized, while simultaneously being used as a legitimate source of information, was sometimes problematic. The SGs identified a disconnect between the eagerness displayed by media to highlight the organizations when advocating for the mission and positive outcomes achieved, and the heightened scrutiny the media imposed at other times. Moreover, though the media expected nonprofit organizations to be different from for-profit organizations, the scrutiny directed at the nonprofits from the media often closely resembled the scrutiny they applied to commercial companies.

OPINION LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONAL DECISION-MAKERS

All SGs interviewed managed organizations where fundraising was the main tool used to raise money for their cause. For most organizations, advocacy and lobbying was an important part of SGs' focus, and the message was overwhelmingly focused on the mission. Therefore, opinion leaders and decision-makers were important external stakeholders. These stakeholders lobbied politicians to support pushing a particular bill through the parliament, or persuading a minister to initiate an investigation or prepare legal changes, speaking with public bodies such as The National Board of Health and Welfare to influence priorities and guidelines in the medical area, or seeking help from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) to obtain financing for programs in the developing world. SGs discussed how *'the politicians are more and more aware of us'* and *'[for] a couple of years, [we have been] increasing our focus on advocacy towards major decision-makers'*. The leading opinion leaders within the nonprofit sector are often the same relatively small group of people; they often collaborate with one another or sit on the same boards, which was why nonprofits reported that at times they addressed the opinion leaders collectively to build a stronger case. At other times opinion leaders were addressed independently when the fundraisers were in competition with each other. The SGs, as well as other leading experts from the fundraising organizations, were also more frequently used as opinion leaders themselves as their communication-related strategic skills evolved.

Discussion

Fundraising funds in Sweden have grown in the past decade in part due to professionalized marketing campaigns and internal organizational efficiency, yet the reactions from external stakeholders on campaigns and activities associated with 'corporatization' have been conflicting. On the one hand, stakeholders such as individual donors, companies and the media have pushed for more transparency, efficiency and comparison to the business world. On the other hand, minor donors, board members and opinion leaders are stakeholders who expected the focus to be on the cause and/or mission. In addition, stakeholders such as employees and the media had dual expectations depending on the context. With the media taking a larger interest in the corporatization of the fundraising sector, their focus influenced stakeholders' image of the organization, as well as of the fundraising sector as a whole. Two salient identities – characterized by corporatization and mission – surrounding the way they work and the purpose of their work caused tension not only in the relationship with stakeholders, but also in terms of how the SGs managed their own multiple, sometimes conflicting identities when interacting with different groups (Tajfel and Turner 1985) or within the roles they enacted (James 1918). As Ashford and Mael (1989) note, it is not having multiple identities *per se* that causes conflict; rather, it is when values, beliefs, norms and demands inherent in the different identities are opposing that tension may arise. In the rather small Swedish sector, SGs' challenge is to manage the conflicting identities amidst a dense yet often disparate stakeholder network. Rowley (1997) argues that network density influences a more coherent image amongst stakeholders, yet we find that though the Swedish network is dense, different salient stakeholders had different views on corporatization and mission expectations. Furthermore, the groups had different claims to power, urgency and legitimacy. In Mitchell et al.'s (1997) terms, larger donors and corporate contributors had significant power and urgency in terms of coercive, utilitarian and normative means, while smaller, individual donors, the public media and opinion leaders had significant legitimacy claims. For Secretaries General, power and urgency claims may take precedence in the short term, while legitimacy claims will have long-term implications for nonprofit sustainability.

Though institutional changes towards the inevitably increased corporatization of nonprofits continues (Hwang and Powell 2009), the tensions inherent in managing such diverse and contradictory stakeholder images will continue to challenge fundraising organizations. Opposing stakeholder images, both purposely projected and assumed, along with stakeholder groups' varying levels of power, urgency and legitimacy are not strategically sustainable. They cause organizational ambiguity and lack of coherence in strategies and communication.

Nonprofit organizations such as fundraising organizations were a fruitful empirical setting to study multiple organizational identities. On the one hand, the organizations are mission- or cause-oriented; on the other, they are dependent on donations to survive. There is an issue of nomenclature that may negatively impact the clarity of this discussion, as 'fundraising' is not a commonly used term in Swedish in the ideal, civil, or nonprofit sectors. Though the term 'fundraising' is more commonly used in English and comes with a certain expected focus on corporatization or marketization, in Swedish, fundraising organizations are categorized as being part of the ideal sector, which connotes more of a mission- or cause-based identity.

Though SGs were very cognizant of having to manage multiple identities among numerous stakeholder groups with diverse expectations, they seemed resigned to the tension and rather projected different foci to different stakeholders. The more salient stakeholders in terms of power and urgency were forcing SGs to focus more on corporatization and less on the cause or mission. Perhaps the more problematic issue to be raised is to reflect on what is being lost, and by whom, when nonprofits such as fundraising organizations become more like for-profits.

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